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Rājasēvāsakta

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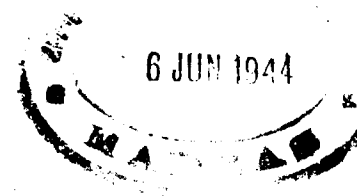
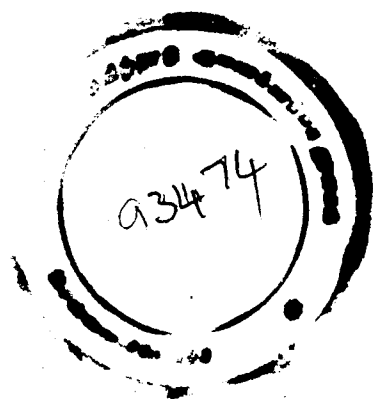
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Journal of Indian History

The Administration Buildings of Akbar's Fathpur Sikri

By

S. K. BANERJI,

Reader, Lucknow University,

In the historical outline of Akbar's new *dār-ul-khilāfat* we have attempted to give its genesis and progress. A closer contact with the chief saint of Fathpur and the birth of two sons in quick succession gave Akbar spiritual satisfaction and added to the stability of his throne. So he next thought of founding a city around the saint's residence and making it his headquarters and the construction of the buildings connected with the day-to-day administration were early taken in hand. Those discussed in this paper are the Diwan-i-am, the Diwan-i-khas, the Daftar-khana, the mint, the treasuries, the Shifa-khana or the hospital, the Langar-khana, the caravanserai and the water works.

A. *The Diwan-i-am.*

It stood in a large enclosure, surrounded by cloisters on three sides, the north, west and south. In the middle of the west side were the emperor's throne-seat with additional space screened off on two wings and his retiring room and on the east, which is devoid of cloisters, was a broad stone platform, the kerb of which can still be traced. The quadrangle measured 368'×181' and at its north-western angle, there was a communication with the Diwan-i-khas to enable the emperor to pass from one to the other without any loss of time. At its south-west angle lies the Turki Sultana's *hammam* and from its top the terrace of the adjoining cloisters was approachable. From the raised parapets over the portion of the terrace that led to a chamber, it is clear that it was used as a promenade by the royal women.

As an administrative institution, the public audience hall was a necessity to a mediaeval ruler. Here Akbar, seated on his throne, carried out some of his daily routine in the presence of his subjects, high and low, all being freely admitted to the enclosure. His functions might be divided into four; one was to publicly announce his ordinances in the presence of his subjects; secondly to administer justice without any distinction of class or creed; thirdly to listen to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects; fourthly to attend to the formal or ceremonial part of his work, *e.g.*, to receive an ambassador, to weigh himself on his birthday and to receive benedictions at the hands of the maulavis or the pandits on the birth of a son, success of a campaign or safe return from abroad. The ordinances would be generally formulated in the *Diwān-i-khas* but for a wider publicity they were announced here. A mediaeval king as the supreme court of justice had ample opportunity to show his impartiality as a judge. Akbar fully realized this as is evident from his sayings of which a few may be quoted here.

(1) It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.

(2) If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?¹

(3) Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes.

(4) Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degrees of circumstances and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto.²

(5) Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world.

(6) Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration.

(7) Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs.³

1. See A.A. III 387.

2. Ibid. p. 398.

3. Ibid. p. 399.

It was perhaps to emphasize his supreme responsibility as ruler that led him to separate his throne-seat by stone-latticed screens from the adjoining wings where his ministers and other high officials stood in attendance. Also as there was no loggia to separate the gentry and the nobles from the common people standing under an awning as in Shah Jahan's time nor silver and gold railings to indicate the greater nobles from the lesser, we conclude that in Akbar's *darbar* all stood in promiscuous order and that the meanest churl could if he chose rub his shoulders with the richest grandee of the empire.

One or two judgments may be cited: (a) he had found his brother-in-law, Mirza Sharafuddin Husain, though descended from Khwaja Nāsiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrār⁴ to be a turbulent and mischievous fellow and threw him into prison in 1572 where he remained for two years when another descendant of the saint of Samarqand, Abdul Shahīd, and one highly honoured by the emperor himself,⁵ requested him to release him. So Sharafuddin had three points in his favour, *viz.*, he was a descendant of the noted Ahrār of Samarqand, was recommended by another descendant and was the emperor's sister's husband. Still Akbar refused the request but he continued to show due reverence and honour to the Khwaja. The latter was not mollified by the emperor's attentions and feeling highly aggrieved left the court;

(b) Akbar had two zealous Shias, Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqub, put to death for murdering several Sunni Muftis of Kashmir. The case was a complicated one and referred to the bigotry of the followers of the rival sects to each other. Mirza Muqim, a Shia Sayyid, who had become the manager of Husain Khan Tukariya's jagir was received well by Akbar and was appointed his Vakil in the kingdom of Kashmir. When some Shias had wounded Qazi Habib, a zealous Sunni, the ruler on the decision of the Sunni Muftis put the chief of the assailants to death. Now Mirza Muqim interfered needlessly and got three or four of the Sunni Muftis killed for issuing the *fatwa* or mandate for death. When next Mirza Muqim returned to Fathpur in company of Mir

4. Beveridge wrongly calls him Abdullah See A. N. III, 109.

5. See A. N. III 109. A few months earlier, Akbar discovered him in the *Darbar-i-am* standing in the crowd, sent for him and placed him by his side.

Yaqub, the Vakil of the ruler of Kashmir, Abdun Nabi and the other ulama decided on their deaths and executed both of them.⁶

(c) The third case was that of Masud Husain Mirza, the blind Muhammad Sultan's son. After a persistent rebellion for a number of years he was captured in 1573⁷ and was brought to Fathpur along with three hundred followers 'wrapped up in cowhides or the skins of asses, hogs and dogs drawn over their faces.' A few were put to death by various ingenious tortures, the rest being let off. Masud himself was treated kindly and his sewn eyes were opened by the king himself. The horrid tortures so shocked Husain Khan Tukariya, that for fear of a similar treatment to his prisoners, he released them without the emperor's sanction and was forgiven the irregularity. It is clear from these illustrations that Akbar did not err on the side of leniency and some of his judgments were delivered at the dictates of others.

Where he scored was in administering summary punishments to the influential culprits. It is said that he kept a trained elephant to carry out his orders of trampling them to death. In the courtyard is shown a stone ring to tie the animal. The author of the official guide to Fathpur⁸ disbelieves this tradition on the grounds that

6. Here Akbar appears to be arbitrary in his decision and was probably instigated by the Sunni divines of the court. The following observations may be made or questions put in this connection:

(a) Why should Akbar have taken notice of the murders that had taken place in a neighbouring kingdom?

(b) Mir Yaqub being the Vakil of the ruler of a kingdom should have been inviolate in his person. But probably the Sunni divines of the powerful Delhi empire were not willing to recognize his sanctity especially as he was a zealous Shia or admit the independence of the ruler of Kashmir.

(c) Mirza Muqim himself had committed no murder but had sent the accused Sunni Muftis to another Shia and this latter person had killed the divines. Should not a lesser punishment to the Mirza have sufficed?

(d) Again, the last observation may be made also in the case of the Sunni Muftis who suffered death for their official decrees. Even if they were guilty of bigotry, a lesser punishment should have been considered adequate.

(e) It appears that both Kashmir and Delhi were riven with sectarian factions and both Husain Khan and Akbar were only tools in the hands of their Ulama.

7. *The Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*. Vol. II. 260.

8. Mr. Muhammad Ashraf Husain.

Akbar's merciful nature would revolt against such cruel punishments and that his ladies, usually present in the durbar, would be horrified at the sight. Neither appears to us as sound reasoning. Akbar, like his grandfather, was magnanimous but also strict. He meted out cruel punishments to his maternal uncle, Khwaja Muazzam, and to his playmate of childhood, Adham Khan. He caused the death of a negligent lamplighter by hurling him from the battlements of his palace. He had even enjoyed the sight of poor *faqirs* fighting and killing each other and had gone to the extent of succouring the weaker side and prolonging the contest. Also, though the room to the west of the baldachino might be available to the royal ladies, it would be too much to expect them to take part in the day-to-day proceedings of the durbar. Even if they did, they could be made to leave the place at the time of the actual execution of the criminals and avoid the painful sight.

According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar showed himself to his people twice in the morning, once immediately after the sunrise and again after about three hours. We would think that the most fitting place for the purpose would be the spacious Diwan-i-am where a large crowd could easily find accommodation; if for any reason he was unable or unwilling to go there, he could utilize the opening in the walls of the upper storey east of the Khwābgāh, the people gathering in the south enclosure. The emperor's throne-seat faces the east and a sun-worshipper like Akbar would receive the salutes of his subjects, facing the sunrise.⁹ At least long afterwards, one of his descendants who bore his name had built the Musamman burj in Delhi facing the east from the same motive.

The cloisters around were meant for those who needed shelter from the sun or rain or who came from a distance and waited for the emperor's decision on their complaints. All bona-fide visitors from a distance were probably allowed to stay at night.

Since the space available on the elevated ridge was strictly limited, Akbar made other uses of the Diwan-i-am. One we have already mentioned, viz., that a part of the south-west terrace next to the Turki Sultana's *hammām* was utilized for a promenade and the parapets of this portion were raised to six feet to protect

9. G. Sanderson, the author of 'the Guide to the buildings and gardens, Delhi fort' agrees with this view. See p. 40.

the ladies from the vulgar gaze of the crowd below. The extensive courtyard was used as a hippodrome for chariot races. It would appear that in the mediaeval times when bullock chariots were commonly resorted to for a comfortable journey, a special kind of fast-running oxen was bred and in order to encourage their production, royal patronage was extended in the form of prizes.

To conclude our observations on the Diwani-am.

(1) It is the largest administration building where the emperor met his people in a body. No distinction was made between the visitors, all having just standing space in the courtyard. The equality of all classes of subjects under the emperor's despotic sway is a marked feature of the mediaeval age. The royal proclamations were made here and all complaints were received and if possible judgments were delivered here.

(2) The people had the *darshan* of their emperor at sunrise in this hall.

(3) The throne-seat, the rest of the verandah and the retiring apartment at the back are all very plainly built, the only decorations being the exquisite stone screens on the two sides of the throne and the imitation stone tiles on the roof. This plainness is in a marked contrast with the decorations of the baldachino or Nashiman-i-zil Allah of Shah Jahan's public audience hall in Delhi fort, Akbar's own Khwabgah or the places of his queens.

(4) The economical Akbar utilized the building in other ways also.

B. The Diwan-i-khas.

At the north-west angle of the Diwan-i-am, at some distance is the Diwan-i-khas or the private audience hall where Akbar held conferences with his chief officials. Since the gathering would consist of about a dozen people, it is small as compared with the public audience hall and measures only 43' square on the outside and 28' 8" within. Though appearing two-storeyed from outside, actually it is one storeyed but from the middle of the tessellated floor rises a pillar to half the height of the room. The top of the capital is connected with the four corners of the room by broad stone beams, each beam being supported at its two ends by three tiers of radiating brackets. The central pillar with its marvellous Saracenic carvings ends in these Hindu brackets making it an

emblem of Akbar's ideal of unifying the Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture in his new capital.

According to the tradition, Akbar was seated in the central seat which looks like an inverted lotus and the ministers, present either in the gallery or on the ground-floor, attended him by turn. The momentous decisions affecting the safety or the prosperity of the empire were taken here by him and his cabinet and also the details of a particular department were gone through with the aid of the minister in charge. There are two stone coffer at the north-west and south-east corners just above the galleries, which could be closed on the inside by slabs of stone and again on the outside by stone doors fastened by padlocks. The Chishtiwal guides assert that these were filled with money to be given away in charity at the emperor's orders. The *Ain-i-Akbari* too tells us that a crore of dams was kept ready in bags each containing one thousand for such purposes but the place mentioned is the Durbar-i-am and not the Durbar-i-khas. One doubts whether the coffer were meant for such purposes. There was no room for a crore of *dāms* in them. Also a Durbar-i-khas was not meant for the needy people and usually no outsider would be allowed an entrance when the king and his cabinet were engaged in some deep deliberation. The proximity of the royal treasury known as the Ankh Michauli would make a large assemblage of poor people undesirable and the hall was too narrow for a large gathering. We agree with the official guide-book issued by the Archaeological Department that the coffer were meant to keep important state-documents and other valuables.

An interesting discussion was once raised by H. G. Keene¹⁰ whether this building did not represent the *Ibadat-khana* or the religious debating hall built in 1575 by Akbar.¹¹ V. Smith has demolished Keene's suggestion conclusively.¹² Our conclusions

10. See his 'Hand-book to Agra.'

11. It was ordered, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, in Zulqada, 982 A.H. which is equivalent to February-March 1575 and not to January as stated by V. Smith.

12. In an article on the *Ibadat Khana* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society London*, for October 1917. See also A.N. III 157-160, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II (text) 311, Bad. II 203-5. Bad. III (text), 45 gives the life of Mian Abdullah Niazi Sirhindi. There it is stated that the new *Khānqāh* (monastery) of Shaikh Salim had been converted into the king's *Ibadat-khana*.

are in agreement with the latter writer, that the courtyard of one of the two monasteries of the saint of Fathpur, viz., the new one, was the site chosen for a fairly large hall¹³ divided into four divisions¹⁴ and accomodating some two hundred or more of the participants in the religious discussion. Since both the monasteries have disappeared, it is difficult exactly to locate the *Ibadat-khana*. But we are convinced that it was situated near the Jami masjid, for the monasteries meant for pious people connected with Shaikh Salim must have been built in its neighbourhood.

The Diwan-i-khas is an incomplete building and the original plan seems to have been the inclusion of a dome in the centre as the central platform on the roof and the four kiosks at the angles would suggest. In all Mughal buildings, the highest point is also the central and this building had no reason to form an exception. The roof is approachable and must have been used by Akbar either as a promenade or for an outdoor meeting of the cabinet.

To conclude:

(1) It was the second administration building of great significance where weighty problems were solved by the emperor in consultation with his cabinet. It is on the correctness of the decisions that the success of Akbar's rule mainly depended.

(2) The seating arrangement was peculiar and might have been suggested by the Hindu conception of the reigning deity being seated on a lotus and surrounded by her votaries. The column is one of the best illustrations of the Indo-Muslim architecture and a cast of it is preserved in the South Kensington Museum.¹⁵ The traceries in the window openings, the three-tiered corbelled capital and the supports at the angles are its other commendable features. Like so many other buildings at Fathpur it had once on the outside between the brackets supporting the dripstone, carved paterae birds. These were later on removed by some zealous iconoclast.

(3) Without the dome the building looks truncated. Though originally intended, it was later on deliberately dropped to allow

13. T. A. has the primary meaning of which is a courtyard.

14. *Atwan* literally means galleries which would apply to the divisions if they were situated high up from the ground.

15. See 'the Guide to Fathpur Sikri.'

the open central platform on the terrace to be used for outdoor sittings in the morning or the afternoon.

(4) The proximity of this building to the Diwan-i-am and the treasury and also its inapproachability to the common people from the city prevent us from identifying it with the *Ibadat-khana*.

C. The Daftar-khana.

The third administration building was the Daftar-khana built in 1573. It had two distinct functions; one to keep record of the proceedings of the royal courts. Abul Fazl expresses it: 'An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance and that the administrative orders might be preserved.'¹⁶ Thus all the doings, orders and sayings of the emperor, his grants in jagir, salary or gift, the records of his wars and campaigns together with the proceedings of the general assemblies and the records of his capital punishments were carefully taken down by two clerks each day whose turn recurred once a week. Besides these fourteen clerks there were several copyists or *Taliquanavis* as they were called who made abridgments for the record office properly signed and sealed by the *waqianavis*, risaldar, mir-i-arz and darogha. If today Akbar's reign appears rich in details and the historians have devoted a large number of pages on this reign, it was because the official sources were available in such an abundance.

The other function was to keep the records dealing with the land settlement and other branches of the finance department. Raja Todar Mal in 1577 had completed some of the settlements in Gujrat and 'made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement of those territories.'¹⁷ But in the early years this section was in the making and the *Ain-i-Akbari* does not mention it specifically in the list of its functions which were to keep (1) the details of the *Abwab-ul-māl* or revenue of the empire, (2) the *arbāb-ul-tahāwīl* or the household accounts, i.e., the income and expenditure of the imperial palace and (3) the *Taujih*, the details of the army expenses. Originally the entries were made on loose sheets called *daftar* and every written statement of accounts was called a *sanad*. How

16. A.N. III. 167.

17. A.N. III 91 and 93.

elaborate were the proceedings of a grant of jagir or salary may be seen in the pages of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁸

The Daftar-khana was situated on the south of the enclosure adjacent to the Khwābgāh. The site was on a precipice of the ridge on which the palaces were built and so to make it level, piers as thick as 6' 3" have been used and the platform rests firmly on those piers and arches connecting them. In some cases the spaces between the piers have been filled in to form rooms, utilized either as residences for the watchmen or as additional space for the records.

