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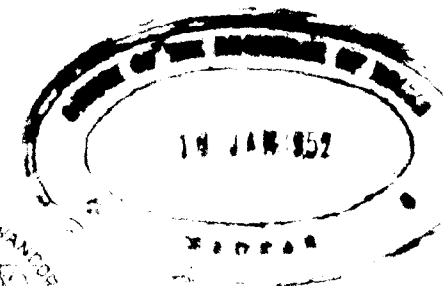
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Problems of Indian History

BY

SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR

W. M. Young in his "Last Essays" has defined his approach to the problems of history in the following words: "How did people talk, what did they think, how did they amuse themselves, in fact how did they live through events that mark the changes in a period?" The records of such an approach are available everywhere: and the continuity of a nation's history lies in the fact that broadly there is a similarity between how they talk, live and think now and how they talked, thought and lived in the previous periods of their history.

When we say, for example, that Egypt's history is not continuous while India's and China's is, it is this basic fact we have in mind. The geographical features of Egypt have not changed any more than India's or China's. The Nile flows as majestically as do the Ganges and the Yangtze. The deserts are as much a feature of Egypt today as the Himalayas and the Vindhya are of India. Racially also the changes could not be much greater, for both India and China, during the last three thousand years have been subjected to invasions and conquests in the same manner as Egypt. But the people of China speak, feel and think much in the same way as in the time of Confucius or indeed earlier and the difference is one of economic, political and social evolution, which has not basically altered the characteristics of the people. Confucius will recognise the present-day Chinese as his descendants, as we recognise our children and grand-children. The same is true of India and Persia. The Buddha will recognise Aurobindo, Chanakya will recognise Patel, Kalidasa will not find the poetry of Tagore strange. It is not that they will only recognise them as being their own flesh and blood, but as being interested in the same things as they were. But could the same be said of Tutankhamen and, say, King Fuad?

So it would not be wrong to emphasise that continuity through thought and forms of social life constitutes the history of a nation. If that be granted, then the best historical material is that which is contained in the literature of a people, using the term in its widest



sense. Poetry from the Vedas to Tagore, with its infinite local variety and richness, laws from Grihya Sutras and Manu to the Sarda Act, religious texts from the Upanishads to Rajaji's interpretation of them, the great epics in their varied forms in the different languages, the temples in the evolution of their architecture, gods in their transformation—these would then be seen to constitute the substantial material of Indian history.

Looked at from this point of view there are numerous problems which await the serious study of historians. It is often said that there are gaps in the story of India: that the names of kings and chronology of dynasties at certain periods are not fully known; that the geographical extent of empires is often in doubt and that it is difficult to make out the truth from the vain glorious inscriptions of pretentious monarchs. All this is true and no doubt the patient researches of archaeologists, epigraphists and other estimable and learned men of that kind will provide us with more and more details of forgotten kings and half-remembered dynasties. Their coins will be studied; their inscriptions will be deciphered and their buried cities will be made to yield their secrets. Very important results will no doubt be obtained, but the major problems of Indian history, as I view them, will not be solved by such learned activity. In order to make the point clear, I shall endeavour to formulate a few of the more important questions that await solution or explanation, which would be forthcoming only as a result of an intensive study of the literary and social materials all over India.

(1) What social and political changes are responsible for the revolution in literature as witnessed by the changes in the Mahakavya styles from Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* to Harsha's *Naishadha*? Clearly, a revolution had taken place of which the stages can be traced to Bharavi, Magha, Shri Harsha and Abinanda. The direct, vigorous and humane poetry of Kalidasa, reflecting a contented prosperous and stable society is replaced by something artificial and unrelated to life.

(2) The approach to 'sringara' in the later Sanskrit poets also requires a social explanation. While it is true that the 8th Sarga of *Kumara Sambhava* and the 2nd part of *Megha-duta* bear witness to a society which was sensuous—differing greatly from the simplicity of the epics and Bhasa's dramas, the vulgarity and grossness of later 'sringara' poetry which though often pronographic and obscene, evoked no protest is a historical fact which cannot be explained

merely as a decline in taste. The description of amorous alliances in *Nara-narayaniya* of the great Vastu Pala and in the erotic verses of Ananda Vardhana and Hala (as indeed in so religious a poem as *Gita Govinda*) cannot merely be explained away as indiosyncrasies of taste. Besides, Kshemendra who was one of the great educators of his time and reputed to be a man of the highest character was also the author of *Samayamatrika*, or the experiences of a prostitute, while Damodara Gupta, a man of the highest standing in the society of the period wrote *Kuttinimatam*, a poem of extraordinary beauty, but dealing without any sense of restraint, with the life of a courtesan.

(3) The *Bana* literature is another example of the same development. The authors of this class of literature, which must have enjoyed great popularity, though it deals with the depraved lives of go-betweens, prostitutes and degenerates, were men of the highest position, people like Vatsamatya, the Prime Minister of a powerful king, Ramabhadra Dikshita and others. It is to be remembered that this is also the time when Vamamarga-charas of the *Sakti* cult had its greatest vogue and *maithuna* sculptures became popular in temples.

The pre-eminence of courtesan themes in later literature, as different from the earlier classics can only be ascribed to the greater restrictions on social life, which must have come about at some time. Another contributing factor would seem to be the restriction of literature of urban themes. It is to the *nagarikas* to whom Vatsyayana was the text book that the later literature caters. In fact it is difficult to understand *Amarusataka* and Anananda Vardhana's *Saptasati* without a detailed study of the *kamasutra*. Both of these, no doubt, show a virtuosity in selecting and describing modes of love, but its physical base is hardly natural but based on the sutras of Vatsyayana.

In this connection two further questions suggest themselves which have a tremendous significance for India's social history. First of all, why has there been an exclusion of rural themes in Sanskrit poetry? To find any description of village life one has to look into books like Hala's *Saptasati* in Prakrit, which deals with gramapalas, peasants, thieves and the amours of ordinary folk. The second question for which no adequate explanation is forthcoming is why there is no picture of middle class city life in our classics. We get occasional glimpses in *Kathasaritsagara* and allusions here and there in *Bana*. Even in *Mrichakatika* and *Malatimadhava*, which pic-

ture secular life, there is but little that deals with the daily routine of ordinary men and women. The case is not very different in our vernacular literatures. So far as I know, till we reach quite recent times, the normal social life of the people find but little reflection in the great regional languages of India.

The changes in temple architecture must also have political and social significance and can only be explained in terms of widespread cultural movement. From the simple beginnings of the early temple pictures on Barhut railings, to the more elaborate structures of the extant specimens of the Gupta temples, we have a development, the social significance of which it is difficult for us now to estimate. Again, the growth of cave architecture from the Ajivakas in the second century B.C. to the great cathedral caves in the Deccan representing an immense and continued human effort through centuries is a historical development which has to be traced step by step if we are to understand its historical significance. Many other questions regarding Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples remain to be answered. When did Hindu orthodoxy copy the Buddhists and the Jains in making cave shrines? What is the origin of the special Orissan type of temple architecture, which is not classified either as *Vesara* or *Dravida*? How did the Dravidian type transform itself from the simple *rathas* of Mahabalipura to the ornate glories of Tanjore, Srirangam and Madura? Some work of great value, but mainly of a technical character, has been done in this field by Dr. Coomaraswamy, Stella Kramrisch and P. K. Acharya. But their social and historical aspects still remain to be explored.

A version of Indian history from at least 600 B. C. till our own times could perhaps be written on the basis of the evolution of *Dharma Sastras*. Every generation has produced commentaries and digests—*nibandhas*, which reflect the legal thought of the time. The evolution of this legal thought, its alternating laxities and rigidities, its local variations, its growing emphasis through certain periods of the *prayaschitta doctrine*, reflect more than anything else changed political, social and economic conditions. The general social history of each succeeding period could be worked out by relating the changes in legal thought to the economic and political conditions of an era. Surely, it is not without significance that some of the most important of these digests were written during the period of Muslim predominance: for example *Todarananda*—the encyclopaedic *Dharmasastra* which was compiled under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal, in the time of Akbar. The wealth of *Dharma Sastra* literature during the Muslim period would show

that the main concern of Hindu society at the time was the maintenance of social structure and its preservation from the influences of Islam. Hindu social structure was facing a grave crisis. The impact of Islam had created for Hinduism special problems which could not be overlooked. The reaction of Hindu lawgivers to this challenge was in general to make Hinduism more rigid and to re-interpret the rules in such a way as to resist the encroachments of Islam.

A parallel, though opposite, tendency may be noticed in the modern *nibandhas* from Colebrook's digest of Hindu Law to the latest edition by Hindu legalists from Mayne's classic work. A social and economic history of the Hindu people based on a study of this vast literature covering over 2,500 years should help to illumine many of the dark periods of Indian history.

Another fruitful line of enquiry which has also not been attempted yet is the growth of Prakrit and its separation into the regional languages of India, side by side with Sanskrit. That Prakrit existed as a literary language even during the period of Sanskrit's most magnificent efflorescence is established by the simple fact that Prakrit verses are interspersed in Sanskrit dramas. From Bana's time at least its independence as a literature is recognised. A comparison of Prakrit literature with its contemporary, Sanskrit literature should yield most valuable results. In fact even a casual examination of the treatment of the same themes by Ananda Vardhana and Hala would show the importance of this line of work. Again a comparison of the works of the great Brij Bhasha poets with those written in Sanskrit during the same period by poets like Kavindracharya and Jagannath Pandit should bring out social facts of the highest significance. The vigour, freshness and direct appeal of Kabir, Nanak and Tulsidas in Hindustan, of Chandidas, Vidyapati and others in the East and the great Tamil poets in the south would help to establish the great rejuvenation of the Hindu mind in the medieval period, at a time when Jagannatha Pandita, Appayya Dikshita and the court poets of Vijayanagar were echoing in faultless style the dead sentiments of earlier ages. The study of Jaina Sanskrit with its variations of Hindu Puranic literature especially in Hemachandra Suri's great epic *Purusha charita* and in the works of the poets that followed him, cannot fail to produce results of exceptional value.

In the realm of economic history also a few basic questions may be formulated here. How can the continued importance of the

Vaishya caste be explained when the Brahmins as a caste lost influence for a few centuries and the Kshatriyas ceased to count in social order. We know that in the Buddha's time the Vaishyas held the purse strings and were generous in supporting the *sangha*. Innumerable inscriptions, grants and temple foundations of the early centuries of the Christian era bear witness to the continuing power of capital. In the middle ages such figures as Vastupala and Tejapala and the great commercial magnates of the ports dominate many historical scenes.

The treatment of Vaishyas in literature is a very important question. The Hindu epics hardly mention them, while in Jain and Buddhist stories they play leading roles. In *Sakuntala*, there is an allusion to a rich merchant who dies childless, but the story is brought in to emphasise the generous nature of the Kshatriya King and to heighten his own sorrow. Visakha Datta's *Mudrarakshasa* has the character of Chandana Dasa, the faithful friend and confidant of the fallen statesman. The *Banas* however introduce a good many Vaishyas, but seldom in a friendly or complimentary manner. It is only in Soma deva's *Kathasaritsagara* that we get a picture of Vaishya society in Hindu literature. There the merchants are described as not only being rich, but as adventurous, travelling all the time on business, sailing the high seas and carrying the trade of India to far off islands.

Enquiries into domestic economy, food, clothing, etc are long overdue. Here again literature provides ample material. To take two specific questions : When did Indian society develop its present attitude of disapproval towards intoxicating liquors ? Both in classical and in popular dramas wine drinking is considered normal. Kalidasa goes to the extent of making Parvati intoxicated during her honeymoon and even a casual reader of his poems and plays cannot fail to reach the conclusion that wine drinking was prevalent not only in higher circles, but among the common folk also, witness for example the suggestion of the police officers to the fisherman in *Sakuntalam* that they should now adjourn to the tavern. As late as the 15th century Gangadevi in her *Madhura vijayam* talks with personal experience of drinking revelries inside the Vijayanagar palace. Nor is there any caste restriction alluded to in this matter.

Again, when did vegetarianism become orthodox ? The Kshatriyas of course always ate meat. But among the Brahmins and the Vaishyas the tradition became strong at some unascertainable

period of history. The Brahmins were not always vegetarians and even now in some areas they eat fish and in some others meat. The statement of difference between northern and southern Brahmins as 'Uttare mamsa bhojanam Dakshine matula kanya'—in the north they eat meat ; in the south they marry maternal uncle's daughter — also shows the prevalence of meat eating at least among northern Brahmins.

Another line of enquiry likely to throw considerable light on the social life of India is in regard to the use of cosmetics and other aids to beauty. Classical literature abounds in allusions to lipsticks, face creams and scents. Though the use of perfumes continued without break, lipsticks, creams and powders seem at one time to have gone out of fashion in decent society. The use of *tambula* is perhaps among the oldest social customs of India and the allusions to it are continuous. A large symbolism has grown up around it. Its spread to the entire area of South East Asia, to the countries which at one time fell under the sway of Indian civilisation, is astonishing historical fact and is worth a detailed study. An interesting essay on this subject will be found in Penzer's edition of the *Ocean of Story*.

A subject of supreme sociological interest which could be studied in both Sanskrit and vernacular literature is the position of dancing girls in different periods. The Buddha dined at the house of one and accepted gifts from her. In the *Bhagavata* and in the *Mahabharata* we have the story of the dancing girl Pingala who attains spiritual illumination. The position that Iravati, a dancing girl came to occupy in the court of Agnimitra would seem to indicate that dancing was still a respectable profession. But with Vasantasena, the heroine of *Mrichakatika*, the position has already undergone a change, while with *Samaya matrika* and *Kuttinimata*, the profession has become disreputable and identified with that of the courtesan. Their education is touched upon in many books. In a Malayala Kavya entitled *Chandrotsava*, there is an interesting description of the education and amusements of a courtesan. She is pictured as spending her leisure reading *Sakuntalam*, *Malavikagnimitram* and other classics. A vast store house of knowledge about social conditions in India in different parts will be opened up if a careful and sifting study is made of the literary material available on this subject, especially in the *Banas*.

A different subject but one which is closely bound up with the whole texture of Indian history is the rise and decay of the

centres of sacredness. Some like Benares and Kurukshetra have remained sacred throughout our known history. But others have not been so constant in their popularity. Of the many sacred spots mentioned in the Mahabharata there is difficulty in even identifying some. Also every generation has added new centres of pilgrimage and increased the sanctity of some, while some others in some mysterious way seem to lose their power. Arunachalam is a recent instance of a place, already sacred, which has added to its sanctity. But many questions have to be answered by the historian in regard to these places. When did Benares first become sacred? We know it was an important place at the time of the Buddha, but was it sacred? There is little in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* stories indicating the sacredness of Benares. But by the first century A.D. we have the Bharasiva inscriptions which testify to the primary fact that Benares had achieved a great position in the meantime. Again, the great southern *Tirthas* of Rameswaram and Gokarnam though consistently held sacred during the last thousand years seem to have had their ups and downs in popularity. The changes in pilgrimage routes seem to have affected many centres. For example, the route to Benares from the south before the period of the railways, was via Gokarnam, Karwar and Nasik, all places of great importance. But railway travel has diverted the traffic, affecting the popularity of many places.

Again, *Tirthas* as motive forces in Hindu policy require examination and study. We know for centuries Hindus attempted to restore Somanath. The persistence of this motive, which moved generation after generation upto Aurangazeb's time is a fact the importance of which we have begun to realise only today. Similar is the case of the successive restoration of the Kesavaswami Temple at Muttra. The recovery of sacred places as a major factor of policy is best exemplified in the cases of Vijayanagar and the Maratha Empires. In the *Madhura Vijayam* of Gangadevi there is an eloquent passage where a mysterious lady appears before Vira Kampana and describes to him the miserable plight of the great temples of Srirangam and Madhura and conjures him to drive the invaders out of these holy places. The zeal of Baji Rao, the Peshwa, to bring again under Hindu control the sacred cities on the Ganges was one of the most powerful inducements of the policy of northern expansion of the Maratha Empire.

I may conclude these fragmentary observations with an allusion to another subject which is growing in importance today.

When did the people of northern India develop a prejudice against sea-voyages? In South India and in Gujerat this prejudice never gained wide prevalence, but at a certain stage it became almost a national tradition in the Gangetic valley. Albuquerque during his conquest of Malacca noticed that many Hindu merchants from Gujerat were engaged in spice traffic there. In fact there was a Hindu section in the city of Malacca itself where merchants from Bengal and the West coast of India congregated. We know of the Rajput navigator of Cutch who took his *dhow* to Amsterdam in the 17th century, and though in Kathiawad and Cutch the tradition continued fairly strong, elsewhere in the north sea-voyage became less known. When and why are fit subjects for enquiry.

These are but a few problems, indicated at random, on which among others, Indian sociologists and historians could usefully concentrate. They are important because they deal with the substance of history, that is the continuity of India's civilisation through ages, rather than with isolated facts. Perhaps it is not reasonable to expect Universities with their set courses of study and emphasising as they must inevitably do, political histories, to give to these aspects of the question the emphasis they deserve. But there is no reason why individual scholars should blindly follow the line set by text book writers and not contribute by individual work to a better understanding of Indian historical evolution.

Seton's Mission to Sind, 1808

BY

SHILENDRA K. SINGH,

Research Fellow in History, University of Agra.

In almost all published histories of the period Captain Seton's mission to Sind is either omitted absolutely or dismissed in a line.¹ It may be because it was a failure and, broadly speaking, history when written by those who have ultimately succeeded, or by their eulogists, does not usually give details of their own failures and mistakes.

In September 1758 the foundation of British connections with Sind was laid by Mr. Sumption, an adventurous employee of the East India Company. He got permission from Gholam Shah Kalora, the ruler of Sind, to establish a factory in his territories, for encouraging trade between India and Sind; and many perwannahs were granted in Sumption's favour for exemption of English goods from customs and other taxes.² All these orders and perwannahs are most generously worded and evidence an earnest desire on the part of this prince to cultivate friendly relations with the East India Company. The son and successor of Gholam Shah Kalora—Sarfaraz Khan discouraged the English factories and these were eventually withdrawn in 1775.³

1. Beveridge Vol. II, p. 834, Mill and Wilson Vol. I, p. 218 have both dismissed poor Seton in two or three lines each. Peter Auber does not deign even to mention his name. Lady Minto, in her remarkable compilation of the 'Life and Letters of Lord Minto in India 1807-1814' gives a little note on Sind Missions on p. 177. But there too the real issues involved and the pivotal position that the Mission was meant to occupy in Minto's diplomatic system has not been touched. Major B. D. Basu, however, has in a gross fashion misapprehended the facts. On p. 607 of his 'Rise of Christian Power in India' he states that the alliance with Sind was meant to be directed against Afghanistan. The original records and ascertained documents, however, unfold a different story altogether.

2. Aitchison: 'Treaties, Engagements and Sanads' Vol. VII, Pub. 1909, pp. 337 - 343.

3. Hughes, A. W.: 'Gazetteer of the Province of Sind'. II Edition 1876, p. 33.

In 1799 the Bombay government re-agitated the question of establishing commercial relations with Sind, ostensibly for furthering trade but in reality to counteract the dangerous and spreading influence of Tippu and the French and to interrupt the growing ambition of Zeman Shah of Kabul.⁴ Fateh Ali Khan, the founder of the Talpur dynasty, was on Masnad then and on the request of Abul Hasan, the native agent of the E. I. Company in his Court, he granted all the privileges for trade that were required.⁵ His letter to Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, is an example of Oriental courtesy. It reads, "Assure yourself, honourable Sir, that I am equally disposed, with yourself, to renew this happy intercourse, The former factory at Thattah shall be delivered over to your agents, and I give you my solemn assurances that I will increase nothing but my affection for them."⁶

By his orders of 12th and 14th April, 1800, this Prince granted many personal immunities to Mr. Nathan Crow of Bombay Civil Service, who was appointed British Agent in Sind.⁷ Soon after this, however, Mr. Crow was rudely treated and ordered to leave Sind forthwith. Only ten days were given for his withdrawal. These orders were under the seal of Ibrahim Shah, the Vizir of Sind. Crow had no alternative but to obey. The ostensible reason for this proceeding was given to be an order from Zeman Shah of Kabul, the liege lord of Sind, but may have been due to Tippu's intrigues and anti-British feelings of the native trading community.⁸

This was followed by the usual but weakly expressed remonstrations on the part of the British. They claimed some indemnification money but never demanded it. British relations with Sind were in this state when Lord Minto came to India as Governor-General in July 1807.

Not even eight months after his assuming the Chair at Fort William, we find Lord Minto expressing most decided views on the subject of resuming diplomatic connexions with Sind. In point of fact this middle-aged statesman who had, during a period of un-

4. Postans, Capt. T.: 'Personal Observations on Sindh' London, 1843, p. 286.

5. Aitchison: 'Treaties, Engagements and Sanads', Vol. VII, pp. 344-350.

6. Postans: 'Personal Observations on Sindh', pp. 287-288.

7. Aitchison: 'Treaties, Engagements and Sanads', Vol. VII, pp. 350-351.

8. Postans: 'Personal Observations on Sind', pp. 289-290.

paralleled strain and emergency, held one after the other, the responsible positions of Viceroy in Corsica, Ambassador of England in the Court of Vienna and President, Board of Control, was one of the ablest and most consummate diplomats who have ever held the reins of government in India. He was convinced of the efficacy of embassies and missions and knew how to turn them to advantage.

On March 14th 1808 we find him writing to the Government of Bombay, "The information contained in the late dispatches from the Resident at Bushire relative to the mission of Vakeels on the part of the Government of Sind to the Court of Persia and to the intrigues which the emissaries of France have commenced and may be expected to pursue with the former has suggested to our consideration the expediency of reviving, if practicable, the intercourse and connexion which formerly subsisted between the British Government and the State of Sind."⁹ His logic was that even if the French intrigues could not be thus counteracted the revival of diplomatic connexions would at least provide a channel for important and authentic information from Sind.¹⁰

The embarrassment that was now facing Minto as well as the Government of Bombay, admits of some elucidation. Fateh Ali Khan, Prince of Sind, in whose reign the expulsion of Nathan Crow had occurred, died in 1802. He was succeeded by his brother Meer Gholam Ali Khan who was the chief of the ruling triumvirate of Sind, of which the two other members were Meer Karam Ali and Meer Murad Ali, his younger brothers. Now Gholam Ali, either actuated by the desire of assuaging the hurt feelings of the British or for obtaining their support against the meditated design of the king of Kabul, the liege lord of Sind, to march upon Hyderabad for exacting the tribute arrears, or for both the reasons dispatched an embassy to Bombay. The Government of Bombay, however, not willing to receive the Sindhi ambassadors publicly, till their own demand for indemnification was fulfilled and at the same time not willing to spoil their relations with Sind more completely than they already were, sent the Sindhi agents back to Hyderabad accompanied by a native envoy to effect an adjustment of this demand for indemnification as well as to keep a check on the supposed French intrigues in the Court at Hyderabad. This emissary did

9. N. A. I. Foreign Dept. Secret and Separate Branch: Proceedings March 14th, 1909, No. 1.

10. *Ibid.*

not succeed in effecting any adjustment on the head of indemnification and came back accompanied by another Sindhi envoy. This person was never admitted to any intercourse with the Government at Bombay as he was of inferior rank than his predecessors.¹¹

This was the position of affairs in early 1806 when it was referred to the Supreme Government by the Bombay Government. The Governor-General then was Sir George Barlow and very characteristically he informed the Bombay Government on March 6, 1806, that it was not very material to have a Resident in Sind, and re-establishment of a Residency there was not to be endeavoured for.¹² The Bombay Government was also told that at such a distance of time and after having had peaceful negotiation with Sind on the point it would "neither be just nor expedient to have recourse to hostile measures for the purpose of avenging the insult offered to the British Government by the expulsion of Mr. Crow."¹³ Although Barlow's famous policy of 'quieta non movere' triumphed in this instance, even he was of opinion that re-establishment of diplomatic connexions could only follow the claimed for indemnification and atonement. The Bombay Government, therefore, informed the Hyderabad Court that diplomatic relations could only be resumed after these claims were satisfied.

Minto was quite conscious of the fact that at this stage in the history of British relations with Sind, it was necessary "not only to abstain from any overture for the renewal of a close connection with the Government of Sind but even to reject any advances of the Chief of Sind, of that nature, unless accompanied by an offer of indemnification and atonement."¹⁴

Minto, however, realised that in diplomacy there can be no rigidity. Moreover he seems to have been a great believer in the Sanskrit adage 'āpatti kale maryyādā nāsti' (traditional conservatism cannot work during an emergency). He instructed the Bombay Government that the necessary object in this context was the establishment of British influence in Sind and obtaining con-

11. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Original Consultation, 14th March, 1808, No. 1.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

stant and authentic intelligence of the progress of the French intrigues in that quarter and the object, according to him was so all-important as to render it "highly expedient in our judgment to overlook any punctilious considerations which under other circumstances might properly preclude any attempt on our part to restore the ancient connection between the two states."¹⁵

However absurd and ill-founded the apprehension that the French plans caused then might look to us; to Englishmen of Minto's generation they were a moving reality; and as Roberts points out "people then had learnt not lightly to use the word 'impossible' of Napoleon's aims." Openly does the Governor-General's letter to the Bombay Government confess its wholesome apprehensions with regard to the French intrigues being extended to every country within the sphere of their communication with a view to facilitate the success of their hostile projects against India. He was convinced that these circumstances made it the duty of his government "to employ corresponding efforts of active counteraction and to leave untried no means of converting to the purpose of our own security those interests which, if exposed without opposition to the influence of French intrigues, may probably be turned against us."¹⁶

At this time too, as the reports of Major Walker, Resident in Baroda, and the representations of Bombay Government to the Governor-General, point out, people were generally convinced that Cutch constituted "the most exposed and in view of the contiguity of the Arabian and Persian coasts, one of the most vulnerable tracts of territory to the Public Enemy It may reasonably be expected to prove one of the channels, which France may contemplate as affording ready access into the interior of Gujerat and from thence across into the ceded and conquered territories dependant on Bengal, which route, it is within recollection to have been many years ago believed to be, in like manner, meditated by that restless and ambitious power."¹⁷

It is no wonder that at a time when such plans were taken seriously as within the range of probability, Minto should have been eager to have a foothold in Sind, to make it a base, if possible, for resisting the meditated French attack on India. Its importance

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1808, No. 12.

militarily and tactically can hardly be exaggerated, when the chief motive was to provide for a defence-ring against Franco-Persian advance on India.

