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Early History of the Yādavas of Devagiri

BY

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I

PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

The history of the Yādavas from the time of their origin to Bhillama V is yet to be rescued from the oblivion of obscurity. The material bearing on the subject, so far brought to light, is not sufficient to give a connected history of the family previous to the reign of Bhillama V ; the sources being limited to the legendary account given by Hemādri, the celebrated minister of the Yādava Mahādeva and Rāmcandra, and a few records of this period. Hemādri seems to have derived his information mostly from legends and traditions. The epigraphic evidence is so confusing that it makes the task of writing the early history of the Yādavas all the more difficult ; the writer being often faced with contradictions while analysing his material.

The Yādavas, also called the Seṇas, claim their descent from the moon, which was churned out of the ocean by the *Devas*. In some of the inscriptions the descent is claimed by them from the mythical hero Yadu from whom the name Yādava was derived.¹ The Sangamner stone Inscription² dated in *Śaka* 922 = A.D. 1000 and which is the earliest record of the family traces the history of the Yādavas from Śambhu, who was followed by Brahman, Mārici, Atri, Indra, Purūravas, Ayuṣ, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Yadu. It then states that in the family was born Seṇacandra, after whom the Yādava dominion was known as Seṇadeśa and its people, the Seṇas.³ The Yādavas were also known as the Seṇas after the name of this king. The fact of Seṇadeśa being known after the

1. *E.I.* Vol. II, p. 217; *I.A.* Vol. XVII, p. 120; Vol. XII, p. 119; *B.I.S.M.Q.* Vol. III, p. 3.

2. *E.I.* Vol. II, p. 217.

3. *Ibid*, p. 213.

name of Seunacandra is confirmed by Hemādri.⁴ There are variations in the list of the legendary ancestors given in the early records. The Kalas-Budrukh plates⁵ of Bhīllama III dated in Śaka 948 = 1026 A.D. praises Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva under the names of Hiraṇyagarbha, Acyuta and Candramauli, after which the names of Yadu and Seunacandra are mentioned; while the Bassein grant⁶ dated in Śaka 991 and the Asvi plates of Irammadeva⁷ dated in 1098 A.D. record that the Yādavas belonged to the lineage of Yadu, but mention Dr̥ḍhaprahāra as the first historical personage of the family, who was followed by Seunacandra. Dr̥ḍhaprahāra, according to these records, was a famous king. He came down to the south and defeating his enemies established his capital at Candrādityapura. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar identified Candrādityapura with modern Chandor in the Nāsik District.⁸ Seunacandra was born to Dr̥ḍhaprahāra. The town of Seunapura in the good Sindinera⁹ was founded by Seunacandra. Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji identified Sindinera with modern Sinnār, about 20 miles south of Nāsik.¹⁰ This identification has been further confirmed by the Kalas-Budrukh plates in which it is mentioned that Sindinagara was adorned by the river Devanadī. As pointed out by Dr. Fleet it is the name of a small river which meets Śivanadī in the vicinity of the town of Sinnar.¹¹ A Jain tradition further confirms the statement recorded in the Bassein grant. The tradition runs that the sage Divāṇa (Sk. Davyāna) burnt the city of Bārāvātī or Dvārāvātī. The Yādava family was on the point of being wiped out when the sage rescued the pregnant wife of the Yādava Kṣatriya Vajrakumāra. In due course she gave birth to a son under the shelter of Candraprabhasvāmin, a Jain priest. The child was named Dr̥ḍhaprahāra. When he grew up, he protected the inhabitants of the place from the depredations of the robbers. He was given *Talāraghaya* by the people who later on recognised him as their king. Thus the Yādava family once again began to flourish.¹² Dr̥ḍhaprahāra had his capital at Candrādityapura. If Candrādityapura derives its name

from Candraprabhasvāmin, it may be identified with modern Añjaneri, where a large temple of that *Tīrthāṅkara* stands,¹³ but the identification with modern Chāndor seems more probable. Hemādri also gives a long puranic genealogy beginning from Brahman, which is of no historical importance.¹⁴ According to him, after a long line of mythical kings Subāhu became king and was recognised as the universal sovereign. He had four sons. He divided his kingdom among his sons. Dr̥ḍhaprahāra was the name of the second son, who was given the region of the south. The Yādavas were formerly rulers of Mathurā, but from the time of Kṛṣṇa they went away to Dvārāvātī. Dr̥ḍhaprahāra had his capital at Śrīnagar, which may be identified with Sindinera, modern Sinnār.¹⁵ It appears Dr̥ḍhaprahāra shifted his capital from Candrādityapur to Sindinagara.

Subāhu :—This puranic and legendary account of the origin of the Yādavas cannot be verified by any other evidence. It is, therefore of no historical value. It is also difficult to accept the historicity of Subāhu who, according to Hemādri, was the first king and had divided his kingdom among his four sons. Dr̥ḍhaprahāra, the second son, was given the region of the south.

Dr̥ḍhaprahāra :—Dr̥ḍhaprahāra may be regarded as the first historical personage of the family. He may, possibly, have migrated to the Deccan from the North and if the testimony of the Bassein grant,¹⁶ Asvi plates,¹⁷ Hemādri,¹⁸ and the *Nāsakakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri¹⁹ be accepted, he first established himself at Candrādityapura, modern Chandor in the Nāsik District.

Seunacandra I :—Dr̥ḍhaprahāra was followed by his son Seunacandra.²⁰ The Saṅgamner inscription²¹ and the Kalas-Budrukh plates²² refer to Seunacandra as the first historical personage of the family and completely ignore Dr̥ḍhaprahāra. Seunacandra may be the first person who gave his family a royal status. Dr̥ḍhaprahāra simply came and established him-

4. *Lebhe sutam Seunacandrasañjñam yatsañjñam Seunadeśamāhu*, E.H.D. (R) App. C., p. 241.

5. I.A. Vol. XVII, p. 120.

6. Ibid, Vol. XII, p. 119.

7. B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 3.

8. E.H.D.(R), p. 172.

9. I.A., Vol. XII, p. 124; B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 3.

10. I.A. Vol. XII, p. 124.

11. Ibid, Vol. XVII, p. 118; Bom. Gaz. Vol. XVI, p. 648.

12. I.A., Vol. XII, p. 124.

13. Ibid.

14. E.H.D. (R) App. C. I., pp. 238-40.

15. E.H.D.(R), p. 241.

16. I.A., Vol. XII, p. 121.

17. B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 3.

18. E.H.D. (R) App. C. I., p. 241 *Rājaprasasti*.

19. I.A., Vol. XII, p. 124, f.n. 83.

20. Ibid, p. 121.

21. Ibid. p. 218 Ls. 26-28.

22. Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 120.

self in the Deccan. It was from Seunacandra that the family and the country over which he ruled derived their names.²³ The Yādavas till the time of their last king Rāmacandra continued to call themselves Seuṇas.²⁴ The records of other dynasties, particularly those of the Hoysaṣas, name them as Seuṇas and the *Pratāparudrīya* refers to them as the rulers of the Seuṇa country.²⁵ Seunacandra also founded the town of Seunapura, known as such after his name.²⁶ Seunadeśa in the earlier days was roughly confined to the territory extending from Devagiri to Nāsik and as stated by Hemādri bordered on the *Daṇḍakāranya*,²⁷ by *Daṇḍakāranya*, probably, he meant the forests of the Vindhya Mountains. The Editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer*²⁸ presumes that Khāndeśa is nothing but a corrupt form of Seunadeśa and that this change in the name was probably made by the Mohammadens, who had in their very first invasion annexed that part of the country to their dominions and must have been quite enthusiastic in changing its name from Seunadeśa to Khāndeśa. If Dṛḍhaphrahāra was the first historical personage of the family, Seunacandra may be taken as the first royal personage of the family. Seunacandra was followed by his son Dhāḍiyappa or Dhāḍiyasa.²⁹

It is difficult to trace precisely the genealogy of the Yādavas after Seunacandra I. The main sources of information are: (1) the Saṅgamner Inscription³⁰ dated Śaka 922, *Sarvvāri S.*, *Bhādrapada-Amāvasyā*, *Sūryagrahaṇa* = August 31, 1000 A.D.;³¹ (2) the Kalas-Budrukh Plates³² dated Śaka 948, *Krodhana S.*, *Kārttikasamjāt*, *Adityagrahaṇa* = November 23, 1026 A.D. (?); (3) the Bassein grant³³ dated Śaka 991, *Saumya S.*, *Śrāvāna sudi 14*, *Gurudina* = 3rd September, 1069 A.D.; (4) the Asvi plates of the Yādava Iramnadava dated Śaka 1020, *Bahudhānya S.*, *Vaiśākha-*

23. *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 218.

24. *I.A.* Vol. XIV, p. 314; *E.I.* Vol. XIII, p. 198.

25. *I.A.* Vol. XXI, p. 199.

26. *Śrīmatseunacandranāmanrpavarastasmādhūdbhūmipah nityam deśapadātiviṣayestannāmasampādayan. | Yenākāri puram ca Seunapuram śrī Sindinere vare tatputrah kuladipako gunanidhiḥ śrīdvā (dhā) diyappastataḥ || V.3.*
B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 3; *I.A.* Vol. XII, p. 119.

27. *E.H.D. (R)*, App. C. II, V. 19; *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 121.

28. *Bom. Gaz.*, Volume on Khāndes.

29. *E.H.D. (R)*, App. C., p. 241.

30. *E.I.* Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.

31. The date recorded in the inscription is irregular.

32. *I. A.* Vol. XVII, pp. 117 ff.

33. *I.A.* Vol. XII, pp. 119 ff.

Amāvasyā, *Somadina* = May 3, 1098;³⁴ and (5) the *Vratākhaṇḍa* of Hemādri,³⁵ the minister of the Yādava Mahādeva and Ramacandra. The genealogy given in each of the sources does not agree in full with that given in others. According to Hemādri the progenitor of the family was Subāhu, his son was Dṛḍhaphrahāra, and his son was Seunacandra; while the Bassein grant and Asvi plates trace the pedigree of the family from Dṛḍhaphrahāra, and the Saṅgamner and the Kalas-Budrukh Plates do so from Seunacandra I. Seunacandra was followed by his son Dhāḍiyappa,³⁶ whose son was Bhillama I.³⁷ Bhillama's son was Rājā,³⁸ his son was Vaddiga.³⁹ Hemādri's account does not agree with that of the three inscriptions after this. He states that Vaddiga was followed by Dhāḍiyasa;⁴⁰ while according to the three inscriptions quoted above Vaddiga was followed by Bhillama II. Hemādri, thus, introduces a new name between Vaddiga and Bhillama II. Bhillama II was followed by his son⁴¹ Vesu,⁴² Tesuka,⁴³ or Vesugi;⁴⁴ his son was Bhillama III.⁴⁵

The Bassein grant, the Kalas-Budrukh and the Asvi⁴⁶ plates make it absolutely clear that Bhillama II was born of Vaddiga, though the relationship between Vaddiga and Dhāḍiyasa on the one hand and Dhāḍiyasa and Bhillama II on the other cannot be determined with the help of Hemādri, who alone mentions the name of this prince. Dr. Bhandarkar writes: "After Bhillama,

34. *B.I.S.M.Q.* Vol. III, pp. 3-5.

35. *E.H.D. (R)*, p. 241.

36. *I.A.* Vol. XVII, p. 120; Vol. XII, p. 119; *B.I.S.M.Q.* Vol. III, p. 4. Hemādri does not specify the relationship between Seunacandra I and Dhāḍiyappa and calls the latter Dhāḍiyasa (*E.H.D. (R)*, p. 241).

37. *Ibid.* The Bassein and Asvi grants make no indication of the relationship. (*I.A.* Vol. XII, p. 119).

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.* The Bassein and Asvi grants say that after Rājā there was Vaddiga. Hemādri calls him Bādugi, which is a variation of Vaddiga.

40. Hemādri does not explain the relationship between Bādugi, Dhāḍiyasa and Bhillama II, though he clearly states that Bhillama was son of Bādugi.

41. Hemādri does not give the relationship.

42. *I.A.* Vol. XVII, p. 120.

43. *Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 120.

44. *E.H.D. (R)*, p. 241.

45. I agree with Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that there was no prince of the name Arjuna between Vesugi and Bhillama III and that the mention of Arjuna by Hemādri in V. 22 of the *Vratākhaṇḍa* (*E.H.D. (R)*, p. 241) was only to compare Vesugi with Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava.

46. *B.I.S.M.Q.* Vol. III, pp. 3-5.

his son Śrīrāja according to the grants, or Rājugi, according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded by his son Vaddiga or Vādugi." He then adds: "Then came Dhāḍiyasa, who was the son of Vādugi according to *Vratākhaṇḍa*. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here. Dhāḍiyasa was succeeded by Bhīllama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vādugi and consequently his brother."⁴⁷ It is not possible in the light of the material available to say anything for or against this view. As against the testimony of the three inscriptions how far the statement of Hemādri is correct it is difficult to say. It appears that Dhāḍiyasa belonged to a collateral branch of the main family as did, probably, Kāliyaballāla referred to by Hemādri.⁴⁸ There is no evidence to show that he was Bhīllama's brother. It may be suggested that there was a palace revolution in which Vaddiga was overthrown by Dhāḍiyasa. But the usurpation of Dhāḍiyasa was short lived. He was also overthrown by Bhīllama, who was son of Vaddiga according to Hemādri.⁴⁹ It is in reference to this event that the Kalas-Budrukh Plates state that Bhīllama emerged out victorious from battle and illumined the world like the moon coming out of the agitated ocean.⁵⁰ Such palace revolutions were not uncommon in the Yādava court; there being at least three more such revolutions after this: The first of these took place when Seṇacandra II overthrew Bhīllama IV,⁵¹ the second when Bhīllama overthrew the sons of Kāliyaballāla, who was himself an usurper,⁵² and the third when Amaṇa was dethroned by Rāmacandra.⁵³

Yādava Succession from Bhīllama III to Bhīllama V.

It is all the more difficult to reconstruct the Yādava genealogy from Bhīllama III to Bhīllama V, the only source of information

47. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 231-32; p. 231, f.n. 2.

48. E.H.D.(R), p. 242.

49. *Ajaniṣṭa tatopi Rājagistadanu prādurabhūtsa Bādugih || V. 23.*
Jajñe Dhāḍiyamastataḥ pratibhūtakṣmāpālakālānala-
śtasnā dāviraḥprabhūtavibhavo bhartā bhuvo Bhīllamah |
 E.H.D.(R), p. 242, v. 23.

50. *Vaddigabhūmipālāḥ ||*
Tasmāddugdhamahārṇavādiva śaśi viśvaṁ samudbhāsayan
Śīmā śauryarasasya Bhīllamanṛpaḥ saṁgrāmarāmo bhavat ||
 I.A. Vol. XVII, p. 120.

51. Khare: *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 38; E.I. Vol. II, p. 120.

52. Above, p. 116, p. 131.

53. I.A. Vol. XIV, pp. 314 and 317, vs. 44-45; E.C. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 59.

being the Asvi Plates⁵⁴ and Hemādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa*.⁵⁵ Hemādri's account does not agree with the genealogy of the immediate predecessors of Bhīllama V given in an Inscription⁵⁶ dated Śaka 1113, *Virodhikṛta S., Jyēṣṭha-Amāvasyā, Ravivāra* = Sunday, 23rd June, 1191 A.D. In the absence of any corroborative evidence it is not possible to accept the genealogy given by Hemādri. He gives no indication of the relationship between many of the princes and therefore it cannot be determined whether they belonged to the main line.

According to the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, Bhīllama III was followed by his son Bādugi,⁵⁷ and Bādugi by Vesugi II.⁵⁸ Vesugi II was followed by Bhīllama IV. After Bhīllama IV there was Seṇa II.⁵⁹ The relationship between Bādugi II, Vesugi II, Bhīllama IV and Seṇa II is not given by Hemādri. The Asvi plates do not mention Bādugi II, Vesugi II and Bhīllama IV and merely state that Bhīllama (III) was followed by Seṇacandra (II).⁶⁰

Seṇa II of *Vratākhaṇḍa* is the same as Seṇacandra of the Asvi plates and the Bassein grant.⁶¹ Dr. Bhandarkar also is of the same opinion.⁶² But the Asvi grant too gives no clue as to the relationship between Seṇacandra II and his predecessor Bhīllama III, or his successor Parammadeva. It merely states that he was born in his (of Bhīllama III) family.⁶³ This Seṇa or Seṇacandra II may be identified with Seṇacandra of the Vāghali Inscription dated July 21, 1069 A.D.⁶⁴ Thus, Seṇa of the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, *Seṇadeva* of the Bassein grant dated 1069 A.D. and Seṇa of the Vāghali Inscription dated 1069 A.D. and Seṇacandra of the Asvi plates dated May 3, 1098 A.D. are one and the same person.

Seṇa II was followed by his son Parammadeva or Irammadeva, according to the Asvi plates, but according to Hemādri by Śīmharāja, probably the brother of Parammadeva. This Irammadeva may be identified with the *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara* Peramādevaśvara

54. B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 3.

55. E.H.D. (R), App. C. I., pp. 240 ff.

56. E.I. Vol. III, pp. 217 ff; pp. 218-19.

57. E.H.D.(R), p. 241, v. 26.

58. *Ibid*, v. 27.

59. *Ibid*, v. 28.

60. B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 4.

61. *Ibid*, I.A. Vol. XII, pp. 119 ff.