The office itself consisted of one room 36' 8" × 23' 9" surrounded by a verandah 18' wide and a flat roof with sufficient slope to allow a free exit of water. In order to ensure against all damage, the walls were made 4' 4" thick. Variety was imparted by the provision of a balcony towards the south giving a wide view of the picturesque country and the east end of the spacious mosque. The bases of the pillars have a fan-shaped design, probably adopted from the outspread tail of a peacock, which though unusual at the time was freely used by Jahāngir and Shah Jahan. The three-tiered brackets supporting the stone beams that span the ceiling are noticeable inside while still heavier brackets in four tiers have been used on the exterior.

On the west side, adjoining the main building were a number of cells used as an extension of the Daftar-khana or for the residence of the police that kept a watch on the building. It formed the southern edge of an enclosure and across the courtyard were the Khwābgāh and other rooms of the Khas mahal. The west side of the courtyard contained a railed platform, probably used by the emperor for going through, in the open, some of the records of the Daftar-khana. The full purpose of the enclosure is not clear and a surmise only may be attempted. It may have been kept open to allow the royal occupant of the Khwabgah fresh air or to provide an extension to the record office or to serve as the assembly ground for the people anxious for a *darshan* of their emperor peeping through an opening in the wall east of the Khwābgāh. It is unfortunate that when peace reigned throughout the land after the conquest of Bengal and Todar Mal had perfected his land settlement even in the conquered provinces,¹⁹ Akbar's difficulties in

18. I, 259-63.

19. The date of his Bengal settlement is 1581 A.D.

supplying water to the growing population at Fathpur increased and within four years he had to abandon his grandiose schemes for the development of his pet city. But the Daftar-khana confined to a single large hall together with additional cells and cellars continues to attest to the greatest administrative measure of the mediaeval period. The records of Akbar's administrative system were all stored in this office and if only all his historians had been as judicious and farseeing as Abul Fazl, these might have been better utilized to give a fuller picture of their times. As it is, except Abul Fazl, no one made a full use of them and most of the unused records were allowed to remain uncared for and ultimately to perish. Still the Daftar-khana proudly holds its head high reminding the beholder of the noble intentions of its founder and the mighty results that once lay within the reach of the historians by a study of its archives.

D. The Mint.

As mentioned elsewhere²⁰ Akbar reorganized the mint department in 1577. The occasion was his halt in Kotputli²¹ near a copper mine. He established six mints for the gold coinage and a few others for silver and copper and Khwaja Abdus Samad was placed in charge of the whole. A. Fazl has given interesting details²² of the mint house, its artisans and the processes by which the finished products were produced and specially mentions the purity of the gold coins of his master's reign giving them precedence over even Alauddin's.²³ Fathpur mint²⁴ where the Khwaja usually resided is indicated by the local guides, though E. Smith doubts the identity and surmises that it might as well be a stable.²⁵

20. See my article on 'An historical outline of Fathpur Sikri.

21. In Narnaul Sarkar and in Agra Suba.

22. A.A. I, p. 16-38.

23. Ibid. 18. The Muslims while making an amulet of a gold coin generally choose one of Akbar's because of its purity,

24. Its existence is proved by the mint marks of numerous coins, e.g. of the Nos. 66, 67, 69, 124, 134-5, 138 and 161 of the Catalogue of the British Museum and Nos. 88, 192-7, 433-40 of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Later on the number of mints were reduced from 6 to 4. See A.A.I. 31

25. The official 'guide' of the archaeological department is definite that it served as a stable though it concedes that it might have served temporarily for a mint in Akbar's and Jahangir's reign. See p. 12.

Let us briefly describe the building. It is an enclosed area, a quadrangle, 263' X 238' being surrounded by domed cloisters 16' 6" high and 49' wide. The cloisters are in two rows separated by a narrow arched passage running round the building. There are two entrances one at the south-east end and the other at the centre of the east front, both high enough to allow the animals to pass through and on each side of the entrance are stone seats. On the west side there is a basement storey formed in the sloping ground stretching towards the village of Nagar in the plains below.

The chief objections to its use as a stable are:—

(a) In that case an enclosed building with the arrangements of the cloister was not needed. A more open and less costly structure would have been a better and healthier arrangement.

(b) Also neither the watch-tower nor the seats at the two entrances would be needed;

(c) Nor the buildings in the quadrangle of which the foundations can still be traced;

(d) such an elevated and hence valuable piece of land would not be assigned by the sagacious emperor to the upkeep of a mere stable. The latter in proximity to the *Durbar-i-am* and the treasury would be looked upon as a nuisance;

(e) not far off near the *Naqqār-khana* was the police chawki or the military headquarters where if needed more accommodation could have been provided for the horsemen. The distance of the chawki would be 200 yards or less from the mint;

(f) the elevated site was chosen for the mint for better protection and on the basement storey on the west were provided horsemen or the police. Probably the two high entrances were meant for these horsemen who entered the mint to keep guard over the place. The tower and the staircase at the north-west corner indicated that the building was used for a more important purpose than as a mere stable;

(g) the tradition, assigning it to a mint, should be accepted where no conclusive refutation be forthcoming. Even E. Smith²⁶

26. The talented author of 'The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri'.

taking into consideration all the evidences, falls back upon the tradition and accepts the building as a mint.

(h) during the excavation in 1905²⁷ a large quantity of ashes was discovered. These were the burnt remains of the metals or fire used in refining gold and silver; the ashes of horse-dung fire would not be traceable after a lapse of three centuries.

E. The treasuries.

There are the remains of two of them, one popularly known as the *Ankh Michauli* and the other situated near the mint, on the opposite side of the road. The former, situated near the private audience hall, was at one time taken to be the place where Akbar played at hide and seek with his women. This tradition is unacceptable as the building is out of bounds for them. The proximity to the *Diwan-i-khas* on the one side and to the hospital on the other, the secret coffer within the wainscoting and the extensive vaults underneath now closed to the visitors indicated a better and more public use of it, viz., for keeping treasures. Akbar was too grave a person to waste his time in idle frivolities. Badauni states that in the year 1575 when the *Ibādat-khana* was built Akbar was spending many a dawn 'in prayer and meditation with his head bent over his chest.'²⁸ Again he and A. Fazl relate another incident when three years later Akbar in the midst of a *qamargāh* hunt released all the animals entrapped within an enclosure.²⁹ cut his hair short and showed less liking for meat.³⁰ The mints were reorganized and the treasuries established between these two dates when Akbar might be considered to have continued in his pensive mood. Instead of frivolity, Akbar should be accused of 'melancholy and oppression of heart' and it would be inconsistent with his character to waste money over a building meant merely for an idle game. Also it has no secret corners to hide and hence the game cannot be played there.

According to A. Fazl³¹ the emperor had twelve treasuries for storing money, nine for different cash-payments and three for precious stones, gold and inlaid jewellery, besides nearly one hundred

27. See 'the Guide' p. 12.

28. Bad. II 203.

29. A.N. III 346-7 Bad. 261.

30. See two of his 'happy sayings' in A.A. III 396.

31. See A.A. I, 14.

others for the imperial worships. Of course the author counted only those that were situated in the capital; otherwise the treasuries of the smaller towns could be counted in thousands. The daily, monthly, quarterly and yearly accounts were kept of the receipts and disbursements, and the finance department was centralized under the fostering care of the emperor so that no treasury of the other towns could keep more than two lacs of dams or 5000 rupees. Also in accordance with Akbar's orders, a crore of *dāms*³² were kept ready in purses and bags of 1000 dams for distribution in the Durbar-i-am. The emperor, though economical, was prone to charity and his benefactions in the open court before a crowd must have touched the hearts of his people and helped him in keeping a hold on them. The Ankh Michauli has an elongated hall and two siderooms, and the central roof is supported below by carved struts resting on moulded corbels projecting from the walls. The stairs leading to the roof and the underground vaults are closed now.

The other treasury not far from the mint or the Durbar-i-am is a quadrangle 66' 6" × 62' surrounded by rooms on all sides but those on the west and the north have fallen down. On the east side are four rooms and on the south two, one, 53' × 16' in size and the other 14' × 8' with a few steps leading to a platform 3' 6" high. The space between the platform and the floor was hollow and probably meant to be a treasure-chest, on the top of which the treasurer took his seat. As in the Daftar-khana there is a balcony with steps leading to it from where a picturesque landscape lay open to view. In the spandrels of the arches are paterae birds showing the Hindu taste of the masons.

The building has been called the quarters of the darogha of the stable.³³ Considering that Birbal, the master of the stable, had his house near the other stable on the west of Jodh Bai's palace, it may not be expected that Akbar would assign in addition, to a minor darogha, a building bigger than his Khwābgāh or Turki Sultana's house or Mariam-ki-kothi. The only plea of the author for his assumption is its proximity to the mint, identified by him with a stable. Since we have rejected the latter assumption, we are unable to accept the former either.

³². Equivalent to 2½ lacs of rupees, 40 *dāms* being equal to a rupee.

³³. See 'the Guide'.

F. The Shifa-Khana

On the north of the Panch mahal impinging on the west wall of the Ankh Michauli lies the hospital. The tradition of its being a hospital has been rejected³⁴ on the ground that it is too close to the Panch mahal, i.e., the zanana quarters and it has been suggested that as it has a spacious courtyard, a double gateway and a guard-room, it must have been used as the servants' quarters or as a parking area for the palanquins or carriages of the lady visitors to the royal harem. We are unable to accept the suggestion. We have again and again found Akbar allotting a larger space to a public building than to a private one.³⁵ The allotment of a large space for the servants or palanquins will be as inconceivable as providing the doors and windows with coloured ornamental borders, the carving on the soffit of the ceiling or supplying the guard-rooms with artistic pegs. It is possible that this hospital was reserved for the inmates of the royal palace³⁶ and for the favoured noble families. This will be in agreement with the tradition as well as meet the objections of the author of the Guide-book.

The area of the hospital is 127' × 108' consisting of twelve private wards, each 14' × 9' 6" with painted ornamental borders round the doors and windows. The pegs inserted on the sides of the doorways and the recesses represented the busts of horses. In front of the rooms was a verandah 11' wide protecting the patients from the cold north winds of the winter. The ceiling has exquisite panelled carvings and its outside has imitation stone tiling.

G. The Langar-khanas or alms-houses.

At the back of the Nagina masjid are the remains of two houses which together formed the emperor's almonry. Akbar by nature as well as from policy was disposed to be kind to his subjects and in order to win their hearts had introduced several kinds of charity, e.g., grants of *musa'adat*, inam or loan, *khairāt*, sayurghal and cash was paid either in one instalment or once a month or a year. He also distributed free food to the beggars and other needy men of the city and had assigned one alms-house for the Muslims called

³⁴. Ibid.

³⁵. Compare the size of the Khwabgah, the Diwan-i-khas, an individual lady's palace and Birbal's house with the Diwan-i-am, the mint, etc.

³⁶. The women alone counted more than 5000. See A.A. I, 44.

the Khairpura and the other for the Hindus the Dharampura. When for his religious debates flocked in a large number of religious men especially Hindu yogis or mendicants, eager to expound their yogic secrets to the royal enquirer, provision was made for their comforts by the allotment of a third alms-house called the Yogipura and reserving it especially for their use.³⁷ Akbar was so interested that he held private interviews with them. All the three alms-houses were placed in charge of Abul Fazl and his relations.

H. The Caravanserai.

Like all truly great mediaeval monarchs of the east,³⁸ Akbar was anxious to develop trade and in order to provide an easy mart for the manufactures of the new capital he encouraged the merchants from all parts of the country and outside it to repair to Fathpur and stay in the state caravanserai. It was a large building with rooms surrounding a quadrangle 271' × 245', with 4 wells at four corners and a magnificent gate 38' 5" high in two storeys of design similar to the Badshahi gate of the Jami masjid. The rooms, 19' 9" × 11' 5", in size, are spacious, considering that the king's Khwabgah measured only 14' 3" × 14', with an inside verandah of 8' 6". They were of moderate height but the outside walls of the sarai were raised to 25' and loopholed in order to add dignity to the building and afford better defence to the residents.

The site was well-chosen, for being adjacent to the artificial lake and with the extensive hunting ground on its east and a garden in its vicinity,³⁹ it was situated in ideal surroundings. In order to afford an easy approach to the travellers a road ran by the side of the lake and the garden.

Since the lodgers were mostly merchants hailing from all quarters of the globe laden with cash or rich merchandise, adequate arrangements were made for their protection. The superintendent of the sarai was assigned his office and residence on the high ground overlooking it so that he could observe all that passed in its courtyard and a number of military policemen together with their horses were located just beneath his residence.

The all-vigilant Akbar took recourse to extraordinary devices to provide comfort and at the same time to economize space and

37. See Bad. 334.

38. For example, Sher Shah and Shah Abbas of Persia.

39. See the sketch-map at the end of the Guide book.

here we have an example of it. The screened viaduct from the Jodh Bai's palace to the Hiran minar meant to enable the royal ladies to reach the beauty spot of the city, led to the roof of the north wing and the whole distance, properly protected from the gaze of its lodgers, was a throughfare for the fair sex. The practical though parsimonious Akbar had no hesitation in making the viaduct run over a sarai where were lodged all kinds of strangers.

I. The waterworks or the Kārkhāna-i-ābrasānī.

To supply water to the large population of the city was a taxing problem to Akbar and he tried to solve it as best as he could. He stored rain water but mainly depended on well water raised with the help of the Persian wheels. Since one set could not supply the vast area he had at least two of them, one situated on the south of the Hiran minar and the other by the inclined road leading to the Hakim's hammām.

Let us describe the former water works, some remains of which may be seen even to-day. The chief well on the south of the Hiran minar, measuring 23' in diameter was protected by an octagonal stone structure 71' in diameter and raised 11' 5" above the present ground level. The water raised was conducted into a covered reservoir and the process was thrice repeated till at last it ran on to the roof of some low cloisters built on the inner side of the Hathipol gateway and finally on to the top of the gateway from where the water was allowed to flow through conduits to the various buildings. There were two sets of channels, one supplying the lower part of the north town and the other feeding Mariam's hammām and even the Anup talao of the Mahal khas. The area further to the south was supplied by a second set of waterworks, e.g. the Hakim's hammam, the Khwabgah, the Daftarkana and the gardens below were all fed by it and the conduits running beneath the Khwābgāh and along the road leading to the Daftar-khana can still be traced. The drainage system was satisfactory and the overflow of the first waterworks may be noticed to pass beneath the covered way connecting the girls school with the Turki Sultana's house along the east side of the Pachisi court and then by the Diwan-i-khas to empty itself into a large tank in the northern slopes of the ridge. The network of the conduits devised for carrying water to the different parts of the city depicts Akbar to be an expert waterworks engineer and shows his accurate knowledge of the topography of the place and especially of the natural slope of the ground. In spite of all his ingenuities in summer when the

quantity of water in the wells would decrease, a copious supply would not be possible, so Akbar had ultimately to abandon the city.

This is all that need be said about the administration buildings. From their study one may say (1) that Akbar allotted to public buildings space on a generous scale and that he personally looked to the details of their construction⁴⁰ (2) that in the short space of 5 or 6 years, a city had grown almost out of nothingness and like other mediaeval towns it was provided with not only the centralized machinery of administration but also with means of comfort like the caravanserai, hospital, alms-houses and waterworks, (3) that Akbar economized space and placed the administration buildings within reach of his Khwabgah. Since there were more than one treasury and waterworks it was inevitable that all of them were not within his easy reach.

(4) While the town was growing, Akbar was perfecting his administration including finance, evolving a new set of religious and philosophic conceptions, waging wars in Gujrat and Bengal and annexing those provinces.

5. While as emperor he was solving knotty imperial problems in his Diwan-i-khas, he did not forget to provide comforts to the different strata of his subjects; e.g., for his women he built the Panch mahal, the *hammāms*, the latticed viaduct and possibly the Hiran minar, for his beggars, the three alms-houses mentioned above,⁴¹ for the merchants the *sarai* and for the pleasure and enjoyment of the Fathpuris, the lake, the adjoining garden and the waterworks and these must have meant for Akbar ceaseless work.⁴² Like Sher Shah he had placed before himself a noble ideal. As he himself says, 'A monarch is preeminent cause of good' and that 'Divine worship in monarch consists in their justice and good administration.' Since he had acted on his ideal, his reign was one of progress and prosperity and today he bears the title of 'the Great.'

