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JOURNAL

OF

INDIAN HISTORY

(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR)

Vol. XXIV, Part 3.

December 1945

Serial No. 72.

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Rājasēvāsakta

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Journal of Indian History

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APRIL, AUGUST AND DECEMBER

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Full page of cover, Rs. 15 or £ 1

Full page inside, Rs. 10 or 15s.

Half-page cover, Rs. 8 or 12s.

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ANANDA PRESS, MADRAS.

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OURSELVES.

It will be remembered that we made ourselves responsible for the Journal of Indian History as it entered upon its fourth year of existence in 1924. We stated in the first number "The third year proved a crisis in its existence, as Professor" (*since Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan*) "Khan of the Allahabad University found it impossible to continue it on its old basis. It threatened to go out of existence for lack of support, and in the absence of any offer from the Universities or other public bodies to take it over, I ventured to take upon myself the editorial and business management of the journal in the hope that it would be possible for me to secure for it adequate support not merely to keep it going, but to stimulate sufficient public interest to assure for it a permanent existence". It is gratifying that almost at the end of the year 1945 we can say with a good conscience, we have been able to struggle successfully through twenty years and brought the journal to its twenty-fifth volume. We took over the journal against disinterested advice from friends like the late Sir Richard Temple and the Rev. Dr. Macphail and others. We have the gratification now of having taken it through twenty years, not without many ups and downs in the course of the working of it. It is matter for gratification that what seemed a foolhardy venture has proved successful to that extent, and now that the University of Travancore are taking it over, it is assured of a continued existence, let us hope, for a very long time. It is that hope that has been the deciding factor in our handing over the journal to that learned body. While normally certain individuals, who have contributed to its successful working, would have been glad to have taken it over, our decision in favour of the University is in the full belief that its future is assured by its transfer to that body under a sympathetic government like that of Travancore. We part with the journal, not without sincere regret, but with the satisfaction of its assured future. We wish the University at Trivandrum and the enlightened state of Travancore all success in this effort, as we know that the government of Travancore has exhibited very great interest in making the University at Trivandrum an all-round enlightened centre of learning, providing for all branches of study and advanced work in research. We wish the University all success in this noble effort, and along with it the successful working of the journal to serve a wider and even more lasting purpose than we have been able to do. We wish good-bye to the journal, which has been a source of happy occupation of time, though not without anxiety in regard to its successful working. We offer our grateful thanks to the Madras, Osmania, Annamalai and other Universities for the financial assistance that they had rendered, and to all our colleagues all over India and outside, who have contributed to ensure the successful working of the journal.

The Marvels of Mohen-Jo-Daro

BY

PROF. K. N. VASWANI, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), F.R.E.S. (London),
D. G. National College, Hyderabad, Sind.

"Five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind were enjoying an advanced civilization, closely akin but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt—This is what discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro now place beyond question,"

Sir John Marshall in *Mohen-Jo-Daro and Indus Civilization*.

"Though much is known yet much abides"—how very true of Ancient History this is! Recent archaeological excavations at Mohen-Jo-Daro in Sind, and at Harappa in the Punjab, have brought to light an ancient civilization, which the archaeologists have unhesitatingly declared to be earlier than the Aryan civilization of India. The finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro, revealing a marvellous culture, surpassing in many respects, the splendour of Egypt and Mesopotamia, have revolutionised our ideas of the antiquity and origin of Indian civilization; and our Indian civilization which was formerly supposed to be only 3500 years old—The Aryans came to India about 1500 B. C.—is now held to be at least 5000 years old, contemporaneous with the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Our history has thus been pushed back, by no less than 1500 years, and we are to be counted among the most ancient civilized peoples of the world.

To begin the story¹ of this ancient civilization unveiled at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab in 1921, and at Mohen-Jo-Daro in the Larkana District of Sind in 1922, we note that this civilization is called the Indus Civilization, for both Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro are found to lie in the old bed of the river, Indus, which has been a capricious river, having changed its course no less than 18 times. Mohen-Jo-Daro, more than Harappa, is the source of information about this ancient civilization; for while Harappa was used as a quarry for bricks during successive ages and therefore not much was left of it, such was not the fate of Mohen-Jo-Daro. Mohen-Jo-Daro, which name means mound of the killed—as in Babylonia so here in the Indus valley, the city mounds seem to be the treasure-house of information—tells the story of a wonderful civilization.

1. Brailsford in an article in the Manchester Guardian.

Toy birds with holes in them, served as whistles for children. A toy-bull wags his head when his tail is pulled. Clay models of men and animals have also been found. The children had beautiful marbles to play with, and other people amused themselves with board games. Numerous dice have been found.

Our attempt to reconstruct from the marvels discovered at Mohen-Jo-Daro, a picture of the life of the Indus people 5000 years ago, leads us to the conclusion "That the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at Mohen-Jo-Daro were much in advance of anything to be found at that time in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile" says Sir John Marshall. The same is the opinion of V. G. Childe who writes: "Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal cutting and the grace of pottery, the Indus civilization was far ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third Millennium B. C." It gives us great joy and great pride to know and to feel that India has been one of the pioneers of civilization, perhaps the earliest cradle of culture and that this little province of Sind—our own Sind—was the spot where this civilization first rose, where this ancient culture first flowered.

The discovery of the marvels of Mohen-Jo-Daro has had a miraculous effect not only on the history of India but also on that of the world. "With a single flash the civilization of Sind and the Punjab gleams before our eyes, the civilization which is the most ancient" wrote Sir John Marshall in London Times, and in the Illustrated London News of 20th September 1924, he wrote: "At a single bound we find that five thousand years ago, the people of Sind and the Punjab were living in well built cities and were in possession of a civilization with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing." It has been a momentous archaeological discovery—this, of Mohen-Jo-Daro—which has opened out a new historical vista to the world and provided a vast field of research to India's large army of history students.

The Kṛta Era

(A brief summary of a paper read before the 'Second Indian History Congress' held at Allahabad in 1938.)

[DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.]

From epigraphic evidence we know of an era called Kṛta. The precise interpretation of this term was for a long time shrouded in mystery. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions XXI, 'The years called Kṛta.....' (Ind. Ant. 1932 pp. 101-03) has put forth the suggestion that the Kṛta Era is identical with the Kṛta or Satya Yuga introduced by Kalki as stated in the Purāṇas. He also showed from the late Jayaswal that according to some Purāṇas Kalki has come and gone. 'This shows that the Kalki Age has also passed away, giving rise to the Kṛta which is therefore now going on.' Dr. Bhandarkar could not continue his studies on this most interesting topic. Evidence of an overwhelming nature has now been found to show the correctness of his view. In the Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 47, verses 255 and 262, it is stated *tataḥ kāle vyatīte tu sa devo-ntarādhiyata* ('then after sometime that king Kalki departed') also *kṣiṇe Kaliyuge tasminstataḥ kṛtamavartata* ('Kali yuga having ended, the Kṛta was then ushered in') as already shown by Jayaswal and Dr. Bhandarkar. In the Kalki Purāṇa (Part III, Ch. 19) also it is distinctly stated that after the introduction of the Kṛta yuga Kalki departed from this world. On hearing of his departure king Viśākhayūpa also installed his son on the throne and left for the forest. It is stated in the Kalki Purāṇa that Kalki defeated the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Mlecchas with, the help of king Viśākhayūpa and then introduced the Kṛta, at the end of the Kali, yuga. In the *Jyōtirvidābharaṇa* by Kālidāsa (Ch. 10, verses 110 and 112) we find the names of the six epoch-makers among whom Bali is mentioned as one. The verse has a variant reading which runs thus: *Yudhiṣṭhirād Vikrama-sālivāhanau tato nṛpāḥ syād Vijayā-bhinandanāḥ Tatastu Nāgārjuna-bhupatiḥ kalau Valkiḥ saḍete śaka-kārakāḥ nṛpāḥ*. Here 'Valki' occurs in place of 'Bali'. 'Valki' is evidently incorrect, the correct form being Kalki. The verse 112 runs thus; *Nāgārjuno Rohitake Kṣitau Balir bhaviṣyatīndro Bhṛgukacchapattane Kṛta-pravṛttis-tadanamtaram bhavet tadā bhaviṣyatyavanibhutoṣkataḥ (?)* After 'Bali or Valki (Kalki)' the Kṛta yuga was then ushered in. Even with the reading 'Bali' we get an interesting confirmation from the commentary of Bhāvaratna on the above verses: *Anuktāni api atra granthāntarād eṣām vamaṇāmāni āha-Rājādhiraḥ kila Kalkir-ātmabhūṣ-tat sthāpito rāj*

It comprises two principal mounds, the larger 1,300 yds. long and 670 yards wide, and the smaller 440 yards by 330 yards. Layer after layer of buildings, superimposed one over another like the nine cities of Troy—Seven cities have been found here—has been unearthed, and the life of a forgotten people, has been brought to light, in all its rich variety.

The city of Mohen-Jo-Daro with its broad streets, straight rows of buildings, the cross roads cutting at right-angles, which can be seen even to-day, was a model of town planning. The houses were spacious and were built of brick. They had courtyards, bath rooms which were well paved, staircases and upper storeys. Each house had its own well, which supplies water, even to-day. An elaborate system of drainage and sanitation "better than any thing that was usual in Europe till the nineteenth century" existed. The drains were all covered. The perfect drainage system revealing co-ordination between private and public construction, indicates a high class civic organisation—an enlightened municipality. Among the buildings discovered are: some pillared halls, certain remarkable buildings which some think are temples—no images have been found, a market square with lines of shops; and a great tank which it appears served as a bathing place for the public—chambers for bathers are to be seen around it. Dr. Mackay suggests that "bathing was a ritual of the people of Mohen-Jo-Daro".² But this is only a surmise. Much cannot be said about the religion of the people. The figures on their seals and amulets tell us something of their gods and goddesses. One seal shows a humped bull of great size, another a nude three-headed deity with horns, in a Yoga pose—supposed to be Shiva. Tree worship, water or river worship and animal worship also seem to have prevailed. The dead were buried; in several cases first cremated and then their ashes put in urns or jars, which were buried. Some of these urns or jars and some skeletons have been found. The skeletons and measurements of the doors of the houses show that the people were not tall. Men wore beards and sometimes shaved the upper lip—razors and mirrors have been found. It is doubtful whether the Mohen-Jo-Daro people believed in a life after death.

Implements and utensils were made of polished stone. Copper or bronze, gold, silver, even tin and zinc were known, but not iron. The people seem to have been devoted to peace, rather than war. They had simple weapons—axes, spears, bows and arrows. Only two short swords have been found. Spinning and weaving were known, and clothes of cotton, even wool, were worn. Wheat, barley and oats were grown. The cow, the buffalo and the goat were domesticated for milk, and fish formed

2. Dr. E. Mackay in his book "*The Indus Civilisation*"

part of food. The seals show even the tiger, the elephant and the rhinoceros, but neither the camel nor the horse. The people were rich and had a high standard of living which is seen in their fine furniture and beautiful jewellery. They even used cosmetics. Gold and silver bangles, ear and nose ornaments, rings, necklaces, bracelets and precious stones of 23 varieties have been found. "The gold ornaments are so well finished and so highly polished that they might have come out of a Bond Street jeweller rather than from a prehistoric house of 5000 years ago" writes Sir John Marshall.³ Not many specimens of the art of the sculptor have been found, but the few portraits which have been discovered, and sculptures and carvings in alabaster and marble, indicate that great progress had been achieved in this art. Female figures showing that the art of dancing was then practised, have been obtained. Glazed pottery, decorated with beautiful animal and human figures, has also been found. Pottery work was put to many uses. There were pottery drain-pipes, toys, vases, bird-cages, candle-stands and several other things.

Seals are the cream of the fascinating finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro. As many as 558 specimens have been found. Some are made of copper but most are of ivory. They are of all sizes and shapes—square, cube, cylinder, round and rectangular. Many bear animal and human forms on them, and on many there are inscriptions in a pictograph. Some seals appear to have been worn as amulets. The pictographic seals prove that the people were familiar with the art of writing. It has not yet been possible to decipher this writing. But a great resemblance has been noticed between it and that on Sumerian seals. It has been suggested that the people of the Indus Valley were great traders and carried on trade with Mesopotamia both by sea and the old land route running through the Bolon Pass. The weights and measures of the Mohen-Jo-Daro people were very delicate and ran down to very small units—this supports the suggestion that they were great traders. "These Indian weights are made with greater accuracy and consistency than those of Elam and Mesopotamia" says Mr. A. S. Hammy. Gold which has been found in Mohen-Jo-Daro is said to have come from Mysore and precious stones have been obtained, which are said to have come from the Nilgiris. It thus seems clear that the Indus civilization did not flourish in isolation, but had close links with different parts of India, and even with Western Asia.

Toys are trifling things, but the toys in Mohen-Jo-Daro, what a tremendous importance they possess. They tell us a lot about our ancestors 3000 years ago. Wheeled carts must have been common, for toy models of them have been found. They were very like the modern farm carts of Sind.

3. Sir John Marshall in an article in the *Illustrated London News*.

Balir-atra dikṣakaḥ We are here told that Kalki was *rājādhirāja* and that when he passed away he established his son Bali on the throne. Thus from the above it will clearly be seen that the interpretation of 'Kṛta' as found in several inscriptions is the well-known Kṛta of Satya yuga introduced by Kalki. In the Skanda Purāṇa—Māheśvara khaṇḍa—kumārīka khaṇḍa—verses 248 to 276, are given some details of the different epochs including that of the Kṛta yuga introduced by Kalki. There it is stated that the very first Kṛta uga was different from the others introduced later: *ādyam kṛta yugacānyad tadanyebhyo viśiṣyate* (274).

While editing the 'Three Maukhari inscriptions on Yupas: Kṛta year 295'—in the Epig. Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-52. Prof. A. S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University while quoting Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's opinion that the time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation of the term 'Kṛta' puts forth, however, a tentative theory and suggests that the era may originally have been started by a king named Kṛta who probably scored a memorable victory and won great booty (Kṛita). In view of the overwhelming nature of evidence already stated it is clear that Kṛta was Kṛta because it was the Kṛta yuga started by king Kalki. It is again strange that Kṛta should be taken as the name of a king, because in all inscriptions Kṛta is in apposition to 'Vatsara' or 'Varṣa' which means 'a year'. Now when we have such an expression as *Kṛteṣu caturṣu varṣaśateṣu* etc. in the Nāgari inscription of year 481 how can Kṛta mean here a king called 'Kṛta'. What is meant by '481 years which are Kṛta Kings', as this expression has to be so translated if Prof. Altekar's theory is upheld? Prof. Altekar cites the Sunak plate of Karnaḍadeva and the Bhedreśwar plate of Chālukya Jayasimhadeva dated in year 1148 and 1195 where the expression 'Vikrama Samvat' occurs and also shows that 'Valabhi Samvat' occurs in some places. But these can very well be compound words. If Prof. Altekar could have cited an example like *Vikrame Samvatsare*, then his case might have been stronger. Kṛta must therefore be taken in the sense of 'the years of Kṛta yuga' ushered in by Kalki.

Now, a few words regarding the epoch of the era. From the Kalki Purāṇa we learn that the Kṛta era was started during the reign of king Viśākhayūpa. In the Purāṇas we have the name of only one king Viśākhayūpa, son of Pālaka of Avanti or Mālava of the Pradyota dynasty. The tradition among the Jains is persistent that Pālaka, the Lord of Avanti was anointed in the very night in which the Arhat Tirthankara Mahāvira attained Nirvāṇa which occurred in 528 B.C. according to Jaina tradition. From the Purāṇas we know Pālaka reigned for 24 years (28 years—Matsya) i.e., from 528 to 504 (or 500 B.C.,—Matsya)

who was followed by his son Viśākhayūpa who reigned for 50 years (53 years—Matsya) i.e., from 504 to 454 B.C. (500 to 447 B.C. according to the Matsya Purāṇa). Thus Kalki with the help of king Viśākhayūpa re-introduced the Kṛta era sometime between 504 and 447 B.C. The reason why this Kṛta era was also known as the era traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe (Mālava-gaṇa-āmuṇāte) or according to the settled usage among the Mālava tribe (Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt) is that king Viśākhayūpa of Avanti or Mālava re-introduced this Kṛta era during his reign (504 to 447 B.C.). This supports my theory already put forth in a separate paper on the epoch of the Kṛta era being identical with the epoch of the Śree Harṣa mentioned by Alberuni, i.e., 458 B.C.

According to Jaina tradition Mahāvira attained Nirvāṇa three years and some months before the close of the fourth age called Duṣṣama Susama in the great period, called Avasarpiṇī. As Mahāvira attained Nirvāṇa in 528 B.C. the Duṣṣama Susama period ended in 525 B.C. from which date the Duṣṣama age began. From Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa as quoted by Dr. Shamasastri (The Age of the Early Guptas, Ann. Rep. of the Mysore Arch. Dep. for 1923) we know that when one thousand years of the Duṣṣama had elapsed there was born a Kalki in Pāṭaliputra in a Mahā Māgha year. Now a thousand years from 525 B.C. leads us to A.D. 475. The previous year A.D. 474 was a Mahā Māgha year according to the twelve years' cycle of Jupiter. Past and future incarnations of Kalki, the oppressor of the Mlecchas, the Jains and the Buddhists at intervals of about 1,000 years from Mahāvira is persistent among the Jains who even calculated a Kalki era from the Kalki born in A.D. 474, the previous Kalki was born according to Jaina tradition one thousand years earlier in (1000-473, or) 527 B.C. i.e., immediately after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa. As Kalki lived up to 70 or 72 years according to Jaina tradition, i.e., up to (527-70 or 72) 457 or 455 B.C. evidently he introduced the Kṛta era about 457 B.C. and then departed from this world. Thus this Jaina tradition also supports the epoch of the Kṛta era introduced by Kalki to be about 457 B.C.

It should be remembered however, that the epoch of the era of the Lord of Mālava (*Mālaveśa*) i.e., Vikramāditya, Lord of Ujjayini (*Ujjayinipuravarādhisvara*) in Mālava, is quite distinct from the era of the Mālava-gaṇa.

From the traditions quoted above we see that the Kṛta or Mālava era by Kalki and the Vikrama era introduced by Vikramāditya are quite distinct and separate and the identity of the two assumed to support Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 318-19) is incorrect.

From another source the correctness of the above epoch will follow. According to Universal Indian tradition the Kali yuga began from 3102 B.C.

But from the duration of the four Yugas (a Mahāyuga) as found in Hindu Astronomical treatises and the Purāṇas it does not follow that a Kṛta or Satya yuga began about 458 B. C. However, John Bentley in his 'On the Hindu Systems of Astronomy' (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII, 1808, pp. 223-224) showed from an unknown work 'Graha Manjari' that a shorter cycle of the four Yugas (a Mahāyuga) comprising 2400 years was also in use among the early Hindus in addition to the bigger cycles of Yugas. Dividing similarly a Mahāyuga of the bigger Cycle, a Kali of the shorter cycle comprised 240 years. Thus from the beginning of Kali to the end of another Kali or the beginning of Kṛta (Satya) we have (2400 + 240, or) 2640 years. We know that in ancient times the year consisted of 366 days. Therefore 2640 years of 366 days is equivalent to 2645 years and some days more. Thus a Kali yuga beginning in 3102 B. C. the next Kali ended in (3102-2645, or) 457 B. C. when a new Kṛta began. This proves clearly that the Epoch of the Kṛta era is practically identical with the epoch of the Śree Harṣa era i.e., 458-457 B. C.

As the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era is about 400 years later than the epoch of the Kṛta era, as is known from epigraphic evidence, we get an indirect support of the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas to be 58-57 B. C. the well-known epoch of the Vikrama era.

I now append a list of the inscriptions recorded in the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era with their corresponding equivalents in Christian era assuming 458 B. C. to be the epoch of the era.

1. The two Nāndsā (Rājputānā) pillar inscriptions dated in Kṛta year 282 (Dr. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions No. 1) records the performance of the Shaṣṭirātra sacrifice by Saktiguṇaguru. This date is, therefore, equivalent to (458-282, or) 176 B. C. during Pushyamitra's rule when vedic sacrifices were revived.

2. The newly discovered three Maukhari inscriptions on Yupas (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, No. 7, pp. 42-52) dated in Kṛta year 295 mentions Mahāsenāpati Vala. This title Mahāsenāpati reminiscent of Sunga times (cf. Senāpati Pushyamitra) is noticed by Prof. A. S. Altekar, the editor of the inscriptions. The date of the inscriptions is equivalent to (458-1295, or) 163 B. C. during Pushyamitra's rule.

3. The Vijayagadh inscription of Viṣṇuwardhana (Bhandarkar's List No. 2) dated in Kṛta year 428 is equivalent to (458-428, or) 30 B. C. (V. S. 28 current) during Chandragupta I's or his son Samudragupta's rule.

4. The Mandaser inscription of Naravarman, father of Viśvavarman of the following inscription, (Bhandarkar's List No. 3) dated in Kṛta or

Mālava year 461 is equivalent to Vikrama year 61 A. D. 4 during Chandragupta II's rule. 'Naravarman is called in the inscription *Simhavikrānta-gāmin*, which most probably refers to his being a feudatory of Chandragupta I of the Gupta family one of whose titles was *Simhavikrama*'.

5. The Gaṅgdhar inscription of Viśvavarman, father of Bandhuvarman who was a feudatory of Kumārāgupta I (Bhandarkar's List No. 4) dated Kṛta year 480 is equivalent to V. S. 80 = A. D. 23 and falls during Chandragupta II's rule.

6. Dr. Bhandarkar's Nagari epigraph (Bhandarkar's List No. 5) dated in Kṛta year 481 is equivalent to V. S. 81 = A. D. 24 and falls during Chandragupta II's reign.

7. The Mandaser inscription of Kumārāgupta and Bandhuvarman (Bhandarkar's List Nos. 6 and 8) dated in Mālava years 493 and 529 during Kumārāgupta I's rule are equivalent to V. S. 93 and 129 (= A. D. 36 and 72 respectively) when Kumārāgupta I was ruling. (Kumārāgupta I reigned from Sam. 93 to 136).

8. The Mandaser inscription of Prabhākara (Bhandarkar's List No. 7) dated in Mālava year 524 mentions the early Gupta emperor Chandragupta II and his son Govindagupta. This date is equivalent to V. S. 124 = A. D. 67 and falls during Govindagupta's brother Kumārāgupta I's rule (Kumārāgupta I reigned from Sam. 93 to 136). 'As Prabhākara is called *Guptānvayāridruma-dhūma-Ketu*, he probably was a feudatory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty'.

9. The Mandaser inscription of Rājādhirāja Yasodharman Viṣṇuwardhana who defeated Mihirakula as we know from his two other inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List No. 9) dated in Mālava year 388 is equivalent to V. S. 189 current = A. D. 131) shows clearly that Mihirakula as well as Narasimhagupta Bālāditya lived during this time—thus exactly verifying the date for these as preserved in Yuan Chwang's records.

"Citerior India of Rufinus, Circa 400 A. D."

(A REPLY)

BY

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Patna.

