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Rājasēvāsakta

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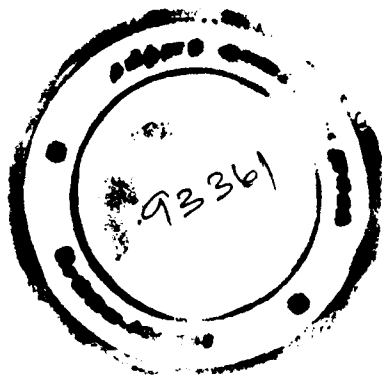
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Annals of Old Madras Lighthouse Road

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M. A.

The Lighthouse Road runs to the east of the High Court Buildings, Madras, and connects North Beach Road with Sir T. Muthusami Iyer Road. It is so named because it faces the Madras Lighthouse.

The Madras Lighthouse is housed in the tall handsome main tower of the High Court Buildings which is an admirable specimen of the handwork of the Madras Workmen combining use with ornament. The beautiful dome of this tower was designed by distinguished experts in the line, Lord Lansdowne, Governor-General of India, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras and Sir Arthur Collins, Chief Justice of the High Court, Madras, each having laid a stone of it. The marble statue of Sir T. Muthusami Iyer, the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court, is in the crypt on the first floor under the Lighthouse Tower and Sir Arthur Collins had it so housed despite opposition from Government.

The climb to the Lighthouse is somewhat strenuous. Winding stairs lead up a narrow corner turret to a vast roof. A second turret, to the North East, contains more corkscrew steps. When fifty have been mounted the visitor is ushered into a big room. Here he signs his name in a book and pays a fee of two annas. Then a dizzy iron stair twists round and up a giddy height to the Lighthouse. The encircling balcony commands a wide-flung panoramic view of the city; the Dare House, the premises of Messrs. Parry & Co., the Harbour, the four red buildings of the Port Trust (now turned grey), the circular grey forms of gigantic Iron Oil Tanks, the steeple of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, the Central Station Towers, the tall Chimneys of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, and the old buildings of the Pachaiyappa's and Madras Christian Colleges.

Owing to exigencies of the war the Lighthouse now stands light denied and no visitor is allowed.

The Lighthouse has a history of over a century and a half behind it. It dates back to 1795 when Captain W. T. Money, T. D. Fulkes, and A. J. Applegarth, Commanders of Indiamen represented to Government that ships nearing Madras at nightfall from the southward were compelled to lie to and risk the shoals of Covelong, while those approaching from northward had to guard against sand banks of Armagon and Pulicat and suggested

that a fixed light on the Fort would enable the vessels to enter the roadstead at all hours.

The ships in those days lay at anchor just outside the Fort. The sea was breaking quite close to the fortifications. The inmates of the Fort used to look out from the windows the sailing of an East Indiaman and the landing of goods and passengers by the masula boats through the surf on to the beach just opposite to the Sea gate. The goods were piled on the sand in front of the Sea gate just about the place where the road now runs waiting to be carried to the Office of the Sea Customs,—the Officer is now called the Collector of Customs. Turing records in 1792 that on landing at Fort St. George he walked to the water Gate not more than 50 yards from the sea.

The suggestion of the Captain took root. Government consulted the Chaplains "on the eligibleness of the Steeple of St. Mary's Church as a site." The Chaplain reminded the Government that at the dedication of St. Mary's when the Reverend Richard Portman received the church as a sacred charge and free will offering from the Governor of Fort St. George (to whom powers had been delegated for that purpose from the Bishop of London) and the other contributors to the expense of the building, the parties respectively promised for themselves and their successors "to refuse and renounce to put the church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever."

Ultimately the Government selected the roof of the Commercial Exchange (the present Officers' Mess) as the position for the light. The construction of the light itself was completed by November 1796. The lantern was secured in a skeleton cage housed in a wooden building. It was guarded with weather boards on the land side and only showed its light seawards. The illumination was effected merely by a dozen tumblers of oil bearing wicks fixed to iron wire supports which gave a dull yellow flame which appeared of a reddish tinge out at sea not unlike the end of a lighted cheroot. The light thus produced was assisted by a few looking glasses at the back of the lantern. But poor as it was, it was better than nothing and a great boon to navigators making the port in the night. The light was 90 feet above sea level at high water and could be seen from the decks of the Hon'ble Company's ships about 17 miles and from their mast heads near 26 miles.

At the request of the President of the Exchange Committee, Lord Hobart opened the Lighthouse in December 1796. A signal station was also erected on the roof.

In later years the light was somewhat improved by reflectors and lamps but it remained in the old place.

New apparatus for the Lighthouse arrived on 14th November 1837 by the *Trne Briton*. It cost £ 1,600 besides freight. The new Lighthouse was to be in some respects similar to that at Pondicherry, but with considerable improvements.

At about the beginning of 1838 the commanders of the ships trading to Madras, understanding that a new light was to be exhibited suggested to the Chamber of Commerce their conviction that it would be most beneficial to all ships frequenting the Port of Madras to have the new Lighthouse erected near the Custom House.

In 1798 the Second Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, ordered the removal of the Custom House from inside the Fort, first of all to the temporary huts on the beach and then to the Paddy Godown on the North East Beach, lately occupied as a "French Prison"—the site of the present Custom House. The reason given for the change is the increase of trade; the move was most probably necessitated by the fact that the sea which in 1797 was touching the walls of Fort St. George, had by 1837 receded farther and farther away and the ships had to anchor about two miles from the shore and that the roadstead at about the site of the present Custom House was more favourable for landing. North Beach Road or First Line Beach was really the beach in those days. The sea has now receded several hundreds of yards owing to the sand accretions—caused by the southern arm of the modern Madras Harbour—a mile or more to the northward.

This new Lighthouse was immediately to the northward of the wall of Fort St. George. It was a most elegant granite building very much like a grecian Doric column standing on a cubic pedestal elevated above the massive steps. The corners of the steps were replaced by four flanking buttresses, which apparently solid to the eye, are made to act as departments, being lighted through their roofs by sky lights invisible on the outside. From the top of this column a light was exhibited.

On January 1, 1841, the Lighthouse was opened for use. It excited some admiration. The lantern consisted of a twelve sided polygon, framed in gun-metal, nine of the faces or sides of which were of glass, and the remaining three flanked. The interior diameter of the lantern was 9 feet, and the height, exclusive of the roof, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The light was produced by means of Argand lamps of a simple construction, attached to planted parabolic reflectors, of which 15 were in constant use. The oil consumed was the best cocoanut oil of the ordinary kind. The lamps and reflectors were attached to machinery, by the aid of which they were made to reciprocate, that is, move backwards and forwards through an angular space of 90° instead of revolving. The principle of the Lighthouse was a novel one and was highly thought of by scientific men of those days.

The Fort Lighthouse was replaced in 1843 by a Lighthouse erected on the North Glacis of the Fort St. George near the Old Lighthouse within the compound of the High Court Buildings.

The design originated with Captain J. E. Smith of the Madras Engineers, who began to excavate the foundations on 17th July 1838. These were sunk 10 feet below the ground to receive a forty feet square base of laterite, from which the brickwork foundation rose in a compact masonry block.

Lord Elphinstone and a distinguished gathering witnessed the laying of the first stone on September 19th of the same year. This building was completed in December 1843 and the lamp lit on the New year's day, 1844 as announced by a notification by the Marine Board dated 9th October 1843: On and from 1st January 1844, a Light will be exhibited on the New Lighthouse erected at Madras immediately to the northward of the walls of Fort St. George and the light heretofore exhibited from the Old Lighthouse within the Walls of Fort St. George will be discontinued. The new light will be elevated 128 feet above the sea level.

This Lighthouse was built at a cost of Rs. 75,000 of which Rs. 60,000 was the cost of the building and Rs. 15,000 was the cost of the lighting apparatus, reflectors and lamps weighing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons. The light used was a first class white Catadioptric light of a reciprocating and not a revolving motion with five faces of which three were presented seaward at one time. The rapidity of the movement was so adjusted that the duration of the flashes varied from 0" to 48" and of the eclipses from 0" to 72" roughly in the ratio of 2 : 3. Designed to clear vessels of the Pulicat Shoal and into the roadstead it was visible at 20 miles distance from the deck of the ship in clear weather. The light was 177 feet above the ground.

When the High Court Buildings were opened in 1892 it was proposed to remove the Lighthouse to its main tower which is an octagonal structure of brick and stone.

The optical apparatus used was of the third order group flashing type and had a focal distance of about 5,000 millimetres and a vertical angle of 80°. It consisted of eight panels of lenses in four groups of two. The period of light was double flashing every half minute. At the focus was an improved four wick Douglas burner supplied with heavy mineral oil by two pressure lamps, thus providing a continuous supply of cool oil to the flame of 2,000 candle power. The flash was of half a minute periods giving two flashes of about two seconds separated by an eclipse of two seconds followed by a long eclipse of twenty-three seconds and was calculated to be visible at a distance of about 20 miles in clear weather. The light in the new

apparatus showed all round the compass at a height of 190 feet above sea level.