62. E.H.D.(R), p. 128.

63. B.I.S.M.Q. Vol. III, p. 4.

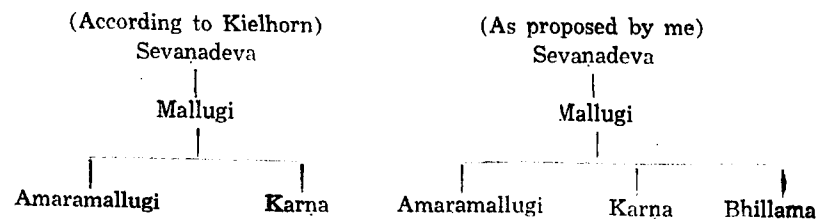
64. E.I. Vol. II, p. 225.

mentioned in an inscription at Kamatgi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay state and dated the Cālukya *Jagadekamalla's* year of reign 1(9), *Yuva S.*, *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā* = 1034-35 A.D. He is referred to in this inscription as the Yādava *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* "who was born in the family of *Sevūṇa*."⁶⁵ I have already shown above that the Yādavas in the beginning were the feudatories of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. According to Hemādri, *Simharāja* was followed by his son *Mallugi*, who was the father of *Amaramallugi*. There was then *Goviṇḍarāja*. He was followed by *Amaramallugi*, son of *Mallugi*. After him there was *Kāliyaballāla*, whose sons were driven out by *Bhillama V*, who is said to have been *Kāliyaballāla's* uncle. The relationship between *Kāliyaballāla*, *Amaramallugi* and *Goviṇḍarāja* cannot be determined.

The pedigree of *Bhillama* as given in the Gadag inscription dated in 1191 A.D. is different from that given by Hemādri. The Gadag inscription states that there was *Sevaṇadeva* in the Yādava family and that his son was *Mallugi*. *Mallugi* was followed by his son *Amaramallugi*, after him there was his brother *Karṇadeva*. *Karṇadeva* was followed by his son *Bhillama (V)*.⁶⁶ This inscription introduces two new names, *Sevaṇadeva* and *Karṇadeva*. *Sevaṇadeva* was the father of *Mallugi* and *Karṇadeva*, according to *Kielhorn*, was the father of *Bhillama V*.⁶⁷ I do not agree with the view of *Kielhorn* because '*tasya ca*' before verse 7 of the Gadag inscription should not be interpreted so as to mean "from *Karṇa*"; in fact it refers to *Mallugi*, otherwise *ca* is redundant. *Tasya ca* has been added to the verse to convey the meaning that *Bhillama* was also a son of *Mallugi*, who had a son named *Karṇa*, whose brother was *Amaramallugi*. According to Hemādri the name of *Mallugi's* father was *Simharāja* and *Bhillama V* was *Kāliyaballāla's* uncle, whose relationship with any of the Yādava princes in the family is not defined.⁶⁸ The

65. *S.I.E.A.R.* 1929, App. E, No. 56, p. 45.

66. The Yādava genealogy based on the Gadag inscription:



67. *E.I.* Vol. III, pp. 218 — (Refer to verses quoted under footnote 75.)

68. *E.H.D.(R)*, p. 241.

*Paithan plates*⁶⁹ of *Rāmacandra* dated *Śaka* 1193 record that in the family of *Yadu* there was born *Siṅghaṇa*, his son was *Mallugi* and after him came (*tadanusambhavat*) *Bhillama*. This record does not say that *Bhillama* was the son of *Mallugi*. Thus, neither the *Paithan Plates* nor *Hemādri* enlighten us regarding the position of *Bhillama V* in the main Yādava genealogy. The *Haralahalli* inscription of the reign of *Siṅghaṇa* dated *Śaka* 1160 also leads nowhere.⁷⁰ It is difficult to accept *Dr. Bhandarkar's* opinion that as the account given in the *Gadag* inscription does not agree with that of *Hemādri* and the *Paithan plates* it is to be regarded as spurious. *Dr. Bhandarkar* did not consider the fact that the *Paithan plates* and *Hemādri* give as incomplete and scrappy an account of the Yādava genealogy as the *Gadag* inscription. If the *Gadag* inscription cannot be relied upon, there is nothing to make the versions given by *Hemādri* and the *Paithan plates* authentic. The *Gadag* inscription, at least, belongs to the time of the prince whose relationship with other princes of the family has not been defined by the other two sources, which are much later in date. It may be, therefore, suggested that there was possibility of a mistake being committed by *Hemādri* and the authors of the *Paithan plates*, because they were much later than the date when *Bhillama* flourished. Merely the fact that the *Gadag* inscription introduces the name of *Karṇa* as the father of *Bhillama* does not go against its authenticity when it is known that this name is not known from any other source. So far as *Simharāja* of *Hemādri* is concerned, it may be said that he was the same as *Sevaṇadeva* of the *Gadag* inscription. It may be pointed out in support of this suggestion that *Siṅghaṇa*, *Siṅghaṇa*, *Seuṇa* and *Sevaṇa* are the variations of the same name. *Simharāja* of *Hemādri* is, therefore, called *Sevaṇadeva* in the *Gadag* inscription. He may also be identified with *Sevaṇadeva* of the *Anjaneri* inscription dated *Śaka* 1063⁷¹ = 1142 A.D. *Hemādri* makes no mention of any other king of this name after *Seuṇa II*, whose date 1069 A.D. is known from two other records.⁷² The *Anjaneri* inscription does not give any genealogical details of *Mahāsāmanta Sevaṇadeva*. It appears that he belonged to the main branch of the family. As regards *Karṇa* there appears to be difficulty in accepting him as

69. Yādava genealogy in the *Paithan Plates*.

Siṅghaṇa

Mallugi

Bhillama V

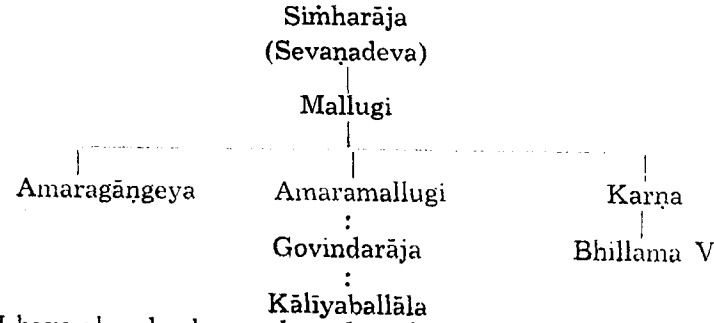
I.A. Vol. XIV, pp. 315-16.

70. *J.Bo.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XV, p. 386.

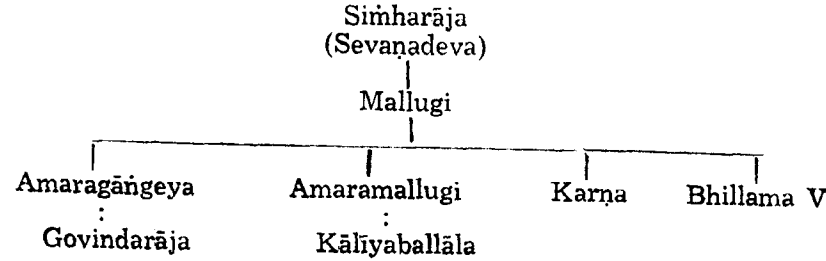
71. *I. A.* Vol. XII, p. 126.

72. Above p. 115.

a real historical personage when it is already known that neither the Paithan plates nor Hemādri give any definite relationship of the prince with other princes of the family.⁷³ If Karṇa, as proposed by Kielhorn, was the father of Bhīllama V, the Yādava genealogy from Simharāja stands as given below :⁷⁴



But I have already shown above by taking "*tasya ca*" in verse 7 of the Gadag inscription as referring to Mallugi and not Karṇa⁷⁵ that Bhīllama V was a brother of Karṇa and son of Mallugi. And according to my interpretation the genealogy of the Yādavas from Simharāja to Bhīllama V stands as follows :



73. E. H. D. (R), p. 180, f.n. 29.

74. E. I. Vol. III, p. 219.

75. *Tatra Sevanadevākhyāḥ prathitāḥ prthvīpatiḥ*

Asīdaśesabhūpālamaulilālitāsāsanāḥ || V. 3.

Tasya Mallugidevākhyo va (ba) ahūva nṛpatiḥ sutaḥ

Yasya na pratimallobhūnnrpeṣu kṣitimandale || V. 4.

Tasyāpyamaragaṅgākhyastanayobhūnmahīpatiḥ

Pratāpāpāvakalustapratyarthinṛpakānanāḥ || V. 5.

Tatastadānujāḥ śrīmānakarṇadevo nṛpobhavat

Śaradīnduprabhāśubhayaśodhavalitākīlāḥ || V. 6.

Tasya ca || *Jāto vṛndāvanakṛdākaṭaki śaṅkhalāñchanāḥ*

Rājā Bhīllamadevākhyāḥ sutaḥ kṛṣṇa ivāparāḥ || V. 7.

Ādāmya vividhāndeśānarjayitvā dhanam bahuk

Yena sevanabhūpalakulārājyaṃ vivardhitam || V. 8.

E. I. Vol. III, p. 219, Vs. 3-8.

Note the significance of TASYA CA in verse 7. It qualifies Mallugi and not Karṇadeva as assumed by all the scholars so far. If Bhīllama was not a son of Mallugi, there was no point in adding *tasya ca*, particularly *ca*, before verse 7.

After Mallugi the fortunes of the Yādavas seem to have fallen into a melting pot and the Yādava throne was occupied for a short period by Amaragāṅgeya, Govindarāja, Amaramallugi and Kālīyaballāla.⁷⁶ It has already been pointed out that the exact position of all these princes in the Yādava genealogy cannot be determined. Bhīllama V, brother of Karṇa, finally overthrew the sons of Kālīyaballāla, his nephews, and restored the rule of the main Yādava family.

II

Political History

The facts of political history of the Yādavas from Seṇacandra I to Bhīllama V as they are known from the different sources are very few. The Yādavas certainly began their political career as the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas and when the Rāṣtrakūṭas were overthrown by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, they transferred their allegiance to the new sovereign. The reasons of their obscurity in the beginning seem to have been the palace revolutions and the family feuds, which never allowed them to consolidate and expand their power.

Seṇacandra I established his power over a small territory in the modern Nāsik District of the Bombay State and founded Seṇapura⁷⁷ in Sindinera, modern Sinnār in the Nāsik District.⁷⁸

There are no records to speak the details of the history of the period covered by Dhādiyappa, son of Seṇacandra I, his son Bhīllama I and his son Rāja. Rāja was followed by his son Vaddiga or Bādugi I. Vaddiga is described as the follower of Kṛṣṇarāja. He married Śrī Voddiyavvā, daughter of Śrī Dhorappa Mahānṛpa.⁷⁹ This shows that Vaddiga was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarāja, who has been identified⁸⁰ with the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (939-968 A.D.).⁸¹ The suggestion of Kielhorn that Dhorappa, father of Voddiyavvā,⁸² may be identified with Nirupama, younger brother of Kṛṣṇarāja, on the supposition that he might have been called Dhorappa (*prākṛta* equivalent of Dhruva), like his ancestor Nirupama, cannot be

76. E.H.D. (R), App. C.I., vs. 35-37.

77. I.A. Vol. XVII, p. 119.

78. *Ibid.* p. 124.

79. E.I. Vol. II, p. 218.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 215; E.H.D.(R), p. 176.

81. Altekar: *Rāṣtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 122, f.n. 39.

82. E.I. Vol. II, p. 215.

accepted for the simple reason that nowhere the fact of Nirupama, brother of Kṛṣṇa, being known as Dhorappa or Dhruva is mentioned. Dhorappa, father-in-law of Vaddiga, in my opinion, be identified with Dhorappayya of the Cālukya family mentioned in a Bāgali inscription dated Śaka 878, Nala S. Uttārāyaṇa-Saṅkrānti = Tuesday December 23, 956 A.D. and belonging to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa Kannaradeva.⁸³ That the Cālukyas had been the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is known from many inscriptions. An inscription dated 920-21 A.D.⁸⁴ mentions the Cālukya Balavarman and Daśavarman as the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityavarṣa Indra III. Another record⁸⁵ speaks of another Cālukya feudatory known as Kāṭyera, who was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III in Śaka 868 (A.D. 944-45). Kāṭyera was governing Kōgaḷi 500 and Māsiyavāḍi 140 divisions. Taila II was also a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁸⁶ before 973 A.D.

The end of Vaddiga does not seem to be peaceful and he was not immediately succeeded by his son Bhīllama II. It appears that power was usurped from Vaddiga by Dhāḍiyasa, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Yādava family. His name does not appear on any of the inscriptions; he is mentioned only by Hemādri.⁸⁷ But Dhāḍiyasa himself could not enjoy power for a long time; very soon he was overthrown by Bhīllama II, son of Vaddiga. The fact that Bhīllama's accession to power was not peaceful is borne out by the Kalas—Budrukh plates, which record that he illumined the world like the moon coming out of the agitated ocean.⁸⁸ The Yādava princes from Seunacandra to Vaddiga bear no titles. This may be interpreted to mean that they had no status in the then political or administrative machinery, or that they had received no official recognition from any ruler or king.

Bhīllama II: The Yādavas come into prominence from the time of Bhīllama II. Bhīllama married Lasthiyavvā⁸⁹ or Lakṣmī,⁹⁰ daughter of Jhañjharāja of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The suggestion of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar that Jhañjha did not belong to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and that the mention of Rāṣṭrakūṭānvayā in the third

line of the verse⁹¹ in particular reference to Lasthiyavvā, and no Jhañjharāja, merely indicates that she belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family "on her mother's side"⁹² cannot be accepted. His identification of Jhañjha with the Śilāhāra prince is far fetched. The probable dates of the Śilāhāra Jhañjha are c 910-930 A.D.⁹³ He did not belong to the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, was a collateral, and as significant or insignificant as the father of Jākabbā, wife of the Cālukya Taila II, who also belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.⁹⁴ This matrimonial connection was established before the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas when alone it would have been considered of any importance for securing political status. Though the date 1000 A.D.⁹⁵ of the Sangamner inscription, issued during the time of Bhīllama, may not lend support to this view, but this does not prevent Bhīllama being a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings before 973 A.D. Vaddiga had married the daughter of Dhorapayya, who is mentioned in a record dated in 956 A.D.,⁹⁶ and the last date of Kṛṣṇa III, whose follower Vaddiga was, is 968 A.D. It is very difficult to say whether Vaddiga lived longer than Kṛṣṇa as it is suggested above that he was a victim of an usurpation by Dhāḍiyasa. Bhīllama, therefore, appears to have acceded to power before 973 A.D. The Kalas-Budrukh plates state that Lakṣmī illumined both the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Yādava families,⁹⁷ while the Bassein grant says that "she was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms."⁹⁸ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was of opinion that these three kingdoms were the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Yādava and the Śilāhāra.⁹⁹ But when Jhañjha, father of Lakṣmī, cannot be identified with the Śilāhāra Jhañjha, the Śilāhāra kingdom cannot be counted as one of the three kingdoms mentioned in the inscription. It may be suggested that these three kingdoms were the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Yādava and the Cālukya; the Cālukya because of the help given

91. *Bhāryā yasya ca Jhañjharājatanayā śrīlasthiyavvāhvayā Dharmatṛyāgavivekabuddhisagunā [Śrī] Rāṣṭrakūṭānvayā | Yā jātā navabālanājasamaye yadanvayādhāritā saptāṅgodyatarājyabhārādharaṇādrāyayātayārgḥyā tataḥ ||*

I. A. Vol. XII, p. 119, v. 5.

Bhandarkar reads bālanāja as bāljanma (B. G. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 233, fn. 4).

92. *E. H. D. (R)*, p. 175, f. n. 12.

93. *Indian Culture*, 1936, p. 404; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. II, pt. i, p. 516.

94. *I. H. Q.* Vol. XVII, p. 14.

95. *E. I.* Vol. II, p. 219.

96. *I. M. P.* Vol. I, By No. 292; *S. I. I.* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 66.

97. *I. A.* Vol. XVII, p. 120.

98. *Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 120.

99. *E. H. D. (R)*, p. 275, f. n. 12.

83. *I.M.P.* Vol. I, By. No. 292; *S.I.E.A.R.* 1904, No. 100; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 66.

84. *S.I.E.A.R.* 1904, No. 47; *I.H.Q.* Vol. XIII, pp. 244 ff.

85. *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 64.

86. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XIII, pp. 252-53; *S.I.I.* Vol. XI, No. 40.

87. *E. H. D. (R)*, p. 241.

88. *I. A.* Vol. XVII, p. 120.

89. *I. A.* Vol. XII, p. 119.

90. *Ibid.* Vol. XVII, p. 120; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 232, f. n. 4.

by Bhillama to Taila II in his war against the Paramāra Muñja.¹⁰⁰ The Sangamner inscription records grant of land by Bhillama and states that he had acquired the five musical instruments and the title of *Mahāsāmanta* and was praised as *aratinisūdana*, *saṅgrām-rāma*, *kandukācārya*, *sellavidyā* and *vijayābharāṇa*.¹⁰¹ From this it is clear that Bhillama enjoyed the status of a recognised feudatory and possessed its official insignia of the five musical instruments. He was the first Yādava prince who had acquired these distinctions. Whether he achieved these distinctions during the time of the Rāṣtrakūṭas or the Cālukyas cannot be precisely stated. Bhillama's marriage with the daughter of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Jhañjha does not necessarily indicate his political friendship with the Imperial Rāṣtrakūṭas. Jhañjha was merely a minor political functionary, though belonging to the Rāṣtrakūṭa family. It may be that the period of transition when the sovereignty over the Deccan passed from the hands of the Rāṣtrakūṭas to those of the Cālukyas seems to have provided Bhillama with an opportunity to strengthen his own power and seek political recognition from the Cālukya Taila II, who must have willingly enlisted his help against the Rāṣtrakūṭas and conferred upon him the title of a *Mahāsāmanta* and its insignia of the five musical instruments.

Bhillama's alliance with the Cālukya Taila II and his war with the Paramāra Muñja.

During the second half of the 10th century the Rāṣtrakūṭa Empire was verging on a collapse. The successes of Kṛṣṇa III were short lived, and after his death in 968 A.D. the empire could not be held together by his successors. The Paramāra invasion of 972 A.D.¹⁰² had broken the reed and in 973 Taila II swept away the last straw from the camel's back.¹⁰³ Taila II was helped by Bhillama when he attacked the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Whether this political compact, which Bhillama II and the Cālukya Taila II had reached, was in any way a consequence of the marriage of Vaddiga, father of Bhillama, with the daughter of the Cālukya Dhorappa cannot be said in the absence of the relationship between Taila II and Dhorappa being known. It appears that Bhillama made a com-

100. E. I. Vol. II, p. 218; Above p. 125.

101. Ibid, p. 216.

102. Ganguly: *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 61 ff; I. H. Q. Vol. XVII, pp. 17 ff.

103. I. H. Q. Vol. XVII, pp. 11 ff; *Indian Culture* Vol. IV, pp. 43 ff.

mon cause with Taila II in order to make political and territorial gains out of the defeat and overthrow of the Rāṣtrakūṭas from whom he had gained nothing.