Last year in the August number (Pp. 110-115) of this Journal Mr. T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., of Trivandrum has contributed an article entitled 'Citerior India of Rufinus, circa 400 A.D.'. In this article he has endeavoured to prove against our opinion that the Citerior India and the Ulterior India mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus of Aquileia (345-410 A.D.) were places in Arabia and that the Citerior India allotted to and evangelized by St. Bartholomew the Apostle was Arabia Felix. In our present article we shall examine how far he has succeeded in his attempt.

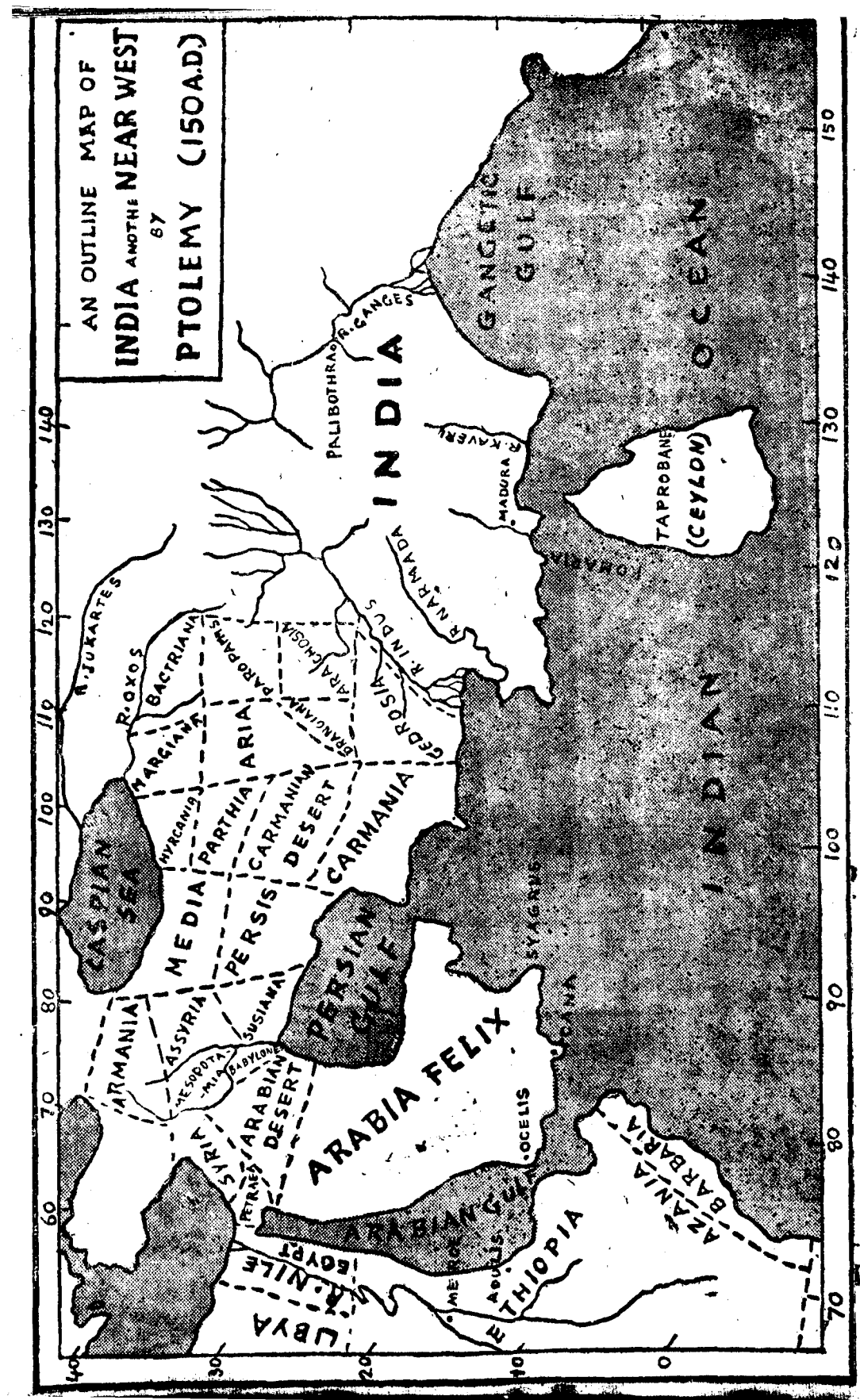
I

Before beginning our discussion, we think it better to reproduce here below the full text of Rufinus. In his Ecclesiastical History Rufinus writes: "In that division of the world made by the Apostles for the preaching of the word of God, by drawing lots, while different provinces fell to different Apostles, Parthia fell to Thomas; to Matthew fell Ethiopia; and the Citerior India adherent to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew. Placed between this (Citerior India) and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies Ulterior India, inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues. This place, so remote that no ploughshare of apostolic preaching had touched it, received the first seeds of faith in the days of Constantine in some such manner as this¹. A certain Metrodorus, a philosopher.

A few Abbreviations:

- McA. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
- McC. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.
- McD. McCrindle's Ancient India and its invasion by Alexander the Great
- McE. McCrindle's Ancient India as described in classical literature.
- MG. Patrologia Græca, Migne edition.
- ML. Patrologia Latina, Migne edition.
- N. B. Excluding the asterisk, all the italics are ours.

¹ As this first part is very important for our study the original text is given here in full. "In ea divisione orbis terre, quæ ad prædicandum verbum Dei sorte per Apostolos celebrata est, cum aliæ aliis provinciæ obvenissent, Thomæ Parthia et Matthæo Ethiopia, eique adhærens citerior India Bartholomæo dicitur sorte decreta. Inter quam Parthiamque media, sed longo interior tractu, India ulterior jacet, multis variisque linguis et gentibus habitata, quam velut longe remotum, nullus Apostolicæ prædicationis vomer impresserat, quæ tamen temporibus Constantini tali quadam ex causa semina fidei prima suscepit" (Lib. I. c. 9).



for the sake of visiting places and examining the world, is said to have penetrated into Uterior India. A certain Meropius too, a philosopher of Tyre, being invited by his example, desired to go to India for similar reasons, taking with him two boys whom he was training in liberal literature. The younger of these was called Edesius, and the other Frumentius. While the philosopher began to return after having seen and picked up all the information his mind sought for, the ship in which he was sailing put in at a certain port to take in water or other necessities. When news reaches them from their neighbours that the treaty with the Romans is broken, it is the custom of the barbarians in those parts to kill all the Romans found among them. So they board the ship of the philosopher and put to death all the men together with him. The boys, found meditating and preparing their lessons under a tree, were brought to the king by the mercy of the barbarians. The second among these, that is, Edesius, the king makes his cupbearer. He handed over his government and the treasury to Frumentius who appeared possessed of greater intelligence and prudence. On this account they were both held in esteem and regard by the king. Before his death, leaving behind him as heirs to the kingdom a widow and a young son, he gave the young men freedom to act as they liked. But the queen begged them as if there were none more trustworthy in the whole kingdom, to remain and help her in the government of the country until her son came of age. She was specially desirous of Frumentius whose prudence was sufficient to govern the kingdom, as the other simply showed fidelity and a sober mind. Frumentius while holding the government of the country, God moving his mind and heart, was solicitous to seek out if there were Christians among the Roman traders, and to give them full power and to encourage them to erect places of meeting in different parts, and according to the Roman rite to assemble for prayer. This he himself did to a great extent, and encouraged others to follow his example, favouring them, inviting them by benefices, preferring whatever was opportune, giving them places for buildings, and all else that was necessary. Moreover he displayed the greatest interest to sow there the seeds of the Christian faith. But when the young prince, whose affairs he was managing, had attained manhood, Frumentius completed and handed over his charge to him. In spite of the entreaties of the queen and the prince to remain with them they returned to our shores. Edesius hastened to Tyre to see his parents and relatives; but Frumentius, deeming it unworthy to conceal the work of the Lord, went to Alexandria. He there explained to the bishop all that he had done, and urged him to select a worthy person and to commission him to gather the already numerous Christians and to erect churches in that barbarian land. Then Athanasius who had recently been ordained to the priesthood, duly and

favourably considering the words and deeds of Frumentius, said in the assembly of the priests: 'whom else shall we find endowed with the spirit of God, as thou, and competent to do what is required?'. Having ordained him he bade him, with God's blessing to return whence he had come. On Frumentius' return to India as bishop, it is said that such were the favours of grace God bestowed on him that the wonders of the apostolic age were seen anew and an innumerable number of barbarians were converted to the faith. It is since then that in the parts of India people were made Christian, churches erected, and the priesthood started. We know these things as they are done not from popular rumour but from the lips of Edesius himself, afterwards a priest of Tyre, who had formerly been the companion of Frumentius"².

Is Rufinus reliable concerning the things he is recounting in his narrative? He has said at the beginning of his narration: 'In that division of the world to Matthew fell Ethiopia; and the Citerior India 'adherent' to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew. Placed between this Citerior India and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies Uterior India, inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues. This place, so remote that no ploughshare of apostolic preaching had touched it, received the first seeds of faith in the days of Constantine in some such manner as this'—i.e., through the labours of St. Frumentius. In other words, by affirming that both Ethiopia and Citerior India were evangelized by Matthew and Bartholomew, and that Uterior India was not evangelized before the time of Constantine, Rufinus makes it clear that his Ethiopia and Uterior India are two different countries and that Frumentius was apostle not of Ethiopia but of Uterior India. But St. Athanasius (295–373 A. D.), bishop of Alexandria, who made Frumentius bishop of Auxum and sent him there, writes as follows in his Apology to Emperor Constantius: ".....rumour has it that letters have been given to the Chief of Auxum to see that *Frumentius, the bishop of Auxum* is brought there....."; and a Decree of Constantius to the same Chief says: "Wherefore, send *Frumentius the bishop* as soon as possible to Egypt".³ The Ethiopian tradition too is in agreement with this statement of Athanasius. Frumentius therefore was bishop of Auxum, the capital of Ethiopia, as Matthew was the Apostle of Ethiopia nearly three centuries before him. Hence Rufinus is wrong in his statement that Frumentius was bishop of Uterior India lying further away from Ethiopia. He is not reliable in every thing he recounts in his narrative.

2. Rufinus. Hist. Eccl. I. 9.; ML. 21.478-480; JBORS. 28 (1942). 4, 350-3.

3. Athanasius. Apology to Constantius, 29; MG. 25. 632; JBORS. 28 (1942). 4, 358, and Athanasius. *Ibid.*, 31; MG. 25, 636; JBORS, *ibid.*

Now some one may raise an objection here saying: "Matthew evangelized the northern part of Ethiopia which was known as the land of Kusch, and Frumentius the southern and interior part, of which Auxum was the capital. This interior Ethiopia was the Uterior India mentioned by Rufinus". Well and good. Now try to fit in the countries mentioned by Rufinus in the order in which he has described them. Northern Ethiopia is Ethiopia proper; adherent to it lies Citerior India; between this and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies Uterior India. Placed in this order where will the Uterior India be? In Africa? Will it be identical with the Interior Ethiopia? Not in the least.

Whatever then be the case Rufinus has erred in his statement concerning the field of apostolate of Frumentius.

II

Rufinus speaks of Citerior and Uterior Indias. Where are these Indias? Are they divisions of our India proper, or are they countries outside of it? Mr. Joseph contends that they are countries in Arabia (Pp. 113-4).

But what do the ancient Greeks and Latins say to this? We have shown their views in a long study, "The India of the early Greeks and Romans, from the time of Alexander's invasion of India till the fall of Alexandria—326 B. C. till 641 A. D.", published in parts 3 and 4 of the 28th volume (1942) of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. We reproduce those statements here for the sake of those who have no access to the said Journal.

A. The Geography of India.

Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos, King of Syria to the court of Chandragupta in 302 B. C. has described the boundaries of India in these terms: "India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile".⁴ Eratosthenes, the learned president of the Alexandrian Library from 240-196 B. C. writes the following: "India is bounded on the north from Ariana to the eastern sea by the extremities of the Tauros which the Macedonians call the Kaukasos, while the natives give distinctive names to the several parts, such as Paropamisos, Emodos, and Imaos, and others besides; on the west it

4. Diodorus Siculus. 2.35; McA. p. 30; JBORS. 28 (1942). 3.2.4.

is bounded by the river Indus; the southern and eastern sides are much greater than the others and project into the Atlantic Ocean⁵, and the country becomes of the shape of a rhomboid, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite by 3,000 stadia; and this is the extent of the extremity common to the eastern and southern coast which projects equally on both sides beyond the rest of the coast".⁶ Arrian (c. 150 A. D.) quoting both these writers says: "They also say that India is bounded towards the east and the east wind as far as the south by the Great Sea, and towards the north by Mount Kaukasos, as far as its junction with the Tauros, while the river Indus cuts it off from other countries towards the west and the north west wind as far as the Great Sea".⁷ Pliny writes the following in 77 A.D.: "Where the chain of Hemodus rises the communities are settled, and the nations of India, which begin there, adjoin not only the eastern sea but also the southern, which we have already mentioned under the name of the Indian Ocean. That part which faces the east runs in a straight line to the bend where the Indian Ocean begins, and measures 1,875 miles. Then from this bend to the south up to the river Indus, which forms the western boundary of India, the distance, as given by Eratosthenes, is 2,475 miles".⁸ Arrian: "Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India proper and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Tauros, though the range does not retain that name in these parts..... On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths..... On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east".⁹ Ptolemy writes the following in 150 A.D.: "India within the Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropamisadai and Arakhosia and Gedrosia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaos along the Sogdiaioi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by the portion of the Indian Ocean".¹⁰ Paul Orosius (?-417 A.D.): "Asia, towards the middle front of the Orient, has the mouths of the river Ganges and on the left the promontory of Caligardamna; below this towards the S. East lies the island of Taprobane, whence the Ocean begins to be called

5. This was one of the names applied to the whole body of water by which the world was surrounded.

6. Strabo. 15.1.11; McE. pp. 15-16; JBORS. *ibid.* 234-5.

7. Arrian. *Anabasis*. 5. 6.; McD. p. 83; JBORS. *ibid.* 235.

8. Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* 6. 17 (21); McE. p. 107; JBORS. *ibid.* 257-8.

9. Arrian. *Indika*. 2; McA. pp. 181-3; JBORS. *ibid.* 258.

10. Ptolemy. 7. 1.; McC. p. 33; JBORS. *ibid.* 258-9.

the Indian. On the right Asia has the Imai mountains; where the Caucasus ends it has the promontory of Samarum; below this towards the North lie the mouths of the river Octorogorra, whence the ocean is named the Seric. On these frontiers is *India having on the West the river Indus* which is received by the Mare Rubrum (Arabian Sea); on the North, India has the Caucasus mountain; the rest (as I said above) is bounded by the Eastern and Indian Ocean"¹¹. Cosmas (6th cent.) says: "Sindu, however, is the beginning of India; for, *the river Indus* which is the Phison and which has mouths in the Persian Gulf, *divides Persia from India*"¹². And finally St. Isidore of Seville (638 A.D.) writes: "India derives its name from *the river Indus, by which it is enclosed on the West*. It stretches out from the southern sea to the rising of the sun, and it extends on the North as far as the Caucasus mountain. It has many nations, towns and also the island of Taprobone which is filled with elephants. It has (the islands of) Chryse and Argyra which are rich in gold and silver, and also (the island of) Tyle which is never wanting in foliage. It has both the rivers Ganges and Indus and Hypasis which make the Indian famous"¹³.

Thus all these authors beginning from Megasthenes in 302 B. C. till St. Isidore of Seville in 638 A. D. speak consistently of the Indus river as the Western boundary of India. Ptolemy however includes as part of India the immediate borderland of the Indus on its western bank. And Pliny, taking into account the views of certain anonymous writers before him, writes as follows: "Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,—the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadae, making the river Cophes (Cabul) its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii"¹⁴. This fact is mentioned also by Arrian in his *Indika I*.

Here we have to keep in mind that these writers are giving the opinions of certain pre-Christian writers. By the treaty between Seleukos and Chandragupta parts of these four satrapies were added to the kingdom of Chandragupta. Hence during the Mauryan rule these same parts were considered as belonging to India. These in fact did not belong to India geographically but only politically or racially. This is why Arrian and Pliny correct the wrong opinions of certain previous writers by giving the geographical boundary of India with the river Indus on the West.

11. Orosius. Hist. Liber. 1. 2.; ML. 31. 675-6; JBORS. *ibid.* 259.

12. Cosmas. Christian Topography. 12; MG. 88. 448; JBORS. *ibid.* 259-60.

13. Isidore. Etymologiarum Liber. 14. 3. 5-6; ML. 82. 497; JBORS. *ibid.* 260-1.

14. Pliny. 6. 23; McA. pp. 151-2.; JBORS. *ibid.* 258 note.

Be the case as it may, for the sake of argument, and only for that purpose, we shall take those four satrapies of Persia mentioned by Pliny as belonging to India and make India roughly correspond to the present day India including Baluchistan and the Frontier Province.

B. The Geography of Persia.

In order to understand better the geographical position of India we shall add here the geographies of both Persia and Arabia Felix. "Ariane (Iran), he (Eratosthenes) says, is bounded on *the east by the Indus*, on the south by the Great Sea, on the north by the Paropamisos and the mountains which continue it, as far as the Kaspian Gates, and on the west by the same limits as separate Parthyene from Media and Karmania from Paraitakene and Persis"¹⁵. Strabo: "Next to India is Ariane, the first portion of the country subject to the Persians, lying beyond the river Indus, and the first also of the upper Satrapies without the Tauros. It is bounded on the north by the same mountains as India, and on the south by the same sea and the same river, *the Indus which forms the boundary between itself and India*. It stretches thence towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Kaspian Gates to Karmania, so that its shape is quadrilateral. The southern side begins at the mouth of the Indus and Patalene, and terminates at Karmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, in a cape which projects a good distance southwards. It then makes a bend in the direction of Persis"¹⁶. Orosius writes: "From the river Indus, which is in the East as far as the river Tigris which is in the West these are the regions: Aracosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persia and Media. (They are) mountainous and rugged. They have on the North mount Caucasus, on the South Mare Rubrum and the Persian Gulf; the chief rivers Hydaspes and Arbis are in the middle of these. In these there are 32 tribes. But generally the country is called Parthia, although Holy Scripture calls the whole Media"¹⁷. And Isidore of Seville: "From the frontiers of India as far as Mesopotamia (the land) is generally called Parthia. On account of the unconquered strength of the Parthians both Assyria and other neighbouring regions changed their names to that of Parthia. There are, therefore, in it Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Media and Persia, which being united to one another begin from the river Indus and are enclosed by the Tigris....."¹⁸.

15. Strabo. 15. 2. 8.; McE. p. 86; JBORS. *ibid.* 261.

16. Strabo. 15. 2. 1.; McE. pp. 80-1; JBORS. *ibid.* 261-2.

17. Orosius. Hist. Liber. 1. 2.; ML. 31. 676-7; JBORS. *ibid.* 262.

18. Isidore. Ety. Liber. 14. 3. 3.; ML. 82. 497; JBORS. *ibid.* 263.

C. The Geography of Arabia Felix.

"Arabia Felix", says Ptolemy, "is bounded on the North exposing its flanks to the southern sides of Petra and the desert of Arabia and to the northern part of the Persian Gulf; and on the West by the Arabian Gulf; on the South by the Erythraean (Arabian) Sea; on the East by a part of the Persian Gulf and the sea which flows from its shore up to the promontory of Syagrus"¹⁹. Pliny speaks of Arabia Felix thus: "This peninsula of Arabia stretches between two seas, the Red Sea and the Persian Sea; by some disposition of nature it is surrounded by the sea to the likeness and extension of Italy, and its orientation is absolutely in the same direction; in that position it is also prosperous"²⁰. Pomponius Mela: "Arabia, called the Happy, is said to be a narrow strip of land, but very rich in sinnamon, incense and other perfumes. The Sabeans hold the greater part (of the country); the Maceans the other part near the entrance (of the sea) and opposite to the Carmanians.....The Arabs surround the other Gulf on all sides"²¹. Orosius writes: "From the river Tigris as far as the Euphrates is Mesopotamia which begins from the north between the mountains Taurus and Caucasus. To this is adjoined Babylonia towards the South, then Chaldea and finally Arabia Felix. This is a narrow strip of land extending towards the East between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs"²². And finally Isidore of Seville writes: "The country is called Arabia, that is sacred. It is interpreted to signify this because the region is incense-bearing and producing perfumes. The Greeks call it *Eudaimona*, we however, call it the blessed;This country is also called Saba after the son of Chus who was called Saba. This, however, extends as a narrow strip of land facing the East in the direction of the Persian Gulf; its northern part is enclosed by Chaldea and the West by the Arabian Gulf"²³.

Now examine, if you please, the different writers from the time of Megasthenes (300 B. C.) to St. Isidore of Seville (650 A. D.), whether Christian or non-Christian, and try to find out if any of them is locating an India in Africa or Arabia. As for the present writer, he has not found any author giving any *clear* indication that the Ancients had an India somewhere outside the India of the present day.

III

A

For the Ancients of 326 B. C. to 641 A. D. there was only one India—the India of the present day. There is no reason to suppose that for Rufinus

19. Ptolemy. 6. 6. 1.; JBORS. *ibid.* 263.

20. Pliny. 6. 143; JBORS. *ibid.* 264.

21. Mela. De Chronographia. 3. 79-80; JBORS. *ibid.* 264.

22. Orosius. Hist. Lib. 1. 2.; ML. 31. 677; JBORS. *ibid.* 264-5.

23. Isidore. Etymol. Liber. 14. 3. 15.; ML. 82. 498; JBORS. *ibid.* 265.

(345-410) alone there was another India somewhere in Africa or Arabia. Such a supposition needs proof and no such proof has been produced yet.

Rufinus has stated that Bartholomew received the Citerior India for his apostolate. We have shown in a previous article, 'The Apostles of Kalyana (Bombay)', through the pages of this journal that this Citerior India is the Konkan Coast—Bombay Coast. In that article we had brought in Rufinus as an authority. Leave him out for the present and consider only the other authorities quoted there. They will furnish ample material, both Indian and foreign, to establish on a firm basis the apostolate of St. Bartholomew on the Konkan Coast of India.

Now, Mr. Joseph says: "From the above discussion in the light of history it can be inferred that South Arabia (Arabia Felix) was Rufinus' Citerior India. His Ulterior India will then be the rest of Arabia (to the west of Parthia so called)" (Pp. 113-14). What is this 'light of history' which he has given us? In section V he states that Arabia Felix was under the sway of Ethiopia. And in section IV A, B and C he gives the different meanings he and his friends have found for 'adherent' in the dictionaries consulted by them. Those meanings are: "to stick to, to adhere, to keep close to, to cleave to, to hang to, to cling to, to embrace closely, to border on, to be near, and to keep close to a person". From these premises he draws the conclusion that Rufinus' Indias are in Arabia. How this conclusion follows from his premises, it is not quite clear, for there is no connection between the premises and conclusion.