The new Madras Light in the High Court tower was formally handed over on July 1893 by the P.W.D. to the Presidency Port Officer. It was officially tested from the sea by the Port Authorities on April 2, 1894. The B. I. S. N. Co.'s agents placed the S. S. C. at the disposal of the Government for the purpose. Among those present on board were not only Officials to test the operations but also a number of guests: Capt. H. A. Sheet, Presidency Port Officer, Capt. W. B. Simpson, Deputy Conservator of the Port, Capt. H. D. Baddelay, Government Surveyor, Mr. T. W. Ashhittel, Executive Engineer, Mr. M. E. Clarke, Mr. W. M. Clarke, and Surgeon Capt. Young. The party embarked on Board the Camorta shortly after 9-30 P.M. and by 10 P.M. the Vessel left the harbour and proceeded in a southerly direction towards Seven Pagodas.

The night was very dark with few if any stars visible and rather hazy. Both lights, the old and the new, were kept working all night and made it practicable to compare the illuminating power of both. The general verdict was that the new light gave a much more intense and brilliant light than the old. A strong head wind and current however delayed progress.

At 1-20 A.M. the log showed 21½ miles when the new light had dipped below the horizon. The old light had disappeared about 3 miles or half an hour previously. The Camorta was then put about and her course set in a northerly direction for the Pulicat Light. The Madras Lights were successively picked up and were not lost again. Pulicat light was sighted at 4-15 A.M. The Camorta was turned and her course set to Madras in the usual track of vessels making for Madras Harbour. The testing operations gave satisfactory results. The Camorta re-entered her berth in the harbour at 6-30 when the Officials and guests came ashore after a pleasant voyage.

The Light in the Lighthouse was first lighted in June 1, 1894.

The Old Lighthouse was thus deprived of its light by its legal neighbour. It was occasionally used as a flag-staff.

In 1927, the light in the Lighthouse was changed from the four wicks burner to that of the 55 millimetres autoform Chance Bros burner 4,000 candle power. Kerosine Oil is used and the principle is the same as that of the Petromax lamp. The penetrating beam is more powerful and visible at 18 miles in all weather, the geographical range being the same. It can be visible at a still greater distance provided the geographical range is varied by increasing the present height of the Lighthouse Tower, which is 160 feet above sea level.

In April 1939 experiments were made at electrification of the Lighthouse. In the apparatus now at work the bulb was fixed and experiments made. The mode in which the authorities would introduce electricity in the working of the Lighthouse has not yet been given any definite shape. Whether it will result in mere electric illumination of the present system by introducing suitable optical lenses or whether the present apparatus weighing about two tons would be replaced by an entirely new set of electric apparatus weighing about $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons remains to be seen.

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Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320 A.D.)

BY

KISHORI SARAN LAL, M. A.

The death of Sultan 'Alāuddin Khalji (1296—1316 A.D.) left the Sultanate of Delhi in a state of utter disorder such as inevitably follows a long, centralised and despotic rule. It would be out of place here to enumerate the various cliques and crimes that mark the days that followed his death, until Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, a son of 'Alāuddin was crowned king. Having been kept under strict watch in his early days and then succeeding to the throne at the critical age of sixteen or seventeen, Qutbuddin began to lead a life of extreme licentiousness and debauchery. The various measures which he took mark a reaction from the conditions in 'Alāuddin's time. During his reign (1316—1320) of four years and some months conquests were made and public works carried out ; but the most dominant feature of his times was the extremely low morals of the king and the court. It was in his reign that Khusrau Khan, an obscure slave, rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the most exalted position of *Vazir*.

Khusrau Khan belonged to the low caste of Barvāris or Parvāris of Gujarat ¹. He seems to have been converted to Muhammadanism in his early childhood and given the name of Hasan. When 'Ainulmulk Multani

1. Khusrau Khan was a Parvārī. Baranī, 'Isamī, Yahyn as well as the later Muslim Chroniclers say that Khusrau Khan belonged to a low caste of Gujarat. Amīr Khusrau, a contemporary writer, praises them (Baradu) for their gallantry and sacrifice. He says that they are men brave and courageous and are employed by the Rajas of Hindustan for whom they are always ready to lay down their lives :

برادر و صف بندوبست سرباز - که هم سرباز باشند هم سربازان
 بود این طایفه در پیش رایان - که جان باز ندید بر فرمانروایان

[Tughlaqnamah, verses 338—39.]

Briggs (Ferishtah Vol. I. p. 387, note), therefore, does them scant justice when he says that "the Purwary is a Hindu outcaste, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."

'Isamī, the author of Futūhussalātīn, calls the Parvāris [پاروار] natives of Gujarat. Futūh. p. 362.

For a detailed discussion on this point see Ishwari Prasad, a History of Qaranna Turks, Vol. I, pp. 8—9 foot-note.

sacked Malwa in 1305 Hasan and his brothers fell into the hands of the Muslim army. At the imperial court Hasan was taken into the body of the personal slaves of Sultan 'Alāuddin or assigned to Malik Shadi a nobleman of his court.² When Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ascended the throne in 1316 he became highly enamoured of the youthful Hasan and in the very first year of his reign he bestowed upon him the title of Khusrau Khan, the office of *Vazarat* and all the dignities and *jagirs* of Malik Kafūr. In elevating Khusrau Khan Qutbuddin had refused to gain from the experience of 'Alāuddin, who had conferred extraordinary distinctions upon his favourite Malik Kafūr. In course of time Khusrau Khan proved as much an anathema for the *Qutbi* as Malik Kafūr had proved for the *'Alāi* regime.

After securely seating himself upon the throne Qutbuddin turned his attention towards the kingdom of Devagiri, where Harpaldeva, son-in-law of Ramdeva, had assumed perfect independence. The Sultan marched towards the Deccan in 1318. Khusrau Khan, his favourite, accompanied him on this expedition. When the imperial army arrived on the borders of Devagiri Raghu, minister of the late king Ramdeva, fled to the hills in defiance of the royal order to submit. Khusrau was detached with a powerful army to pursue him. Qutlagh, an officer in Khusrau's forces, was successful in seizing some of Raghu's adherents from whom he was enabled to ascertain the strength of Raghu's army as well its location. Khusrau Khan attacked the Maratha minister in a defile and completely routed his army. "The Hindus, who had pretended to independence, were either slain, captured or put to flight." Raghu himself was most severely wounded but escaped capture. After this signal victory Khusrau Khan returned in all haste as the king had summoned him urgently. On his way back Khusrau received the intelligence that Rana Harpaldeva had not submitted and had taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khan went in his pursuit but was two or three times vigorously attacked by the Hindu Raja. At last Harpaldeva was severely wounded in a stiff engagement and was taken captive. Qutbuddin was overjoyed at this victory of his general and received him "with a hundred flattering distinctions." The rebels were severely punished. Harpaldeva was inhumanly flayed alive and his body was hung on the gates of Devagiri by the orders of the Sultan.

By the beginning of Rajjab 718 A. H. (September 1318 A. D.) the rainy season was at an end, and the Sultan turned back towards the capital. Khusrau Khan was ordered to penetrate farther into the south and lead an expedition into the kingdom of Telingana. On his way to M'abar, Khusrau began to entertain evil designs against his master. His ambitious projects

2. The author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (finished 842 A. H.) writes that Khusrau Khan was brought up by Malik Shadi of the court of 'Alāuddin. [*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* Aljd. Uni. M. S. fol. 126.]

about finding a new principality would be described later; suffice it here to say that the general marched on into the south acquainting his confidants with his secret plans.

On his arrival in M'abar the Raja of the country fled away. The invader obtained some loot, and about one hundred elephants fell into his hands. Barani, always deficient in the description of battles, is altogether silent about the engagements which Khusrau Khan fought against the Hindus in the Deccan. But Amīr Khusrau gives a graphic and, at places, an exaggerated account of the exploits of Khusrau Khan. He says that the imperial army advanced march by march. During the march the Hindu soldiers committed as many ravages as the Turks. Every inhabited part was made desolate. When the army arrived in Warangal the Hindu inhabitants fled confused. The royal forces encamped "three bow-shots" from Warangal. Khusrau Khan ascended an eminence from where he reconnoitred the fort. The Hindu horsemen of the Rai numbered more than 10,000, whereas the foot soldiers were beyond calculation. Despite their numerical superiority the southerners were overwhelmed in the battle against Muslim cavalry numbering 300 or even fewer horsemen.³ Some booty of gold and jewels fell into the hands of the imperial army which pursued its enemy to the gates of the citadel and burnt down all the gardens and groves so that the "paradise of idol-worshippers became like hell". Next morning Khusrau Khan attacked the outer walls of the fortress which were breached. A large number of Hindus were slain and many others taken prisoners. After taking the outer walls Khusrau began the investment of the inner fortress. He ordered Khwaja Haji, the *'Ariz*, "to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine". At this Rai Pratap Rudra Deva was alarmed and sent messengers to sue for peace. He agreed to surrender five districts and promised to pay a large tribute including 12,000 horses, annually. Flushed with victory the low-born general subjected the Rai to many indignities before accepting the truce, but in the end he relinquished most of the ceded and conquered territory except the fortress of Bādrkot, "which the Khan had an object in demanding".

The rains detained Khusrau Khan in M'abar, where he passed his time in devising means for rising in revolt against the Sultan of Delhi. As has been said before he used to consult his friends about his determination to found an independent principality of his own. He had a large army under his command, and, as in the case of 'Alāuddin, the wealth of the Deccan had aggravated his ambition of reigning somewhere independently. According

3. Nuh Sipahr Elliot Vol. III, p. 560. So vast a difference between the strength of the two forces is incredible.

to Amir Khusrau when he was settling the terms of treaty with the Kakatiya Raja Khusrau Khan had relinquished all claims to the conquered territory except "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khan had an object in demanding." But Khusrau's designs were soon known to many a well wisher of the Sultanate, and Malik Tamar, the fief holder of Chanderi, Malik Afghān and Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Kara induced him to go back to the capital. As these nobles had large armies at their command Khusrau Khan dared not turn a deaf ear to their threats and exhortations and prepared to return to Delhi. For the time being his grandiose schemes were shattered to pieces.