When the Paramara Muñja invaded the Cālukya dominions, Bhillama joined hands with the Cālukya Taila II. In the war that was fought on the banks of the river Godāvarī Muñjā suffered a crushing defeat at the hand of Taila and was taken prisoner.¹⁰⁴ Bhillama claims to have defeated and killed Muñja and thus compelled the goddess of Fortune to observe the vow of a chaste woman in the palace of *Raṇaraṅgabhīma*,¹⁰⁵ i.e. Taila II as *Raṇaraṅgabhīma* was a *biruda* adopted by him.¹⁰⁶ Muñja was in fact beheaded by Taila II¹⁰⁷ and if Bhillama claims to have killed him, it is because he was an ally of Taila. Bhillama's alliance with Taila not only saved the Yādava dominions from the invasion of the Paramāras, but also resulted in its extension. The Sangamner inscription shows that the Yādava dominions at the time this inscription was put up extended over the modern Ahmadnagar district of the Bombay state, while during the time of his predecessors it had remained confined only to the Nāsik district.

Bhillama maintained his capital at Sindinagara and the period of his reign may be tentatively fixed as 965 A.D. to 1005 A.D.

The next Yādava prince Vesugi or Vesu married Nāiyalladevī, daughter of the *Cālukyānvaya-Manḍalika* Goggirāja.¹⁰⁸ Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of Goggirāja with the Śilāhāra Gogirāja¹⁰⁹ cannot be accepted on chronological grounds. The Śilāhāra Gogirāja ruled from 930 A.D. to 945 A.D.¹¹⁰ and therefore he cannot be the prince who gave his daughter in marriage to Vesugi. Goggirāja, father of Nāiyalladevī, may be identified with the Cālukya Goggirāja, son of Bārappa of the Lāṭadeśa.¹¹¹ This identification

104. I. H. Q. Vol. XVII, pp. 17 ff.

105. E. I. Vol. II, p. 218.

106. I. H. Q. Vol. XVII, p. 21.

107. Ibid.

108. *Cālukyānvayamaṇḍalikatilakāchrigogirājākarā*
duṭpannā. Duhitātrayādguṇavatī dhāmnā kuladyotitā |
Śrīratnām bata vedhasā prakatitam sāmantarātnāyasā
Śrīnāiyalladevī(devī)nāma subhagā śrī paṭṭārājñi sadā |

I.A. Vol. XII, p. 120.

109. E. H. D. (R), p. 177.

110. *Indian Culture*, 1936, p. 404.

111. I. A. Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 1088 and 1092; *Journal of the Vienna Oriental Society*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

is supported by the fact that Bārappa is referred to as a general of king Taila.¹¹² Bārappa at this time was being threatened both by the Caulukya Mūlarāja and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.¹¹³ Taila also claims to have invaded Gujarāt¹¹⁴ and his son Satyāśraya claims to have killed the brother of Mūlarāja¹¹⁵ in battle. It appears that Bārappa acknowledged the overlordship of the Cālukya Taila II and a matrimonial alliance between the Yādavas and the Cālukyas of Lāṭa was formed in view of the fact that the territories of the two were adjacent to each others and that both of them were threatened by other powers; Bārappa by the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas and the Yādavas by the Paramāras.

Bhillama III: Vesugi was followed by his son Bhillama III. The Kalas-Budruk plates were issued during his regime. They record grant of land by Bhillama after taking bath in the river Devanadī, on the banks of which was situated Sindinagara, the capital of the Yādavas. The plates are dated Śaka 947 (expired) Krodhana S, Sūrya-grahana, Kārttika-Pūrṇimā = November 23, 1025 A.D. Kalas-Budruk is a village about 5 miles from Akoleni in the Ahmadnagar district of the Bombay state.¹¹⁶

Bhillama was appointed a *Mahāsāmanta* and possessed the five musical instruments, the insignia of his office.¹¹⁷ In the Bassein grant he is called a *Māṇḍalika*.¹¹⁸ Bhillama married Hammā Āvaladevī, who was a daughter of the Cālukya Jayasimha II and sister of Āhavamalla Someśvara I.¹¹⁹ The inference of Dr. Indrajī¹²⁰ that Bhillama killed Āhavamalla is not correct, because it is very clearly

112. I. H. Q. Vol. XVII, pp. 23. ff.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid. pp. 23 ff.; S. I. I., Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 52.

115. *Gadāyudha*. Hemacandra refers to a brother of Mūlarāja in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, Vol. I, Canto V. v. 2.

*Mitre revatimitrasya ranāyottastthatustadā
Gaṅgādvārapatī gaṅgamahagaṅgāmāhānujo |
Tadā gaṅgamahagaṅgāmāhānujo gaṅgamahākhyastallaghūbhṛtā ca
Mūlarājānṛpau |*

116. I. A. Vol. XVII, p. 117.

117. Ibid. p. 120.

118. Ibid. Vol. XII, p. 120.

119. *Yasyārdhāṅgaṇiṣatta sundaratanuḥ pratyakṣalakṣmīguṇā
Hammā. Śrījayasimhadevaduhitā śrī Avvaladevī satī |
Yā cātrāhavamalladevabhaginī cālukyavamaśānvapā
śreṣṭhā kāryaviśeṣakāraṇapade saddharmmapatnī kṣītau || V. 9.*

120. Ibid. p. 122.

I. A. Vol. XII, p. 120, V. 9.

mentioned in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* that Āhavamalla Someśvara I committed the *Sallekhana* by drowning himself in the river Tuṅgabhadra.¹²¹ The Bassein grant also glorifies Āhavamalla, and there is not the slightest reference to any struggle between him and Bhillama III.¹²² Bhillama on the other hand served Āhavamalla with all devotion and fidelity and as Dr. Bhandarkar suggests on the authority of the Bassein grant, he took part in many a battle from the side of his brother-in-law Someśvara. During the reign of the Cālukya Someśvara I, the Cālukya army under the leadership of his son Vikramāditya invaded the northern and eastern India and won many victories.¹²³ It seems Bhillama took an active part in these campaigns.

The Successors of Bhillama III: It is not possible to reconstruct the history of the Yādavas from the death of Bhillama up to the time of Seṇacandra II. Between Bhillama III and Seṇacandra II there were three more princes, Vādugi II, Vesugi II, and Bhillama IV. Whether all these three princes actually held power cannot be said with any certainty. It has already been pointed out above that neither the inscriptions nor Hemādri give any details of the relationship which one bore to the other. Bhillama III, according to an inscription, was ruling in 1026 A.D.¹²⁴ and for Seṇacandra II the known date is 1069 A.D.¹²⁵ The gap of 43 years between 1026 and 1069 A.D. was covered by the rule of Bhillama III (if he survived after 1026 A.D.), Vādugi II, Vesugi II, Bhillama IV and Seṇa II (if he began his rule before 1069 A.D.) The rule of Bhillama III appears to have covered good many years of this period of 43 years, because he had married the sister of Someśvara I whose known dates are 1042 A.D. to 1068 A.D.¹²⁶ Even if it is taken for granted that the son-in-law (Bhillama) did not live longer than his father-in-law Jayasimha II, who closed his reign in 1042 A.D.¹²⁷, the last date for Bhillama III cannot be, ordinarily, earlier than 1042 A.D. If Bhillama lived only upto 1042 A.D., only 27 years are left to cover the rule of the three other princes and partly that of the fourth i.e. Seṇacandra II. The quick succession of four princes Vādugi II, Vesugi II, Bhillama IV and Seṇa II in nearly 27 years

121. Bühler's edition, pp. 31-32.

122. I. A. Vol. XVII, p. 120.

123. *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 47 ff.

124. I. A. Vol. XVII, pp. 117 ff.

125. I. A. Vol. XII, p. 121; E. I. Vol. II, p. 227.

126. E. C. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136.

127. E. C. Vol. VIII, Sa. 108 (b), 109 (b).

cannot be considered as normal, and therefore peaceful. It appears that Vesugi II, Bhillama IV and Seuna II did not belong to the main line of the family. It is not possible to give any reasons for the quick changes in succession and for its not being peaceful. It is not unlikely that there were palace revolutions which brought about the downfall of Vādugi II, Vesugi II and Bhillama IV or that these princes might have been the victims of foreign aggression. In support of the latter argument it may be pointed out that the part of the country over which the Yādavas ruled was open to attacks by the Paramāras, Caulukyās, Kalacuris and others who were not friendly towards the Cālukyās of Kalyāṇi. So far as Bhillama IV is concerned, it may be said with certainty that he was a victim of a palace revolution, though the exact nature of the revolution is not known. The Kolhapur inscription of the Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya dated October 27, 1115 A.D. records that the Śilāhāra Bhoja I destroyed Govinda and set Bhillama free.¹²⁸ Govinda of the Kolhapur inscription has been identified with Govindarāja of the Maurya family mentioned in the Vaghali inscription¹²⁹ and Bhillama with the Yādava Bhillama III.¹³⁰ Govindarāja was a feudatory of the Yādava Seunacandra,¹³¹ who is no other than Seuna or Seunacandra II.¹³² The identification of Bhillama, who was set free by Bhoja I, with the Yādava Bhillama III cannot be accepted on account of chronological difficulty. The known date of the Śilāhāra Mārasimha is 1058 A.D.¹³³ Mārasimha was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. This shows that Bhoja was a contemporary of Bhillama IV, who was followed by Seunacandra II, for whom the date 1069 A.D. is known from two inscriptions. Therefore Bhillama, set free by Bhoja I, can be identified only with the Yādava Bhillama IV (and not Bhillama III). It seems that when

Bhillama IV was overthrown and taken captive by Seuna II and the Maurya Govindarāja, the Śilāhāra Mārasimha came to the help of Bhillama IV and defeated in battle both Govindarāja and Seuna. Govindarāja was killed and Bhillama IV, who was in the captivity of Seuna and Govinda, was then set free. This event must have taken place after 1069 A.D., the date of the Vaghali inscription in which Govindarāja is associated with Seuna in making gifts. But the success of Bhillama IV was short lived. Shortly afterwards he was once again overthrown by Seuna.

The overthrow of Bhillama IV, his imprisonment at the hands of Seuna II and the subsequent defeat of Seuna by the Śilāhāra prince Mārasimha were not isolated incidents that concerned only the Yādavas. In fact, they constituted only a phase of a more serious revolution that was taking place at the Cālukya capital Kalyāṇi. After the death of Someśvara I in 1068 A.D. his two sons Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI claimed the Cālukya crown. In the beginning Someśvara succeeded in ascending the throne and in driving out his brother Vikramāditya, but Vikramāditya returned from the south after an exile of about eight years, defeated and overthrew his brother and captured the throne.¹³⁴ It appears that Seuna II had remained in close alliance with the exiled prince for all these years and helped him in regaining the throne. Hemādri states that Seunacandra raised Parmardideva (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) with his mighty arms and placed him on the Cālukya throne at Kalyāṇi.¹³⁵ The Success of Vikramāditya changed the fortune of Seuna as well. It seems, very soon he attacked Bhillama and drove him out once again. Bhillama also lost his life. The Bassein grant records "In that (the Yādava) family was born king Seuna. With the might of his arm, he, after the death of Bhillama, subdued all the kings in the circle of the earth and raised the kingdom with its royal dignity just as the three worlds were raised by Hari in the incarnation of a Boar."¹³⁶ On the basis of the above

128. *Veṇugrāmadavāṇaḥ vijayate vairībhakanthiravo Govindapralayāntakaḥ śikharīṇo vajraḥ kuṇḍjarasya ca Bhojaḥ svīkṛtakonkaṇo bhujabalāttadbhillamodbandha kṛtsoyaṃ karnnadiśāpaṭo ripuku bhrddordandakandūharaḥ || 13.*

Khare: *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 38. (Hereinafter abbreviated as S.M.H.D.)

129. *E. I.* Vol. II, p. 227.

130. *S. M. H. D.* Vol. I, p. 92.

131. *E. I.* Vol. II, p. 227.

132. Above p. 115.

133. Kielhorn's *List*, p. 12, No. 315, p. 57; *J. R. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 281; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 102.

134. *Indian Culture* Vol. IV, p. 50.

135. *Samuddhṛ(ddd)to yena mahābhujena dviṣāṃ vimardātparamardi-devaḥ*

Āsthāpi Cālukyakulapradīpaḥ kalyāṇarājyepi sayeva yena || V. 29. E. H. D. (R). App. C. I., v. 29.

136. *Tadvamso(śo)dbhavaseuṇendunrpatirjjātotra dharmādhikāḥ Sarvānbhūvalayāśṛitāṅsitipatīnnirjjītya sau(śau)ryāsina || Rājyaṃ yena samuddhṛta(tam) sati kala(lakam) svargaṃ gate Bhillame | Yādvatsūkararūpasāmyaharīṇā lokatrayaṃ coddhṛtam || V.10.*

I. A. Vol. XII, p. 120, v. 10.

evidence it may be suggested that Bhillama IV was an ally of Someśvara II and that it was Someśvara II who had sent the Śilāhāra prince Mārasimha to secure his release from Seuṇa and Govinda. Seuṇa had to suffer a temporary eclipse at that time because he could not get any help from Vikramāditya, who had been driven into exile. But once Vikramāditya was in power Seuṇa did not take much time in overthrowing Bhillama IV for the second and the final time.

After Seuṇacandra :—Seuṇacandra II was succeeded by his son Parammadeva according to Hemādri, but Irammadeva according to the Asvi plates dated 1088 A.D., May 3, and issued during his reign. His wife was Yogallā. He was a feudatory of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Irammadeva was succeeded by his brother Siṃha or Siṃharāja. He is said to have brought an elephant, named Karpūratilaka, for Paramardideva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI¹³⁷ from Lañjipura or Tañjipura.¹³⁸ This Siṃharāja has been mentioned as Siṃghaṇa in the Paithan plates of the Yādava Rāmacandra¹³⁹ and as suggested above may be identified with the *Mahāsāmanta* Sevaṇadeva of the Anjaneri Inscription dated Śaka 1063, (expired) *Dundubhi S.*, *Jyēṣṭha su.* 15, *Somavāra* = Monday May 11, 1142 A.D.¹⁴⁰ and the Gadag Inscription dated in 1191 A.D.¹⁴¹ The Anjaneri inscription does not give any genealogical details of his pedigree; it appears that he belonged to the main line and was a brother of Parammadeva. If this identification is correct, he came to power before 1127 A.D., which is the last known date of Vikramāditya VI, and closed his reign after 1142 A.D., the date recorded in the Anjaneri¹⁴² inscription.

Siṃharāja, Siṃghaṇa or Sevaṇadeva (III) according to the Paithan plates subdued the king of Karṇāṭa, punished the Pāṇḍya king and repulsed the leader of the Gurjjaras. It is difficult to

say how far these claims are substantial. He was followed by his son Mallugi.¹⁴³ He is said to have captured the town of Paṇa-kheṭa and took away a troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala, Orissa.¹⁴⁴ Mallugi was followed by his son Amaragāṅgeya according to Hemādri¹⁴⁵ and the Gadag Inscription.¹⁴⁶ Whether Mallugideva may be identified with Mallugi mentioned in the two inscriptions dated Śaka 1104, *Plava S. Śivatithi, Uttarā-yenasaṃkrānti* and Śaka 1104, *Subhakṛta S., Mārgasīra su. Pūrṇimā*, lunar eclipse, Tuesday = 1182 (?) A.D. cannot be determined.¹⁴⁷ After Amaragāṅgeya, the Yādavas seem to have been plunged into obscurity again and except a few names nothing more about their history is known. The names of these Yādava princes known are Govindarāja, Amaramallugi, Karṇa and Kāliyaballāla. No details of the history of these princes are known from any source whatsoever. According to Hemādri¹⁴⁸ Bhillama V captured the throne after overthrowing the sons of his nephew Kāliyaballāla, who himself had been an usurper. This shows that the accession of Bhillama V was not peaceful. It seems Bhillama's accession to power once again restored the rule of the main Yādava family. The accession of Bhillama V took place in 1185 A.D.

Bhillama V, brother of Karṇa, was the first independent king of the Yādava dynasty. He was the first prince who assumed the paramount sovereign titles of *Samastabhuvanāśraya-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Yadukulatilaka*, *Pratāpacakravartti*;¹⁴⁹ all other predecessors of his had subordinate feudatory titles. The earliest known date of Bhillama V from the Nimbal stone inscription is 3rd year of his reign, *Plavaṅga S.*, *Bhādra-Amāvasyā*, *Sūryagrahaṇa* = Friday September 4, 1187.¹⁵⁰ His 2nd year of the reign according to the Hallur inscription falls in the *Kīlaka S.*, *Amāvasyā*, *Somavāra*,

137. E. H. D. (R), p. 242.

138. Lañjipura has been identified with Tanjore by Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Fleet was also of the same opinion on the basis of a spurious Sūdi grant of Būtuga (E. I. Vol. III, p. 183) in which Tanjore is mentioned as Tañjapuri (B. G. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 16 f.n. 3), but this identification is not probable as Tanjore was far away from the Yādava dominion. I would propose its identification with Lañjipura in the Bālāghāt District of Madhya Pradesh (Hira Lal: *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 120).

139. I. A. Vol. XIV, p. 315; E. H. D. (R), p. 179.

140. I. A. Vol. XII, p. 126; see above, p. 115.

141. E. I. Vol. III, p. 219.

142. Anjaneri is a village about 50 miles from Nāsik in the Bombay State.

143. I. A. Vol. XIV, p. 316.

144. E. H. D. (R), p. 242; E. I. Vol. III, p. 219; I. A. Vol. XIV, p. 315.

145. *Ibid.*

146. E. I. Vol. III, p. 219.

147. S. I. E. A. R. 1932-33, (*Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*), No. 55; 1933-34 Nos. 84 and 119. J. Bo. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV, p. 386.