Mr. Joseph has neither produced any testimony from any writer to show that the field of apostolate of St. Bartholomew was in Arabia, nor has he proved by applying the documents given in our article that those documents apply only to Arabia Felix. Until he does this, we repeat here that the Citerior India allotted to and evangelized by St. Bartholomew was the Kalyana Coast—Konkan Coast of India.

B

So far we have seen that there was only one India and the Citerior India was the Konkan Coast. We shall now take into consideration the Ulterior India of Rufinus. He says that it lay between Parthia and Citerior India, but far to the interior. This will be the whole of the Indo-Gangetic plain plus the Central India. It was to this Ulterior India that Metrodorus, the philosopher, and following him Meropius, Frumentius and Edesius came 'for the sake of visiting places and examining the world'. As for the journey of Metrodorus to the Brahmins of India we have the explicit testimony of Cedrenus, the Byzantine historian of the 11th century who says the

following: "Under the pretext of philosophising Metrodorus went to India, to the *Brahmins*"²⁴.

Mr. Joseph says that Rufinus' "Ulterior India will then be the rest of Arabia (to the west of Parthia so called)". Will this 'rest of Arabia' satisfy the statement of Rufinus? Rufinus has stated that the Ulterior India lay between Citerior India and Parthia, but far to the interior, and was inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues. 'The rest of Arabia' is the Arabian desert. This desert land could not be the land inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues.

Mr. Joseph does not quote any document in his article to show that 'the rest of Arabia' was the field of apostolate of St. Frumentius.

There is no statement of any early author in the article of Mr. Joseph to show that Metrodorus the philosopher, and later on Meropius also a philosopher had gone to 'the rest of Arabia' "for the sake of visiting places and examining the world". As far as we know, Metrodorus had gone to the India of the Brahmins, and not to 'the rest of Arabia'.

Again, with respect to whom is this 'rest of Arabia', Ulterior and the Southern Arabia, Citerior? With respect to Edesius of Tyre and Rufinus of Aquileia of Italy, or to any person in S. India? If it is to the latter, we concede; we deny in the case of Edesius and Rufinus. Both to Rufinus and Edesius 'the rest of Arabia' is Citerior (hither, near), not Ulterior (further).

C.

Now we come to the difficult part of Rufinus' text. He has said that the Citerior India allotted to St. Bartholomew was 'adherent' to Ethiopia. The word 'adherent' according to the usage of all the Latin authors we know of, and according to the different Latin-English Dictionaries, has only the following meanings: attached to, adjacent to, cleaving to, bordering on, etc.'. We were fully aware of this when we wrote our article on 'The India of the early Greeks and Romans'. But the Konkan Coast, which we know from other sources to be the Citerior India evangelized by Bartholomew, is in no way adjacent to or bordering on Ethiopia. Hence the word 'adherent' called for another meaning to make Rufinus intelligible.

Since Rufinus had wandered all over the Thebaid, the frontier country of Ethiopia, and through Egypt, and was in Edessa of Mesopotamia, it is not likely that he made a mistake as to the geographical location of Ethiopia and Parthia. His Citerior India (the Konkan Coast) is really

²⁴ Cedrenus. *Compendium of History*. MG. 121. 561; JBORS. *ibid.* 387.

the Citerior India—that part of India which is citerior to, on this side of the Roman sailors coming from Alexandria. His Ulterior India too which according to him lay between Parthia and Citerior India, but far to the interior, and which was inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues, fits in with the geographical position of the Indo-Gangetic plain plus the Central India. Here again he does not seem to make a mistake. Hence the need for another meaning for 'adherent'.

To understand the real context of his text we have to take into account the map of the world according to which Rufinus and the other Ancients have made their geographies. As for Orosius (?-417), a contemporary of Rufinus, and for St. Isidore of Seville (?-638) their geographies make it clear that they had very probably before their eyes the map of the world made by Ptolemy in 150 A.D. And since it is only this distorted map of India by Ptolemy that offers us a better understanding of the geography of Rufinus we are led to conclude that Rufinus too had before his eyes this distorted figure of India while he wrote the geographical part of the narrative. In this map the Konkan Coast projects westward even beyond the western mouth of the Indus. This part, according to this map, is the Citerior India for the Romans coming by the sea. This fact again called for another meaning for 'adherent'.

All these considerations led us to conclude that Rufinus had used this word in a wider sense of 'extending towards'. The Konkan Coast therefore could be said to be *adherent* to Ethiopia, not in the sense of bordering on, but in the wider sense of 'extending towards'.

In both our articles mentioned above we gave this meaning to 'adherent' and explained the text of Rufinus. Later on we made further study in this line and made a very careful search through the writings of Rufinus to see if he has used this word a second time. We have found two other instances where he has this word in the ordinary meaning of 'attached to' and 'adjacent to'. But does this ordinary usage of the term elsewhere in his writings prevent him from using it in a special meaning in another context? His usage may be the unique example in the Latin Language. What of that? Has he not the freedom to use a word in a special meaning? Have we not writers in English who have exercised such a privilege? Why do we then deny Rufinus this privilege? The meaning of a word is decided from the context; and the context in the present case demands of us to give to 'adherent' the meaning 'extending towards'.

Of course there are other ways of explaining the text of Rufinus. It may be that by a lapsus calami 'Matthaeo Ethiopia' has been inserted

after 'Thomae Parthia', or it may be that the text has been tampered with by a later scribe. This interference must have taken place not long after he had written it. For, Socrates, a Greek historian of the 5th century who wrote nearly a century after Rufinus, had found the text as we have it to-day.

Two probable suggestions can be made for this interference. One is of an interpolation. Rufinus was writing about India and its 'conversion'. His geographical description too concerns India rather than any other country. Taken in this light the expression 'Matthaeo Ethiopia' appears to be an interpolation. But on the other hand it can be argued that since he is also giving the apostolic fields of different apostles it is likely that he had 'Matthaeo Ethiopia' in his original. In this case the probability is that a later scribe had inverted the order of the names of the apostles and their apostolic fields. The original then seems to have been the following. "In ea divisione.....Matthaeo Ethiopia, et Thomae Parthia, eique adhaerens citerior India Bartholomaeo..."

Both the above suggestions find support in the following consideration. Rufinus seems to correct what he has just finished writing by introducing the phrase 'but far to the interior'—sed longo interior tractu. He had placed Citerior India bordering on (adhaerens) Parthia. In this case there is no place for him to locate Ulterior India between these two countries. He becomes conscious of this fact and avoids the apparent contradiction by adding the phrase 'but far to the interior'. This fact becomes more clear if we look into the map of India by Ptolemy. The Konkan Coast begins almost at the Indus and therefore is bordering on Parthia. The Ulterior India starts at the coast and goes on to the interior embracing the Indo-Gangetic plain plus the Central India. This part, says Rufinus, is inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues. He is correct in his statement.

Thus far Rufinus agrees with other writers of his time both in the usage of the term 'adherent' and in the geography of India. But whether we take his text in this emended form or in the form in which we have it to-day, he has made an error in locating the apostolic field of St. Frumentius in India.

Frumentius was in India not for apostolic work but 'for the sake of visiting places and examining the world'. His apostolic work was spent in Ethiopia, where he was captive, regent and bishop.

Now, Mr. Joseph insists that the word 'adherent' has to be taken only in the meanings which he has reproduced from five Dictionaries. We fully concede this claim; nay, even insist on it. Has he applied any of those meanings and explained the text of Rufinus? He has not done this.

On the contrary he discovers a new meaning for 'adherent' which enables him to state that South Arabia is 'politically adherent to' Ethiopia. He does not say in what Dictionary or in which author he has found this special meaning. We on our part, have examined the Latin writers of the period we are speaking of; we have not found any person using 'adherent' in this new meaning.

Can it be retorted here that the context demands such a meaning for 'adherent'? No, such a retort has no place in the line of argument of Mr. Joseph. He does not argue from context to meaning but from dictionary meanings to the context. Besides, to argue from context he has first to prove that the Citerior India was Arabia Felix. He has not done this.

To conclude, our thesis: "The India of the early Greeks and Romans, from the time of Alexander the Great to the Fall of Alexandria in 641 A. D., is the one and only India which is bounded on the West by the river Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouths of the Ganges and the remaining side by the Indian Ocean", and "The Citerior India allotted to and evangelized by St. Bartholomew the Apostle is the Konkan Coast of India", stands until it is shown

(1) not from an ambiguous or indifferent text but from *clear* ones from known Greek and Latin authors prior to the seventh century A. D. that there were Indias in Africa and Arabia;

(2) from clear testimonies that the land allotted to and evangelized by Bartholomew was in Arabia, and only there, not in India; and that the documents given in our article on 'The Apostles of Kalyana (Bombay)' apply only to Arabia Felix, not to India at all;

(3) that Frumentius was in 'the rest of Arabia' and established a church there;

(4) that Metrodorus the philosopher had gone to 'the rest of Arabia' and not to India.

History of the Vakatakas

BY THE LATE

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INTRODUCTION.

The history of the Vākātakas is of recent discovery. Even the name of this dynasty was unknown till 1836 A. D. when the first copper-plate grant *viz.*, from Seoni in the Central Provinces was published by Dr. James Prinsep. Dr. Fleet who edited it again in *Car. I. I.*, Vol. III took it to be a North Indian dynasty, presumably from the similarity of the box-headed characters of the grant to the Central Indian box-headed character of the Gupta Era. The name of the Vākātakas is nowhere to be found either in the Purāṇas or in classical Sanskrit literature, so far extant. No wonder therefore, that the great Dr. Bhandarkar, in his history of the Deccan, had to remark that the history of the Deccan from the third to the sixth century A. D. was a blank. The missing link has now been supplied by a fairly good account of this dynasty which scholars have been able to construct out of the material discovered and being discovered every year.

It was in 1914 A. D. that the late Dr. V. A. Smith gave the first connected account¹ of this dynasty from sources which were discovered till then.² The next systematic attempt was made by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry in 1920 A. D. when he published his work "The Ancient History of the Deccan." His conclusions have stood, remarkably well, the test of future discoveries made so far.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna was the last to give an exhaustive history of this dynasty in his work "History of India (150 to 350 A.D.)". These attempts were augmented by Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, in his lectures at the Madras University in 1923 A. D. and by a host of other scholars who have edited the copper-plate grants of this dynasty in several Journals.

The original material for the construction of the history of this dynasty is scattered in the different annals of different journals which are not within easy reach of the ordinary student or a research scholar of Indian History who wants to make an original study of the history of this

1. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 726.
2. J. R. A. S. (1914), p. 317.

dynasty. It is mainly to supply this want that the present work is undertaken. The results of several subsequent discoveries and the modification of some of the existing conclusions arrived at by previous writers also require an up-to-date account of this dynasty. A separate book on the subject is also expected to give greater prominence to the subject-matter which it deserves. It will also bring the work within easy reach of an ordinary student of Indian History.

HISTORY OF THE VAKATAKAS.

The Vākātakas are not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas by this name. The only mention approaching to this dynasty is to be found by individual names such as Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, his son. This Vindhyaśakti was identified by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1862 when he identified the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas with the Vindhyaśakti referred to in the Ajanta cave inscription. The Purāṇas however do not mention Vindhyaśakti and Pravira as a Vākātaka but as a Vindhyaśaka or perhaps as a Kailakila and that too not very clearly. The Kailakilas however are mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa as Yavana³ while the Ajanta inscription clearly mentions Vindhyaśakti as a Brahman. The mention of Vindhyaśakti and Pravira as a Vindhyaśaka is also not clear but by implication. Again both these references are to the Rulers of North Indian Empires such as Vidhiśā. It was, therefore, doubted as to whether the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas was the same as the founder of the Vākātaka dynasty as mentioned in the Ajanta inscription. The consensus of opinion amongst scholars, both Indian as well as European is however that the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas is the same as the Vindhyaśakti of the Ajanta inscription. The name of Vindhyaśakti as the founder of the Vākātaka dynasty was mentioned so far only in the Ajanta inscription and that too not in any of the official records of the Kings but in a Vihara dedicated for the Buddha Bhikshus by Varāhadeva a minister of the last known King of this dynasty namely Hariṣeṇa. The official copper-plate grants start with Pravarasena I as the founder of the line. It was even doubted as to whether the mention of Vindhyaśakti by Varāhadeva was a mistake or an attempt of Varāhadeva to trace his master's line to some Purāṇic hero as is done in many instances for the glorification of a dynasty. All doubts on this point have now been set at rest by the discovery in 1939 of a copper-plate grant by Vindhyaśakti himself.⁴ Vindhyaśakti was no doubt, therefore, the founder of the line of the Vākātakas. The reason of the absence of his name in the official records of this dynasty and the mention of Pravarasena I as the starting point seems to be that Vindhyaśakti was only a "Mahārāja" King and not a Samrāt (Emperor) as Pravarasena I was.

3. *Purpiter Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 48, n. 82.

4. This has now been published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 f.

It may be noted that the Bāsim plate of Vindhyaśakti mentions him as a Vākāṭaka and not by any other name such as Vindhya or a Kailakila. Pravarasena I had performed four Aśwamedhas and had founded an independent Empire and naturally was considered to be the real founder of the Vākāṭaka Empire.

Before proceeding further, it will be better to give the background of the Vākāṭaka Empire. It is now well established that the Vākāṭakas were not a North Indian dynasty but were mainly the rulers of the ancient Vidarba or Berar. The limits of ancient Vidarba extended to the whole of the Marathi speaking part of the Central Provinces, if not more, and to a large extent beyond the present boundaries of Berar to the West and South. The locality in which the Vākāṭakas ruled was included in the Āndhra-Sātavāhana Empire in the first and second century A. D. Large hoards of Āndhra coins have been found near Chāndā and recently in the Mangrul taluq of Berar showing that the Āndhras ruled in ancient Vidarba for a considerable time. The names of two ancestors of Vindhyaśakti are mentioned in the Bāsim grant of Vindhyaśakti and they were probably the Suzerains of the Āndhras. After the fall of the Āndhras about 336 A. D. the Vākāṭakas seem to have assumed independence or to have founded an independent kingdom, if they had none before. They were thus the inheritors of the culture and traditions of the ancient Vidarba and of the Dravidian culture of the Āndhras.

Dr. Jayaswal thinks that the Vākāṭakas had migrated from Bundelkhand and had their original seat of Government there. His conclusion is based on the locality of the Ganj-Nachna inscriptions situated in Bundelkhand and of the Kailakila river in the Panna State which name has a resemblance to the Kailakila dynasty of the Purāṇas,⁵ which Dr. Jayaswal thinks was the original name of the Vākāṭakas. This reasoning however, does not seem to be sound. The Ganj-Nachna inscriptions are situated in the territory ruled by Vyāghradeva a suzerain Chieftain of the Vākāṭaka Prthiviṣeṇa and these were recorded by Vyāghradeva himself. This means that this territory was not directly ruled by the Vākāṭakas but by their feudal Chief. The first copper-plate grant in order of time namely the Bāsim grant of Vindhyaśakti is found in the Southern portion of Berar and all other numerous grants were issued and discovered in ancient Vidarba. Their first capital as supposed by some scholars—though this conclusion is by no means final—is in ancient Vidarba. The later capital Pravarapura, though not satisfactorily identified as yet, was in all probability situated somewhere in Berar. The Ganj-Nachna locality must be probably a much later acquisition of the Vākāṭakas and not their direct seat of Government. It is also

5. K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India*, 150 A.D. 350 A.D. pp. 67 ff.

not finally decided if Prthiviṣeṇa the Over-lord of Vyāghradeva, mentioned in the inscriptions of Nachna was the first or the second as there were two Vākāṭaka kings of this name. This will depend upon contemporaneousness of Vyāghradeva of Bundelkhand with either of the two Prthiviṣeṇas of the Vākāṭaka line. At any rate there is no basis for the view that the Vākāṭakas ever resided in Bundelkhand.

It is not definitely known whether the Vākāṭakas were a local dynasty or had migrated from elsewhere. No connexion can be established with any previous Rulers of ancient Vidarba.

The country of Vidarba derives its name from the first known King of the Bhoj dynasty of Vidarba. Vidarba was one of the sons of Rishabhadeva the King of Bharatakhanda, according to the Upaniṣads and the country below the south of the Narbaḍa fell to his share, it is said, in a division of the Empire by the father. According to the Purāṇas, Vidarba was the son of Jayamagha of Vidiśa and he was the first to cross the Vindya mountains and settle in the Deccan. He established his Kingdom on the right bank of the Varadā river (Wardha). According to another version the sage Agastya was the first to cross the Vindhya with his Kṣatriya and Vaiśya followers and to colonise the country the part of Daṇḍakāranya and the country came to be known subsequently as Vidarbha. Agastya married Lopāmudrā the daughter of King Vidarba and was associated with King Vidarba in the consolidation of the Deccan Empire. The descendants of Vidarba were called the Bhojas of Vidarba and had their capital at Kuṇḍinapura on the right bank of the Wardha. The place still remains and is known by the same name.

The Bhojas of Vidarba belonged to the Yādava (Lunar) race of Kṣatriyas. Vidarba was a senior contemporary of Sagara of the Raghu family of Ayodhyā. Sagara's tenth descendant Rituparna was a contemporary of King Bhima of Vidarba, the father of the celebrated Damayanti. Another branch of this Yādava family ruled at Mathurā and Ugrasena and Kamsa of that line were the contemporaries of Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa of the Vṛṣṇi line of Yādavas, who ruled at Dwarakā and were inter-related by marriage, Ugrasena's daughter Devaki being married to Vasudeva. The Bhojas of Vidarba were connected by marriage ties with the most celebrated Kṣatriya family of North India. Kesani and Indumati were married to Sagara and Aja of Ayodhya. Damayanti, daughter of Bhīma was married to the King Nala of Nishadha. Rukmiṇī the daughter of Bhīsmaka was married to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Rukmin son of Bhīsmaka took part in the Mahābhārat War, being ranged with the Pāṇḍavas.

The Bhoja dynasty ruled in Berar for a long time as appears from the dynastic names given in the Purāṇas. Nothing however is known as

to when and how that dynasty ceased to rule in Berar or became extinct. Allusion to the Bhojakas are found in Aśoka's rock edict No. 13 as a Border Province of the Empire of Asoka. This may refer to the same Bhoja line as above or may refer to another line of the Kings of Vidarba, as the country of Vidarbha was for a long time afterwards still known as the Bhoja country.

The next reference to the Kingdom of Vidarba is found in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. The plot of the drama has been taken from an historical incident of the second century B.C. Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty waged war on Yajñasena King of Vidarba who refused to give a share of the Kingdom to his cousin Mādhavasena and Agnimitra took up the cause of Mādhavasena. Agnimitra was victorious and Yajñasena had to cede half the Kingdom to Mādhavasena. The division of the country was half and half, the boundary line being fixed as the river Varada (the modern Wardha). This gives us an idea of the extent of the then Vidarbha kingdom and it seems that at least the whole of the Marathi speaking part of the present Central Provinces was included in that Kingdom.

VINDHYASAKTI.

As mentioned already a solitary reference to the Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti was known until recently. The Ajanta inscription of Varāhadeva a minister of the last known King Hariṣeṇa in cave No. 16 was the solitary instance where Vindhyaśakti's name was mentioned.⁶ He is described there as the banner of the Vākātaka family and a King as renowned as Viṣṇu, who increased his power through many battles, and who acquired a Kingdom by the valour of his arms. The recent find of Vindhyaśakti's copper-plate grant supplements our knowledge about Vindhyaśakti's ancestors. His father was Sarvasena who was also a Dharma-Maharaja (King). His grandfather is mentioned as Pravarasena born of a daughter of the Hārita Gotra. He is also described as a Samrat who performed four Aśvamedhas and other subsidiary sacrifices. This description of Pravarasena agrees exactly with that of Pravarasena as mentioned in the subsequent copper-plate grant, the latter Pravarasena being however the son of Vindhyaśakti and the father of Gautamiputra. How the description of the former agrees so minutely with the latter is a mystery which can not be explained as a feat of the performance of four Aśvamedhas is an uncommon one, not likely to be repeated so easily and the first Pravarasena was perhaps confused with the second. This throws a shadow of doubt on the authenticity of the Bāsim grant which in other

6. V. V. Mirashi: Vākātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta (Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14, p. 10.)

respects is free from doubt. The Bāsim grant has another peculiarity *viz.* that it is in Prākṛit except the introductory portion, unlike the subsequent grants of the Vākātaka family. It is written in the same box-headed Brāhmī character as the subsequent grants of the Vākātaka family. The places mentioned in this grant are near about Bāsim, in South Berar and Bāsim itself Vatsagulma, is mentioned as a holy place. Vatsagulma was a great seat of learning and a holy place in those days. One other grant of the Vākātakas is also issued from Vatsagulma *viz.* the India office plate of Devasena, the father of Hariṣeṇa the last known King of the Vākātaka family.

PRAVARASENA I

Pravarasena I is accepted by his successors as the original founder of the Vākātaka Empire in all of their official records *viz.* their copper-plate grants. As already noted his father Vindhyaśakti was not a Samrat (Emperor) but only a Maharaj (King). This may account for the omission of his name in the above official records. Pravarasena I is described as the performer of four Aśvamedhas, not an ordinary feat of valour in those days. The *gotra* of the Vākātakas was Viṣṇuvṛiddha, a sub-division of the Bhāradvāja. No grant or other record of Pravarasena's time has been discovered so far but he is mentioned in all the subsequent grants of the Vākātaka family as the first of their line. He is described as a Samrat (Emperor) and as having performed four Aśvamedhas and other subsidiary sacrifices, amongst which two, *viz.* the Bṛihaspatisava and the Vājapeya could only be performed by a Brahman. Nothing more of this Pravarasena is known so far.

GAUTAMIPUTRA.

Pravarasena's son was Gautamiputra, born of a Brahman mother. He was however married to a Bharasīva Kṣatriya princess of the North, daughter of king Bhavanāga. The Bharasīva family is described as having performed ten Aśvamedhas and were the devotees of Śiva. They ruled in North India.

RUDRASENA I.

Gautamiputra's son was Rudrasena. A small mutilated stone inscription of this Rudrasena is discovered at Deotek near Nagpur in what was once a Śiva temple.⁷ On paleographic grounds, the editor has placed it in the time of the 1st Rudrasena. The record describes the temple as "Rudrasena's Dharmasthānam (religious place). Another inscription above the one described above belongs to an earlier period and is supposed to

7. V. V. Mirashi: New Light on Deotek Inscriptions, *Proceedings of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613.

belong to the Aśokan period. An incomplete copper-plate grant comes up to Rudrasena I, but belongs to a much later period. It was probably a complete grant but only the first plate is discovered and we can not know the contents of the other plates which are missing. Rudrasena I was probably a contemporary of Samudragupta, the Alexander of Northern India.