At Delhi the Sultan was extremely delighted to see him, and regarded the loot of some gold and jewels and the hundred elephants as a large booty. The disappointed *Vazir* finding the Sultan so very joyous at his exploits, began to complain against the attitudes of Malik Tamar and Talbagha when he was far away in the south. The Sultan, who was blinded by the infatuation he had for the vile Parvāri, severely punished these well-wishers of the State. Malik Tamar was deprived of his *Jagīr* and thrown into the prison. Malik Talbagha, who had frankly and openly told the Sultan about Khusrau's evil intentions was publicly insulted, his fief was seized and he was imprisoned. This great injustice disgusted the courtiers and many of them resigned their honours and jobs on one pretext or another. Moreover, no one dared in future to apprise the king of Khusrau Khan's evil intentions for fear of similar punishments.

After such a quick fall of his enemies the work of the *Vazir* became easy. The punishments of Malik Tamar and Talbagha had induced many a noble to side with Khusrau.⁴ Many other victims of the licence or the wrath of the Sultan also clung to him. Bahāuddin Dabir, who had been ordered to surrender his wife to the embraces of the debauch king, sought the protection of Khusrau Khan and became one of his best supporters. One of these days Khusrau made a petition to the king that he longed to see his kith and kin who lived far off in Gujarat. His request was granted and he called a large number of his Parvāri friends and relations to Delhi. On their arrival he took them into his confidence and gave them horses and robes and wealth. He used to consult the leaders of these Parvāris and a few other trusted adherents such as Yūsuf Sūfi and the sons of Qirat Qinār about his intended revolt. It was unanimously decided that the Sultan should be killed within the palace of Hazār Sitūn. While these secret discussions were being held day in and day out at the residence of Khusrau Khan, the crafty *Vazir* one day begged the Sultan for another favour. He said that he left the palace very late every night and was consequently

deprived of the company of his relations who had left their native place only for his sake. If, therefore, they could be allowed to enter the palace at night they could come and see him there. Qutbuddin ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be left with Khusrau's men so that they could come and see him at any hour of the night. This is Barani's version. Ibn Battutah, however, says that it was a custom in those days that when a Hindu accepted Islam, the Sultan used to present him a robe and a gold ornament. According to this version Khusrau Khan informed the Sultan that some of his relations wanted to embrace Islam but felt shy in waiting upon him in the day time and wished to be converted and to pay respects to the king at night. Whatever might have been the pretext of Khusrau, the indolent Sultan, whose faculties had been sapped by drink and debauchery, could not see any evil design behind this request, and the keys of the palace gates were given to the relations of the *Vazir*.

In delivering the keys the Sultan handed over his own death warrant to the Parvāris. Every night after it was sufficiently quiet about three hundred armed Parvāris used to enter the palace and move about here and there. The people saw these armed ruffians freely enter the palace at dead of night but they dared not inform the Sultan of their evil intentions for fear of his wrath. An attempt of Qazi Ziyāuddin Khan to apprise the king about the irregular state of affairs in the palace met with a sudden rebuff. Khusrau Khan was the only person in whom the Sultan reposed his trust.

One night as Qazi Ziyāuddin, the superintendent of the night guard, was taking his rounds, Randhol, a relation of Khusrau entered with a few Parvāris and accosted him. While they were busy talking, Jahariya, a Parvāri stabbed the Qazi from behind and killed him on the spot. This murder caused consternation in the Hazār Sitūn, which was now filled with the Parvāris. Jahariya dashed towards the king's private apartment and killed its chief guards Ibrahim and Is-hāq. When Qutbuddin realized the situation he tried to escape into the *haram*, but Khusrau caught him by the hair. The king was intoxicated that night and due to his intoxication and physical strength, he easily threw the traitor on the ground and sat tight upon him. Jahariya reached the spot, which was indicated to him by the shouts of Khusrau pinned under the weight of the Sultan. He struck off the head of Sultan Qutbuddin, and threw it down the battlements of the palace. A few servants of the king, who were left on the upper storey also fell to the daggers of the Hindus. This happened in the month of Jamādussāni 720 A. H. (July 1320 A. D.) according to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubārakshahi*.⁵

5. Later events lead us to the conclusion that the date of Yahiyā is preferable to that of Khusrau, a contemporary writer. See foot-note 13.

4. Hajiuddabir: An Arabic History of Gujarat, p. 845.

After this gruesome murder Khusrau Khan sent for all the high officials of the court like Malik 'Ainul-mulk Multani, M. Vahiduddin Qureshi, M. Fakhruddin Jāna, M. Bahāuddin and the sons of Malik Qarābeg. He kept them under semi-imprisonment that night and compelled them to promise allegiance to the New Order. While the usurper was busy in establishing his power, Randhol, Hisāmuddin, a brother of Khusrau, Jaha-riya and many others entered the royal *haram* and began to perpetrate horrible crimes. At the outset they finished all the possible claimants to the throne one after another. Farid Khan, Abu Bakr Khan and three other younger sons of 'Alāuddin, namely, 'Ali, Bahā and 'Usmān were murdered in cold blood. The mother of Farid was also killed and many an inmate of the *haram* was ravished. Such ghastly punishments were inflicted upon the innocent, says Ziyā Barani, as no infidel could perpetrate even in the land of infidels.⁶

Not being confronted with any opposition whatsoever, the regicide ascended the throne and styled himself "Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrau Shah". He held a grand durbar and conferred titles and honours on the people, raising to high positions many of his favourites and those who had helped him to secure the throne. Randhol was given the title of Rai Rayān and also the house of Qazi Khan. Hisāmuddin, the Sultan's brother, was married to a princess of the royal *haram* and the title of Khan-i-khanan was bestowed upon him.⁷ Bahāuddin received the title of Azamulmulk. Among others who obtained honours were Yūsuf Sūfi who became Sūfi Khan, 'Ainulmulk Multani became 'Alam Khan while Ikhtiyāruddin Sambal received the title of Hatim Khan. M. Kamāluddin Kūfi became *Vakil-i-dar* and M. Fakhruddin Jūna was appointed *Akhārbeg* or the master of the stables. The *Vazārat* was entrusted to Tājulmulk and Vahiduddin Qureshi, and the offices of M. Qarābeg were entrusted to his sons. Everybody willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new regime and the new king was proclaimed from the pulpits of mosques as the greatest of the Musalmans (*Amir-ul-Mauminin*.)

According to Maulanā Ziyāuddin, however, the accession of Khusrau ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. On the fifth day of his accession, says he, idol worship was begun inside the palace. Khusrau Shah usurped the wives of Sultan Qutbuddin and the Parvāris took possession of Muslim girls. Copies of the Qurān were torn to pieces and used as seats for idols which were placed in the niches (*mehrab*s) of the mosques. In short, infidelity was in the ascendant and the followers of the

6. Ziyāuddin Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shahī* Text, p. 408.

7. The author of *Subah Sādiq* writes that Hisāmuddin was married to a daughter of Sultan 'Alāuddin. Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Bankipore Ms., folio 1673.

true faith were subjected to humiliations unprecedented in the history of the Sultanate. The Sultan thought of enhancing the power and the dignity of the Hindus and a large number of them gathered round him.⁸ All this the chronicler writes with the passion of a staunch Muslim, who could not tolerate a convert ascending the throne; particularly one whose accession was accompanied with cruel punishments inflicted on innocent women and children. But the narrative of Barani suffers from gross exaggerations. It is possible that some Parvāris worshipped idols inside the palace and tore up copies of the Qurān, and that the Sultan on account of his obligation to them for securing him the throne did not interfere with what they did; but the assertion of Barani that Khusrau Shah tried to establish a Hindu Raj is wholly incorrect. Khusrau had been converted while he was a mere boy, so that his Hindu name has not even been mentioned by any historian. In the wars that he fought in the Deccan he was as cruel to the Hindu kings and inhabitants as any Turkish Sultan had been. There he broke Hindu temples, and Amir Khusrau graphically describes the humiliations to which the king of Telingana was subjected by him. According to Ibn Battuta he got many Parvāris converted to Islam. These facts clearly show that Khusrau always regarded himself as a Musalman and there is not a single instance to prove that his behaviour or inclination was anti-Islamic. Barani nowhere says that Nāsiruddin persecuted Muslims simply because they were Muslims. On the other hand he admits that for the period of time that he reigned he was styled as Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrau Shah, his *khutba* was read on the pulpits of the mosques and his name was struck on the coins.