148. *Tato Mallagiputrobhūpalomaramallagih |*
Atha Kāliyaballālāḥ pālayāmāsa mediniṃ || V. 36.
Mahipateṣṭasya viḥāya putrān guṇānuraktā yaduvamśalakṣmīḥ |
Śrībhīllamaṃ tasya tataḥ pitṛvyamavyājarājadbhujamājagāma || V. 37.
E. H. D. (R), p. 242, vs. 36-37.

149. E. I. Vol. III, p. 219.

150. A. S. I. A. R. 1924-25, p. 120; S. I. E. A. R. 1938, App. E. No. 49.

which corresponds to either July 25 or December 19, 1188 A.D.¹⁵¹ Hence, the initial date of his reign will fall in 1187 A.D. But the Muttagi stone inscription is dated in the 8th year of his reign, *Paradhāvi S., Śrāvaṇa su. Pūrṇimā*, Thursday = July 15, 1192 A.D.,¹⁵² which would suggest that he began his reign in 1185 A.D. It may be suggested here that Bhīllama V ascended the throne in 1185 A.D. but assumed paramount sovereignty between January and July 25, 1187 A.D.

Fresh Light on Early Dutch Contact . with Malabar

(as gathered from *De Vestiging Der Nederlanders Ter Kuste Malabar* by M. Antoinette Roelofs-Š-Gravenhage-Martinus Nuhoff — 1943)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.

As early as 1916, the Dutch scholar, J. Aalbers of the University of Groningen, contemplated the writing of a book on the establishment of the Dutch on the Malabar Coast as a counterpart to Dr. Terpstra's well-known treatises dealing with the commencement of Dutch operations on the Coromandel Coast and in Gujarat. But lack of time did not permit him to proceed with his narrative beyond the arrival in Ceylon of the Dutch Admiral Rijcklof van Goens on his way to Malabar for capturing the Portuguese strongholds on the Coast—an achievement which is often spoken of grandiloquently by Dutch writers as the conquest of Malabar. Twenty-seven years were to pass before a full and connected account of the establishment of the Dutch in Malabar appeared from the pen of a Dutch writer. Almost contemporaneously with the completion, in its original form, of the manuscript of my book published later with the caption 'A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar, 1603-78', there was published in Holland the Dutch treatise entitled "*De Vestiging Der Nederlanders Ter Kuste Malabar*", a learned work written by M. Antoinette P. Roelofs (Š-Gravenhage-Martinus Nuhoff—1943). My book, written independently of this elaborate treatise, was originally planned on almost identical lines though, at the instance of my publishers (the University of Travancore), its scope had to be enlarged and its contents re-arranged. In its original form my book would also have ended with the events of the year 1663 and the chapters dealing with the people and polity of Malabar would have been, as in the Dutch book, at the beginning and not at the end where they now appear.

It was, as is stated in the Dutch book under reference, on the coast of Malabar that the concluding phase of the almost seventy-

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151. S. I. E. A. R. 1930, App. E. No. 18.

152. *Ibid*, No. 108.

year long strife between the Portuguese and the Dutch came to a close. Though it was a glorious chapter in Dutch military annals, heroic deeds were not performed in this war and attention has to be centred more on that commercial penetration which led on to the military conquest of the coast. Such a narrative, though monotonous, is indispensable for an understanding of the Company's manner of carrying on trade. The Malabar Coast, which in contrast with other regions of the Indian peninsula proper supplied only one important product, namely pepper, occupied only a very subordinate position in the economy of the Company although the central point of the Portuguese power was established there.

Our author gives an account of Dutch progress in Malabar only till the departure of Rijcklof van Goens from the coast. She concedes that this might be an arbitrarily chosen terminal point. The operation of the concluded contracts and the further settlements with the Malabar princes are considered by her as belonging to a subsequent period which could serve as the theme for a new study dealing with the history of the Commandeury and later Government of Malabar (1663-1795). After giving an account of the land and people of Malabar and foreign traders who settled down there, based on the writing of Linschoten, Baldaeus and Visscher, the author proceeds to give an exhaustive description of the Dutch as merchants on the Malabar Coast. This chapter has three sections, the first of which deals with their earliest contacts with Malabar. As the learned author had opportunities of consulting countless manuscripts preserved in Holland which are inaccessible to Indian students, her book gives information about the activities of early Dutch visitors to Malabar on a scale not to be found in my book, much less in any work on the subject previously published in India. It is therefore thought advisable to offer for the benefit of Indian readers not conversant with Dutch—there may not be thirty men now living in India who know that language—a resume of the facts relating to early Dutch connection with Malabar which constitute her distinctive contribution and which have not been fully chronicled elsewhere. Although only one of these early visitors wrote an *Itinerario* whereby he rendered an inestimable service to his countrymen, others gathered on Portuguese ships great knowledge and experience from which the later Dutch shipowners naturally derived profit.

It is presumed that an inhabitant of Zeeland was the first Dutchman who undertook the journey to the Malabar Coast. The name "Calkoeten", as used by Jacob Willensz, the Customs Collector of Iersekerood, in the opinion of our author, points to Calicut. From this journey the toll-gatherer does not appear to have returned; we do not know whether he reached his destination nor the motives which prompted the man, himself no sailor, to undertake such a distant journey however natural it was to be in close contact with foreign ships which sailed to distant places from Antwerp.

To the period about which positive data are available belong the tragedy which befell De Wolff who was executed by the Portuguese and the voyage of Steven Van der Haghen, the first Dutch Admiral who visited the ports of Malabar and entered into a treaty with the Zamorin. These and the subsequent visits of Paulus Van Caerden, Pieter Willemsz Verhoef and Van den Broeck need not be dwelt on here as they have been described at length in my book.

In 1621, Councillor of India, Jacob Dedel, Commander-in-Chief of the combined fleet of five Dutch and four English ships sailed with instructions to do as much harm as possible to the Portuguese enemy in the Indian Ocean and their strong points situated thereabouts as also to trade on the Malabar Coast without prejudice to the main object of the expedition. Hence he took with him very valuable cargo. It was hoped that, by keeping the Portuguese ships away from the Malabar ports, the Dutch could buy pepper on that coast at a lower price. The Dutch also hoped to persuade the Zamorin to send a fleet of frigates for lending help in an attack on the Portuguese. This last of the expeditions jointly equipped by the Netherlands and England did not accomplish much. Discord between the friends continued. The question of the relative importance of the flags of the two nations was a tender point. As the fleet departed rather late and the favourable monsoon was already over, it could not actually proceed to the Malabar Coast.

The desire to secure the monopoly of the pepper trade for themselves resulted in a race of the Western nations to the Asiatic regions with the result that pepper became available in abundance and actually laid the foundation of the direct trade between India and Western Europe. The principal pepper markets in India lay on the Malabar Coast. So long as Portugal possessed undisputed dominion in Asia, they could maintain, on the Malabar Coast, their pepper monopoly founded on the contracts with the

Indian princes and special reservations to the Crown. But with the waning of the Portuguese power new competitors attempted to make themselves masters of those pepper markets. On this coast lay the centre point of the Portuguese defence system. Here they possessed the fortresses of Cochin, Cranganore and Cannanore, and they tried to subordinate the ruler of Calicut to their influence. However, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it was not on the Malabar Coast in the first place that the competition of the European nations was played to a finish, but more in those territories whither pepper was conveyed inland. Besides Malabar pepper, the Dutch East India Company, in the early days, purchased on the Coromandel Coast slaves who were brought in large numbers from Malabar to the East Coast.

Attracted by the high prices fetched by pepper in Persia and Europe, the Dutch wanted to hinder the English buying the same in Gujarat. But, as it had to be paid for with cash which was useful for buying cloth destined for the Archipelago, the Dutch United East India Company showed little favour to this scheme. Nevertheless, it was observed that, as both the Dutch and the English went to Surat for pepper, its price there went up. Thus Malabar, the proper pepperland, assumed greater importance for the Dutch Company.

Herman Van Speult

When in 1625 Herman Van Speult, former Governor of Amboyna and then Councillor of India, sailed with a fleet of the Company to hurt the Portuguese as much as possible in the Western Quarters (Western India, Persia etc.), he was instructed to touch the Malabar Coast, to greet the Zamorin and enter into commercial relations there. As soon as Van Speult reached Calicut, the Zamorin sent envoys requesting him to go over to Chetwai, where he was encamped fighting against the King of Cochin. After the fleet sailed up to that place, the Zamorin appeared on the shore surrounded by more than 10,000 armed Nairs. He showed all possible courtesy to Van Speult, let the Dutch stay four or five days in his palace and sought to persuade him to establish a settlement in his land.

On the 3rd January, 1626, an agreement was made whereby the Zamorin promised to sell to the Company all the pepper and all the ginger produced in his land, the pepper for 28 Reals of

Eight per Candy,¹ and ginger for 12 Reals per Candy. These wares were to be free of toll as were the goods which the Company wished to import into his land and the necessities for the Dutch settlement. In return Van Speult, in the name of the Dutch United East India Company, promised to deliver annually one cannon, the first to be given after the treaty was confirmed by the Directors or Governor-General and Council. The Zamorin was to prevent the sale of pepper or ginger to other nations than the Dutch and even to his own subjects. Therefore not a single one of his countrymen was to keep the ripe pepper with him. Strict supervision was to be exercised to ensure that no pepper was conveyed in an underhand manner out of the land. At Ponnani the Zamorin offered to the Company for an annual rent a good large fire-proof stone dwelling situated close to the river for storing the pepper. In this settlement the Zamorin's subjects should deliver the pepper, ginger and other wares and weigh them at their own cost. The Company's servants in the lodge stood under the protection of the Zamorin. Finally the treaty ended with the express stipulation that deserters and malefactors should be handed over by the Zamorin to the Dutch Chief. The Zamorin estimated the yield in his territories of about 3000 Candies.² After presenting the Zamorin with some gifts which were really meagre and quite out of proportion to the benefits promised in the treaty, the men went on board having been escorted ashore by the prince.

Van Speult, on his arrival at Surat, learned that, because of the low prices prevalent in Malabar, the trade in pepper would yield considerable profit. As this pepper was coarser than the Javanese pepper and thus more in demand, Van Speult pressed his superiors to establish a factory at Calicut. Besides, they had not to pay cash for pepper, but could buy pepper by retailing Surat cloths, cloves, nutmegs, mace, etc. Feeling sure that his superiors would give good heed to his proposals, Van Speult suggested that a competent and experienced person should take up the position of the head of the contemplated factory at Calicut. Unfortunately Van Speult died at Mocha on the 23rd November on his return journey from Surat to the Netherlands. Even when he was alive, the Governor-General and Councillors did not take kindly to his suggestions and showed him but scant sympathy. The High Council merely decided to send Van Speult's letters to the Netherlands

1. A Real of Eight was about two rupees in value. 1 Candy was reckoned as equivalent to 520 pounds.

2. 1. Candy, in this case, meant 510 Holland pounds.

without any comment. The treaty remained unratified. It was not easy in early years for the Dutch to call on the Malabar Coast as they had to withstand the opposition of strongly equipped Portuguese fleets. The Portuguese tolerated no one on that coast. Only by force of arms was their might to be resisted. The inland trade along the entire West Coast of India and the Arabian Coast up to Mecca was carried on under the protection of the Portuguese. The inland merchants had therefore to pay tolls and convoy money to the Portuguese forts. From the proceeds of these the Portuguese defrayed their war expenses and the cost of the equipment of ships. The Indian merchants were allowed to transport only goods specially permitted by the Portuguese. The rest remained reserved for the Portuguese Crown.

Jacob Jansz Corencray

In 1633 the Dutch factors at Surat decided to send two or three ships along the coast from Daman to Cape Comorin for seizing and destroying Portuguese ships which were sailing with return cargoes. The command of the fleet was given to Jacob Jansz Corencray who was instructed to attack the Portuguese ships and enter into negotiations with the Zamorin on the pretext that he had strayed from his fleet and had merely come to procure some provisions. After offering to the Zamorin his excuse that the Dutch had continually to fight evilly disposed enemies and were being hindered by hypocritical friends, he was to make it appear to the Zamorin that the treaty of Van Speult which the High Government had not yet ratified was entirely unknown to him (Corencray). In fact, Philips Lucasz, the Chief Factor of Surat, was a good deal exercised in his mind about that treaty. He was specially uneasy about the promised annual present of a cannon which he disapproved. He attached more importance to the seizure of richly loaded Portuguese ships than to the pepper trade. With the carrying out of the first part of his instructions, Corencray had to shelve to the background his visit to Calicut. He was asked to man the ships taken as booty if they were serviceable. If they were not seaworthy, they were to be burned. The slaves who came into his hands by the capture of Portuguese ships could be used for populating the regions in the Archipelago.

To prevent the enemy from having a chance of attacking him, Corencray kept his ships as close together as possible. As the time for his return was nearly over, he could send only one merchant for buying pepper. In exchange for the pepper, he was to retail

a large quantity of lead with which the Company was over-burdened. The High Government expected that Corencray should return without this lead, the more so as the Malabarees who came to trade in Surat appeared to be eager buyers of this lead so that they might realise a higher price in their own land. In exchange for the goods and cash entrusted to him, Corencray was to buy about 340 to 350 Candies of pepper. As little money as possible was to be offered. Therefore it was advisable that Corencray should acquaint himself very exactly as to what merchandises were in demand, and at what price and in what quantities they should be negotiated. If a good shipment of cargo were brought, Corencray might, if need be, give a present of a cannon for each turn provided this pepper could be exported free of toll. As not only the Zamorin but also most of the small states of Malabar were bitter enemies of the Portuguese, it would be useful if Corencray could gather the necessary information about the fighting strength of the Malabarees as well on water as on land, the number of their vessels of war, their armaments, etc. But any request made by the Zamorin for armed help against the Portuguese enemy should for the time being be refused.

In this voyage, the damage inflicted on the enemy by Corencray was greater than the trade benefits he acquired for the Company. At Calicut where Corencray tried his utmost to act up to his instructions about the possibilities of trade, he could achieve but little as the Zamorin was, as usual, fighting against Cochin. However, he succeeded, in three days' time, in exchanging 95,000 pounds of lead for a supply of pepper of 680 Quintals³ which was brought on board in small prows by the inhabitants of Cannanore, Mangalore and Barcelor. The information which Corencray had, in accordance with his instructions, collected about the negotiable goods and their prices was satisfactory. It appeared that cloves, nutmegs, saltpetre, lead, *agil*, sandalwood, vermilion, quicksilver, tin, benzoin, radix China, Japanese and Borneo camphor, Chinese procelain, sugar-candy and a small quantity of Reals in specie were negotiable. The High Government regretted that Corencray had stuck scrupulously to his instructions. They felt that with a longer stay on the Coast he could have easily gathered a more considerable supply of pepper. Therefore, the Governor-General and Council decided to send out from Batavia four ships which, besides being destined for trade in Surat and Persia, should also visit the Malabar Coast. Hence four

3. 1 Quintal = 500 pounds.

ships and one small yacht sailed on the 12th July from Batavia under the command of Corencray who had acquired necessary knowledge and experience on his first voyage.

The second fleet sent westward from Batavia under Corencray proceeded first to Persia whence, among other things, they were to take a shipment of tin which was to augment the goods destined for Malabar. Then they could steer their course to Calicut. The goods destined for Malabar were worth 81,166 and odd guilders. They were to be exchanged for pepper. If the purchase of pepper surpassed expectations, Corencray was permitted to barter for Malabar pepper the spices intended for Surat, but not for prices lower than they would fetch in Surat. Corencray was to put into the market commodities like lead and spices only in small lots lest the price be unduly depressed. For buying pepper, the price was at the outset allowed to be very high by the Governor-General and Council i.e. 8 Reals per Quintal. Only if unavoidably necessary were they to speak of the stock of ready money taken with them.

At that time the export of precious metals was forbidden in all European lands. The English Company, the external enemy, could in accordance with the stipulations of their charter export gold and silver only in a limited quantity, and they were to finance their export of specie by the sale of eastern products in other European lands. Though in this respect circumstances were more favourable for the Dutch United East India Company by reason of their possessing greater freedom, yet with them also the tendency was to offer as little cash as possible in their commercial ventures. There was also the circumstance that by barter of goods much higher profits were obtained. Their aim, therefore, was to exchange goods instead of specie as much as possible in the Indian markets for the wares they highly desired. This was sometimes attended with great difficulties in India. This land was notorious for its absorption of precious metals. The hoarding of immense treasure was a special characteristic of Hindu culture. India was inhabited by a large mass of poor people without any purchasing power and a small opulent upper stratum whose chief wealth other than land consisted of gold and precious stones and whose demand for valuable articles and curiosities was insatiable. There was no possibility of investment of capital in industry. Fears of personal insecurity and uncertainty were widely felt. In the circumstances, it was not possible to procure goods in large quantities.

As the High Government, the Directors in the Netherlands, entertained very exalted notions of the importance and potentialities

ties of the Malabar trade, it was decided to secure a consignment of this pepper as cargo for the next following return ship to the Netherlands. They accordingly commanded Corencray to call at all prominent pepper places on the Malabar Coast so that he might all the sooner get his ships fully loaded. The greatest caution had to be exercised to prevent Corencray's ships from being surprised by the Portuguese. A fifth ship, the *Utrecht*, was given to him for chasing enemy ships. The entire coast from Daman to Cape Comorin had to be made unsafe for the Portuguese, and their incoming and outgoing had to be prevented. To these ships all possible damage was to be done so that the inland ships of the allies of the Dutch or ships provided with passes given on account of the Dutch United East India Company could pass free of molestation. Besides pepper Corencray could buy Cardamom also in Malabar.