PRITHIVISENA I

Rudra's son was Prthivīṣeṇa I. No record of his time is available. The Ganj-Nachna inscriptions in Bundelkhand⁸ are supposed to be of the period of this Prthivīṣeṇa. Vyāghradeva probably a feudatory of the Vākātakas records on it some charitable object, such as a temple and says that the construction was for the purpose of obtaining religious merit (*punya*) for his parents. He describes himself as a devotee of the feet of Prthivīṣeṇa the King of the Vākātakas. It is not unlikely that he was a subordinate member of the Vākātaka family or a General. This will depend upon the identity of Vyāghradeva with any ruling Chief in Bundelkhand. So far this identity has not been satisfactorily established. He is described as having conquered the Kuntala country.

RUDRASENA II

Prthivīṣeṇa's son was Rudrasena II. He was married to Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Candragupta II, also known as Vikramāditya the son of the celebrated Samudragupta. This was an important marriage alliance between the Guptas of Northern India and the Vākātakas of the Dakhan. Prabhāvatī's mother was Kuberaṇāgā a Nāga Princess of Northern India. Prthivīṣeṇa seems to be a contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. Rudrasena was a contemporary of Candragupta II. The Guptas and the Vākātakas seem to have had friendly relations even before the marriage alliance of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatī. The famous expedition of Samudragupta about the year 340 A.D. did not bring him into conflict with the Vākātakas. The details of this expedition are incised on Aśoka's pillar now situated in the fort at Allahabad. Other Kings of Dakṣiṇapatha are mentioned by name and also by the name of their country in this inscription, but neither the name of the Vidarba country or its equivalent or the name of its ruler is mentioned there. The Vākātaka Kingdom was certainly in existence then and the only reason for its non-subjugation by Samudragupta seems to be that it was already on terms of friendship with the Guptas either on account of some marriage alliance or otherwise. One Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara is mentioned there as being subdued by Samudragupta. If Mahākāntara could be indentified with the country round about Ganji-Nachna and if Vyāghradeva of the

8. Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 233 f ; *E.P. Ind.* 1. Vol. XVII, pp. 12 f.

Ganj-Nachna inscriptions could be identified with this Vyāghrarāja, the two events follow so close upon each other as to make the synchronism rather improbable. Vyāghrarāja could not have transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vākātakas so soon after, unless there was an encroachment by the Vākātakas upon the over-lordship of the Guptas in Bundelkhand. Such breach of friendly relation does not seem to have taken place at any time.

No record of Rudrasena II is available but a copper-plate grant issued by Prabhāvatī Gupta namely the Poona Plates⁹ may be ascribed to his reign. This grant is issued by Prabhāvatī from Nandivardhana near Rāmtek in the Nagpur district. This Nandivardhana was in all probability the original capital of the Vākātakas till the early years of the reign of Pravarasena II. This grant is supposed by all writers to have been issued by Prabhāvatī during her regency for her minor son Divākarasena and after the death of Rudrasena II. Other grants by Prabhāvatī are undoubtedly issued by her during the reign of her son Pravarasena II, but the Poona grant describes her as "the chief Queen of Rudrasena and mother of the Crown-Prince Divākarasena". Her son Divākarasena was then only a Crown Prince and was not the Ruling Prince. The description is merely intended to enhance her prestige as the chief queen and mother of the future Sovereign. The present writer therefore, is inclined to place this grant in the period of Rudrasena II's reign and not in that of Divākarsena or Pravarasena II. The regnal year 13 of this grant must also be taken to be that of Rudrasena II's reign. Rudrasena II was evidently a contemporary of his father-in-law Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

PRAVARASENA II.

Rudrasena II had two sons, Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena. The former is mentioned as a Crown Prince (Yuvarāja) in the Poona grant of Prabhāvatī Gupta as mentioned above. He does not seem to have occupied the throne and probably died before Rudrasena II's death. The latter Dāmodarasena ascended the throne probably during his minority and seems to have a long reign of more than 27 years as the last known grant in his name *viz.* that of Paṭṭan (near Multai) is dated the 97th year of his reign.¹⁰ The earliest of his grant namely the recently discovered copper-plates at Jamb in the Hinganghat Tahsil of the Wardha district is issued from Nandivardhana in the second year of his reign. By far the largest number of copper-plate grants of his reign are discovered in Berar and C.P. Their number, even at present, exceeds a dozen. Out of them the earlier two or three are issued from Nandivardhana, four are issued from

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 41 ff.

10. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXIII, pp. 81 f.

Pravarapura, the other four are issued either from a victorious camping ground or a holy place and the place of issue of the remaining two is unknown. This analysis would enable us to infer that the first capital of Pravarasena II as of Rudrasena II was at Nandivardhana in the Nagpur District. The capital was later shifted to Pravarapura probably a newly established city or a new name given to the changed capital, evidently after the name of the sovereign Pravarasena II. Nandivardhana stands to-day practically under the same name and Pravarapura therefore, was a different place which has not been identified so far.

Dāmodarasena is better known as Pravarasena which name he seems to have assumed either as an *alias* or a title after his illustrious ancestor Pravarasena I who is recognized as the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

PRABHAVATI-GUPTA

Prabhāvatī seems to have been a very capable woman and proud of her Gupta descent. Not only in the earlier period of Pravarasena's reign but in that of her husband Rudrasena and even in the 19th year of Pravarasena's reign she has issued grants in her own name. The Poona and Rihapur grants of Prabhāvatī disclose her pride and attachment to her Gupta descent. Unlike grants issued by Pravarasena himself which start and end with the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas only and make scant reference to the Guptas, Prabhāvatī starts with the genealogy of the Guptas alone and extols their achievements only. The Gupta dynasty according to her starts with Ghaṭotkatka who is elsewhere described as the son of Śrigupta. His son was Candragupta I who was the founder of the future glory of the illustrious Gupta family. He was married to Kumāradevī, a Princess of the celebrated Licchavi Kṣatriya family, ruling in the country East of the Magadha (Modern Bihar). The Licchavis were comparatively much more renowned than the Guptas and this marriage connexion gave Candragupta I a lift in the political importance of Northern India. Candragupta and his two descendants Samudragupta and Candragupta II (father of Prabhāvatī) expelled the foreign powers which were ruling in north-western and Western India after the campaign of Alexander and who had extended their sway even in Gujerath and North-western Maharashtra. They thus completed the work of expelling the foreigners which was begun by the Sātavāhanas. Samudragupta is known as the Alexander of India from his big campaign from Magada to the southernmost sea border of the Dakhan. This was about 340 A. D. This campaign is described as already noted, in an inscription on Asoka's pillar in the Allahabad fort¹¹. His son Candragupta II was as capable as his father and though he was not the eldest son was

11. Fleet: *Gupta Inscription*, pp. 1. f.

selected by his father on the ground of his great capacity to rule. He assumed the title of Vikramāditya, which was assumed by many other illustrious Kings of India. This Vikramāditya is supposed to be the patron of the famous Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa's implied references to Vikrama are supposed to refer to Candragupta II. His poem *Kuntaleśwar-dautyam* (embassy to the king of Kuntala) is supposed also to refer to Candragupta II. This King of Kuntala is supposed by some scholars to be the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II. But this supposition is not based on any convincing grounds.

NARENDRASENA.

He was the son of Pravarasena II. No grant of his own is discovered but he is referred to in inscriptions in Ajanta caves Nos. XV and XVI. He was married to Ajjhita-Bhaṭṭārikā, a Kuntala Princess, from the Kadamba family which was then a tributary of the Vākāṭakas from the time of Prthviṣeṇa I.

PRITHVISENA II.

He was the son of Narendrasena and Ajjhita-Bhaṭṭārikā. A draft of a copper-plate grant of his time is discovered at Balaghat¹² and though incomplete was intended to be issued by Prthviṣeṇa II. This set has got only three plates the last side being blank, though it should have been engraved upon if the said grant had been complete at any time. The absence of any words like *dhṛiṣṭam* or *swasti* at the beginning of the grant, for which sufficient space has been reserved at the beginning, also confirms this view. These plates however, give us some additional information not available in the previous records. Prthviṣeṇa II is described there as the overlord of the Kosala, Mekala and Mālava Kings. The sovereignty of these countries seems to have been an addition after the time of Pravarasena II as none of the numerous records of Pravarasena II refer to any such acquisition. The Drug copper-plate grant of which only the first plate is available also seems to have been issued by Prthviṣeṇa II as the wording agrees minutely with the Balaghat plates.

DEVASENA.

He was the younger son of Narendrasena. A short fragmentary copper-plate grant (first plate only) issued from Vatsagulma (Bāsim in Berar) is published from the India Office collection by Mr. Randle, recently¹³. It is the second grant issued from the same place, the first being the Bāsim grant of Vindhyasakti. It is curious that the first and the last known grants of the Vākāṭaka family should have been issued from the same place.

12. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 19 ff.

13. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 f.

The India office plate differs from other plates of the Vākātaka family inasmuch as it does not give the whole genealogy of the Vākātaka family but straightway begins with the name of the granter viz. Devasena, King of the Vākātakas. Devasena is also referred to in Ajanta inscriptions in caves Nos. XV and XVI. Hastibhoj was the Brahmin Minister of Devasena whose son Varāhadeva constructed the Ajanta caves Nos. XVI and XVII during the reign of Devasena's son Hariṣeṇa.

HARISENA.

He was the son of Devasena and the last known king of the Vākātaka dynasty. No grant of his own is discovered so far and our knowledge of this King is confined to the account as given in the Ajanta inscriptions in Nos. XVI and XVII. He is described in No. XVI as the overlord of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra countries¹⁴. Most of these countries were already included in the Vākātaka Empire before Hariṣeṇa's time. Āndhra and Kosala however, seem to have been a later acquisition. The Āndhra territory was then under the rule of the Viṣṇukunḍins of Vengi which was also a Brahmin family. A daughter of the Vākātaka family is described as having been married to Mādhavavarman II the fourth King of Viṣṇukunḍin family. The Viṣṇukunḍins were the vassals of the Vākātakas. This marriage alliance increased the power of the Viṣṇukunḍins in the Deccan to a large extent. According to Dr. V. A. Smith the Vākātaka Princess referred to above was probably the daughter of Hariṣeṇa who was the overlord of Āndhra and Kalinga countries. Mādhavavarman's son was Vikramendravarman who has described himself in the Chikkulla plates of his grandson Vikramendravarman II as the offspring of the Viṣṇukunḍin and the Vākātaka dynasties¹⁵. Hariṣeṇa's Minister was Varāhadeva who constructed the Ajanta caves Nos. XVI and XVII as the Vihāras for Buddhist Bhikṣus. The religious tolerance between the Brahminical Hindus and the Buddhists in these days is fairly indicated by this event. But of this we will speak later.

END OF THE VAKATAKA SOVEREIGNTY.

Hariṣeṇa is the last known king of the Vākātaka dynasty. Nothing is known about his descendants and about the time when the Vākātakas ceased to rule. Hariṣeṇa is supposed to have ruled about the end of the 5th century A. D. and up to the early period of the 6th. The Vākātakas were at the zenith of their power during his reign and it should have required some time for the crumbling of their power till they were supplanted by the Cālukya Pulakeśin I, about 550 A. D. as is generally accepted. This

14. Mirashi: Vakataka Inscription in cave XVI at Ajanta (Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14, p. 11.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193 f.

short intervening period is really not sufficient for the disintegration of such a big Empire as that of the Vākātakas but the dating of this period and especially of the Vākātaka rule is only approximately fixed. The years of the Vākātaka copper-plate grants are regnal i.e. from the date of accession of each king and not of any continued and generally accepted era. It is only from the contemporary period of the Gupta era that the dates of the Vākātaka Kings are approximately fixed. The Guptas had Samvat (era) of their own beginning from 320 A. D. The Vākātakas had no such continued era of their own. It is likely that Hariṣeṇa had a successor or two the last of whom must have been defeated by the Cālukya founder. Whether the last of the Vākātakas or his successors were completely ousted or remained as tributaries under the Cālukyas is unknown. It is certain that the Vākātaka country was ruled later on by the Cālukyas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas and last of all by the Yādavas of Devagiri before the advent of the Mahommandans into the Deccan but it is beyond the scope of our present enquiry to speak of these later Empires in this work.

EXTENT OF THE VAKATAKA EMPIRE.

The extent of the Vākātaka Empire can be ascertained from the description in their copper-plate grants from which it seems that it extended over the whole of the Deccan except the extreme South and a large part of Northern India including Gujraṭh, Malvā, Bundelkhand and Mahakosala. The Kalinga and Āndhra countries were also under their sway. From the West to the East it extended from sea to sea. After Aśoka and Samudragupta it was probably the biggest Empire that was under one sovereign power at any time in the mediaeval history of India.

CONTEMPORARY REFERENCES TO THE VAKATAKAS.

The Vākātakas are specially wanting in contemporary references and it was due to this reason that their history had remained obscure until recently. The Purāṇas make no reference to it, even the Gupta records had no occasion to refer to it. It is not referred to in the Sanskrit or Prakrit literature of those days except the solitary instance of a Prakrit poetical work named Setubandhakavya which is ascribed to one Pravarasena, who is mentioned as a King. This Pravarasena is generally supposed to be Pravarasena II. The Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrtha plates of Viṣṇukunḍin Kings of Vengi make reference to the Vākātakas as the maternal family of their Kings, King Mahasudeva of Sarabhapur and his immediate ancestors in Chhatigarh were perhaps later contemporaries of the Vākātakas, as seems probable from the similarity of the box-headed characters of the former's grants.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE UNDER THE VAKATAKAS.

It is a well known fact that up to the beginning of the Christian Era the Buddhist religion was predominant in India on account of the royal support it got from the Buddhist Rulers like Aśoka. With the decline of the consequent Brahminical Hinduism, Sanskrit language and literature were also on the decline. A sudden revival of the Sanskrit language and literature took place after the second century A. D. which is called by scholars as "Renaissance of Sanskrit." This revival evidently followed the re-establishment of Brahminical Hindu Rulers like the Śungas, Kāṇvāyānas and the Sātavāhanas. The results however, were not so patent as from the age of the Guptas and Vākātakas. The revival of Sanskrit can, therefore, be ascribed to the patronage afforded to it by the Guptas and the Vākātakas. Practically all the modern classical Sanskrit literature and its scientific classification, as also numerous works on each branch of learning can be ascribed to a date from and after the Gupta-Vākātaka period. The richness and extent of Sanskrit literature naturally resulted in its scientific treatment and several works on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* (Rhetoric) were composed which classified the various styles of Sanskrit poetry (*Kāvya*). A close scrutiny of the different styles of *Kāvya* in vogue in the different parts of India raised the *Kāvya* literature in Berar to a special estimation of all writers on *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. They classed the best style of poetry as the style of Berar (*Vaidarbhī Riti*). The others were *Gauḍī* and *Pāñchālī*. The latter were considered to be inferior to the *Vaidarbhī*. This *Vaidarbhī* style is also called *Mahārāṣṭrī* and in some places *Vachhomi* the latter from the name of *Vatsagulma* or *Prākṛit Vachhoma* i.e., the modern Bāsim in South Berar.

POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE VAKATAKAS.

The civil administration of the country under the rule of Vākātakas did not differ much from the general system prevailing in India. The traditions of political administration prevailing then, may be gathered from such works as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the several *Smṛiti* works, and from the records of different Rulers of those times as can be gathered from their grants, inscriptions etc. The King was the head having absolute powers. There was nothing like the responsible Government of the present-day but there was a consultative body of the cabinet ministers and a Chief Minister respectively for *Mantri-Parishad* and *Amātya*, who certainly exercised considerable moderating influence on the King. This centralisation of authority amongst the different heads of departments can also be noticed from the different names assigned to each head of the department. There were Provincial Governors who exercised practically

unlimited authority within the respective spheres of their administrative units. The designations differ widely from time to time but the underlying spirit of political administration was the same.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

The millennium after the reivival of Hindunism about 200 B.C. was a period of uniform social and religious conditions in India. Broadly speaking the three religions *viz.* Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism lived side by side in perfect peace and harmony. Religious tolerance was fully in evidence from the time of the great Aśoka in whose edicts we always read the Śramanas and the Brāhmaṇas together. In the subsequent period after the Brahminical Hindus became predominant, we frequently see charities bestowed upon the Buddhists and Jains by the orthodox Brahminical Hindus. Confining ourselves to the period and the locality of the Vākātakas, the most striking example is that of the Ajaṇṭa cave Vihāras constructed for the comfort of the Buddhist Bhikṣus by Varāhadeva, an orthodox Brahmin Minister of the Vākātakas. In the territory ruled by the Vākātakas we see Buddhist, Brahminical and Jain monuments existing side by side either at one place or within a short distance from each other. Bhāṇḍak near Chāṇḍā, Muktagiri near Ellichpur, Śirpur in South Berar are instances in point. There was intrinsically nothing antagonistic in the religious tenets and the preaching of these religious beliefs which equally preached religious tolerations amongst each other.

Sacrificial rights and other religious observances of that nature began to gain popularity after the abovesaid revival. Rulers vied with each other in the performance of sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha*. Thus we read Pravarasena I having performed four *Aśvamedhas* and a number of other subsidiary sacrifices named in all the Vākātaka copper-plate grants. The Bharaśivas of the North are also described in the Vākātaka plates as having performed 10 *Aśvamedhas*. Ritualism went on increasing till the Brahminical Hindu religious life was one of ritualism mostly. The climax we see in Hemadri's *Vratakhanda* and *Dānakhaṇḍa* in his monumental work the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*.

The Hindu Society which is now a medley of a number of caste was not so water-tight during the period under review. Caste system had not developed into so many sub-divisions. The society was mainly divided into four *Varnas* and even amongst each other the *Varnas* had more social and religious intercourse than now. The *Anuloma* marriage was fully in use and we find a number of instances of such marriages in the whole of India of that period. Confining ourselves to the Vākātaka records, the most striking example is that of the marriage of the celebrated Gupta Princess Prabhāvatī with the Vākātaka Rudrasena II. The Guptas

had not even a recognized position amongst the famous Kṣatriyas of the North but got it only from the marriage alliance of Candragupta I with Kumāradevi, a Princess of the Licchavi Kṣatriya family of established position. Pravarasena's son Gautamīputra, an off-spring of a Brahmin mother and father was also married to a Kṣatriya Princess, a daughter of Bhavanāga of the Bharaśiva family of the North. Narendrasena was however, married to a Kuntala Princess of the Kadamba family, who like the Vākātakas were Brahmins. The only marriage connexion of a daughter of the Vākātika family that we know of was of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavarman II. The Princess is described as only a "Vākātika Princess" the name of her father is not given but she is supposed to be the daughter of Hariṣeṇa who was a contemporary of the Viṣṇukunḍins of Vengi. The Viṣṇukunḍin family was also a Brahmin ruling family like the Vākātakas and the Kadambas. The founder of the dynasty was one Mādhava Sharman who subsequently changed his name into Madhava Varma according to the fashion of those times.¹⁶ The most striking instance of anuloma marriages is one described in the Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription of Ajanta. The ancestor of Varāhadeva and Hastibhoja, ministers of the Vākātika Kings, was a Brāhmin named Soma. He is described as having married two wives one a Kṣatriya by birth and the other a Brahmin. The marriage with the Kṣatriya wife is also described as having been performed according to the rules of "Śruti and Smṛiti" and seems to have been sanctioned also by usage.

It may be noticed however, that the tendency of the Ruling Brahmin family was to assimilate themselves with the Kṣatriya family and such was also the tendency of offsprings of Brahmins by Kṣatriya wives. Thus Ravi, the son of Soma abovenamed became a ruler of Malāya territory and his descendants followed the Kṣatriya traditions of life unlike their brothers, by the Brahmin mother. The Kadambas and the Viṣṇukunḍins affixed "Varma" to their names in place of the original "Śarma". The Kuntala King who is described as having married his daughters into the Gupta and other Kṣatriya families was probably a Kadamba. Thus marriage alliances were not confined strictly to the Varṇa and at least anuloma marriages were freely in use.

16 *Azch. Surv. West India*, Vol. IV, p. 139.

The Deportation of William Bolts

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Never in the annals of the East India Company's administration in India has any single individual been guilty of more persistent, or more insolent defiance to the government than William Bolts,¹ a Dutch adventurer in the Company's service, who for about two years resolutely held his own against the Bengal authorities, and, when ultimately deported from this country, carried on a relentless vendetta against Verelst and the East India Company; and avenged himself on them in the first instance by successful litigation in England and later by writing a scathing indictment of the English Government in Bengal. The history of this man "whose whole continuance in Bengal" was, in the words of Verelst, "one scene of complaints, replies, the reprimands, and contentions"² serves to illustrate the weakness betrayed by Verelst in maintaining the authority of government, and as such deserves a fuller attention than it would otherwise have merited.

Even before Verelst became Governor of Fort William, Mr. Bolts had made himself thoroughly obnoxious³ to the authorities by his high-handed proceedings and shady transactions, and had in consequence incurred the displeasure of the Directors as well. In 1764 the Directors wrote a strong remonstrance against the irregular practices of Mr. Bolts and warned the latter that if his conduct failed to be more satisfactory in future, he would be dismissed from the service.⁴ In their meeting of February 24, 1766, the Council, while considering the request⁵ of Mr. Bolts for permission to return to Benares in his former station as second in Council, expressed their disapprobation of his late conduct at Benares, and allowed him to return in a private capacity only to settle his affairs till the 1st of July next.⁶

1. Born in Holland in 1735, he came to England about the year 1749. In 1759 he received his appointment as Factor in the Bengal establishment. He arrived in Bengal in 1760, and in the course of six years amassed a fortune of £. 90,000 by private trade. (*Vide* Bolts: *Considerations*, Preface, p. xii).

2. Verelst's *View* etc., p. 7.

3. Mr. Vansittart had strongly condemned Mr. Bolts's conduct more than once.

4. Letter from Court, February 8, 1764.

5. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, January 31, 1766.

6. Beng. Pub. Cons. February 24, 1766.

At Benares Mr. Bolts stayed beyond the time prescribed by the Council, and was in consequence severely warned that, if he did not return to Calcutta by the 28th August, he would be dismissed from the service.⁷ A month later, the Council rejected the request of Mr. Bolts for further indulgence, and resolved that their orders should not be trifled with, and that the latter should be suspended from the Company's service with effect from the 28th of August.⁸ The Council, however, informed him that, if he returned to Calcutta by the 10th of October, his suspension would be taken off, but that if he did not leave Benares by the 1st of October, he was to be forcibly sent away by the Resident of the Factory. Mr. Bolts took no notice of the orders for his suspension, and in November submitted his resignation⁹ presumably to secure complete freedom for the prosecution of his lucrative private trade.

Mr. Bolts's resignation was duly accepted by the Council at their meeting of the 24th of November, 1766;¹⁰ but it is a strange fact indeed that the Council had some time ago¹¹ elevated this very censured civilian to the office of Alderman of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, an office which legally entitled him to reside in India for life.¹² Subsequently the Directors could not help noticing this strange indiscretion, and they thus wrote¹³ about it, "It is indeed matter of astonishment to us that Mr. Bolts who was under a sentence of suspension in August, 1766, should during that period be elevated into the office of Alderman by the President and Council, who only could chuse him, which office tho' it confers in him no authority or license to trade after actual resignation or dismissal, yet certainly it impowers him to reside in India and obliges him to perform the duty of his office for life, unless he should be guilty of some offence amounting to a just cause of dismissal or a motion from that office according to the Charter of Justice." The authorities had later to regret their imprudent generosity, when Mr. Bolts refused to leave the country at the bidding of the Governor and Council.