A glance at the list of the newly appointed officers, again, would clearly show that almost all of them had held various offices in the reign of his predecessor. There is scarcely any doubt that some of them were raised for being Khusrau's allies in securing his accession, but one thing is evident that except Randhol and one or two others all the Parvāris dropped into the background after Nāsiruddin's accession. The new king relied on the trusted nobles of Delhi; and he was so anxious about their good-will and co-operation that he even resorted to a *coup d'état* to secure their consent to his assumption of power. He continued the traditional policy of striking on his coins the title of *Amir-ul-Mauminin* with his name and seeing his *khutba* read in the mosques. At the capital he had not done anything prejudicial to the interests of the Musalmans. In the provinces also he left the Muslim Governors undisturbed, and as later events show most of them were quite satisfied with the revolution that had come about at Delhi. It is impossible that the governors of Multan, Samana and Ajmer would have helped Khusrau Shah in the establishment of a Hindu Raja against Ghazi

8. Baranī, p. 411.

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Tughlaq who had proclaimed himself as the champion of Islam. Moreover the army of Delhi which consisted mostly of Muslim soldiers could never have fought on the side of Khusrau Shah against Ghazi Malik had they in the least considered Khusrau to be inimical to Musalmans. If at the time of actual warfare a portion of the royal army deserted to the Tughlaqs it was simply because Nāsiruddin's cause was fore-doomed to failure and not because they had deserted a champion of Hinduism and had gone over to a champion of Islam. It is, therefore, evident that Nāsiruddin was in no way prejudiced against the Muslims and the accusation of Barani that under his regime neither the honour nor the religion of the Muslims was safe is quite wrong.

Nāsiruddin had obtained the throne by murdering Qutbuddin and assassinating all the royal princes. Naturally his conduct had made him unpopular among his subjects. Although the majority of the people at Delhi had reconciled themselves to the new Government, a certain section of the population was bitterly opposed to the rule of the regicide. Day and night did they scheme to overthrow the usurper. Prominent among these discontented nobles was M. Fakhruddin Jūna, who was ever in search of an opportunity to fly away from Delhi and join his father Ghazi Tughlaq, Warden of the Marches at Deopulpur. This veteran warrior was very indignant at the wrongs that had been done to the family of Sultan 'Alāuddin and "writhed like a snake" to wreak vengeance upon Khusrau Shah; but he could not rise in open revolt against him so long as "the light of his eyes" Malik Jūna was staying at the capital.⁹ Fakhruddin used to write to his father about the state of affairs at Delhi and messages between the two were constantly exchanged through the services of one 'Ali Yaghdi. Ghazi Tughlaq exhorted his son to reach Deopulpur from where they could organize opposition against the king and Malik Jūna one day astounded the court by riding off with a few chosen followers post-haste towards Deopulpur. He was careful to take the son of Behram Aiba with him on his flight. Khusrau Shah immediately despatched a force under the son of Qirat Qimār in pursuit of the fugitive, but the latter eluded the pursuers and safely reached Sirsuti (modern Sarsa). On his arrival there he found that his father had already garrisoned its fort by sending Malik Sarbata there.

Relieved of anxiety about his son, Ghayasuddin set to work for the overthrow of his avowed enemy. He sent letters to Governors of various Provinces requesting them to assist him in overthrowing the infidel. It was an appeal made to the Muslims because to the Tughlaqs the cause of Islam seemed to be in jeopardy. "The slogan of revenge for religion, so common yet so effective in the history of the Muslims was now started."

9. Tughlaqnamah, pp. 62-64.

'Ali Alkaüs, the Amir of Deopulpur and Behram Aiba, Governor of Uchch joined Ghazi Malik, but M. Maghalti, Governor of Multan refused to side with him. The diplomat Ghazi instigated the people of Multan to rebel against their Governor and Maghalti was killed by his own men. Muhammad Shah, the Amir of Sivistān had been imprisoned by his own nobles but the letter of Ghazi Malik became the "talisman of his release." His people set him free and he set to work for the cause of the Tughlaqs. Malik Hoshang, fief holder of Ajmer showed signs of genuine support but in reality his "feet of determination were lax." 'Ainulmulk, the Governor of Malwa, Dhar and Ujjain at first hesitated but then promised help to the Ghazi when he got a suitable opportunity. But Malik Yaklakhi was not contented with sending a curt refusal to the Tughlaqs. He even marched out to fight the latter but was finally killed by his own men.

Thus did Ghazi Tughlaq, after welcoming his supporters and sweeping away his enemies, prepare for a final struggle for the throne of Delhi. It is not possible on studying Barani to impute motives to Ghazi Malik's sincere efforts to overthrow Nāsiruddin, but undoubtedly he had given the war a religious colour. To his extravagant appeals for help in the holy cause the Muslim Governors of Multan, Sivistān and Samanā, and many other great nobles of Delhi had sent a blunt refusal. Their refusal to co-operate with the Tughlaqs clearly shows that they did not quite trust Ghazi Malik's high-toned appeals. It was only Behram Aiba who had whole-heartedly supported the Ghazi and his motives in siding with the latter are not far to seek when it is remembered that M. Jūna had taken Aiba's son with him when he had escaped from Delhi. From the very beginning Khusrau had great apprehensions from Ghayasuddin and it was on account of him that he had given particular attention to his son Malik Jūna and had appointed him to the high office of *Akhūrbeg*.¹⁰ How could Ghayasuddin have been a saviour of Islam when most of the Governors and the people of northern India and the greatest of the Musalmans of the day, Shaikh Nizāmuddin Aulia never recognized him as one? The truth appears to be that in spite of his protestation the motives of M. Tughlaq in fighting for the throne were quite secular, and he had risen against Nāsiruddin only after his son had sent him full information about the condition of the court and had joined him at Deopulpur.

Events at Delhi also had taken a new turn. Ever since M. Jūna had successfully fled from the court and the real intentions of the Tughlaqs had become manifest, Nāsiruddin had set himself to organize his forces for future emergency. Intelligence of the happenings in the various Provinces caused by the diplomacy of Ghazi Malik had reached his ears and the

10. Hajiuddabir, p. 848.

deaths of Maliks Maghālti and Yaklakhi had sufficiently alarmed him. Although Khusrau had fought many battles in the Deccan in the time of Qutbuddin yet he was no match for the veteran warrior Ghāzi, who had struck terror into the hearts of the Mongol invaders. Khusrau Shah gave the command of his forces to Sūfi Khan. With the troops he already had and some others whom gold had secured for him he prepared to fight the Tughlaq adventurers. A portion of his army, some 40,000 strong, marched under the command of Khan-i-khanan, the king's brother, to check the advance of Ghāzi Malik from the very start. They marched to Sirsuti but failed to capture it. Then they proceeded onward to Deopulpur to give battle to Ghāyasuddin there. The rival forces met in an open field somewhere near Dabhali or Dalili, then a town between Sirsuti and Deopulpur. After a short skirmish the royal forces were utterly routed and they fled pell-mell. Their youthful commander fled from the field of battle leaving behind elephants, baggage and treasures to be seized by the victors. A large number of vanquished were taken prisoners. The intelligence of this terrible disaster was conveyed to the king. It broke his spirits and frightened his partisans.

After the conclusion of this battle Ghāzi Tughlaq reorganized his forces for the final encounter. By now his financial resources had become quite satisfactory. While at Deopulpur, he had come to know of a caravan of horses and goods meant for the Sultan of Delhi and had waylaid it.¹¹ Again in the battle fought near Sirsuti he had plundered much baggage and treasure belonging to the imperial army. So far as his fighting force was concerned, it consisted of those brave warriors of the northwest who had served him for several years in the past and whose fidelity he could confidently trust. The right wing of his forces was commanded by Bahāuddin, his sister's son, and in support of this young general was deputed Behram Aiba of Uchch. The left wing was commanded by M. Jūna and with him were deputed Shihāb Ghori and Mir Shadi two other veteran warriors of repute. The centre was commanded by the brave Tughlaq himself. With his forces thus marshalled Ghāzi Tughlaq arrived by forced marches near Delhi and encamped near Raziya's tomb in Indrapat.

Khusrau Shah on his part also prepared to fight a last desperate battle. He brought out all the treasures from Kilukhari and Delhi, gave his soldiers two and a half months' salary in advance, and tried all means to prevent any sort of disaffection among his troops. But so confident had the people become of Ghāzi's victory that many a soldier who had accepted Khusrau's gold gave up all idea of fighting and went home. Indeed the demoralized army of Delhi was no match to the sturdy soldiers who followed in the wake of Ghāzi Malik, "and to whom the present war seemed to be

nothing short of a Jihad."¹² In his extreme despondency and nervousness Nāsiruddin burnt all records and account books of the Imperial treasury. He held a council of war and consulted his supporters regarding the course of action to be adopted. It was decided to fight to a finish. The Sultan marched out of Siri with his nobles and followers and encamped near the Hauz-i-'Alāi. With him were men like Yūsuf Sūfi, Kamāluddin Sūfi and Shāyastā Khan. Hātim Khan the Amiri Hajib also accompanied the royal army. Not far from Indrapat where the Ghāzi had pitched his tents Nāsiruddin took up a position of great advantage. Behind him stood the gigantic fort of Delhi on which he could rely for provisions in case of emergency and in front of him were a large number of groves and gardens to save him from terrific assaults. But the advantage of his position was marred by the betrayal of 'Ainulmulk, who took the road to Dhar and Ujjain on the eve of the day of battle. His desertion broke the heart of Khusrau Shah who saw around him naught but despondency.

It was on a Friday that the belligerent armies came in conflict on the plain of Lohravat, a village now untraceable but then surely situated somewhere between Delhi and the Hanz-i-khās. Khusrau Shah himself commanded his troops. According to Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi a short but stiff engagement was fought in which the royalists hurled back the forces of Ghāzi Malik which retreated some distance. But in this battle Malik Talbagha Nagori, one of the staunchest supporters of Nāsiruddin, was killed; and Shāyastā Khan also fled away from the field of battle, although he did not forget to plunder the camp of the Ghāzi during his flight. In spite of this desertion Khusrau Shah held on till the evening, fighting gallantly and desperately all the time. This stubborn resistance moved Ghāzi Malik to a quick and determined action. He collected round him his troops and exhorted them to fight with all the might they could muster. His stirring appeal had the desired effect and about three hundred of his loyal and chosen horses fell fiercely upon their adversaries. The force of this charge made an irreparable breach in the ranks of Nāsiruddin. The Delhi army sustained a crushing defeat and its soldiers fled pell-mell.