There were letters from native intelligence agents which, though meant to assist the British by fore-warning them, only helped to drive them into panic. One Mohammed Ali wrote in June 1808 to the Governor of Bombay, of a dark plot being hatched by the French, with the help and assistance of Persia to gain a foothold in Sind. This, according to Mohammed Ali, was being promoted by Ibrahim Shah, a Persian in the employ of the Chief Ameer of Sind. The correspondent assures the Governor in his letter that from his knowledge of Sind, he is confident that if this plan of the French succeeds, they would form links with Jodhpur, through it with Jaipur and so on with Udaipur, Holkar, Sindhia, etc., and thus strangulate the British in India.¹⁸

It is a tribute to Minto's vision that he clearly analysed the situation and knew what he wanted. The establishment of an English Resident in Sind, it seemed to him, would furnish important and authentic information of the nature, extent and progress of French views in Sind; and in regions north of Sind, i.e., in Kabul and Kandahar and also provide an additional source of information regarding the French proceedings in Persia.

He gave immediate orders to Bombay to select a servant of the Company's Bombay establishment suited for the job by temper, knowledge and ability to be envoy in Sind and to make efforts in the direction of re-establishment of a Residency in Sind. He was not only eager but impatient for it. It seems this was because he wished to make the Residency in Sind a nucleus of a comprehensive scheme of diplomacy conceived on a worthy scale. He thought he could take no risks, could not afford to go into subtlety of words or refinements of negotiations and so asked the Governor of Bombay to despatch the gentleman, selected to be envoy, first, and to inform the Court of Sind of this mission thereafter, so as to make it doubly difficult for them to refuse admittance to him.

Minto's personal experience as an ambassador led him to say that the envoy "should, however, be dispatched with that degree

18. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Aug. 8, 1808, No. 5.

of retinue and with those exterior forms which are necessary to give weight and consequence to a diplomatic mission."¹⁹

Minto had a great capacity of going into details. While specifying the objects of this projected mission too he entered into minute details masterfully. He wanted the person who might be chosen to go to Sind as envoy, to begin by making "the demand which has never been entirely relinquished of indemnification and atonement for the expulsion of Mr. Crow and the forcible removal of the British factory; a demand which made under such circumstances would probably alarm and embarrass the Government of Sind" and then he wanted the envoy to make "a discreet and gradual concession of it"²⁰ so that the Ameers of Sind would feel themselves put under an obligation to the British, in lieu of which, it was Minto's surmise, they could be made to grant the re-establishment of a British factory in Sind and to adhere "to the obligations of friendship and harmony."²¹

The Governor-General, however, was absolutely clear in his mind that the present object of the proposed mission was principally, chiefly and even entirely political. He did not try to conceal this. The instructions to the envoy were that the restoration of a British factory in Sind, in case the Sind rulers were averse to it, was not to be insisted upon. Even in case they agreed to it the duties of the Political Resident in Sind and those of the chief of the factory were to be kept separate and distinct. Two different persons were to be appointed to these two posts.

The envoy was particularly to be instructed to investigate and ascertain the degree of connection between the Government of Sind and the court of Persia, and also to know as to "what engagements have been contracted by the Govt. of Sind either with the French or with Persia."²²

The envoy was to be specially instructed to establish an influence in the court, personal and diplomatic. If necessary, he was authorised to create a sense of apprehension of British might. His duties were not to end here. He had to extend his enquiries northward of Sind, i.e., towards Kabul and Kandahar. For this purpose

19. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1808, No. 1.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

he was "to dispatch intelligent native agents into those countries with directions to acquire information, not with respect to the intrigues of the French (a commission with which.....no native agent could be safely entrusted) but with regard to their political state and condition."²³ He was also to ascertain, (but do no more than that) "the practicability of dispatching an embassy to Cabul and Candahar by route of Sind and the practicability of its favourable reception."²⁴

Minto, it is obvious, had already resolved upon the step he later took, of sending an embassy to Kabul. He entertained a high regard of the tactical position of the kingdom of Kabul as a link in the defence-ring against any projected French attack on India and was absolutely ignorant of the bad pass the ruling clique in Afghanistan was in, just then. He also recognised the delicacy it would involve to negotiate at the same time with Sind and Kabul, as the former was trying to wriggle out of its tributary obligations to the latter, and may, therefore, misunderstand the English, who ran the risk of being misunderstood also at the Afghan Court. Minto wanted the envoy to use his skill and persuasion in making the Sind Ameers see that British relations with Kabul would make the situation, if anything, the better for the Sindhis and, at any rate, not any the worse.

And now the British were favoured with a Providential wind-fall!

Almost exactly at this very time, when Minto was himself so keen at re-establishing diplomatic intercourse with Sind, Gholam Ali Khan, the ruler of that state, deputed and despatched his old Vakil Mirza Meher Ali to the Presence of the Governor of Bombay. A remarkable thing is that the Hon'ble Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, in his own independent judgment decided that it would be of advantage to the British to resume diplomatic relations with Sind, admitted Meher Ali to an audience with himself and wrote to the Governor General on April 2, 1808, giving his views on the expediency of such a resumption,²⁵ little realising that a letter from the Governor General himself, on the same subject and expressing the same opinions, written on March 14, was on its way to him.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. O. C. April 25, 1808, No. 4.

The receipt of this letter from Duncan could not but bring satisfaction to Minto. He expressed it in his usual gracious and dignified manner, "We are happy to observe that the supposition of an offensive assumption of superiority on the part of the Nabob of Scinde has been removed by the explanation of his emissary."²⁶

From this to the actual appointment and despatch of an English Resident to Sind was an easy progress made much smoother and much more honourable diplomatically for the British, due to the shrewdness of G. O. Osborne, Secretary to the Bombay Government, the instrumentality of Syed Tucky an old Muslim in the employ of the East India Company, and the straight and unsuspecting nature of Meher Ali, the Sindhi vakil to Bombay. On knowing from Mr. Osborne that the British Government desired to send a resident to the Court of Sind, Syed Tucky took it upon himself to see that the request of such a mission being sent should come from Meher Ali himself. He used his good offices in such a clever way that without telling Meher Ali that he was in secret collusion with the Bombay Government, persuaded him that he should make a request to the Bombay Government through himself (i.e. Syed Tucky) in writing that an English Vakil should accompany Meher Ali to the Court of the Ameers, when he went back to Sind. He was also made to take the responsibility upon himself to see that "my master will receive such an envoy with every regard and attention."²⁷ On April 10, 1808, which was incidentally a Sunday (the English in India, it seems, were not too punctilious about the Sabbath, then!) Syed Tucky, in Meher Ali's presence delivered the application to the Governor, and it was duly accepted.

The Governor almost immediately made the choice of Captain David Seton, then Resident at Muscat, to be the English envoy in Sind. We are told, in Duncan's letter, that "General Malcolm concurs fully in the arrangement."²⁸

Seton under original plans, was to have accompanied Meher Ali but at the actual time of departure from Bombay some little hitch arose. It was, first of all, due to Meher Ali's being desirous of taking the sea-route to Karachi and thence up the Indus to Hyderabad. The British, being unnecessarily fussy and suspicious,

26. *Ibid.*, No. 17.

27. N. A. I. For. Dept. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, May 16, 1808, No. 3.

28. *Ibid.*, No. 2.

wished Seton to go via Mandavee and Lakhpat Bunder across Cutch and then to cross into Sind. Moreover, as per Minto's instructions already quoted, to make the embassy impressive, Seton had a magnificent outfit. These two points drew a sharp protest from Meher Ali, "I was not authorised to bring with me a person with much state and grandeur or through a port belonging to another."²⁹ Bombay Government, however, was bent upon having its own way in the matter and the result was that Seton left on April 28, and Meher Ali on April 30, by different routes, for the same destination. The whole muddle was tried to be whitewashed in Duncan's letter of accreditation given to Capt. Seton, addressed to Meer Gholam Ali Khan, in which it was said that while Seton could not proceed by the Karachi route owing to the 'Lateness of season,' Meher Ali could not take the land route because he had 'glass-ware' to be taken to Sind and it would be exposed to risk by the land route.³⁰

At the time, however, of his departure, Meher Ali had the decency and generosity to declare that he would promote "the honourable reception and ultimate success of the mission."³¹

The instructions issued by the Bombay Government to its envoy Capt. Seton were on the general lines suggested by the Governor General-in-Council's letter to Bombay government written on March 14, which has already been quoted at some length. That formed the broad basis, so far as the cardinal points of policy were concerned. For minor things the Chief Secretary to Bombay government transmitted to Seton the Government's instructions to him. These were precise and detailed. He was asked to avoid carefully making any useless display of ostentatious retinue in Hyderabad. He was requested not to affront any susceptibilities and to endeavour to establish such goodwill in Sind "as to render it willingly subservient to those purposes of national security and commercial advantage which constituted the leading motives of the Supreme Government."³² The commercial aspect of the Company's interests also could hardly have been forgotten and Seton was asked to ascertain the actual and precise amount of European imports in Sind, accurately to list them, specify whether they were all consumed in Sind itself or forwarded further into Afghanistan etc.

29. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1808, No. 13.

30. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, May 30, 1808, No. 19.

31. *Ibid.*, No. 12.

32. *Ibid.*, No. 14.

The military and tactical aspect of the mission also was equally important, Seton was to ascertain the probable land routes extending from Sind to Persia. He had to make sure, by private researches, whether in case of an attack by the French, through Sind, any opposition could be offered to them "by the employment of gun-boats in the Indus."³³ He was, in general terms asked to keep in touch with General Malcolm in Persia, to excite as little jealousy in Sind as possible, not to rely on Meher Ali, the old Vakil coming back from Bombay, and to make a report on the political conditions prevailing in the Kingdom of Kabul.³⁴

With these instructions Seton sailed in the 'Mornington' and reached Mandavee, the port in Cutch on May 15, 1808. But he was in no hurry to get ashore and landed two days later when all his baggage too had arrived from Bombay. He was rather adroit in writing immediately to the Ameers of Sind to depute somebody from the Court to come and accompany him to Hyderabad. He utilised his stay at Mandavee by trying to learn all the rumours afloat there and to report the same rather fully to the Government. The Bombay Government were critical of this delay that Seton had unnecessarily made. Later the Governor General also agreed with this censure of the envoy's mistake. The Bombay Government were critical of this, because now, they thought, there would be trouble for Seton at the Sind Court. Meher Ali Khan, it was sure, would now reach Hyderabad long before Seton. Moreover, it held, and very justly too, that Seton by his wrong-headed letter to the Ameer had committed himself to awaiting the arrival of a person from Hyderabad, which event "may never take a place."³⁵ Another wholesome apprehension was that now the embassy from Persia may, as it later did in fact, forestal Seton at the Sind Court. Seton was peremptorily ordered by the Government not to lose any more time and push ahead to Hyderabad. But Seton continued dilly-dallying at Mandavee. He opened up a correspondence with the Ameers of Sind as well as some other members of the Royal House e.g. Meer Badde Talpur, the nephew of the Queen Mother Keree.³⁶ It was here that he realised that the Ameers had almost a childish fondness for receiving presents etc. He started from Mandavee for Lakhpat Bunder only on the 28th June, although Fateh Ali Jamali, the Mehmandar, who had been ap-

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, July 25, 1808, No. 9.

36. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1808, No. 20.

pointed to accompany him into Sind, had arrived in Mandavee a week before this date.³⁷ In the meanwhile the Persian Ambassador Fateh Ali Khan had arrived in Sind on June 4, 1808.

From the reports that arrived from all quarters the Persian Ambassador had been, in Hyderabad, "received with such honours as never had been shown to anyone before."³⁸ There were rumours of the French having paid one million asharfis and promised a European wife to the King of Persia and in return got a grant of Bander Abbas.³⁹ The object of this mission was to induce the Sind Ameers to shake off their allegiance to the Afghans. The Sind Ameers were also requested to discharge the obligations of amity and friendship and to provide to the French vessels coming to Karachi or any other Sindhi port, wood or water etc.⁴⁰

Fateh Ali Khan, the Persian Ambassador in Sind, was treating for Persia and France in the Court at Hyderabad and had declared that "the British Government, by their usurpation in Hindostan, had attained a degree of wealth that enabled them to disturb the peace of the world and it was the duty of every power to join and curb their growing strength, and offered Meer Gholam Ally, if he would favour their joint views, that he should be made the Beglarbeg of Kabul and Kandahar, and brought him a Ruccum from the king appointing him to it." The Ameers of Sind had also received a letter from the French which had been written by one Joseph Rousseau "who stiles himself palios (he is a resident of Baghdad) the seeker of peace and the counsellor or adviser to the French Ambassador the whole of it means that if it would be agreeable to the Hakim of Sind, they will send an ambassador and conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive."⁴¹

At last after all the delays and much wavering Seton arrived in Hyderabad on the 15th July 1808.⁴² The behaviour of the Ameers was most cordial and they gave all proofs of their delight and interest in seeing an English envoy come to their Court. They did all necessary honours to the Ambassador.⁴³ Immediately on his arrival in Sind Meer Gholan Ali Khan sent through the Arz Beggy

37. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Aug. 23, 1808, No. 12

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1808, No. 10.

41. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 20.

42. *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1808, No. 8.

43. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Oct. 3, 1808, No. 8.

to assure Seton "that his wish was to cultivate a friendship with the English Government, in preference to that of any other power and he would now show it to the whole world."⁴⁴

Some of the details of court etiquette which the envoy considered derogatory to his position and prestige, e.g. putting off the shoes in the Presence, were waived in his favour, in order to accommodate him.⁴⁵ On July 18, Seton had his first audience with the Ameers. It was formal and passed off very well indeed. Four days later on the 22nd Seton was honoured with a private and informal audience. In it the conversation was long, friendly and intimate.⁴⁶ Meer Gholam Ali Khan "declared, had the English not sent to cultivate his friendship he would, in despairing gaining their goodwill, have closed with the offer from the French and the Persians; but now he would make a firm friendship with them and a treaty is drawing up."⁴⁷

The terms in this treaty, which was drawn up, were just the basis of further negotiations and did not represent a final adjustment. The Cowlamah (treaty) was made ready by the end of July, sealed and signed. But then started a process of changes and alterations by both parties on minor points and at last a final draft was settled upon on August 18, 1808. Seton enclosed a copy of this Cowlamah to Bombay Government in his despatch of August 24 and in it explained some and defended other points of the treaty. In this there is an interesting remark of his on the nature of the people with whom he had been dealing, "It will be observed that this government is yet but in an infant state of knowledge and their ignorance and dread of they know not what, renders it difficult to bring them to consent to what, they see, is wished by another."⁴⁸

The Cowlamah as it finally emerged from negotiations and haggling contained these terms:

I. Firm alliance to be maintained, friends and enemies of one to be considered respectively the friends and enemies of the other.

II. When the assistance of troops is required by either of the parties, it is to be given by the other on the party's expenses.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 18.

48. *Ibid.*, No. 19.

III. The disaffected of one are not to be protected by the other.

IV. Sind Government servants to be permitted to purchase war-like stores from the E. I. Company.

V. An agent of the Company, for the increase of friendship and goodwill, to remain at the Ameer's Court.

VI. The claims on account of loss in Mr. Crow's time shall be dropped.

VII. That a British factory in the town of Thatta only on the same footing, as in the time of Kolara dynasty, shall after full satisfaction, perfect confidence and with leave of the Government be installed.⁴⁹

Though Seton assured the Ameers that the Bombay Government would not view them favourably, the Ameers persuaded him to forward their views on Cutch to the Governor-in-Council. These were that the British Government will either join with theirs to take and divide Cutch or allow them to do it themselves.⁵⁰

Seton sent the Cowlamah to Bombay. But it was lost in the way, near Bassein, and considerable delay in arrival of a second copy of it, at Bombay, resulted in the finalisation of the whole thing in Hyderabad.⁵¹ Seton, in the meanwhile, put his own signatures and seal on it.

When, however, news of Seton having made a treaty with Ameers, reached Bombay the immediate and unanimous reaction of Duncan and his Council to this was most vehemently unfavourable. They were not prepared, for the sake of Sind, to enter into a broil with any of Sind's neighbours. They thought that the clause regarding mutual assistance may be used by the Ameers of Sind in procuring British help against their leige lord, the king of Kabul. And for this, at that time, the English were not prepared. Seton was immediately told that he should make it clear to the Ameers that the treaty would have to go through the form of being ratified by the Government of Bombay, and they might reject or modify it; so that when they actually did so, as they must

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, No. 20.

51. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1808, No. 91.

under the circumstances, it would not come with the suddenness of an unexpected shock to the Ameers.⁵²

Minto took the view in this connection that the first two clauses of the Cowlamah "involve an engagement on the part of the British Government directly hostile to the state of Kabul and it is evident that this was the principal if not the sole object of the Court of Sind in conclusion an alliance with the British power."⁵³ The 3rd, 4th, and the 5th Articles, he said, were all right. The 7th Article, he characterised as "humiliating to the British Government."⁵⁴

The treaty he did not consider "to be susceptible of any beneficial modification."^{54a} He, therefore, immediately decided to annul it and for the future, declared that no conclusion of any engagement shall be permitted which is not founded on the "solid basis of mutual confidence, common interest and sincerity of views." Minto accepted, Seton's motives were sincere and he had been zealous; at the same time, however, as Governor General he did not feel himself justified in withholding the expression of his disapprobation of the mistakes Seton had committed.

To take up the thread of the story now from the other end, it appears that on the arrival of Seton the Ameers of Sind really and sincerely turned their back not only upon the Persian proposals but were also grossly rude to the ambassador from Persia. This shows they were sincere in their desires to have an alliance with the English. The Persian ambassador had complaints to make against the Ameers to whose Court he had been accredited. He openly declared "that the king of Persia, induced by the appearance of assistance from Sind had engaged in a war with Kandahar; that they now excused themselves from acting saying that the king of Kandahar was too powerful for them to provoke until the Persians had made some progress that the neglect and want of attention in their conduct to him had degraded him so much that he would be ashamed to see the King, his master, and his master to see him, and that it had been better the ship that brought him had

52. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Oct. 3, 1808, No. 9.

53. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 32.

54. *Ibid.*

54a. *Ibid.*

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sunk, than that ever he should have come here.”⁵⁵ He called them “Dogs without principle and religion.”⁵⁶

In the meanwhile some things were happening, of which the Ameers had cognisance, and which they could not appreciate. For two of these Seton was directly responsible and the third was, by them, taken to be a provocation given by Major Walker the English Resident at Baroda.

Captain Seton, immediately on reaching Hyderabad came into contact, through the Assistant Surgeon in his suite, with Bibi Hoorā, the eldest widow of the late Ameer Fateh Ali Khan the elder brother and immediate predecessor of Meer Gholam Ali Khan as the Chief Ruler of Sind. She was an object of persecution and was suffering from a serious ailment. The English doctor in the envoy's suite, attended on her and cured her. Later the hapless woman was charged with having illicit connections with an old Mulla who was, therefore, murdered. The Queen Mother Keri and the second of the three Ameers, Karam Ali, sided with Hoorā and affirmed that she was innocent and pure. They could not, however, do much to save her from the persecution of the Chief ruler Gholam Ali, although she was saved from execution outright. The Christian in Captain Seton, throwing to winds all diplomatic caution became interested in helping and attempting to save the miserable widow. His chivalry led him, on two occasions, to send her some gold vene-tians. He also saw to it that his doctor treated her. He was even privy to, and actively supporting, her plans of escaping gaol.⁵⁷

Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk who had established himself as sovereign of Kabul and Kandahar, sent a Chupper (agent) to Hyderabad to demand peremptorily on his behalf, the tribute due from the Ameers. He visited Seton, who gave him presents worth Rs. 650⁵⁸ and on his advice and through him wrote a letter to Vizir Meer Akram Khan of Kandahar. Seton spoke to this Chupper of the Fanco-Persian menace to Kabul and India. The Chupper advised him to send presents to his Shah and the Vizir and also to write to the king on the subject; the presents and the letters he promised to get transmitted to Kandahar soon. These letters, as we shall see in the sequel, had to be withdrawn by Seton in consequence of a

55. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Nov. 21, 1808, No. 13.

56. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1808, No. 2.

57. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 28.

58. *Ibid.*, No. 22.

strong protest from the Ameers of Sind.⁵⁹ But Seton was acting zealously; he managed to transmit the same letters through the agency of Kawal Muzaffar Khan clandestinely, through the route of Multan. This was a most whining and cajoling letter, replete with terms of honour for the king, and intending to induce him to open an embassy, with Bombay and not to misunderstand Seton's presence in Sind. It began “Your servant and well wisher having kissed the ground of obedience and duty with the lips of respect,” etc.⁶⁰

On the other hand Major Walker the Resident at Baroda was in correspondence with Khudayar Khan, the grandson, in direct male descent, of Meer Abdul Nabee the last Abbassy ruler of Sind, and a Pretender to the Masnad of Sind, a boy about 17 years of age and then living in Jodhpur on a Jagir granted to him by the Raja of that place.⁶¹ In Sind there was trouble. Meer Thara, a brother of Gholam Ali Khan⁶² and Meer Farra, a powerful nobleman with immense backing⁶³ were both raising apprehension of a civil strife or rebellion against the Ameers and it was expected that if Khudayar Khan on British support went ahead into Sind he would get the support of the disaffected elements there. He offered a *carte blanche* to the Company in respect of terms on which it would help him.⁶⁴ The Ameers received a letter from Booj, which they showed to Seton, in which Major Walker was called a “Seditious and evil minded person,”⁶⁵ and all his activities had been detailed.

The result of all this was that suddenly one day, on coming back from a hunt, the Meers sent to enquire by what route Seton intended to return and when exactly he would set off.⁶⁶ Seton was shocked at the bluntness of the message and reminded the Meers that under his agreement with them he had been permitted to stay for as long as instructions from Bombay were not received. They sent back a comparatively polite reply but made it clear that they would not like the idea of his staying in Sind any longer than

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Oct. 3, 1808, No. 9.

62. *Ibid.*, No. 11.

63. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1808, No. 2.

64. *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1808, No. 11.

65. *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1808, No. 11.

66. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1808, No. 1A.

a month or fifty days, whether instructions came or not. This meant that Seton would not be permitted to stay after the middle of October. Seton was thoroughly upset and wrote to Bombay to send him their reactions on the Cowlamah immediately⁶⁷ and also to "have a conditional power of returning to Cutch in reserve."⁶⁸ Seton tried to imagine what, if any, could be the reasons for the Meers' urgent wish to see him out of their dominions. He could not find any except these:—1. They might be thinking that his presence would be an impediment to their plans against Cutch. That they had plans against Cutch Seton felt convinced from the information he had got of the Meers having stocked grain in different stations on the route from Hyderabad to Cutch. 2. They might have been misled by rumours, and misunderstandings might have been created by Meers Farrah's party. 3. They, especially the youngest of them Meer Murad Ali Khan, might be playing this hoax upon him with a view to wring more presents out of him.⁶⁹

From the records, however, it is apparent, that Seton's guess work was on wrong lines. The argument about Cutch was apparently wrong, for if they had wanted the English not to know of their plans against Cutch why should they have pressed Seton to forward their request on this point to Bombay, as we have seen they actually did? The second reason as imagined by Seton, if it was a reason, was a most justifiable one, as the Meers had definite information about the English hobnobbing with pretenders who had claims against them. The third reason as given by Seton is obviously false. Though it is an acknowledged fact that these Ameers had a great fondness for presents, especially for English firearms and other modern gadgets, their greed for presents could never go so far as to risk their good relations with a powerful neighbour by asking their envoy abruptly to quit. Seton could not see the most real and the most obvious of all reasons for which he had himself to thank; but it was made clear to him soon enough.

It was decided by the Ameers that when Seton returned to Bombay an envoy from them should accompany him to the court of the Governor there. The person selected for this was Moham-

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1808, No. 2.

69. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Oct. 17, 1808, No. 2.

med Akhoond Bucka Khan.⁷⁰ It was settled that Seton would set out from Hyderabad on the new moon.⁷¹ Now before all this Seton had sent to enquire if the Ameers would mind his getting into touch with the Shah of Kandahar, their liege-lord. To this they had sent a most categorical reply that they were very much averse to any such communications.⁷²

Just as Seton was embarking his barge for leaving Sind on October 9, 1808, a messenger from Meer Gholam Ali Khan came to ask if he had sent a message to Kandahar and given presents to the Agents from Kandahar. Seton truthfully replied in the affirmative. This drove the Ameer into a fury and he sent a messenger to say that, "Gholam Ali had often heard that the English were a faithless people but he had wished to think otherwise, until now he had a proof of it in my (Seton's) writing to Kandahar, after which there was no necessity of his sending his Vakeel,"⁷³ and Seton might go and be happy. Seton felt nervous and undone. He sent messenger after messenger to the Ameers explaining that he had not taken the initiative in getting into touch with the Agent from Kandahar, and had done just what civility and decency had demanded of him, that he had no motive in it except just cordiality. He even sent Lt. Blackall, an English gentleman in his suite along with many native agents to placate the Ameers. The limits to which Seton's meekness went were reached when he withdrew the letters for the King of Kandahar from the Chupper to whom they had been given for being forwarded.⁷⁴

Ultimately after "numberless delays," on October 13, Gholam Ali Khan sent words that Seton may leave and that Bucka Khan would follow him a day later. Poor Seton was so startled and intimidated that although the original route which had been decided upon for his return journey was absolutely closed and difficult to follow, he dared not change it, afraid of exciting the jealousy and suspicion of the Ameers.⁷⁵

The most humorous and ironic part of the whole proceeding was that the Sindhi Vakeel accompanying Seton was to be his

70. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1808, No. 92.

71. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Oct. 24, 1808, No. 92.

72. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 20.

73. *Ibid.*, No. 21.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

guest until he reached Bombay, which meant that Seton had to pay his travelling expenses as well as an allowance of Rs. 20 per day! Bucka expressed his regret for his master's choleric behaviour and Seton philosophically remarked that conceit, avarice and excess of fear were responsible for this conduct of the Ameers.⁷⁶

Seton reached Mandavee on October 30, 1808 and informed the Bombay Government that he would stay there for about six days.⁷⁷ At last he reached Bombay in the middle of November 1808 and was sent back to his residency at Muscat, from where he had been called to this assignment. As soon as Seton informed the Bombay Government that he had signed an engagement with the Ameers, the matter was referred to the Governor-General-in-Council, of course along with a strong note of criticism from the Governor of Bombay. Minto's decision on this matter was brilliant, statesmanlike and evidencing the subtle diplomacy of which he was capable. He agreed with the Bombay Government that the treaty could not be accepted and went on to say, "Yet great public inconvenience and embarrassment must probably arise from the necessity of disavowing the acts of an accredited envoy and the disadvantage of this measure must be augmented if the envoy himself is not only rendered the instrument of such disavowal but the agent of further negotiation founded on a principle different from that which he had originally adopted. The personal influence and in some degree the personal credit of the Envoy must be impaired."⁷⁸ The next obvious alternative was to despatch another envoy on the part of the Bombay Government to supersede Seton. This also, it seemed to Minto, would not be a full remedy for the trouble. He conceived a plan, however, which would not only make the best of a bad job but might even be expected to turn this failure into an asset and a factor of advantage to the British. He advocated the despatch to Sind of "an agent accredited directly from the Supreme Government." This would remove the responsibility of disavowing Seton's treaty from the Bombay Government, and would show to the rulers of Sind the sincere desire of the British Government to "cultivate the relations of cordial amity."⁷⁹

Minto's legal mind was quick to marshal other considerations which also pointed out the efficacy of this arrangement. He

76. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 21.

77. *Ibid.*, No. 24.

78. *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1808, No. 6.

79. *Ibid.*

thought that the "objects of the mission to Sind were so intimately connected" with English interests in Persia and Kabul and with the purposes of English embassies to these countries that keeping all these under the same superintending authority, i.e. the Governor-General of Fort William, was most essential. Moreover, he argued that keeping both the relations with the liege-lord (Kabul) and with the tributary (Sind) under the same immediate direction and control would work for the "prevention of contradictory engagements and preservation of consistency."⁸⁰

The best thing thus would be, thought Minto, to address a letter from himself to the Ameer of Sind. This he did without losing any time; and it read, ".....having satisfied my mind of the cordiality of that (your) disposition, I have resolved to afford you the strongest testimony of a similar disposition on the part of the British Government by removing the veil of an intermediate authority and opening a direct communication between the Supreme Government and the State of Sind." In pursuance of this resolve, he added, he had decided to send an ambassador to Sind, from his own Presence.⁸¹

This arrangement, it seemed to Minto, would not discredit Captain Seton in the eyes of the rulers of Sind and would also enable him plausibly to suspend all further negotiations preparatory to the arrival of an envoy from the Supreme Government.

He selected Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith, the Resident at Bushire, a member of Bombay Civil Service, for this embassy. The instructions to him, in way of a warning, contained a complete criticism of Seton's activities in Sind. From that criticism it is obvious that the most important object of the Envoy in Sind was always intended to be keeping open an authentic and constant channel of intelligence from Sind. And so it was not in British interests to make engagements with the country and leave it hurriedly. What they insisted upon was the constant presence of a British agent in Sind and his constant occupation in making all sorts of researches about the politics, topography, finances, commerce and foreign policy of the country.⁸²

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*, No. 7.

82. N. A. I. For. Dept. Sec. and Sep. Br. Proceedings, Nov. 28, 1808, No. 10.

On Akhoond Bucka's arrival in Bombay the Governor was instructed from Fort William not to enter with him into any discussion of Captain Seton's late proceedings in Sind as the Sind negotiations had been taken over directly by the Supreme Government.

About Seton's having addressed a letter to the King of Kabul, Minto was bitterly critical. "It was objectionable as being precipitate and abrupt, as proceeding from a subordinate authority not entitled, according to diplomatic forms and principles to address a foreign Throne on matters of such high import and as hazarding the success of our views at the Court of Kabul by a premature disclosure of them."⁸³ Minto also criticised the sequel, i.e. the subjection of Seton "to the humiliation of deprecatory explanations and apology and of withdrawing the letter to the King of Kabul compromising at the same time the sincerity of this proceeding by clandestinely forwarding this letter through another channel."⁸⁴

He was feeling rather strongly on the point as just then he was engaged in sending a mission to the Court of Kabul, headed by Mr. Elphinstone. And he went to the extent of authorising this gentleman "to declare that the letter was written without the authority of the British Government."⁸⁵ Minto wished there to be no impediments in the way of Elphinstone's mission and so empowered him to disavow categorically the engagement entered into in Sind by Seton, and to inform the Government of Kabul that the Governor General had annulled it.⁸⁶

In the mighty stream of India's history Seton's mission was just the fraction of a ripple. In itself, however, it was the nucleus of a masterful scheme that Lord Minto devised to meet the French menace in the Napoleonic times. Whether it was just a psychological complex that led him to assume an emergency or real facts existed to warrant his plans lies out of the scope of this short paper. It just describes an event which had the preface of an epic, the body of a short story and the denouement of a melodrama. This was so because Minto, the person who planned the mission, was a master-

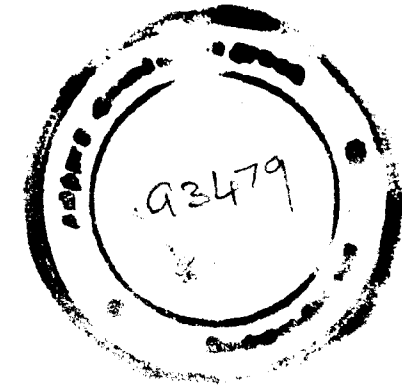
83. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 32.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1808, No. 34.

mind; the main characters amidst whom it was unfolded were simple-minded, childish Ameers of Sind who had unsophisticated and primitive instincts as well as a field in which these could have free-play; and Captain Seton, the man who was meant to be the instrument of carrying out the master-plan was a good Christian and a weak gentleman who had virtues which should not have been in him and who lacked the force which was essential for his position.



The Bengal Council's Relations with the Calcutta Mayor's Court in the Days of Harry Verelst

BY

T. K. MUKHERJI, M.A.

Calcutta

It is evident from the Mayor's Court records as well as other contemporary accounts that the relations between the President and Council and the Mayor's Court were seldom cordial. When a clash occurred between the two, neither law nor justice was treated with much respect. The fact that the Mayor's Court had been erected by a royal charter and that it derived its authority from it infused into the minds of judges a false sense of superiority that more often than not made them arrogant. In their frequent clashes with the Council, the judges often overreached themselves in their denunciation of the Council's attitude. The Council in such cases either sought the advice of the Directors or resorted to the questionable device of sending back home the more refractory of the Court's members. The clash took the form of a paper warfare, neither party sparing of their pen in drafting long letters containing aspersions cast by each upon the other.

The Charter of 1753, however, brought about a change in the Council's position in relation to the Mayor's Court. It conferred upon that body the right to choose the Mayor and to fill in the vacancies that would occur in the office of Alderman. The intention of the authors of the charter presumably was that the Council should exercise as much control as would be necessary for the proper administration of justice. The Council should not dominate but modulate the activities of the Court. But an unscrupulous executive would most likely abuse such power as conferred by the charter. That it was abused is evident from Mr. Bolts's observations on the administration of justice in the days of Verelst. "The Court is become rather a scourge" he says "in the hands of the Governor and Council than an instrument of relief to the injured." In order that the judges would remain permanently docile, they were accorded the privileges of Dustucks for duty free private

trade in direct violation of the rule which confined duty free private trade to the Company's servants. Besides, Aldermen who tried to assert their independence were forthwith dismissed upon the most frivolous pretexts.

Mr. Verelst is undoubtedly a better annalist than Bolts and his sober statements are more convincing than the latter's cheap rhetoric. Nevertheless the charges laid against the government by Mr. Bolts—if we leave apart the exaggerations and misrepresentations—do not appear to be wholly untrue.

Moreover in view of the prevailing corruption amongst the servants, both high and low, of the Company in Bengal in the early sixties of the eighteenth century, the allegations that hands of law were often paralysed or justice was often perverted do not appear improbable. The successful exploits of Lord Clive in Bengal placed the Company in a better position, but it was admittedly beyond Clive's power to stem the advancing tide of corruption. The ease and certainty with which money flowed into their pockets convinced the Company's men that Bengal was Tom Tidlars ground and this almost unhinged their minds. If the Company's ordinary servants were rapacious, the greed of the Council's members was no less pronounced. Commenting on the report of Vansittart Wilson, observes that in 1763 "the narrow sighted selfishness of commercial cupidity had rendered all the members of the Council, with the two honourable exceptions of Vansittart and Hastings, obstinately inaccessible to the plainest dictates of reason, justice and policy".¹ In 1765 Clive wrote, "Principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited wealth."²

To the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court were amenable all the European residents of Calcutta and the members of the Council at Fort William were no exceptions. An adverse decision in a case involving directly or indirectly any of the members would certainly endanger the dignity and prestige of the Council. No wonder the Council itself a corrupted body would attempt to fill in the offices of the Mayor and Alderman with persons of moderate opinion and implicit obedience and would also threaten with dismissal any one among them who would prove to be refractory.

1. Mill and Wilson—History of India, Vol. III p. 237 Foot Note.
2. Ibid p. 279 Foot Note.

To cap all, the Governor, in the person of Mr. Harry Verelst who might have exercised a restraining influence over his colleagues was himself weak and incapable. In his speech before the House of Commons in 1772, Lord Clive mentioned his misgivings which he entertained on handing over the government to Verelst. "He governed" said Clive, "with too lenient a hand. The too great tenderness of his disposition I saw and dreaded."³ Verelst's weakness was to a great extent responsible for the indiscretions and follies of his own colleagues that caused so much trouble for the Company both at home and at Fort William.

The character and policy of Verelst and his Council has been discussed at some length in order to appraise properly the Council's attitude towards the Mayor's Court. What however particularly concerns us is the Council's alleged attempt to dominate the proceedings of the Court. There are recorded evidences to prove it. It appears from the letters written by the Register to the Secretary that in the years between 1764-69 there were cases of vacancies occurring very frequently in the office of Alderman and that there were several instances of persons refusing to accept the office of Alderman despite the fact that heavy penalties were prescribed by the Charter for such non-compliance.⁴ The presumption is that too much of executive interference made it difficult for some men to accept office-men who refused to act as pliant and docile judges. Whittall, an attorney of the Court, in his appeal against the decision of the Court asserted that it was hazardous to bring in a suit if the Governor and Council or any of their favourites had any interest in it. Besides, those amongst the members of the Court, who had long been proved to be unfit for the Benches, were allowed to continue to sit as judges because they happened to be very obedient to the Council's orders.

Bolts refers to Verelst's letter to the Mayor requesting him to stay proceedings in the case of Parseek Arratoon Vs. Tom Lewis, the latter person being the defendant and also the accredited agent of the Company of which Mr. Verelst was a partner.⁵ The Company was formed by these partners Tom Lewis, Sykes and Verelst for the purpose of dealing in salts. Bolts characterises this incident as a case of oppression by the Governor and the stay order as unconstitutional. It is possible that the gentleman exaggerates and

3. N. L. Hallward—William Bolts p. 129 Foot Note.
4. Mayor's Court Letters Copy Book 1764-'69.
5. Bolts' 'Considerations' Vol. II, p. 162.

distorts facts, but what we learn from Verelst's own account shows that his conduct was no less blameworthy.

The case arose out of a dispute with regard to the delivery of a quantity of Salt at Nattoor⁶—the delivery of which being demanded by the gomasthas of Lewis and refused by the black merchants of Nattoor. The matter was referred to the Cutcherry at Nattoor and an award was given in favour of the purchasing party. It appears that the bargain was imposed upon the unwilling sellers and Parseek Arratoon brought a suit against Tom Lewis before the Mayor's Court. Verelst deeming his interests jeopardised thereby requested the Mayor to stay proceedings on the ground that Petruse Arratoon attorney for Parseek Arratoon had proposed to him for a second reference.⁷ Petruse Arratoon after finding fault with the recording of the depositions of the three witnesses for Verelst took resort to the Mayor's Court.⁸ The Court decided in favour of Parseek Arratoon and passed a decree against Tom Lewis. The judges however ignored Sealy's request to re-examine the three witnesses who had been examined by Mr. Bryer. Petruse Arratoon refused to submit to the arbitration on the grounds that the depositions had not been taken by the order of the Court and that they (witnesses) had not been cross-examined.

Verelst admits that violence was used by the men of Tom Lewis to get the Salt delivered to them but alleges that Parseek Arratoon had no connection with the salt stored at Nattoor. If this be true it is very strange that it escaped the notice of the Mayor's Court. Verelst's letter to the Mayor contained no reference to this fact.⁹ The plea is taken by the Governor only in the petition that was filed on his behalf in 1770.¹⁰ If Verelst was certain that Parseek Arratoon was maintaining the suit of somebody else, it is inexplicable that he consented to the Petruse Arratoon's proposal for a second reference. Verelst's request to the Mayor to stay proceedings was certainly ill advised as Verelst was apparently not a party to the suit. He accuses the judges of injustice in as much as they refused to admit the depositions of three witnesses. Most probably the

6. Modern Natore in the district of Rajsahi in Bengal.

7. Verelst—A View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 24.

8. Letter of Sealy, attorney of Verelst, 19th December 1769 quoted in Bolts' Considerations Vol. II, p. 165.

9. Verelst—A view of the English Government in Bengal, Appendix No. 61.

10. Ibid. Appendix No. 62.

Court thought that there was certain material irregularity concerning the way by which the depositions had been recorded and accordingly rejected the defendant's prayer. On appeal the Council confirmed the verdict of the Court. It is hardly possible that while reviewing the case the Council,¹¹ allowed to pass unnoticed any act of gross injustice on the part of the judges.

In some cases however the President and Council met with opposition from the judges. This shows that they were not habitually servile. For instance the Council admitted their inability to force the Court to issue warrants for the sequestration of the properties of persons against whom suits had been filed by the Council and who happened to be residing at that time in England. The Board at Fort William considered this a great obstacle in the way of making the offenders disgorge their illgotten gains and wrote to the Directors, "We apprehend that scruples will arise in the Mayor's Court as to the power of attaching such effects as may be deposited in the hands of their agents or of the natives."¹² The difficulty does not appear to have been overcome even in 1773. In that year Thomas Morris, the Company's attorney, wrote to the Board's secretary, "The apparent Bars to these suits going on, here in their ordinary course are the Principals not being in this country and that their representatives cannot be compelled to defend on their behalf." "The Mayor's Court," he added, "will consider themselves warranted by the Charter of Justice not to suffer Judgment to pass until the opposite parties themselves have reasonable time given them to have knowledge of the Proceedings sufficient to answer them."¹³

The case concerning which the judges of the Calcutta Mayor's Court refused to concur with the Government's views is that of Mr. Atkinson. Mr. Atkinson who got permission to go from Fort Marlborough to China, did not go there and instead came to Bengal where he was subsequently employed by the Mayor's Court. The Bengal Council demanded his dismissal. The Mayor's Court refused to give him up in compliance with the government demand. "That as he has conducted himself with propriety", wrote the Court's Register to Simeon Droz the Board's Secretary on the

11. Mayor's Court Records—Some appeals to the Council from the decisions of the Mayor's Court.

12. Verelst—A View of the English Government in Bengal Appendix No. 6, p. 44.

13. Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 15th April 1773 No. 3.

10th April 1767, "during the time of his practising in their Court they apprehend they are not justified in dismissing him".¹⁴ On the 14th of April 1767 Simeon Droz informed the Court's Register that, "the Board never imagined the Court would oppose them in the execution of any act of their authority nor did they mean to ask the permission of the Court upon the occasion their view in requesting the Court would dismiss Mr. Atkinson was to prevent the business of the Court being interrupted or the Interests of the Clients being prejudiced by enforcing their orders for Mr. Atkinson's return before he had regularly delivered over the papers of the suits in which he was concerned but since the Court unmindful of these consequences still persist in continuing him as one of their officers the Board need no longer be influenced by such considerations and are therefore determined in such cases in future to take their own measures".¹⁵ The refusal of the members of the Court to dismiss Atkinson came as a surprise to the Board and the Board considered it necessary to reprimand the Court for disobedience. But if the Board thought that they could dismiss an attorney or Alderman by merely cancelling his license or declaring him unfit for Company's services then they were mistaken. To remove an Alderman was not an easy process and the Board would have done well by bearing this in mind when they actually removed Mr. Bolts from office.

Bolts's picture of the Mayor's Court becoming an engine of tyranny and oppression is to some extent overdrawn. The real state of things is best described by Mr. Long. "The members of the Mayor's Court were elected by government from among government servants, hence they generally concurred with the government views".¹⁶ The problem of partial distribution of justice was not of such magnitude as Bolts would have us believe. The Council, it seems, regarded the Mayor's Court as a wayward child to be treated with indulgence so long as it conducted itself well but to be reprimanded when it tried to overstep the limits to its powers.

The story of the Council's relations with the Mayor's Court during Verelst's rule, however, remains incomplete if we leave out

14. Pub. Procs 14th April 1767 253-'54 No. 1.

15. Pub. Procs 14th April 1767 254-'55 No. 2 (a) Mr. Atkinson was not dismissed, for we find him practising in the Mayor's Court as an attorney in 1771—Mayor's Court Records 1771.

16. Longs—'Selections' xxxi.

the two indiscretions of the President and Council, one of which cost them dear and brought upon them the censure of the Directors. The other one leaves a doubt in the minds of the reader as to the blameworthiness or otherwise of the Governor himself. The two incidents that are really worth ten instances in proving Verelst's rule as weak and oppressive and the Mayor's Court as really a servile body are the forcible removal of Mr. Bolts from the office of Alderman and the proceedings brought against Mr. George Sparks the attorney by Mr. Harry Verelst.

Mr. William Bolts, a Dutchman entered the service of his Company in 1759 as a factor. Entirely unembarrassed by any scruples in his methods of trading Mr. Bolts succeeded within a very short time in making himself the master of a vast trading concern and amassing enormous fortunes. The free use which he made of the authority and prestige attached to his position as a servant of the Company to further his private ends and his unscrupulous conduct in dealing with the natives compelled the Board to suspend him from service in 1766. On the 11th August 1766 he was appointed the Alderman of the Mayor's Court, Calcutta.¹⁷ The Council and the Company had good cause later on to rue this extraordinary indiscretion. The decision of the Select Committee at Calcutta to put a stop to the private trade of Company's junior servants led Mr. Bolts to resign from service under the Company. He expressed his intentions to return to Europe as soon as he could settle his private concerns. This gave him time to carry on intrigues with the native rulers and thereby to cause further discomfiture to the Council. When the Council found that it would be dangerous to allow Mr. Bolts to stay at Calcutta any longer they determined on strong measures. They got him forcibly removed from the seat of Alderman and sent him back to England against his will. Mr. Bolts on his arrival commenced actions against the Company. The removal of Bolts from the seat of Alderman was declared illegal by the Privy Council and he was ordered to be restored to that office.

That the Council was amply justified in inflicting so severe a punishment on Mr. Bolts for his contumacy can hardly be disputed. Mr. Bolts had by his nefarious conduct made himself so odious to almost everybody at Calcutta, that his speedy departure from the Company's settlement was felt to be essential for the

17. N. L. Hallward—William Bolts p. 42.
J. 6

peace and tranquillity in that province. But the delinquencies of Bolts should not be pleaded in justification of the means whereby the Council tried to get rid of him. The Charter of 1753 empowered the President and Council to remove an Alderman provided there was reasonable cause for doing so. It also required that the Alderman should be given proper facilities to defend himself. In the case of Mr. Bolts none of these formalities was observed. The wanton violation of the Charter shows that little respect was paid by men in high offices at Fort William to principles of law and justice.

It is interesting to note the following observations of the Court of Directors. "The office of the Alderman continues for life and can be vacated only by voluntary departure or by a motion for reasonable cause in the judicial manner required by the Charter. Therefore an Alderman is less dependent on the discretionary powers of the President and Council than a free merchant whose license is expired or a mere servant who is dismissed or has resigned."

"Secondly, it is doubtful whether Mr. Bolts has been duly and legally removed from his office of Alderman. . . . It seems clear that a misbehaviour or misdemeanour as described might be the foundation of a complaint against him in his corporate capacity and if fully charged and proved be a reasonable cause for a motion. But it appears that no steps were taken for that purpose". The summons that were indeed served upon him were defective in not specially requiring him to show cause why he should not be removed from the office of the Alderman on account of his offence.¹⁸

In their frenzy to uproot an evil which their own indiscretion and folly had helped to grow and prosper, the Council not only violated one of the salutary provisions of the Charter but also acted unconstitutionally in attempting to influence the proceedings of the Mayor's Court on the occasion of Mr. Bolts's removal. It has been alleged by Mr. Bolts that the Governor had several secret interviews with the Register of the Mayor's Court; the avowed object of these meetings was to devise ways and means to get Mr. Bolts removed from the seat of Alderman.

18. N. L. Hallward William Bolts p. 103.

Calcutta Friday the 9th day of September 1768

At a court held present,

Cornelius Goodwin Mayor

Mathew Miller

George Lear

William Bolts

Joseph Cator.

Mr. Bolts called upon Mr. John Holme to declare whether he had received any letter from the President and Council or their Secretary regarding him Mr. Bolts—to which Mr. Holme replied he had not. Mr. Bolts then twice insisted that he would prove that Mr. Holme had received such a letter whereupon Mr. Holme acknowledged that he had received such a letter but as there was a mistake in it, he had returned it to Mr. Baber, Secretary to the President and Council to be corrected.

Mr. Holme further in the course of altercation said to Mr. Bolts, then upon the Bench. "That he Mr. Bolts had no right to sit upon the Bench as Alderman".

Mr. Bolts thereupon complained to the Court of this insult offered to one of their members and moved that votes should be taken whether Mr. John Holme should or should not be committed to prison for contempt of Court.¹⁹

The conduct of the Register was highly undignified and indecorous and was most probably inspired by his alleged interview with the Governor. He got the impression from it that he could insult Mr. Bolts with impunity. But the offence was not only against Mr. Bolts personally but also against the Bench. In view of this, the conduct of Goodwin and Miller appear strange. They voted against the resolution that John Holme ought to be punished for contempt of Court.²⁰

On receipt of a notification from the President and Council, the Mayor's Court took the following resolution on the 13th September 1768. "The Court are of opinion that the notification of the President and Council received this day by Court is grounded on a power vested in them by the Charter and that by the afore-said power Mr. William Bolts shall stand dismissed and that his seat as an Alderman of the Court shall be vacated accordingly". Only Mr. Cator appears to have realized the illegality of the

19. Bolts' 'Considerations'—Mayor's Court Proceedings quoted in Vol. III, p. 504, Proceedings of 9th Sept. 1768.

20. Ibid.

whole proceedings and dissented from the general resolution. To concede the unqualified power of dismissing an Alderman which the Council thought they possessed would mean the absolute surrender to the executive the independence of the Mayor's Court. It would be wrong to suppose that Aldermen other than Mr. Cator were swayed wholly by their personal feelings towards Mr. Bolts in supporting the resolution. Out of the nine Aldermen present on that day only two, Killican and Levett, refused to recognise Bolts's services to the Court. Majority of the members refused to challenge the Council's action even on just grounds for they were unwilling if not afraid to incur the disfavour of the Council.²¹

Long before his elevation to the office of Alderman in 1766, Mr. Bolts appears to have earned notoriety for his nefarious activities and for his wilful defiance of the orders of his superiors. The Board at Fort William and the Court of Directors were not unaware of this fact. As early as 1763-64 the Court of Directors wrote, "The conduct and behaviour of Mr. William Bolts, a factor, falling next under our consideration, they appear so far as he was connected with Messrs. Johnstone and Hay to be very improper. He appears likewise to have been guilty of irregular practises in respect of carrying on his private trade, let him be called into Council and reprimanded according to his deserts inform him, if his conduct is not more satisfactory for the future we shall dismiss him from the service". This however did not influence the Board when they appointed him second in Council at the factory at Benares. Mr. Bolts was a man of undoubted capacity but this was undone by one great vice—his inordinate lust for money. He quarrelled with the Chief Mr. Marriott over the dispute with regard to his share in the illegitimate profit out of the Mint and was recalled. Subsequently he was allowed to return to Benares in private capacity but he showed no disposition to regard the Board's limitation of his period of residence. On the 28th of July 1766 the Board informed Mr. Sage at Benares that if Bolts did not return to Calcutta by the 28th August, he would be dismissed. Modifying this order, they observed that though he would be suspended from the 28th August 1766 yet the suspension would be taken off if he returned to Calcutta by the 10th October.²² On

21. Mayor's Court Proceedings quoted in Bolts' "Considerations" Vol. III, Appendix Proceedings of 13th September 1768.

22. Hallward—William Bolts, p. 35.

the 11th August 1766 Mr. Bolts while he was actually under this order of suspension at that time was appointed Alderman or judge of the Mayor's Court. Verelst says that he was appointed in the month of November. But this is a very inaccurate statement.²³ The Court of Directors observed: "It is indeed a 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".²⁴ What really prompted them to commit this indiscretion is beyond our comprehension. If they hoped that by conferring the office of Alderman on him they would be able to bridle his lust for money and passion for intrigue, they were, as subsequent events showed, grievously mistaken. If they wanted to reward him for his undoubted ability, any office other than that of an Alderman would have been a better choice. For elevation of Bolts to the office of Alderman placed him beyond the reach of the discretionary powers of the President and Council and it is not improbable that he resigned the Company's service in November 1766 in order to avail himself of the benefit of this distinction.