Notwithstanding his promise¹⁴ that he would go back to Europe after he had settled his private concerns, Mr. Bolts not only showed no

7. Beng. Pub. Cons. July 28, 1766.
8. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 25, 1766.
9. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, November 10, 1766.
10. Beng. Pub. Cons. November 24, 1766.
11. On the 11th of August, 1766. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 11, 1766 and O. C. No 1.
12. In accordance with the Charter of the 26th, George II, removable only "upon a complaint in writing first exhibited against him, and that he have a reasonable time given him to make his defence." (*Vide* Mr. Bolts's petition, May 19, 1769.)
13. Letter from Court, March 23, 1770.
14. Letter from Mr William Bolts, November 10, 1766. (Beng. Pub. Cons. November 24, 1766.)

inclination to relinquish his private trade, but actually continued to engage in new concerns in defiance of the orders of the Council. Accordingly, early in January, shortly before Olive's departure from India, the Council resolved¹⁵ that as Mr. Bolts could no longer claim any title to remain in India, he was not to embark upon fresh commercial ventures, and that he should "prepare to embark for England in one of the Company's returning ships of the season".

Soon after Verelst's assumption of office, Mr. Bolts addressed a letter¹⁶ to the Governor and Select Committee asking for their assistance in collecting his "very considerable outstanding balances".¹⁷ He urged, "I have, by sea and land, of my own and other people's about eight lacks of rupees now out, and actually employed in lawful trade, which no way interferes with any part of the honourable Company's investment". He, however, assured them upon his honour that he had not lately entered into any new inland concerns, and that he would engage in none except such as he had already been some time engaged in for the purpose of collecting outstanding balances. In short, Mr. Bolts made out an extremely plausible case for further indulgence to him. As the authorities had no desire to injure him financially, they readily granted his request for assistance, and issued to him the desired 'Parvanahs' upon the zamindars, and directed the Court of Cutcherry to examine forthwith all his claims on the latter.¹⁸ As, however, the Select Committee found a few days later¹⁹ that the Court of Cutcherry could not with propriety take

15. Beng. Pub. Cons. January 5, 1767.

16. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, February 11, 1767. Beng. Sel. Com. March 3, 1767.

17. "In the districts of Purnea:—

	Current	Rs.	10,939 13 6
Goragaut Shah Gunge	"	6,029 12 6	
Rungpore	"	1,777 9 6	
Dinagapore	"	2,320 10 6	
{ Shawpore Purg Santose,			
{ Krishndeeb and Govindibaug	"	151 9 6	
	Current Rs.	21,219 7 6	

"The following are balances due from the Zamindars themselves of the districts much nearer at hand.....:—

Due from the Zamindar of Jessore

Nileante Roy	S. Rs.	13,039 11 0
Do. from Tumlook	"	2,011 10 6
Do. of Sujah-Mootah	"	10,385 7 0
Fouzdar of Ragimaul	"	883 1 0
	Rs.	27,319 11 6

18. Beng. Sel. Com. March 3, 1767.

19. Beng. Sel. Com. March 10, 1767.

cognizance of the claims on zamindars who resided in ports where the authority of the aforesaid Court did not extend, they recommended that 'Parvanahs' should be granted by the Governor on the courts of those districts where the demands were made, and that the claims within the Company's jurisdiction should be examined and adjusted by the Collector-General.

In addition to the 'Parvanahs' on the zamindars such as those of Jessore,²⁰ Verelst wrote letters on the 9th of March to Shujaudaulah²¹ and Raja Balvant Singh²² also requesting them to allow Mr. Bolts's gumashtahs to collect without obstruction the outstanding balances due to that gentleman. It is interesting to note that the Vazir in his reply offered to apply himself "with redoubled diligence to the speedy collection of Mr. Bolts's concerns."²³ All this goes to show that the authorities were prepared to concede all possible assistance to Mr. Bolts.

Mr. Bolts, however, was in no hurry to wind up his business. On the contrary, he implicated himself in a despicable conspiracy²⁴ against Nobkissen at the instigation of Maharaja Nandkumar, and actively supported one Ramnath who falsely accused Nobkissen of having violated a Brahmin's wife. Nobkissen was acquitted in the trial, but the authorities could not help taking a serious view of Mr. Bolts's undue interest in the infamous conspiracy against Nobkissen. The Select Committee in their meeting of the 18th of April²⁵ recorded their condemnation of the share Mr. Bolts "took in stirring up and instigating the prosecution" against Nobkissen, and resolved that "Mr. Bolts, having upon this and many other occasions endeavoured to draw an odium upon the administration and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement, has rendered, himself unworthy of any further indulgence from the Committee and of the Company's protection and that therefore he be directed to quit Bengal and to proceed to Madras by the first ship that shall sail for that presidency in the month of July next, in order to take his passage from thence to Europe in September."

As Mr. Bolts refused to take any notice of the aforesaid orders for his return to Europe, the Council strongly urged²⁶ him once again in August to proceed positively by the *Lord Holland* that was to leave in the next

20. Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 151.

21. Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 73.

22. Trans. I. 1766-67, 75.

23. Trans. R. 1767-8, No. 207.

24. Verelst's View etc., p. 39; Bolts: Considerations etc., p. 95.

25. Beng. Sel. Com. April 18, 1767.

26. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 24, 1767.

month. In reply, Mr. Bolts wrote²⁷ to Mr. Simson Droz, Secretary to the Council sarcastically expressing his surprise at the frequent repetition of orders for his departure. He at the same time informed²⁸ the Council that he was unable to comply with their orders, unless he was fully indemnified by them for all the financial losses that he and his constituents should sustain by his immediate departure. He pointed out that he had so far realised only a lakh and a half out of eight lakhs of his own and other people's property entrusted to him, and added that he had still to collect another eight lakhs of property for which he was trustee. As a matter of fact, however, his agents were making²⁹ new purchases under the pretence of collecting outstanding balances.

In the meantime, as the authorities were informed of his "improper intercourse with the Dutch to the detriment of the honourable Company's affairs,"³⁰ they insisted on his immediate departure for Europe. Mr. Kelsall, Chief of the Factory at Dacca, had lately reported³¹ to the Governor all about the "private compact" of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts "relative to a clandestine trade at Dacca in prejudice to the commercial interests of the East India Company. Although authentic proofs of Mr. Bolts's secret engagement with the Dutch President could not be obtained, the Governor strongly suspected some kind of secret understanding between Mr. Bolts and the Dutch President at Chinsura. On the 1st of October,³² the Council therefore agreed that after the indulgence they had already granted to Mr. Bolts, his private concerns were no inducement for them to recede from their orders, and resolved that he should positively embark in the next ship that sailed for Europe. Besides, in view of his alleged intrigue with the Dutch authorities of Chinsura, the Council further directed³³ him not to go out of Calcutta without their express permission. Instructions were also issued to the Mayor's Court to apply for another Alderman in the place of Mr. Bolts.

Mr. Bolts thereupon reiterated³⁴ his vehement protest against the orders of the Council, and refused to leave the country, unless some satisfactory settlement was made in respect of his business affairs, and the property entrusted to him by others. He also emphatically repudiated the charge relating to his alleged intrigue with the Dutch, and demanded to

27. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to Mr. Simson Droz, August 29, 1767; Beng. Pub. Cons. October 1, 1767.

28. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to the Governor and Council, August 29, 1767.

29. Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 146.

30. Beng. Pub. Cons. October 1, 1767.

31. Letter from Mr. Kelsall to the Governor, September 18, 1767.

32. Beng. Pub. Cons. October 1, 1767.

33. Mr. Bolts went away to Chinsura in defiance of the Council's orders.

34. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to the Governor and Council, October 9, 1767.

be confronted with his accusers.³⁵ In fairness to Mr. Bolts it is necessary to state here that the charge in respect of his attempt "to monopolize the cloth-trade of Dacca"³⁶ could not be proved even later on the basis of unimpeachable evidence.³⁷

While asking for the removal of Mr. Bolts from his office of Alderman, the authorities seemed to have overlooked the legal formalities necessary for such removal. The office continued for life, and could be vacated only by voluntary departure, or by a motion for reasonable cause in the judicial manner prescribed by statute. The Council's orders for the suspension of Mr. Bolts from his office were therefore not strictly legal, and were in consequence almost contemptuously ignored³⁸ by the Mayor's Court. The independent attitude taken up by the Mayor's Court was as surprising to the Governor and Council as it was agreeable to Mr. Bolts.

Sanguine of the Courts continued support in future, Mr. Bolts wrote³⁹ to the Mayor expressing his complete satisfaction at his "just disregard" of "the glaring attempt to an infringement of the British liberties," and strongly inveighed against the personal animosity of the Governor in the following words, "Though the letter to your honourable Court appears under the sanction of the Governor and Council, I consider it only as the act of Governor Verelst alone, as I shall make it hereafter appear to the world. Consider in this light how deplorable would be our situation if, at the base desire of a Governor, or even a Governor and his Council, the express orders of the charter should be set aside, and a free British subject exposed to be deprived of his honour and liberty. A malicious man, high in station, who boasts that he is beyond punishment, and that justice can not reach him, would have it always in his power to spread ruin into every family against which he had any aversion⁴⁰."

Meanwhile Mr. Bolts addressed a spirited protest to the Court of Directors too against "the groundless and reproachful accusations" levelled against him by the Governor, and asserted in an accompanying letter⁴¹ to the Governor and Council that he had truth and facts on his side, and that he was ready "to brave the envenomed shafts of future oppression

35. Beng. Pub. Cons. October 12, 1767.

36. Verelst's view etc. p. 41.

37. Letter to Court, September 12, 1768 etc.

38. Letter from Mr. John Holmes, Register of the Mayor's Court, October 6, 1767. (O.C. October 12, No. 1); Beng. Pub. Cons. October 12, 1767.

39. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to the Mayor and Alderman of the Mayor's Court, Oct. 8, 1767. Beng. Pub. Cons. November 6, 1767.

40. Beng. Pub. Cons. November 5, 1767.

41. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to the Governor and Council, October 18, 1767.

and injustice." In a separate letter⁴² to two members of the Council Messrs. Richard Becher and James Alexander, whom he sought to warn against "the artifices of many combined against him alone," he threatened that he should not be compelled in his own defence "to print and publish to the world at home, what may add to the national odium against the Company."

In reply to the invectives, levelled by Mr. Bolts, Verelst submitted a strongly worded minute⁴³ to the Council at their meeting of the 5th of November, exposing in detail two of the numerous "misrepresentations and falsehoods" in Mr. Bolts's address to the Directors. Firstly, with regard to the confinement of Ramnath, Verelst asserted that he had positively forbidden any demands being made on account of the debt the latter owed him until full restitution had been obtained for the sufferers from Ramnath's extortions at Malda, and declared upon honour that he had not yet received a single rupee from him. Secondly, with regard to the case of Gocul Sonar, Verelst repudiated Mr. Bolts's insinuation that he had any selfish motive in referring it for trial to the Court of zemindary.

The Council carefully considered the letters from Mr. Bolts as well as the Governor's minute, and in the end unanimously expressed their full approbation of the President's conduct, and resolved⁴⁴ that their previous orders to Mr. Bolts for his return to Europe should be repeated, and "in case of disobedience to and contempt for our authority his person shall be seized, and forcibly sent home a prisoner in one of the ships of this season" for "the preservation of peace, order, and tranquillity in this settlement, and throughout the honourable Company's possessions in Bengal". The impudent defiance of Mr. Bolts and his libellous attack on the Governor seem to have provoked the Governor and Council to such an extent that they passed this strong resolution in haste, regardless of the fact that it could not be legally enforced. In fact, they could not actually enforce it till after the lapse of about a year, and even then they could do so after considerable hesitation.

It was about this time that the authorities came to know about Mr. Bolts's secret intrigue in Oudh, which was indeed much more serious and daring than the latter's alleged conspiracy with the Dutch President at Chinsura. The evidence⁴⁵ which established his guilt in this matter

42. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to Messrs. Richard Becher and James Alexander, October 18, 1767.

43. Beng. Pub. Cons. November 5, 1767.

44. O. C. 5th November, 1767, No. 6 (a).

45. Letter to Court, December 10, 1767; Verelst's View etc. pp. 39-40. According to Verelst, the Vazir "began to listen to the voice of ambition" and took Mr. Bolts's agent, Coja Rafael, into his service.

was surely more substantial and reliable. Verelst informed⁴⁶ the Council in December that he had received reliable information about the secret correspondence carried on by Mr. Bolts with the Vazir, M. Gentil and many others, and that one such letter written by Mr. Bolts had been actually procured under his orders. Warned by Col. Smith about M. Gentil's undesirable influence⁴⁷ over the Vazir, and partly on account of his own suspicions of Mr. Bolts's secret intrigue with M. Gentil, the Governor had recently decided to take steps for removing the latter and his associates from the Court of the Vazir.⁴⁸ Col. Smith's⁴⁹ report was to the effect that the Vazir was in regular receipt of detailed and confidential information about the Company's affairs from Mr. Bolts who corresponded with M. Gentil and Masha-Allah.⁵⁰ Col. Smith forwarded a letter written by Mr. Bolts to M. Gentil, containing "an absolute falsehood." The letter had been procured by Mr. Maddison, the Company's Agent at Patna during his recent visit to Fyzabad.⁵¹

In the course of the aforesaid⁵² letter to M. Gentil, Bolts wrote the following, "J'ai scrit une lettre au Navab a qui je vous prie de faire me tree humble respects : nous avons eu un vaisseau d'Europe Anglois, et un autre Francois : les affaires de notre Compagne sont dans une grande agitation devant le Roi and le parlement d'Angleterre ; et selon les lettres que j'ai recu il a grande apparence que mon Associe Monsieur Johnstone viendra Gouverneur de la part du Roi." The translation of this passage submitted to the Select Committee is as follows : "I have wrote a letter to the Nabob, to whom I beg you will give my humble respects. There is arrived an English Europe ship and another French one. The affairs of the Company are in great agitation and are laid before the King and Parliament of England, and according to the letters I have received, there is great likelihood that my associate, Mr. Johnstone, will come out Governor from the King."

Mr. Maddison tried in vain⁵³ to secure the contents of the letter written by Mr. Bolts to the Vazir. He, however, managed to learn from the latter⁵⁴ that the letter had originally been written by Mr. Bolts to Mir

46. Beng. Pub. Cons. December 10, 1767.
47. Letter from Col. R. Smith, October, 23, 1767.
48. Beng. Sel. Com. November 17, 1767.
49. Second Report, 1772, pp. 270-1
50. Letter from Col. R. Smith, November 24, 1767.
51. Beng. Sel. Com. December 11, 1767.
52. Beng. Pub. Cons. December 10, 1767. Letter from Mr. William Bolts to M. Gentil, June 19, 1767. O. C. December 10, No. 1 (a).
53. Letter from Mr. Maddison, November 26, 1767.
54. The Vazir told Mr. Maddison, "No, no, he (i. e. Mr. Bolts) did not write it to me, he wrote it to Meer Mushallah, and I had it from him." Verelst's View, etc. p. 204.

Masha-Allah from whom the Vazir had got it. Mr. Maddison further reported that the Armenian gumashtahs of Mr. Bolts were another secret channel of intrigue with and intelligence to the Vazir. They were, in the words of Mr. Maddison, perpetually filling the country and the Nabob's court with lying rumours. All this evidence convinced the Council of the urgent necessity of removing a mischievous intriguer, and they accordingly decided⁵⁵ to acquaint the Court of Directors with all the details of Mr. Bolts's activities with a view to impress upon them the expediency of enforcing their decision to send him away to Europe. Meanwhile the Governor and Select Committee desired⁵⁶ Col. Smith to use his endeavours with the Vazir to remove Mr. Bolts's gumashtahs from Oudh.

It might appear unaccountable that for several months after this the authorities did nothing to enforce their resolution against Mr. Bolts. The latter's agents were, however, forced⁵⁷ to leave Oudh, and were seized and confined at Murshidabad under the orders of Muhammad Riza Khan. Although the manner in which their seizure was effected was rather high-handed, yet it must be said that the action taken against them was not wholly unjustified. Mr. Bolts had certainly been given more than sufficient time⁵⁸ to wind up his business, and had been repeatedly warned not to engage in new concerns. Regardless of these warnings, Mr. Bolts had not only not closed his business operations but had sought to use his agents in Oudh as a means of establishing personal or political influence over the Vazir to the detriment of the interests of the Company. When Mr. Bolts protested⁵⁹ against the strong measures taken against his own agents alone, the Governor rather disingenuously replied⁶⁰ that he knew of no orders for impeding the business of Mr. Bolts's agents in particular⁶¹. As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Bolts's agents had been specifically named in Verelst's letters to Col. Smith and the Vazir. In February last Verelst had earnestly requested the Vazir to apprehend two Armenian agents of Mr. Bolts, Coja Rafael and Coja Estevan, and send them down to Calcutta.⁶² It must be pointed

55. Letter to Court, December 10, 1767.
56. Beng. Sel. Com. December 22, 1767.
57. Letter from Capt. Harper, March 20, 1768 ; Letter from Capt. Harper, March 29, 1768.
58. Letter from Mr. C Floyer, Secretary ; to Mr. William Bolts, April 15, 1768 ; Beng. Sel. Com. April 15, 1768 ; Beng. Sel. Com. May 18, 1768.
59. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, March 30, 1768 ; Second Report 1772, pp. 273-4.
60. Letter to Mr. William Bolts, March 31, 1768 ; Second Report, 1772, p. 275.
61. Subsequently Verelst admitted that he had named such persons as were known to him. (Letter to Mr. William Bolts, April 9, 1768.)
62. Abs. I. 1766-71, Nos. 22-23.

out, however, that the Governor had recently issued general orders⁶³ prohibiting all trade carried on by the English gumashtahs outside Bengal.

It is interesting to note that Verelst was so greatly annoyed at the unexpected leakage of his confidential instructions to the Vazir regarding the expulsion of Mr. Bolts's agents that he vehemently urged⁶⁴ the Vazir to punish those traitors who had disclosed his secret correspondence to Mr. Bolts. The Vazir protested his innocence,⁶⁵ and offered to punish Mir Masha-Allah in case the latter's guilt was proved. Mr. Masha-Allah also gave a written obligation to the effect that "if any letter under his seal appeared concerning the aforesaid matter, His Excellency might destroy him and his family."⁶⁶ Having failed to detect the source of leakage, Governor asked the Select Committee⁶⁷ at their meeting of the 15th of April to record Mr. Bolts's own admission⁶⁸ of the fact that he was in correspondence with the Indian Princes and others. Verelst naturally believed that by writing independently to the Vazir and other Princes, Mr. Bolts had unlawfully arrogated to himself what was the established privilege of the Governor alone⁶⁹.

On the 18th of April,⁷⁰ the Council reaffirmed its previous resolution to send Mr. Bolts home by the next available ship, and declined to take any notice of his representations. The Council concluded that "from a series of misconduct and bad behaviour" Mr. Bolts had made himself unworthy of all title to the Company's protection. They further refused to interfere or interest themselves any more in his business affairs. While the authorities were certainly justified in taking this attitude, they were undoubtedly in the wrong when they allowed Mr. Bolts's agents to be unduly harassed and maltreated⁷¹ by the Nawab's officials, regardless of the strong protestations of Mr. Bolts and the humble petitions of the friends and relations of the agents themselves.⁷²

63. Beng. Sel. Com. April 27, 1768; Beng. Sel. Com. May 18, 1768.

64. Abs. I. 1766-71, No. 37.

65. Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 113-A, and 161.

66. Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 162.

67. Beng. Sel. Com. April 15, 1768.

68. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, April 2, 1768.

69. Verelst's View etc. p. 39.

70. Beng. Pub. Cons. April 18, 1768; O. C. No. 3, April 18.

71. They were kept in confinement for several months without any trial. *Vide* their Petition to the Directors, September 12, 1769, in Second Report, 1772, pp. 211-2 and Bolts: Considerations, pp. 107-110.

72. Letter from Mr. William Bolts, April 18, 1768. (O. C. No. 3). In this letter Mr. Bolts, threatened, "I am not to be trifled with."

On the 15th May certain relations of "Cojee Gregore and Cojee Melcomb" sent an address to the Council informing them of the distress of the latter.

Mr. Bolts had applied for their release soon after their arrest, but the Select Committee refused⁷³ to grant him any assistance. The Council too similarly refused to interfere in this matter, and early in May once again repeated their resolution⁷⁴ against Mr. Bolts.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Bolts took the bold step of applying⁷⁵ for the protection of the General Court of Justice at Calcutta, and accordingly preferred⁷⁶ his formal complaint against the authorities to the Grand Jury. The Governor and Council again put themselves in the wrong when, sitting⁷⁷ as Justice of the Peace, they sought to quash the whole proceedings and refused to hear the evidence of Mr. Bolts's witnesses,⁷⁸ although the Jury⁷⁹ insisted on hearing the latter. Their plea that the witnesses had not been regularly summoned was merely technical, and they needlessly rebuked the Jury for having aimed at assuming a power superior to the Government. In reply the Jury presented a dignified protest against this attitude of the Judges, and also repudiated the unmerited charge levelled against themselves. The authorities thus tactlessly laid themselves open to the suspicion that they had wilfully conspired⁸⁰ against Mr. Bolts out of personal motive alone.⁸¹

In August Muhammad Riza Khan reported⁸² to the Governor how Mr. Bolts had unlawfully issued a public proclamation⁸³ "in the manner of a Firman"⁸⁴ and "in the style of a sovereign"⁸⁵ that whosoever

73. Beng. Sel. Com. April 15, 1768.

74. Beng. Pub. Cons. May 4, 1768.

75. Mr. Bolts's petition to Court, May 19, 1769.

76. O. C. 30th May, 1768, No. 2; Beng. Pub. Cons. May 30, 1768.

77. On the 27th May 1768.

78. The witnesses were the Sheriff, the Clerk of the Peace, and Messrs. Dumbleton and Bind.

79. The Jury consisted of twelve gentlemen, mostly servants of the Company.

80. Mr. Bolts ascribed the action of the Judges to "jealousy and competition in trade" [O. C. August 15, 1768, No. 3 (a).]

81. Mr. Bolts ascribed the action of the Judge to "jealousy and competition in trade." [O. C. August 15, 1768, No. 3 (a).]

82. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 15, 1768.

83. Verelst's View etc. p. 41.

84. Letter from Muhammad Riza Khan. (O. C. 15th August, 1768, No. 2-A.)

85. The proclamation which was under Mr. Bolts's hand and seal contained the following warning: "Whoever, therefore, shall, without cause or pretence, impede and hinder this business, or any way molest the aforesaid person, he shall become responsible for my balances and outstanding concerns, and I will take due account of my affairs with him."

imprisoned or molested his Armenian agent, Coja Rafael, would be answerable for all his balances and outstanding concerns. The language of the proclamation was so arrogant that Muhammed Riza Khan could not help protesting against it on the ground that as the Armenian agent of Mr. Bolts was confined at Murshidabad the proclamation was "directly levelled at the Nawab and the executive officers of the government." Muhammad Riza Khan pointed out, "There never was an instance yet of any one who wrote in such a style to the Nizam and the officers of the government."