Khusrau Shah had lost the battle. Realizing that all was over for him now, he left the battle-field and escaped towards Tilpat. A whole day's battle had exhausted him completely and he craved for some rest. As night came on he concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi his patron of yore. All night long he stayed there but the next day they seized him there and struck off his head. This is Barani's version. Amir Khusrau also gives a similar account and says that Ghāzi Malik considered it a duty to decapitate Khusrau to avenge the insult on Sultan 'Alāuddin's family.

11. Tughlaqnamah, p. 77.

12. A history of Qarannā Turks, p. 13.

Ibn Battuta gives a little different and more detailed account. He says that Khusrau successfully concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi but when he became hungry he gave his ring to the gardener to fetch him some food. The ring was detected and its owner caught. Ghazi Malik first treated him kindly but later on ordered him to be beheaded. According to Amir Khusrau Nāsiruddin was killed on Saturday 1st Sh'abān 720 A. H. (6th September 1320 A. D.)¹³

Thus died Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrau Shah after a restless reign of four months and some days. He had lived a life of great vicissitudes. Captured in the sack of Malwa, he began his life as a slave of a nobleman of Delhi. From that low position he rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the highest dignity of Sovereign through favouritism, through cunning and through his own merit. The orthodox Barani to whom this low-born infidel was nothing short of a devil upon earth, hurls every sort of abuse upon Khusrau Shah. But other historians like Amir Khusrau, Yahya and even the orthodox Badayūni give him just praise. From the very beginning of his career in the Sultanate of Delhi Khusrau Khan to be what one of the most renowned "slaves" of mediaeval India could aspire to be. He secured the throne by such crafty yet admirable means that he deserves our praise for his planning intellect and dexterity. Once he had gained possession of the crown he tried to preserve it with all the might he could command. Amir Khusrau, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Badayūni praise Khusrau Shah for his strenuous efforts and gallant fight to keep the throne of Delhi. It was not his fault that his reign was so short. His only fault was that he had trusted too much a nobility and a soldiery which were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. Deceived by his followers and deserted by his troops he stood on the field of battle till the last hour of the fight, and directed the remnant of his army with a perseverance that deserves our applause. The last days of Khusrau call forth for a pardon of his early life. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.

13. The date given by Amir Khusrau appears to be quite correct. Numismatical evidence shows that Ghayasuddin Tughlaq ascended in 720 and not in 721 A. H. as Yahya says.

According to Barani Nāsiruddin reigned for four and a half months. He, therefore, ascended the throne some time in Rabi-ul-Awwal 720 so as to complete four and a half months in the beginning of Sh'abān. It is, therefore, evident that Yahya's date of Nāsiruddin's accession (5th Rabi-ul-Awwal 720 A. H.; 20th April 1320 A. D.) and Amir Khusrau's date of his death (6th September 1320 A. D.) are the most probable.

A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militarism

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In an article entitled *Origin of Sikh Militarism*, which was published in a previous issue of this journal, I dealt with the pontificate of Guru Hargobind and put forward some tentative conclusions about the sudden militarisation of the Sikh *Panth* after Guru Arjan's tragic death. I now propose to trace the growth of Sikh Militarism during the period 1645—1664.

Guru Har Rai succeeded his grandfather in 1645 and held the *takht* till his death in 1661. As he was born in 1631, he was just a young boy at the time of his accession, and he was only thirty years old at the time of his death. Macauliffe says, "He was very attentive to his devotions and ablutions.....The Guru employed every device that sleep might not overcome him, and prevent his matutinal devotions which were the object of his earnest solicitude. Although many rich men came to visit him, he made no distinction between rich and poor, and centred his hopes only in God. His food was very simple. He desired not dainty dishes, and thanked God for all His mercies."¹ This aspect of Har Rai's character was much exaggerated by later Sikh chroniclers. The *Panth Prakash* gives us the following story: "It is said that while walking one day in his garden his cloak came in contact with a number of flowers and dashed them to the ground. The Guru was so touched with the incident that ever after he carried his cloak carefully in his hand when walking in his garden."² Macauliffe, however, says on the basis of reliable Sikh records, "In the afternoon the Guru used often to gird on his sword, equip himself with his bow and arrows, mount his horse, and proceed to the chase."³ A man who loves hunting is hardly likely to be 'touched' at the sight of flowers dashed to the ground by his cloak.

Dr. Narang tells us that when Dara was being hotly pursued by Aurangzeb's troops (1658), he resorted to Guru Har Rai for help. "The Guru sent out a detachment of his men who contested the passage of the Bias

1. Vol. IV, pp. 275—276.

2. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 62.

3. Vol. IV, pp. 276—277.

with Aurangzeb's troops, and prevented them from crossing the river until Dara had reached a place of comparative safety." ⁴ No authority has been quoted for this statement. The Sikh chronicles utilised by Macauliffe inform us that the Guru's part in the War of Succession among Shah Jahan's sons was limited to some vague words of encouragement addressed to Dara. On a previous occasion the Guru had cured Dara of a serious disease. Moreover, the Prince's favourite priest Mian Mir had been loud in the Guru's praises. So Dara remembered the Guru during his wanderings in the Punjab ⁵ and wrote a letter asking for his assistance. In reply, the Guru asked him to remain satisfied with the spiritual empire which he had obtained, and added, probably for his consolation, "Aurangzeb, who is unmindful of God, may obtain wordly empire, but shall suffer without respite in hell-fire." Dara then proceeded to Kiratpur in the hope of obtaining the Guru's assistance, but found him absent. The Prince then sent him a second letter which reached him in Khadur. The result was that the Guru and the Prince had an interview on the right bank of the Bias. The Guru solved some of the Prince's theological doubts and difficulties, complimented him on his spiritual knowledge, gave him instruction in the Sikh religion, and added, "Go to Lahore, ⁶ fortify thy position, fight when necessary, and obtain victory. God assisteth themselves." Dara then requested the Guru to grant him faith in God, and took his leave. Before departing for Lahore he requested the Guru to impede as much as possible the progress of the pursuing army sent by Aurangzeb. Macauliffe does not refer to the measures taken by the Guru, if any, in compliance with this request. ⁷ Irvine says that Har Rai 'joined the standard of Dara', but he does not explicitly tell us whether the Guru really gave the Prince any military assistance. ⁸ Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, ".....Dara Shukoh had paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to *sadhus*, and the Guru had blessed the Prince when a fugitive in the Punjab after the battle of Samugarh." ⁹

There is no doubt that soon after this meeting between the Prince and the Guru, Aurangzeb summoned the latter to answer for his conduct. The

4. *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 63.

5. After the battle of Samugarh (May 29, 1658) Dara reached Delhi on June 5, 1658, left Delhi after a week's halt, reached Lahore on July 3, and left Lahore for Lower Sindh on August 18. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I-II, Chaps. 16, 18.)

6. This shows that the meeting took place some days before July 3 (on which date Dara reached Lahore) and some days after June 12 (on which date Dara left Delhi.)

7. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 277-279, 300-303.

8. *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 77.

9. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 353.

Sikh version of the story is confused and not free from miracles, but it seems pretty clear that the Guru sent his eldest son Ram Rai to Delhi to make excuses on his behalf. ¹⁰ The causes that led the Emperor to summon the Guru are thus expressed by Macauliffe: ".....complaints were made to Aurangzeb against the Guru. The Guru, it was said, had met Dara Shikoh, blessed him, and assisted him in opposing the Emperor; and it was also reported that he was preaching a religion distinct from Islam, and performing miracles in evidence of his divine mission. The Emperor was accordingly advised to send for him and convert him to Islam unless he could clearly establish his religious pretensions by the performance of miracles at the royal court. When the Guru was once converted, hundreds of thousands of Hindus would follow his example." ¹¹ The statement that the Guru had assisted Dara against the Emperor is obviously not an admission of the Guru's guilt on the part of the Sikh writers. It is merely one of the complaints submitted to Aurangzeb by a person or persons not named in the Sikh chronicles. ¹² So far as the alleged religious motive of the Emperor is concerned, it is probable that the traditions preserved by the Sikh is a correct one. Persecution began very early in Aurangzeb's reign. A charter granted to a priest of Benares in the first year of his reign states that his religion forbade him to allow the building of new temples. An order issued early in his reign called upon all local officers in Orissa to pull down all temples, including even clay huts, built during the last ten or twelve years, and to allow no old temple to be repaired. ¹³ It is not improbable therefore, that soon after his accession Aurangzeb should have turned his attention to the Sikh Guru, who had already offended him politically by blessing his rival. The Sikh records furnish us with an important piece of confirmatory evidence. When Ram Rai reached Delhi a meeting of Muslim priests was held by the Emperor's order for the purpose of interrogating him on the subject of the Guru's hymns. Ram Rai escaped the Emperor's wrath by altering a line in one of Guru Nanak's hymns. ¹⁴ Why should Ram Rai be interrogated, not on the subject of his father's assistance to Dara, but on the interpretation of a hymn offensive to Muslim sentiments? It is unfortunate that neither Dr. Narang nor Sir J. N. Sarkar has noticed the religious aspect of the Emperor's policy towards Guru Har Rai.