40. Otherwise the Diwan-i-khas could not have been left incomplete nor the Khwabgah be so small in size.

41. According to this 'happy sayings' on p. 383, his object was that 'mendicancy should disappear from his dominions' but he regretted that though he supplied the needy persons with provisions, their avarice was not satisfied.

42. At one stage he was prepared to resign if one capable of governing the kingdom better than him could be found. See the sayings on p. 387.

Raja Ram Narain and the Post-Plassey Affairs

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In papers already¹ published it has been shown that Raja Ram Narain, who rose from the humble station of a clerk of Rs. 5 to the coveted and responsible post of the Naib Nizim and de-facto ruler of Bihar, owing to the patronage of Alivardi and his nephew, Haibat Jung, remained faithful to the latter's son, Sirajud-dowla whose enemies naturally kept him in the dark till the successful completion of their conspiracy. The Rajah of Bihar, however, failed to rise equal to the occasion and, despite the exhortation of some² sturdy chieftains of his province to avenge the blood of their sovereign, he thought it advisable to show an apparent compliance with the Bengal Revolution, hastened to send nazranas and congratulations to the new Nawab, and even carried out his express orders to release one of his boon companions, Mirza Ghulam Ali, and to send back to Bengal the brother and family of the author of *Seyarul-Mutakherin*. But he had very reluctantly recognized Mir Jafar and he showed no such readiness to comply with the Nawab's orders regarding the detention of M. Law and his party at Patna and rendering all possible assistance to Major Coote who had been sent, early in July, in pursuit of the French. Law himself informs³ us of the secret help he received from the Rajah of Bihar. Ram Narain was too strongly and faithfully attached to the family of his late master to place any trust in the overthrower and usurper of their position and he was not yet quite aware of the aims and diplomacy of the English. He was fully suspicious of Mir Jafar's kinsmen at Patna, of whom Mir Md. Kazim,⁴ his elder

1. J.I.H. Dec. 1939; I.H.Q. 1938-39.

2. S. M. Note the wrong rendering of the original version by Raymond.

3. Hill's 'Three Frenchmen in Bengal', p. 109.

4. Clive and Orme have misspelt their names and even Firminger has wrongly taken the brother for the son-in-law of Mir Jafar. B.H.R., 1758. Even Dr. Ashirbadilal Srivastava has been unable to correct the mistake. See his 'Shujaud-dowla'.

brother, had been paymaster and commander of his troops for some years, and Md. Amin Khan, the brother-in-law of the new Nawab, was capable, ambitious and consequently dangerous. They sent interesting reports to Murshidabad and tried to poison the ears of Coote against Ram Narain. As a result of several⁵ occurrences Major Coote was convinced of the veiled hostility of the Rajah of Bihar. Coote had sent many complaints to Clive and informed the latter of the proposal of Md. Amin Khan "to cut off Ram Narain if I would support him", but he had "declined to interfere till properly authorized." The more pressing necessity had led him to march with all expedition as far as Chapra where he stayed in the saltpetre factory from the 4th of August. He could not proceed further as the 3 harkaras whom he had despatched from Bankipur garden had brought the disquieting information about Raja Balwant Singh of Benares and Fazal Ali Khan, the Nawab of Ghazipur having accommodated Law and his party and gathered their men on the borders of Bihar, for the obvious purpose of opposing the-English. Some unpublished correspondence between the two feudatories of the Nawab of Oudh and Raja Ram Narain, in possession of the present writer, give unmistakable indication of the intimacy existing between them. The difficulty of the route, owing to the 3 rivers that had to be passed and the strong current of river Ganges near Benares, had also to be taken into consideration. Major Coote and his council of war gave due weight to these obstacles and they wisely decided to return to Patna.

On his return from Chapra Coote wrote to Clive that Ram Narain should be deprived of 'governorship' and Md. Amin Khan be appointed in his place. He wrote "this is the person⁶ whom I recommend, both on account of being so nearly related to and so firmly attached to the Nabob, and because he is a man of sense, is known here, and is acquainted with the province. . . . Is upon the spot. . . . could assist with a party in executing a sudden stroke of this nature such as the present emergency seems to demand without raising Ram Narain's suspicions and so giving him time to prepare and strengthen himself which a man sent from any other place with a force sufficient to effect would occasion. I think the force I have with me sufficient to effect this purpose, should you judge it proper to be undertaken." Before this letter could

5. All this in Orme.

6. Life of Clive by Malcolm.

reach Clive, the latter, acting on the previous communications from Coote, had addressed a letter containing Mir Jafar's instructions for a combination between Coote, Md. Amin Khan and Mir Md. Kazim to depose Ram Narain. The letter despatched from Murshidabad, on the 1st of August, contained the following decision. "In this morning⁷ received 2 letters of 28th and 29th instants I have since had a meeting on the subject of these with the Nabob, the result of which is that I desire that you will, on the receipt of this, return to Patna, and secure yourself in the Company's factory. Give for your reason for your return that the French had gone beyond your reach and into the territories of another Prince. Write to Shujaud-dowla that respect for him has prevented you from pursuing your enemies into his country, and assure him, in general terms, of the friendship of the English, desiring he will give the French up. You are to consult with Mir Md Amin Khan and Mir Md. Kazim what measure to be pursued with regard to Ram Narain who is a Rascal. The resolution here is that if it can be effectively done, he is to be demolished; if not, nothing is to be done till after the rains. The Nabob desires you will acquaint his brother-in-law and Mir Kazim with the contents of the letter, not choosing to trust his sentiments in Persian lest the letter should miscarry."

Coote received the letter on the 12th, and on the following day, consulted Md. Amin Khan about the advisability of attacking Ram Narain in his citadel whose garrison at the time did not exceed 2000 men. But the Khan who had hopes of being joined by 1500⁸ of Ram Narain's troops caused the attack to be deferred. During the short period of about a fortnight, however, the whole aspect of the affair had altered, for different passions had now begun to operate. Raja Ram Narain, being apprized by his friends and agents at Murshidabad of the orders to wrest the government of Bihar from his hands, had succeeded through these friends in pacifying Mir Jafar and exciting his distrust and suspicion against the ambitious designs of his brother-in-law.⁹ The Major was directed to suspend all hostilities and leave Ram Narain in the government of his province, if he owed his allegiance. Ram Narain spared no pains on lavishing civilities and attention on Major Coote.

7. M.C. (Malcolm's Clive).

8. Orme's History of Indostan.

9. Orme; and Broome's Hist. and Progress of Bengal Army.

The latter waited on him on the 15th, in full Darbar, and on the 21st August, again visited him. "After a good deal¹⁰ of confidential discourse had passed, the Rajah declared that provided his life, honour, and station were secured to him on the faith of the English, as well as the solemn assurance of the Subedar, he was ready to take the oath proposed, and if the Major would say that he could be accountable for the same, he would immediately do it in full Darbar." Mir Jafar's kinsmen knew nothing of these but they were made to attend the open darbar, held on the 22nd, when Ram Narain swore allegiance to Mir Jafar and embraced his kinsmen, each on his part swearing to bear no ill will or attempt in no way to injure the other. "But neither of the rival parties placed any faith on the protestation of the other and all were determined to abide by the present resolution as it suited their several interest."

"Deceitfull professions, promises and engagements¹¹ observes Malcolm "which are adopted at a particular crisis to lull suspicions for the moment can never be defended but in their extreme cases, when, after confidence has been established, the violation of faith by one party enables him to take such advantage of the other as gives the latter no alternative except a counterplot, a submission to fraud and injustice." The aptness of this observation becomes quite clear when we study the relation between Mir Jafar and Ram Narain. "Mir Jafar,¹² actuated by resentment towards Ram Narain, and being in dread of his power and machination," remarks Ives "sometimes seemed resolved that he should be treated as a disaffected person to his government. At other time, moved by political caution and timidity, he would contradict the orders which just before he had resolved should vigorously be carried into execution." He had accepted Clive's advice to displace Ram Narain, but the sudden outburst of suspicion and distrust of his brother-in-law determined him to placate the Rajah for the moment and effect¹³ his purpose by other means. Probably it was not long after Coote's departure from Patna in September, and due to Mir Jafar's encouragement, that, one day, when Ram Narain was amusing¹⁴ himself in his garden, he found himself threatened by the sudden intrusion of his Bukhshi, the elder bro-

10. Orme and Broome.

11. M.C.

12. Ives' *Voyage and Historical Narrative* p. 172.

13. Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 103.

14. *Seyar-ul-Mutakherin* (S.M.).

ther of the Nawab, at the head of a great throng of his followers, and he had to effect his escape to a set of separate apartments in the adjoining garden and then to his residence in the citadel. "Ram Narain (again) became suspicious of the Nawab and his brother and he complained bitterly before his people against them until Mir Sharfuddin, and Gaindamal, the agent and friend of Jagat Seth, came as envoys from the Nawab to pacify and conciliate the Rajah of Bihar and they became busy with their task." As a matter of fact, Mir Jafar was no match for Ram Narain in intrigues and all his ill-concerted schemes miscarried and were counteracted by the Rajah's artifices, specially because the new Nawab and his fellow conspirators in Bengal grew dissatisfied with one another and Clive's sagacious diplomacy found expression in attempts to back those whom the Nawab was bent upon displacing in favour of his own nominees.

Within a few months of his accession Mir Jafar began to feel serious dissatisfaction¹⁵ with the restraint on his authority and developed a notion of emancipating himself from the ascendancy of the English. "But warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, he saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos (Hindus) in whom the English would find the same resources against himself as he with the English had derived from those against Sirajud-dowla." "The Hindus filled the chief offices in Bengal." Raja Durlabh Ram was looked upon as the head of the Hindu party. He was the first treasurer and paymaster of troops

15. Note the wrong translation by Raymond. "Mir Jafar informed of the miscarriage that might bring disagreeable consequences sent him etc.," and "they spared no pains in persuading the Governor to remain quiet during the troubles at Purneah" are unwarranted, misleading and interpolations. The text has, moreover, Gaindamal, not Govindamal.

16. Orme; Scrafton; M.C. 343-4; M.W.H.I. 56-58. Note the interesting observations of Malcolm and Gleig regarding the "depressed, degraded condition of Mir Jafar, his kindred, his nobles and their followers"; about Mir Jafar being "the first sovereign of Bengal before whom the English had not stood as humble suppliants for commercial privileges"; the Nawab discovering that "he had promised a great deal more as the price of his elevation than the exhausted state of the provinces would enable him honestly to make good"; his "feeling of rancour" against "the wary and pliant" and far-sighted Hindus "who looked more to the English than to him"; the impossibility of the English "remaining in Bengal without the means of self-defence"; and their consequent "creation of divisions amongst those whose unions would have been their destruction".

and had a large body of horse and foot under him. "His brothers and relation occupied the most beneficial employs at Court." He and his family were in close association with Ram Narain, as is apparent from the unpublished¹⁷ correspondence available to the present writer. Durlabh Ram's influence was greatly increased "by his being intimately¹⁸ associated with Jagat Seth," the representative of the richest banking firm in India. Above all, it was the English protection that made him "formidable to his master." The English who suspected Mr Jafar of being bent upon "checking their power and evading the execution of the treaty" had realised the necessity of "strengthening themselves by forming¹⁹ a party in the Court to be a continual check upon him." Col. Clive had "entered into strict engagement²⁰ with Rai Durlabh to protect him" and the latter "promised his power and interest the post gave him to oblige the Subah to his faithful execution of the articles of the Treaty." "The close connection²¹ which appeared between us" says Scrafton "widened the breach between them till mutual distrust and suspicion reached that pitch that each began to strengthen his party." "Rai Durlabh endeavoured to gain the officers of his army to him and the Subah dismissed from his court those who showed too great attachments to a minister he had made²² too powerful." Rai Durlabh was suspected of having fostered the discontent and encouraged the insurrection²³ of Ram Ram of Midnapur and Achal Singh, the Diwan of Purneah. Clive refers to "the chain of 3 rebellions (including that of Ram Narain of Bihar) the Chiefs of which held a correspondence²⁴ and were connected together. "Mir Jafar and his son, Miran, also suspected Rai Durlabh of being concerned in the alleged conspiracy of Ram Narain with the widow of Alivardi and the Nawab of Oudh and this was the reason why Siraj's innocent, idiotic brother, Mirza Mahdi, was suddenly cut off" on a surmise²⁵ that Rai Durlabh was intending to make him Nawab. Rai Durlabh was naturally alarm-

17. Dastur-ul-Insha.

18. M.C.

19. Scrafton, p. 104.

20. Scrafton, p. 104.

21. " p. 105.

22. " p. 105.

23. Orme.

24. M.C.; Orme; Scrafton.

25. Orme, S.M.; M.N., 690. Clive letter quoted by Malcolm 23rd Dec., 1757.

ed and "on the pretence of sickness he absented himself from the Court and declined accompanying the Nawab in his projected expedition to Purneah and Patna."

According to Scrafton, Mir Jafar had projected a very extensive plan to which he was by no means equal." They included "the destruction of Rai Durlabh and his party," the suppression of the Purneah rebels, "getting by force or stratagem the Nabob of Patna into his power and giving that province to his brother." "Having made himself thus powerful he finally proposed to awe the English into relinquishing the remainder of the money due to them." Clive had advised the Nawab that "instead of draining the treasury for keeping²⁶ such an immense army on foot, he had better dismiss one half of them and rely on the English who were his natural allies and bound by mutual interests. This was naturally not acceptable. But the condition of the Nawab's troops was far from satisfactory. Only 3000 could be sent with Khadim Husain Khan who was commissioned to crush the Purneah rebels and wrest the government from their hands. Rai Durlabh would not suffer his 10,000 troops to leave the city and the Nawab's forces clamoured for the discharge of their arrear pay. Scrafton, who was Resident at Murshidabad, gives in his letter, dated 3rd and 7th November, to Clive, a vivid picture of "the Nawab's distraction, irritation and alarms at the treachery and rebellion with which he is surrounded." He wrote on the 9th November: "The Nawab pitched his tent in the garden yesterday and had about 200 men under him. Not an officer has joined him yet with any force nor will they till Rai Durlabh marches. I was an hour alone with Rai Durlabh. I see all their schemes and what all these seeds of division will inevitably produce. I conclude with the sentence that if Shujaud-dowla joins Ram Narain, adieu²⁷ to the Nawab and the remainder of the treaty, for he certainly carries Bengal."

Clive had already informed Scrafton on the 6th November²⁸ "I shall march with whole army. I have written to the Nabob and

26. Scrafton 104. Acting on a similar advice, at a subsequent stage (1768) Shujaudaula disbanded most of his efficient troops and allowed himself to be practically disarmed by the E. I. Co. "This was" according to a historian "the first step towards the annexation of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Rohilkhand.

27. Scrafton's letter quoted by Malcolm I, p. 332.

28. M. C.

Ram Narain. The march of the army is absolutely necessary as well to support the Nabob against his enemies as to see justice done to ourselves." Mir Jafar also wrote to Clive, then at Calcutta, "desiring him to march with his troops, hoping either to awe²⁹ him by the parade of his numerous force, or win him by profitable offer to abandon Rai Durlabh." But Scrafton suggests another motive. "Mir Jafar had now begun to apprehend that should he march from his capital, it was possible that Colonel Clive might join with Rai Durlabh and attack his son whom he had left governor in his absence."³⁰ "Clive who saw the Subah's jealousy determined to check him effectively. "Force alone could not effect this for debauchery introduced by the prize money of Plassey and the unwholesomeness of the climate had reduced our army to about 450 European and 1200 sepoys. Policy was,³¹ therefore, deemed a necessary ally." Before Clive took the field, over-ruling the objection of the Select Committee that "by proceeding to Patna the safety of Calcutta might be endangered" by observing that "by refusing the Nabob our assistance we must lose that influence³² with him which seems essentially necessary to obtain his fulfilling the rest of the treaty and by continuing to us our valuable possessions," he "demanded security for the payment of all the arrears then due to the Company" and "secured the revenue³³ of 3 districts of Burdwan, Nadia and Hugli." This necessitated the reconciliation of Rai Durlabh through whom, as Diwan, all financial arrangements must pass. This was done on the 23rd November, two days after the Midnapore rebel whom Clive had persuaded to surrender on the promise of the Nawab's pardon and of English protection, was presented by the English troops. As for the second rebellion, Clive claims that "on our approach³⁴ into the Purneah country the rebels of that quarter quitted their entrenchments and dispersed but some of the chiefs were overtaken and made prisoners, so that two of the chief rebellions are effectively quieted." In fact, Khadim Husain Khan" for fear³⁵ of being obliged to share the honour of the success with another, in a victory which he thought could not

29. Scrafton.

30. Scrafton, p. 106.

31. Scrafton, p. 106.

32. Clive's letter quoted by Malcolm.

33. M. C.; Orme. Scrafton, p. 107.

34. M.C.

35. S.M.

escape him, had not waited even for Mir Kazim Khan, who had been despatched by Mir Jafar, and expelled Hazir Ali Khan and taken Achal Singh, his diwan, a prisoner and installed himself as the ruler of the country. Mir Kazim, on his arrival, found the country already reduced and returned to Mir Jafar's camp at Rajmahal.