Mr. Bolts was undoubtedly a very unhappy choice. The Board were well aware of his antecedents and his appointment cannot be regarded as accidental. The presumption that naturally arises is that no strict principle was followed in the matter of appointing men to the offices of Aldermen and Mayor. The whole affair reveals not only lamentable lack of perspicacity and determination on the part of the Council but also the presence of a general indifference on the part of the Council and the Court towards the proper administration of justice and strict observance of law.

Bolts's departure from India however could not fully satisfy the Governor's desire for revenge. Not only did the President and Council refuse to assist Bolts's attorneys to settle Bolts's accounts with the Company but they tried to make a clean sweep of everybody who was in any way connected with that unfortunate gentleman. This is evident from the letters sent by George Sparks to Mr. Bolts (who was then in England) in one of which he wrote, "To set forth your grievances is held spurning at authority and a remonstrance is deemed a libel".²⁵ George Sparks was an

23. Ibid. p. 127, Foot Note.

24. Ibid. p. 105.

25. Bolts' 'Considerations' Vol. III, Appendix.

attorney of the Mayor's Court and he was a victim of this type of persecution. His case bears out the remark of Whittall that there were instances of private application made by the Governor and Council for the dismissal of attorneys against whom they had "any pique or animosity".

On the 8th November 1768 Verelst wrote to the Mayor's Court "As I am informed that Mr. George Sparks one of the attorneys of your Court proposes resigning of his employment in a short time, I cannot with injustice to my own character and being wanting in my duty to the public defer any longer my laying before you my complaint against him and request your examination of the Case".

"On the 23rd day of August last the said George Sparks filed a bill in your Court with his name subscribed and indorsed for William Bolts Complainant against Edward Baber, defendant which contains a most infamous and scandalous libel against me. They were drawn up, filed and published by Mr. Bolts with an intent to defame me and not with any intention of carrying on the cause with effect. for the said George Sparks acquainted the Court that he would proceed no further therein".²⁶ George Sparks in reply asserted that in the bill referred to by Verelst there was not one single charge against the Governor of any kind whatever.

Mr. Verelst in his letter to the Mayor's Court did not specify what in the bill actually constituted a libel against him. Besides he ought to have known that the Court could not act on a mere letter from him. The best way to bring matter to the notice of the Court would have been to file a bill of complaint setting forth the charges against George Sparks.

This laches on the part of the Governor did not affect his case. The judges were all compliance in considering this enough for a bill of complaint and called upon the unfortunate attorney to answer the charges. The request of George Sparks that copies of the letter might be granted to him was refused and Cornelius Goodwin went out of his way to inform Mr. Sparks that it "was time enough for him to know what he was charged with". This was quite in keeping with Goodwin's character for that gentleman

26. Bolts' Considerations Vol. III, Appendix p. 561. Verelst refers to another bill of complaint filed by George Sparks.

had earned the esteem of the Board at Calcutta for his extraordinary zeal for their cause and inspite of many of his indiscretions had not by that time been dismissed.

Pressure was, however, brought to bear upon Mr. Sparks. He had to cancel his passage, which he had previously arranged for, to England, and to pay a forfeit to Mr. Rice the Captain of the Ship. He at last wrote to the Mayor. "If either by this mistake or by any other particular of my conduct, I may have incurred the censure of this Hon'ble Court and the resentment of the said Harry Verelst I humbly hope both you and that gentleman will of your great clemency, impute it to inattention rather than design and that will favourably distinguish a sin of ignorance from a wilful and premeditated crime".²⁷

What we know of George Sparks from the Mayor's Court Records shows that he was not quite incapable of committing the offence complained of by Mr. Verelst. But what is condemnable is the way in which the Governor proceeded against the attorney. It smacks of the same hostile spirit that characterises the attitude of the Council towards some of the predecessors of George Sparks. Besides, if the facts set forth by the Attorney in his letter to Mr. Bolts dated 2-1-1771 be true, we have every reason to doubt the integrity of the Governor who has otherwise been praised by Clive and others. In that letter Sparks informed Bolts that he thought it prudent to listen to some overtures made him on the part of Mr. Verelst by Mr. Killican who told him that Mr. Verelst had no design to injure or prejudice him and that his honour required a concessionary answer. Mr. Sparks further stated that his Garden House was to be bought by Mr. Verelst and the Registry of the Mayor's Court would be given to him in return. But strangely enough as soon as it was vacant, it was given to May.

This conduct of Mr. Verelst, though highly reprehensible, cannot be regarded as an isolated event in as much as corruption and intrigue was so rampant in those days. We get an insight into the condition prevailing at that time from the following sentences :—

"Public spirit is utterly unknown among us we are all slaves we are all bankrupts. He is reckoned a monied man and an excellent paymaster who can discharge a bill of 1000 rupees in a month after it is due".

27. Bolts' "Considerations" Vol. III, Appendix p. 571.

The end of George Sparks is indeed very pathetic. "The day I resigned my employment I thought myself worth ten thousand pounds. I am now not worth as many cowries. Infirm of body and declining towards the eve of life I write this on board an old sloop in the Sundree Bunds in which I am driving about to get a little rice and curry for myself and family after upwards of thirty years sojourning in India when I might reasonably have hoped to close a busy bustling life in tranquillity and repose".²⁸

Verelst must be held responsible for the ruin of this unfortunate attorney which his desire for vengeance had brought about. One gets the impression that the wrath of the Governor at Calcutta was all consuming and sent to utter ruin one who fell knowingly or unknowingly a victim to it and that considerations of law and justice had no place in the minds of the man in power bent on revenge.

28. Bolts' "Considerations" Vol. III, Appendix. Letter of George Sparks to Mr. Bolts dated 20th February 1773.

The Last Phase of the Siege of Multan Based Entirely Upon the Issues of Qiran-us-Sadain *

(December 1848 and January 1849)

BY

K. SAJANLAL, M.A.

On the outbreak of the rebellion of 1848, Ram Sing son of Wazir of Nurpur one of the small hill States had collected a large army from the neighbouring Jamu Hills. He suddenly crossed the Ravi and threw himself upon the unoccupied Fort of Shahpur. That very night he received a congratulatory deputation from the neighbouring chiefs and proclaimed by the usual beat of drums that the English Rule had ceased leaving Maharaja Dalip Singh as the paramount power with Rajah Jaswant Sing and he himself as his ministers. When Ram Sing took up his position at Nurpur, Charles Saunders Deputy Commissioner at Hushiarpur arrived at the place. He was followed by Barnes. After augmenting additional force they stormed the fort and captured a large booty, while Ram Sing escaped to the Sikh army which was encamping at Rasul.

During his occupation of the hills at Rasul, he was joined by a large band of soldiers Ram Sing persuaded Rajah Sher Sing to give him two regiments each of 500 strong with that and other forces he made his appearance for the second time on the hills and took up his position within the British Territory. He was staying at Shahpur with Ganda Sing. On 3rd January 1849, according to various reports, he had with him about 1000 to 3000 soldiers. In the meantime there arose a quarrel between the soldiers and the sardars which led to a quarrel between Ram Singh and Ganda Sing also. Ram Sing ejected Ganda Sing, who accompanied by one hundred soldiers left the camp. When Lt. Hudson learnt that Ganda Sing left for Jasrat, situated between Dinanagar and Pathankot, Hudson accompanied by Lumsdon, covered the distance in quick marches and reached it.

*For description of Qiran-us-Sadain, read, K. Sajanlal's paper, "The Pre-Mutiny newspapers," published, I.H.R.C. Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1942, pp. 130-31.

These officers had 100 sawars and 100 foot soldiers. As they arrived earlier by 2 hours than their soldiers, they quietly waited and watched unobserved from a safe distance the Sikh soldiers preparing their dinner. The Sikh soldiers had not the slightest suspicion that their movements were watched and that they were followed.

The scouts of the English army informed Lumsdon and Hudson about the arrival of their troops. These officers moved their soldiers under the cover of trees and encircled them, ofcourse keeping at a safe distance. When the Sikhs smelt trouble they rode fast to avert the danger hardly realising that they were falling into a trap. The result was that Ganda Singh and 40 soldiers died in the action. Lt. Hudson having won the victory, galloped fast and arrived in the evening to the camp of Brigadier Wheeler. He left instructions to his soldiers not to allow the Sikhs to cross the Ravi, and keep a special watch upon Ram Singh who had taken shelter at a place between Shahpur and Pathankot.

The Brigadier left on 6th January to join them. A day earlier i.e. on 5th January, Capt. Williams also left in that direction. When they arrived at the hills, Ram Singh gave them a tough fight, with the result that Capt. Melville and his 7 soldiers were injured.

Another smaller force was sent on 8th January, in pursuit of Ram Singh and it was expected that this force would be successful in capturing Ram Singh dead or alive. All the same Ram Singh successfully defied the English attacks upto 15th January 1849. Such is the news published by Qiran-us-Sadain.¹

Later on General Wheeler drove Ram Singh from mountain fastness at a considerable loss to both parties. Ram Singh was however finally taken prisoner.

The British now got information that in November 1848 the Sikh were expected to raid Pathankot about 24 miles from Mokriyan.

On the other side of the Bias (in Dinapur) before they could do more damage, Barnes sent for his forces from Hajipur and thus frustrated their design. At this time John Lawrence who was at

1. Qiran-us-Sadain, 1st January 1849, Vol. 4, issue No. 1, p. 7.

Ramu, on hearing about the movements of the Sikhs, marched fast from Hushiarpur to Mokriyan on the 24th November, where he added some more forces to his army and attacked the Sikhs encamped at Dinapur on 26th. The Sikhs retreated hastily and John Lawrence returned to Mokriyan on 27th.

In the meantime news flared up that the Rajah Mahal Murian Rajah Sarmodha Chand had revolted and captured Sera Sarkar. So also another news item reported that Raja Omid Sing Jaswanwalla and other petty Chieftain of the lower Swaliks had revolted. A day earlier it was also announced that Bikaram Singh of Bedi had also rebelled.

John Lawrence moved fast towards Jaswandun and on 2nd December attacked the Rajah Omid Sing at Abal and his son at Akhrot. The fort was razed to the ground and Omid Sing and his son who were captured were deported to Kamoan. Raja Dattarpur and his son were also taken prisoner.

Bede of Una who rose in revolt had under him some fort north of Hushiarpur. John Lawrence marched against him and gave him a battle. Bede could not stand the charge of the English soldiers, moved as fast as possible, and escaped with his 200 soldiers from Ramu crossed the Bias and joined Sher Sing. With this, ended campaigns of John Lawrence which lasted for about a fortnight and enabled him to keep Jalandar at peace.²

Another item of news informs us about the movements of Jacob's Cavalry to Seethalmar, which captured a few camels of the Sikhs at a loss of the lives of two soldiers. It was on the 18th December 1848, soldiers of the Eleven Regiment and the Third Infantry occupied the mound and ascended over it in the city of Multan. Brisk arrangements were then made on the 19th and 21st for capturing the fort of Multan. The correspondent reports that a few Bantias who were found supplying provisions to Mulraj, were caught. The correspondent of Qiran-us-Sadain says that the editor of Delhi Gazette suggested that these bantias should be hanged as a warning to others.

Mulraj, it was reported, had started constructing boats, perhaps to steal a passage for safety in case of emergency.

2. Qiran-us-Sadain, 1st Jan. 1849, Vol. 4, Issue 1 p. 12.

It was reported that upto 12th December, the Sikhs failed to capture Attock from Major Abbot who was successful in holding it against heavy odds.³

Jaulai Sahai the Wazir of the Maharajah Gulab Singh accompanied by some nobles arrived at Lahore, where the Resident received them with warm welcome.

Another item of news informed that Thomeson had arrived at Lahore with the Diwan from Tibet.

Lord Gough, the Commander-in-chief's army left Chatuli and arrived at Janki 3 miles near Thackwell's camp. The Sikh army stationed at Mung on the bank of the Bias, says the correspondent, perhaps left the place or was likely to quit the place. This was due to the bickering and quarrels among the Sardars and soldiers. The army did not want to move from the place while the Sardars liked to quit it as early as possible.

The Multan correspondent says that the *Surang* and *Murchal* were nearly completed. Stretchers and coolies were urgently needed. As Hindustani bearers refused to clear snow from the roads, they were immediately dismissed. In their place Panjabis were appointed. The correspondent says that there was plenty of provision of every kind. He further opines that the people now certainly knew, as to who would be the victor.

Mulraj expected that the English would attack him and the fort on the X'mas Eve. Daily his soldiers, says the correspondent, were deserting him. The editor felt that it would be an easy victory for the English.

The paper says that Shaik Imamuddin captured Siala and that Narayan Sing had hidden himself in the fortress of Channut.

News writers from Ramnagar and Bhallia reported that the people were undergoing hardships and troubles due to scarcity of food stuff and the rise in prices. The Commander-in-chief had made up his mind to cross the Chenab. Those who took part in the victory of Sadhalpur on the 3rd December had accompanied him.

There are a number of letters describing the last phase of the siege of Multan, some from the seat of action and others from

3. Ibid, January 1849.

a distance. There are other letters of the same date by other correspondents, some of whom were eye-witnesses to the siege.⁴

The operations at Multan which had been delayed pending the arrival of the Bombay troops were at length resumed on the 27th December 1848. The siege of Multan was carried on with utmost vigour by General Whish. The cannonade kept by the Bombay artillery was incessant as well as destructive. Mulraj too returned the compliment with equal vigour.

But before the fury of the battering-train of the English, wall after wall crumbled. The suburbs were taken after a great fight—a hand to hand fight. Breaches in the fortification were effected and the powder magazine in the fort was blown up on 30th December. Although the town of Multan was stormed and the British flag was hoisted on 2nd January 1849, the fort still held out and the courageous Mulraj showed no signs of surrender so long as a wall was left standing.

Let the various news-writers speak for themselves about what they saw of the final phase of the siege of Multan.

On the 31st December, breaches were effected near the Delhi and Buhavir Gate; these gates were damaged badly. As evening was fast approaching the assault was deferred to the next day. One English shell accidentally hit the ammunition magazine, situated in between Jamai-Masjid and the palace of Mulraj. The magazine was blown up with a thundering roar. The fire spread and its soaring tongues were visible to a great distance of about 100 miles or 50 koss. It was at a time when the English officers were enjoying their dinner. They felt highly elated to see the sorry plight of their enemy. The armies which surrounded the fort of Multan were kept at a safe distance away from the range of fire of Mulraj's guns.

A party of the Khalsa tried in vain to attack the English but they were forced to retreat into the fort. The garrison of the fort welcomed them with abuses and showered rubbish and stones on them; they were even called cowards.

Mulraj suffered heavily from this conflagration. His granaries were burnt and he lost his near relatives who were burnt to ashes.

4. Qiran-us-Sadain, Jan. 9, 1849, Vol. 4 Issue No. 2.

Another letter dated 6th January 1849, describes the events. On the 4th January 1849, the Bombay troops assembled on the Northern side of the fort of Multan. A large batch of Multanis tried to come out of the fort, they were repulsed by the Bombay troops and so they beat a hasty retreat.

Mulraj sent his vakils to General Whish and Edwardes with terms of surrender. But the General refused to accept surrender on any terms.

The correspondent reports that in the evening it was rumoured that a large party of soldiers 900 strong consisting of 570 Rohillas and 400 Gurkhas were expected to move out of the fort to attack the English. However till now (upto the time of writing the despatch) they had not shown their faces. The firing stopped at 3 o'clock in the evening.

Another letter dated 7th January 1849 speaks thus :—

One of our *Surang* is nearly completed. The soil of Multan is very suitable for this purpose. The guns of Mulraj remained silent for the whole night. Therefore, taking advantage of their silence we moved our six guns of 18 pathi, to an advanced post. With the dawn of day the guns started booming from the fort, but it did not rain bullets fast and thick as it did yesterday. The bullets were of poor quality and of inferior make and as such they could not inflict much havoc to our side. They grazed nearby, and two sepoys near Safar Mina side of the fort succumbed to death.

Still another letter describes it thus :—

It was yesterday that the ammunition dump caught fire. Its huge flames shot high up in the sky, lit the atmosphere. We could even see this great conflagration, far away and from outside the fort.

This morning we were happy to see the fire still raging. This morning (to-day) we moved nearer to the fort and gained some ground. We are 80 yards from the dyke of the fort. Our mining arrangements which have been delayed so long, are ready to-day. We fear that the Shah Tabraiz mosque will not be able to bear its devastating effects, and shocks. Perhaps it may tumble down.

At 2 p.m. the guns of Mulraj were harassing us. Our battery of guns have now been fixed at strategic points. No doubt our shelling will effect the dyke and the ramparts of the fort.

We are now much troubled and harassed by the officers of the Political Department. We hear that the looted property which was to be sold by auction, is to be sent to the Darbar at Lahore. How could we believe that the mules and horses taken in loot are to be auctioned.⁵

We think that this auction sale of animals will fetch a good price. Provision has become dearer, as the prices have shot up. Prices will not come down, till Multan falls.

In another letter, the correspondent describes the havoc done by the ignition of the ammunition dump. Yesterday at 3 p.m. I saw, says the correspondent, that fire was raging with full force and fury and has done great damage to Mulraj's stores etc.

Last night Mulraj did not give us much trouble, and hence we passed the night in peace.

From morning till evening, we witnessed the garrison of the fort busy in making repairs to the dyke and the breaches of the fort. Hundreds of Mulraj's men were moving up and down repairing the damages caused by our guns. Our shells have not dispersed them. Yesterday one sepoy of the 10th Royal Regiment while on duty near Neeli Mosque succumbed to enemy shots. The big gun of Mulraj has appeared again on the fort wall to harass us. It gave us pretty good trouble at Daulat Gate.

Mulraj, has 4 or 5 guns of 3 or 4 pathi (size of bore) which harasses us. We are now 50 or 60 yards near the dyke.

Two or three companies of 60th Royal Regiment are always alert to reply to the firing from the fort guns. But Mulraj's guns and soldiers have a great advantage over us. They hide themselves in the breaches of the ramparts; although our guns are alert. Whenever any one tries to show out his face or body, our guns welcome him with fire, which keeps the enemy embarrassed.

At 3 p.m. the enemy guns stopped firing.

The news of the outbreak of Multan had reached Henry Lawrence in England in October 1848. He reached Bombay in early December and on the 14th he arrived at Hyderabad (Sind), from where he took the steamer for Sukkar and pushed up on the

5. Ibid.

Indus to the scene of action with the characteristic rapidity. He was accompanied by Col. Bradshaw. He arrived at Multan on 28th December. The news correspondent says that since his arrival Henry Lawrence had a busy time. He was moving up and down, with General Whish, watching the progress of the siege and encouraging the officers.

The correspondent pays him a well deserved tribute. Henry Lawrence after a strenuous Journey, says the correspondent, could have taken rest which he richly deserved. But look at his sense of duty to his people, that he preferred to be on the spot to watch and help them, and never bothered about his rest. Would our Indian officials under similar circumstances show such zeal for work. No—No—they would never care about—and why? because they have no love of their country. He pleads that the Indian officials should emulate his (Lawrence) noble example.

He also pays a tribute to the work of Brigadier⁶ Whish.

Henry Lawrence left Multan on the 2nd January 1849. He arrived at Bhagalpur on the 3rd and moved to Ferozpur. On the 4th of the same evening he moved towards the camp of the Governor-General. On the 6th he saw the Governor-General at Maku. Here he informed him of the good news of the fall of the city of Multan.

It was on 21st January 1849 counter scarp was blown up and two practical breaches were made in the solid hill faced by brick work which had so long defied the continuous efforts of the miners and gunners. The garrison which had suffered from want of supplies began to waver and as said earlier, Mulraj sent his vakils to General Whish, offering to surrender his fort, if his life was spared. But the offer being conditional was rejected.

It was on 21st January 1849, when every thing was ready for the final assault, that Mulraj to the surprise of all promised to surrender himself unconditionally. It was at 9 a.m. on 22nd January that he and his brave sardars came and surrendered themselves.

Though Mulraj carried on his resistance his strength was failing. Even letters dated 20th January speak of his weakening position but the fact still remains that the English were expecting that Mulraj would continue to defy them for a longer time.

6. Ibid

These letters inform us that Mulraj was still holding fast to a losing game but Sher Singh (about whom a lot of stuff is published by the *Qiran-us-Sadain*) had 10 times more soldiers than Mulraj, was another headache for the English. Sher Singh met a defeat on 13th at Mung leaving 37 guns. The correspondent says that Sher Singh would have been captured had it not been for the bad weather and dusk. The editor assures his readers that if General Whish had made up his mind he would have conquered the fort of Multan earlier, but he did not like to see the slaughter of the enemy's soldiers.⁷

We revert back to Henry Lawrence. It must be admitted on all hands that his beneficial influence had made itself felt even before his posthaste return to Multan. The Sikhs had not been slow to see that the outbreak had followed soon after his departure and they hoped that his return might be the signal for pacification and peace. Some how or other these feelings of the Sikhs reached Dalhousie.

Dalhousie decided that he should not tolerate any meddling from Henry Lawrence. As a matter of fact Henry Lawrence's arrival at Multan was not at all liked by the Governor-General who had his misgivings about the soft hearted policy of Henry Lawrence. So Dalhousie took the first opportunity to give him a bit of his mind. In his letter to Lawrence, he writes "There are strong rumours current that if you should arrive anywhere near Multan before the operations against that fortress are renewed and completed, Diwan Mulraj means to surrender himself to you. I have no doubt whether that you would not receive him, or act in any public capacity whatever at present. I have to inform you that I will grant no terms whatever to Mulraj, nor listen to any proposal but unconditional surrender".⁸

This is another reason why Mulraj arrived and surrendered himself true to his word like a gentleman even though he had 4000 soldiers with him.

We have utilised only January 1849 issues of *Qiran-us-Sadain* for this paper. Although other contemporary newspapers deal with this subject, we have avoided them, lest the paper should become a lengthy one.

7. Ibid.

8. Vide, J. J. Mc Loed Innes, *Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 109. J. 8

One also comes across items of news about Rani Jindhan and her petition which covers 2 pages, describing her appeal for release on Habeas Corpus and the editorial comments upon it.

The news items of Peshawar and Nepal adds much to our interest. The paper's opinion shows how the British Government was feeling anxious when the Maharaja arrived at Gadharbani with a large force for Shikar. Thus, the news-paper keeps its readers well informed of the day-to-day news.

The Banas in South Indian History *

BY

T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D.LITT.,
Reader in Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras

LECTURE II

Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru (c. 895-910)

Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru who is mentioned in an inscription as the son of Vāṇa Vidyādhara and his queen Mahādēvī Aḍigaḷ alias Mārakam Aḍigaḷ¹²⁵ succeeded to the throne about A.D. 895. Some inscriptions mention him as Mahābali Vāṇarasa Vijayāditya Viracūlāmaṇi Prabhumēru.¹²⁶ Since his inscriptions range from Ś. 820 to Ś. 831 it may be taken that he ruled at least between A.D. 898 and 909. It is of interest to note that unlike in the case of the earlier rulers of the dynasty the inscriptions of this Vijayāditya are dated in the Śaka era and not in the regnal years. As has been said earlier the Pallava power was in its last years even during the closing period of the reign of Vikramāditya I. It came to an end by the time of the accession of Vijayāditya II and hence the new Bāṇa ruler appears to have become an independent ruler himself and started the practice of dating his inscriptions in the Śaka era.

The life of Vijayāditya was one of unceasing fight with his enemies. Even during the life time of his father he had taken a leading part in the fight for Pulināḍu. Towards the close of his reign also he had to fight against his adversaries. In the last definitely known year of the king (Ś. 831-A.D. 909) an inscription from Manigatta Gollarahalli mentions Bejayitta (Vijayāditya II) Bāṇarasa and refers to a battle at Mulkāḍ in which one¹²⁷

* A course of lectures delivered under the Sankara Parvathi Endowment in the University of Madras, 1950-'51. The first lecture was published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXIX, August, 1951.

125. *El.*, XI, p. 227 D.