The Governor-General and Council had great expectations of the Malabar pepper trade and hoped to secure advantageous returns ere long, the more so as perhaps it was not necessary to establish there an expensive factory. The Malabarees themselves brought pepper aboard. Corencray's second expedition had a less favourable course. Coming from Persia, his ships were prematurely discovered by the Portuguese who took their measure and sent out a war fleet of 10 to 20 frigates to pursue the Dutch fleet. They did not attack the Dutch ships, but the native merchants were prevented from bringing their pepper on board. Continually the Portuguese, with their small rowing vessels, made unsafe the channel through which Dutch ships had to reach the coast. Only 150,000 pounds of pepper could be obtained in exchange for lead. An offer of 1200 candies of pepper from his land was made by the King of Cannanore. But here also the trade was hindered by the Portuguese. The same was done also at Baliapatnam, Mount Delli and Ponnani where the inhabitants had likewise pepper in stock. Only at Calicut, although not without the threatening of the Portuguese, could the pepper already contracted for be taken. The lack of good row boats was a matter of deep distress to Corencray; he believed that if he had possessed these he could have been placed in possession of the pepper stock; but now they had to sail away with the task unperformed. It was evident how ardently the Malabarees wished to trade with the Dutch and how disinclined they were to deal with the Portuguese. Above all, the Malabar pirates caused great damage to the Portuguese.

The leading figures in the United East India Company began to see of what great importance this Malabar pepper trade could be for the entire commerce of the Company in India and what damage they could inflict on the Portuguese if they could push the latter out of the same. The Malabar pepper with the cinnamon of Ceylon formed the very nerve of their Indian trade; this pepper was not only taken in the carracks to Europe, but was also exported by the Portuguese to China and Persia and was also used for inland trade in India. The Portuguese arranged with no other pepper places in the Eastern regions as this product was delivered in such large quantities in Malabar. If the Dutch could secure for themselves this pepper trade, they could keep up the price of pepper in Europe.

In addition to the Portuguese the Dutch had also to reckon with the English. The latter also had been readily loading their ships with this spice. It was to be anticipated that, once the Dutch Company with great trouble and cost had made the channel for the West Coast of India safe, the English would not neglect—under the protection of the Dutch—to make use of this circumstance to secure abundant pepper cargoes. In his representation on the Indian trade, Philip Lucasz, the Director of Surat, suggested to his superiors that they should come to an agreement with the English Company on the Malabar trade so that they could carry on this trade jointly and deprive the Portuguese of the same. But they must also bear jointly the expenses of the equipment. Together they could control better the prices both in Europe and India. It only remained to be seen whether the English friends would bind themselves in such a way. Rather, they sought their salvation on the other coast. In 1635 the English President of Surat concluded with the Portuguese an armistice and a treaty whereby in return for certain advantages of trade and navigation the English were to protect Portuguese ships. It was a provisional agreement which had to be approved later by the Governments in Europe. The English could now come freely into Portuguese harbours. The Government at Batavia who avoided as far as possible all conflicts with the English and were preparing for united action in warfare decided not to treat the English as enemies. But, if they decided, with or without the help of their new friends, to attack the Dutch as enemies, then violence must be faced with violence. Likewise they should not take severe action if the English in their ships tried to bring Portuguese goods to Goa by passing through the Dutch fleet in front of Goa. The

Dutch acted in this way without hesitation as they perceived from the outset that the Portuguese would not trust the English “heretics” with valuable goods.

Dr. Pieter Vlack

In 1634, Dr. Pieter Vlack, former President of the Council of Justice at Batavia, went as Commander with the return fleet *via* Surat and Persia to the Netherlands. The High Government commanded him to attend to the Malabar trade. Therefore it was thought advisable that he should immediately sail straight to Cannanore so that he could with all speed gather the pepper before the Portuguese were aware of the arrival of the Dutch lest the former make the trade with the pepper harbours impossible by using a large number of small vessels of war as in previous years. As the pepper yield of Djambi and the West Coast of Sumatra was much smaller than in previous years, the High Government hoped that Vlack would secure a good consignment of pepper for the return cargo for the fatherland. For this at least 400 to 500 lasts⁴ of pepper had to be purchased on the Malabar Coast. A large quantity of pepper could be obtained very quickly at Cannanore, Tramapatnam and Baliapatnam as they were situated very close to each other. The inhabitants of these places already had experience of profitable trading with the Dutch and would therefore show themselves very willing to do so again. As further instruction, Vlack was given a price-list. As much of goods and as little of cash as possible were to be exchanged for pepper—at most $\frac{1}{3}$ cash and $\frac{2}{3}$ goods. Vlack must immediately pay these prices and must not try to bargain. The Indian merchants who first brought the pepper on board had the benefit of the first and best chance out of the barter goods that in this wise promoted their meeting together. The fleet was divided in order that business might be transacted at those three places at the same time; but in such wise that the ships always remained in sight of each other. Three merchants were stationed in the Malabar ports for this trade. Each pepper place was to be occupied with one ship and one yacht. The other three ships ought to keep up the connection. The six ships and three yachts together covered a coastal strip of about ten miles. To the King of Cannanore and other great ones of the land had been offered the friendship of the Company. It was impressed on them that it was more to do

4. 1 last = 3000 Dutch pounds.

damage to the Portuguese than for gain that the East India Company with great trouble and expense had tried to carry on trade with them; however, it could just be the means of liberating them from the Portuguese yoke. How powerless the Portuguese already were had been made clear last year when four Dutch ships had for three months blockaded Goa and the blockade was lifted only owing to lack of provisions for the ships.

Not only pepper but also ginger, cardamoms and cinnamon were the goods desired by the United East India Company which de Vlack was to secure. No less was he to neglect the connections with the pirates of Badagara who frequently had in stock goods for sale and furthermore were sworn enemies of the Portuguese. So it was in the interests of the Dutch to persist in making efforts to buy goods from them. Experience in previous voyages had taught the Dutch that little reliance could be placed on the faith of the Malabar brokers most of whom were papistically inclined and also creatures of the Portuguese used by the latter for espionage. On the ships the Dutch had to keep good watch as great numbers of Malabarees pushed on to them. They should no more be allowed to come beneath in the ships but the trade must be carried above on board in front of the large mast.

This time the results did not come up to expectations. Owing to unfavourable winds Vlack was late in arriving on the Malabar Coast. In addition to the ports of Tramapatnam, Cannanore and Baliapatnam named in his instructions, he visited Ponnani and Badagara also. But in all these places the old pepper had been purchased by the Portuguese and other foreign merchants whilst the new pepper was scarcely plucked by the middle of December. Moreover Vlack found little interest on the part of the natives in the goods he had brought with him for being exchanged for pepper. Also, they asked exorbitant prices for the new pepper and as if they had prior mutual consultations they demanded in all places 10 Reals for one Quintal of pepper. At the same time the price of the goods brought down to be exchanged for pepper had come down. Vlack did not accept these terms as these prices differed considerably from those of the previous year and yet it was not convenient for the Company to appear again on the Coast within three months. Above all he dared not leave relying on the 'windy' promises and treacherous contacts of the Muhammadan merchants who at the same time concluded agreements with the Portuguese who had left merchants and agents in their villages.

On the 27th October Vlack's fleet departed without pepper for Goa pursued by an armada of 13 small war frigates. This fleet blockaded Cannanore for two months out of revenge against the ruler of Cannanore for having negotiated with the Dutch in 1634 and sold them a consignment of pepper. Vlack exhorted the king to maintain the struggle against the Portuguese and presented him for the continuance of the war with three small barrels of gun-powder and further promised all possible support. But while Vlack lay in front of Mount Delli for taking provisions he heard that the (Portuguese) Viceroy, warned of the coming of the Dutch, immediately concluded peace with the king of Cannanore and confirmed the same by a considerable present. The Portuguese were now free to use their fleet against the Dutch. But it did not come to a fight and, unmolested, Vlack reached Surat after a stay of three days in front of the bay of Goa.

Maurits Van Ommeran

The Governor-General, Hendrik Brouwer, judged the navigation to Surat and Persia to be of great importance as well for the promoting of the Indian trade as for striking the Portuguese during their voyage to Goa. For this large squadrons of strong ships were necessary. The need for them was greater after the armistice of Goa. One of these fleets under Maurits Van Ommeran destined for Persia received the special order to blockade the harbour of Goa during three months from the middle of January to the middle of April for hindering the coming out of Portuguese carracks. They were to take provisions at Banda in Bijapur, a kingdom hostile to the Portuguese, and Mount Delli, but both were unfavourably situated for the blockading fleet. Also the pepper trade was not to be neglected. So secretly and so quickly as if it were for a flight, Van Ommeran must take a great stock of pepper before the Portuguese became aware of the project and tried to hinder the same. For this pepper trade they had to send very brisk and rapidly sailing yachts from the fleet stationed in the bay of Goa at the time pepper was sold on the Coast, that is in February and March. The attitude of the Zamorin had aroused the deep distrust of the Batavia Government and Van Ommeran was therefore not commanded to visit this prince. As he wished to bind himself more with the Portuguese, all his proposals to the Dutch were made merely for form's sake so as to misguide the Dutch and to mark time.

This voyage also had an unhappy outcome. Van Ommeran passed away on the way beyond the Mamale Strait in the Maldives on the 18th October. He was buried on land at Mount Delli after the crew had kept the body for a long time in the rear of the barge in a box.

Van Ommeran was succeeded by Jacob Junsz Patacka who had belonged to the fleet of Van Caerden in 1608. Over his appointment the Governor-General and Council showed great discontent. He neither blockaded Goa nor accomplished anything in the trade on the Malabar Coast. He died at Ambon in the Moluccas in 1637.

Such were the early contacts made by the Dutch in Malabar before the commencement of the next stage, namely trade under the protection of the fleet blockading Goa.

Procedure of Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi

BY

DR. K. S. LAL, M.A., D.PHIL.

The procedure of succession to the throne in the Mughal times was simple. From the time that Babur set his foot in India it became a custom that the son of the deceased king should succeed him to the throne. Sometimes there were revolts, as of Salim or Khusrau, or there were wars of succession, as between the sons of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb; but it was always a son of the late Emperor, if not necessarily the eldest, who ultimately ascended the throne. The nobles took a keen interest and sometimes an active part in the succession question, yet none of them ever coveted the crown for himself after setting aside the claims of the scions of royalty. One great feature of the Mughal rule is that right from 1526 till the final extinction of the Empire in 1857, it was always "the Great Mughal" who sat on the throne of Delhi.

In the light of the above facts the principle of succession in the Sultanate period seems to be quite unstable, a jumble of nomination, election, hereditary right, right of conquest and so on. Quite a few scholars have studied this problem but only to agree to differ. Mr. M. A. Makhdomee says:¹ "The King was elected by the nobles—the Khans, Maliks, amirs, alims, Shaiks and Saids. But the election was a mere ceremony, as the King's nominee was almost always elected." Criticizing this view Mr. A. C. Banerjee says:² "During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to which recourse might be had in cases of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultan's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead king—these considerations sometimes received more attention, but the decisive

1. *Journal of Indian History*, April 1935, pp. 96-114.

2. *Journal of Indian History*, August 1936, pp. 196-200.

voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State". That the nobility played a very prominent part in the succession question in the Sultanate of Delhi, is undoubted. It is also true that personal convenience too of the nobles motivated their interest in the succession question. But the assertions that "there was no recognised law of succession" or that "the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles," invite a *de novo* study of the problem, for, although there was no written law in this regard, there was a definite convention and a definite procedure adhered to in determining succession to the throne in the Turkish period.

Strange as it may seem, the first Muslim ruler of India was a Viceroy, and not a king.³ Qutbuddin Aibak, appointed vice-regent in India by Muhammad of Ghaur, continued in the same position even after the monarch had met with a sudden death. When Qutbuddin declared himself sovereign of India three months after the death of his master, there was little opposition, but that Qutbuddin was ever recognised as the lawful king is doubtful. None of his coins, if any were ever struck, exist; and his name is not included in the list of Sultans of Delhi whose names Firōz Tughlaq had included in the Friday Khutba.⁴

Still when Qutbuddin died, his son Ārām Shah was considered to possess a claim to the throne. Whether Ārām Shah was nominated by Qutbuddin or not, the very fact that he was the son of the late ruler was enough for him to be considered for the throne. The Lahore barons supported his cause. But Ārām was too young for the throne and this went against him. The Delhi barons found Iltutmish, a son-in-law of Qutbuddin, a more capable man. Here the relationship of Iltutmish with the late ruler as also his personal qualities determined the choice of the Delhi nobles. Later achievements of Iltutmish did not give any chance to the nobles to regret his election.

Iltutmish was the first real sovereign ruler of the Delhi Sultanate.⁵ To consolidate his position and to perpetuate kingship in his family he tried some infallible methods. He procured the robe

3. So thought Ibn Battutah, *Def. and Sang.* Vol. III, p. 164.

4. Afif: *T. F. S.* pp. 106-7.

5. Ibn Battutah, *Def. and Sang.* Vol. III, p. 184. He writes on the authority of Kamāluddīn. See Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* p. 27.

of honour from the Khalifa of Baghdad in recognition of his sovereignty, and created an order of nobility loyal to himself. The plans of Iltutmish, however, well nigh failed when all of a sudden his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud, whom the king had declared as the crown prince, died. Iltutmish had risen through sheer dint of merit and knew well that merit alone could keep a sovereign on the throne of Delhi. His other sons were incapable and therefore he preferred Raziah to Ruknuddin Firōz. But if the pitting of a daughter against a grown up son was a very unwise step on the part of the Sultan, it does some credit to the nobility of the day to adhere to the wishes of the late monarch and to raise to the throne a scion of the family even if she was a daughter. Raziah, however, knew that the nobles and the people could willingly serve only a person of grit and determination. When, therefore, she found that there was some plan of excluding her from the throne, she addressed her subjects assembled for the Friday prayers and asked them to allow her a chance to show her abilities and declared that if she failed, her head could be struck off.⁶

But merit lives from man to man and not from man to woman. The frailties of kings could be pardoned, but not of the queen. Raziah fell not because she was incompetent (for her deficiencies as military commander were compensated by her Machiavellian diplomacy) but because her private morals were publicly examined. Moreover, she had tried to arrest the growing power of the nobles. The barons who thought of Raziah's power as of their own creation, could hardly brook her attitude. She fell. After her, her three brothers Muizuddin Bahram Shah, Alauddin Masaūd Shah and Nāsiruddin Mahmūd Shah were tried on the throne one after the other but all of them were found wanting. They only reigned while the baronial oligarchy ruled.

The way Nāsiruddin had got the throne alone shows the power of the nobles. His resigned way of life was perhaps more of a necessity than of a choice. When Nāsiruddin died without leaving a son, Balban, who had exercised full powers during the past twenty years, rose to the position of a king. He was the son-in-law of Iltutmish and father-in-law of Nāsiruddin, and even during the life time of the late sovereign used to have the insignia of royalty.⁷ But he could become the king only because Nāsiruddin had left no son, and had proved himself superior to other nobles

6. *Futūhus Salātīn*, p. 127.

7. Barani p. 26.

in ability and administrative experience. This was known too well to Balban, himself a powerful baron belonging to the oligarchy. Once, therefore, Balban had come to power, although a nominee of the oligarchy, he overshadowed his partisans and sheared their power by and by.

About the last days of Balban history repeated itself. As the plans of Iltutmish had been shattered because of the sudden death of the crown prince, so were Balban's schemes frustrated when prince Muhammad met with an unfortunate death at the hands of the Mughals. As a last resort he asked the nobles to support the accession of Kaikhusrau, son of Muhammad, in strict hereditary succession. The nobles headed by Fakhruddin set aside the nomination of Kai Khusrau, but gave the crown only to Kaiqubad, another grandson of Balban. The fact that Kaiqubad was elected to the throne while his father was alive, was an innovation of the Turkish nobles to serve their ends, for the family of Fakhruddin and especially his son-in-law Nizamuddin seized all power. There was a good reason also for their decision as Bughra Khan was far away in Bengal. Later encouraged by the serious illness of Kaiqubad, the Turkish nobles tried to grab power under the camouflage of his infant son whom they placed on the throne giving him the title of Shamsuddin.

Jalaluddin Khalji, more to save himself from the intrigues of the Turkish barons than to get the throne, resorted to a coup and usurped the throne. It is significant to note that Jalaluddin always used to make voluntary confessions that he did not belong to the kingly stock⁸ and showed undue consideration to his great enemy Malik Chhajju simply because the latter was a nephew of Balban.⁹ Such was the importance of the hereditary right that every one in Delhi was simply astonished as to how Jalaluddin, who had no connection with the ruling family, had become king (*hairān māndandī va aishān rā ajab mīnamūdand* Baranī p. 175). Jalaluddin on his part dared not enter Delhi for a whole year.

Alauddin Khalji was a usurper. He was not only guilty of regicide, but had ascended the throne while the sons of the late king Jalaluddin were still alive. This fact had struck his contemporaries to be of vital consideration but their mouths were shut with Alai gold.

8. Baranī: *Tarikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 178.

9. Baranī pp. 183-84.

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The death of Alauddin left Kāfūr complete master of the situation. He was in a position to usurp the throne but he dared not do so and ruled only after placing prince Umar Khan on the throne. The one interesting fact to be noted here is that the greatest source of Kāfūr's strength was the will, real or forged, of the late Sultan. Shihābuddin was there because Alauddin had nominated him. How much regard there was for the sons of the late king is evidenced from the fact that the assassins who had been sent to murder Qutbuddin left him untouched, and despatched Kāfūr with the same dagger which had been meant for Qutbuddin.¹⁰

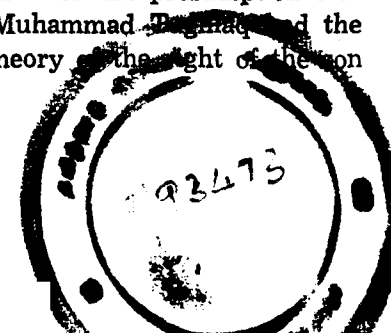
Qutbuddin was not recognised king immediately after his release from prison. He was first appointed deputy of Shihābuddin, the king nominated by Alauddin. Only when he had consolidated his position by gaining the support of the nobility that he ascended the throne.

Nāsiruddin Khusrau's usurpation and his short reign were put to an end by Ghayāsuddin Tughlaq, the Warden of the Marches on the North Western Frontier. When Ghayāsuddin Tughlaq was in the fittest position to ascend the throne, he made persistent enquiries if there was any son of Alauddin or Mubarak Shah surviving to whom the crown could have been offered; and it was only when he had been told in the negative that he accepted the crown himself. Whether Ghayāsuddin was sincere in his query or not is beside the point; the important fact is that the principle of hereditary succession was so much recognized that even a conqueror thought it fit to clarify his position.