The expedition of Khadim Husain Khan³⁶ having put in the Nawab's power to depart from Rajmahal, he marched on to Azimabad (Patna). Clive had found the Nawab at Rajmahal and was accompanied by Rai Durlabh, "whose political³⁷ sickness had vanished" says Scrafton, "at the approach of our enemy." Two days before the army commenced its march for Rajmahal, on the 2nd of January, 1758,³⁸ the English detachment forming the advance, Rai Durlabh with his 10,000 and the artillery of the state, coming next, and the Nawab with his main army amounting to 40,000 bringing up the rear, "each division remaining one march apart from the other." A general conference had been held wherein Clive had represented to the Nawab the necessity of abandoning his designs against Ram Narain lest the Rajah should, on the approach of the army, "offer any term to Shujaud-dowla³⁹ for his assistance unless prevented by assurances he could rely on." He had added about the possibility of the English army being suddenly recalled to Calcutta to defend it against the French and the Nawab being left to fight with his own resources in Bihar. As in the case of Ram Ram of Midnapore and Rai Durlabh he professed his services as a mediator. The real motive of Clive's offer is apparent from what we get from Scrafton "It would be a check on the subah to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us." On the Nawab giving an unwilling consent, Clive immediately wrote to Ram Narain, advising him to come and to pay respects to the Nawab on the road, assuring him of safety and favour. A letter from Clive, sent from Colgunj,⁴⁰ on the 12th January, acquainted the Selected Committee at Calcutta that "by a letter received from the Nabob the day before, he had received some intelligence that Ram Narain would not accommodate matter, or trust his person in his hands without the following condition, viz., that he shall recall his 2 brothers from Patna, send him

36. S.M.

37. Scrafton, p. 107.

38. Orme.

39. Orme.

40. Firminger, p. 5.

3000 horse to assist him in collecting the revenues, allow him to appoint a Foujdar at Shahabad, and that the Nawab himself should return with his army to Muxudabad (Murshidabad).” “As yet the Colonel could not give any credit to that intelligence having but 2 days ago received a letter from Ram Narain expressing his earnest desire to obtain the Nabob’s favour through our means.” Orme writes in this connection “All advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ram Narain to be taking measures for his defence and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna. But he had not received the letter from Clive. As soon as it reached him, he wrote an answer, without any stipulation or sign of mistrust that he would proceed without delay to wait on Clive or the Nawab.” Watts and Scrafton also refer to this letter of Clive to Ram Narain “on the faith of which he came and made his submission.” Scrafton adds that the Colonel’s reputation for the inviolable observance of his word was such that Ram Narain immediately left the army and came with a few followers to the English Camp.” There is, however, a story behind this affair of Clive’s assurance and Ram Narain’s submission, which we find in the pages of the Patna historian.

“Ram Narain being certain⁴¹ about the Nawab’s design against himself and having no confidence in Mir Jafar’s promises and action or those of his followers, concluded that his own power and dominion, could never subsist upon a solid foundation unless he made an alliance with the English. Accordingly he gained Gaindamal on to his side (i.e. the very man who had orders to persuade him) and he sent him, as his own agent, to the English Camp with a commission to spare nothing that might procure him, duly sealed and signed, a letter according to his heart, from Clive. Ram Narain⁴² himself prepared the draft of such a letter which he made over to Gaindamal. The latter waited on Mir Jafar Khan and informed him that Ram Narain would not come to pay his respect without the mediation of the English, and if a letter signed and sealed by the latter was sent, the matter could be quietly settled, otherwise, God alone knew what might happen.” On the Nawab’s raising no objection, Gaindamal, applied to the Munshi or the Persian Secretary of the Nawab, and having gained him on to his

41. S.M.

42. Here is an instance of an important omission in Raymond’s translation.

party, he obtained from him such a letter as he wanted and brought it to the Nawab. But as Mir Jafar could neither write nor read fluently, when once duly seasoned with a doze of *bhāng* he was incapable of attending to business, specially after his meals, so the two shrewd ones made a choice of such a moment to present their draft. The old Nawab, excused himself on his having a headache and his not being able to read at present; but he added, however, that he would hear the purport. Such a purport, therefore, was mentioned to him; as differed widely from the real contents of the letter, but however, suited his intention and mind. So after having heard it, he ordered a letter to be drawn up accordingly, and shown to Colonel Clive. The Colonel took a copy of it, signed and sealed the original, and then returned it to the Nawab. It contained “an invitation to come to the English camp, with assurance of his taking it upon himself to have him confirmed in his government, and to see him secured in his life, honour and property, without being called to any account⁴³ whatever, for either the management of the revenue, or any other matter.” Gainmal, furnished with such a piece, took his departure from thence, without returning to the Nawab’s camp, hastened triumphantly to Ram Narain’s place and conveyed to him the pleasing news. The sight of such a letter could not but quiet the Rajah’s mind, and as he had carried his point, and was totally freed from his fear he resolved to wait upon the Nawab.” He left Patna by boats⁴⁴ on the 22nd whilst his escort marched along the bank of the river “and disregarding the advice of Gainmal he repaired directly to the English Camp” and met Clive on the 25th at Haibat Jung. On the following day, Clive sent Mr. Watts to introduce the Rajah to the Nawab “who received him with a constrained⁴⁵ graciousness.” The Rajah’s precautions, says the author of the *Seyar*, could not but highly displease the Nawab. However he, for the present, repressed his resentment; and a few

43. The affair had an echo with fatal consequences for the Rajah when he came into a clash with Mir Qasim in 1761.

44. Orme; M.N. 105a. The historian Karam Ali writes, When Maharajah Ram Narain felt reassured by the messages sent from Raj Mahal, and learnt that they had reached the frontiers of Azimabad, he sought the audience through the mediation of Colonel (Clive) and Gainda Mal, the agent of Jagat Seth, and met the Nawab at Monghyr. Although the Nawab had set his heart on deposing him and installing Mir Md. Kazim Khan in his place, yet on account of the protection afforded by the English to Ram Narain he was unable to execute his design.

45. Scrafton, p. 109.

hours after sent him word to encamp at a spot he pointed out to him; and as the Rajah "was now sure of protection he complied with the command and marched 2 or 3 days after with him until they arrived at Jafar Khan's garden, close to the subah of Azimabad."

Ram Narain had been commanded to follow in the rear, probably to mark his inferiority and submission, but they gave rise to the report that⁴⁶ the Nawab had placed him out of the reach of succour in order to destroy him. Clive who did not receive either intelligence or letter from Ram Narain for several days had the same suspicion and was satisfied of the safety of the Rajah only when he received the latter's letter on the 3rd February. The Nawab arrived at Patna on the 28th, and on the 4th of the next month, the English troops halted at the Garden of Jafar Khan. Early the next morning, Khaja Hadi, a general of Mir Jafar, who commanded 16,000 men made a forced march, passed to the left of the English towards the city, and took possession of the gate, (Pucchim Darwazah) and had instruction not to admit any one into the city without the Nawab's permission. He was suspected of an attachment to Rai Durlabh and, according to Scrafton, the Nawab had a design of embroiling him in a skirmish with the English force, indifferent as to who had the advantage for he would be rid of both. Clive sent word to the Khaja that the Subah had laid snare to destroy him, and advised him not to oppose him as he was determined to enter the city. Khaja Hadi immediately allowed Clive 'with more pleasure than reluctance' to pass to the English factory and sent word to the Nawab that he presumed that his orders did not extend to his friend, Sabat Jung (Clive). Mir Jafar followed with sullen silence, mortified at his disappointment, and, on the 6th, sent his "inconsistent excuses" to Clive about the forced march of his general. He, however, requested Clive to encamp at Bankipur, 5 miles (west) to the English factory where the Company⁴⁷ had a garden. Clive had already decided to do so but he grew suspicious of the designs of the Nawab of removing the English troops to such a distance and keeping his whole army between them and the city. "And then ensued" says Scrafton "a scene of plots and conspiracies wherein the several actors displayed the arts of treachery and dissension with all the

47. The site is still known as Company Bagh. Coote had also encamped here in 1757.

refined subtlety of eastern politicians." The same writer adds "The Subah's views of the campaign was to break the power of the Minister (Durlabh Ram), make his brother Nabob of Patna, oblige the Rajah of that rebellious province to submit to him, and finally to awe the English into relinquishing the treaty money. Let us now see how the different parties endeavoured to counteract him."

According to Orme and Broome, 'Promises, intrigues, intimidation and even bribes were alternately employed to draw Clive to an acquiescence to Nawab's designs which continued invariably to deprive Ram Narain of the government of Patna and to confer it on his own brother.' Rai Durlabh, who had always suspected the Nawab, was now convinced that he and Ram Narain were⁴⁸ tending to the same centre which was the destruction of a master they could never trust. Rai Durlabh "had won"⁴⁹ the greatest part of the Nawab's officers who were more likely to espouse Ram Narain's cause than the Nawab's". These officers, notably Khaja Hadi, and Mir Md. Kazim⁵⁰ (not to be confused with his namesake, the Nawab's brother) "had entered into a written agreement to support each other." They frequently sounded Colonel Clive and endeavoured by every artifice⁵¹ and stratagem to set him at variance with the Subah, while their party at Court acted the same part with the Subah by continually insinuating to him that the Colonel was won over by Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain and would certainly attempt his life. Whilst the affair was yet unsettled, an affray occurred in the market between some of the English sepoys and Ram Narain's horsemen in which some lives were lost. Colonel Clive had kept his headquarter at the English factory to the westward of Patna, the Nawab's camp was to the eastward, but a vast number of his troops as those of Ram Narain were in the city and all used the same market. A dispute arose which afterwards came to blows.⁵² The Colonel permitted his men to go and take their revenge. One or two of Ram Narain's horsemen were killed.

48. Orme and Scrafton, p. 111.

49. Scrafton, p. 109.

50. We get here the probable motive of his assassination at the instance of Miran. S. M. This Mirza Kazim was a relation of the author of the *Seyar*.

51. Clive writes about the "envious and the self interested who industriously (made use of the opportunity) to alienate him (the Nawab) from the English and induce him to break his promises to Ram Narain".

52. Orme; Scrafton, p. 111.

The alarm spread throughout the city. "The Nawab who had his headquarter on the eastern side of the City immediately suspected that Colonel Clive, Ram Narain, and Rai Durlabh were forming a design to attack him. He put all his troops under arms and so was done by Ram Narain and Rai Durlabh". The excited state of men's minds was such that this trifling dispute might have been attended with more serious consequences. "But as this disorder was entirely accidental so nobody was prepared⁵³ to take any advantage of it." The commander of the horse whose people had begun the skirmish with English sepoy was ordered out of the city and apprehension of the occurrence of such incidents induced Clive to move his troops to an island⁵⁴ in the Ganges, opposite to his former position at Bankipur, instead of carrying out the latest request of the Nawab to move on to Dinapur, for he himself wished to occupy the Bankipur site. Clive was determined to be on guard against treachery. But Mr. Watts, whom he had sent to the Nawab to discover the meaning of his last request regarding his shifting from the westward to Dinapur, reported that the Nawab did not appear to have entertained at this period the treacherous⁵⁵ designs imputed to him.

The Court of Murshidabad was full of alarming reports at this stage. Scrafton, the English resident, there, was told that Jagat Seth's⁵⁶ last letter from Patna, dated the 7th February, mentioned "that the Nabob's intention to assassinate Ram Narain had been frustrated almost the instant of its execution and that Ram Narain returned without visiting the Nabob." The report even added that Sunder Singh's⁵⁷ forces fell on the Nabob's army at night, and murdered him." This produced great confusion and consternation in the city. Miran began to collect his forces and artillery. Scrafton made a frantic appeal for help from Calcutta and arrangements were devised for sending down to Calcutta⁵⁸ the money in Scrafton's possession and the Company's Navy and Army. For two days all business in the city was stopped. Scrafton, however, subsequently wrote that the "report seemed to have taken rise

53. Scrafton, p. 111.

54. M.C.; Orme; Firminger.

55. Orme.

56. Firminger, p. 8.

57. Though this news was incorrect yet it shows the close connection of the Rajah of Tikari with that of Patna.

58. Firminger, p. 8.

from some dispute between the Nabob and Ram Narain." Clive's letter, dated the 7th February, informed⁵⁹ the Calcutta Committee, "of Ram Narain's having waited on the Nabob and treated with great civility," though the Colonel had his suspicion about the 'Nabob's intending to bestow the province on his brother'. Clive also referred to the encampment in the island to the north of Patna' and 'being secured against all treachery' and to the despatch of the Mr. Watts to the Nabob 'to learn his true sentiments.' Watts had also instructions to "complain seriously about the Nawab's conduct to Ram Narain whom he had kept in the camp instead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promises at Rajmahal."

The Patna historian furnishes us with interesting informations regarding the way "Ram Narain availed himself of the letter he had obtained at the expense of so much art and so much good luck." "One day Mir Jafar after having⁶⁰ amused himself with the songs and dances of the actresses of the city, conferred the government of the province on his elder brother and at the same time required Ram Narain to render a full account of the management of the revenue for so many years past. Ram Narain who had attached himself to the English on purpose to parry such stroke did not fail to complain to Clive. The Colonel sent a message to the Nawab to dissuade him from such a design. The message displeased that princes, who in conversing with Colonel's agents and envoy (Watts) grew warm "What does it mean? Shall I leave such a government in the hands of Ram Narain and behold my own brother without employment. What for pray? And for whom?" The Colonel sent word in answer, that it was for such contingencies as these that he, on the Nawab's desiring to be accompanied by the English, in his expedition to Azimabad, had objected to his being of the party and had reminded him that it was improper in him to desire concurrence of the English in what concerned his finances and the government of his dominion, as he might come to observe many actions of his contrary to some parties and to good faith, and that once the English had embarked with him in this regulation they would think his honour as well as their own concerned in preventing wrong measures. "I added," said the Colonel, "that the interference of the English might produce an

59. Firminger, p. 9.

60. S.M.

alteration and change our union and friendship into disputes and discontent. All this you did not hear and now that you have brought me so far and have made me to write, as mediator and as guarantee, a letter confirming under my hand and seal a number of promises all made by yourself, how can I take a share in offering so much injustice. And how can I be guilty of breaking my word after having solemnly given it." The Nawab, surprised at the style of the message, denied that either the Colonel or himself had even entered into any such agreement. The Colonel, in reply, sent for the Minute written by the Nawab's Secretary which the Colonel had kept as a voucher. The Nawab got it read and paid great attention to its contents. He was surprised at what he heard, and sent for the Secretary and Gaidamal⁶¹ and expostulated with them on this strange affair. The two men who were closely linked together in this business took care to answer in such a manner as to confound the old man totally. They observed that they had brought that Minute to him and offered it to his perusal and that he had ordered it. They added, that it was not strange at all that their contents should have slipped out of his memory in the variety of business and avocations that crowded upon his princely mind. Mir Jafar feeling he was in the wrong found he had no other part to take but that of abiding by the Colonel's pleasure."

It was on the 14th of February that Clive visited him "for the first time since they parted from Rajmahal." "The Nabob" says Orme "imputed the delay of Ram Narain's appointment to Durlabh Ram who had the accounts and management to settle." "It is probable" says the English historian "that Durlabh Ram finding Clive less impressed with resentment against the Nabob than he wished, thought the delay⁶² would not fail to exasperate him." Clive sagaciously averted a collision and a crisis. He realised the meaning of a speedy settlement and reconciliation to which the

61. Gaidamal or Geramul had to pay the penalty of his tricks for despite Clive's anxiety for 'our reputation', he was dismissed by the Seths from their service at the orders of the Nawab. Even Ram Narain had to write to Clive "You have shown us much favour in the affair of Geramul. It was proper he should be turned away. I am the Nabob's slave, and know no reason why he should be displeased with me." (B.M.P. III, p. 518, 522, 526, 530 and 535).

62. Clive wrote to Rai Durlabh on 17th February "The delay I look on entirely owing to you, during which time I hear many reports. I am much surprised at your not finishing this affair." (B.M.P. III, p. 4-4).