126. *EC.* X, Mb. 229.

Kaśavayya died fighting against the enemies. An inscription of the next year Ś. 832 (A.D. 910) engraved on a hero stone at Chendattur mentions the death of a Māvali Vānarāyar *alias* Kudipari taṇḍikkamāṇār of Aḍaiyāru nāḍu residing in Igalmaraimangalam in a cattle raid at the place.¹²⁸ Another inscription engraved on another hero stone in the same place, but bearing no date, records that the brother-in-law of the person mentioned above also fell in the raid.¹²⁹ It has been suggested that the Māvali Vānarāyar mentioned above was the same as Bāṇa Vijayāditya II.¹³⁰ It is not known under what circumstances these skirmishes took place in A.D. 909-10 in the Bāṇa country. If a surmise is possible they were probably in connection with an invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II soon after the accession of Parāntaka. The circumstances that led to the invasion appear to be as follows:—It seems that Parāntaka's father Āditya I married a daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (c. 879-912) and had a son by her, Āditya Kannaradēva by name. But when Parāntaka, son of Āditya apparently by another wife, succeeded to the throne in 907 A.D. Kṛṣṇa II bore an ill-will towards the new Cōḷa king. It is therefore just likely that Kṛṣṇa II would have undertaken a campaign against Parāntaka with the help of the Bāṇa ruler, probably Vijayāditya.¹³¹ Very possibly in the course of the fight that could have taken place within the Bāṇa territory Vijayāditya II lost his life.

Vikramāditya II (910-16)

Vikramāditya, the son of Vijayāditya II succeeded to the throne in A.D. 910, but he was not destined to rule for a long time. The independence which the Bāṇas secured towards the close of the ninth century was short lived, for within a few years of the accession of Vikramāditya II the Bāṇas were "uprooted by

128. 168 of 1921.

129. 169 of 1921.

130. J. O. R., 1931, p. 308.

131. The historical appendix to the *Uttarapurāṇa* which was completed in Ś. 808 (A.D. 906) represents the elephants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king to have gone as far as south as Kumari and enjoyed the cool shade in the forests at Cape Comorin. (Altekar, *The Rāstrakutas and their times*, p. 97 fn. 27). Evidently it is only a conventional praise, for from the available evidence it is definite that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire under Kṛṣṇa II did not extend in the south beyond Banavāse Twelve Thousand. Though the work contains an overdrawn account it may possibly be taken that the new Cōḷa empire was invaded by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king soon after the accession of Parāntaka I.

force" by a Cōḷa Parakēśari identified with Vīra Nārāyaṇa Parāntaka (907-953) son of Āditya.

Mention has been made above that as soon as Parāntaka succeeded to the Cōḷa throne, his kingdom was invaded by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II assisted by Bāṇa Vijayāditya in the course of which the latter died. It is possible that the Cōḷa emperor led a campaign into the Bāṇa kingdom soon after in order to punish the Bāṇas for their help to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. A number of inscriptions throw light on Parāntaka's conquest of the Bāṇa kingdom. The Sholinghur rock inscription of the ninth year of a Parakēśari, who was doubtless Parāntaka I, mentions that the Ganga prince Pṛthvīpati II Hastimalla won a distinction in a battle fought at Vallāla which may be identified with Tiruvallam in the Gudiyattam taluq in the North Arcot district and thus vindicated "his fitness for the possession of a particle of the sun," i.e., his position as a feudatory of the Cōḷa king who belonged to the solar race. For this service he was conferred the title of Bāṇādhirāja (Lord of the Bāṇas) by Parāntaka.¹³² The Udayēndiram plates of the fifteenth year again of Parakēśarivarman Parāntaka I mention the defeat of two Bāṇa rulers and a Vaidumba chief, and the handing over of the Bāṇa kingdom to the Ganga chieftain Pṛthvīpati II, as a result of which he came to be called "Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarāsa" apparently meaning "he who was appointed Mahābali Bāṇarāja by the Cōḷa king."¹³³ Though the Udayēndiram plates do not give the name of the place where the Bāṇas were defeated, it is possible it was Vallāla where Ganga Pṛthvīpati II distinguished himself according to the Sholinghur inscription. The fact that the battle was fought even before A.D. 913 is indicated by an inscription at Pullamangai in the Tanjāvūr district in which Pṛthvīpati II is referred to as Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarāja.¹³⁴ The Kanyākumari inscription of the seventh year of the Cōḷa king Vīra Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1069) says that Parāntaka earned the title of Vīra Cōḷa by his victory over Kṛṣṇarāja (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II) and chronologically describes it after his conquest of Madhurai which took place in his third regnal year.¹³⁵ The Sholinghur inscription also credits him with the title of 'Vīra Cōḷa' in one place, and in another place towards its end it says that his Ganga feudatory also

132. *EI.*, IV, pp. 221-4.

133. *SII*, II, No. 76, also *EI.*, XV, p. 50.

134. *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 112-15.

135. *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 143, v. 58.

assumed that title.¹³⁶ All these pieces of evidence point to the fact that within a few years after his accession Parāntaka I invaded the Bāṇa kingdom with the help of Pr̥thvīpati II, and when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II came south to help the Bāṇas against the Cōḷa invader, defeated both of them in the battle of Vallāla mentioned above. It is however inexplicable how this significant achievement of the Cōḷa emperor is not mentioned in other important Cōḷa records like the Anbil, Leyden and Tiruvāḷangāḍu copper plates.¹³⁷ The immediate result of the battle was an accession in the power and influence of Pr̥thvīpati II. Besides being the 'Lord of Nandi or Nandigiri' he assumed the titles of 'Lord of Parivipuri' king of the people of Parivi (*Parivaiyarkōn*) and began to use the banner of a black buck and the crest of the bull.¹³⁸ "It is thus evident that like his connections who became Pallavas, Pr̥thvīpati II turned himself regularly into a Bāṇa."¹³⁹ The new political relationship between Pr̥thvīpati II and Parāntaka I was so close, that, according to the Udayēndiram grant of the latter, at the request of his Ganga feudatory, the Cōḷa emperor converted in the 15th year of his reign the village of Kadakkaṭtur with Udayaśandiramangalam (Udayēndiram) into a *brahmadeya* which was thereafter to be called Viranārāyaṇaccēri after one of his own titles.

Though the Udayēndiram plates state that Parāntaka defeated the two Bāṇa rulers they do not say who they were, or if they were defeated in one battle or in different battles. Very probably the two Bāṇa rulers were Vikramāditya II himself and his son Vijayāditya III the latter of whom bears the *biruḍa Pugaḷvipavargaṇḍa* meaning 'the disgracer of vain-glorious kings' or 'the disgracer of those who cause themselves to be praised undeservedly.'¹⁴⁰ The details contained in the Udayēndiram grant of Pr̥thvīpati II and the Sholinghur rock inscription of Parāntaka I regarding the *coup de grace* of the Bāṇas are after all exaggerated accounts. It is just possible that the Bāṇas after their defeat by A.D. 915-16 submitted to Parāntaka and

136. *EL.*, IV, pp. 221-24.

137. See *E.I.*, XXVI, pp. 112-15. for a note on the battle of Vallala by the late A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

138. *SII.*, II, p. 389; *E.I.*, IV, pp. 224-5. Among the new titles of the Ganga ruler were *Kṛṣṇadhvajah*, *Padivaiṇṇiyādhīpa*, *Vṛṣāṅka paśāca dundubhir ayyudhi* and *Nandinātha* (*IA.*, XIII, p. 190).

139. *E.I.*, V, p. 162.

140. *E.I.*, III, pp. 77 and 79.

became his subordinate, and as a result of the new situation Pr̥thvīpati II was made some sort of an overlord of the Bāṇas. It is equally possible that after the defeat of the Bāṇa ruler, a part of his territory was wrested from his hands and handed over to Pr̥thvīpati, himself left to rule over a smaller bit of his kingdom. But we do not hear anything about him after his defeat at the hands of Parāntaka.

According to the Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya III Vikramāditya II had a son called Vijayāditya who bore the title of *Pugaḷvipavargaṇḍa*. He is described as widely known and unbearable to his opponents. His relationship with the Cōḷas is not however clearly known. The title *Pugaḷvipavargaṇḍa* assumed by him was one that was had by some Cōḷa feudatories in the tenth century. For instance, it was borne by one Ariyar Rājādittan, the brother-in-law of Parāntaka's son Rājādityadēva by his wife Mahā-dēviadigaḷ.¹⁴¹ Again the father of a Vira Cōḷa a feudatory of Rājārāja the Great is known to have borne that title.¹⁴² If an inference may be drawn from this Cōḷa title borne by Vijayāditya III also, it may be presumed that he was a feudatory of Parāntaka I, and the Cōḷa conquest of the Bāṇa kingdom did not mean the extinction of the Bāṇa dynasty.

Vikramāditya III

The last known ruler of the dynasty was Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III described in his Udayēndiram plates as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja (*Kṛṣṇarājapriyāḥ*).¹⁴³ Dr. Hultzsch has identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty who ruled between 940 and 956. The reason for Vikramāditya III claiming close friendship with Kṛṣṇa III is not far to seek. For generations the Bāṇa kings had been on terms of subordinate alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Both of them resisted Parāntaka's aggressions in the north and were signally defeated in the battle of Vallāla. When Vikramāditya II was treated rather rudely by Parāntaka by being snatched away of a part of his kingdom which was given to Pr̥thvīpati II, who was made an intermediary between himself and the Bāṇa for the territory and being made his own subordinate for the rest of his kingdom, Vijayāditya III and Vikramāditya III must have been fretting and chafing against their new masters. Under

141. 363 of 1902; *E.I.*, VII, p. 134.

142. 19 of 1890; *E.I.*, IV, p. 139.

143. *E.I.*, III, pp. 77 and 79.

such circumstances the friendship between Vikramāditya III and Kṛṣṇa III is understandable. Very probably the Bāṇa ruler who was rankling against the reduction in the position and power of his dynasty sought the help of Kṛṣṇa III against Parāntaka. The help seems to have been actually given in 949 as will be seen from what follows.

From about A.D. 940 the political condition in the debated area was something like this. Prthvipati II, the loyal Ganga feudatory of Parāntaka I died about that year leaving behind him no successor, his son Vikkianna having died earlier. Bhūtuga of the main Ganga line who had murdered his elder brother Rācamalla II and usurped his kingdom gained control over the region of Prthvipati II also. He had married Rēvakā, the sister of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III and helped in securing the throne from an usurper. Thus Bhūtuga was a close relation and a good ally of Kṛṣṇa. To that extent the position of Parāntaka was not strong in the north-western part of his kingdom. As said earlier there was no love lost between the Cōḷa king and the Bāṇa and Vaidumba chieftains, who having been curtailed of their power, sought the help of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king. Premonitions of the coming storm were seen even so early as 936, an inscription of which year records the death of a warrior who was killed after he had recovered some cattle which the Perumāṇaḍigal (the Ganga ruler) had seized at Mukkuṭṭūr.¹⁴⁴ Parāntaka's son Rājāditya was appointed Viceroy over the northern part of the Cōḷa empire to check the movement of the enemies into the Cōḷa territory. In 949 Kṛṣṇa III led an expedition into the Cōḷa country, but his advance farther south was resisted by Rājāditya and a severe battle took place between them at Takkōḷam six miles to the east of Arkonam in the North Arcot district. Kṛṣṇa III was ably helped in the battle by the Ganga Bhūtuga II who in the midst of the fight killed Rājāditya by piercing him with his arrow while he was fighting from his elephant. For this act, the Ganga ruler was rewarded by the grant of the districts of Banavāse Twelve Thousand and Belvola Three Hundred.¹⁴⁵ After his success at Takkōḷam Kṛṣṇa III appears to have marched farther south and taken some territory. In a few inscriptions he is said to have captured Kāñcīpuram and Tanjāvūr, to commemorate which achievement, he assumed the

144. 1 of 1896; *Rep.*, 1896, para 6; *EL.*, IV, p. 178.

145. *EL.*, V, pp. 167 ff; VI 50-7. See also Tiruvalangadu plates v. 54; Leyden Grant, *ASSI.*, IV, pp. 206-7, 11, 42-5.

title of *Kacciyaṃ Tañjaiyūṃ koṇḍa*.¹⁴⁶ At any rate he appears to have shaken the Cōḷa hold over the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam area. This is indicated by the fact that Cōḷa inscriptions belonging to the period immediately following the battle of Takkōḷam are not available in the area while there are found in the region a number of records of Kṛṣṇa III with dates ranging from the sixteenth to the thirtieth year of his reign. The weakening of the Cōḷa hold in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam is further borne out by the existence of a number of minor chieftains who ruled in the South Arcot region and issued their inscriptions between A.D. 952 and 954 without any reference either to the Cōḷas or the Rāṣtrakūṭas.¹⁴⁷ Further the Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III dated 959 A.D. shows that he was still in his camp at Melpādi (Chittoor district) at the end of his southern campaigns in the course of which he is said to have uprooted the family of the Cōḷas and distributed their territory among his own followers.¹⁴⁸ From all these pieces of evidence the inference is irresistible that the Rāṣtrakūṭa king, as a result of his military activities in the south, gained control over the area previously ruled by the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and even beyond. This should naturally have resulted in the restoration of the Bāṇa Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III to his ancestral home which offers a fair justification and explanation of the Bāṇa ruler calling himself a "dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja".

It is not known how long this political settlement made by Kṛṣṇa III in the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam continued. From the days of the Cōḷa king Gaṇḍarāditya attempts were made to revive Cōḷa power in the region. By the days of Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II Cōḷa authority appears to have been restored in the area though it is not clear as to how it was done. With the progress of years, Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions in the region become gradually fewer while conversely Cōḷa inscriptions increase in numbers. Strangely enough the Bāṇas themselves appear to have helped the Cōḷas in the restoration of their authority over the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. A record of the ninth year of a Rājakeśari mentions an Ariṇḍigai Pirāṭṭiyār who was the daughter of Arikulakeśari and the wife of a Bāṇa king.¹⁴⁹ The Rājakeśari of the inscription was obviously Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. The Bāṇa ruler who was

146. 375 of 1909; 36 of 1900; *SH.*, VII, 37; 170 of 1894; *EL.*, III, p. 285 etc.

147. 338, 356 of 1902.

148. *EL.*, IV, p. 280.

149. 215 of 1911; the inscription may be assigned to about A.D. 965.

probably Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III himself was apparently seduced to join the Cōla side and the new unholy political relationship between the two dynasties was cemented by a matrimonial alliance, the marriage of the Cōla king's grand-daughter Ariñ-jigai Pirāṭṭiyār through his son (referred to as prince in the inscription) Arikulakēśari with the Bāṇa ruler.

With all that, Bāṇa rule does not appear to have lasted long in that region, for so far as the available evidence goes, Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III was the last member of the dynasty who ruled over the Perumbāṇappāḍi.¹⁵⁰

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The administrative machinery and the social and economic conditions in the Bāṇa kingdom were on the whole similar to those that obtained in the other kingdoms that flourished in the Deccan and South India during the period. Some of the Bāṇa inscriptions throw interesting and useful light on certain aspects of the government and society under them.

The king in ministry was the normal form of government. Kingship was hereditary, and the heir-apparent who was selected even during the life time of the ruling king, was associated with the administration. Thus for instance Vijayāditya Prabhumēru was the Crown Prince during the reign of his father, Vikramāditya Jayamēru. The king was expected to have acquired mastery over different branches of knowledge.^{150a}

Mention has been made earlier that the Bāṇas were never an independent power, but only a dynasty of rulers who accepted the overlordship of one or other of the contemporary neighbouring kings. For instance, their acceptance of the overlordship of the

150. A few years before the battle of Takkolam the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III appears to have defeated the Nolambas under Anniga or Bīra Nolamba. Iriva Nolamba who succeeded his brother Anniga is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 966 as the overlord of a Bāṇa chieftain Sambayya who was ruling from Bidrūr and bore Bāṇa tites (EC., X. Mb. 126). But in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say who he was, and in what relation he stood to Bāṇa Vikramāditya III.

150a. The Udayēndiram Plates of Vikramāditya II refer to four branches of knowledge, namely *trayi* (triple Veda) *ānvikṣiki* (logic and metaphysics), *daṇḍanīti* (science of government), and *vārttā* (practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, medicine etc.) (See Monier Williams' Dictionary, S. V. Vidya; EP. Ind., III, p. 79, fn. 1.)

Pallavas is indicated by the fact that some of the inscriptions of a few Bāṇa kings contain the names of the contemporary Pallava kings. But they seem to have enjoyed a fair measure of autonomy or independence in administration as it indicated by inscriptions which describe them as ruling their kingdom — *prtvirājyaṃ jeyya*. Their political or constitutional position was higher than that of a Governor whose rule was usually referred to as *ālu*.¹⁵¹

The Bāṇa inscriptions throw some light on the method of fight during the period and the way in which heroes who died fighting were honoured. A majority of them refer to the lifting of cattle by the enemies followed by wars between the parties. It is not known if cattle lifting was one of the reasons for the outbreak of hostilities or, it was symbolical of the declaration of war by the aggressor and was the first phase of the war. Cattle lifting in an organised way and on a large scale, which appears to have been an ancient practice both in North India and South India, and was something like a daring act of robbery, was nothing but a call to arms. The main divisions of the army were the elephants, cavalry and infantry of which the latter two played the greater part in wars. Since fighting was between horsemen and horsemen or foot soldiers and foot soldiers, the enemies were standing close against each other. If a particular method of fight was found unsuitable for an occasion another method was immediately adopted. Thus when a warrior, who was fighting from his horse against his enemies, the Damarigas, found that the place from which he was fighting was not suitable for his horse, he dismounted from it, smote his enemies, himself standing on the ground, and slew many of them.

A warrior of exceptional ability appears to have been known then as *Kāvidi*, a word which has lent itself to different meanings in different periods. In the *Maduraikkāñci*, a capable minister is referred to as *Kāvidi*, while in the Tamil *Nighantu* the word is taken in the sense of an accountant. The death of a warrior was commemorated in different ways. Usually some land was gifted away to the members of the family of a warrior who died fighting against his enemies. Such a land was known as *kalanī*¹⁵² or *kalnāḍu*.¹⁵³ In the north-western parts of Mysore it was called *śivane*. It was also the practice to erect hero stones in memory of

151. EP. Ind., XI, pp. 224, 226, 227 and 228; EC., X, Sp. 5, 6 etc.

152. 172 of 1931-32.

153. EC., X., Mb. 228, 244; Bp. 13.

dead soldiers, and they are usually called *vīrakals*. Generally the hero stones contain information regarding the nature of the death of the hero as for instance கிழுந்து பட்டார் (fell and died) கொன்று பட்டார் (killed and died) மீட்டு பட்டார் (rescued and died).¹⁵⁴

In some of the Bāṇa inscriptions in Kannada which refer to grants in commemoration of the death of heroes is found the word *bālgalcu*. It is a compound of two words *bāl*, (Tamil வாள்) meaning sword, and *galcu* meaning wash, and the term means sword washing. In one case the grant itself is called *bālgalcu*. We do not know however the real meaning of the term. It is not clear if the occasion when the grant was made was also called a *bālgalcu*. Anyhow, it appears that the grant was made with the washing of the fallen man's sword, and very probably the grant was considered as a purification of his sword from the stain of slaughter.¹⁵⁵

As said earlier, in the early period of their history the Bāṇas ruled over the region which formed the western part of the Andhra country. The region where they ultimately settled down was the Perumbāṇappāḍi which consisted of two linguistic divisions, the Kannaḍa area and the Tamil area. The Kannaḍa area was known as the Ganga Six Thousand. In a large number of inscriptions of the different dynasties that ruled over the Kannaḍa area in the mediaeval period the names of the larger administrative units are mentioned with a numerical suffix like Banavāse Twelve Thousand, Gangavāḍi Six Thousand etc. Opinion is divided among scholars as to what the numerical figures represent, the number of villages and hamlets in the area, or the revenue taken by the Government from it or the number of units into which it was divided for purposes of revenue assessment. In view of the fact that for example the small bit of country known as Ganga-vāḍi is mentioned with the suffix Six Thousand, a large number for such a comparatively small area, it may be taken that the figure represents the revenue units into which it was divided then. This area appears to have been divided into smaller administrative divisions called *viṣayas*, each of which was in its turn divided into *bhuktis* or districts. The *bhukti* appears to have been under the

154. *El.*, XXIII, p. 144 fn. 2.

155. See *EC.*, X, Kl. 79. 200; Sp. 5 and 6.

charge of an officer called the *bhogapati*.¹⁵⁶ This unit consisted of a number of villages.

The Tamil area in the Bāṇa kingdom was divided into two *kōṭṭams*, namely, the Tiruvēṅgaḍa *kōṭṭam* covering the region round about modern Tirupati, and the Paḍuvūr *kōṭṭam* extending over the Gudiattam and Vellore Taluqs in the present North Arcot District. The Śilai nāḍu is mentioned for instance as a subdivision of the Tiruvēṅgaḍa *kōṭṭam*.¹⁵⁷ The Paḍuvūr *kōṭṭam* consisted of the following *nāḍus*: —Pangalanāḍu, Mugai nāḍu, Peruntimiri nāḍu, Miyārunāḍu, or Miyāraināḍu, Mēl Aḍaiyāru nāḍu, Kārai vaḷi Andi nāḍu and Kārai nāḍu or Karanāḍu.¹⁵⁸ Everyone of the *nāḍus* was divided into a number of villages, which as in the Kannaḍa area constituted the lowest unit of the administration. Important towns or cities seem to have been under the charge of officers appointed for the purpose.¹⁵⁹ Some villages were under the control of officers known as *adhikāris*.¹⁶⁰

As in the other kingdoms in South India there functioned autonomous administrative bodies in the villages known as the *sabhā*, the members of which, as an organised body were known as *sabhai-yōm*. The affairs of the *sabha* were looked after by an executive committee called the *ālumgaṇattār*. It appears that the head or the leader of the village was called the *Kiḷār*.¹⁶¹ The village assemblies in the Bāṇa kingdom discharged many important functions like the assemblies in the other parts of South India. They served as a public treasury, receiving endowments for specified purposes and carried out the intentions of the donor. When for instance the Bāṇa queen Mādēvi Aḍigaḷ gave 30 *kaḷaṇṇu* of pure gold for a perpetual lamp, and offerings at twilight to the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara at the village of Tiruvipparambēḍu the assembly in the village received the endowment and paid interest on the same with which offerings were to be made to the temple.¹⁶²

In another case when a person gave a piece of land to the same temple as an endowment for the supply of ghee for the sacred lamps (*tiruvilakkuneypuram*) in the same temple the *sabhā* of the

156. 306 of 1935-36.

157. *El.*, XI, p. 226.

158. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 147, *SII.*, III, p. 95.

159. *EC.*, X, Mb. 229.

160. *E.I.*, XI, p. 228.

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 225.

162. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8; see for other instances *SII.*, III, pp. 95-6, 96-7, and 97-8.

place ordered that all the oil mills (*śekku*) in the village should be set up on that land and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps be procured from them.¹⁶³

The Bāṇa inscriptions throw some light on a few types of lands and taxes in the kingdom. Among them were waste lands under cultivation, lands irrigated by water levers, cut jungles, burnt jungles, dry lands under cultivation (*piḍiligai*) commons (*manru*), channels, embankments and "all other kinds of lands."¹⁶⁴ Among the taxes mentioned in the inscriptions are *tari* (loom tax), *tattārkaṇam* (tax on goldsmiths), *nallā* (good cow), *nallerumai* (good buffalo) *ilāppūcci* (tax on toddy drawyers), *iḍaippūcci* (tax on cowherds). Mention may also be made of *viṣayaśunka* (district customs dues), and *birādāya*, etc.¹⁶⁵

An inscription of Ś 827 (A.D. 905) which records a private endowment of seventy *kaḷañju* of gold for a lamp to the Śiva temple at Gudimallam gives some very interesting economic data. According to it the rate of interest was twenty percent per annum, for the above endowment of twenty *kaḷañju* of gold fetched an annual interest of four *kaḷañjus* at the rate of four *mañjādis* for each *kaḷañju*. It is made clear that the *mañjādi* was one twentieth of a *kaḷañju*. It is also learnt from the inscription that a *kaḷañju* of gold purchased fortyfive measures (*nālis*) of ghee, the endowment requiring annually 180 *nālis* at the rate of half a *nāli* of ghee for burning lamp.¹⁶⁶

It has been said earlier that Mahābali considered himself an enemy of Viṣṇu, and that his son Bāṇa who was a devotee of Śiva, was elevated to the position of his door keeper and was appointed to guard his gates. Louis Rice mentions a tradition that was brought to his notice according to which Śiva was made the door-keeper of Bāṇa. He could not, however, trace the original authority for this account.

As the rulers tracing their descent from Mahābali and Bāṇa, the Bāṇa kings were worshippers of Śiva, and the available inscriptions relating to them do not give any indication of their devotion to or worship of Viṣṇu. Among the important Śiva temples in the Bāṇa kingdom for which different endowments were made were

163. *EI.*, XI, pp. 224-5.

164. *Ibid.*, V, p. 52.

165. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 193.

166. 224 of 1903; *EI.*, XI, pp. 228-9.

the Bilvanātheśvara temple at Tiruvallam and the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Gudimallam. It is of particular interest to note that there is reference in an inscription of the 17th year of Vijaya Nandi Vikramavarman to persons who had to sing the *Tiruppadiyam* (i.e.) the *Devāram* in the temple of Bilvanātheśvara at Tiruvallam.¹⁶⁷ Hitherto the earliest known mention of the *Devāram* was in an inscription of Rājarāja I: The record under reference proves that it was considered a holy book even in the 9th century.