The authorities were now on the look out for a more serious charge against Mr. Bolts so that they might start legal proceedings against him. This is why the Governor brought to the notice⁸⁶ of the Council what he had heard from Mr. Edward Baber⁸⁷ that instead of personally executing the covenant sent by the Company, prohibiting the acceptance of presents by their servants, Mr. Bolts had, in order to evade the Company's orders, employed a writer to sign his name for him⁸⁸.

The Council called upon Mr. Baber to give his information on this point. The latter deposed as follows:—"When I was sub-secretary, Mr. Bolts came⁸⁹ to me at the secretary's office in the Council house, and after telling me he had something of importance to say to me, he took me aside, and asked me, if I could let him see his covenants sent out by the Company, prohibiting their servants accepting presents; to which I replied I could. He then desired me to go to a room where there were not any gentlemen writing; I took him into the Council room, and after showing him his covenants, he requested me, in the most earnest manner, to execute them afresh, alleging, as a reason for making this request, that the signing was not his own but his writer; and this circumstance was known to Mr. Sage, who he was apprehensive would make it public. I told him it was not in my power to grant him such a request, and peremptorily refused him; after this denial he then requested I would keep this matter a profound secret; I told him as long as I could do it consistently with my duty to my employers I would; but if it should ever be of consequence to disclose this matter I must look upon this promise to be void".

As the Governor and Council were satisfied of the fact that Mr. Bolts had deliberately defrauded the Company by making his writer to sign his covenant for himself, summons was ordered to be issued to Mr. Bolts, asking him to appear before the Council on the 5th of September to answer to the charge.

86. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 26, 1768.

87. O. C. 26th August, 1768, No. 12.

88. O. C. 26th August, 1768, No. 4 (a).

89. "In or about September, 1766" (O. C. 5th September, 1768, No. 6.)

The climax of the long drawn out tussle between Mr. Bolts and the Government was now reached. On the 5th of September⁹⁰ the Council received an audacious reply⁹¹ from Mr. Bolts to the effect that, as the Governor had in this single instance "desisted from his custom of stabbing in the dark," and had "for once dared to stand forth," he would duly attend at the appointed hour "to fix the infamy where only it ought to fall."

After Mr. Baber's deposition⁹² had been formally read upon oath, Mr. Bolts was asked to appear before the Council. Mr. Bolts unexpectedly declared that unless his main accuser, the Governor personally appeared before him, he would not answer to any questions. Unable to dispute the propriety of the demand, the Council sent their Secretary to call in the Governor. The latter curiously enough declined to attend on the plea that his accusation was based not on personal knowledge of facts but on information he had received from Mr. Baber. Apparently, Verelst felt some delicacy in appearing as an informer before a body of which he was the President. This is why he insisted⁹³ on his presence being dispensed with, when the Council once again requested his attendance. The Council thereupon respectfully reminded⁹⁴ the Governor that every British subject had an indubitable right to have his accuser before him. In reply Verelst asked for an adjournment of the meeting until the afternoon. Mr. Bolts was accordingly directed to attend between four and five in the afternoon.

The Council met at half past four, but Mr. Bolts did not appear till after half past five. Verelst's⁹⁵ information was then read along with Mr. Irwin's⁹⁶ attestation that he had duly served the summons on Mr. Bolts. Then followed Baber's deposition regarding Mr. Bolts's request for a re-execution of his covenant. After this Mr. Bolts⁹⁷ replied that the accusation was only partly true, and that Mr. Baber had wilfully omitted the most material circumstances, and had misrepresented many others. He then asked for permission to read out his defence. It is surprising to find that Verelst again betrayed his impatience, and refused to be present while Mr. Bolts read his defence. The Council had to give him permission to retire. There remains no doubt about the fact that Verelst was afraid of

90. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 5, 1768.

91. O. C. No. 1, September 5, 1768.

92. O. C. No. 6, September 5, 1768.

93. O. C. No. 2, September 5, 1768.

94. O. C. No. 3, September 5, 1768.

95. O. C. No. 4, September 5, 1768.

96. O. C. No. 5, September 5, 1768.

97. O. C. No. 4, September 5, 1768.

cross-examination at the hands of Mr. Bolts. After Verelst had left, Mr. Bolts instantly refused to deliver or read his defence in the absence of the Governor, and declared his intention to transit it direct to the Court of Directors. He was eventually asked to retire.

Although Mr. Bolts's defence could not be heard at all owing to the unaccountable retirement of the Governor himself, the Council concluded in unseemly haste⁹⁸ that as Mr. Bolts had at least partly acknowledged the charge he was in consequence an improper person to be a member of any Court of Justice. They wrote⁹⁹ forthwith to the Mayor's Court informing them of their decision to remove Mr. Bolts from his office of Alderman.

On an examination of the above proceedings of the Council it would be apparent that the orders for Bolts's removal from his office of Alderman were not legally justifiable. They were correctly reversed later by the Privy Council in England¹⁰⁰. It is true that the offence with which he had been charged was serious¹⁰¹ enough to justify legal proceedings against him, but it must be admitted that the defence was neither correctly defined, nor properly established. Besides, it is strange that although the alleged offence had been committed in September 1766, no notice was taken of it till the end of August, 1768. The orders of expulsion had been passed in 1767 without any reference to this offence. Again, formal notice of the charge was given to Mr. Bolts after the Council meeting of the 26th of August; thus sufficient time was denied to him to prepare his defence. The persistent refusal of the Governor to face him during the trial, or to stand a cross-examination at his hands was again improper, if not strictly illegal. The summons issued by the Council was clearly defective, as it did not require Mr. Bolts to show cause why he should not be removed from the office of Alderman. Mention may also be made here of the material difference between the first information and the subsequent evidence of Mr. Baber. According to the first information¹⁰², Mr. Bolts was alleged to have asked for a re-execution of his covenant. In his final deposition¹⁰³ Mr. Baber made a more serious allegation that

98. Mr. Bolts referred to it as "the hugger-mugger method pursued in the enquiry with shut doors."

99. O. C. No. 7, September 5, 1768.

100. Letter from Court, June 27, 1770.

101. The Directors thought that the fact that he employed his writer to sign his covenant did not necessarily indicate a criminal intention, as the signature of Mr. Bolts's writer was after all as valid in law as his own. His action might even be construed as "an idle but innocent one, to evade a rash oath which he had sworn that he would never sign them." (Letter from Court, May 23, 1770.)

102. Beng. Pub. Cons. August 26, 1768.

103. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 5, 1768.

Mr. Bolts had endeavoured to secure a re-delivery of deed into his own custody¹⁰⁴.

It is a question again as to how far Mr. Baber's own statement alone could be relied upon, particularly because it is known that he had reason to be prejudiced¹⁰⁵ against Mr. Bolts in view of his own recent prosecution by the latter in the Mayor's Court. The Directors actually remonstrated later that the information against Mr. Bolts had been "not so much by way of original complaint seemingly as by way of recrimination to retaliate for his presentment to the Grand Jury and his several protests and prosecution of Baber and Broughton, the Clerk of the Peace and Secretary of the Select Committee."¹⁰⁶

Mr. Bolts was, however, still undaunted. He replied with his usual defiance of the Council's orders, and sent a long petition with necessary affidavits and papers for transmission to the Court of Directors. In the course of the petition he bitterly attacked the conduct of the authorities in general and of the Governor in particular.¹⁰⁷ To the Council he threatened¹⁰⁸ solemnly that he would make them "answerable for the severest damages."

In reply to the libellous attack on himself Verelst urged that every assertion made by Mr. Bolts which tended to reflect on his character was "infamously scandalous and false," and that he would submit¹⁰⁹ later a detailed reply to Mr. Bolts's accusation. The Governor and Council were now determined¹¹⁰ to get rid finally of Mr. Bolts. On the 13th of September, they at last decided¹¹¹ to send the latter home a prisoner on board the Valentine, and issued on behalf of the Company¹¹² a proper bond¹¹³ of indemnification for the satisfaction¹¹⁴ of Captain Purvis¹¹⁵.

104. "..... the said William Bolts requested him.....in the most earnest manner to permit him.....to execute that deed afresh, or over again, and to allow him... to take the deed home....."

105. Mr. Bolts argued with a show of reason, "Mr. Baber is not a competent judge having been instigated to propagate falsities solely from his having commenced a prosecution against him in the Mayor's Court."

106. Letter from Court, May 23, 1770.

107. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 13, 1768.

108. O. C. 13th September, 1768, No. 2.

109. Letter to Court, September 13, 1768.

110. O. C. 13th September 1768, No. 1 (a).

111. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 13, 1768.

112. Letter to Court, September 19, 1768.

113. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 19, 1768. (*Vide* O. C. No. 2.) The bond was for £ 50,000.

114. On being threatened with legal proceedings by Mr. Bolts, Captain Purvis had refused to take him on board without a bond of indemnification from the Council.

115. As the ship had been detained under the Council orders, Captain Purvis had actually made a formal protest against this detention. (O. C. 28th September, No. 6. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 28, 1768.)

As the Council had good reason to believe¹¹⁶ that Mr. Bolts was not likely to comply with their orders voluntarily they ordered Captain Robert Coxe, a military officer, to seize him forcibly, if necessary, and conduct him to the schooner Cuddalore for being embarked later on board the Valentine. On the 23rd of September, Captain Coxe proceeded with a guard of sepoy to Mr. Bolts's residence, and as Mr. Bolts refused to stir out unless he was made a prisoner and forced, he called two sepoy "who put their hands on his shoulder by his own desire,"¹¹⁷ and conducted him under a guard on board the schooner which had been prepared to receive him and his necessaries. His wife followed him later.¹¹⁸ According to Captain Coxe's report,¹¹⁹ Mr. Bolts was actually well prepared to leave the place. He asked the sepoy to place their hands on his person only to show it to a few witnesses that he had been forced out of his house.¹²⁰ This evidence he evidently needed to substantiate his suit for damages against the authorities.

Even a superficial analysis of the various charges levelled against Mr. Bolts would show that the sentence of deportation inflicted on him after considerable delay and hesitation was neither unmerited, nor excessive. Though severely censured more than once by the local authorities as well as the Court of Directors, he had studiously and insolently ignored their repeated warnings, and had made himself an unendurable nuisance by his attitude of open defiance. He had not only grossly abused the indulgence generously granted to him by the authorities, but had been guilty of offences which no government could normally tolerate. Verelst's own defence of Mr. Bolts's deportation is sufficiently strong, and deserves to be quoted here. "It was criminal for a moment to suffer the residence of a man who, independent of other demerits had corresponded with every rival, and every enemy of the Company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch governor, to monopolise the cloth-trade of Dacca; who had scandalously evaded the execution of covenants which, as a servant of the Company, he was bound to subscribe; who

116. Beng. Pub. Cons. September 19, 1768. Letter to Court, September 24, 1768. It was feared that Mr. Bolts "intended to procure himself to be arrested for debt."

117. Letter from Captain Coxe, September 23, 1768.

118. Mr. N. L. Hallward in his life of Mr. William Bolts betrays his ignorance of facts when he says (p. 41), "Whether she returned to her husband (after her elopement) before he left Bengal must be a matter of conjecture." Actually, however, we find Mr. Bolts stating clearly in the course of his examination that he was arrested by Captain Coxe while he had gone to his wife's room to see if she had sent her things away. He himself said, My wife followed me afterwards," (*Vide* Second Report, 1772, p. 286).

119. Letter from Captain Coxe, *op. cit.*, Letter to Court, September 24, 1768.

120. Captain Coxe was afterwards summoned to give evidence in the suit instituted by Mr. Bolts.

had attempted one,¹²¹ and actually succeeded in seducing another¹²² inferior servant to betray his trust, in delivering papers out of the officer; who had, from his first arrival in India, carried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob, and had issued his proclamation in the style of a sovereign; whose agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Sujah-al-Dowlah, and by false intelligence received from their master, had endangered the peace of India. To suffer such a man in Bengal was surely criminal."¹²³

That the authorities had reasonable grounds of dissatisfaction with the conduct and attitude of Mr. Bolts is undeniable, but it must be admitted that the Governor and Council betrayed a lamentable lack of caution and foresight in their whole proceedings against the latter. They weakly hesitated to take any action for a considerable time¹²⁴, although they could have done so on the ground that as Alderman of the Mayor's Court Mr. Bolts had no title to engage in private inland trade. When they resolved at last to proceed to extremities they took steps which were neither regular, nor judicious. Their conduct as judges was not above board, and their ultimate prosecution of Mr. Bolts on the basis of the uncorroborated information of Mr. Baber was both irregular and short-sighted. The orders for his removal from the office of Alderman were hasty and illegal. It is also surprising to find that no fresh notice for his departure was given after his dismissal from his office, as was of course necessary. The final orders for his arrest were equally precipitate, for the time intervening between the Council meeting of the 5th September and the day of his arrest was doubtless short.

While it must be conceded that Verelst was not actuated by any personal malice or jealousy as was unjustly insinuated by Mr. Bolts, one is constrained to feel that, as Governor, he did not act with due circumspection and firmness in his measures against Mr. Bolts. He had to pay heavily for his imprudence, as the latter subsequently ruined him by successful litigation in England.

121. Mr. Edward Baber.

122. Mr. Fenwick who gave a copy of a minute of Colonel Smith to Mr. Bolts was dismissed from the service, though he was later reinstated under orders of the Directors in consideration of his youth. (O. C. 30th May, 1768, No. 3 Letter to Court, September 13, 1768.)

123. Verelst's View etc., p. 41.

124. The delay was probably due to their doubts regarding the legality of the forcible deportation of an ex-civil servant. They were also not sure whether the Directors would approve of their action. The approval of the Directors (Letter from Court, November 11, 1768) was received after the deportation had been effected.

Economic, Religious and Social Conditions in Rajputana in the days of Tod

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I. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Like other provinces of India, Rajputana is inhabited by a people primarily agricultural in their occupation. The following figures show the proportion of the population dependent on pasture and agriculture in different States in 1901: Mewar—56½ per cent.; Dungarpur—nearly 59 per cent.; Banswara—nearly 68 per cent.; Partabgarh—more than 52 per cent.; Jaisalmer—45 per cent.; Sirohi—nearly 38 per cent.; Bikaner—nearly 72 per cent.; Marwar 62½ per cent.¹ In Sirohi the country is rocky and hilly; naturally the cultivated area is too small to provide livelihood even to 50 per cent of the population. In Jaisalmer the desert prevents the extension of cultivation. Throughout Rajputana water supply is scarce and rainfall is scanty and uncertain. Moreover, a substantial portion of the country is covered with hills and forests. Such a country yields crop sparingly and only to the hardy tiller². Naturally there were frequent famines in Rajputana. Mewar was visited by a famine in 1764; Marwar suffered the same fate in 1794 and 1804. A large part of Rajputana suffered terribly in the great famine of 1812-13. Not more than three seers of grain were available for a rupee, and water was scarce.

Rajputana is not rich in mineral resources. Mewar is comparatively fortunate in her mineral and metallic products, and to the latter have been attributed the resources which enabled the Ranas to struggle for so long against the superior power of the Mughals³. There are lead and zinc mines at Jawar. The lead mines at Potlan and Dariha have been

1. The figures for 1901 have been quoted because they approximate more closely than modern figures to the conditions of Rajputana in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the period described in the present article.

2. For additional information on agriculture in Rajputana, see Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XVI; *Annals of Bikaner*, Chapter II; *Annals of Jessulmer* Chapter VII; *Annals of Amber*, Chapter VIII.

3. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II-A, p. 52. See also Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 5.

closed for a long time. Mining of copper was formerly practised in Mewar on a large scale. "Throughout the range of hills on the east and north-east runs an endless vein of hematite of iron.....but the mines are not worked to any great extent". The only precious stones are garnets which occur in the Aravalli schists at several places in the Bhilwara district. In Dungarpur the only useful metals consist of iron and copper ores, extensively worked in the past. In Jaisalmer and Marwar the only important mineral is salt. Marble and sandstone are available in Marwar and Jaipur.

The manufactures of Rajputana were not of great commercial importance in Tod's days. In Marwar coarse cotton cloths and blankets were manufactured for local use from local cotton and wool. Matchlocks, swords and other warlike implements were made at Jodhpur and at Pali, and at the latter place were also made excellent boxes of iron, resembling the tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes were in great demand⁴. In Bikaner the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert was the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade. It was worked into every article of dress, and worn by all, male and female, rich and poor. Bikaner was also famous for blacksmiths who manufactured excellent sword-blades, matchlocks, daggers, iron lances, etc. There were also expert artists in ivory, who specialised in the construction of bracelets for women. Coarse cotton cloths were made in considerable quantities for internal consumption⁵. There was little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in the desert of Jaisalmer. Coarse cotton cloths were made for local use, and good blankets, scarfs, petticoats, turbans etc. were manufactured from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert. There were ivory-workers and blacksmith too. Cups and platters were made from a mineral called *aboor*, 'a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes'⁶. Jaipur produced excellent cotton as well as indigo and other dyes common to India⁷.

Rajputana enjoyed considerable commercial importance before the disintegration of the Mughal Empire ushered in the age of political turmoil and 'predatory warfare'. The establishment of British suzerainty restored the confidence of the mercantile classes and to some extent revived the commercial prosperity of the Rajput states. When Tod arrived in Mewar as Political Agent in 1818, he found that the foreign

4. *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XVI.

5. *Annals of Bikaner*, Chapter II.

6. *Annals of Jessulmer*, Chapter VII.

7. *Annals of Amber*, Chapter VIII.

merchants and bankers had abandoned the country; money was scarce, and the rate of interest was abnormally high. He invited foreign merchants to establish connection with Mewar once again. Proclamations guaranteed by the Political Agent were distributed in every commercial city in Northern India. Many merchants returned, and found, to their surprise and satisfaction, that the duties on goods in transit were levied only at frontier stations instead of, as before, at a large number of intermediate posts. Trade flourished, revenues increased, and Bhilwara, the chief commercial mart in the state, rapidly rose from ruin⁸.

During the Mughal period Marwar enjoyed considerable trade, for this state formed the connecting link between the sea-coast and Northern India. The chief mart was Pali which, says Tod, might make pretensions to the title of emporium of Rajputana⁹. "From remote times", observes Tod, "Palli has been the connecting link between the sea-coast and Northern India. Commercial houses established at Muscat-Mandavi, Surat, and Noanuggur, transmit the products of Persia, Arabia, Africa, and Europe, receiving those of India and Thibet. To enumerate all the articles, it would be necessary to name the various products of each: from the coast, elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' hides, copper, tin, pewter, dates dried and moist, of which there is an immense consumption in these regions; gum-arabic, borax, cocoanuts, broad-cloths, striped silks, called *putung*; various dyes, particularly the *Kermes* or crimson; drugs, especially the oxides of arsenic and quick-silver; spices, sandal-wood, camphor, tea, mummeye or mummy, which is much sought after in medicine, and green glass (*Kanch*). From Bhawalpur, soda (*saji*), the dyes called *al* and *munjeet*, matchlocks, dried fruits, assafoetida, Mooltan chintzes, and wood for household furniture. From Kotah and Malwa, Opium and Chintzes. From Jeypur, various cloths and sugar. From Bhooj, swords and horses. The exports of home production are the two staple articles of salt and woollens; to which we may add coarse cotton cloths, and paper made in the town of Palli"¹⁰. Another important commercial centre in Marwar was the village of Ramdeora, 6 miles to the north of Pokharan. Here merchants from Karachi, Tatta, Multan, Shikarpur and Cutch exchanged the produce of various countries. The famine of 1812-13, the anarchy of Man Singh's reign (1803-43) and the interminable feuds between the Rathors and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer ruined the commercial prosperity of this village¹¹. In spite of the unfavourable political situation the sturdy sons of Marwar knew how to earn money. Even in those days nine-tenths

8. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XVIII.

9. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

10. *Personal Narrative*.

11. *Sketch of the Indian Desert*, Chap. I.

of the bankers and commercial men of India were Marwaris, and most of them were Jains¹².

The route of the caravans passing through was by Sanchor, Bhinmal, Jalor to Pali. They were guarded by the bards or *charans*, whose character was held sacred by the Rajputs. Tod says, "The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these men. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or self-immolation; and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient, a whole body of women and children was sacrificed . . . for whose blood the marauder was declared responsible hereafter"¹³.

Rajgarh and Ohuru¹⁴ were the two important commercial marts of Bikaner. The former was the point of rendezvous for caravans from all parts. Tod says, "The produce of the Punjab and Cashmer came formerly direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Delhi, Rewarri, Dadri, &c. consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, &c.; from Harouti and Malwa came opium¹⁵, which supplied all the Rajput states; from Sinde *via* Jessulmer, and by caravans from Mooltan and Shikarpur, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk vestments for women), fruits, &c.; from Palli, the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, cocoanuts, elephants' teeth, &c. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the greater part a mere transit trade which yielded considerable revenue"¹⁶.

The town of Jaisalmer was a commercial mart of some importance, from its position on the direct route between the valley of the Indus on the west and the Punjab and the United Provinces to the north and east. Many caravans passed through this oasis in the desert. Tod says, "The indigo of the Doab, the opium of Kotah and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bikaner, iron implements from Jeypur, are exported to Shikarpur and lower Sinde, whence elephants' teeth (from Africa), dates, cocoanuts, drugs and *Chundus* are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawalpur"¹⁷.

12. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

13. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

14. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

15. During the period 1784-1801 the market-price of the crude opium from the cultivator ran from 16 to 21 *Salim Shahi* rupees per *durri* (i.e., five *pucca Seers*). In 1809 it rose to 42 rupees. In 1820 it stood at 38 or 39 rupees. (*Personal Narrative*).

16. *Annals of Bikaner*, Chap. II.

17. *Annals of Jessulmer*, Chap. VII.

Malpura was the principal commercial mart in Jaipur¹⁸. Jhalrapatan, the famous town of Zalim Singh, Regent of Kotah, was 'the grand commercial mart of Upper Malwa'. Salt drawn from the lakes of western Rajputana passed through it on its way to the south-east. But it was merely an entrepot, having no staple article of trade of its own¹⁹.

It is interesting to note that some of the important commercial marts of Rajputana enjoyed special political privileges. Bhilwara and Pali had each a currency of its own. These two towns, as well as Jhalrapatan and some others belonging to the same class, had the right of electing their own magistrates, both for municipal administration, and the arbitration of all matters connected with commercial pursuits²⁰.