Nawab was rendered less averse because of the rumour that Shujaud-dowla was about to take the field with a party of Europeans led by Law and a great body of Marhatta horse and by the news of the arrival of a Marhatta agent of the Peshwa and the Bhonsla to demand the chowth for Bengal amounting to 24 lakhs. It was on the 23rd February, 1758 that a grand darbar was held attended by Clive and most of the English officers. Mir Jafar nominated⁶³ his son, Najud-dowla, to the government of Patna, with Ram Narain as his deputy. The appointment of Najmud-dowla was merely nominal, not derogatory to the authority of Ram Narain, who continued responsible to the Nawab with his former power and privileges. It was also settled that Ram Narain should pay 7 lakhs to cover "the balance remaining due in the adjustment of accounts of the province." "Clive now signified to the Nawab that he might spare the English 5 out of 7 lacs he was to receive from Ram Narain...the Nawab offered bills on Ram Narain for 2 lacs payable at 5,000 Rs. a month with which Clive was contented." In an unpublished⁶⁴ letter of Raja Ram Narain for 2 lacs payable at 50,000 Rs. a month, with which Clive to the payment of the two instalments of 50,000, each through Ganga Bishun, from the Dutch factory to Mr. Amyatt for being remitted to Sabit Jang (Clive). As an instance, to quote Watts,⁶⁵ "that no favourable opportunity was let slip, no single occasion lost that would be turned to the Company's advantage," one might mention how "Clive finding the juncture to be favourable" secured the unwilling acquiescence of the Nawab in the grant of exclusive privilege of saltpetre common in Bihar" by which the Company was annually gainer of about 2½ lakh; and something more than 30,000." Clive also enlisted "fine athletic men⁶⁶ from the inhabitants of Bhojpur" and organized the third battalion of sepoys.

Mir Jafar also endeavoured to collect heavy fines or exactions from such individual of the province as had taken advantage of the

63. Orme. Mir Jafar had a precedent in Alivardi who had allowed Ram Narain to govern Bihar as the deputy of Sirajud-dowla.

64. D. I. Clive wrote to the Nawab on 17th March, 1758 "Rajah Ram Narain agrees to take a Tancaw on him for 2 lacs, with the proviso that he will pay Rs. 50,000 every month till the whole is discharged" (B.M.P., III, p. 453). 31, 32, 42.

65. M.B.P., p. 129.

66. Orme.

recent troubles or proved refractory. "The Chiefs of all⁶⁷ the districts were summoned to pay homage and none came empty handed." Sunder Singh of Tikari and Kamgar Khan Mai⁶⁸ of Narhat "who had been fighting for 3 months, and only laid down arms on the approach of the Nawab, "were summoned to attend the Durbar. "Sunder Singh would not come⁶⁹ until he received assurances from Clive of being treated with justice." As for Kamgar "he was most at fault" and "he evaded" according to Orme. But the more reliable contemporary Patna historian says that Kamgar Khan had been attached to Mir Md. Kazim, the elder both of the Nawab, who had invited him to the Court. He responded "to bring to an issue⁷⁰ some differences which he had with Sunder Singh, but he received nothing but promises from the Nawab." "Sunder Singh", says the same writer, "had all along sided with Ram Narain and he carried his point with a high hand." Sunder Singh "had observed how much stability had accrued to his friend's government by the interference of the English and he made no account of Mir Jafar to whom he seldom paid his court. On the contrary, he very assiduously cultivated Ram Narain's goodwill who now interfered so far in this affair that he got Kamgar Khan to be arrested and confined." Ormes refers to another powerful Chief, Pahalwan Singh, the Rajah of Chainpur and Bhabhua at the south west extremity of the province amongst the mountains along the Karamnasa river. "He had incurred the displeasure of Ram Narain and likewise refused to appear until he received assurances of security from Clive.

These attentions to the mediation⁷¹ of Clive grated upon the Nawab's mind and he returned to his former antipathies on intelli-

67. Clive received a letter from Sunder Singh on 24th Feb., 1758 saying "I have received 2 or 3 Parwanahs from the Nawab to go to him but I only sent Babu Fateh Singh. Till I have some encouragement from you I will stay here." Ram Narain wrote to Clive on 25th Feb., "the reason why Sunder Singh waits to pay his respects to the Nawab by your means is that he owes a great balance" (B.M.P. III, p. 414-417). The letter in D.I., in the subject of Sunder Singh's default are interesting and revealing.

68. Kamgar was the uncle of Raja Asad-us-Zaman of Birbhoom. We find reference to Raja Sunder Singh's victory on Kamgar Khan in Ferminger, p. 7.

69. Orme.

70. S.M.

71. Orme.

gence that neither the Marhattas nor Shujaud-dowla were likely to prosecute their intended project of invading Bihar. "He resumed his plan⁷² for removing Ram Narain and appointing his brother in his place." But not daring to undertake these measures whilst the English force remained in the province, he endeavoured to induce them to return and promised speedily to follow. Clive was determined not to risk the tranquillity of the province by leaving Raja Ram Narain in danger. Though he sent a considerable portion of his force on 1st April with orders to proceed by easy marches towards Bengal he remained behind himself with a sufficient detachment and warned⁷³ Durlabh Ram to keep his troops in the province until the Nawab had commenced his return. In the meanwhile, the Nawab had turned his mind towards amusement,⁷⁴ entertaining the assembly of fakirs and religious men, seeing dances, and hearing songs of actors and actresses, and celebrating the Holi ceremony like the Hindus in the palace of forty pillars, rebuilt by Siraj's father, and also on sandy spots on the river. It was in one such moment of mirth and jocularly that the author of the *Seyar* and his brother supplicated successfully through Ram Narain for the release of their paternal⁷⁵ estates in Monghyr and Palmoon districts. He then proceeded on 19th march to Bihar, visited the mausoleum of the celebrated saint, Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, and enjoyed his belly full of Kabab. He was resolved on outstaying the English,⁷⁶ but his hopes that in the interval the English troops would have been far advanced on the way, followed by the Colonel, enabling him to return to Patna, and effecting the removal of Ram Narain, was frustrated. "A momentary⁷⁷ instance of general satisfaction occurred on the 14th April, 1758, by the arrival of Patents and Sanads from Delhi. Next day Ram Narain proceeded to Bihar seeing that Clive still remained at Patna. The Nawab instead of retiring as he had intended from Bihar to Patna, proceeded from thence to Barh, on the Ganges, 35 miles below Patna. Clive⁷⁸ left the city on the 27th and on the 30th he,

72. Orme: Sraffton, p. 112.

73. Orme: Sraffton.

74. S.M.; M. N. Karam Ali refers to a dancing beauty of Azimabad named Farzana for whom Mir Jafar became specially infatuated and whom he took into his service. M.N. 65b.

75. S.M.

76. Orme.

77. "

78. "

with Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain, met the Nawab. The latter now gave up his original intention and publicly expressed his perfect satisfaction in Ram Narain's integrity and fidelity and formally dismissed him to his government. He ordered a part of his army to proceed to Murshidabad and kept the rest to amuse himself with hunting along the hills. Clive was permitted to be accompanied by Rai Durlabh to make arrangements for the payment of the arrears due to the Company.

Ormes has justifiably gone into raptures on the⁷⁹ success of "this political campaign in which an army of 50,000 had marched 300 miles out of their own province and continued four months on the field without firing a musket but produced the full accomplishment of all that Clive intended." Clive is said to have maintained his desires on all interests by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality or the profits of advantage." Mir Jafar "was disappointed in all his views" and "had the mortification to see⁸⁰ all his projects vanish" whilst the Colonel not only got certain important districts mortgaged to the Company for the remainder of the treaty but obtained also the farm of the saltpetre in Bihar, the consequences of such as acquisition being so well-known to the English. No less important was the closer connection established with, and the steady adherence gained of, those whose interests he had espoused, and who were of signal service to him and his countrymen. He had realised his aim which was, to quote Scrafton, "to reduce the Nabob's power to proper limits which nothing could more effectually restrain than supporting Ram Narain in the Nabobship of Patna and Rai Durlabh Ram in the ministry." The Rajah of Patna who had been described by him as a "rascal" and whose removal had been openly suggested by him to the Nawab appears to have somehow satisfied Clive through Durlabh Ram that he had no treasonable intention, with the result that he received the certificates of "being a person⁸¹ of moderate and peaceable disposition," "a gentoo universally beloved and respected," "an honest

⁷⁹. A letter of Clive, dated February 18, 1758 says "for ourselves we have been so fortunate in these transactions as to attach to us the most considerable persons in the kingdom, and by the constancy by which we supported Ram Ram, Rai Durlabh and Ram Narain to acquire the general confidence and make our friendship be solicited on all sides".

⁸⁰. Scrafton, p. 112.

⁸¹. Letters of Clive quoted by Malcolm

man (though) not a great sepoy." The real reason for the change is to be found in what Clive wrote to his friend, Mr. Pigot: "Ram Narain is entirely in our interest." No wonder that the contemporary historian of Bengal, and Bihar wrote "let it not be concealed⁸² that the primary cause of the predominance and domination of the English and the sluggishness of the authorities was the accompanying of Clive (with Mir Jafar), with a force, and his interviewing Maharaja Ram Narain."

⁸². Muzaffer Nama by Karam Ali.

Some Old Guns in the Indore Museum

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,
Curator, Museum, Indore.

There are thirty-four old guns in the Indore Museum. They are of different sizes and types. Nineteen of them are inscribed either in Persian or Devanagari characters. Seven guns are of almost the same type and size—4 feet 8 inches in length and 1½ inch by the diameter of the muzzle—with the effigy of a tiger. They bear Persian inscriptions. Two of these seven guns bear the date 938 Hizri (1531 A.D.) and the name of Sher Shah, the Pathan Sultan, who had seized the throne of Delhi from the Moghal Emperor Humayun. Four guns bear the name of Raja Mansingh, the well known ruler of Jaipur and general of Akbar. They are all dated in the second Ilahi year introduced by Akbar and 12, 14, 17 and 17 of the month Farvardin respectively (1556 A.D.). The seventh gun bears the name of Itikadkhan¹ bin Asaf but no date. Itikad Khan was a high officer in the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, which shows that the gun was made in the reign of one of the two Emperors.

How and when these seven guns which must have been the property of the Moghal Emperor of Delhi, were brought to Indore is an interesting question which requires some discussion. It is well known that Malharrao Holkar, the founder of the illustrious Holkar family of Indore was a great maratha general. He must

1. The title of Itikad Khan was successively held by several members of the family of Itmad-ud-Daulah, father of Nurjahan and Wazir in Jahangir's reign. For some time his second son, Abul Hasan, better known in history as Asaf Khan, was styled as Itikad Khan and then the title passed on to his third son, the younger brother of Asaf Khan. In Shahjahan's reign, Mirza Bahman Yan, son of Asaf Khan and grandson of Itmad-ud-Daulah, got the title of Itikad Khan and was raised to the rank of 4000 in 1651 A.D. He continued to enjoy royal favour in Aurangzeb's time also and was promoted to the rank of 5000 in 1662. I express my sincere thanks

have seized these guns some time during the maratha operations at Delhi and brought them to Indore, which he had begun to develop as his capital from about 1740 A.D. In the year 1765 the Marathas were supreme at the Delhi court and Malharrao Holkar was the most powerful man of the time. Copies of some of his letters written to Ahilyabai from Delhi and dated in this year have been found and have been published by Sardar M. V. Kibe in the Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission held in Patna. In practically every letter of his he instructs his daughter-in-law to make proper provision for guns, muskets etc. In one letter he advises her to get one hundred muskets manufactured.² In another letter dated Delhi the 10th February, 1765 Malharrao speaks of having despatched four big guns and asks Ahilyabai to keep them in the city.³

It is just possible that the four big guns referred to in this letter may be the four guns in the present collection on which the name of Raja Mansingh is incised.

Two more guns in the Museum bear inscriptions in Roman characters. One of them measuring 6 feet 3½ inches in length and 3 inches by the diameter of the muzzle bears the inscription ANNO 1653 LAMBERT Bargerink Me Fecit Dunkerck. The other gun measuring 3 feet 5 inches in length and 2¼ inches by the diameter of the muzzle bears the inscription 1673 BATAVIA and a cross. The words Maharaja Prasanna were incised on the gun in Devanagari characters at some later date.

How and when these two guns which were evidently manufactured by European gunmakers were brought to Indore is also an interesting question. These guns seem to have been brought to Indore also by Malharrao Holkar. It is known that he was one of the prominent generals in the famous Maratha campaign against the Portuguese in 1739 A.D. It is recorded in a Marathi historical document that when the Marathas captured the Dhārāvī fort, near Bassein, on 6 March, 1739 eight complete, and one broken, guns

2. जंजुरेही संसरपावेतो कारखाना लावून तयार करवावे

3. आम्ही येथेन तोफा थोर चार पात्रिया आहेत त्या शहरान्तेवणें

and some other pieces of artillery were found in the fort.⁴ One of these guns is said to have been preserved in the Silēkhānā of H. H. Maharaja of Dewas (Senior). It must have been brought to Dewas by Tukoji Pawar, who was also one of the prominent Maratha generals in the Bassein campaign and who must have received it as his share of the booty. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the two guns above referred to went as the share of Malharrao Holkar and were subsequently brought by him to Indore.

The nine guns form thus important war trophies of Malharrao Holkar.

A Supplementary Note on Vatsaraja Pratihara

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA,
Bikaner, Rajaputana,

While discussing the location of the original kingdom of Vatsarāja Pratihāra in my paper. "The Imperial Pratihāras—a revised study," published in the last volume of this Journal, I cited the following verse from the *Harivamśapurāṇa* of Jināsena:—

*Sākeṣvabdaśateṣu saptaṣu pañchottareṣūttarām
pat Indrāyudhanamni Kṛṣṇanṛapaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇām |
pūrvām śrīmad Avantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje parām
Saurāṇamadhimaṇḍale jayayute vīre Varāhevati || Varāhevati ||*

Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the verse. According to Fleet, the verse means that in 705 Saka-samvat (783-784 A.D.), when the book was finished, there "were reigning in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhawān in the Jhālāvād division of Kathiāwār—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Yatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."¹ Drs Sten Konow and G. H. Ojha, on the other hand, regard Vatsaraja, not as the ruler of Avanti, but of the western quarter and interpret the last portion of the verse as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsaraja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha."² I have, in the paper referred to above, supported the second position and given, I believe, some fairly conclusive arguments to prove that Vatsarāja ruled at Jālor in Gurjaratrā. These reasons need not be repeated here; we shall, however, put before

4. Selection from the Peshwa Daftar 16-141.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 195-196.

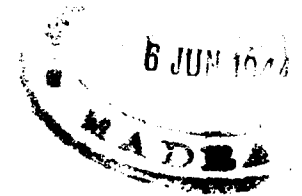
2. This is Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's translation of the verse in the *J.Bo.Br.A.S.*, XXI, p. 421, footnote 4.

our readers a new piece of evidence. As Gurjaratrā lies not to the west but a little to the east of Wadhawān, the place where the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, was composed, some scholars seem to have thought it a bit unlikely that Vatsarāja the ruler of Gurjaratrā, should be named as a western monarch. But that there is nothing unusual about the reference might be seen from the following quotation from Hemachandra's commentary on his own *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*, a lexicographical work of great historical value:—

“atra Prāgyjyotiṣa-Mālava-Chedi-Vaṅg-Āṅga-Magadhān prāchyāḥ, Māravaḥ Sālvāścha pratichyāḥ; Jāln dhara-Tāyika-Kāśmīr-Valhika--Vāhika--Turuṣka-Kārūṣa-Lampāka-Sauvīra-Pratyagrathā udichyāḥ, Ondrāḥ Kuntalāścha apāchyāḥ.”³

It is only according to this conventional indication of directions, given by a writer who flourished not far away from Jinasena's place and for whom the main quarters should naturally have been the same as to the earlier author, that we can justify the description in the verse quoted above. Indrāyudha being a ruler of Pratyagratha could be put in the north; Vatsarāja, as a ruler of Maru, in the west; Śrīvallabha, the ruler of Kuntala, in the south; and the ruler of Avanti in the east, even though their positions with reference to Wadhawān might have been different. The above quotation might, thus, be regarded as another important ground for supporting the views of Drs Konow and Ojha and assigning the rule of Vatsarāja Pratihāra to Gurjaratrā, the land which gave them the name Gurjara in the travels of Arab Geographers as well as the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and other contemporary powers.

3. IV, 27, p. 383-384 of the edition by Pandits Hargovindas and Bechardas (*Yashovijaya Granthamālā*, 41).



Editorial

OBITUARY

We note with very great regret the passing away last month of MM. Dr. R. Shama Sastrigal in Mysore, at the age of 76. The late Shama Sastri was in the Mysore Education Service from which he retired some years ago after a long period of varied activities in the department. He was in the regular service of the department and subsequently occupied important positions such as that of the Curator of the Manuscripts Library, Director of Archaeology and for some time acted as Professor of History. The discovery of a single manuscript of the Artha Sastra of Kautilya and its publication in the Mysore Government Oriental Series brought him deservedly into fame, and thereafter his work was along lines of research work in Ancient Indian History and Vedic Jyotisha. He was selected amongst a handful of scholars on whom the Calcutta University conferred the Doctorate Degrees on the occasion of the visit of Prince Edward of Wales to the University in 1921. He had since been engaged in vedic astronomical research and has published several papers on the subject. He looked hale and hearty when last we met him in Mysore and could have lived on longer. His early death is a loss to the ancient Sanskrit scholarship.