The Bāṇa kings were patrons of learning and as was usual with many kings in the period they made grants of villages and lands to scholars. The Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya was one such and was made to the Brahmans of Udayēndiramangalam who delighted in what was their duty, "the knowledge of the truth of all the Vedas, Vedāngas and philosophy and were eager to impart the knowledge of things stored up in their minds."¹⁶⁸

At times images of spiritual preceptors were made and set up in temples. It is in that way that the image of a Devasena who was the spiritual preceptor of an unnamed Bāṇa king and the pupil of Bhavānandin was made and installed in a temple at Vallimalai.¹⁶⁹

167. *SII.*, III, p. 93.

168. *EI.*, III, p. 79.

169. This Bhavānandin was probably different from the author of the *Bhavānanda* a treatise on *nyāya* referred to by Dr. Hultzsch in his *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. 1631. (7 of 1895; V. R. I.M.P., I, N, A, 710 c.)

LATER BANAS

Bāṇas in the north

As said earlier with the conquest of the Perumbāṇappāḍi by Parāntaka I by A.D. 915, the Bāṇa power was dispersed as a result of which members belonging to the collateral branches of the main line appear to have sought their fortune in other parts of the country. Some of them moved into the Telugu country and settled there. An inscription of Ś. 890 (A.D. 968-99) in the Podili taluq in the Nellore district mentions an Aggapparāju of the Mahābali family with a number of Bāṇa titles.¹ At Konidena in the Kistna district is found an inscription dated Ś. 1073 (A.D. 1151-52) of a Bāṇa chieftain called Cinaballirāja with a number of Bāṇa titles. He is said to have been the lord of Nandi and Parvi and had the emblem of the black buck and the drum.²

Magadaimaṇḍalam

Another branch of the Bāṇas seems to have moved to the south and settled in the region on the banks of the R. South Pennār (Pinākinī) as a result of which the area came to be called Vāṇagōppāḍi. This territory was also known as the Magadaimaṇḍalam and Magararājya though there has been some difference of opinion among scholars with regard to its exact limits. Louis Rice identified the Magara kingdom with the Mahārājavāḍi.³ Dr. Hultzsch thought that it lay in the Salem and Coimbatore districts and that the Magara mentioned in some Hoysala inscriptions was the same as the Magadai.⁴ Venkayya expressed the view that it lay about Tiṭṭaguḍi in the boundaries of the Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot districts.⁵ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar located it in the region of the present Attur Taluq of the Salem district.⁶ H. Krishna Sastri thought the Magara (Magadai) kingdom comprised parts of the old Mahārājavāḍi district and parts of the modern Salem and South Arcot districts.⁷ It may be taken that

the Magadaimaṇḍalam consisted of parts of the South Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirappalli districts of which the Attur Taluq in the Salem district and the Kallakurichchi and Vriddhachalam taluqs in the South Arcot district formed an integral part. The capital of the Magadaimaṇḍalam was Āragaḷūr identified with Arakal, a village situated near the boundaries of the South Arcot and Salem districts, on the southern bank of the Vasiṣṭhā river, a tributary of the Veḷḷār. Lying as it did on the path between the Western Kongu, and the Cōḷa and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalams it occupied a strategic position and played a great part in the political history of the country.⁸

Some Bāṇa officers under the Cōḷas

Ever since a branch of the Bāṇas migrated to the south and settled down in the area they were the loyal feudatories of the imperial Cōḷas till almost the closing years of their history in the region. But on account of the paucity of evidence it is difficult to trace the connected history of the Bāṇas of Magadaimaṇḍalam. However, a few prominent names may be mentioned.

During the days of Cōḷa Āditya II Karikāla (A.D. 956-69) a certain Vāṇo Kōvaraiyar Vira Parumāl is mentioned in an inscription as ruling over the area.⁹ Two records at Jambai in the South Arcot district respectively of the 24th and 26th years of the Cōḷa Emperor Rājārāja the Great (985-1014) mention a Bāṇa prince, Maṇavan Narasimhavarman. The former of the two inscriptions credits the chief with the excavation of an irrigation tank in the locality¹⁰ while the latter mentions him as Maṇavan Narasimhavarman alias Rājārāja Vāṇa Kōvaraiyar and gives him a number of the traditional titles of the Bāṇas.¹¹ During the days of Rājendra Gangaikonda Cōḷa the Magadaimaṇḍalam was called Madhurāntaka vaḷaṇāḍu¹² while during the days of Kulōttunga I it was renamed Rājendra vaḷaṇāḍu.¹³ The then Bāṇa chieftain's loyalty to Kulōttunga I was apparently so great that the throne of

1. *Nel. Ins.*, III, pp. 1201-02.

2. 194 of 1899; *Rep.*, 1900 para 85.

3. *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 164.

4. *EI.*, VII, p. 161.

5. *MER.*, 1903.

6. *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 47.

7. *QJMS.*, II, pp. 121-22 *fn.*

8. *MER.* 1925.

9. 109 of 1906.

10. 84 of 1906; *Rep.*, 1907 para 46.

11. 86 of 1906; *Rep.*, 107 para 46; *EI.*, XI, p. 239 *fn.*, 4; the titles mentioned are *Sakalasurāsura-samadhigata vijaya-śrī-manohari vallabha mahārāja mahābalikula tilakāyamāna-Paṇṇai śarirudaiya-nanda Nandagirinātha Parivaipura paramēśvara vetchi ciṇṇālankṛta vṛṣabha lāṅcana*.

12. 82 of 1906.

13. 68 of 1906.

J. 10

the king at Muḍigonḍaśolapuram was called Vāṇādirājan.¹⁴ Under the Cōḷa king there were a few Bāṇa officers. One of them was Bāṇarājan at whose instance was constructed a fine *maṇḍapa* by the Cōḷa *mantri* Māḷiruñjōlai.¹⁵ During the days of Vikrama Cōḷa is mentioned a Bāṇa chieftain Mahābali Bāṇarāya.¹⁶

Rājarājamagadai Nāḍālvān

Rājarājamagadai Nāḍālvān was a Bāṇa chieftain who ruled over the Magadaināḍu during the reign of Kulōttunga III and was in charge of the police arrangements in the area. He is said to have given to the temple at Tiṭṭaguḍi the *Perumbāḍikāval* and other dues from the wet and dry lands in some *devadāna* villages.¹⁷ According to an inscription by order of King Kulōttunga III, he stayed at Kañjanūr, a village on the northern bank of the River Kāvērī and quelled a local rebellion among the *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* people, carried away their cattle, sold them in public auction and deposited 480 *kāśus* with the Śiva Brāhmanas at Tiṭṭaguḍi for the burning of lamps in the temple.¹⁸ His putting down a rebellion in the Tañjāvūr district is indicative of the fact that by the early years of the reign of Kulōttunga III Rājarājamagadai Nāḍālvān's sphere of jurisdiction had extended further down and covered the region of Tañjāvūr also. The provenance of his inscriptions in the Tiruchirappalli district and the Pudukkōṭṭai area shows that he was a master of those regions. But on account of his lordship over the Magadaimaṇḍalam he is usually referred to as Magadēśan. Among his other titles were Vāṇadivākaran, Vāṇarpirān and Vāṇakōvaraiyan. But the most significant of his titles was *Poṇ parappinān* which he assumed from the fourth year of Kulōttunga III because of his gilding the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.¹⁹ Some of his inscriptions credit him with different military achievements. A Sanskrit inscription of his at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai says: "Oh! King of the Bāṇas! Previously five and now (thus six) crowns did you capture in battle from the Pāṇḍya who was intolerant of the pride of the devas; of these, one you gave away to the Cōḷa king and now the rest have been offered to the great hill shrine of

14. 93-96 of 1910.

15. 271 of 1929.

16. 105 of 1895; *SII.*, III. 71.

17. 14 of 1903; *SII.*, VIII. 283.

18. 15 of 1903; *SII.*, VIII. 284.

19. 24b. of 1903; *S.I.I.* VIII. 296; 159 of 1906 etc.

Aruṇāchala; what is there to be given by you to the supplicant?"²⁰ The reference to the Bāṇa chieftain's defeat of the Pāṇḍyas five times on earlier occasions is inexplicable unless we credit him with having participated in the war of succession in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom that started with the dispute between Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya during the reign of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja II. Parākrama Pāṇḍya defeated Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya with the help of the king of Ceylon, Parākrama Bāhu. Kulaśekhara sought the help of Rājādhirāja II who sent his trusted general Piḷḷai Pallavarāyar to reinstate the Pāṇḍyan refugee on the Pāṇḍyan throne. It was soon done after the defeat of the Ceylonese king. But the newly installed Kulaśekhara carried on treasonable correspondence with the Ceylonese king which called in the intervention of the Cōḷas again. The Cōḷa king sent his general to punish both of them. He destroyed the navy of the Ceylonese king, deposed Kulaśekhara and installed on the Pāṇḍyan throne Vira Pāṇḍya son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya. But Vira Pāṇḍya was no better than Kulaśekhara, for he also proved a traitor. In the meanwhile Vikrama Pāṇḍya son of Kulaśekhara appealed to Cōḷa Kulōttunga III (who had succeeded to the throne by that time) for help against Vira Pāṇḍya in order to obtain sovereignty over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The request was granted, and Vikrama Pāṇḍya was placed on the throne. It was about the eleventh year of the reign of Kulōttunga III that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was annexed to the Cōḷa empire.²¹ But before that was effected it appears that two other battles were fought in connection with the Pāṇḍyan war of succession, about which however we have no information now. Rājarāja Vāṇa Kōvaraiyan alias Pon parappina Magadai Nāḍālvān must have taken a large part in all the six wars against the Pāṇḍyas as may be inferred from the inscription mentioned above which credits him with having defeated the Pāṇḍyas six times.

In fact some of the inscriptions of the Bāṇa chieftain refer to his relations with the Pāṇḍyas. One of them says that when Magadar Kōman got angry the Pāṇḍya king was driven out of his

20. Pūrvam pañcakamadya caikamamara kṣmāpāla garvadruhaḥ
Pāṇḍyān (t) samyati samhrtāni makuṭān eteṣu Bāṇeśvara |
Ekañcōlakṛte vitirṇamaparānyadyā ruṇākhyāya tē

śailendrāya samarpitāni bhavatā kim vārtine dāsyate | |

21. See for an account of the general course of the war, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan kingdom*, pp. 134-135, *The Colas II*, pp. 97-107 and 120-133.

kingdom.²² In another mention is made of some statues presented to the Pāṇḍya by the king of Ceylon, which the Māgadan wanted to be handed over to him, and if it was not done so immediately, the Cōla monarch would order his head to be crushed under the feet of elephants.²³ A third inscription refers to the deputation of the Bāṇa chieftain to the Pāṇḍyan ruler by the Cōla king for the collection of the tribute due from him and his fear on that account.²⁴ A fourth inscription says that the Pāṇḍyas were afraid of the very mention of the name Bāṇa.²⁵ Another says that the prestige gained by the Pāṇḍya in inscribing the fish emblem on the Mēru, defeating the sea and chaining the clouds were all lost at his defeat at the hands of Magadēśan.²⁶ A still another inscription mentions the shame of the Pāṇḍya, who, though worshipped by others, was then prostrating himself at the feet of the Bāṇa Magadēśan.²⁷

The Magadaipperiṇṇā appears to have engaged himself in wars near by also. He claims to have fought one Vangāratungan.²⁸

22. Van Madurai viṭṭu vaḍa kaḍalān māi vaḷudi
Ten Madurai viṭṭinru teṇ kaḍalān-nammudalāy
Mallār tōṇ Māgadar kō mān Munindān maṇṇavaruk-
kellān Kaḍaloviḍam.
23. Aḷantaru kaḍal vaṭṭaraṣu śeluttiya śengōlaraśellām
vēḷantarukoḷai vāṇadivākaran vidimurāi śeyvadu vidikaṇḍir
iḷantiraiyidu māṇippadi maigaliḍumin reṇṇa ridirāgir
sōḷanriraiyidum yāṇaikkungalai yidumen rirumadu sōṇṇomē
24. Purinda kaṇai kaḷaṅ kār pōrvaḷavar kōnai
varinda tīraikkāga vāṇā-terindānai
vāṅginā eṇru vaḷudiyar kaḍāṅkalangi
yēṅinār pāriḷanto meṇru.
25. Solli viḍuṣeṇu mīṇavar sūlu murimai koḍāḷkaḍal
elli viḍupaḍa vēṇuvarēnum yamapuri yēruvar
kolli viḍumura kāḍipar kūṇi karutala rūṇ puga
valli viḍumayi rāvatam vāṇan varaviḍu nāḷaiye!
26. Mēruvin mēl veṇru kayal pōṇitta vārttaiyinūm
vārpaḍa vēḷerinda vārttaiyinūm-kārvilangu
muṇṇitta vārttaiyipun tepparar māgadarūppinnitta vārttai peridu.
27. Virarvaḷivalamba nīṇṇan malarāḍigal
śōrivaḍivalamba Cūḷndē Viradaran
vinda śaṇi kōṅgan vēlvāṇaṇ magadar kōṇ
śentamaraikkaṭ śivappa.
28. Kongung kalingamung koṇḍa kaṇḍa koḍittērudiyar
tangumpadikoṇḍa vāṇadipadaṇi yādadenkol
ponguṇcinappaḍai vangāra tongaṇ puranḍuvilac
cengunramiṇru piṇakkunṇa mākkīyatēr maṇṇaṇē.

Obviously he was the same as Kaḍandai Ādittan Maṇḍali alias Vengāra Muttaraiyan, who was a small chieftain ruling over the region round about Tiṭṭagaḍi (South Arcot district).²⁹ But the reason for the fight between the two is not known. The Bāṇa chieftain is said to have set fire to a village called Periyakuriṇṇi, apparently in the course of his fight against a small chieftain ruling over the region about the place. But it has not been possible to identify either the place or its chieftain. He is also said to have fought against the Malaiyamāns and the Vaḍugas,³⁰ the latter of whom were in all likelihood the Kākatiyas. As a loyal feudatory of the Cōla king Kulōttunga III he must have taken a leading part in his master's wars and hence his inscriptions refer to them as his own.

Very probably on account of the growing weakness of the Cōla central government from the beginning of the thirteenth century the hereditary feudatories in the empire began to defy the imperial authority and create conditions for the invasion of the territory by outside powers. Even during the last days of Kulōttunga III, the Kāḍavarāyas and the Bāṇas had begun to show signs of restiveness to combat which some eleven chiefs found it necessary in 1205 to form a confederacy among themselves under the leadership of Cēdirāyan. They decided to refrain from having any communication with Magadai nāḍālvān alias Vāṇa Kōvaraiyan and Kulōttunga Cōla Vāṇakōvaraiyan either by sending men of letters to them. They further decided that if the two Vāṇa Kōvaraiyans and Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan should do anything, the other chiefs, (i.e.) those on the side of the Cēdirāyan would march with an army and horses against them and declared that if they did not act in the said manner they would bear the sandals of Vāṇakōvaraiyar.³¹ Very probably the relations between the Cōlas and the Bāṇas became strained from about the beginning of the thirteenth century apparently on account of their association with the Kāḍavarāyas whose attitude towards their overlords had become inimical. An undated verse inscription records the conquest

29. 9, 11, 16 and 26 of 1903; also 24a of 1903; S.I.I. VIII. No. 295.

30. Eṇmēn migumparittēr magadēśa nikaḷviśaiyap
peṇmēl virumbivem pōrseyda nāṭpin koḍāvaḍugar
vinmēṇaḍandu vāḍugeṇru nāṇean vilakkunḍapin
maṇmēṇaḍantatu teṣimūṇṇāga vāḍugonṇumē]

See Q.J.M.S., XXIX pp. 416-430 for an article on Ponparppinān Magadaip Perumāl.

31. 516 of 1902; S.I.I. VIII, No. 106.

of the Kāḍava, Māgadha and Ganga by one Viḍugāḍaḷagiya Perumāḷ.³² The Magadha mentioned in the inscription was obviously the Magadai territory.

During the closing years of the reign of Kulōttunga III Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-38) in order to take vengeance on the Cōḷa emperor for his excesses in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the reign of his predecessor Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara conquered the Cōḷa country, set fire to the Cōḷa cities of Uraiṇūr and Tañjāvūr, pulled down a number of buildings, performed his *virābhīṣekam* in the Cōḷa *abhīṣekamaṇḍapa* at Āyirattali and after worshipping Lord Poṇṇambalanātha at Tillai (Cidambaram) was staying at Pon Amarāvati. According to the Pāṇḍyan inscription which contains the above details Rājarāja III (the successor of Kulōttunga III) who had been deprived of his kingdom appealed to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya to restore his kingdom to him, as a result of which it was restored to him.³³ The Bāṇa ruler was a close associate of the Pāṇḍyan king and an enemy of the Cōḷa emperor. Hence Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I is said to have offered the Cōḷa crown first to the Bāṇa chieftain and later to have performed his own anointment at Āyirattali.³⁴ The Bāṇas even claimed credit for this Pāṇḍyan success against the Cōḷa emperor in 1216-17.³⁵ Some of the Hoysala inscriptions tell a different tale with regard to the restoration of Rājarāja III to the Cōḷa empire. According to one of them the Hoysala king Narasimha II who had just then succeeded to the throne after the retirement of Ballāḷa II invaded the Cōḷa country, destroyed the Magararājya, dispersed the Kāḍavas, served as a lion to the elephant of the Pāṇḍyas and restored the Cōḷas to power.³⁶ Another Hoysala inscription of A.D. 1218 which records the achievements of Narasimha II in the Tamil country mentions him as *Kāñcīkānana, Kāḍavarāya kulāntaka, Magara rājya nirmūlana, Cōḷa rājya*

32. 552 of 1906.

33. 49 of 1890; 140 of 1894; 362 of 1906; 99 of 1926; *Rep.* para. 32; 322 of 1928; *Rep.* para 18.

34. *EL.*, XXII, p. 42; 47 of 1937-38; *Rep.* para 44; also *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 161.

35. *āḷandarukāḍal vaittarasu śeluttiya ſengolarasēllām vēḷantarukōḍai vā nādivākaraṇ viḍi muraḷi ſeyvadu meykandir ilamḍiraiyidu mānakkappadiyaḍumin tenṇar idirāgu ſōḷaṇ tiraiyidum yāṇaikkungaḷaiidu meṇṇirum idu sonṇōmē* (507 of 1902; *SIL.*, VIII, No. 97).

36. *EC.*, IV, Ng. 29.

*pratiṣṭhācārya, Pāṇḍya rājya kolāhala etc.*³⁷ A still another epigraph dated two years later mentions that overthrowing formidable enemies in the east he captured the hundred elephants with which the Magara came against him and brought them with his horses.³⁸ Thus the Hoysala inscriptions would seem to give a different account of the manner in which Rājarāja III was restored to his kingdom. However that may be, it appears certain that the Bāṇas were in full sympathy with the Pāṇḍyas and actually co-operated with them during this trying period in the history of the Cōḷas, and so were tried to be destroyed as a political power in South India. The partial destruction of the Bāṇa (Magara) kingdom by Hoysala Narasimha II was not however an end in itself but only the necessary preliminary to the restoration of Rājarāja III.

But shortly after their discomfiture the Magaras appear to have defied the higher authorities once again, which called for the second invasion of their kingdom by the Hoysalas. A record of 1223 says that king Narasimha while marching upon Magara stopped at Cūḍavāditya Koppa and held a festival adding to his necklace an emerald which came from Munivarāditya.³⁹ As a result of this successful expedition to the east he is said to have been in "the enjoyment of a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels and articles never before acquired".⁴⁰ Consequent on this invasion the Magara rājya appears to have been made a part of the Hoysala kingdom, and one Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka was appointed its governor. The new governor is said to have been ruling over the Magara Three Hundred in peace and wisdom and made the grant of a village "having gained the favour of Narasimha".⁴¹ But the Magararājya appears to have regained its former position shortly after, if the evidence of an inscription of 1228 may be believed, for it says that the Nangili ghat (leading into the North Arcot district) was the eastern boundary of the Hoysala kingdom. Having thus regained their position, the Bāṇas actively co-operated with the Kāḍavarāya chieftain in his anti-imperial policy. The Kāḍava chief subdued the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III at Tellāru, deprived him of all royal insignia, imprisoned him, his queen and his ministers and took the Cōḷa country.⁴² Though Rājarāja

37. *Ibid.*, IX, Kn. 87.

38. *Ibid.*, VII, Cl. 72.

39. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 203.

40. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 197.

41. *Ibid.*, XII, Ck. 42.

42. *EL.*, XXII, pp. 22 ff.

appears to have been released for sometime, he suffered a reverse again and was imprisoned for a second time. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja III and the historical romance, the *Gadya karnāmrta* of Kalakalābha or Sakalavidyā Cakravartī give an account of the events that led to the successful intervention of Hoysala Narasimha II in 1231-32, in the Cōla politics and his restoration of Rājarāja III. According to the two accounts which are complimentary to one another, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍyan ruler, Rājarāja III abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Kuntala king (Narasimha II), with all his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāḍava chieftain with the help of a vangaurd of forest troops and the Sinhalese forces who took him captive after a fight, and imprisoned him in his capital Śēdamangalam (Jayantamangalam). News of the imprisonment of the Cōla emperor and the destruction of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples by the Kāḍavarāya reached the ears of Narasimha II. The Hoysala king declared that his trumpet shall not be blown unless and until he maintained his reputation of having been the establisher of the Cōla country and started towards the east from his capital Dvārasamudra. Marching by way of the Gujahlatti pass he uprooted the Bāṇa kingdom, seized the Bāṇa ruler, his women and treasures, and halting at Pāccūr he ordered the destruction of the country of Kōpperuñjīga and the liberation of the Cōla emperor.⁴³ The order was carried out and the Cōla emperor was restored to his empire. The Hoysala attack on the Bāṇa territory must have been due to the Bāṇa chieftain's alliance with the Kāḍava chieftain, and rebellion against Rājarāja III. Narasimha's destruction of the Magara kingdom for a third time, is further described in a Hoysala inscription of A.D. 1230 which says: "first he (Narasimha) went to the east and being surrounded uprooted the Magara king, set up the Cōla king who sought refuge with him and having seen the God Allālanātha stationed there a body of Bheruṇḍas (the name of a regiment?) to uproot the evil, returned and entering the capital was at peace. Then the body of Bheruṇḍas according to his order remained for sometime in Kāñcīpura".⁴⁴ But it is not known for how long the Hoysalas maintained control over the Bāṇa territory. Probably it regained its independence shortly after and hence Hoysala Vīra Somēśvara had to reconquer it shortly after his accession to the

43. *EI.*, VII, p. 161; *Sri Venkatesvara Journal*, VI, pp. 677-8; also *EC.*, XII, Gb. 45.

44. *EC.*, V, Cn. 211a.

throne. Referring to this achievement of the Hoysala king an inscription says: "Bounded in the east by Kāñcī, west by the shining Vēlāvura, north by the Peddore (River Kṛṣṇā), south by the beautiful Bayalnāḍ, within these limits the whole land did he bring under his control".

The Bāṇas feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas

With the decline of the Cōla power and the revival of the Pāṇḍyan power in South India the Bāṇas changed their masters, accepted the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas, held offices under them and bore their titles and names. A number of inscriptions of the Bāṇas belonging to the fourteenth century are found in the Pudukkottai, and Madhurai areas. The Tēkkāṭṭūr manuscript mentions that four Bāṇa chieftains, namely Vāṇādirāyan, Dharmarāyan, Kalingarāyan and Villuvarāyan, had settled in Kōṇāḍu in the Pudukkottai region. The Vāṇādirāyan chieftain is said to have been living at Vāṇadākkōṭṭai (Vāṇādirāyankōṭṭai), and employed Kaḷḷar chieftains in his wars against the Veḷḷaḷas of the Kōṇāḍu.⁴⁵ The subordination of the Bāṇas to the Pāṇḍyas is borne out by the names Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādirāyar and Vīra Pāṇḍya Vāṇādirāyar taken by some of them.⁴⁶ An inscription of the time of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya mentions an endowment of land made by a Vāṇādarāyar who bore such *biruḍas* as *Araṣu Buddhan* and *Sāmantan*.⁴⁷ During the days of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya a Māvali Vāṇādarāya is said to have attacked Maravanmadhurai in 1274, took prisons and lead away the livestock from the place, when his officers were defeated by one Tirukkoṇḍungunra Nāḍālvān who was probably a local chieftain.⁴⁸ During the same period there was another Māvali Vāṇādirāya, also called Piḷḷai Kulaśēkhara. He may be identified with the Vāṇādirāya described as a *Komurruvar* or the king's representative in an inscription at Kudumiyāmalai and with Piḷḷai Mahābali Vāṇarāyar who was the governor of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara in the Kōṇāḍu.⁴⁹

Bāṇas in Madhurai

Much information is not available about the Bāṇas in the Madhurai region in the fourteenth century when it was under the

45. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 728.

46. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, Nos. 624 and 467.

47. *Ibid.*, No. 492.

48. *Ibid.*, No. 380.