II. RELIGION

Hinduism is the predominant religion in Rajputana. The following figures show the proportion of the Hindus in different States in 1901 :—

Mewar	—Hindus, 75 per cent.; Animists, 13 per cent.; Jains, 6 per cent.; Muslims, 4 per cent.
Dungarpur	—Hindus, 56 per cent.; Animists, 34 per cent.; Jains, 6 per cent.; Muslims, 4 per cent.
Banswara ²¹	—Hindus, 31 per cent.; Animists, 63 per cent.; rest, Jains and Muslims.
Partabgarh ²²	—Hindus, 61 per cent.; Animists, 21 per cent.; Jains, 9 per cent.; Muslims, 7 per cent.
Marwar	—Hindus, 83 per cent.; Animists, 2 per cent.; Jains, 7 per cent.; Muslims, 7½ per cent.
Bikaner	—Hindus, 84½ per cent.; Jains, 4 per cent.; Muslims, 11·3 per cent.
Sirohi	—Hindus, 72·7 per cent.; Animists, 11·7 per cent.; Jains, 11·1 per cent.; Muslims, 3·8 per cent.
Jaisalmer ²³	—Hindus, 71 per cent.; Animists, 2 per cent.; Jains, 1½ per cent.; Muslims, 25 per cent.

18. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

19. *Personal Narrative*.

20. *Personal Narrative*.

21. The high percentage of Animists in Banswara is due to the high percentage of Bhils (63 per cent) in that state.

22. In Partabgarh the Bhils constituted 22 per cent of the population in 1901.

23. It is significant that the two States (Jaisalmer and Bikaner) adjoining two predominantly Muslim provinces (Sind and the Punjab) contain the largest proportion of Muslims in Rajputana.

As the line of distinction between the Hindus and the Animists is admittedly very thin, Hinduism may not incorrectly be described as the religion of Rajputana.

Tod has left for us an account of the *Religious Establishments, Festivals, and Customs of Mewar*, but unfortunately he has not added similar accounts concerning the religious life of the people in other States. In Mewar the Hindus are either Saivas or Vaishnavas. Siva is the tutelary divinity of the Guhilots; hence Savivism may be regarded as the original religion of Mewar. The temple of Ekalinga, situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur, is the most important shrine of the Saivas of this state. The Ranas are the *dewans*, or vicegerents, of Siva. When they visit the temple they supersede the high priest in his duties and perform the necessary ceremonies. The shrine was endowed in Tod's days with 24 large villages from the *Khalsa* besides plots of land from the chiefs²⁴.

The steadily increasing influence of Vaishnavism²⁵ affected the hold of Saivism²⁶ over Mewar. Tod says that the predominance of the mild doctrines of Krishna over 'the dark rites of Siva' was doubtless beneficial to Rajput society. Vaishnavism disapproved female infanticide and Sati²⁷, and thus exercised a humanising influence on the martial Rajputs. Nathdwara, 22 miles north-north-east of Udaipur, on the right bank of the Banas, is the principal Vaishnava shrine in Mewar. It owes its celebrity to the image of Krishna, said to be the same that had been worshipped at Mathura for centuries. It is said that at the time of the desolation of Mathura by Aurangzib Rana Raj Singh brought the sacred image to his own State. The endowments for Krishna far exceeded in value than those assigned to Ekalinga. Raja Man Singh of Marwar, the rulers of Kota, and Bundi, and Zalim Singh, Regent of Kota, were devotees of Krishna. But

24. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XIX.

25. An inscription dated 1274 A.D. compares Guhila with Vishnu. An inscription dated 1285 A.D. describes Samara Simha as an incarnation of the Boar, "who rescuedthe submerged land of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turushkas". Rana Kumbha composed a well-known commentary (*Rasika-priyā*) on the beautiful Vaishnava lyric, Jayadeva's *Gita-Govindam*. Mira Bai is even now remembered as a great Vaishnava. An inscription dated 1676 A.D. begins with salutations to Ganesha and Krishna.

26. The hold of Saivism over Mewar is very old. An inscription dated 971 A.D. refers to the worship of Ekalinga and the blessing of Sankara. A mutilated inscription found in the temple of Hastamata at Udaipur says that Suchivarma 'burnt his foes like Siva'. An inscription dated 1274 A.D. begins with homage to Siva and Ganapati, and describes several Princes of Mewar as worshippers of Siva. Another inscription dated 1285 A.D. begins with salutations to Siva, and Hanuman. Salutations to Siva and Ganesha are repeated in an inscription dated 1489 A.D.

27. Raja Bishen Singh of Bundi, who died in 1821, ordered before his death that his wife should not follow him to the pyre.

Vaishnavism was primarily the religion of the commercial classes. Tod says, "...it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, Vishnu and Jain, whose integrity was spotless, and whose philanthropy was unbounded"²⁸.

Although the Jains were not numerically strong in any Rajput State they occupied a very important place in commercial and political life. Tod says, "The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of Justice in Oodipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood". Mewar always afforded a refuge to the Jains²⁹, and some of the Ranas gave them special privileges, as inscriptions quoted by Tod show³⁰.

III. SOCIETY

The Brahmins constitute a substantial portion of the population of Mewar; in 1901 their number slightly exceeded that of the Rajputs. They enjoyed enormous grants of land from the Princes and the chiefs. In the eighteenth century the territorial assignments to the Brahmins sometimes included the prerogative of dispensing justice and of levying transit duties. Those Brahmins who did not exercise priestly functions could hold lands as 'vassals' like the Rajput chiefs, and they were entitled to hold political and administrative appointments. Nor were they wanting in energy or courage; "the sword was as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet)." The Prince, says Tod, "is often surrounded by lay Brahmins as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal, besides the *Guru* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of astrologer and physician. These *Gurus* and *Purohits*, having the education of the children, acquire immense influence....."³¹.

Throughout history Rajput women have been famous for their courage, but we know very little about their accomplishments. Like their sisters in modern orthodox society they were condemned to seclusion, but they were

28. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XIX.

29. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XIX.

30. An inscription dated 971 A.D. describes its composer as 'the medicine for the disease of the *Syādvād*' (i.e., Jainism). This probably indicates antipathy towards Jainism. An inscription dated 1438 A.D. shows that during Rana Kumbha's reign a merchant established a Jain idol in Jain temple at Nagada. Another inscription dated 1598 A.D. refers to the construction of a well by a Jain.

31. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XIX.

not altogether shut out from the light and warmth of life. Tod says, "In spite of this seclusion, the knowledge of their accomplishments and of their personal perfections, radiates wherever the itinerant bard can travel. Though invisible themselves, they can see; and accident often favours public report, and brings the object of renown within the sphere of personal observation.....Placed behind screens, they see the youths of all countries, and there are occasions when permanent impressions are made, during tournaments and other martial exercises"³².

Female immolation was one of the worst features of Rajput society. For *Sati*³³, or the burning of the wife on the funeral pyre of her husband, the authority of Hindu scriptures could be cited, but religion did not authorise infanticide. Tod rightly says that the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajputs powerfully promoted this horrible custom. "Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (*campa*), but between those of the same tribe (*gote*); and though centuries may have intervened since their separation and branches thus transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be regrafted on the original stem.....Every tribe has therefore to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors to the females." Naturally the demand for dowry went on increasing, till many Rajputs found it impossible to provide as much as was required for marrying their daughters to their equals in family pride. They escaped degradation by killing their infant daughters³⁴.

Even before Lord William Bentinck's reforms some enlightened and humane Rajput Princes had tried to eradicate female infanticide, but the Rajputs were never 'sufficiently enamoured of despotism' to accept state control over their private affairs. Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur submitted to the Prince of every Rajput state a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective 'vassals', in which he regulated the *dajja* or dowry, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the girl's father, limiting it to one year's income. In Mewar this excellent plan was frustrated by the vanity of the Salumbra chief³⁵, 'who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded, and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views

32. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIII.

33. This practice is referred to in an inscription dated 1598 A.D.

34. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

35. It seems that the Salumbra chiefs adopted a more humane attitude later on. In 1859 Captain Brookes wrote that in Mewar infanticide was 'certainly not encouraged by the sovereign or higher nobles, as both the great chiefs of Suloombur and Deogurh have grown-up unmarried female members of their families'. (*History of Mewar*, p. 97).

of one of the wisest of the Rajput race'. Those who could create public opinion against lavish expenditure on marriages the whole class of *mangtias* (mendicants), bards, minstrels, jugglers, Brahmins—found their interest in stimulating it, for they profited from liberality on these occasions³⁶.

The practice of *Sati* was common in Rajputana. Bhim Singh, Rana of Mewar, who died in 1828, was followed by four wives and four concubines. His successor, Jawan Singh (1828-1838), was followed by three wives and six concubines³⁷. Rana Sardar Singh (1838-1842) was followed by one concubine. On the death of Rana Sarup Singh (1842-1861) all his wives refused to burn themselves; at last, a concubine was persuaded to follow the ancient custom. This is the last known case of *Sati* in Mewar³⁸. We have already referred to the influence of Vaishnavism on the prevention of this inhuman custom, and cited the case of Raja Bishen Singh of Bundi.

Widow marriage was not unknown in Rajputana, although the Rajputs did not favour it. Zalim Singh of Kota imposed a heavy tax on widows who remarried³⁹. The Mairs, an aboriginal tribe inhabiting that portion of the Aravalli Range which lies between Kamalmir and Ajmer, a space of about 90 miles in length and varying in breadth from 6 to 20, practised widow marriage on a large scale. The facilities for separation were as simple as the marriage rites. Divorce was practised also by Jars, Gujars, Ahirs, Mallis and other Sudra tribes⁴⁰.

Addiction to opium was one of the most demoralising factors in Rajput society. Tod says, "For the introduction of opium we have no date, and it is not even mentioned in the poems of Chund. This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility". Opium to the Rajput was more necessary than food, and a suggestion to the Rana of

36. Captain Brookes wrote in 1859, "Notwithstanding the numerous attempts made by the late Colonel Sutherland in Rajputana, to check, on occasion of marriages, the influx of charuns and Bhats from the neighbouring states, yet nothing has been accomplished for this desirable object; and the expenses of marriage are as great as ever. Till these are reduced, we may expect that female infanticide will continue". (*History of Meywar*, p. 97.)

37. The Governor-General wrote, "The British Government cannot regard with friendly feelings those by whom such cruel sacrifices are countenanced and encouraged".

38. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II-A, pp. 26-27.

39. *Annals of Haravati*, Chap. VIII.

40. *Personal Narrative*.

Mewar to tax it highly was most unpopular. But Tod, that gallant friend of the Rajputs, exacted promises from the rising generation that they would resist initiation in this vice, and many grew up in happy ignorance of the taste of opium⁴¹.

In Tod's days all Rajputs were fond of music⁴². "While the Mahratta delights in the dissonant *droopud* which requires a rapidity of utterance quite surprising, the Rajput reposes in his *tuppa*, which, conjoined with his opium, creates a paradise"⁴³. Every Rajput chief has his band, vocal and instrumental. Rana Bhim Singh of Mewar was a great patron of music; but his resources were crippled, for Danlat Rao Sindhia carried away the most celebrated vocalists of Mewar⁴⁴.

The Princes and chiefs of Rajputana were not unlettered warriors like the barons of old England. To most of them arms and letters were alike familiar. Zalim Singh, the son of Raja Bijay Singh of Marwar, was deprived of his heritage by domestic quarrels, and compelled to settle in Mewar, where a domain was assigned to him by the Rana, a relative of his on the maternal side. Tod says, "Without neglecting any of the martial amusements and exercises of the Rajput, he gave up all those hours, generally devoted to idleness, to the cultivation of letters. He was versed in philosophical theology, astronomy, and the history of his country; and in every branch of poesy, from the sacred canticles of Jayadeva to the couplets of the modern bard, he was an adept. He composed and improvised with facility, and his residence was the rendezvous for every bard of fame"⁴⁵. Rana Bhim Singh of Mewar had 'unlimited command of his pen', and his letters were admirable. Tod says, "The prince who in Europe could quote Hesiod and Homer with the freedom that the Rana does on all occasions Vyasa and Valmiki, would be accounted a prodigy; and there is not a divine who could make application of the ordinances of Moses with more facility than the Rana of those of their great law giver Manu"⁴⁶.

But, says Tod, "the cultivation of the mind, and the arts of polished life, must always flourish in the ratio of a nation's prosperity, and from the decline of the one, we may date the deterioration of the other with the Rajput". There was no patron like Sawai Jai Singh to whom the Rajput astronomer could look for reward⁴⁷. All those who could provide shelter and stimulus to bards and scholars lay prostrate under the heels of the Maratha and Pathan raiders.

41. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

42. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

43. *Personal Narrative*.

44. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

45. *Personal Narrative*.

46. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

47. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XXIV.

The Treaty of Bhyrowal: December, 1846— A Historical Revision

By

JAGMOHAN MAHAJAN, M. A. (HONS.)

By the supplementary articles of agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar on the 11th March, 1846, it was decided that "the British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the current year, A.D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor-General adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Maharaja, and the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, during the reorganization of the Sikh army, in accordance with the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Darbar, have been obtained; but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year". With the year drawing to its close, the time was fast approaching for the departure of the British troops from Lahore. Lord Hardinge, however, had for some time been contemplating the revision of this Treaty in such a direction as would make possible the retention of the British troops beyond the stipulated period together with the tightening of the British grip over the country, and would thus bring the Punjab virtually under the British control. These sentiments were first expressed by him in his despatch to the Secret Committee, as early as the 19th September, 1846, where after discussing the advisability of continuing the occupation of the Punjab by the British troops, he added; "The other course—which it may be open to the British Government to take, and which has constantly occupied my attention since the 3rd of September—would be, to carry on the Government of Lahore in the name of the Maharaja during his minority (a period of about eight years), or for a more limited time, placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, and assisted by a Native Council"¹.

1. Governor-General to Secret Committee, September 19, 1846; No. 2. Parliamentary Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar on the 16th of December, 1846 (London, 1847)

Lord Hardinge was unequivocally against the retention of British troops under the same administrative arrangements as heretofore, whereby the British Government could not exercise any interference in the internal affairs of the State (*vide* Article 15 of the Treaty of 9th March, 1846); and in his despatches to the Secret Committee he expressed more than once the opinion that the British garrison ought not to remain beyond the stipulated period if a native Government continued to administer the affairs of the Punjab. But if the Darbar agreed to the modified arrangements

The Maharani, who acted as Regent for her minor son, also strongly favoured, along with many influential Sardars, the retention of British troops in the Punjab. She had, in fact, in the presence and with the concurrence of such leading Chiefs as Bhai Ram Singh, Fakir Nur-ud-Din and Raja Lal Singh, told John Lawrence in an interview as early as September 10, 1846, that the existence of the Government, indeed of her life as well as that of the young Maharaja entirely depended upon the continued presence of the British troops and the British representative at Lahore². In another interview the Maharani emphatically told Henry Lawrence that she had suffered much *dukkh* (i.e., grief or pain) from the Khalsa, and that she would go with them to Ferozepore³. Even as late as the first week of December she had not changed her mind, for we find the British Agent reporting to his Government in his despatch of the 17th December, that "till within the last few days, no one has expressed a more anxious desire for our stay than the Maharani; and, even on the day following that on which Raja Lal Singh was deposed from the Wazarat (i.e., on the 5th December), and her grief was at the worst, she declared to me, when I called on her, that she would leave the Punjab when we did"⁴. But these repeated requests of the Maharani to the British force were based on the presumption that the British Government would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Lahore State⁵. She was however, disillusioned as soon as she came to know of the real intentions of Lord Hardinge who wanted the British Resident to be given unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations. No wonder, then, that the attitude of the Maharani underwent a marked change and Henry Lawrence reported to the Government as follows: "A very short time has given a more active—perhaps, a more vindictive—turn to her inclinations, and during the last day or two her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent Government, of which she herself was to be the head"⁶.

as suggested by him, he would be willing "to give the experiment a favourable consideration". He was, however, bent upon making the Lahore Darbar agree to the modified arrangements, and thus reducing it to non-entity; and to achieve this he spent all his energy, and exhibited all the subtle diplomacy he was capable of, as will be seen subsequently in this article.

2. John Lawrence to Currie, September 11, 1846; Letter 16, Book 174-A, Punjab Government Records.

3.

4. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Pk. 174, P.G.R.

5. *Vide* Art. 15 of the Treaty of March, 9, 1846.

6. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Bk. 174, P.G.R.

But in her attempt to rally round herself all the Chiefs of the realm and to be proclaimed their sovereign head, she failed to win over any leading Chief save Diwan Dina Nath. This was due to the indubitable fact that she had been forestalled by the Governor-General, who had set the wheels of the subtle British diplomacy in great motion with the set purpose of thwarting her scheme, as it crossed his path. Lord Hardinge was determined to bring the Punjab under the virtual control of the British Government by placing the Resident on the same footing as the Lieutenant-Governor of a province in British India. This is fully borne out by the following sentence in a private letter from the Governor-General to his Foreign Secretary, who had been sent on a special mission to Lahore: "You are the person best qualified to ensure the success of a British administration under novel and difficult circumstances in the Punjab and in such case *I should place you on the same footing as the Lieutenant-Governor.....I have a very high opinion of Lawrence and next to yourself I prefer him*"⁷.

To achieve his object Lord Hardinge left no stone unturned. He knew that the Sardars would not sign their own death warrant by agreeing to the new arrangement, and he admitted this fact in the same letter where he said that the coyness of the Darbar and the Sardars was very natural⁸. This should have been enough for him to order the withdrawal of the British troops from the Punjab, as according to the existing treaty the British force was to be withdrawn "at any convenient time before the year (1846), if the object to be fulfilled, shall, *in the opinion of the Darbar*, have been obtained; but the force shall not be retained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year"⁹. Now it has been seen that the *opinion of the Darbar*, though in favour of the retention of the British troops *under the existing administrative arrangements* was, by the admission of the Governor-General himself, not favourable to the modified arrangement proposed by him; and the current year was also drawing to its close. In fact, however, the Governor-General was, as has already been stated above, aiming not only at the continuance of the British force at Lahore, but at tightening his hold over the Punjab as well. But he would not plainly put his cards on the table by himself asking the Lahore Darbar to agree to the retention of the British troops in the Punjab, and to the unlimited control of the British over their country. He was anxious to give to the world outside the impression that he was reluctantly agreeing to the

7. Private letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie, December 10, 1846, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute Poona Records.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Articles of Agreement, concluded on March 11, 1846.

'request' of the Lahore Darbar for the continued presence of a British force in the Punjab, and for giving the British Resident unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations during the Maharaja's minority. This ventriloquism of the Governor-General becomes crystal clear when we find him writing to his Secretary thus: "The coyness of the Darbar is very natural, *but it is very important that the proposal should originate with them*, and in any documents proceeding from them this admission must be stated in clear and unqualified terms; *our reluctance to undertake a heavy responsibility must be set forth*"¹⁰. In another letter Lord Hardinge instructed Currie to "*persevere in your line of making the Sikh Darbar propose the conditions or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed, as the price of the continuance of our support*". "In the *preamble of the Supplementary Arts.*", the Governor-General pregnantly added "*this solicitation must clearly be their act*"¹¹.

As a sugar plum to swallow the bitter pill of exclusion from all political power the Sikh Sardars were to be guaranteed the continuance of their jagirs, and the Governor-General expressed the hope that "the guarantee to the Chiefs of their jagirs by British occupation, must I should think be a powerful stimulus to ensure their adhesion to the conditions imposed"¹². Sardar Sher Singh, the brother-in-law of the Maharaja, had already been won over by being entrusted with the charge of the Royal Palace; and Sardar Tej Singh, who was shortly after invested with the title of Raja at the instance of the British. The exile of Raja Lal Singh in consequence of his opposition to the British plans also served as a sort of warning to the Chiefs, and seems to have filled some of them at least, with fear. But these artifices of guarantees, rewards, and threats to win over the Chiefs pale into insignificance before the Machiavellian duplicity displayed by Lord Hardinge in issuing instructions to Currie for making certain bogus military movements which would give the Darbar a hint that the British garrison was on the move. Below are quoted some extracts from his private letters to Currie:

"I send this by express to desire that the Regt. of N. I., the 2 guns and the Irreg. Cav. escorting Lal Singh may *not return to Lahore*."

10. Private Letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie December, 10, 1846; P. & R. I. Poona Records.

11. Private Letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal), December 12, 1846; P. & R. I. Poona Records.

12. Private Letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie December 14, 1846; P. & R. I. Poona Records.

"These troops will cross the Sutlej and encamp at Ferozepore till further orders, and the troops ordered from Ferozepore to Kasur will be countermanded.

"*My object is to give the Lahore Darbar a hint, that the Garrison is on the move.*

"I also authorize you to send away another Regt. of N. Inf. from Lahore to Ferozepore, there to encamp till further orders and not to be relieved by any other Regiment from Ferozepore.

"H. M. 80th Regiment will receive orders to be ready to march for Meerut at any moment. H.M. 10th are at Ferozepore ready to receive them—but will not move till ordered, nor will it transpire that they are intended to relieve the 80th. *These announcements will be made to accelerate the Darbar decision.*

"In selecting the 2nd Regiment of N. I. which is to march on Ferozepore, the move ought to be made *by the Regiment which has the longest march into the interior of Hindostan*".¹³ Two days later the Governor-General authorized his Secretary "to desire Sir John Littler to move all the troops out of Lahore (at) the end of the week, on the day you may judge to be the most expedient (except the 30th) encamping them as near as may be convenient to the citadel". *In case, however, "this hint should be unnecessary by the temper of the Chiefs to assent to our views, it will not be made"*.¹⁴

It was but natural that as a result of these contrivances the joint efforts of the Political Agent and the Foreign Secretary should bear fruit; and they were successful, in accordance with the wish of their chief, in persuading most of the Sikh Sardars to agree to the modified arrangements for the administration of the Punjab as proposed by him. Thus it was that when the Maharani tried "to win over the Sardars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent Government, of which she herself was to be the head."¹⁵ she found all the Chiefs with the solitary exception of Diwan Dina Nath, opposed to her scheme. It was apparently as compromise between the two parties that it was decided to ask the Governor-General to allow the British Agent with two battalions, and one regiment of Cavalry and one battery, to continue for some months. Thus in the letter written on behalf of the Maharaja to Currie, in reply to

13. Private Letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie, December 12, 1846; P. & R. I. *Poona Records*.

14. Private Letter from Lord Hardings (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie, December 14, 1846; P. & R. I. *Poona Records*.

15. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Bk. 174, P.G.R.

the latter's letter of the 9th December reminding the Darbar of the time of the impending departure of the British troops and asking them as to the arrangements made by them for the future,¹⁶ after recapitulating each of its paragraphs, the following concluding paragraph was inserted: "As the Governor-General is desirous of maintaining this State, it is not proper that the whole of the British force stationed here should be put to further inconvenience and annoyance. Nevertheless, with regard to the necessity for establishing the Government of the country, and the fact of the time for the withdrawal of troops having arrived, it is hoped, that the Agent, with two battalions, and one regiment of cavalry and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months, during which, what still remains to be done to complete the organization of the Government in an efficient manner may be effected; and there can be no doubt that Colonel Lawrence will, *according to the provisions of the Treaty*, give every aid and assistance in establishing the Government".¹⁷

This reply was at once conveyed to the Governor-General, who received it in the afternoon of the same day (*i.e.*, 14th December). It ran clearly counter to his intention which was anything but to aid and assist the Darbar for some months more "according to the provisions of the (existing) Treaty"; for his doing so would enable the Darbar to organise their Government in such a manner as would effectively bar the possibility of any future British intervention. He, therefore, lost no time in reiterating his determination not to retain British troops to support the Darbar, and wrote back to Currie post-haste:

"It is my positive determination not to employ a British garrison in carrying on a native administration in the Punjab, of which we have recently experienced so many instances of inefficiency, injustice and intrigue..... The proposal made of the aid of two Regts. of Inf., one of Cav. and one Battery of Artillery is *so absurd, that I consider it as equivalent to a desire to undertake the management of their own affairs without our intervention* ... I will not consent to a force less in amount than 9 Battns. of Inf. with the present force of artillery and cavly. remaining at Lahore..... The 9 Battns. may be reduced at the same time with other portions of the inf. force to 800 r. and f. each, but those details are not dependent upon their consent. The sum to be paid will be independent of the no. of men to avoid all cavil, and the force will be kept up or not to 10,000 men, as the British Govt. may from time to time determine.

16. Encl. in Currie to Henry Lawrence, December 9, 1846; L. 135/Bk. 169, P.G.R.

17. Maharaja Dalip Singh to Currie, 30th Maghar, 1903, (December 14, 1846.)

Encl. 5 in No. 0, Parliamentary Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement, etc., *op. cit.*

"I would recommend you to take up your ground on the amount of force and the amount of money to be paid by the Lahore Government for its expense before you enter into other matters"¹⁸.

While this correspondence was going on between the Governor-General and his Secretary, at Lahore developments were taking place with lightning rapidity in the course of the same day (14th December). The British representatives at Lahore had persevered, with admirable success, in their "line of making the Sikh Darbar propose the condition or rather readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our (*i.e.*, the British) support"; for, no sooner had the letter on behalf of the Maharaja been despatched to Currie, than messages from various Sardars, who had been already worked upon, began to pour into the office of the British Agent disclaiming all participation in its composition. "Sardar Sher Singh", wrote the Agent in his despatch to the Government, "in particular, whose near relationship to the Maharaja makes it his strongest interest to do what seems best for the stability of the Punjab as an independent kingdom, applied to me for a private interview on the subject and sent me a paper explanatory of his wishes.... It proposed the unreserved committal of the kingdom to the British guardianship till such time as the young Maharaja comes to maturity; pointing out with much good sense the necessity of reviewing fairly the whole resources of the kingdom, and portioning out the jagirs, establishments and expenses accordingly"¹⁹. This was exactly what the British representatives desired, since they could now declare that as they had not got "an honest expression of the wants, wishes and opinions of the great body of the Chiefs, who, during the boyhood of the Maharaja, are the natural representatives of the State", they were forced "to assemble all the Sardars together, and give them an opportunity of speaking their mind, unbiassed by the Maharani's persuasion and abuse"²⁰. The Maharaja was accordingly informed by Currie that "the request of Your Highness" for the continuance of a British force at Lahore involved a departure from the conditions of the articles of agreement concluded on the 11th March, and stated that it would therefore be advisable that the members of the Darbar and principal Sardars should assemble, in order that he might declare distinctly in their presence, "the only conditions" on which the Governor-General would consent to a modification of the arrangements, and to the continuance of a British force at Lahore, after the expiration of the stipulated period²¹.

18. Private Letter from Lord Hardinge (Camp at the Bridge of Bhyrowal) to Currie, December 14, 1846 (5 P. M.), P. & R. I. *Poona Records*.

19. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Bk. 174, P. G. R.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Encl. in Currie to Henry Lawrence, December 14, 1846; L. 132/Bk. 169, P. G. R.

The fateful meeting was held on the 15th December, in the presence not only of the ministers and principal Sardars, but also of many petty chiefs, officers and yeomen.²² It was at this meeting that the paper containing "the only conditions" of the Governor-General was carefully translated into Persian and Hindustani, and delivered by Currie to the Chiefs. The contents of the paper were as follows:—

"If solicited to aid in the Administration of the Government, during the minority of the Maharaja, the British Agent must have full authority to interfere in, and to control all matters, in every department of the State, for the benefit of all connected with the Reaisat.

"A British force would remain at Lahore for the protection of the city and country, in such position as the Governor-General should think best adapted for the security of the force, and, at the same time, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the town.

"A fixed sum in monthly instalments must be set apart from the revenues of the country for the maintenance of this force.

"The Governor-General must be at liberty to occupy any military post or fort with British soldiers which His Lordship may deem necessary for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country".²³

The Sardars retired for consultation, and, after some discussion regarding the amount of the contribution for the expense of the British garrison (which they decided should be reduced from twenty-four lakhs of rupees a year, as proposed by the British Government, to twenty-two lakhs per annum)²⁴, these terms were unanimously agreed to *in toto*.

On the following day the proposed treaty was concluded at Lahore; and all the Sardars present, in number as the weeks of the year, signed and sealed the articles of agreement then drawn up.²⁵ On December 26, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh paid Lord Hardinge a visit at his camp at Bhyrowal, when the ratification of this new treaty was announced by a

22. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Bk. 174, P. G. R.

23. Note of a Conference with the Chiefs and Sardars of the Lahore State, on the 15th December, 1846,—Encl. 7 in No. 9, Parliamentary Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement, etc., *op. cit.*

24. Henry Lawrence to Currie, December 17, 1846; L. 121/Bk. 174, P. G. R., *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, v, p. 18.

25. According to the *Umdat-ut-Twarikh* (v. p. 18) "the *Sahibs* (*i.e.*, the British) made all the Sardars of the Council and several other persons to write down that they were requesting and bestowing quite willingly and of their own choice and desire that they would maintain English troops and would pay Rs. 22 lacs."

grand salute of British guns. To any one endowed with prophetic foresight "that salute must have sounded like the boom of minute-guns over the grave of a once powerful nation."²⁶ A British force was to remain at Lahore, "for the protection of the Maharaja, and preservation of the peace of the country". The Governor-General was empowered to post British troops in any fortress, the occupation of which he might consider necessary. The Lahore State was to pay to the British Government twenty-two lakhs of rupees per annum, "for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government." The Rani was deprived of all power, and received as a solatium an annuity of one and a half lakhs of rupees. The provisions of the treaty were to remain in force until the Maharaja attained "the full age of 16 years, or on the 4th September of the year 1854" during which period the administration was to be run by a Council of Regency, composed of eight "leading Chiefs and Sardars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident". The Resident was to have "full authority to direct and control the duties of every department;" his power was to extend over "every department and to any extent"; and he was to have "unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations during the Maharaja's minority."²⁷

Thus by the treaty of Bhyrowal the British Resident became the virtual ruler of the Punjab. It was indeed little less than the mantle of kingly power that now descended upon him. In an official despatch dated July 3, 1847, the Resident was reminded that the articles of agreement "give to the Government of India, represented at Lahore by its Resident, full power to direct and control all matters in every department of the State..... It is, therefore, *politic that the Resident should carry the Native Council with him, the members of which are, however, entirely under his control and guidance; he can change them and appoint others; and, in military affairs his power is as unlimited as in the civil administration; he can withdraw Sikh garrisons, replacing them by British troops, in any, and every part of the Punjab.*"²⁸ The Resident thus described the working of the Council of Regency: "On the whole, the Darbar and the Chiefs give me as much support as I can reasonably expect. There has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as, although I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the Council are gradually falling into the proper train, and

26. Trotter, *The History of the British Empire in India, 1844-1802* (London, 1866), i, p. 85.

27. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, (Calcutta 1892), viii, pp. 166-170; and *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, v, p. 18.

28. Elliot to Henry Lawrence, July 3, 1847; L. 2/Bk. 171, P. G. R.

refer most questions to me, and, in words at least, allow, more fully even than I wish, that they are only executive officers, to do as they are bid".²⁹

In the Bhyrowal treaty the duplicity practised by the British Government in India registered another great triumph, since in it the 'anxious desire' of the Governor-General for the continuance, in the Punjab, of the British troops along with the Political Agent was adroitly manoeuvred to have the appearance of a 'request' emanating from the leading Sardars of the realm whose assent had previously been obtained by successful stratagems. The Maharani, the Regent for the minor Maharaja, whose opinion on the subject should have counted more than that of any other person, was studiously excluded from all participation in the negotiations which were to determine the destiny of her son, because she made an attempt to prevent the British octopus from extending its tentacles in the Punjab by rallying round her the leading Chiefs "in a scheme of independent Government", and thereby threatened to thwart the true intentions of the Governor-General. So satisfied was he with his Secretary's diplomatic management of the negotiations, that congratulating Currie on the satisfactory conclusion of the whole affair, Lord Hardinge bestowed upon him the following unqualified praise: "Your intimate knowledge of my sentiments, and the concurrence of our views in Punjab Politics, have enabled you most successfully to realize all the objects I had in view, not only in the substance of the arrangements made, but in the form of the proceeding—for you have conducted this matter so judiciously that the truth and sincerity of the policy cannot be brought into doubt or the Honor of the British Government suffer impeachment.....In closely examining this piece of diplomatic work, I cannot find that you have omitted a single point"³⁰. But he put the greatest of all hypocrites to shame when to the person whom he had only four days ago asked "to persevere in your line of making the Sikh Darbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our support", he wrote as follows in the same letter.

"The moral effect of the Sikh Chiefs *entreating* the British Government to become the Guardian of their Prince, by the continuance of a British garrison at Lahore and our *consent* to undertake the responsible charge must be felt throughout Asia in raising the reputation and

29. Henry Lawrence to Elliot, August 2, 1847; L. 95/Bk. 175, P. G. R.

30. Private Letter from Hardinge (Camp Bhyrowal) to Currie, December 1846; P. & R. I. *Poona Records*.

extending the influence of the British character"³¹. With the same self-complacency and self-righteousness with which the British always defended their occupations, annexations, or conquests in India, he then added:

"Personally I may regret that it has not been my fate to plant the B. standard on the banks of the Indus. I have taken the less ambitious course, and I am consoled by the reflection that I have acted right for the interests of England and of India"³².

EDITORIAL.

It is matter for great gratification to the journal and to all those connected with it that our general Editor should have gained the distinction of an Honorary LL.D., of the Mysore University. In presenting the candidate for the degree (which regrettably had to be presented (*in absentia*), the Vice-Chancellor made the presentation in deservedly generous terms "as a fit and proper person by reason of his contribution to learning and his eminent services to the cause of education, to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws (*Honoris Causa*), to which I pray that he may be admitted *in absentia*." In congratulating him, the Vice-Chancellor of the University in the course of his address to the graduates states ;—"I must congratulate Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sakkottai Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R. Hist. S., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., on the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Laws (*Honoris Causa*) and it would have been appropriate if he were present in person to take the degree as he had originally intended to be. He would also have had the opportunity of addressing you. But unfortunately his illness has prevented him from doing so, and I hope he will have a speedy recovery." We wish the recipient of this signal honour all health and happiness. It is a fitting recognition to him, who had the honour of receiving the first Honorary degree of Ph.D., from the Calcutta University almost a quarter of a century ago.

It is matter for regret that his active association with the Journal ceases with this volume. But let us hope the impetus given by him will carry it far under the encouraging auspices of the University of Travancore and in the sympathetic and stimulating atmosphere of the Government of Travancore, so eminent for their services to the advancement of Indian culture. We wish many years of useful activity to the retiring Editor.

C. S. Srinivasachari & V. R. R. Dikshitar,
Associate Editors.

REVIEWS.

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By M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Andhra University Series, No. 32. Rs. 2/-

This is a work bearing upon an important period of Indian History, which in certain parts still remains dark. Any new light which can be thrown upon it would certainly be very welcome. This period relates to the Muhammadan conquest of Warangal under Allaud-din-Khilji and what took place in the territory of Warangal after the death of Pratapa-Rudra mainly. It comes into contact with the history of the foundation of what became the empire of Vijayanagar afterwards. As such, its importance to the student of the history of that period is great. As Mr. Gurty Venket Rao's introduction points out, the foundation of Vijayanagar is involved in this period of history, and Mr. Sarma's contribution towards it consists in his pointing out that the Kanya Nayak of the Muhammadan historians is not the Krishnappa Nayaka, the son of the Kakatiya Prataparudra II. That is one important point. He points out at the end of his foreword that "Mr. Sarma's monograph is mainly concerned with the war of independence in the Andhra Country". Mr. Sarma's *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History* would certainly be quite good so far as the main part of his thesis is concerned. He traces the details of the conquest of Warangal by the Muhammadans, the defeat and death of Prataparudra II and the struggles of the feudatories to regain the independence of the Andhra territory of the Kakatiyas. Naturally therefore he takes up the history of Warangal and its dependencies, and works out in detail from sources, some of them as yet unexploited, on the history of Kapaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family and some of his successors in the territory. He has certainly brought in much valuable matter from literature to bear upon the question and has given us a fairly good and full account of Kapaya Nayaka for the main part of it and has given valuable appendices in the shape of some of the grants bearing upon that period of Indian History as well as the Musunuri and other grants of this period, followed up by a note on the order and chronology of the campaigns of Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah I, who perhaps was responsible for the conquest of Telingana and its annexation to the Bahmani Kingdom. It is an informing and satisfactory account so far as the history of the Andhra country is concerned, and the work of Kapaya Nayaka. As regards the identification of the Kanya Nayaka of the Muhammadan historians as the equivalent of Krishnappa Nayaka, the son of Prataparudra, and of the Banak Dev regarded as a brother of Kanya Nayaka, Mr. Sarma is totally against. He does not regard Krishna Nayaka as a separate individual at all and would identify

him with Kapaya Nayaka; and in regard to this Banak Dev, he regards him as the son of Kapaya Nayaka and as having nothing whatever to do with Prataparudra. If these could be proved satisfactorily, one of the difficulties in the early history of Vijayanagar would perhaps be removed. In the course of explaining these transactions, he makes references to Muhammad-bin-Tughlak's invasions of South India and his carrying the sons of the ruler of Kampili as prisoners and refers to six of them as having been sent back to rule the territory. He tries to identify these six as the five brothers, who are regarded as the founders of Vijayanagar by various documents. In regard to this identification, there are difficulties in the way. The six that were sent were converts to Islam. They were six among eleven brothers, who were taken prisoners. One of the brothers was a very confidential personal attendant of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak by name Abu Muslim. In all the historical documents of the early history of Vijayanagar relating to Harihara and Bukki, their own documents speak only of five brothers, and not of six, and there is no sort of reference to their having been Muslim converts. We shall have to explain that before we can accept the identification. Speaking of Harihara of the brothers, as ruling in the region of the Doab, it is possible that there is more than one Hariappa. The Horaib or Hariappa Nayak, overlord of some of the western ports that Ibn Batutah refers to, is regarded by some as a ruler of the coast region and is not identical with Harihara, the eldest of the five brothers. These difficulties have to be certainly satisfactorily got over before that identification can be accepted. In regard to Banak Dev being regarded as the son of Kapaya Nayaka as stated on page 86, we cannot regard that as quite proven that this is the person referred to as Banak Dev by the Muhammadan historians. To that extent therefore, we feel bound to say that Mr. Sarma's thesis does not establish the fact.

There are some small errors in the course of the work. On page 29, in the footnote, discussing a Telugu phrase, he says that in the word *Māra* he is not clear, and substitutes for it the reading *Vira*. The reading *Māra* should be counted as quite correct and not *Vira*. *Māra* is a generic term for Pandya, and *Māra*varman is a word of common occurrence among the Pandyas. On page 49, Yadagiri (Yadgarh) is described as being in the Doab country. A reference to the map will show that it is not in the Doab country. It is fairly well to the east of the Doab. While therefore we commend the work as a valuable study upon the struggle of the rulers of Warangal to gain their independence under Kapaya Nayaka and other chieftains, the points of contact with the founders of Vijayanagar cannot be held to have been satisfactorily explained. We welcome the work as a distinct contribution to the study of a period of tangled history.

THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(A history of the establishment and progress of
The Turkish Sultanate of Delhi, 1206—1290 A.D.)

BY

DR. A. B. M. HABIBULLAH, M. A., Ph. D. (London), F.L.A.
Calcutta University

PUBLISHED BY

SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, LAHORE
pp. XI and 354, 1945.

The author claims to have utilised all available sources, numismatic, epigraphic and literary and uses the word—*memeluke*—instead of *slave*, as it correctly conveys the original status of the Delhi Sultans and is free from the inexactitude implied in the latter word. After dealing with the political history of this period of transition, he devotes eight chapters to the administration set up and the condition of the people and illustrates the narrative with three outline maps and of some ten coins issued by the Sultans. His evaluation of the original sources and of later works is thorough and defensible and comprehends general histories of Islam and Hindu works. The background of Central Asia is described in its bearings on the early Muslim fortunes in India where the infant state of Delhi might have probably gone down, or the Khwarizmi empire had survived the Mongol attacks on it. After a survey of the distribution of Rajput power in Northern India and of the geographical lines of penetration possible for the invaders we read that Muizuddin's victory on the plains of Tarain, whose location between Bhatinda and Sirsa is held to be plausible, and whose significance was not that of an isolated personal or accidental triumph, but was the fulfilment of a process extending for nearly a century, closed a period of reconnoitring activity and began a new epoch. The estimate of Iltutmish's achievements stresses his laying the foundations of an absolute monarchy which disarmed the moral opposition of the men of religion and conciliated the military class and also secured full legal entity for the infant and as yet partially inchoate state. Thus we can echo the author's words: "Aibak outlined the Delhi Sultanate and its sovereign status; Iltutmish was unquestionably its first king."

Dynastic troubles and Hindu aggressions marked the two decades that followed the death of Iltutmish. There was no further encroachment into Hindu independent preserves in Orissa, Kamrup and Southern Rajputana and Central India. The consolidation of the Indo-Muslim state was turned by Balban into a despotism of an extreme type in which even the military

aristocracy could have no share; and now consolidation, defence and conservation of resources constituted the fundamental keynote of policy, while territorial expansion was postponed. The Sultanate became an extreme racially exclusive Turkish concern; and Balban acted more as the custodian of Turkish sovereignty than as the king of the Mussalmans. Turkish domination ceased in 1290.

Attention has been carefully directed to the Mongol pressure and the consequent contraction of the western frontier to almost within the line of the Beas, along the water-parting between that river and the Ravi, and the boasted frontier defence under Balban meant no appreciable advance into the country beyond.

The sketch of the governmental system throws light on several obscure points. The rulers, though possessed of absolute sovereignty, had to deem themselves only as lieutenants of the Caliphs; and their position was complicated by the concepts of Iranian monarchy, Turkish chiefship and the Hindu kingship. The court offices, ordinary and extraordinary, the *iqta* and *khalisah* organisations, military and judicial affairs, finance and currency—all are dealt with in their main features, with interesting remarks and details here and there. Dissent like that of the Shi'ahs, the mystic fraternity of the Sufis and Hindu influences on popular Islam, trade, art and industry and the status of the *Zimmis* are reviewed in brief outline. The author laments that the historians of the Indo-Muslim state should have been mostly reactionary in their views, to the great prejudice of posterity and that the Ulema should have become "servile and unprincipled".

The vigorous presentation of facts and interpretation of points of doubt are buttressed by a wealth of authority. We trust that this book will attract the notice of all serious students of Indian History, as it well deserves.

C. S. S.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY A. C. BANERJEE—Vol. I—1757—1858.

PUBLISHED BY

A. MUKHERJEE & CO.,
2, College Square, Calcutta.

This book is a useful aid to the study of Indian constitutional history and contains extracts from legislative enactments and official despatches and minutes and treaties, as well as from private letters of the important

political figures of the period and of observers. An appendix is illustrative of the progress of policy towards Indian States as illustrated similarly ; and another useful appendix gives information as to the sources of the individual documents extracted, and also indicates their value and connected topics. In this connection one may remark that Holland Rose's observation as to the motive of Pitt in framing his India Bill (1784) is pitched in an eulogistic vein, not supported fully, particularly in view of the sordid motives that came up prominently in the partisan squabbles of 1783-84, to get the support of the so-called India interests in England.

The learned Introduction is planned methodically and brings out the prominent facts and tendencies of constitutional development most clearly. Sir Thomas Munro's views (*vide* Gleig. Vol I. p. 518) as well as those of others as to the depression of Indians consequent upon their exclusion from all places of trust and power in the British governmental system, which lasted from the days of Lord Cornwallis to the epoch of Bentinck and later had to be reckoned within the Act of 1833 may, if it can be suggested, be made an item of the contents in the next edition of the work. Such a hand-book from the pen of a most painstaking and rising scholar is essential as a source-book for the study of British Indian constitutional development and we hope he will bring out, with his habitual thoroughness and expedition, a similar hand-book of source material for the history of British Indian administration also.

C. S. S.

DANVERS' DUTCH ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(Being a "Report on the Records relating to the East in the State Archives in the Hague" with two Appendices)

BY

F. C. DANVERS,

Edited with an introduction

BY NIHAR RANJAN RAY, M.A., D.Litt. Phil. (Leiden),
University of Calcutta.

PUBLISHED BY

THE BOOK EMPORIUM LTD., CALCUTTA, 1945—pp. XX & 81.

Our author explains, in his learned Introduction, how the Report of Danvers forming the main subject of this work was possibly based on an examination of Dutch records locally in the State Archives in the Hague, in 1893, 94, and also in the year 1895, and the two typescripts, marked

2 & 3 on p. VIII, were presumably to be treated as appendices to Danvers' General Report on the Records of the India Office (1888). Danvers was deputed thrice to report on the Hague records bearing on India and except for an interim report made in 1894, he did not issue any further report of these records before his death, though presumably the present report was actually drawn up in 1895.

Among the points of information and facts not yet made available, we find in this Report matter concerning the relations between the English and the Dutch in 1617-20 ; the selection of the Gakatra as the seat of the Dutch government, the Dutch relations with the Archipelago nationals and the Chinese and others, and the introduction of coffee plantation in Java. More important than these is the analysis of the Articles of Instruction issued by the Dutch Home government for the regulation of their eastern trade, from which can be gleaned a view of the continuity of policy pursued and of the data for the apportionment of responsibility between the government, the Company and the Governors. Danvers claims, in the Report, that he makes instructions available for the first time to English readers ; and the Editor adds that this claim is "substantially correct even to-day."

The Report contains, as appendix matter, a chronological list of important events in connection with the Dutch in the East from 1705 to 1885, and the succession list of the Governors-General of the Netherlands India from 1609 to 1893. The value of this publication as a help towards the study of Dutch fortunes in the East by the English reader should be obvious to all students of the Editor's introduction, and the Report itself is interesting in many particulars of the seventeenth century relations of England with Holland in the East and of Dutch trade and activity.

C. S. S.

Some Traditions and Legends about Sasaram by Sham Bahadur.

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(2188)

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

The first of these two volumes of the learned author's papers, constitute 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 1,300 A.D. The second volume deals more particularly with phases of the history of South India from about 1,300 A.D. onwards.

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