After Ghayāsuddin came to the throne his son, although he was suspected of some foul play in connection with the death of his father. But Malik Juna had been declared heir-apparent by his father and he ascended the throne without difficulty.

Firōz Tughlaq ascended the throne on the election of the nobles who based their choice on the kindness and affection that Muhammad Shah had borne him. Without entering into the controversy which attaches to the accession of Firōz, it may safely be said that Firōz was elected by the nobles on the presumption that he would have been nominated by Muhammad Shah had the latter not died so suddenly. "The theory of the right of the son

10. *Futūhus Salatin* pp. 342-43.



to succeed was not challenged by anybody. The nobles simply denied the existence of any son of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq."¹¹ Two other factors strengthened Firōz's claims—he was closely related to the late sultan and he was considered fit to rule.

Firōz had nominated his eldest son Fath Khan as his heir apparent but the latter died early. Then the second son Zafar Khan was nominated but he too died. Firōz then wanted to nominate his grandson, Tughlaq Shah, son of Fath Khan, to the exclusion of his third son Muhammad Khan. But Muhammad Khan did not take this decision lying down; he created a lot of trouble and Firōz had to abdicate in his favour. Intrigues in the royal family continued. After the death of Sikandar Shah the nobles could not decide as to whom they should elect as their Sultan. The throne remained vacant for fifteen days.¹² But the choice ultimately made was of Sultan Mahmūd, a son of Muhammad Shah. Even though he was a minor, he was a direct male descendant of the royal house.

From what has been said above, some facts emerge very clearly. Firstly, in the Sultanate of Delhi the first claimant of the throne was the son of the Sultan. If he was competent, well and good; if not, the nobles could not put up with an incompetent monarch and removed him. This did not mean the exclusion of other sons or direct descendants from having a chance of showing their merit. There is no doubt that such a change would have given an opportunity to the nobles to fish in troubled waters, still my study of the period leaves no doubt in my mind that there was a persistent effort on the part of the nobles to place on the throne a scion of the royalty than any one else. They suffered incompetent rulers (although an incompetent ruler could hardly stay for long), they enthroned minors, yet they adhered to this principle. The patience the nobles showed in dealing with the descendants of Iltutmish, of Balban and of Firōz Tughlaq speaks for their persistent desire to keep the throne to the descendants of the dead king.

When such descendants were not available, then of course a change of dynasty could not be helped, as in the case of Balban or of Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq. But any violent change without sufficient reason was resented. Jalāluddīn Khaljī's accession simply

11. Tripathi p. 67.

12. Ferishtah p. 145.

shocked the people. The surprise was not that the Turks had lost power and non-Turks had gained, as the Khaljīs belonged to the Turkish race,¹³ but the surprise was how, while the scions of the old house were alive, Jalāluddīn had come to the throne. The abduction of the infant Shamsuddīn by the Khaljīs made the people of Delhi rise to a man.¹⁴

Secondly, nomination by the ruling king also was a very important factor in determining the succession question. The king usually nominated his son who was receiving training in statecraft under the monarch himself and about whose capabilities he was fully aware. When Iltutmish's heir apparent suddenly died, he was faced with a very great problem of making a second choice and he chose Raziah. Another nomination which proved unfortunate was of Shihābuddīn Umar by Alauddīn Khalji (if Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī is to be believed) as against his eldest son Khizr Khan. Exceptions apart, the king's nominee always got the throne.

Lastly, the choice of the nobles was also a dominating factor. With the coming of a new king to the throne a new set of nobility also used to come into being. Thus we have names like Muizzī Amirs (nobles created by Mu'izzuddīn bin Sām, Muhammad Ghaurī), Qutbī Amirs (created by Qutbuddīn), Shamsī Amirs, Balbani Amirs, Jalālī Amirs, Alai Amirs and so on. That being the case, a nobleman created by one king could not always expect to receive a fair deal from another king. The treatment meted out to the nobles of Jalāluddīn by Alauddīn Khalji or to those of Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq by Muhammad Tughlaq are instances in point. Thus a nobleman in the Sultanate period believed in the principle of "make hay while the sun shines". It was this which rendered his interest in the succession question not always healthy. "In fact the Sultans of India could not evolve a governmental machinery to which the nobles could adapt themselves or under which they could feel secure.... Under strong rulers the nobles were a source of strength to the king, but during the reign of weaklings they became a real danger to the sovereign and the State."¹⁵

Thus the principle of succession was based on hereditary claims and it was adhered to as far as possible. Even women and

13. For this conclusion see my *History of the Khaljis* pp. 7-16.

14. Barani. Also *Ferishtah* p. 88.

15. *History of the Khaljis*, p. 226.

minors were eligible. If this claim was supplemented by nomination by the king, nothing like it. In all cases, however, consent of the nobles or election by the nobles ratifying the nomination was almost essential. They could seldom brook an incompetent ruler. Thus the chances of women and minors for becoming king were few, and even if they were crowned they could not carry on for long.

This was a simple procedure. The complications arising out of some individual cases should not prompt us to declare that there was no procedure at all or it was quite a haphazard one. True, there was no written law of succession in the Turkish period, but sometimes customs and conventions are stronger than written laws.

French-Indian Families of Aligarh

BY

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University of Dacca.*

During the 18th century when the Mughal empire had begun to break up and independent states had come into existence both in North and South India, a large number of European adventurers, drawn from the west European countries, came to India and enlisted themselves in the fighting forces of the local rulers. They were eagerly sought after by the Indian princes, because the worth of the European soldiers, or even the native ones trained by Europeans had been repeatedly proved in many a battle. The largest contingent of such soldiers of fortune was supplied by France, partly because Dupleix had raised the reputation of French soldier-ship to a very high pitch in this country, and partly because, after the liquidation of the French empire in India in the battle of Wandiwash, 1761, a number of Frenchmen attached themselves in the service of the Princes, either as trainers of their army, or engineers to run their cannon foundries. Then again, the French Revolution had compelled many Frenchmen to seek refuge in foreign countries and to them India was a very congenial soil both for safety and fortune-hunting. The victories of the Revolutionary army over the combined forces of Austria and Prussia, in the battle of Valmy and Jemappes, raised the prestige of the French soldiers even higher. The victories of Napoleon Bonaparte established the position of Frenchmen as the best fighters of the world. When Mahdaji Sindhia occupied Delhi in 1796, and had converted Aligarh (old name Kōl, corrupted into Koil) into the head-quarter of his army of Northern India, he had under him two foreign brigades, officered by Europeans, picked up from various nationalities. Gen de Boigne was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of Sindhia's Northern Indian forces, for whose maintenance, the revenue of 52 Doab parganas were permanently assigned. Under General Perron, his successor, the number of the brigades was raised to four, officered by citizens picked up from a medley of nationalities. Thus, Southerland, Sangster, Mackenzie (Lt) James (Capt), Edward Montague, MacIntyre, were Scotchmen; Dodd (Major), Birch (Lt), Dawes (Capt),

Butterfield, Symes (Capt), Harriot, Abbott, Smith, Roberts (Lt), Shepperd (Capt), Evans (Capt), Davis the elder Skinner, were Englishmen; William Tone, the Gardners, Donelly, Brownrigg, and George Thomas were Irishmen; Pohlmann was a Hanoverian German, Fidele Filos was a Neapolitan; the Hessings were Dutchmen, whereas Drudgeon, Dudrenaig (Col Dudrenec), Dupont, Merchand (Col), Fleura (Col), Bourquien (Major), Bourneau, (Capt), Pedron (Maj), Gastein (Maj), Fremont, Lyeuti, Jumeon, Rohan, Plumet (Maj), Raymond, the Pueches, Bellasis, Lestineau and Medoc, were Frenchmen; and Jean Baptiste Filose (son of Fidele Filos the Neapolitan), Colonel Vickers, Major Louis Derridon, and Col James Skinner were half-breds. None of the European adventurers, to my knowledge, brought their families to India. On the other hand, most of them, married Indian wives, Hindus, Muslims or half-castes, born of European fathers. Not a few of them settled in this country and became its citizens. To give only a few examples, Le Voisseux, and after his death Somers (Walter Reinhardt), married Zebunnisa, known in history as Begum Somru; George Thomas, the uncrowned king of Hansi, married an adopted slave-girl of Begum Somru.¹ William Linaeus Gardner, took to wife a Muslim princess of the house of Cambay. In those days of chaos and anarchy when life and property were so unsafe, when in the clash of arms between the Mughals and the Mahrattas towns were deserted and communications between villages had ceased on account of the activities of robbers, highwaymen, or the prowling tigers, and wild elephants, people attached a high value to the profession of a soldier, and even the aristocratic strata of the Indian society did not consider a matrimonial alliance with a foreigner, differing in race, religion and outlook of life, a 'mesalliance.' Major Drudgeon, keeper of emperor Shah Alam, had married a niece of Nawab Sulaiman Shukōh of Delhi.² General de Boigne had a Mughlani wife of the name of Mihrunnisa,³ through whom he had two children, a son and a daughter. His successor General Perron married a half-caste wife from Pondichery, the sister of Louis Derridon, raised to the rank of Major in Sindhia's army. My paper concerns such foreigners of French nationality who stayed in Aligarh and reared a family. De Boigue, who left Sindhia's service on leave, took with him his

1. Baillie Fraser, *Memoirs of Col. James Skinner*: Keene, India under Free-lances, p. 100.

2. Compton, *European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, p. 346.

3. Indian Historical Records Commission, *Brochure of Papers*, Jaipur Session, 1947; Vide paper entitled "Aligarh Diary", by the writer p. 46 ff.

two children (and an Indian Khānsām), and never came back. He left two of his daughters, for whom he expressed great concern in his letters to Col Southerland.⁴ A landed estate (Jagir) in Jalesar, in Etah District, U. P., was granted by the English authorities for the support of the girls. In one of his letters to Major Southerland, conveyed through Gen Claude Martin, he requests the English major, 'to maintain its (freehold's) income, for the patrimony of my children till they are of age.' Keene wrote in 1907, "whether the young ladies lived to enjoy the provision thus made for them, whether Southerland looked after their settlement in life, and whether they left any descendants, it is now too late to ascertain." De Boigne's Aligarh wife had to mourn the absence of her lord and had to sell her private landed properties in Aligarh, to make the two ends meet.⁵ Incidentally, it is pertinent to remark, as I had done in one of my earlier papers,⁶ that General de Boigne did not and could not live at Šāhab Bāgh (in Aligarh), as has been asserted by historians including the author of the Aligarh District Gazetteer,⁷ which was constructed by Perron, as testified by the inscription still existing in the Sahab Bagh gate.⁸ He lived in the garden house, outside the walls of Kōl (old Aligarh), now occupied by the District Hospital of Aligarh. The Catholic grave-yard existing in the compound of the Hospital contains an inscription written in French. Perron left India, after the defeat of Sindhia's forces in the battle of Aligarh (4th Sept. 1803) followed by a more crushing defeat at Laswārī, at the hands of General Lake. Perron settled in France and married a French woman.⁹ With the materials at my disposal, I have reconstructed the history of three French-Indian families of Aligarh,—of the Derridons, the Pedrons and the Pueches. Though the great free-lancer Chevalier Dudrenaig (Dudrenec, or Du Dre nec), also of Sindhia's service settled in Aligarh, after his surrender to the English (following the battle of Aligarh, and Lasāwri), in his house in Kol (which is now included in the premises of the Court of the District Judge, Aligarh) and stayed there for some years, I have found no survivor of his family.

4. Keene, *Hindustan under the Freelances*, p. 203.

5. The "Aligarh Diary" now in the Indian National Archives, Delhi.

6. *Brochure of Papers Indian Historical Records Commission, Aligarh Session 1943*; Vide article entitled "Aligarh Memories of Gen. Perron." by the writer.

7. N. W. P. District Gazetteer, Agra Division, p. 202 ff.

8. "Aligarh Memories of General Perron," Ind. Hist. Recs. Comm. Brochure Aligarh-p. 35 f n.

9. There is no direct evidence on record whether Perron married any other wife in India, after the death of Major Derridon's sister.

The study of these settled free-lancers is all the more interesting when viewed from the standpoint of culture, because it demonstrates how the habits, customs, language and even the vices of the majority react on and influence those of the minority.

The Derridons: This family, so far as its Aligarh branch is concerned, is traced from Major Louis Derridon (Indianised into Dareebdoon), a half-caste Frenchman from Pondichery, and a brother-in-law (sister's husband) of General Perron. Another sister of Maj. Derridon was married to Col. John Hessings,¹⁰ while a third was the wife of Francis Koine, an officer in Begum Somrū's service,¹¹ who during the Mutiny days, had rendered great help to Englishmen fleeing from Delhi to Meerut. Major Louis Derridon commanded a battalion in Hessing's Corps, and participated in the battle of Ujjain, in which Holkar annihilated four of Sindhia's battalions, and nearly killed all of their officers. Derridon was taken prisoner in a wounded condition, and Col Hessings paid forty thousand rupees for his ransom.¹² Maj. Louis was then attached to the brigades in Aligarh, and when Gen Perron the Commander-in-chief of Sindhia's northern Indian forces, dismissed the English officers on the eve of the war in 1803, Derridon seems to have been raised to the rank of a major. He was at Agra,¹³ when the English captured the Aligarh fort in 1803. Thereafter, he settled in Aligarh, and lived in an affluent state in *Ṣāhab Bāgh*¹⁴ subsisting on the incomes derived from the village of Bhamola (near the Aligarh fort and Aligarh Muslim University), and other landed properties in Agra. But it appears from the study of Sindhia's 'parwana' to Gen. Perron, I mean from the endorsement of the Company's officials on

10. Col. George Hessings Commandant of Agra Fort in 1803 was the issue of this marriage.

11. He (Francis Koine) appears to have been a Lorrainer.

12. According to local newspaper Holkar refunded the entire amount Vide Compton 345.

13. Ibid.

14. Constructed by Perron in 1802. C. f. Inscription at the Main Gate.

PERRON

1802

Transliteration: *Ḳhudāyā bāgh-i Nāserud-doulaḥ Intizām-ul-Mulk Jar-nail Peeroon Bahādur Muẓaffar Jung hamisha bahār bād.*

Translation: God, keep this garden of Nāserud-doulaḥ Intizām-ul-Mulk (Manager of the State), General Peeroon Bahādur Muẓaffar Jung (the Victorious in battle), in ever-lasting spring.

Hijrī Year 1217, Christian Year 1802.

the reverse page of the document, that a great deal of litigation and judicial processes had to be gone through, before the claims of the Derridons over the properties of Gen Perron could be established. Keene, as the District Judge of Aligarh, mentions in 1872, that the family had appeared in his court as litigants. They were dressed like Europeans but spoke Hindustānī.¹⁵ He is observed by lady Fanny Parkes,¹⁶ as sojourning in Aligarh in 1838. Nothing further is known about the Major till his death which took place on April 5, 1845, at the age of 75 years.¹⁷ His four-stepped grave in the Christian cemetery of Aligarh, is marked by a big cross from end to end, pointing to the Roman Catholic creed of the deceased. From an interrogation of Alexander Edmund Derridon, great-grandson of the Major, in 1943, it appears that the properties of the Major including those in Agra devolved on his son Alexander, who is supposed to have been killed by the Mutineers at Agra. James Derridon, another son of the Major, died in Aligarh, on Dec. 17, 1845, at the age of 28 years and 8 months,¹⁸ it appears, without any issue. The properties of the family, including those in Aligarh, were squandered away by Anthony and Rufus Derridon, two unworthy grandsons of the Major. There are yet some people in Aligarh who remember the drunken bouts and riotous living of the two brothers. After the death of his first wife, Barbella, in 1872,¹⁹ Anthony seems to have married again and had issues. But Rufus did not bind himself in a lawful wedlock, and lived a scandalous life with a dancing girl of the name of Shabrātin, at *Ṣāhab Bāgh*, as long as *Ṣāhab Bāgh* remained the family property of the Derridons. The crash came soon and the landed properties of the family, including the *Ṣāhab Bāgh* garden-house, had to be mortgaged. The latter property (*Ṣāhab Bāgh*) was acquired by Lāla Badrī Prashād, a local pleader, who later on, sold it to the Mahammadan Anglo-Oriental College. The villages of Dōtpūr and 'Ālampūr, given by the English authorities as compensation for a part of their landed properties in Bhamola, taken for constructing the District Court buildings and a military cantonment, were purchased by Qurbān Ālī Khān, a 'raīs' of Jaipūr and Kunwār Mahmūd 'Ālī Khān, 'Raīs' of Chattārī,²⁰ respectively. Both the brothers had to live in hired houses, and pass the latter part of their lives on the bounties of

15. Keene, *Hindustan under the Free-lances*, 191.

16. Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of the Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque*.

17. Inscription in the Christian Cemetery Aligarh, Grave No. 98.

18. Inscription in the Christian Cemetery Aligarh, Grave No. 97.

19. Inscription in the Christian Cemetery Aligarh, Grave No. 96.

20. Grand-father of Nawāb Aḥmad Saīd Ḳhān of Chhattārī.

their friends and the local gentry. Alexander Edmund Derridon, son of Anthony (21), was a somewhat tall man of sun-burnt complexion, having few, I should say none, of foreign features. He lived in Aligarh city till the time of his death in 1946. He spoke English, knew to write and read English and Urdū. He was carrying a small trade in ink and boot-polish, which he manufactured, but owing to lack of adequate capital, he could not expand his business. He had to shift his residence from place to place, because he could not regularly comply with the usual demands of the house-owners. He sold whatever was left of his ancestral effects, including the Farman of Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and the Parwāna of Daulat Rao Sindhia, the former to Nawāb Šadr Yār Jung Bahādur, Dr. Ḥabibur-Rahmān Khān Sherwānī, Rais of Ḥabībgunj who owns a magnificent Library of his own in his country house at Ḥabībgunj, and the latter to the Librarian Muslim University, Aligarh. These papers contained donation of six hundred and twenty-five bighas of land in the village of Bhamola for the erection of a garden house which eventually became known as the Šāhab. Bāgh. Edmund Derridon left a son and two daughters, all, of whom were young at the time of their father's death. His children are scarcely distinguishable from their Indian neighbours except through their high-sounding names and adherence to the Roman Catholic Church of Āgra.