Aurangzeb did not consider the Guru's offence serious enough to deserve punishment. This is another argument in favour of the view that

10. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 304-307.

11. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 304.

12. It seems that Dr. Narang accepted this allegation as true, read it in conjunction with Dara's request that the Guru might impede the progress of the pursuing army sent by Aurangzeb, and came to the conclusion quoted above.

13. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 301.

14. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 308-309.

Har Rai's sympathy for Dara did not extend as far as military assistance. The Emperor, however, adopted a good precaution. Ram Rai was detained in Delhi, probably as a security for his father's good behaviour. It is likely that Aurangzeb intended to exercise some sort of control over the Sikhs. Mohsin Fani says that the Sikhs 'had already become accustomed to a form of self-government within the empire.'¹⁵ Aurangzeb must have been aware of this—as Governor of Multan and Sindh¹⁶ during the years 1648—1652 he had some opportunity of coming into close contact with the Sikhs—and a suspicious autocrat like him must have been anxious to bring this state within the state under his own authority. The Guru might have suspected the Emperor's real motive. His reply to the Emperor's letter asking him to appear in Delhi 'without delay' is significant. He wrote, "I have no business with thee that thou shouldst have summoned me. I am not a king who payeth thee tribute....."¹⁷ When Ram Rai came to Delhi and altered a line in one of Guru Nanak's hymns, the Emperor 'conferred a mark of favour' on him. The foolish young man was so much elated that "he gave himself airs as if he had been already appointed governor of a Province."¹⁸ The shrewd Emperor was probably glad to find in him a pliant tool. He was the Guru's eldest son and heir-apparent.¹⁹ If he succumbed to the influence of the Mughal Court, the Emperor might easily keep the turbulent Sikhs under control through him. Macauliffe says, "The Guru then passing in review the whole of Ram Rai's conduct since his arrival in Delhi, his treachery to his faith, his unnecessary exhibition of miracles, and his long absence, decided that he was not fit for the Guruship."²⁰ It seems that in the words "his long absence" we have a covert allusion to Ram Rai's submission to imperial influence.

Whether Guru Har Rai really saw through the Emperor's game may be uncertain, but the latter's policy after Ram Rai's disinheritance leaves no room for doubt that Aurangzeb was trying to bring the Sikh community under his effective control. Aurangzeb allowed Ram Rai to go to Kiratpur to endeavour to induce his father to reverse his decision regarding him. Why should the Emperor allow the hostage to go? The obvious interpretation is that he wanted to utilise the hostage as his tool. The Emperor's

15. The Sikh practice of addressing and describing the Guru as *Sachcha Padshah* was continued in the days of Har Rai. (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 281.)

16. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I—II, Chap. VI.

17. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 305.

18. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 309, 310. Compare Ram Rai's statement: "This powerful Emperor hath so appreciated me that he hath given me much wealth." (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 315.)

19. Primogeniture was then the principle governing the succession in the Gurus' family. Macauliffe (Vol. IV, p. 275) tells us that Har Gobind selected Har Rai as his successor, 'wishing as far as possible to observe the custom of primogeniture.'

20. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 310.

attitude was widely known. When Ram Rai arrived at Lahore after his father's refusal to see him at Kiratpur, he was well received there. Macauliffe says, "Apart from being the eldest son of the Guru and a reputed thaumaturge, he was also supported by the Sikhs through policy, for it was believed that he possessed the confidence of the Emperor. On this account men who had previously not been Sikhs, now became his disciples and espoused his cause." Ram Rai himself gave wide publicity to his relations with the Emperor. When he requested his uncle Dhir Mal to intercede for him with the Guru, he observed, "I am.....on very good terms with the Emperor Aurangzeb, and I shall certainly complain to him." When the Guru heard this he observed, "After full consideration I have arrived at the conclusion that Ram Rai was blinded by the love of self when he so far forgot himself as to alter a word in a hymn of Guru Nanak to please the Emperor. What was done in the beginning will also be done now."²¹

The Emperor had obviously succeeded in creating dissensions within the Sikh community. His proceedings during the pontificate of Har Krishan are the logical continuation of the policy explained above. Ram Rai was at the Emperor's court in Delhi when his younger brother was appointed to the Guruship in Kiratpur. He proclaimed himself Guru, with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of the Emperor²², and sent his masands to collect the offerings of the faithful. "The masands became proud and rebellious, and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves." Ram Rai then laid his case before the Emperor. His address to Aurangzeb is very significant: ".....This misfortune hath befallen me on account of my obedience to thee. My father was opposed to thee on that account, and at his death ordered my younger brother never to be reconciled to thee and never to look upon thy face."²³ There is no exaggeration in these words. Before sending Ram Rai to Delhi Guru Har Rai had observed, ".....I have registered a vow that I will never look at the wicked Emperor Aurangzeb."²⁴ In response to Ram Rai's prayer the Emperor summoned Har Krishan to Delhi.²⁵

At this stage the Sikh chroniclers have put a very interesting soliloquy at the Emperor's mouth, and we make no apology for quoting it in full: "I want to convert all the Hindus to Islam, but I apprehend failure in the Punjab, for there the people greatly reverence the Guru, and, if they rise against me, I shall have great difficulty in effecting my design. I have already several times considered how I can induce the Guru to accept the

21. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 311—313.

22. Compare the statement of masand Gurdas. (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 316.)

23. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 315—317.

24. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 307.

25. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 318—322.

Muhammadan faith. It was on that account I summoned Guru Har Rai. He sent his son to me, and I have him now in my power. There is yet another brother, of whose resistance to my designs I am equally apprehensive; but if I succeed in bringing him here, I may bribe him into acquiescence. If he obstinately resist, I will set both brothers at variance, and they shall die by mutual slaughter. In this way my faith will quickly spread in the Punjab.....The Sikhs will never suspect that I have put both brothers to death. I shall kill the snake without breaking my stick."²⁶ This is the Sikh interpretation of the Emperor's policy, and it fits quite well, not only with his character, but also with those incidents of Sikh history which we have narrated above.

Har Krishan came to Delhi, relying probably on Raja Jai Singh's patronage²⁷, but he died before the Emperor could get an interview with him.²⁸ His successor, Teg Bahadur, wandered through Northern India for about four years (1664—1668) and joined Raja Ram Singh at Patna in 1668. According to the Sikh chronicles, the Guru's roving life was intended 'to avoid annoyance from his relations'; it seems, however, that Dhir Mal and Ram Rai were intriguing against him in the imperial court.²⁹ We do not know whether Aurangzeb took any step against Teg Bahadur. Probably the Emperor was satisfied that the Sikhs would be sufficiently weakened by internal dissensions. Indeed, he had nothing to fear from a Guru who was compelled to wander from the Punjab to Bihar. Moreover, the Cooch Behar and Assam expeditions (1661—1670), the conquest of Chittagong (1666), the Afghan war on the north-western frontier (1667—1676), the Jat rebellion (1669), the Satnami rebellion (1672) and the expeditions against Shivaji, Bijapur and Golkonda (1660—1680) kept the Emperor fully occupied.

Ram Singh was appointed to recover the imperial prestige in Assam in December, 1667. He reached Rangamati in February, 1669.³⁰ As Teg Bahadur met him on his way at Patna, we must conclude that the Guru joined him some time in 1668.³¹ This meeting could not have been

26. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 317—318.

27. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 320. Har Krishan came to Delhi in 1664. Two years later Shivaji came to the imperial court, relying on Jai Singh's pledge for his safety. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 141.) Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shivaji on September 30, 1664 and he crossed the Narmada on January 9, 1665 (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 105).

28. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 322—328.

29. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 338.

30. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, pp. 212—213.

31. According to the Sikh tradition Ram Singh's invitation to the Guru came before Gobind Singh's birth (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 348). Irvine (*Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 78) says, "At Patna, during his absence, his son Govind was born". The absence was, of course, due to the Guru's march to Assam. This is quite impossible. Guru Gobind was born in 1666, while Teg Bahadur could not have joined Ram Singh before 1668. Irvine relied on Macauliffe (Vol. IV, p. 357.)

accidental. Ram Singh might have been interested in the Sikhs when his father acted as Har Krishan's guardian in Delhi.³² He retreated from Assam in March, 1671, remained for some years at Rangamati, and reached the imperial court in June, 1676.³³ Macauliffe says that the Guru accompanied Ram Singh from Assam to Patna.³⁴ There are two insuperable difficulties in accepting this statement. Ram Singh left Assam in March, 1671, and waited at Rangamati till the early part of the year 1676. Even if we suppose that the Guru remained with him at Rangamati during these five years (a supposition which finds no support in the Sikh chronicles) and accompanied him up to Patna during his return journey to the imperial court (which he reached in June, 1676), we cannot explain Teg Bahadur's execution in 1675.³⁵ And we must remember Macauliffe's statement that the Guru returned to the Punjab 'after protracted residence at Patna.'³⁶ It may be assumed that Teg Bahadur left Ram Singh's camp about the time of the latter's retreat from Assam (March, 1671) and returned to Patna. 'After a protracted residence' there he returned to the Punjab.