49. *Ibid.*, No. 375; also K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *op. cit.*, J. 11

Madhurai Sultanate. The Vijayanagar prince Kumāra Kampana conquered Madhurai from the Muslims and the whole of South India came under the Vijayanagar rule. He was the first governor of the Madhurai area, and on his death his place was taken by his son Jammaṇa. Thus "the establishment of the power of Vijayanagar in Madura proved to be the beginning of the end of Pāṇḍyan rule in the city, where, except for relatively short intervals the Pāṇḍyas had held sway from the earliest times to the fourteenth century".⁵⁰ According to the *Maduraittalavaralāru* and the *Madurai sthānīkar varalāru* the Madhurai country was under the rule of two persons Lakkaṇṇa and Maḍaṇṇa for a period of forty eight years between Ś. 1327 and Ś. 1375 (A.D. 1405 and 1453). This is confirmed by a few inscriptions which mention the Vijayanagar Emperor Dēva Rāya II's minister as 'Lakkaṇṇa (Lakshmaṇa) Daṇḍanāyaka with the title of Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati indicative of his position as the governor of the southern region.⁵¹ His brother Mādaṇṇa is also credited with the same title.⁵²

According to some apocryphal tales relating to Madhurai during this period Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka brought out of retirement the children of a Pāṇḍyan king by his concubine, one Abhirāmi, a dancing girl at Kālaiyār kōyil. While the *Maduraittalavaralāru* says that they were four the *Maduraisthānīkar varalāru* says that they were six. The former of the two contains their names, namely Mahābali Vāṇādirāyar also referred to as Śundarttōḷ Mahāvilvinādarāyar and son of Mahābali Vāna Kāliyar Sōmanār Aṇjātaperumāl and Muttaraśar Tirumalai Vāṇādarāyar.⁵³ Their names clearly show that they were of the Bāṇa stock. Though the chronicles contain a confused explanation of the rise of the old Bāṇarāya chieftains during this period it is certain that dynastically they had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍyas of Madhurai. Throughout the fourteenth century their political influence in the country was very negligible. But the circumstances under which they were placed in charge of the administration of the Madhurai country in the second half of the fifteenth century are left largely to our guess. With the conquest and occupation of the Madhurai area by Kumāra Kampana, the Pāṇḍyas retired to the Tirunelvēli region

50. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 247.

51. 567 of 1904; 128 of 1901; *SII.*, VII. 318.

52. 141 of 1903.

53. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 375.

and began to rule over a restricted area with Tenkasi as their capital. Among such rulers of the fifteenth century was one Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1422-'63). Some of his inscriptions mention that he secured successes against the kings of Jaffna and Ceylon in a number of battles, such as those at Śingai, the capital of Jaffna, Anurai, the capital of Ceylon, Irāśai, Śeṇbai, Vindai, Mudalai, Virai and Vaippāru.⁵⁴ A Vijayanagar inscription of 1435 says that Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka fitted out a cavalry force for the destruction of Iyālpāṇam, Napatamanam (Napattanam) and Īlam, and for the success of the same an endowment was made as *samudrāyātrādāna*.⁵⁵ Probably on account of his success in the expedition he assumed the title of *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* in 1438⁵⁶ and Dēva Rāya II took the title of *Īlam tirai koṇḍa* (one who took tribute from Ceylon).⁵⁷ Very probably Arikēśari Parākrama co-operated with Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka in his conquest of a part of Ceylon, and hence both claimed success in the same period. In recognition of his loyal co-operation with the imperial house Arikēśari Parākrama might have been restored to his old Madhurai country. Becoming overconfident of his new position the Pāṇḍyan ruler appears to have not only issued coins in his own name, but also attempted to regain the independence of the Pāṇḍyas, taking advantage of the difficulties of the Vijayanagar Empire.⁵⁸ Hence the imperial general Narasā Nāyaka was sent south to restore order in the area. According to the Kṛṣṇāpuram plates of Sadāśiva Rāya Narasā Nāyaka brought under his control one Mānabhūṣaṇa, the ruler of Madhurai.⁵⁹ He has been identified with Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya who is known to have borne titles like *Mānabhūṣaṇa*, *Mānābharaṇa*, and *Māna Kavaca*. The *Varadāmbikā-pariṇayam* of Tirumalāmbā says that after taking the Coḷa country Narasā Nāyaka entered Madhurai and was presented by its ruler with valuable articles.⁶⁰ The *Acyutarāyābhūdayam* of Varadāmbā mentions that Narasā Nāyaka defeated and killed the Marava rulers in battle and captured the city.⁶¹ But the evidence of the last mentioned work has to be discredited in the light of

54. *Travancore Archaeological series* I, pp. 52, 89, and 93. *III.* p. 958; 4 of 1922.

55. *SII.*, VII, 778.

56. 144 of 1903.

57. 144 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1904, para 23.

58. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

59. *EI.*, IX. p. 330. *T.A.S.* I, pp. 52-53.

60. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 171.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

the evidence of the first two regarding the ruler of Madhurai. However, it appears certain that Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya was removed once again to distant Tenkāśi, and the Māvali Vāṇādirāyars were placed in charge of the administration of Madhurai. These were probably the circumstances under which the Vāṇādirāyars regained political power in the area. All these must have happened about 1453 for according to an inscription of that year one Uranga Villidāsan Mahābalivāṇan was then in the possession of Madhurai.⁶²

From some of the inscriptions of the Bāṇa chieftains of the far south in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we come to know something about them. A record at Śrīvilliputtūr dated in Saumya of which the Śaka equivalent contains only the last two digits '50' standing for 1350 says that during the days of the Vijayanagar king "who witnessed the elephant hunt" (obviously Dēvarāya II) a chief called Tirumāliṇṇōlai ninṇrāṇ alias Mahābali Vāṇādarāyar made some gift of lands to the temple of Śuḍikoḷuttarūḷiya Nācciyār.⁶³ According to the Tamil chronicle *Maduraiyāṭṭal Varalār*⁶⁴ there was in Ś 1374 (A.D. 1452) a Sundarattōḷ Māvalivāṇādarāyar said to have been an illegitimate son of a Pāṇḍya prince and a dancing girl of Kaḷaiyār kōyil. In two inscriptions, one of Ś. 1375 and another of Ś. 1386 is mentioned a Bāṇa chieftain called Urangavillidāsan alias Māvali Vāṇādarāyaṇ who was the chief of Maduraimaṇḍalam.⁶⁵ He was apparently the same as Tirumāliṇṇōlaininṇrār alias Māvali Vāṇādarāyar mentioned in an inscription of Ś. 1399.⁶⁶ He was probably known also as Sundarattōḷudaiya Māvalivāṇādarāyar who was the son of one Ranga Nāyakiyār.

During the days of the Vijayanagar rulers Mallikārjuna Rāya and Virūpākṣa Rāya (1447-1485) the imperial government's hold over the distant provinces of the Empire was weak. The period witnessed internal rebellion and external aggression. Taking advantage of the political condition of the Empire the Bāṇas marched north upto Kāñcīpuram, in 1469 and occupied the city itself. An inscription in the Ekāmranātha temple at the place

dated Ś. 1391 (A.D. 1469) of a ruler who is mentioned by his *biruḍas*, *Bhuvanaikavīra* and *Samarakōlāhala* records the grant of two villages named Samarakōlāhalanallūr and Bhuvanaikavīranallūr in the Pāṇḍyan country to the temple of Ekāmranātha and Kāmākṣi at Kāñcīpuram.⁶⁷ It was suggested that the ruler who bore the above titles was a Pāṇḍyan king⁶⁸ and argued that "many coins of his containing the legends of *Samarakōlāhalaṇ* and *Bhuvanaikavīraṇ* on the reverse and the figure of a *garuḍa* kneeling on a fish (the Pāṇḍyan emblem) show that he must have attempted to regain a little of the ancient glory that belonged to his royal house."⁶⁹ But it is obvious that the terms *Samarakōlāhalaṇ* and *Bhuvanaikavīraṇ* are only titles and not names of persons. According to the same inscription the chieftain had two more titles, namely *Vēḍiyar kāvalaṇ* and *Vīra kañcukan*.⁷⁰ It is of interest to note that an inscription at Nekkonam in the Pudukkottai area dated 1483 refers to a Vīra pratāpa Sundarattōḷudaiyāṇ Mahābali Vāṇādirāya with all the above four titles.⁷¹ Therefore the inference is irresistible that the chieftain mentioned in the Kāñcīpuram record was the same as the one mentioned in the Nekkonam inscription. If the identification is correct, it naturally follows that the person who occupied Kāñcīpuram in 1469 was the Bāṇa chieftain Vīra Pratāpa Sundarattōḷudaiyāṇ Mahābali Vāṇādirāyan. Though the emblem of the early Bāṇas was the black buck, that of the later Bāṇas of Madhurai appears to have been the *Garuḍa* as may be inferred from the title *Garuḍa kētaṇ*, taken by the Bāṇa chieftain according to the Nekkonam record. Some Bāṇa coins contain the figure of *garuḍa* kneeling on a fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. Such a type of coins was probably issued by the Bāṇas to commemorate their success over the Pāṇḍyas in battle and in power. But the Bāṇas were not in the possession of Kāñcīpuram for long, because the imperial hold over the place was restored within a few years as may be inferred from the provenance of imperial records at the place dated 1471, and 1472.⁷²

In some inscriptions bearing dates ranging between Ś. 1450 and Ś. 1468 is mentioned a Sundarattōḷudaiyār Māvali Vāṇāda-

62. 577 of 1926.

63. 572 of 1926.

64. P. 3.

65. 577 of 1926; 307 of 1930.

66. 578 of 1926.

67. 25 of 1890; *SII.*, IV, No. 348.

68. *MER.*, 1907, para 57; *Mysore Gazetteer*, New Edn. Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 1604-05.

69. *MER.*, 1890 para 2.

70. 25 of 1890; *SII.*, IV, No. 348.

71. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 672.

72. 39 of 1890; *SII.*, IV, No. 362; 9 of 1911; 613 of 1919 etc.

rāyar who ruled over the Madhurai country.⁷³ Probably he was the second of that name in the dynasty, for the Sundarattōḷudaiyār mentioned earlier cannot be expected to have ruled for such a length of time.⁷⁴ He styled himself a *sārvabhauma* probably on account of his almost independent position.

The assumption of the titles Sundarattōḷudaiyāṇ and Tirumā-liruṇjōlai Niṇṇāṇ by the above Bāṇa chiefs was obviously due to the fact that the God at Tirumāliruṇjōlai (Aḷagarkōyil, Madhurai district) who is referred to in Tamil literature as Sundarattōḷudaiyāṇ was their tutelary deity. It appears that they had their capital itself at Aḷagarkōyil. From the numerous grants and additions they made to the temple at Srivilliputtūr and Aḷagarkōyil, and the *garuḍa* banner which they had, it may be taken that they were the followers of Vaiṣṇavism.

But with the reorganisation of the Madhurai country under the Nāyak dynasty, the Bāṇas faded into insignificance, and became the vassals of the Nāyak rulers on a military tenure. Probably they held some minor position in the *pālaiyam* organisation introduced by Viśvanātha Nāyaka in Madhurai. But during the days of Virappa Nāyaka (1572-95) the peace of the country is said to have been disturbed by the rebellion of a Māvali Vāṇadarāya. According to the chronicles a Māvali chief fortified Mānāmadhurai and Kāḷaiyārkōyil and the neighbouring country, but Virappa Nāyaka subdued him and confiscated his *pālaiyams*.⁷⁵

It is needless to follow further the fortunes of this ancient line of chieftains, who, having lost their political power and influence, merged with the populace and became but a name. There are however references to them in some literary works. In the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vaidyanātha a standard work of the fourteenth century on Sanskrit composition reference is made to the Bāṇas as one of many powers. The work says: "The troops of the king of Andhra triumph over his enemies exclaiming 'Gurjara, thou art mocked in the fight. Lampaka why dost thou tremble? Vanga, why dost thou flee away? Konkana, why art thou blinded for nothing by the dust raised by the troops? Bāṇa, save thyself. Mahārashtra! Thou hast lost thy dominions. We are the

73. 109, 121 of 1903; 585, 587 of 1902; 568, 583 and 584 of 1906.

74. *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, p. 53.

75. *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 91; R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 79, *MER.*, 1910, para 33.

warriors."⁷⁶ The Tamil poetic work, the *Taṇjaivāṇan Kōvai* of Poyyāmoliḷupulavar has for its hero one Taṇjaivāṇan (Vāṇan of Taṇjai). He is described as one who was victorious in the battles of Vallam and Mallai, one who made all those that did not serve the Pāṇḍya turn their backs in the battle field and the one who took the land of the Kannāḍar. It has been suggested that the Taṇjaivāṇan referred to above ruled in a place called Poṭṭai Taṇjai near Madhurai. It is obvious that he was a Bāṇa chieftain and flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century and took part in the battle of Vallamprākāra.⁷⁷

76. See I. v. 29. quoted in *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 13.

77. See the *Taṇjaivāṇan kōvai* edited by Poyyāmoliyār, published by the Saiva Paripalana Sabha, Jaffna; *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, p. 5; *Śen Tamil.* IV, p. 506.

Is Punaura the Birth-Place of Sita ? *

BY

PROFESSOR K. K. MISHRA, M.A.,
C. M. College, Darbhanga

There¹ had been a long-standing controversy regarding Sita's original birth-place. A section of scholars believe the present Janakpurdham² (in the Nepal State via Darbhanga-Jaynagar section of O.T. Rly.) as her birth-place. Another group of scholars contends that Sitamarhi³ happens to be her place of real origin from earth. A third section thinks Punaura⁴ to be her birth-place. But evidences forthcoming have established that Janakpurdham has nothing to do with this controversy. It was Sita's paternal abode, or the seat of the philosopher-king Janak.

Only one point of conflict remains among scholars — whether Punaura or Sitamarhi proper should be taken as her birth-place. Let us examine the facts.⁵

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1. The author is indebted to the following for collecting materials for the above paper : Dr. Ramashis Thakur, M.L.A., Vaidyaraj Kali Prasad Mishra, Jyotishacharya, Pt. Sri Modnatha Mishra—all of Sitamarhi (Dist. Muzaffarpur) and also to Sri Jagannatha Thakur of V. Tulsiahi, P.O. Madhwarpur, Dist. Darbhanga.

2. It is interesting that in the absence of any Nepal State Railway some 20 years back people used to go to Janakpurdham from Janakpur Road station on Darbhanga-Narkatiaganj section of O. T. Ry.

3. Sitamarhi is most probably the conversational derivation from the word 'Sita-mahi', or the land of Sita.

4. An interior village about 4 miles west of Sitamarhi town.

5. (i) Geographical reference of Sita's birth in Mithila-Mahatmya of about 10 *kosas* is corroborated with the fact that Janakpurdham is only 24 miles from Sitamarhi, and the older measurement of *kosa* was somewhat a bit bigger than present one. (ii) the abundance and fertility of land nearby her birth-place is found even today near and in Sitamarhi (see above for fuller discussion about Sita's birth in the world). (iii) Current tradition says that Maharaj Janak performed Yajna in the forest of Punya-muni (and so Punyaranya), a place corresponding to modern villages of Puanura. (iv) the river Lakhadei' (variation of *Lakshmana-nadi* of *Mithila-Mahatmya*) nearby confirms her birthplace near or in Sitamarhi.

The advocates of the school of Punaura advance many theories in their support. Firstly, they contend that the origin of Sita was necessitated by a famine in the kingdom of king Janak when the latter visited the *ashram* of *rishi* Pundarik,⁶ who advised him to undertake the plough himself near his *ashram*, so that the famine may be averted. In Punaura, near the temple of Sita at present, there is the plough-tilled *kunda* (tank) which is said to be the field wherein came out of the earth through the *śita* of plough. After her birth, it is observed, the earth again became fertile. These scholars further argue that the place where Janak performed the sacrifice before handling the plough is still present, and it is fenced along with the *Yajnapīthikā* or *Yajnamandapbhūmi*, which can be still seen near the temple of Sita. Secondly, the tradition says, the scholars claim, that the present Sitamarhi was the camp of the followers, retainers and the army of King Janak, who had come along with the latter. Therefore, they assert that the original *Yajnbhūmi* or the tilled field was at Punaura. The inhabitants of Sitamarhi town, they continue the argument, due to jealousy and to give importance to the town have minimised the value of Punaura. They substantiate their theory with the fact that as one approaches Punaura even today, one finds himself still entering a dense forest-like region—a fit place for the ancient *rishis*. Thirdly, this school also claim that the image of Sita in Sitamarhi is of later origin, and even if it is the oldest one, they say, it may be that the influential persons from town in the past might have carried away the image from Punaura temple. They rightly question why Punaura's importance is not lessened to-day and why every pilgrim or outsider is eager to have a *darshan* of Sita in Punaura also, if he happens to be in Sitamarhi. It is a fact, as far as I have come to know, that the visitors are more convinced of Sita's origin in Punaura rather than in Sitamarhi, because of the surroundings.

The second school supports Sitamarhi on the basis of the following facts: (a) The *Mithila-Mahatmya*⁷ and *Sitopanishad*⁸ clearly state that Sita was found where the present *Urvija-Kunda* in Sitamarhi town is seen. (b) The tradition of the place contends that the present town was nothing but a forest, and Janak per-

6. Silver Jubilee Volume of Shri Sanatan Dharma Pustakalaya, Sitamarhi 2006 Vikrama—article by Shri Upendra Misra, p. 40.

7. Supra fn. 18.

8. Supra, Silver Jubilee, p. 39 also in Brihat-Vishnu-Purana.

formed sacrifice near the present temple of Sita in Sitamarhi, (c) the scholars⁹ believe that the image of the above temple is the oldest¹⁰ one, and a definite proof that it was taken out of *Urvija-Kunda* and from nowhere else is, the person of the present Mahanth of Sitamarhi.¹¹ The other subsidiary facts for the support of this school are: (1) the evidence of Baba Man Dasji (quoted by Pt. Upendra Misra) that Sita came out of *Urvija-Kunda*¹² (2) the historic places as Dekuli (Divine Canal) or Devakuli (earth filled up with gods' divine power) (a place 12 miles west of Sitamarhi) and Simraungarh (30 miles N.-W. of Sitamarhi) (the ancient capital of king Harsinghdeva), Gautamkunda and Ahilyasthan (25 miles from Sitamarhi) — all these testify King Janak's association with Sitamarhi. (3) the names of many villages — e.g. Riga (the seat of Rigveda), Athari (seat of Atharveda), Sampur (the seat of Samveda) etc., show that the *yajnasthalī* was Sitamarhi.¹³

Upon an examination of both the schools of thought, we find that it may be that king Janak's area of ploughing may have extended up to Punaura, and the latter place might have found an importance with the other school of scholars, as the place is away from the present densely populated Sitamarhi town in a village surrounding (an excuse to prove historical facts in an obscure surrounding). To the arguments of Punaura school of scholars, that the image in Sitamarhi is not the original one, the documentary evidence with Mahanthji and also the following *śloka* is enough:

Dhanyā Sītāmāhī yatra
Jaganmangalakārini |
Jātā Sītā Parāśaktih
Rāmarājyapravartini ||

9. Pt. Sri Janardan Jha, Headmaster, S. L. H. E. School, Sitamarhi mentioned in his report of Sitamarhi session of All-India Maithil Mahasabha from the chair of Secretary, Reception Committee.

10. This image of Sita is a peculiar one. It is of black marble and nowhere as such is found.

11. Mahanth Sri Raghunatha Das has in his possession written records that to someone of his forefathers, Sita gave *darshan* one night in the *Urvija-Kunda* that she was in the kunda and she should be worshipped. The same image is in the present Sitamarhi temple. See 'Vaidehi' (Maithili Fortnightly), Darbhanga, Vol. I. Pt. xiii, p. 1, for the picture of *kunda*.

12. Supra, Silver Jubilee, p. 40.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

And to their further argument, it may be said that the whole of Sitamarhi subdivision is a forest-like region, being on the border of Nepal Terai.

Thus, unless any substantial archæological evidence for Punaura is forthcoming, Sitamarhi alone should be considered as the original birth-place of Sita.

Clive's Dispute with Mr. George Gray Regarding the Confinement of Ramnaut Dass

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
University of Lucknow.

The confinement of Ramnaut Dass, an employee of Mr. George Gray of the Council at Fort William, was one of those controversial actions of Clive which throw an interesting side-light on the manner in which he asserted his position as Governor of Fort William. The matter gave rise to a very bitter controversy on the question as to whether Clive intended to set up a Military Government in the settlement by arrogating to himself the right "to seize with Military Guards the civil inhabitants" and "to place Military Guards upon their houses, persons and properties."¹ The affair of Ramnaut is therefore of considerable interest as an illustration of the early phase of Clive's second Governorship.

The ostensible plea for the detention of Ramnaut was "the numberless complaints" which Clive had recently received "of extortion and oppression committed"² by this man at Maldah. In the course of his several minutes Mr. Gray urged³:

1. No person residing within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts could be lawfully confined⁴ by Military Guards longer than was actually necessary to deliver him up to the civil magistrates.
2. The Governor had no right "in time of profound peace" to place Military Guards over the house of any inhabitant.
3. The purpose of the confinement was to procure accusations against him (Mr. Gray) and degrade him in the eyes of the servants of the Company.
4. The confinement betrayed a desire on the part of the Governor to establish a Military Government in the Presidency.

1. Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 14, 1765.
2. Proceedings of the Bench of the Justices of the Peace, Oct. 18, 1765.
3. Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 14, and 18, 1765.
4. Proceedings of the Court of Quarter Sessions, June 3, 1762.

5. The highhanded proceedings against Ramnaut amounted to an encroachment on "the rights and privileges of the subjects" of the entire settlement.

The arguments which Clive put forward in defence of the action he had taken against Ramnaut were sufficiently elaborate and may be thus summed up:—

1. It was his duty, as Governor, to enquire into the numerous charges which had been communicated to him against Mr. Gray.⁵

2. The seizure of Mr. Gray's servant was necessitated by the fact that he was accused of "heinous crimes and misdemeanours."⁶

3. Ramnaut was confined to his own house by a guard "upon intelligence that he was going to fly the country."⁷ "The respect I have for the laws of my country", Clive contended, "will always prevent my exercising a military force to apprehend any British subject, unless in cases of a very heinous nature, and when the offender might otherwise escape from the justice of a civil power, to whom he must of course be given up."

4. Ramnaut and Mooteram, over whom military guards had been placed, could not, being natives of India, claim the privileges of British subjects. "Were we to consider them as British subjects," he argued, "our political government would be at an end."

5. Ramnaut was "an inhabitant of Maldah, two hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta" and his house and family were there and he was "a sojourner at this settlement, an agent for the business of extortion in which Messrs. Gray and Leycester seem vexed to find him detected". As such too, he could not claim the privileges of a resident of the British settlement.

6. The Governor having⁸ "a commission, as a commander-in-chief of the forces" had "power in himself to exercise a military authority in support of the civil" and the Government of the settlement, though purely civil, had the right to obtain the assistance of the military in securing dangerous offenders. Clive urged that as the Governor must always have the earliest intelligence of

5. Beng. Pub. Cons. Sept. 25, 1765. *vide* Mr. Gray's minute.

6. Beng. Pub. Cons. Sept. 30, 1765.

7. Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 28, 1765.

8. *Vide* the Company's commission, May 31, 1764, appointing Clive as Governor of Fort William. (Letter from Court, serial No. 7, 1764-7, p. 33).

matters relating to his Government and of importance to the public interest, he must be invested with the power of providing instantly for the security of the state in all emergencies. To assert from the case of Ramnaut that he was attempting to establish a military government and subvert the laws of his country was therefore "unjust and absurd to the highest degree".

7. Clive also maintained that his action was not unprecedented. He pointed out that there were "no less than two-and-thirty precedents of black men, some of whom were counsellors banyans, being confined for months together under military guards" by order of his predecessors within the last fourteen years and that most of these precedents related actually to inhabitants of Calcutta, whereas the case in question did not.

The principal issue involved in this controversy was the question as to whether the Governor really intended to set up a military power in opposition to the civil administration of the settlement. Messrs. Gray and Leycester stoutly maintained in their respective minutes that they had grounds for suspecting that a military government very inconsistent with the existing civil jurisdiction was going to be instituted and they demanded that the assertion of a military power over a British Colony must be resisted at all costs. But, they could not substantiate their charge against Clive and so the latter could retort with a show of reason that their accusation was wholly "romantic" and "absurd."⁹ A study of their minutes and statements leaves no doubt about the fact that their attitude was coloured by their personal resentment at the official enquiries into their corrupt practices. Their appeal to the laws of Britain was a skillful pose adopted for the purposes of discrediting Clive's government in general, and his measures against their oppressive agents¹⁰ in particular.

The punishment which the Council inflicted¹¹ on Mr. Leycester, an avowed supporter of Mr. Gray, on the ground that he was "the propagator of the injurious report spread through the settlement that a military power was going to be set up" was, however, meted out in much too dictatorial a fashion. Clive personally charged Mr. Leycester with being the author of the report in question, and he was supported by General Carnac and Mr. Verelst. Mr. Leycester himself was asked to withdraw from the meeting and was not

9. Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1765.

10. Trans. P. L. R., 1765-1800, No. 1.

11. Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 28, 1765.

allowed to participate in the voting. By a narrow majority of three to two, the Council passed a resolution to the effect that Mr. Leycester, in publicly circulating the said report, was guilty of unfaithfulness to the duty of the service and being thus unworthy of any position in the Company's service was to be suspended forthwith, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known.