The Pedrons

Col. Etenne Pedron, progenitor of the Indian branch of the family was a Frenchman, having been born according to Compton,²¹ in Hannebon, near L'Orient, in France. He became attached to M. Law's²² corps in Chandernagore, and when that port fell through the attack of Major Carnac, in 1761, he left for Lucknow in the company of his chief, and took service under the Nawāb Wazīrs of Awadh. The latter appointment he had to quit, at the instigation of the English, so that he took up a job under the Rāja of Berār. He is next observed as a lieutenant in de Boigne's brigade being posted in Muttra. In 1795, he was made the Major of a new brigade, the third brigade raised by Sindhia. In 1795, he was deputed to capture Delhi, from the hands of Ghulām Qādir, the Rohilla chief, and since it was very heroically defend-

21. P. 378.

22. Brother of John Law the famous financier in the Govt. of the Regency in France under the Duke of Orleans; Compton 378.

ed, and could not be taken by an assault (followed by five months of siege), Pedron had the gates opened by golden keys. In 1800, Pedron was commissioned to raise a fourth brigade at Aligarh on the eve of a rumoured invasion of Delhi by Zamān Shāh, grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. In 1801, he was sent by General Perron to operate against Lakhwa Dādā, who had revolted against Sindhia at Datia, Central India. He failed in his task, so that Perron himself had to go with re-inforcements to that place. After sometime, he was sent to Hānsī, to take charge of the armies from Bourouien, engaged in reducing Hānsī, held by George Thomas. He secured its capture, by corrupting the gate-keepers. When the English under Lord Lake approached Aligarh, its fort, (formerly known as Šabit-garh, from the name of Šabit Khān Turkmān, the governor of Kol-Aligarh Sarkar), reconstructed by French engineers, was in charge of Pedron. It was to Col. Pedron, the fort commandant that General Perron addressed a letter from Somna (16 miles to the West of Aligarh, on the E.I.R.) 'to defend the fort as a Frenchman, while a single brick of the fort remained' while he himself elected to fly, without giving the English army any opposition, near the approaches of the city of Mendu (i.e. Hathras) though he had ten thousand cavalry under his command. Suspecting treachery, from the behaviour of their European officers, the Indian soldiers put Pedron under arrest, and placed the fort in charge of Baji Rao, a Rajput. Pedron was released by the English, after the capture of the fort on September 4, 1803.

Thorn has described Pedron at the time of his surrender to the English as an 'elderly man, clad in green jacket with gold lace and epaulettes.' Yet, he was given the hand of General Perron's daughter,²³ and the pair lived a happy conjugal life in Aligarh. Pedron as the commandant of the Aligarh fort occupied a house at present covered by the premises of the Civil Court Buildings, now in the Civil Lines. He had a garden house just outside the walled-town of Kōl (Aligarh city), in the locality which is known as Pedroo-gunj. The garden occupied an extensive area and included a huge tank which has recently been silted up by the Municipality of Kōl. It is in the east of Yusuf-gunj, the big grain market of the city. The main garden was situated in the locality now known as Kalyan-gunj, from the name of Kalyan-das Pannsari, its new owner. When I tried to acquire some knowledge about the past occupants of the old houses situat-

23. Keene, Hindustan under the Free-lances 129.

ed there, the grain merchants occupying rooms and cells in the vast quadrangle of the garden-house, told me that they knew this much that somewhere in the vast area huge treasures lie buried. It is not impossible, that with the English siege of Aligarh impending, some of the valuables were shifted from the fort and buried in the garden-house of the commandant, at least his personal treasures. Major Etienne Pedron lived in Aligarh till his death. The year of his decease could not be known, but it is established, that he lived to witness the death of his son, named Antoine Pedron, perhaps the only male one, after a short three days' illness, on September 26, 1830, at the age of thirty four years and nine months. The Persian inscription over the grave at the local christian cemetery, makes an interesting study.²⁴ Col. Etienne Pedron lies buried, with his wife by his side, in a corner of his garden-house, in accord with the Mughal practice. Two low graves, in a big room, now part of the shop premises of Lāla Munna Lāl Buddhū Sēn, a Kalyān-gunj grain merchant, and owner of a

24. Vide Grave No. 125. The Inscription composed by Zauq the famous Delhi poet is as follows.

Transliteration :

Anṭoon Jawān-i nēk mard-i khush-roo
Lakht-i dil-i Karnail m'āli manṣab
Karnail khitāb nām Etien Pedroo
Burd az hamān hamsarān-i khud go-- ḥasab
Nah māh wa chahār sāl wa sī 'umrash būd
Az marz-iseh rūz mānd dar ranj wa t'ab
Yakshambah shash wa bist September murd
Du shambah ba khuld khuft bugzasht chu shab
Pursid chūn Zauq sāl-i tārikh-i wafāt
Hātif ba-darigh guft aiwā-i ghazab.

Translation :

Antoon was a good (natured) youth and a handsome man.
And (he was) a piece of the heart (beloved son) of the high-ranking Karnail.
Whose rank was Karnail and whose name was Etien Pedroo.
And who (Karnail) had excelled himself over his contemporaries in nobility.
He (Antoon) lived 34 years and nine months.
He remained afflicted during three days' illness.
He died on Sunday the 26th September.
On Monday he slept in heaven when the night had passed.
When Zauq enquired about the year and date of his decease.
The invisible voice cried out with regret, alas; a calamity.
[The last two words give the year of death according to Abjad calculations.]

grain-crushing mill, mark the resting place of M. and Madame Pedron. Kalyan-gunj market was gutted by a fire in 1946, and the old rooms round the market place almost all collapsed on account of the colossal beams and rafters catching fire. But the room forming the grave of the Pedrons stands intact, and undamaged due to the accident that it does not possess any beam or rafter. Nothing more could be ascertained about this family, but it appears from George Puech's autobiography,²⁵ that Madeline Pedron, was in occupation of the garden-house (of Pedroo-gunj) during the Mutiny days and thereafter. George Puech does not explain the relationship of Madeline with Col. Pedron; I suppose, she was the daughter of the Col. who later in life, mortgaged her garden-house, to George Puech when the later was in an affluent condition, after becoming the heir to the Meerut properties of Francis Koine, his maternal grandfather.

The Pueches. (Pronounced as Pēsh). Unlike the Pedron and the Derridon families, the former of which has become totally extinct, the latter is about to be so, the Puech, family of Aligarh, lives in a prosperous condition in Meerut, and is not lacking in progenies. The following is a short history of the family, derived from the written sources, plus the testimony of the people who had come in contact with its members in Aligarh. I am thankful to the representatives of this family (Meerut Branch), especially to Mr. Maurice Puech, for the help he rendered me by sending his family papers, and the versified autobiography of George Puech, and also for the patience with which he answered my queries from time to time.

George Puech in his autobiography, speaks of his ancestors as being a military pensioner of the Gwālior (Sindhi's) Durbār,²⁶ of the rank of a captain who lived in Aligarh and died in Gwalior. One Capt. Puech,²⁷ a member of Sindhiā's European Brigade, was one of the many officers killed by the murderous assault of the

25. Masnavi, p. 84.

26. George Puech, that is Shor's Masnavi.

27. This name is spelt as Paish by Fraser, author of Col. Skinner's Memoirs. This is obvious because notes were given to Fraser by Skinner's Munshi in Urdu.

28. Compton 377, is of the opinion that Capt. Puech was wounded at the battle of Malpura and not killed as reported by other authorities. Compare Skinner's Memoirs, p. 148 and 185 for Capt. and Lt. Puech.

Rāthōr cavalry, in the battle of Malpūra, 1795.²⁸ In 1801, Lt. Puech, whom I consider to be the son of Capt. Puech, fought in Sindhia's brigade under Col. Pedron, against Lakswa Dādā and was wounded in the battle of Sunda (Datia). Nothing more is known till we come to John Puech and Joseph Puech, both of whom were, most likely, the sons of Lt. Puech of the Sunda fame. The history of John and Joseph Puech are mainly derived from George Pueche's autobiography. By comparing the epitaph on the grave of both these brothers, it is established that John was the elder of the two brothers. The family lived in a house in Mohallah Māmūn-Bhānja,²⁹ just outside the old fortified area of the Kōl (Aligarh) city, till late, marked by a big cross at the main entrance. It is at present, owned by Lāla Girdhārī Lāl, son of Lāla Ganēshi Lāl, a goldsmith. In 1828, Joseph built for himself a house in Mohalla Kālā Maḥal. I have been able to secure the inscription,³⁰ on a white marble slab, fixed at the gate of Joseph's house through the courtesy of the owner of the Star Lock Factory. It is at present broken into two parts but constitute a complete whole when joined together. It is housed in the Lytton Library of the Aligarh Muslim University and consist of four lines, in neat Persian. Two years after his house construction (i.e. in 1830 A.D.) died James Puech, his only son,³¹ aged nine years and odd months. The epitaph on

29. Literally uncle and nephew, so-called after the supposed martyrs who formed the army of Muslim Invaders under Qutbuddin Aibak, lost their lives in attempting to storm the fort of Kol (Aligarh) held by Dor Rajputs.

30. Text :

Transliteration :

Ba nikū sā' at farkhunda rūz-i Yā Fattāḥū Shud īn aiwān-i Jōsef
Pēsh tāiyār
Chu pūrsīdam ze hātīf guft sālīsh, Hazārast wa du sad īnak chehl
wa chār.

Translation :

Oh the Great Opener.

At an auspicious moment and a lucky day,
This palace of Joseph Puech was constructed
When I asked from the invisible voice its date
He said it is one thousand two-hundred forty-four

31. There is no mention in Shore's Autobiography of Joseph being accompanied by any son or daughter while sheltering at Sahnol with Khush-waqt Ali Khan.

his grave at the Christian cemetery is inscribed in good Persian.³² No more is known about the Puech brothers till we come to the Mutiny days. Troubles started in Aligarh over the hanging of a Brahman soldier trying to tamper with the morale of the troops of the Aligarh military Barracks,³³ on the 9th May, 1857. The English Civil and Military staff abandoned Aligarh for Hāthras and later on for Agra. A local government of the mutineers was established with a Raīs of Sikandra Rāo as governor but the real force behind it was Maulvī Naṣimulla, a local pleader and the Deputy-governor of Aligarh under whom a regular distribution of offices and portfolios took place.³⁴ The bad characters in the city, formed bands to carry on murder and loot, and vaunted their fury on the Christians whom they knew to be rich. One night, John Pueche's house in Mohalla Māmūn-Bhānja was raided twice, and the inmates saved themselves by prostrating motionless on the roof of their house. After the departure of the second band, who swept the house clear of all goods, the family took shelter in the garden house of Col. Pedron very nearby. The women folk were sent in 'Burqa' (veil) to the scavenger's house attached to the garden house of the Pedrons, while John hid himself in a cell containing fire-wood piled roof high. His house in Māmūn-Bhānja was stripped bare by the third band, and it was by a miracle that the search party departed from the fuel room without detecting John. The women were saved by their courageous pleading that they were Muslim women waiting for their men folk. Next morning, John went to his washerman's house, but the latter refused to shelter him for fear of the hooligans. He remained in hiding for some days in the house of a 'chamār'. He came to his own house after some days,

32. Text of the epitaph is as follows, inscribed over the grave at the Aligarh Christian Cemetery, No. 352.

Transliteration :

Bīst wa haftum chū gasht māl-i šāfer
Kard James az īn Jahān Šāfer.
Yak azār wa du sad wa chehl wa shash
Az San-i hijrat ast Cahr-i Khabar

Translation :

When the 27th of the month of Safar passed,
James departed from this world.
It was one thousand two hundred and forty-six,
From the Year of Hijra for the sake of information.

33. Gazetteer, N. W. P., Vol. II, Meerut Division, 1875, p. 499.

34. Gazetteer, N. W. P., Vol. II, Meerut Division, 1875, p. 500.

the Hindū and Muslim neighbours having given assurances of personal safety, and a month later, he was removed to the village of Sahnōl, the country residence of *Khush-waqt* 'Alī *Khān*, a 'raīs' of Aligarh and a personal friend of the Puech brothers.³⁵ Joseph was brought there a week later from his *Kāla Maḥal* house. Both the brothers lived with their family members in perfect peace, security and comfort. When the English re-occupied Aligarh, *Khush-waqt* 'Alī *Khān* informed Mr. Cocks, the Collector of Aligarh, of the existence of Puech brothers, and later on, brought them with him. They came back to their houses which they were compelled to quit again, and accompany the English officials to Agra, because of the recapture of the Aligarh city by the mutineers. After the English established themselves in Aligarh, the Puech brothers received compensation for the loss of their properties,³⁶ amounting to 2,500 rupees for each brother, from the English authorities. They lived in perfect comfort, subsisting on the pension given by the Gwalior Durbār, and the rent of their houses. John Puech carried a small money-lending business as well.³⁷ Joseph Puech died on July 8, 1870, aged 74 years 9 months and 24 days.³⁸

John Puech had two sons, George and John Koine, the latter being adopted as son by Francis Koine, his maternal grandfather. Fr. Koine appears to have held the village of Harchandpūr as a gift from Bēgum Somrū, whose servant and pensioner he was. Fr. Koine was a widower,³⁹ who beguiled the last sixty years of his life, in the company of a dancing girl from Jaipur. Fr. Koine was a good poet in Persian, Urdu and Hindi as will be noticed later.

George Puech, the most distinguished of the children of John Puech, was born in his ancestral house in Mohalla Māmūn-Bhānja, Aligarh, on December 1, 1823. His mother Madeline, was, according to his own biographical accounts, a daughter of Francis Koine, of Harchandrapūr, the pensioner of Bēgum Sōmrū. Fr. Koine accepted a job under the English authorities as a Tah-

35. *Shor Waqiat-i Hairat Afza* 83.

36. *Shor Waqiat-i Hairat Afza* 87.

37. *Shor Waqiat-i Hairat Afza* 100.

38. Christian Cemetery Aligarh Inscription, Grave No. 131.

39. His wife Adelaide Derridon daughter of Anthony Derridon having died young Fr. Koine lived with a Hindu dancing girl called by him Bai Sahiba for the rest of his life.

sildār. Francis was a prolific writer, one of the 'most outstanding Indo-European poets'. He wrote under the pen-name 'Farāsū'. His poetic compositions, which included some in Brij Bhāshā (that is Poetic Hindī), were posthumously collected under a 'Kullīāt' (Compendium), embodying, 1. Gumbad-i Gītī Numa, a Diwān of Qasīdas, 2. Jām-i Jamshīd Numā, a Persian prose work, 3. Satires and obscene poems, 4. Najm-i Inshā, poetic epistles, 5. fourteen *Maṣnavīs*, 6. Hindī Dohras, 7. a Diwān in Persian, 8. congratulatory poems on the English capture of the fort of Bharatpur, and 9. *Sham-suzzaka*, a collection of poems. According to the custom of the times⁴⁰, George was initiated to the study of Persian and Urdū for seven years imparted wholly at home. He served for some time in the Police at Meerut.⁴¹ He gave up the job, soon after, but was lucky enough to get a job under the Tahsildār of Iglā. (Tahsil town in Aligarh Dist.). He quarrelled with the Muslim Tahsil-dār of the place and lost his job.⁴² But he was reinstated in his post through the influence of Mr. Constantine Archimedes his brother-in-law and the Shar-rishtadār of the Collector of Agra and stayed for two years at Khairagarh.⁴³ He visited Meerut, in response to a call from Fr. Koine, his maternal grandfather, who under the influence of Bakht Bāi, his un-wedded wife, had hitherto shown great indifference to his own relatives. The old man insisting on the marriage of George, a match was arranged with Miss Merriam, granddaughter of M. Salvador (de Bourbon), the 'Sār-i Shubah and Raīs-i 'Aẓam' of Gwālīor State and a personal friend of his father.⁴⁴ The marriage was celebrated at Agra, and marriage festivities were staged at Aligarh. Soon after this George returned to his grandfather in Meerut, (in 1857) and spent some time in looking after the latter's properties, as he had resigned his job earlier 'at the request of the old man.' After about a month's stay in Meerut, he went to Delhi on a joy-visit, and scarcely had he returned to Harchandpūr, when he heard the news of the outbreak of mutiny in Delhi and Meerut. Three parties of distressed Englishmen, including women and children sought shelter in Francis's Harchand-pūr house, during the night, on their way from

40. Even as late as 1947 I noticed some Kayasth families of Aligarh initiating their children to the Perso-Urdu alphabets.

41. *Shor Masnavi*, p. 5-7, Saxena Appendix to his European and Anglo-European poets of Persian and Urdu, p. 312 ff.

42. *Shor, Masnavi*, 7.

43. *Shor, Masnavi*, 11.

44. *Shor, Masnavi*, 17.

Delhi to Meerut. In Delhi, it must be remembered, the old Bahādur Shāh was proclaimed emperor, and placed on the throne. The parties were well-received by Francis Koine, fed, clothed and had their wounds attended to, before they left for Meerut during the following morning.⁴⁵ Old Koine (Francis), was shrewd enough, to take certificates and testimonials from these visitors most of whom were highly placed civilians and military men, Francis Koine had made himself very unpopular with his neighbours for sheltering Englishmen; and Shāh Mal (derisively called by Shor Siah-Mal, the Black rubbish) a notorious Jat, utilised the moment for fishing in troubled waters. He realised black-mail from Francis under threat and intimidation. Things had gone well so far, with the Pueches. Even George's father was able to send a message from Aligarh, informing that he was well and unharmed. The letter was, however, concealed under the hollows of a bamboo stick. When Shāh-Mal wanted more money, Francis sent members of his family to Meerut, the parties crossing the Hindan on 'Charpoys' (sleeping cots) tied with inverted water pitchers.⁴⁶ At last when Francis could not comply with the high demands of Shāh Mal, the latter looted his house one night, and took away properties worth ten thousand rupees; roped and belaboured the old man and his concubine just to elicit information about their hidden treasures. Francis and his consort were released by a village grocer for rupees five hundred. Being freed, he sought safety, in a neighbouring village and returned to his own, after Col. Popham had restored order in Meerut.