Sir Aurel Stein, Ph.D., D.Sc., D.P.L., F.B.A., K.C.I.E., Correspondent de l' institute de France etc., was born at Budapest in November 1862, and studied Oriental languages and antiquities in the Universities of Vienna and Tubingen, and in England. He became the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore and subsequently the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassah. He conducted antiquarian researches in Kashmir and the Afghan frontier, and made explorations in Chinese Turkestan, in Central Asia and in Western China, for which he was awarded the Royal Geographical Society's Gold Medal in 1909. In 1910 his services were transferred from the Education to the Archaeological Department. He then undertook successive expeditions of search, and geographical and archaeological exploration in Baluchistan, Central Asia, Persia etc:—

Expeditions into Chinese Turkistan 1906-8 and 1913-16., along the old trade-routes in use from the 2nd century A.D.

Expedition to Swat (1926)—to Northern Baluchistan (1927-8) Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia.

PUBLICATIONS

Critical edition of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (1892) Bombay Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir (3 vols.) (Eng. tr. 1900), Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan (1903), Ancient Khotan (2 vols.) (1907), Ruins of Desert Cathay (2 vols.) (1912), Serindia (5 vols.) (1921), The Thousand Buddhas. Innermost Asia (1928), On Alexander's Track to the Indus (1929).

(*Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*)

No. 37—An Archæological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan.

No. 42—An Archæological Tour in Upper Surat and Adjacent Hill Tracts.

No. 43—An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia.

The Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi—contains antiquities recovered by Stein during his explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran. He was engaged in a revision of his translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* for the Kashmir Government, when he died.

THE VIKRAMADITYA BIMILLENNIUM

The year 1944 marks the year 2000 of the Vikrama era in familiar use in India, almost all the length of the Christian era. Notwithstanding this long and familiar use of the era as well as the name, the information we possess as to who the hero was and what the historical cause that gave rise to this era are far from certain, namely, the event and achievement it is intended to celebrate. Though our knowledge is hardly precise and definite there is still left enough to justify the memory and make rejection impossible. Vikramaditya is spoken of in the vast body of our literature, and he is generally described as far-famed for his liberality and patronage of culture. He is described as a hero not merely capable of human achievement but even superhuman. Casting aside all that looks legendary there remains the substantial fact that he lived and did something of benefit which left a deep impression upon the people to remember the name with gratitude even now. The only fact that modern research has been able to make clear is that he was a prince who flourished in the region of Rajputana and Malwa, and fought against a vast body of barbarians invading the country and subverting everything before

them. He is said to have been dispossessed of his kingdom and his father killed in its defence. Being a mere dispossessed prince, he collected the available resources and joined with him the surrounding people still in tribal organisation and inflicted a defeat upon the invaders. The date of the event, according to the Jain accounts is 466 years after the death of Vardhamana. According to the tradition, it marks the date that tradition has consistently maintained as in the middle of the 1st century B. C. or more precisely B. C. 57, as the beginning of the era. The association of the tribes with him is remembered in the fact that the era of 57 B.C. is said to mark the starting point of the era of the Malava tribes for marking time. The fact, therefore, of an achievement of destroying the invading hordes headed by the Sakas is borne out in Vikramaditya being described as a Sakari. The enmity of the Sakas continued till Vikramaditya himself was overthrown by the Sakas, and the victory of the Sakas was marked by the foundation of another era which goes in the name of the Saka Kings.

In the year 2000 of that era we are today in the unfortunate condition, notwithstanding a vast amount of work done, of not being able to say precisely what event marks the era and what the actual character of the achievement of the hero who gave his name, or of the particular tribes who associated themselves with it.

The occasion seems suitable for a systematic revised publication of all the critical work connected with the name Vikramaditya, and all the literature bearing upon it, fable, legend and history. These may be collected, sifted and the facts garnered with a view to consolidating such historical knowledge as we may gather of him and his achievements in this direction. Would it be too much to expect that an all-India effort be made and a Vikramaditya Commemoration volume brought out? It must be an all-India work and must be quite worthy of the hero and the occasion.

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

An appeal has been issued by an influential body of gentlemen to institute a memorial to the late MM. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. This had sprung from the suggestion made at a meeting presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Professor's work extended over a period of 30 years, and was associated in important directions in the advancement of Sanskrit studies. He gave a stimulus to the collection of manuscripts for the Government Oriental Library. He was mainly responsible for the starting

and working of the Sanskrit Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research. He took an important part in the revision of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogarum* of Sanskrit works in addition to his having been intimately associated with the university in the Sanskrit department all through.

Contributions are called for in an appeal issued for the purpose which we hope will receive gratifying reception at the hands of the public.

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress proved to be a successful gathering and adopted certain important resolutions on the scheme of Indian History which had been under consideration. The general scheme has been adopted and arrangements are afoot to give effect to the resolutions set hereunder, upon the most important items of business done.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Annual Report—1943.

The Indian History Congress has completed 8 years of its existence. During this period it has held six sessions and made steady progress in the achievement of its main objects viz., to promote research in Indian history on scientific lines, to coordinate the work of scholars and to prepare a scientific and comprehensive history of India. The increasing number of its members and the growing volume of its transactions which contain learned papers by eminent historians testify to its growing popularity.

The Congress has endeavoured to stimulate historical research both by providing a forum for unbiassed discussion and by encouraging the scholars of different shades of opinion and belonging to different areas to come together and deliberate on the main problems of history. It has also striven to facilitate research by drawing the attention of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States to the need of opening their archives to bonafide research students and of establishing well-equipped Record Offices. The response of the various authorities has been encouraging and it is a matter of gratification that the Government of India have made their records till the year 1880 available to research students, and some more Provincial Governments have framed rules for the examination of their records. Much remains still to be done in this direction. The records of the Imperial Record Department of a date later than 1880 should be thrown open to inspection and the earlier records should be published as early as possible. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar need regular Record Departments which should bring their scattered records at one central place. Many Indian States whose old records will throw a flood of light on medieval and modern history, have not yet organised regular Record Offices and have not yet opened them for the use of research scholars. Efforts in this direction will have to be continuously made. Another matter which requires attention is the publication of earlier records and the preparation and publication of the catalogues of records in

the various Record offices. The beginning made by the Imperial Record Department in this direction is commendable.

The Congress has also urged the need of securing photo or typed copies of the records relating to India in foreign countries. It has emphasised the desirability of establishing a central national copyright library and of amending the copyright Act so as to make it obligatory for every publisher to deposit one copy of every book published in the Library. No action has so far been taken in this direction, but unceasing efforts must continue till we succeed in establishing a central institution of the type of the British Museum or the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

In this connection it is necessary to draw attention to two matters (1) the search for manuscripts, and (2) the cataloguing and description of works of art, including paintings. It is true that there are Societies which are interested in the search of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages. But their efforts lack thoroughness. Some note is made of manuscripts that are discovered, but little effort has been made to collect them or to obtain copies of them. In many parts of India there is no agency for the collection and recording of manuscripts and much valuable material is being lost. It is essential that a thoroughgoing search for all such material should be undertaken and micro-films of manuscripts should be made and kept in a central library.

(2) Numerous works of art lie scattered all over India, and like architectural monuments and sculpture they are of great value for the history of Indian Culture. But no attempt has been made so far, to make a record of them. It is high time that an inventory of such material should be started and accurate descriptive records with photographs should be prepared.

In this connection the Congress may consider the desirability of approaching Governments and States, and requesting them to legislate if necessary to prevent the transfer of works of art which are a national heritage to countries outside India.

The realisation of the third object, the preparation and publication of a comprehensive History of India has been the constant preoccupation of the Congress. The exploratory preliminaries resulted in the preparation of a draft syllabus in 1941 which was based on the suggestions received from various members. At the last session a definite step forward was taken by appointing three Editorial Committees for the three periods of our history and a coordinating committee to coordinate the work of different authors and to secure uniformity in treatment. These committees have been engaged in selecting authors and have completed the task. The Editorial Committees carried on much of their work by correspondence. Some members of the Medieval History Committee, however, met in April 1942 and revised the draft syllabus and drew up a tentative list of the writers of the various chapters and sections. The scheme was then circulated to the other members for their approval, and final decisions were taken at a meeting held at Aligarh. Similarly some members of the Modern History Committee met

in October 1942 and reconstructed the scheme of chapters and drew up a list of writers. It was circulated to the other members and their approval was secured. Again in May 1943 a majority of the members of this Committee met in Delhi and revised the earlier syllabus and list of writers. And now the lists of contributors have been finally settled. The same procedure has been followed in the case of the Ancient Period, so that now the whole scheme has been finally put in shape. On the basis of the approved lists, the consent of a number of writers has been secured. It is a matter of gratification to note that with very few exceptions the scholars approached have offered their ready co-operation to our project of the History of India and have agreed to write. Judging from the willing response of the Indian scholars, it is hoped that the History of India will soon be a reality, and will be a worthy moment of Indian historical scholarship.

The Hyderabad Congress also appointed an Executive Board to arrange for the publication of the History and to secure necessary funds for the purpose. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had kindly consented to be its chairman. Its members include prominent public men, Vice chancellors of the Universities and Dewans of the Indian States besides the members of the Coordinating Committee. The Board has approached the Government of India, Provincial Governments, prominent Indian States, the Universities and a number of industrialists for contributions. Their response is highly encouraging. The Allahabad University has given a donation of Rs. 5,000 and the Patna University of Rs. 2,500. The Delhi University has promised a donation and it may be expected that other contributions will soon follow from the Governments, Princes, Industrialists and the Universities. Now that the volumes and chapters of the history have been finally planned and the list of writers finally adopted, the task of collecting necessary funds will be greatly facilitated and I hope that within the next year we shall be able to collect the necessary funds to proceed with the work of printing and publication. An appeal for a sum of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 lacs has been issued and in the course of the next year deputations will go round to collect the funds.

In this connection it is necessary to make mention of the efforts made to coordinate the various projects of the History of India and to secure unity of action. At the last session it was the general wish of the members of the Congress that efforts should be made to secure coordination with the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad. Unfortunately political conditions made it impossible to make much progress in this direction. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit discussed the matter with members of the Parishad in August 1943 but, owing to the absence of the Rector and the Secretary, it was not possible to come to any decision. Our efforts with reference to the other scheme have proved fruitful. Mr. K. M. Munshi who sponsored a scheme of a History of India has agreed to co-operate with the Indian History Congress in bringing out a comprehensive history of India. We are grateful to him for his co-operation and for his ready response to our appeal for unity in the noble cause of promotion of knowledge.

I have also to report that the Indian History Congress has now become a body registered under Act XXI of 1860.

EDITORIAL

SESSION

The Indian History Congress was invited by the Muslim University to hold its sixth session at Aligarh in 1942, but owing to the disturbed political conditions in the country, and the inability of the University authorities to arrange for the session in 1942, no meeting could be held last year. Thus we were compelled to have a break of one year, but we hope that in future annual sessions will be held.

The transactions of the Hyderabad session including the proceedings have been published and are laid on the table.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS

There have also been some changes in the list of Sectional Presidents. Owing to the sad and untimely death of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in January 1943, a vacancy occurred in Section I. As the arrangements for the session proceeded, Mahamahopdhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, expressed his inability to preside over Section II owing to the pressure of his official duties as Principal of the Morris College. In the month of November we were informed by Dr. Qanungo, the President of Section IV, and by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, President of Section V that owing to their serious illness they would not attend the session and preside over their respective sections. Thus in the course of the year four Sectional Presidencies out of five fell vacant. The Executive Committee has filled these vacancies by requesting Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, Principal Sri Ram Sharma and Dr. K. K. Datta to preside over the respective sections. I am grateful to these gentlemen for their co-operation and response to our request.

The number of new members enrolled during the year is the number of old members who have renewed their membership. The membership still appears to be sessionwise, for generally members renew their membership only if they are likely to attend the Congress session. May I hope that the members will maintain their association with the Congress continuously even if they are unable to attend the session, by renewing their membership every year and paying their annual subscription.

As in the past, this year also the Indian Universities, the Government of India, some Provincial governments and Indian States and many learned institutions have nominated their representatives to attend the session. The Government of Poland has also been gracious enough to send its representatives to our Congress.

I am thankful to the authorities concerned for the co-operation.

We are grateful to the Aligarh Muslim University and Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor, for their kind invitation and for the elaborate arrangements they had made for our meetings.

I have to express my sense of gratitude to Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasa-chari, the President and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President-elect, for their unfailing support and willing co-operation. I have to thank Shaikh

Abdur Rashid, the Local Secretary for his zealous and untiring efforts for the success of this sixth session.

The income during the years 1942 and 1943 has been Rs. 2406-10-3 and expenditure Rs. 1267-15-9.

(Sd.) TARACHAND.
General Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION.

The annual business meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on Monday, the 27th December 1943, at 3 P.M. in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh Muslim University. In the unavoidable absence of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the Vice-President, presided. The following business was transacted:

1. After the minutes of the last meeting were confirmed, the condolence resolution expressing sense of grief on the death of the following scholars was moved from the Chair: Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Mr. D. V. Apte, Mr. Y. M. Kale, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai, Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda, Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sir Aural Stein, and Sir Denison Ross.
2. The General Secretary then read the annual report on the work done, which was adopted by the house.
3. The Treasurer presented the accounts of income and expenditure during the years 1942 and 1943 which were recorded. The budget estimates of the year 1944 were then presented by the Treasurer which was approved.
4. The General Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. Tara Chand, Shaikh Abdur Rashid and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, to consider the Rules of Business and report at the next meeting of the Association.
5. On the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Association adopted the following amendments to the Constitution:
 - (i) In section 9, substitute 'fourteen' for 'ten' before 'other' members', and make corresponding change elsewhere.
 - (ii) In section 9, add "office bearers" after the word "following".
 - (iii) In section 12, substitute (b) for (a).
 - (iv) In section 14, add (1) The President for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge."

The sections as amended will now read

"9. There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following office bearers (a) a President, (b) two Vice-Presidents, (c) a General Secretary (d) a Joint Secretary, (e) a Treasurer, (f) a Local Secretary and fourteen other members.

"12. (i) The office-bearers (b) to (e) and the Sectional Presidents shall be elected at the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the session of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till the election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.

"14. The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall normally be the convener of the Executive Committee. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observation of all rules, regulations and bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote.

The president for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge."

6. The General Secretary then reported that the three Editorial Committees appointed at the Hyderabad session had drawn up a final scheme of volumes and chapters of the projected comprehensive History of India, and have allotted chapters to writers. The scheme as drawn up by the Editorial Committees has met with the approval of the Coordinating Committee. It was further pointed out that most of the scholars selected to write chapters relating to the volumes dealing with Medieval and Modern periods have expressed their willingness to co-operate, and have also commenced work.

The General Secretary next read out the names of the members of the Executive Board and reported that active measures were being taken for the collection of funds. The Universities of Allahabad and Patna have promised donations of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,500 respectively, and the Government of India was likely to make a substantial grant.

Names of the members of the Executive Board:

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., LL.D.
The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, P.C., LL.D., B.C.L.,
Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt.
Dr. Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, Kt., D. Litt.
Sir Mirza Ismail, K.C.S.I., Prime Minister, Jaipur State.
Pradhan Shiromani N. Madhava Rau, C.I.E., Dewan of Mysore.
Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, M.A., Secretary to H.E.H. The Nizam's Government.
Sir Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law, Chief Justice, Bahawalpur.
Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt., F.B.A., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.
Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, D.Sc., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.
Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, D.Litt, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.
Prof. Amarannatha Jha, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.
Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, Calcutta.
Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D., Madras.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta.

Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc., Head of the History Department
Allahabad University.

Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., Keeper of Imperial Records,
Delhi.

Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of History Dept.
Annamalai University.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Head of History Dept. Osmania Univer-
sity Hyderabad.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D. Litt., Allahabad University.

Dr. Tara Chand, D. Phill., Principal, K. P. University College, Allahabad
Secretary.

7. The names of the office bearers, President and Sectional Presidents
for the next session, as elected by the Executive Committee were reported:

President.—Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi.

Sectional Presidents.—Mr. M. S. Vats, Sec. I upto 711. MM. V. V.
Mirashi, Sec. II 711 to 126, Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi, Sec. III 1206 to 1526.
Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Sec. IV 1526 to 1764. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad. V. Modern
History.