At this stage it is necessary for us to revert to Guru Har Rai's career. Dr. Narang observes that his pontificate was an era of peace and suggests three causes which, in his opinion, made peace natural at that time. "The Sikhs", he says, "had just passed through a stormy career, and it was natural that a pause should ensue." He forgets that the 'stormy' part of Har Gobind's career had covered a period of seven years at the most (1627—1634), and that it had ended about eleven years before Rai's accession. The effects of the 'stormy career' must have exhausted themselves by that time. Secondly, Dr. Narang gives us the story of the dashed flowers quoted at the beginning of this article, and comments, "A man who was moved by the destruction of a flower.....was not fit to lead armies against the Mughals." We have already proved the absurdity of this story. Thirdly, Dr. Narang says, "The temptation to arms offered by the mild rule of Jahangir and Shahjahan was removed by the iron hand of Aurangzeb..."³⁷ If the 'mild rule' of Jahangir really offered any 'temptation to arms', that temptation was surely too weak even for a 'stormy' Guru like Hargobind, who did not fight against the Mughals as long as Jahangir was alive. The first thirteen years of the pontificate of Har Rai fell within the 'mild rule' of Shahjahan; yet the Guru resisted 'the temptation to arms'. As a matter

32. Macauliffe says that Ram Singh's principal queen, whose father's family were Sikhs, interested the Prince in Teg Bahadur. (Vol. IV, p. 351).

33. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 216.

34. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 359—360.

35. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 387.

36. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 361.

37. *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 62.

of fact, Shahjahan's rule was hardly mild on the non-Muslims. He ordered the demolition of the newly built temples in his whole empire, totally prohibited the erection of new temples and the repairing of the old ones, made systematic efforts to convert the Hindus both by persuasion and by force, dismissed Hindus from his service on account of their religious convictions, and imposed taxes on Hindu pilgrims.³⁸ The 'iron hand' of Aurangzeb introduced only one innovation, viz., the reimposition of the Zizya, and that came many years after Har Rai's death.

Har Rai was too young at the time of his accession to appear as a military leader, and, whatever the reason may be, he did not revert to militarism even when he attained maturity. Macauliffe says, "He maintained two thousand two hundred mounted soldiers. These he kept by his grandfather Guru Hargobind's advice as a precautionary measure."³⁹ We do not know what this precautionary measure was directed against; Macauliffe does not refer to any military exploit. It may be that Hargobind did not like the extinction of the military tradition—if tradition we may call it—established by himself. Or he may have apprehended that Shahjahan's persecuting zeal would not leave the Sikhs in peace. From what we know of Har Rai's character it may be presumed that he was temperamentally incapable of emulating his grandfather's example. It seems that Shahjahan took no notice of the Sikhs during his pontificate, although Macauliffe incidentally says that the Emperor was hostile to the Guru.⁴⁰

38. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 293—296.

39. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 277.

40. Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 278.

EDITORIAL I

We regret very much that a combination of adverse circumstances should have brought about undue delay in the publication of this number of the journal, which is the number for December 1944. Several minor difficulties connected with the Paper Control and the necessity, at the last moment, to have to change the press, have been responsible for the delay for one thing. Our effort to get the rather stiff limitation on the size relaxed proved impossible for this number. We are therefore going to press with the number under the limitations imposed upon us, and count upon our clients to bear with us for this delay. Our contributors may send their further contributions as usual, as we shall be going to work on the April number, the first number of the new volume, with a more liberal quota of paper kindly allowed by the Paper Controller to the Government of India, almost immediately on the issue of this number. Let us hope that we have got through the last of this kind of trouble due to adverse circumstances created by the war.

EDITORIAL II

"A NOTE ON THE TAMIL LAND AND THE EASTERN COLONIES".

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in a note "Tamil Land and the Eastern Colonies", in the Journal of the Greater India Society makes a quotation from the *Silappadhikāram*, Book XIV, ll. 106—110 and draws far-reaching conclusions from these lines. He would postulate a Tondi in the East Indian Archipelago, on his interpretation of the passage quoted by him in the note. The purport of the passage is that Tondi was a port of assemblage of a large number of ships, bringing various articles from the East along with clothes and camphor, etc. The aroma of these articles collected there was carried into the city of Madura by the east wind entering the city naturally from the season. This would become clear once we take note that the whole passage has reference to the changing seasons of the year when the wind varies from direction to direction, changing the climate and making consequential changes in the life and habits of the inhabitants of Madura. It will be found that there are references to the south wind blowing through Korkai, the important southern port on the Tinnevely coast. The west wind blows from Podiyil the famous hill associated with the name of Agastya and the northern blowing through the hill feature Śirumalai on one of the high roads leading to Madura from Trichy. These are all referred to in the passage and the statement follows that the seasons of these winds are all over; and the next hot winds have commented or are in prospect. It

will be seen therefore that the inhabitants of Tondi, the proud possessors of these articles of commerce brought by a large number of ships from the east are not others than the inhabitants of the port on the eastern sea-board of the Tamil country. The port of Tondi is in the district of Ramnad, and is a much neglected sea coast village now ; but it does not follow that there was not a port of great importance at other periods of history. Prof. Sastri is inclined to find fault with the commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār, whom he ascribes to the 14th century; but does not give any reason for this, for stating that Tondi belonged to the Cholas. He also notes that the late pandit Mm. Swaminatha Iyer who countenanced this interpretation is equally at fault. Mr. Sastri is apparently not aware that Tamil literature notes a Cholan Tondi as opposed to a Kuṭṭuvan Tondi, that is the Tondi of the Cholas as opposed to the Tondi of the Cheras. Prof. Sastri regards Tondi as having risen into some importance in the 12th century but hardly gives any reasons for thinking so; nor is he any more particular to support his view that Aḍiyārkkunallār is a commentator who lived in the 14th century or thereabouts.

Tondi is certainly a well-known port in the locality in which it is and has had considerable shipping trade with the coast of Jaffna and the nearer ports of Ceylon apart from the distant foreign trade across the Bay of Bengal. There seems no obvious reasons why it should not have been a port of some importance then. We remember having struck upon a part of the trunk road leading westward from Tondi to reach the Chera capital on the west coast. This certainly has reference to the later centuries, but the trunk road stretching from coast to coast does not come into existence in a day, and such roads usually follow ancient lines of communication, roads or no roads. It seems therefore that Prof. Sastri has misunderstood the passage and builds up a series of statements hardly acceptable to serious students of the Śilappadhikāram and other Śāngam literature, notwithstanding his independent general statement regarding the grammatical forms etc., and the general make-up of the Śilappadhikāram.

SRI VALLABHĀCHĀRYA, LIFE, TEACHINGS AND MOVEMENT (A RELIGION OF GRACE)

BY

BHAI MANILAL C. PAREKH-SRI BHAGAVATA DHARMA MISSION
SERIES, VOLUME VI.

The Bhāgavata Dharma Mission, Rajkot is doing very useful work in attempting to expound the Sri Bhāgavata Dharma mission to the public. This Śrī Bhāgavata Dharma so-called, promises to meet the need of a very

large clientele among the Hindu populations all over the country and might ultimately prove in some modified form the common religion of the Hindus of the future, providing for the Hindus a unifying bond of religion in all the baffling variety of schools of religious teaching in the country. Of all the many religions that had been taught from time to time by great teachers in the country which came to prosperity and great vogue, declining and disappearing in the process of time, the Bhāgavata Dharma so-called, seems to exhibit a vitality and a capacity for adjusting itself to the needs of modern Hindu society, and promises to become the Hinduism of the future. Among the multitudinous gods and the various efforts to propitiate each one of them with a view to the attainment of the good that could be got out of them from time immemorial, that form of human effort which is called Bhakti, stands out as possessed of great vitality and a far greater appeal than the rest, and this has taken the form for more than 2,000 years, of Bhakti or devotion to Siva or Viṣṇu. Of these the latter seems to have made a far greater appeal and has adapted itself from time to time to the varying needs of the vastly growing society like the Hindus of India. The particular development of which Śrī Vallabhāchārya is one of the great exponents seems to have had its origin in the Tamil land of the South, as the Puranas lay it down. The adaptation of the religion of grace formulated by the northern schools of the Vaidika Pāṇcharātra found welcome in the south, and got in process of time adapted to suit the needs of the mass by an appeal which seems due to the harnessing to this high purpose the ordinary habits of the Tamil south in the matter of love and affection of a very homely character to the requirements of religious devotion. All the modern religions prevalent in India, the kindly Bhāgavata doctrines of Chaitanya and Vallabhāchārya as well as the more rigorous teachings of the Vira Śaivas alike have their origin there. Even the teachings of Guru Nanak and his followers could be traced historically to the southern source. This part of the subject does not seem to be as much understood and as readily accepted as it should be. Nevertheless the elaborate exposition of the life and teachings of Śrī Vallabhāchārya, such as the author of this work has made only goes to show without a doubt that that is the fundamental teaching that has been adapted to the requirements of the more rigorous times of the 15th and 16th centuries of Hindu India overrun by the Muhammadans. This is a welcome addition to the modern literature expounding this particular teaching-the Bhāgavata teaching which in one way or another might provide that common religion for the varying millions of India of the future.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWABS OF THE
CARNATIC IV*By Md. Karims Sawanikat-i-Munbaz. By Md. Hussain Nainar.**Published by the University of Madras.*