Clive and his two supporters voted for the resolution, and Messrs. Gray and Sumner opposed it. The suspension of Mr. Leycester was evidently intended by Clive to crush all opposition in and outside the Council. It, however, exposed Clive to the criticism¹² that the resolution was passed with an indecent haste, and that the offence of Mr. Leycester did not merit so severe a punishment as suspension from the service. Actually, Clive later admitted that Mr. Leycester's report was based on "an expression hastily dropt by General Carnac at the board".¹³ Besides, there was no evidence to show that Mr. Leycester had actually broadcast the report all over the settlement. He himself emphatically asserted, "So far was I from industrially propagating reports to alarm the settlement, that I only recollect having mentioned my apprehensions and sentiments of what had passed to one gentleman."¹⁴ On an examination of the whole proceedings it is apparent that Clive did take an advantage of an accidental majority in the Council in his fight against his opponents and punished one of the obnoxious councillors without allowing him even the privilege of a hearing.¹⁵ Furthermore, when the accuser was not allowed to vote, Clive and Carnac, being the parties concerned, were also not justified in taking part in the voting. Mr. Leycester had thus reason to complain that he had been removed "by a majority of only three to two, and that two of those three were sitting in judgment on their accuser".¹⁶

The prolonged detention of Ramnaut too was not clearly justified by the circumstances of the case. That he was kept under military guards for months without the opportunity of being allowed to make his defence was extremely unusual. Even assuming that he was "a notorious villain"¹⁷ guilty of gross malpractices at Maldah,

12. Beng. Pub. Cons. Nov. 4, 1765.

13. Letter to Court, Jan. 31, 1766.

14. Beng. Pub. Cons. Dec. 5, 1765.

15. Beng. Pub. Cons. Dec. 5, 1765.

16. Address from Mr. Ralph Leycester, Dec. 2, 1765.

17. Beng. Pub. Cons. Dec. 30, 1765.

he should have been immediately¹⁸ handed over to the officers of the Nizamat for trial and punishment. The absolute refusal to admit the man to bail by the Councillors in their capacity as civil magistrates and their failure to take any action on the charge¹⁹ levelled by Ramnaut against the guards that the latter had looted his money and jewels made the case against him all the more irregular. The subsequent disclosure that Mr. Verelst had private²⁰ claims of his own on Ramnaut lent added weight to the allegation²¹ that his persecution arose more from ulterior motives than from a strict regard for justice. After all, Ramnaut was not the only, or even the principal villain among the gumashtahs. But for his connection with an obnoxious councillor, he too like many other oppressive gumashtahs would have escaped the notice of the Governor.

The affair of Ramnaut cannot be dismissed as an isolated instance of either judicial irregularity or executive tyranny. It was an essential link in the chain of circumstances which prepared the ground for the establishment of Clive's absolute control over his own Council.

18. He was actually handed over to the Nawab's Officers sometime after Clive's departure, *vide* Beng. Sel. Com. April 18, 1767.

19. Proceedings of the Bench of the Justices of the Peace, Oct. 18, 1765. *Vide* the deposition of Mr. Francis, Peacock.

20. Verelst's view, p. 32.

21. Bolts: Considerations, II, pp. 173-7 Beng. Pub. Cons. Nov. 5, 1767.

Obituary

It is with profound sorrow that we record here the sad demise of Diwan Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, the well-known historian and educationist on 29-8-51 after a brief illness at the age of 61. He was connected with this journal for a long time and was its Associate Editor from 1931 till his death. He took a keen interest in the journal, and it had in him a pillar of strength.

Born in a distinguished family in the South Arcot district, Mr. Srinivasachari had his education in the Pachaiyappa's High School, Chidambaram and subsequently at the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, with high academic honours throughout. Soon after graduation in 1909 he joined the staff of the Pachaiyappa's College, where he served with zeal and distinction for 22 years. During this period he taught all classes from the Junior Intermediate to the Final Year Honours, Ancient, Modern and Indian History as well as Politics and Economics, and steadily built for himself a reputation not only as a successful lecturer but as a genuine and industrious research worker. In addition to his academic duties and historical research he made himself useful as a good citizen. He was a founder-member, Director and the first Secretary of the George Town Co-operative Credit Society, now one of the biggest of its kind in the state. He was also actively connected as a former Director with the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, the largest consumers' Co-operative Society in these parts.

His reputation as a sound teacher and scholar earned for him in 1931 the Chair of History and Politics in the newly started Annamalai University. He served that University till 1946 ably and conscientiously and these years were perhaps the most fruitful in his long career. Although regular teaching claimed most of his time, his methodical and painstaking industry enabled him to produce a number of books and literally hundreds of articles not only on History and Politics but on several cognate subjects. He served on numerous Boards and Committees in his own and several sister Universities where his erudition and experience made him a valuable counsellor and Committeeman. All over the country Universities and other learned bodies took advantage of his willing co-operation in organising courses of studies, choosing teachers and examining students.

The Government also duly recognised his merit. He was given the title of Rao Saheb in 1935, Rao Bahadur in 1942 and finally Diwan Bahadur in 1946. The Indian History Congress elected him Sectional President in 1931 and 1939 and General President in 1941. The Oriental Conference elected him President of the History section in 1940; when the Deccan History Congress met for the first time in 1945, he was President of its Modern History section. The French India History Society of Pondicherry elected him as an honorary life member. He presided over the 9th Conference of the Madras Geographical Association in 1939. He was elected President of the Universities section of the Madras State Educational Conference in 1950 in which year he also presided over the South Indian History section of the Third Tamil festival at Coimbatore. He was recently appointed a member of the Committee set up by the Government of India to compile a history of the Indian Freedom Movement. He was for several years Honorary Editor of the Educational Review. He was associated with the Indian Historical Records Commission from 1926 when he became a corresponding member. He was appointed an Expert Member in 1942. When a Regional Records Survey Committee was constituted for Madras state he was appropriately nominated as its convener. He was a member of the Madras Teachers' guild for several years and President of the South Arcot Teachers' guild for some years. He was a member of the Madras Text-book Committee for nearly a quarter of a century and a member of the S. S. L. C. Board for some years.

In 1950 his friends, students and co-workers presented him a beautiful volume of Essays and Studies in honour of his 61st Birthday.

Many Universities have invited Prof. Srinivasachari to lecture under their auspices. At the Madras University he delivered the Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar lectures in 1924, the Sankara Parvathi lectures in 1935 and the Sir William Meyer lectures in 1949. He was a University Extension lecturer as early as 1921, and delivered Honorary Readership lectures from 1926-32. He has delivered special lectures in the Annamalai, Osmania and Utkal Universities. In 1950 he delivered the annual day address of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona and in 1951 the annual day address of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

After his retirement from the Annamalai University in 1946, he was for three years Principal of the newly started R. D. N.

College at Sivaganga and later he was Principal of the Pachaiyappa's College at Kancheepuram during its first year. Even after his retirement from the Annamalai University his association with it continued until his death as he was a member of various bodies of the University.

Prof. Srinivasachari was a great lover of books and collected a vast personal library. A versatile storehouse of historical information and little known details, his erudition sat lightly upon him. A profound scholar of monumental industry he also possessed that rare virtue, a true humility. He was a man of simple tastes and genial temperament. He was one of the most distinguished and sympathetic of professors, and his charming manners and readiness to help those junior to him endeared him to every one who had the good fortune to come in contact with him. His death at the comparatively early age of 61 is a great loss to historical scholarship and leaves a big gap in the educational world.

Among his chief publications may be mentioned: (1) *History of Madras*; (2) *History of Gingee*; (3) *Diary of Anandarangam Pillai*; (4) *The inwardness of British annexation in India*; and (5) *Vignettes of the Walajahi dynasty*.

Reviews

STUDIES IN DECCAN HISTORY, by K. Sajun Lal, M.A.,
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Dn.).

This is a neat, little, recent publication containing a collection of articles contributed by the author to a number of Journals viz. 'New Indian Antiquary' 'Islamic Culture,' 'Historical Quarterly,' 'Rainbow', etc. The papers reprinted in this small volume are very interesting as they relate to an important epoch in the history of the Deccan. The salient features of the period are well delineated—the slow recovery of the Marathas from the staggering blow they had received at the historical battle-field of Panipat, the tortuous diplomacy adopted by the rival powers in the south, the emergence of a new power in Mysore under Haidar Ali, and the steady expansion of the English East India Company, which exploited to the fullest extent the deepening confusion in India. The Nizam took advantage of the dissensions among the Maratha chiefs and by playing off one against another, successfully evaded treaty obligations imposed on him by force. Political alignments were fluctuating and unstable and even when two or more powers combined together against a common foe, the allies rarely acted in unison and good faith. As Dr. Surendra Nath Sen observes, "the lack of idealism and territorial patriotism on the part of the people undermined the strength of the state in each case and first Mysore and then the Marathas had to make a discreditable exit from the political arena while the Nizam survived till the emancipation of India because he reconciled himself to the humiliation of British suzerainty".

The character of the Peshwa Madhava Rao is well brought out—his indomitable courage in the battle-field as also his astute diplomacy. He had done much to rehabilitate the Maratha prestige and his premature death in 1772 was indeed a national calamity. As Sajunlal observes, "with him passed away the prosperity of Maharashtra". The circumstances leading to the Nizam's disastrous defeat at Kharda are fully explained. "His (the Nizam's) favourite, Bakhshi Begum, could not stand the booming of the cannon and the sight of persons falling dead. She called her lord and requested him to make a hasty retreat to the fort of Kharda It was not a question of valour but of honour, and

to guard his consort, the Nizam committed one of the greatest blunders”.

The reprints published in this handy publication throw a flood of light on a period of transition and quick political changes. The book makes interesting reading and will, no doubt, prove of great help to students doing research in modern Indian History.

—V. R.

AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE INDIAN PENINSULA: By C. Collin Davies. (Oxford University Press, Price Rs. 3-8).

This is a very useful Atlas comprising 47 maps in all, covering the entire period of Indian History from the earliest times right down to the attainment of independence. The series end with the map demarcating the two Dominions of India and Pakistan shown on page iii of the cover. A brief explanatory note is attached to each map which is both informative and illuminating. The Maps are neat and relevant to the topic of study. The traditional evil of incorporating a multiplicity of names and unnecessary details has been scrupulously avoided. The maps relate to all important stages in the spacious and variegated history of India. Besides the historical series, the Atlas also contains maps relating to the Monsoons, Mean Annual Rainfall, Languages, Economic products and Density of Population.

The author has realised from his own rich and ripe experience as a teacher of Indian History the imperative need for a good Atlas for understanding historical problems. The influence of the geographical factor is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in Indian History. The dominant influence exercised by the physiographic environment on the history of our country is very well exemplified in this Atlas. This Atlas will be a useful addition to the libraries of High Schools and Colleges and is indispensable to students and teachers of Indian History especially in the higher stages.

—V. R.

REVIEWS

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THE SOUTH INDIAN APOSTOLATE OF ST. THOMAS: By K. N. Daniel, Travancore. Pub. Church History Association of India, Burma, and Ceylon, Serampore College, West Bengal. Pages 34, price Re. 1-8 as.

In this well documented, but not fully documented, booklet the author gives on pages 15-18 “five pieces of presumptive evidence” (p. 18) from the traditions of the Mylapore, Malabar, Socotrine, and Chaldean churches, for the fact that “St. Thomas Christians are almost unanimous in holding” (since ca. 1525 alone) “the tradition regarding the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas” (p. 12). The earliest of them is Marco Polo’s report in his book of 1298, on the Maabar (Coromandel) Christian, Muslim, and Pariah traditions of ca. 1288, without his specifying the saint’s burial place as Mylapore, or some other locality in South India. And here 3 or 4 St. Thomas tombs, and 2 St. Thomas skeletons have been in existence since at least 1522-23, when 2 Mylapore St. Thomas tombs were opened which yielded the two skeletons since venerated at Goa and Mylapore, while from 1258 a third St. Thomas skeleton (of 232-3 or later) from somewhere in India had been, and still is, venerated at Ortona in Italy, and while in 1122 and 1370 there were 2 St. Thomas mummies (containing, of course, a 4th and a 5th St. Thomas skeleton) working wonders in Syria (and not in Mylapore as the author locates that of 1122, p. 23).

He is silent about these astounding anomalies, probably because he did not, and does not, know of them as they are not found mentioned in any of the books referred to in his booklet, nor in Malabar’s *St. Thomas Song* (with precise dates 50 to 72 A.D. and even the exact minute of his death), declared in 1916 to be of “reliability hardly assailable”, but not proved yet to have had its existence before 1892. Our author has condemned the *Song* and therefore also its alleged original, the *St. Thomas “Charitam”* of 72 A.D., not yet shown to the world, as “spurious”, although an Italian translation of the *Song* was published in Rome in 1938, and used unsuspectingly by Rev. Fr. Heras, of Bombay, and other writers.

He has not also explained why himself and others now affirm, and have been asserting since ca. 1525 that St. Thomas was murdered at a temple as martyr by an “*Emprān*” (= Kanarese Brahman) priest with a “*śūlam*” (= lance), while Mylapore ancestors repeatedly averred from at least Marco Polo’s visit

(ca. 1288-93) to Diogo Fernandes's (1517-43) that St. Thomas died as a non-martyr (at no temple) at the hands of a Pariah with an unintentional arrow. What an astounding *volte face*!! M. Polo's sentences bearing on this non-martyrdom are omitted by our author (vide p. 21), while he does give on p. 12 his Church's tradition that "he was stabbed to death (on the Coromandel Coast) by some Brahman and buried at Mylapore" (— in which of the 2 or 3 tombs there?, one may ask).

Could the *martyr* St. Thomas of all accounts Indian and foreign be the same as the non-martyr of the reiterated South Indian tradition of ca. 1288-93 to 1517-43? Or could this be the "Saracen holy man and great prophet of their own, come from Nubia" before 1288-93 as the Muslims claimed in Marco Polo's days? Vide M. Polo, Vol. II, Bk. 3, ch. 18, 17, 35, and 20 for the full account. One could suggest that if the Nubian Muslim was called by the Arabic name *Tawwāmā*, his tomb could be easily mistaken for that of St. Thomas known in Syriac, Tamil, and Malayalam as *Tōmā*, just as the Muslim *Īsā*'s tomb at Srinagar in Kashmir has been wrongly regarded by the Christians there as *Īsā* (= Jesus) Christ's!! Mr. Daniel, however, glorifies the above Morco-Poline account of the Muslim-Christian holy man as an "unequivocal" and "undisputed recorded reference" (pp. 21 and 22) to St. Thomas the Jew come to South India (from Jerusalem, Galilee, Edessa, Chaldea, Fars, Socotra, or Parthian N. W. India).

And, like most St. Thomas historians, he assumes (a) that his present day tradition, or that of 1525 to 1720, or of 1288 to 1525, was certainly current in all the previous centuries since St. Thomas, and (b) that they were really based in the first century on actual St. Thomas facts or events (and not on somebody's opinion, or misconception as in the case of the Srinagar Muslim-Christian tomb supra, or on some one's fabrication).

And really the most serious defect of the booklet is that the author committed himself to his conclusion in favour of his own South India without considering earlier documents pointing to non-South India and non-Mylapore. For instance:—

(1) King Prester John's famous letter of 1165 locates a "desert" east of St. Thomas's burial-place. Could this be Mylapore, or a site in N. W. India in W. Pakistan, having the Sind and Thar deserts S.E. of it?, and the Asian ones N.E.?

(2) The Armenian Prince Sempad who actually visited N. W. India mentions in his letter of 1248 Saracen kings conquered by the Tartars in the "India where St. Thomas preached." Could this be South India?

St. Isidore too who locates the tomb at Calamina of India in the furthest eastern part of the Parthians, or the Medes, or of both, points to Parthian or Median India, and not Mylapore as Mr. Daniel interprets him (d. 636), p. 27, quoting me.

Finally let us note that in 1903 Col. Yule recorded that the Mylapore Catholic authorities are "strong in disparagement of the special sanctity attached to those localities" of St. Thomas (San Thome and the 2 Mounts close by). And Papal Chevalier D' Cruz too (St. Thomas, 1929, p. 112) says: "Catholics . . . are not compelled to believe in its genuineness" (the Mylapore St. Thomas tomb of to-day, one of the 2 there). The present tomb is in the usual S. Indian Muslims' North-South direction, and not Christians' or Jews' E. W. direction. That of 1523 too!

— T. K. J.

HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, No. 6): By Members of the Department of Oriental History, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, edited by C. H. Philips and published by the Royal Historical Society, London, 1951.

This learned and attractive handbook though intended for Western students of Oriental History, will be a helpful companion to Oriental students of Indian and Asiatic history. We cordially welcome its role of obviating the difficulties presented by Oriental personal and place-names, terms of political, economic, social and religious import, and systems of dating. The volume covers the whole field of Oriental history from ancient to modern times and from Arabia to Japan, excluding only pre-Islamic Near East. Its five sections deal with the Near and Middle East (Bernard Lewis), India and Pakistan (C. H. Philips), South East Asia and the Archipelago (D. G. E. Hall), China (O. P. N. B. Van der Sprenkel), and Japan (W. G. Beasley). Each section discusses the Romanisation of Oriental words, personal and place-names, and systems of dating and gives a select glossary and a list of dynasties and rulers. The section relating to India adopts the Hunterian system of transliteration and considers family and personal names (Hindu, Muslim and Parsi), honorifics, and titles (Hindu, Muslim and British). The glossary explains terms like Adalat, Akali, Arya, Avatar, Bahadur, Bakhshi, Batta, Dharma, Dharna, Dvija, Fatwa,

Faujdar, Jaghir, Khalsa, Peshwa, Ryotwari, Sati, Thakur, Varna, Zamindar. The list of rulers begins with the Mauryas and ends with the Governors-general and Viceroy down to Viscount Mountbatten (1947). The Saisunagas and the Nandas might well have been included. On p. 85 Yadava [Sangama], Tuluva and Aravidu emperors of Vijayanagar are mentioned, but not Saluva Narasimha or his dynasty. The place of Index is taken by an alphabetical list of dynasties and rulers.

— R. S.

TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHULS : STUDIES IN LATE MUGHUL DELHI : By Perceval Spear, Cambridge University Press, 18s. net.

This admirable historical survey elucidates the vicissitudes of the shrunken empire of the Mughuls from 1760 to 1857. It discusses the extent and resources of the Delhi kingdom and estimates its degree of independence and the causes of its downfall. It examines British policy towards the late Mughul kings, its expediency and success. It describes the administrative system associated with the name of Charles Metcalfe and the life of the British in up-country during the first half of the 19th century. It pictures Delhi in the Mutiny period from the Indian point of view. The present volume, characterised by lucid analysis, picturesque narration and fruitful comparison, sustains the reputation of Dr. Spear's previous works and remains a solid piece of state-paper research in attractive attire.

The author in his Introduction scrutinises the character of the third battle of Panipat in 1761 and observes that it was not decisive: "What Panipat really did was to reveal, as in a lightning flash, the political bankruptcy of the Afghan chiefs and the material poverty of the Marathas" (p. 4). He emphasises the dictum that "the ages of social and political decay are commonly periods of exceptional energy and activity" (p. 10). He envisages the political position of the East India Company as the Imperial Regent if the policy of helping the Emperor with British arms had been pursued with vigour in 1783. He describes Bahadur Shah II as a philosophic prince, an ornament to any court. This interesting and instructive volume is provided with four excellent plates, a map, a glossary, a bibliography, an index, and notes to the chapters.

— R. S.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE by H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (Oxford University Press) Second edition 1950.

The author of this book is an eminent scholar with a record of long and distinguished service in the sphere of Indian Education. He has succeeded to a remarkable extent in writing a really concise history of India incorporating therein the latest archaeological discoveries. As the author himself observes, it has been written primarily for the use of students preparing for the matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities. He has consistently observed throughout the book a judicious sense of proportion—emphasising salient landmarks but at the same time avoiding dull and dreary details which weary the average student. The book is admirably planned and the narration is simple and gripping. In view of the increasing importance of Indian History in Independent India, this book is admirably suited to be adopted as a general basis for teaching the subject in secondary schools and in Intermediate colleges. In its scrupulous avoidance of irrelevant details, it is bound to be popular with the general reader anxious to have a panoramic view of the spacious history of our ancient land.

The book is copiously illustrated inclusive of the maps representing the important stages in the historical evolution of our country. From the beginning of the historical period the author has summarised at the end of each chapter the leading dates for the events described. The main narrative is brought down to the attainment of independence and the emergence of the two Dominions. The Examination questions relating to each chapter given towards the end will be found useful to the teachers as well as the taught. The book has been neatly and attractively got up. It can be recommended as a good text book embodying within a short compass a continuous narrative of the entire volume of Indian History from the earliest period right down to our own times.

— V. R.

DAWN OF RENASCENT INDIA by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Published by Nagpur University, pp. 128.

The chapters of this book are based on the Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar lectures delivered by Dr. Datta in the Nagpur University in 1950. These lectures deal only with certain aspects of the

Indian Renaissance and do not pretend to make an exhaustive treatment of the subject. In the first chapter Dr. Datta deals with the background and genesis of the Indian renaissance. He traces the beginnings of the renaissance to the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The second chapter deals with the new education which was responsible for the intellectual revolution in the country. Dr. Datta points out that it would be unhistorical to ascribe to Lord Macaulay the sole credit for the introduction of western education in India. Enlightened Indian opinion had recognised the need for western education years before Macaulay penned his famous Minute. The Hindu College which was founded in 1817 became the centre and inspiration of the new intellectual revival. The thirst for knowledge created by the new education led to the formation of literary and scientific societies, whose activities are described in the third chapter. The Calcutta Public Library which is the parent of the National Library of India was founded in 1835. A Society for the acquisition of general knowledge was formed in 1838. Indians like Radhanath Sikdar distinguished themselves in scientific studies and were elected to learned societies abroad. With the progress of Western education new trends in literature began to manifest themselves. Dr. Datta confines his attention only to developments in Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu.

The fourth chapter surveys the attempts made to unravel India's past. While Dr. Datta acknowledges the remarkable contribution made by European scholars in this direction he gives due importance to the labours of Indian scholars like Tara Chand Chakraverty, Rajendralal Mitra, R. G. Bhandarkar, R. C. Datt, Ranade, Telang, and Haraprasad Sastri. In the concluding chapter, Dr. Datta surveys the progress of education and other movements for social reform such as the re-marriage of widows, the abolition of Sati, etc. Dr. Datta draws our attention to the fact that as early as 1756 there was an attempt to induce Hindu society to permit the remarriage of widows.

Dr. Datta's book forms a welcome addition to our literature on the Indian renaissance. We hope that he will follow up the publication of these lectures by a fuller and more comprehensive treatise on the subject.

— V. K. S.

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Ceylon Historical Journal* — Vol. 1, No. 1, July '51. Dehiwela.
 1. *Sanskrit Civilization among the Ancient Sinhalese*, by O. H. De. Wijesekara.
 2. *Notes on some foreign literary sources for the study of the fourth, fifth century A.D. History of Ceylon*, by Ananda Jayawardana.
 3. *Plantation Economy and Colonial Policy in Ceylon*, by A. B. Perera.
- II. *English Historical Review* — Vol. LXVI, No. 260, July 1951. London.
 1. *British Policy in Morocco — 1886-1902*, by A. J. P. Taylor.
- III. *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute — Journal of*, Vol. VIII, Part 1, November 1950.
 1. *The date of the Bharata War*, by Prof. Tarakeswar Bhattacharya, M.Sc., Benares.
- IV. *History*, Vol. XXXV, No. 125, October 1950, London.
 1. *The Censorship of the Press during the reign of Charles II*, by J. Walker.
- V. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, June '51, Calcutta.
 1. *Lanka*, by Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
 2. *The Arthasastra material in the Raghuvamsha*, by Prof. Dasaratha Sharma, M.A.
 3. *Srimad Bhagavata — The Place of its Origin*, by Dr. J. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
 4. *Buddhism in Kamarupa*, by Maheswar Neog, M.A.
 5. *The Arya-Manjusri — Mula-kalpa of Candragupta I*, by Kailas Chandra Ojha, M.A.

VI. *Indian Review* — Vol. 52, No. 10, October 1951, Madras.

1. *Secular State and Religion*, by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

VII. *Numismatic Society of India — Journal of the*, Vol. XII, December '50, Part II, Bombay.

1. *The Coins of Ramagupta*, by P. L. Gupta, Benares.
2. *A New Silver Coin of Gautamiputra Sri. Yajna Satakarni*, by Dr. S. L. Katare, M.A., D.Litt., Jabalpur.
3. *Was Kacha a brother of Samudragupta?*, by K. C. Ojha, M.A.

VIII. *The United Provinces Historical Society — the Journal of*, Vol. XXII, Parts 1-2, 1949, Lucknow.

1. *Ananda Coomaraswamy*, by V. S. Agarwala.
2. *The Old Indian Route from Bactria to Taxila*, by Foucher, Chapter VI—*The Asiatic Influences*, translated by Dr. Moti Chandra, M.A., Ph.D.
3. *Indian Historical Studies — Some Problems*, by V. S. Agarwala.
4. *A Catalogue of the Images of the Brahma, Vishnu and Siva in Mathura Art*, by Vasudeva S. Agarwala.



Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana, P. O. Poona.
2. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leyden, Holland.
3. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
4. *Asia Major*, Bombay.
5. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona, Quarterly.
6. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
7. *Britain To-day*, London.
8. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
9. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
10. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
11. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
12. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
14. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
15. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
16. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
20. *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
21. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
22. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
23. *Journal of the Dakkan History and Culture*, Hyderabad.
24. *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
25. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
26. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
27. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
28. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
29. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.

30. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
31. *Main Currents in Modern Thought*, New York.
32. *Man in India*, Ranchi.
33. *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh.
34. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
35. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
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37. *Science and Culture*, Calcutta.
38. *Self-Realization Magazine*, California.
39. *United Asia*, Bombay.
40. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
41. *University of California Publications in History*, California.
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