Office bearers of 1944.—President: Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

Vice-Presidents.—(1) Dr. R. C. Majumdar. (2) Rao Bahadur C. S.
Srinivasachari.

General Secretary.—Dr. Tara Chand.

Joint Secretary.—Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Treasurer.—Dr. Banarsi Prasad.

8. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee:

Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh University.

Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Madras University.

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Benares Hindu University.

Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona.

Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Osmania University.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Srinagar (Kashmir).

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore University.

Dr. S. K. Banerji, Lucknow University.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay University Librarian.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Delhi.

Dr. N. D. Chatterji, Lucknow University.

9. The following resolutions were adopted by the Association.

(1) Books presented by the authors or publishers to the Indian History
Congress during the year may be exhibited at the ensuing session
of the Congress.

(2) That Indian States be requested by the Executive Committee to throw
open their record offices to bonafide research students and afford
facilities to them to do their work.

10. The Association thankfully accepted the invitation extended by the
University of Madras to hold the next session at Madras in 1944. Prof. K. A.
Nilakantha Sastri, Professor of Indian History, Madras University personally
conveyed the invitation of the Madras University.

11. The Association then conveyed its thanks to the Universities of
Allahabad and Patna for their donations towards the project of the compre-
hensive history of India.

12. Dr. S. N. Sen proposed the vote of thanks to Lt. Col. Dr. Sir Ziaud-
din Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University and Chairman of the
Reception Committee, and the University as well as to the office bearers and
members of the Reception Committee for the splendid arrangements they
had made for the meetings of the Congress and the comforts of the members
attending the session. He also thanked the volunteers who by their untiring
zeal and devotion had largely contributed to the success of the session. Prof.
Nilakantha Sastri, Prof. Puntambekar, Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Prof. Potdar,
Dr. I. H. Qureshi and Mr. B. N. Puri associated themselves with the proposal
which was adopted with acclamations. Dr. Majumdar, the chairman, then sur-
veyed the work which had been done by the Aligarh session and expressed
his thanks to the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary Shaikh
Abdur Rashid.

Reviews

P. V. KANE FESTSSHIFT, Edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode,
Oriental Book Agency, Poona 2.

This is a collection of 75 papers contributed by scholars in honour of Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane who had attained to his 61st birthday in May 1941. Mr. Kane who is now an advocate of the Bombay High Court and practising his profession successfully, started life as a schoolmaster after a distinguished educational career. After a few years of work as a teacher, lecturer and even acting professor he had to change and go into the life of a practising lawyer. He has stuck on to the profession to which he was driven almost by necessity as it were. Nevertheless, the scholar in him had not been extinguished. He continued his interest in Sanskrit studies and has a considerable volume of work to his credit in the way of edition and publication of valuable works, and standard works on the Dharma Sastra on Sanskrit literature he has contributed in papers and published in Sastras in two volumes. Apart from editing and annotating work such as the works of Bana, he wrote on Sanskrit Poetics, the Purva Mimamsa system and on the vedic basis of Hindu law as well. Much of his work on Sanskrit literature he has contributed in papers and published in important journals, in commemoration volumes to scholars and papers presented to the various conferences, the all-India Oriental Conference in particular of which he attended eight sessions. It is but fitting that this conference at its last session in Benares elected him President of the coming session—quite a fitting recognition of the valuable work of the author.

The commemoration volume goes to 550 pages and contains 75 papers on various topics of interest by scholars from various parts of the country and even abroad. The subjects embraced are various, and range all over from Rig Veda details down to the period of Sambhaji II. Not to be invidious they are all of them contributions of value on various topics of interest. It contains such subjects as the Smṛiti as the source of the Dharma Sastras, Rig Veda citations in the Mahabharata, Vishnu in the Veda, the legends of Sunahśēpa and come down all through including the age of the Tamil Sangam, the Āghāpatra of Pandit Ramachandra and Mahratta occupation of Gingee. The papers constitute a volume quite worthy of the wide scholarship and the persevering and systematic work of the author in his own chosen line of studies.

THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GITA By Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharyar,
Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. (Price Rs. 2).

This little book incorporates the Lectures delivered by the Professor to the university of Madras as Honorary Reader. The purpose of these lectures is to present an exposition of the Gita as a handbook of religion for all Hindus. The Gita has been declared by competent critics like Prof. Das Gupta in his "History of Hindu Philosophy", as a handbook of the Pancharatra. According to Prof. Srinivasacharyar, the first six chapters of the eighteen,

deal with the metaphysics of morals and realisation of the self. The next six chapters of the Gita treats of the religion of morals. Similarly the last six expounds the religion of the Vedanta, and offers universal redemption and summons all humanity to the eternal bliss of Mukti. In these divisions, the professor has followed the text of the Bhagavad Gita, and has expounded it in a fashion that the non-specialist reader might understand and appreciate. He has left aside completely all questions of criticism on the Gita and its character as part of the Mahabharata, nor has he proceeded to examine the problem of the authorship. These latter questions have been vexing scholars till recently, and there has been a considerable output of literature. But in this course of lectures, the Professor has left these questions aside, and has given a mere straightforward exposition of the Gita as a handbook for those who seek the solace of religion. It is well done to serve the purpose and may usefully be read by all those who may be anxious to understand the Bhagavad Gita ordinarily.

THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY DYNASTY OF THE ANDHRA DESA By
B. V. Krishna Rao, (Messrs. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras).
Price Rs. 15. 25 sh.

This is a work which attempts to describe the history of the country popularly called Andhra Desa nowadays and relates to the period of history when the whole of the Dakhan, the region between the Vindhya and the Tungabhadra had fallen into a certain number of smaller kingdoms from out of the Andhra empire in the best of its days. The whole of the Dakhan broke up early in the 3rd century and fell into the divisions which constituted the empire as was usually the case with the break-up of empires in Indian history. Several small kingdoms arose from out of this, some of them describable as even politically subordinate to the Andhras, and others into geographical divisions which formed the heart of the empire at its highest. The period extending from the early years of the 3rd century down to the end of the 7th century A.D. was a period of re-formation of kingdoms which settled into a new order in the early years of the 7th century A.D. This confusing period, Mr. Krishna Rao the author of this work, undertakes to unravel. According to the author, "Andhra Desa today covers, therefore the entire area of the eastern half of the Dakhan extending from the Chanda district in the Central Provinces in the north to Bangalore and Kolar in Mysore in the south. A straight line drawn from Madras to Bangalore, and thence in a northerly direction towards the point where the river Varada (Wardha) joins the Pranrita along the valley of the Manjira and towards the east across the plateau to the Mahendragiri and Rishikulya in Ganjam and back to the sea represent the country of the Andhra Desa." This apparently is the claim which the work attempts to justify. The work falls naturally into the following parts. Book I deals with the Ikshvaku Empire (circa 200-260 A.D.). Book II deals with the Kalingas from 250 A.D. —630. Book III deals with certain minor dynasties during the period 250-440, the division being the Brhatpalayanās of Kodura, the Andhras of Khandarapura, the Salankayanās of Vengi and Mathara or the Pitrbakta dynasty of Kalinga. Then follows the period of the Vishnukundins A.D. 420-620. The fifth and the last book gives us an account again of the minor dynasties of the eastern Dakhan during the period A.D. 350-610. These included (1)

the eastern Gangas of Kalinga, (2) the Sailodbhava dynasties, (3) kings of Sarabapura, (4) the Nalas of Nandivardhana. Within these limits and in these divisions the work attempts to present a history of the country in far greater detail than has as yet been attempted by scholars.

The plan of the work is ambitious and the actual performance does exhibit a considerable volume of labour through a long period of years as is claimed by the author. He claims to have set about the work of the dynastic annals and vicissitudes of the country "in a fresh and original setting," which he considers could not be achieved except by a study of history in comparison with the contemporary dynasties of Dakshinapatha and South India. His main source of information is epigraphic material which have all become available through the labours of the departments of epigraphy as well as other bodies interested in the subject such as the Andhra Historical Society.

The author starts with the Ikshvakus as an imperial dynasty who did succeed to the whole heritage, at least were acknowledged as the rulers of the whole Andhra territory, and thus became the imperial successors of the imperial Andhra dynasty. The Ikshvakus formed a dynastic succession of four rulers whose active period took up the major part of the 3rd century and have left monuments and inscriptions from the north-eastern part of the country. From the details of these inscriptions, Mr. Krishna Rao tries to build up an imperial history for this dynasty. They certainly got into marriage alliance with the Chutu Nagas of the Southern Mahratta and Karnataka country, but it would be difficult to sustain that their authority was acknowledged over the rest of the Dakhan.

He passes on to the history of the Pallavas, the Pallavas of Kanchi as they are familiarly known. The political history of the period is one of the greatest difficulty, and so far we have not as yet succeeded in giving a satisfactory account, although many efforts have been made in different directions. Mr. Krishna Rao's account throws in a mass of material into the account without exactly being able to draw up a good, consistent and orderly succession of all the historical rulers. Several of his identifications and affiliations are open to question. He has limited himself to the extent of not accepting any evidence except from inscriptions, and he leads himself into general conclusions such as the Kanchi or Kanchipura Pallavas had not come into existence as late as 230 A.D. He quietly states there are no materials "for a study of pre-Pallava history of Kanchipura and Tondamandalam". According to him, the Cholas "did not seem to be anywhere in the south before the advent of the Pallavas. "The early Chola rule in the south . . . cannot be accepted as historic fact". He would coolly provide the Cholas with a homeland somewhere in the Nizam's Dominions, and transport them across to the Delta of the Kaveri in the 7th century A.D. or later. This kind of a presumption marks the whole of his discussion in regard to the history of the early Pallavas. While a change which he finally suggests may possibly prove satisfactory it would not be through his work which shows a wilful shutting of the eye to a considerable mass of evidence and any proposed arrangement of his on the face of it would be impossible. With respect to the later dynasties such as the Vishnukundins and the Brhatpalayanas, this work provides a considerable mass of material to a serious student of history.

Apart from the wilful neglect of evidence referred to above, there are several errors of fact and method. He would take up a word for the first part of which Fleet quite haltingly suggested *Jola* and transform it as the whole word *Cholavaḍi*, and make it altogether the whole territory of the Cholas from where he would transport them across the Pallava territory to the Kaveri delta.

His philological suggestions are as bad. He would suggest river *Hagari* as the equivalent of Pallava *Prēhara*. The word *Talavara* which occurs in the Ikshvaku inscriptions he had been at great pains to transform into a number of Telugu words: *Talavara* to *Tagivara* and what not, instead of taking as a simple local modification of Sanskrit *Sthalavara* the equivalent of *Sthaniya*, a dignitary who had authority over a group of villages within the larger division of a *Sthana*, and known generally in Sanskrit *Sthanika* which the Jain Prakrit dictionary gives as a simple equivalent. The quotation given from *Subodhika* commentary on the *Kalpataru* only goes to confirm what is the ordinary term. The attempted derivation of *Kanchi* is another instance in point. There is much more that could be said by way of pointing out merely errors, but it is hardly worthwhile. Some of the major errors however could not well be passed over.

As for the boundary proposed for the Andhra Desa, the map that he has drawn up takes in practically the whole of the Tondamandalam within the limits of the Andhra country; and that apart, the following errors are noticeable in the map which should have been avoided. *Cholavadi* is located to the north of the Krishna altogether, and in the heart of the Nizam's Dominions. Then the river *Tungabaddra* is shown with the two streams *Badra* in the west coming from the Ghats and *Tunga* in the east joining to form the river *Tungabaddra*, whereas the geographical fact is the eastern stream is the *Bhadra* and *Tunga* is the western. The *Banappadi* placed to the north of *Kolar* and within comparatively narrow limits extends southwards from the river *Pennar* north, whereas *Banappadi* or *Perumbanappadi* of the Tamils the equivalent of the *Brhat-Banas* of the Sanskritists embraced within it the whole of the *Palar* basin and took into it the sea coast Town of *Cuddalore* as the Jain Sanskrit work *Lokavibhaga* actually states it. There are errors of the kind throughout the work and it is hardly worthwhile mentioning them in a review.

While, therefore, recognising fully Mr. Krishna Rao's enthusiasm and industry, we cannot but regret that, from the point of view of sober history, he has not succeeded in giving us a sober and acceptable historical account of a difficult period of history.

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY, POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, VOLUME II DAULAT RAO SINDHIA'S AFFAIRS, 1804-1809. Edited by Nirod Bhushan Roy, M.A., (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay). Price Rs. 15 Pp. xxxii & 456.

So far eight volumes, including an extra, one, have been published in this series under the able editorship of Dr. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai; and we have got down to the epoch of Wellesley's war with the Holkar that proved a turning point in the policy of the Com-

pany towards the Indian powers. The English Diplomatic Correspondence with the Nagpur State, covering the entire period 1781-1820, was completed in a single volume. But in the case of the Sindhia State the relations were far more complex, and this volume is the fourth one devoted to its affairs and will be followed by another which will bring the narrative down to 1818. The fortunes of Daulat Rao Sindhia, the able but in many respects unfortunate and ill-starred, successor of the great Mahadji, are treated here, as they varied, from his offensive and defensive alliance with the British in the summer of 1804 in the course of operations of the war with the Holkar, by which he was enabled to recover Gwalior and Gohad in the succeeding summer, and then through the miserable years of his interference with the princes of Rajputana, down to the end of the Second Ministry of the noted Sharza Rao Ghatge. The Treaty of Burhanpur supplementing that of Sarji Anjangaon had definitely registered the decline of the Sindhia State to a secondary power; and it is from this decline that by his cleverness of conduct during the war with Holkar that Daulat Rao contrived to regain a portion of his lost power. After this was achieved the Sindhia felt himself free, owing to the self-imposed restriction of their imperial responsibility by the British under Barlow to have an unlimited freedom of operations in Central India and Rajputana. The cession of Gwalior and Gohad to him by Sir George Barlow opened a new era in his fortunes in which he found himself free to deal with the small powers in his neighbourhood and became thereby elated in mind into an over-weening sense of his importance. Out of his interference in Rajput politics developed the heart-trending tragedy of barbarous immolation of Princess Krishnakumari of Udaipur, "the Indian Iphigenia" the episode of which has been dramatised so feelingly by Edward Thomson.

The Editor Mr. Roy, brings clearly into relief the innate, condition of decline in the Sindhia's power which was hidden even to the eyes of most contemporary observers by the obvious pomp of his purposeless interference in the confused politics of the Central Indian adventurers throughout the years under survey, by the most bitter rivalry between the unscrupulous Sharza Rao and his rivals, the Ingles, and their combination in 1809 naturally boded no good to the realm. Ghatge tried hard to effect some improvement by economising in the expenditure of the army; but the attempt was rendered barren of its purpose by the Sindhia himself, who had degenerated in personal habits into a sot in the meanwhile. Thus by 1809 the rich heritage of Daulat Rao had come almost to be crippled. The chronological table given by the editor of the events has been divided into periods of the respective ministries; and the summaries of the letters given at their commencement are very satisfactory and clear. Small printers' devils can be found here and there (e.g. Wellesely in line 3 of page 3 of introduction).

Sharza Rao's personality is well brought out in all his characteristic features of conduct and in the strength and weakness of his ministry. Letters Nos. 280 and 282 from the Resident Close contain the following sentences regarding the effort made by him in his second ministry:

"Notwithstanding the strong probability which now appears that Ghatka will succeed in firmly establishing his sole authority, there are however some circumstances which militate against it or which at least must tend to retard the ultimate accomplishment of such a design. These are the discontent excited by his conduct in nearly all classes of people, the alienation from

Sindia of all the neighbouring states without perhaps a single exception, in consequence of Ghatka's reinstatement, the little support which he receives from Sindia himself in his administration of the Government, and the evidently imperfect inclination on the part of Ambajee Inglia to come forward in support of that system of affairs in which he is called upon to participate."

A close parallel can be discovered between the type of minister represented by Ghatge and that belonging to the class to which the contemporary Spanish Minister, Godoy, is a specimen. The varying views and capacities of the British Agents with the Sindhia are also revealed as another factor that contributed to bring about the inevitable instruction of Sindhia's schemes and produce a crippled power in the end.

C.S.S.

OUDH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1785-1801. By Purnendu Basu, M.A., Ph.D. (Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1943). Pp. iv and 219; Price Rs. 12.