The history of the Carnatic from which arose the present day Madras Presidency is of great interest to serious students of history. As is well-known the so-called province of the Carnatic arose out of Mahomedan devastation of the region conquered and annexed to the territory of Bijapur as a result of the treaty imposed upon the southern states of Golkonda and Bijapur by Shah Jahan after his definitive conquest of the Dekhan in the year 1636. The aggressive activities of the two Mahomedan kings against the empire of Vijayanagar under their last ruler went on persistently and, at the death of the emperor Aurangazeb in 1707, there was formed a province of the Carnatic as it is called south of what then was the Subah of the Dakhan. In the arrangements that followed, this part became gradually a part of the Subah of the Dakhan and there was considerable dispute as to whether it formed an independent province or was only a part and parcel of the Subah of the Nizam. The rival claims put forward could not be finally settled at the time. In the following years the region called Carnatic became the nawabship of the Carnatic to which officers were appointed by the Nizam ever since Asaf Jhab, the Subah of the Dakhan, made himself practically independent of the Mughal empire in A.D. 1724. Pretty early in its history the capital of the region was fixed at Arcot by Daud Khan. Ever since the appointment of Sadat-Ullah-Khan, this became the Nawabship of Arcot which played an important part in the history of the 18th century. In the third generation after this the Nizam appointed one of his officers who had already earned a reputation as a great minister in the northern district of the Madras presidency as a Nawab. In the wars of that period the Nawab of the Carnatic was nominally the principal figure, fighting being done by the rival trading companies of the French and the English. The latter kept itself in close alliance with the Nawab of the Carnatic and became more or less managers of the State of the Nawab in the course of the half century following the death of Anwaruddin in the battle of Ambur in 1649. The history of the period is a very complicated one and showed all the features of the struggle of the rising of a new state. The history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic particularly in this half century have so far been written from external sources only more or less—the Company correspondence, French documents bearing on the period at Pondicherry and elsewhere, and correspondence, letters, etc., by contemporary writers.

Md. Hussain Nainar the Reader at the Madras University and Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu took it upon himself to publish the sources for the history of the period available in these Indian languages. The volume before us constitutes Part IV of the series. An account by a contemporary writer who wrote from the Court of the Nawab contains a narration of all that came to his notice. Naturally therefore it partakes more or less of the character of an account of the lives and domestic disappointments of the Nawabs primarily. Incidentally public affairs come in for notice. These have to be elucidated by letters, correspondence, etc., published by the company's servants and others concerned in the transactions of the period. Though these are of minor value speaking comparatively, they have a purpose to serve and must be exploited by any serious student of history.

While appreciating the value of these publications one feels bound to draw the attention of the translator to what seems defects of translation, which naturally detracts substantially from the value of the work. Several expressions familiar certainly to a habitual reader of Persian and Arabic are left untranslated. This would mean a serious break in the reading to those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the language and depend entirely upon the translation. These should ordinarily be translated then and there as it occurs; should it prove inconvenient for any reason, they may all be collected together and the translation given in an appendix at any rate.

We commend the work nevertheless as an important contribution to the elucidation of a complicated and a much disputed part of South Indian History bearing upon the important topic of the foundation and organisation of the Presidency of Madras.

PESHWA BAJIRAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION

BY

V. G. DIGHE, M. A., PH.D.

FOREWORD BY

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR.

(Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. 1944).

Pp. x and 235. Price. Rs. 6.

A full-length biography of Bajirao the Great has been a long-felt desideratum. He is estimated by Sir J. N. Sarkar to rise to the height of the Carlylean 'Hero as King'. Dr. Dighe bases his sound monograph on a thorough study of the State papers of the Peshwas and of documents

preserved in the archives of Goa and of Jaipur. The last noted body has yielded valuable evidence for the great Maratha penetration into Hindustan that became so marked in the time of this Peshwa. Bajirao has been rightly held to be the greatest personality after Shivaji in Maratha History. The imperial period of Maratha History was initiated by him. Real and effective expansion could begin only after the stabilisation of the security of the Maratha homeland should have been achieved, largely by an understanding of neutrality forced on 'Nizamu' l-Mulk. The firm establishment of the Peshwa's control in Gujarat, the campaigns against Janjira and the rapid advance of Maratha arms into Malwa culminating in the famous battle of Bhopal and a direct threat to the security of Delhi bring us to the zenith of Bajirao's triumphant career. The Salsette campaign was indeed a glory for Chimnaji Appah, the capable brother of the Peshwa; but it greatly added to the lustre of the Peshwaship.

Dr. Dighe devotes a chapter to the position of the Peshwa at his nominal ruler's court and he clearly shows that while the methods of Maharajah Shahu and his Minister were different, their objective was the same. Even by the last years of the Peshwa's rule the political revolution that was to reduce the Maharaja to a nullity after the death of Shahu Chhatrapati was already in fair swing and clearly perceived by keen observers. Bajirao's character is portrayed in glowing colours, but our author carefully adds that he could not effect any permanent reform, nor come up to the height of Shivaji in constructive work.

C. S. S.

MARATHA HISTORY

RE-EXAMINED.

(1295-1707).

BY

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(Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2).

Pp. xi and 348.

Professor S. R. Sharma has made a name for himself by his vigorous and clear presentation of aspects of Indian History relating to Muslim rule. He has taken up a survey of Maratha History which should reconcile the march of research with the necessary change of outlook that has been made

so essential by the development of Maratha historiography from the generation of Scott-wearing and his immediate successors like Broughton and Elphinstone down to the present generation of scholars headed by Sir J.N. Sarkar and containing many distinguished names, not to speak of the almost volcanic activity of the researchers of Maharashtra both in collecting record and other material and in interpreting it, which has been such a marked feature of Indian historical scholarship since the days of the venerable Ranade.

What is called the background for the rise of the Marathas is explained as the incubation period—a period of probation and tutelage under Muslim rule in the Deccan, which furnished the rising nation its great opportunities for political and military distinction. While stressing the view of Scott-wearing that the Muslim versions of Maratha achievements were necessarily garbled and therefore urging a corrective to the supervalues attached by some scholars to Persian histories, and noting the frank and straightforward accounts of the Maratha bakhairs and other records, our author claims "to be artistic without being unscientific, sympathetic without being uncritical and simple without being unhistorical", and he has succeeded in an obvious measure in his aim. Thus, for example, he says of Tanaji's heroic exploit that it "has indelibly impressed itself on the racial memory of the Marathas as an achievement of the first magnitude; and well it might, for it was here that the Koli Nag Nak had first opened the Maratha resistance to the Muslim advance under Muhammad Tughlaq."

As usual, the Chhatrapati Sivaji is presented as being not a mere Empire builder, but acting as a man with a mission who drew his inspirations from history and from the Classics and from other sources of Hindu Dharma. Adequate attention is paid to the naval activity of the Marathas which began under very favourable auspices. As regards the crisis of Sambhaji's rule and the exile from Maharashtra of the Central Government at Gingee, we read with great approval of the deeds of the saviours of the legacy of Sivaji and of the heritage of Maharashtra. A fairly correct estimate is given of Ramaraja and of his heroic wife, Tara Bai. Evaluating the achievement of the Maratha nation, Prof. Sharma emphatically asserts that it has hardly a parallel in the history of India; but he accepts that the achievements of Vijayanagar watered the roots of Maratha freedom by its inspiration. He also stresses on the unique character of the royal title and administration reared by Sivaji who displayed an extraordinary apprehension about the European settlers. This book would refute the charge that the Maratha Empire ever attempted to establish a communal dominion.

C. S. S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY
A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS

BY

V. S. BENDREY.

(Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2).

Pp. vii and 197.

Mr. V. S. Bendrey has already made his name as a keen and thorough student and writer on topics of Maratha and Deccan History, and has given a useful guide for Akbar's Divine Era in his *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*. His *Study of Muslim Inscriptions* is based on the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for the years 1917-1938. It elaborates the principles and methods needed to be applied in the study of inscriptional material and details all the problems confronting the student of such material. Our author has laboriously worked up much the greatest part of about 650 inscriptions that have been hitherto published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*; and he has explained the scheme of references that he has adopted in its points of difference followed in the *E.I.M.* He has also pointed out the confusion generally made about the Arabi or Shūhūr San in the *E.I.M.* With regard to the *fasli* era, his explanation is most useful, particularly with regard to its origin and its use in Northern India and the Deccan. The caution is given by him of the ordinary errors occurring in the reading of inscriptions, as well as in their transliteration. Conventional terms have got to be transliterated with care, particularly as they bear different meanings in different contexts. Examples of such terms are *Faujdar*, *Havaldar*, *Subahdar* and *Sar-Lashkar*. Care is urged also in the estimation of the direct and indirect values deducible from these inscriptions; especially great caution ought to be taken in arriving at the comparative significance of etymologically similar expressions and in applications of evidential data to the understanding of the historical background. The first or apparatus part of the book is very valuable as a companion for work to the student of history; and the second part containing the chronological table of the inscriptions recorded in the *E.I.M.* 1937-38 includes a tabular statement of the contents, and in the index matter, we have a classification of these and lists of places and personal names referred to in them. Of course, Mr. Bendrey recognises that it has not been possible for him to follow strictly the principles enunciated in the previous part, whose 20 short sections contain, in the language of Shaikh A. Sarfaraz Bahadur who writes the foreword; "Almost everything of importance that could be said on a scientific approach (at once practical, precise and perfect) to a thorough and methodical study of the Epigraphic material."

C. S. S.

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BY DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A.,
PH.D.—VOL. I. ANCIENT INDIA, PP. 844; AND VOL. II, SOUTH
INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE PP. 911—ORIENTAL BOOK
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