Dr. Basu follows up in this monograph on this period of the Anglo-Oudh relations the work of Dr. A. L. Srivastava and Dr. C. C. Davies on the earlier phases in the fortunes of the Nawabi and carries the narrative of British relations with Oudh from the year of Hastings's retirement to the practical diminution of the extent of the kingdom by one half which was effected by the settlement of 1801. Nawab Assaf-ud-Daulah was the ruler during the greater part of the period under survey; and his younger brother, Sa'dat Ali who succeeded, after what may be termed a short interregnum, was the principal actor on the side of Oudh in the closing part of this period. Our author's characterization of Asaf-ud-Daulah's temper, moral weaknesses and torpid indifference to the administration is based upon a study, among other sources, of contemporary literature, particularly in Persian, both published and unpublished. The power wielded by Almas Ali Khan can be cited an instance of the influence of a person who has, on the whole proved himself to be like a beneficent factor in the life of that unfortunate and distracted kingdom. Our author thinks that if Almas had been appointed Minister in 1797 after the retirement of Jhaodas, he could have extracted the Oudh affairs from the dire strait into which Assaf-ud-Daulah had plunged them. None of the successive ministers, Haidar Beg Khan, Raja Tikait Roy, Raja Jhao Lal, and Tafazzul Husain Khan could effect any improvement, because the Nawab's caprice and negligence and the haphazard and corrupt influences exercised by the other favourites on the administration prevented any serious reform from being effected or even begun. The military degeneration observable in the army and the financial bankruptcy which came to be more and more marked are respectively detailed in two chapters both full of interesting and well-documented information. The remark is justly made that the degree of safety of the kingdom from the surrounding states was not quite so apparent to contemporaries and the Company was justified in demanding again and again that Oudh should continue to pay for its protection. It was Asaf-ud-Daulah's weakness that even more than its own difficulties enabled the Company to maintain a part of its army at the expense of the Nawab Vizier till 1798. Centralized control of any kind was not possible nor could be attempted in the army administration of the Nawab. But our

author is careful enough to point out that his control over the Subsidiary Forces, though admitted in theory to some extent, was reduced in practice to nothing at all. The growing bankruptcy of the kingdom was naturally worse than in other cases of dependent and controlled principalities and rendered more glaring in their operation and effect by the English countenance of a number of private claims against the treasury a good portion of which was mere patronage. Down to about 1786 Oudh was used as a fruitful source of financial supplies by the Bengal Government which was justified in its demands to some extent by its monetary distress. Cornwallis did not lay extra burden upon the kingdom, because there was no pressing necessity for him to do so; but Shore was compelled in the last years of his rule to realise large additional payments from the Nawab Vazier. As regards the question of the exemption of English traders from customs duties the difficulty was as pointed out in the book and as in the case of Nawab Mir Kasim, felt to be more in the field of preventing an abuse of the privileges granted than in the definition of the privileges themselves.

Coming to the subject of the reaction of the Company's alliance on the Oudh administration, we learn that while Cornwallis tried to effect reforms by taking the minister into his confidence and encouraging him to make a bold stand against the Nawab's dissipation, Shore was primarily interested in the regular receipt of the subsidy and only, secondarily in question of reform. The deposition of Wazir Ali after a display of vacillation by Shore, is held to be both politic and just, and the attitude of vacillation was justified perhaps at the moment. The later settlement of 1801 by Lord Wellesley has been justified by successive writers on various considerations. Wellesley would have preferred as his first choice the complete transfer of Oudh to the Company; and his second choice was the possession of Rohilkhand and the Doab. A good criticism of the settlement is attempted by our author of which the inevitable conclusion is that while the Nawab clung to his theoretical and shadowy rights, the Governor-General was forced by considerations into hiding what was in fact the reality, viz., that Oudh had long ceased to be an independent State at all, and it is the essential falsity of the attitude of both powers that explains the friction and misunderstanding marking the course of negotiations that led to the final settlement. The treatment is clear and marked by a felicity of expression and language.

C.S.S

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS. By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur, Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1943. Price Rs. 3-4-0. Pp. LXIV and 273.

The introduction of this book gives a brief account of the history of the glorious dynasty of Marwar from its earliest beginnings. After dealing with the main outlines of the history of the several states of Western Hindustan in the first millennium of the Christian era, he comes to Rao Jaya Chandra and his son, Harish Chandra, and to the migration of the latter's descendants towards Mahui and Marwar. From that point he traces, in brief compass the doings of the successive rulers of the line and chronicles them in a plain and

clear manner. The achievements of Rao Maldev, Rao Chandrasen and Raja Udaya Singh, the favourite of Akbar, are given in sufficient detail. The doings of their successors mostly in service under the Mughal Emperors, are traced till we come to the glorious epoch of Maharaja Jasvant Singh and his equally famous posthumous son, Maharaja Ajit Singh. The valorious deeds of the heroic Rathor Durga Das and the remarkable careers of Maharaja Ajit Singh and his son Maharaja Abhaya Singh, in their relations with the declining Mughals and the expanding Marathas follow. The subsequent rulers of the glorious dynasty are noticed in their principal activities right down to the close of 1942.

After this introduction comes the collection of appendix matter of which the most important is that marked A. Our author is convinced that neither the Chauhanas nor the Rashtrakutas nor the Guhils could be held to belong to the Gurjara race or to have migrated from the north or to have been descendants of foreign tribes. Another conclusion at which he arrives is that Rai Jaya Chandra did not cause the downfall of Hindu dominance in Northern India, as is usually alleged and his grandson, Rao Siha, did not commit the murder of the Palliwal Brahmins. Besides a lack of details regarding various episodes and actions in the long history of the house of Marwar, in the course of which he upholds the title to greatness of several personages like Rao Chandrasen and Rao Amar Singh, and corrects several errors regarding the rulers of the line that have appeared in the Historical works of W. Irwine, Kinloch Forbes, Tod and other writers.

A noticeable feature of the book is that our author is a great admirer of the houses of Jodhpur and eagerly rebuts the charges of defects, both personal and institutional, or bearing on the prestige of the family that have been brought forward by other writers. The Introduction and the appendix matter form a source of useful reference for the student. The get-up of the book is of high standard and reflects credit on the author and publishers alike. However, occasionally small errors occur, as for instance, Todd being put for Tod. We congratulate the author on this useful publication of his.

C.S.S.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE MAHABHARATA—(V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition). By The Late V. S. Sukthankar, M.A. (Cantab), Ph.D. (Berlin). Volume I. Edited on behalf of the Committee by P. K. Gode, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Published for the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee by the Karnatak Publishing House, Chira Bazar, Bombay 2 (India). 1944. Price Rs. 15/- . Pp. xvii plus 440.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar was the General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata for nearly seventeen years and shortly before his unexpected death on the 21st of January 1943, he read before the delegates for the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute what proved to be his last testament, his statement on the Critical Edition, which he aptly styled as "the Content of Our Collective Unconscious." Professor P. K. Gode, the indefatigable Managing Editor of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, says in his preface to this volume of the work

that Dr. Sukthankar kept on, side by side with his critical text work on the great epic, an intensive study of its content and inner meaning which brought about in his mind profound psychological changes in the last ten years. The literary life of Dr. Sukthankar was one planned action, in which "every detail was scrupulously worked out and revised many times before it saw the light of day."

This book contains under one cover the critical epic studies of the scholar, of which perhaps the most important is his "Prolegomena to the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata" which can be held to be the bedrock of the textual criticism of the great epic. The contents include the *Foreword* attached to the first fascicule of the *Adiparvan* which attempts to guide the reader through a complicated mass of critical apparatus. It proceeds on the idea that a text prepared on eclectic principles will be capable of presenting a more faithful picture of the original than any single extant codex could do. The Prolegomena which was originally published with the last fascicule of the Adiparvan, traces the genesis of the movement for a critical or correct edition of the Mahabharata, and the work done before Dr. Sukthankar took charge of the work. The recensions of the manuscript material, in their two main groups and principal sub-groups are next examined. A principle followed in the collation of the texts is that when the commentary ignores a lengthy and difficult passage, there is a strong presumption that the text of the commentator did not contain that passage. The Java-nese Bharatam is traced in its Sanskrit quotations to both the Northern and Southern recensions. Nannaya's Andhra Bharatamu of the eleventh century is valuable for the light it throws on the condition of the Southern Recension of the time. The Southern Recension is longer and the story is much richer in details with particular reference to the Adiparvan. According to the Editor, the Sarada version is certainly the best extant version of the Adiparvan. The Devanagari script lent itself as being the commonest medium of contamination of the different versions. Consequently the Devanagari Mss. are the most numerous and at the same time the least important for the purpose. The Grantha version is held to be more heavily interpolated than the Malayalam and, at the same time, to be more influenced by the N. recension.

Even in its early phases the Mahabharata textual tradition could not have been uniform and simple, but multiple and polygenous. There is also given a critique of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri's edition of the epic in its S. recension. The caution is held out that a recension or version should not be condemned merely on the ground that it lacks certain passages found in a rival one. Also the Parvasangraha Parvan (Adi. II) supplying the clue to the solution of the perplexing question of reconstruction of the original has not materialised at all.

Thus we learn that there is no royal road to this difficult task of returning to the original and therefore the caution is rightly given that not too much should be claimed for the first critical edition upon which Dr. Sukthankar was engaged. Further we read in his introduction to the Aranyakaparvan that although in many cases the compilers of the puranas appeared to have drawn their material from the Mahabharata there must be a few cases in which both the epic and the puranas might have drawn independently upon a third common source.

In the Collection of Epic studies, Dr. Sukthankar gives in the first section the reasons for adopting his readings of the texts; he also explains why the critical edition cannot proceed to fully implement the canon of the *Chaturvarga* of the Classical Philologists. A study of the commentaries of the Epic should be undertaken not so much for the sake of their explanations and glosses as for the readings and the *pāṭhāntaras* recorded in them. In a tabular form is given the list of the five major commentators arranged according to their probable chronological sequence, their approximate dates and sundry data about them. In section 6 of the studies we have a text-historical study of the old clan of the Bhrgus and the Bharata. In the course of the study much information is given of the close association of the Bhargavas with the ancient Kshatriyas, marked by, among other things, a frequent repetition of legends and a uniform distribution of data about them throughout the entire length of the Epic. From this the conclusion naturally follows that "in our version of the Mahabharata there is a conscious—nay deliberate—weaving together or rather stitching together of the Bharata legends with the Bhargava myths."

In the next section of the Epic studies is given the story of the discovery of an old Napalese Ms. of the Adiparvan which is held to be the oldest extant one, being between 700 and 800 years old. Next is examined the relationship between the Ramayana and the Rama episode of the Mahabharata, by means of parallelisms in diction and phraseology. A note on Arjunamisra holds that his commentary and texts are superior to those of Nilakanta. The Nala episode of the Mahabharata is examined in its relation to the Ramayana. Herein is postulated the view "that the period of composition of the Ramayana, which is a work with a distinctly more unitary character, falls within the much longer period of the evolution of the Mahabharata, which latter compared to the other is a very complex and complicated work indeed."

Minor topics in the form of epic questions discussed connected with the epics and statements regarding the progress of the critical edition reached in 1940 and 1943 respectively bring to a close this first volume of the works of Dr. Sukthankar printed with infinite care indicative of the love borne towards him by his fellow-workers like Professor Gode.

C. S. S.

THIRUMALIRUNJOLAI MALAI (SRI ALAGAR KOVIL) STALAPURANA.

By K. N. Radhakrishna, B.A., B.L., with a foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar, Published by Sri Kallalagar Devasthanam, Madura, 1942. Pp. 315 + 194. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

India is a land of temples and particularly so South India. The beginnings of many of them are however lost in hoary antiquity and many traditions and legends have grown round their origin and growth. Such legendary accounts are contained in the Stalapuranas, which, though at times suffer from exaggerations and want of chronology, yet serve as a means by which the culture and traditions of the country have been preserved. Besides a study of the South Indian temples is a fascinating subject because they

contain a veritable mine of information about Hindu architecture and sculpture.

One of the celebrated Vaishnava shrines in South India is that of Sri Kallalagar situated thirteen miles north-north-east of Madura. It has a long and interesting history even from the Sangam age, and the Vaishnava Alvars have sung about the presiding deity of the temple. It has received the fostering care and patronage and much embellishment at the hands of the members of different dynasties that have ruled over the region, the Pandys, the Vijayanagar Emperors, the Banas and the Madura Nayaks. The book under review embodies the Stalapurana and allied orthodox literature relating to the origin and growth of this famous temple. But more important than that, the book contains a thought provoking and comprehensive study of almost every aspect of this great temple by Sri K. N. Radhakrishna, the Executive Officer of the Sri Kallalagar Devasthanam, who has contributed a long and learned introduction to the Stalapurana covering more than 300 pages. He has made use of all sources of information on the subject, literary and epigraphical, and his presentation is attractive and forceful.

The author first reviews the history of Thirumalirunjolai malai and its environs from very early times and gives a list of the references to the place and its temple in different works which bear testimony to its antiquity and renown. Some one hundred and twenty inscriptions have been copied from the temple by the Madras Epigraphy Department and the more important of them are then discussed in a chapter in their bearings on the history of the local area and the temple. In the next two chapters the author traces the history of the temple with the help of the *Vrishabhadhri Mahatmya* and describes the different shrines and sub-shrines in the Stala. He feels that Buddhism and Jainism flourished in the region round the Alagar Hills. The temple is a fertile field for the student of architecture and sculpture and the author's description of the different items of sculptural and architectural interest as also the jewels and ornaments in the temple is extremely useful and interesting.

Mr. Radhakrishna's book is thus a very useful and welcome publication which contains a great fund of information about the ancient and sacred Thirumalirunjolai. The value of the book is enhanced by the large number of illustrations in art paper and a topographical sketch of the place which have been included in it. We wish that the authorities of the numerous temples in India produce works of a similar nature which would enrich our knowledge of the artistic and cultural achievements of the people of ancient and mediaeval India.

T. V. M.

MARATHA POLITY. By S. V. Puntambekar (Minerva Series on Government.) The Minerva Bookshop, Lahore, Price As. 6.

The beginnings of the Maratha polity can be traced from 1646 when Shivaji declared himself independent. It took a definite shape with his coronation in 1674. It was primarily a national polity. For the Marathas were fired by patriotic fervour and impulses and they venerated indigenous

traditions and laws. The development of the polity was twofold or rather threefold, because after Shahu the Peshwa polity underwent some important changes. It was Shivaji who gave it a new life and a new impetus. He suppressed the feudal element, paid the officials of the state liberal salaries and dispensed with the incompetent and the disloyal. His idea of Swarajya was a centralised state. Still it was a people's government, modern in character. It maintained the old democratic bodies which discharged police, judicial, social and economic work.

Under Shahu conditions changed. The feudal elements became pre-dominating and many high officers became hereditary, jagirs being assigned to them for their upkeep and maintenance. After Shivaji his polity developed into a Samrajya or empire. The administration was largely marred by the Peshwa and the Sardars. The new conquests became their jagirs. This system weakened the king and enhanced the power of the Peshwa and Sardars. This led in course of time to the Peshwas becoming the pivot of the administration as the vice-regents of the Ruler. He ran the state with a central secretariat. Notwithstanding the transformations it was on the whole a liberal administration catering to the security and welfare of its subjects.

Thanks are due to Prof. Puntambekar who has done his task well and to the enterprising publishers who have taken up voluntarily the pleasant duty of popularising our systems of government by pamphlets of this kind.

V. R. R. D.

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The first of these two volumes of the learned author's papers, constituting 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 down to about 1300 A.D. The second volume deals more particularly with phases of the history of South India from about 1300 A.D. onwards.

In a compass of 25 chapters, the first volume presents a bird's-eye-view of the history of India down to circa 700 A.D., stressing, in particular, the fol-
lowing movement of the Satvatas gradually into the South, glimpses of the Mauryan
penetration into the Tamil land, and a possible Tamil equivalent of Asoka's
agniskhamda, the Hun problem in Indian history, a study of the Vakatakas,
some problems of Gupta history, and the Gurjara empire. Then follow
a survey of Kalingadesa with a note on the main styles of Hindu architec-
ture. This part 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 evolution through the ages of the Pallavas, the Cholas,
the Hoysalas and the imperial Pandyas of the 13th century follows. 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 swimmingly through the history of the glorious Vijayanagara empire and its achievement of conservation of the best fruits of Hindu civilisation, the history of the early Wodeyars of Seringapatam-Mysore, who are the real present-day guardians of both the Hoysala and Vijayanagara heritages, 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 India and to Akkanna and Madanna, the powerful Hindu ministers of Golconda in the last days of that Sultanate. The volume concludes with a glimpse of the well-known legendary hero Raja Desing of Gingee and of some aspects of early English trade. While these historical chapters constitute the first part of this 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 Tirumangal, Buddhism in Kanchi, Mylapore and its earliest nucleus, *Pancharatra* 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 greatly 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 comparable in value and interest to the *Collected Papers of Prof. Maitland* and Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, to give only two analogues.

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