The mutiny over, George and his brother John, were taken away by Francis Koine, to the Commissioner of Meerut Division, through whom the Deputy Commissioner of Rewārī was approached, so that George was appointed Kōtwāl (City Sub-Inspector of Police), of Rewārī (Gurgāon Dist., the Punjab, I), and a job was found for his brother as well. Four months later, he was promoted to become an officer of the Customs. He served in this capacity for the next six years (1858-64).⁴⁷ His younger brother who had never moved out of his house, and was a pet of his grandfather, did not like serving and came back to Harchandpūr two days later.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Francis Koine got three more villages

45. Shor, Masnavi, 24.

46. Waqiat-i Hairat Afza.

47. Shor Masnavi 44.

48. Shor Masnavi 44.

as his Jāgīr⁴⁹ for his services to the Company's cause, and had at last, become a man of means. On November 1. 1859, John Koine, George's brother suddenly died of cholera, and two years later came to the call of Francis Koine, hitherto almost crippled by paralysis. His body was buried in Harchandpūr. George made haste to reach Harchandpūr but was too late. To his utter dismay, he found that Francis had bequeathed his entire property⁵⁰ to Bāi Shāhiba, his concubine, who soon brought a relative from Jaipur and adopted him as her son.

George returned to service, but was soon degraded for negligence of duties,⁵¹ and after an appeal to the Lt. Governor of the Punjab was rejected, he gave up further attempt to regain his job and returned to Harchandpūr. He posed to be in good relation with Bāi Shāhiba, but secretly instigated two 'kārindas' of the estate, 'Azimuddin and Lālā Dēbī Prashād, both being old salt-eaters of the family, to get Koine's will reversed in his favour. He rewarded his supporters with the assignment of one full village according to promise.⁵² After the death of Bāi Shāhiba, George paid two thousand rupees to the widow of his younger brother (John Koine) who had advanced a claim over the Jāgirs, on behalf of her minor children.

In 1872, died John Puech, George's father at Aligarh. George who put an epitaph over the grave, describes him as a good Frenchman. He lies buried in his garden house on the side of the Atrauli Road, close to the present Aligarh Eye Hospital. Among the three graves placed in a small pavilion, the central one is of John Puech, and the inscription which is also given in Shor's Masnavi is reproduced in the foot-note.⁵³ It is in Persian and was

49. The villages of Chaulda, Bali and Basaud.

50. Masnavi.

51. Shor in Masnavi, p. 54 says that false charges were brought against him.

52. Shor, Masnavi 58.

53. Text of Epitaph.

Transliteration :

Shud ze hasti 'umda-i ahl-i Farance
Aq-keh būd 'alā wa adnā rā jalis
Shōr chūp tārikh-i rihlat rā be-khwāst
Dād hātif maddah-iaz bas nafis
Ya'ne az 'āzam bar-āwardah alif
Guft gōr-i jān pēsh 'āzam rais.

composed by Shor (George Puech) himself. In 1875, his mother died and lies interred by the side of her husband, and the inscription composed by the mourning son, stands intact, though the pillars containing the inscriptions are up-rooted, and the whole structure is in a desecrated condition, on account of the neighbouring people tethering their cattle inside during the rainy season. The site ought to be acquired by the Government of India under the preservation of Monuments Act. The text of the inscription written in Urdu is given in the foot-note.⁵⁴ A third bereavement awaited him, in the form of his wife's death, after a protracted illness of seven years.⁵⁵ She lies buried in Agra. According to Shōr, she was given all possible medical aid at Meerut, Agra and Gwalior but to no avail. In accord with the fashion of the day, and in deference to his friend's suggestions, Shōr tried to keep himself in good cheer, by seeking the company of a singing girl named Mughal Jān, whose melodies he praises in his *Maṣnavī*. His connexions with Mughal Jān became more intimate, but some time after he became infatuated with another singing girl named

Translation :

The best of the Frenchmen has expired,
(He) who was the companion of the highest and the lowest,
When Shor wanted to know the date of his death,
The invisible voice gave enough good material,
That is by taking Alif from 'Azam,
He said this is the grave of John Puech the premier raīs 1872 A.D.

54. Text of Epitaph

Wahi to jiteṇ haṇḍ dūnyā meṇ awr dīn meṇ,
Jinke keh faiz (wa baḥshish hardam sarīshṭ meṇ haṇḍ,
Maddalin Pesh ya'ne yeh thhīṇ raīsa-i Kōl
'Isā ke mehrbānī unki nawlsht meṇ haṇḍ
Tārikh kā taraddud thrā jab ke Shōr tujh kō
Hātīf bōl uṭha bāgh-i bahisht meṇ haṇḍ.

Sanh, 1875 isni

Translation :

They alone live in this world and the next,
Who have charity and generosity as permanent traits of their
character
Maddalin Puech was so to say the noble lady of Kol (Aligarh)
The grace of Jesus was in her destiny
Oh Shor when you were perplexed about the date,
The invisible voice cried out she is in the garden of heaven.

Date 1878 A.D.

55. *Masnavi* 77.

Ramzānoo.⁵⁶ In 1880, about a year after his first wife's death, Shor married, a widow of the name of Mary Pasquien Alexander, a relative of the famous Sawai Sikandar (of Skinner family) of Gwalior. The first issue of this marriage was a daughter, born during the next year (1881). She was adopted by Mrs. Benseley, his widowed sister at Aligarh. After nine months, the girl died of liver abscess. After this, he had several children born to his wife. The last years of Shōr's life were marred by the cheating and treacherous dealing of a friend whom he trusted, giving rise to lengthy and costly litigation. From Shor's account of the whole story, there is not the slightest doubt that he carried money-lending business, in partnership with one Syad 'Alī of Jalālī,⁵⁷ who was outwardly a man of great piety, devoted to Wazifa (reading of extra prayer), and Tasbih, (counting of beads). The story is long and tedious. Suffice it to say that big sums were taken by the Syad Ṣāhab, without any deed being executed, in the borrowing party's name. And when Shōr once needed money, he took 8 thousand rupees from the Syad Ṣāhab executing the transaction in an unstamped paper. The litigation on both the sides did not stop till after Shōr's death. Shōr, it appears beguiled himself at this time in writing his '*Maṣnavī*' which abruptly ends at his sudden death. He has however drawn a pen-picture of the places he had visited, the personalities he came in contact with, in Aligarh, Agra, Allahabad, Gwalior Jaipur, Delhi, Meerut and Rampur. His *Masnavi* closes with Sardhana's past as he saw. He died in Meerut on February 23, 1894, of liver pain contacted at a marriage feast in the house of Col. James Skinner in Delhi. Many poets wrote chronogramatic verses which have been embodied by the compiler of his *Masnavi*.

Shor's Character. George Puech had a loveable personality. He had his friends among Hindūs, Muslims and Christians by thousands. Though a poet's mouth is most often venomous, he never used his pen save in scanning other men's virtues, an exception being made in the case of Syad 'Alī of Jalālī and his son, in whose hands he suffered wrongs. He pays a glowing tribute to the memories of his departed friends, relatives, and acquaintances, and as one reads his autobiography, one cannot but feel the warmth of his heart in his lamentations and grief over the death of a friend or relative, many of whose

56. *Masnavi* 88.

57. *Masnavi* 114 ff.

memories he perpetuates in chronogramatic verses. Though he could speak English and was sometimes seen clad in full European costume, (I say this on the testimony of people who had seen him.) He was a lover of Indian dress, Indian languages, Indian customs and usages, and Indian style of living. He disliked his nephew (son of John Koine) for his developing 'predilection for white-skins', and for having cultivated a liking for European dresses. In addition to his accomplishments as poet, he seems to have possessed a good ear for Indian music, and delighted in composing *Dhrupads*, *Khiyāls*, *Thumris* and *Bhajans*.

If George Puech was attractive as a man, he is more towering as poet, and occupies, according to Dr. Saxena,⁵⁸ 'a very high niche in the temple of Anglo-Indian poetry. 'His pen-name was *Shōr*. He was proficient in Urdu and Persian and used his knowledge with remarkable skill. He is the author of six *Diwāns*,⁵⁹ all printed, the sixth one and the *Maṣnavī* posthumously;⁶⁰ a Persian *Diwan*,⁶¹ and a work entitled *Nazm-i Marfat*,⁶² an account of the Mutiny in prose, entitled '*Wāqiāt-i Hairat Afzā*,' and a manuscript of ornamental letters, preserved by the family with great care. In the art of poetry, he was disciple of *Mirza Raḥīm Bēg Sharar* (d 1875) of Delhi, living in *Sardhana*, whom he frequently consulted. "He had however, a complete mastery over language and idiom, and wrote frequently and copiously". He was, in addition, well-versed in Hindi poetic language (*Bhāshā* or *Bhākhā*), in which he composed '*Dohras*' '*holīs*' and other songs. The poor quality of some of his verses, is attributable according to Dr. Saxena, to his writing in a prolific manner. Not only does he occupy a high place in the matter of out-put but he deserves to be ranked among one of the best of the Indo-European poets. His versified Autobiography, (*Maṣnavī*), enables its readers to get a good pen-picture of the condition in

58. European and Indo European poets of Urdu and Persian.

59. [No. 1.] *Chashma-i bi khizan*, printed by Muhd Rahimuddin Khan, Meerut 1872. [No. 2.] *Mukhtar-ul-Malaba*, printed by Mumtaz Husain and Alibakhsh, Meerut, 1877-78. [No. 3.] *Diwan* printed in Hindustan Press, Meerut, by Muhd Hashim Ali 1884. [No. 4.] *Diwan*, printed by Muhd Barkat Ali, in the Police Press Meerut, 1888. [No. 5.] *Diwan* printed in 1890 under the title of *Sitara-i Shor*, Jugal Kishore Press, Meerut, by Hakim Har-narayan. [No. 6.] *Diwan-i Shams*, Hashmi Press, Meerut, 1894. For extract see Dr. Saxena's *European and Indo-European poets*, 237-275.

60. Hashmi Press Meerut, under Shaikh Kallan's supervision in 1894.

61. Entitled *Gulshan-i Farang*, printed at the *Shagura-i Faiz Press Meerut*.

62. Printed in 1889, in *Vidya-Darpan Press*, Meerut.

urban areas during the latter half of the 19th century. Not only does he get an access into the men and thought of the times, but a complete panorama of the social customs and practices, with their excellences and drawbacks comes into his view. The narrative will be unnecessarily lengthened if an attempt is made to enumerate the leading *Wakils* (pleaders), physicians engineers, literary men, 'raïses' and business-men of the various places he visited. His account of Sir Syad Aḥmad Khān, in connexion with the notabilities of Aligarh,⁶³ is interesting. He is introduced as a 'great gentleman resplendent as the moon. He is the founder of a college which is famed in the east and the West. . . . He is the custodian of the learning of the day. He knows to respect worth and is humble (*Qadr-dān* and *banda-nawāz*)' It is to be noted that *Shōr* in his old age, as is natural of a man at that stage, laments the 'glorious past'. Yet, the catholicity and the broad-mindedness of his heart, can be measured from the fact that out of 316 pages of his biographical sketch, only 119 pages are devoted to himself, and his own relatives. The rest appertains to his friends, acquaintances and prominent men of the age. After *Shōr*'s death, the contact between the Aligarh and Meerut branches of the Puech family became less frequent. In Meerut the Puech family was represented by Leo Alexander Puech, son of George Puech and Alexander Gottlieb Koine Puech, son of John Koine Puech (the brother of George), and the Aligarh branch by Mrs Bensley, sister of *Shōr*, who had become a widow in early youth. Leo Alexander, *Shōr*'s eldest surviving son, was born in Meerut in 1890, and was educated in St George's College Mussorie. In 1911, he married, Catherine Mary Hutchinson, who bore him three sons and a daughter, the last one dying young in 1929. In 1922, Leo Puech was made Honorary Magistrate at Meerut by the District authorities. In 1930, he visited Europe with his eldest son, and travelled extensively. In 1931, he again settled down to his magisterial work until the abolition of this kind of Magistracies by the Government of the United Provinces in 1936.

Leo was a very successful Zamindar; his Zamindari included Harchandpūr, Chaulda and a part of Basaund in Meerut District, and half of the village of Jaria in Jhānsi District (U.P.) His relation with his tenants was cordial. He paid long and frequent visits to his estates as he did to his friends and relatives. He seems to have been a happy blending, on the one hand, of the

63. *Maṣnavi* 148.

Indian ways of living and thinking and on the other, of the European style which was the product, partly of his education, and partly of his marriage. He dressed himself in Indian and European styles, and conducted himself with equal bonhomie whether the company was Indian, European or Indo-European. He was also interested in music and poetry and quoted extensively, during his conversation from the English and classical Urdu poets. He was religious without being pietistic or Puritan. He was a great benefactor of the local Roman Catholic Parish, to enrich which he provided a beautiful marble altar from Germany. He died of typhoid on October 12, 1938, and lies buried in the New Catholic cemetery in Meerut. Leo also developed his Zamindari and made it highly remunerative. The representatives of Leo's family are his three sons, two of whom, George and Maurice reside at Meerut, and the third was seeking fortune in Malaya when I last contacted the family in 1946. All his sons have received European education, so that there is now a swing of the balance to the west as it was formerly to the east. . . . George, the eldest of Leo's sons, is a graduate from Oxford, Maurice the youngest is a graduate of Commerce from the University of Agra.

Coming to another branch of the same family, something has to be said of Albert Gotlies Koine Puech, eldest son of John Koine Puech (Shör's brother). Albert Puech was the recipient of the honorary rank of Colonel in the Indian Army. He was a prominent Free-mason attaining the rank of P.A.G.D.C. (Past Assistant Grand-Director of Ceremonies of England), and P. G. D. W. Beng (Past Distt Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Bengal) and was awarded the O.B.E. During 1914-18, he served as a recruiting officer. He resided for the most part in Meerut, where he was so well-known that the Cantonment authorities, named the road on which his house still stands after him. An oil painting of the Colonel exists in the Masonic Institute, Meerut. He died in London, in 1929; his ashes were brought to India, and interred in the Garrison Cemetery in Meerut.

A daughter of John Koine named Anne Magdeline married Robert Edward Dudman. The issue of this marriage is Robert Dudman, now survived by a son and a daughter.

The Aligarh Branch of the Puech family became extinct, in 1915, when Mrs Bensley, Shor's only surviving sister, died. Maria Anna Puech (her Indian name being Banno Bēgum), which was Mrs Bensley's full name, was about ten years old at the time of

the Mutiny, and shared the hardships and privations of her parents, when her father's house was looted and frantic efforts were made by the hooligans to trace the 'accursed Christians'. George Puech, does give only a cursory reference to his sister in his autobiography. She was married to General Joseph Bensley, son of Capt Peter Bensley of Alwar, an Englishman. Though very young, Joseph was appointed General of the Maharajā's (of Alwar's) forces, in place of his father when the latter died; because Sheodhiān Singh, the Maharajā happened to be a classmate and a boon companion of Joseph.⁶⁴ Joseph Bensley, a sitar player and a fine calligraphist, was an accomplished poet who wrote under the pen-name 'Fana'. His Diwān was published after his death. Bensley died of paralysis at the early age of 35 (1846-81) and lies buried in his ancestral garden in Alwar.⁶⁵ According to Dr. Saxena, the historian of Urdu language and literature,⁶⁶ Joseph Bensley, 'deserves to be ranked as one of the great Anglo-Indian poets, remarkable for his range and versatility . . . his verses are noted for their compactness, ease, fluency and thought . . . he shows complete mastery over the technique of poetry, composing in stiff metres' His Hindi composition included Bhajans and Dohras, under the pen-name of 'Fana' and 'Bhēd'. Maria Anna was thus widowed at the age of 28, if the aggregate year of her life has been correctly put in the epitaph over her grave. She lived at her ancestral house at Aligarh, for the rest of her life, more like an Indian, subsisting on a pension of Rs. 60/- per mensem, granted by the Alwar Durbār, and occasional help from her brother Shör, living in Meerut. I gather this on the testimony of a lady who frequently visited her, that she was beautiful in features and complexion, wore Anglo-Indian and Hindustani dresses, followed the Indian style of living, and had more servants that were necessary. She was very hospitable and religious at the same time. She could not speak English. She celebrated the Christian, Muslim and Hindu festivals with equal emphasis, and was extremely open-fisted. She fed the poor and needy neighbours at least once a year. Though a widow from the prime of her youth, a whisper against her private character was never heard. A neighbouring goldsmith family enriched itself through the generosity of the 'Mem Sahab', and I suppose the garden house

64. Masnavi 218.

65. For epitaph in Urdu composed by Shor vide his Masnavi 229, and Saxena's European and Indo-Eur. poets 79.

66. Masnavi 82; Saxena 29-44.

at Atrauli, and her residential house at Mamūn Bhānja were given to Girdhārī Lāl the goldsmith, for paltry sums. She lies buried by the side of her father and mother in the family garden, by the side of the Atrauli Road. Her death took place on September 21, 1915, at the age of 73.

The fore-going account is but a stage in the evolution of Anglo-Indian and Indo-European communities, which had started with the discovery of a sea-route to India. The practice of marrying an Indian woman or keeping her as a concubine subsisted from the very time of the coming of the Europeans as merchants, businessmen, civil servants and mercenary soldiers, for the simple reason that very few of them brought their wives and children into India. After the 17th century when the Mughal empire was collapsing and the Mughal aristocracy had fallen in evil times, even matrimonial connexions of the Europeans with high-bred Indians were not looked down upon. Such marriages were frequent, and children of such mixed wedlock, when they grew to maturity were at liberty to assume the creed of the father or mother, though usually the son was brought up after the creed of the father and the daughter after that of the mother. It is to these factors that to this day there exists two branches of the Somrus, the Skinners and the Gardners, one Muslim, the other Christian.

Secondly, a study of the history of these families attest to their progressive Indianization. In the second or the third generations the members of such families are Christian only in name, and even in that too some Indian nomenclature is suffixed or prefixed. In speech, dress, mode of eating and living, in manners and customs, especially those of the festive occasions, they are Indians with a large tincture of prevalent Muslim cultural atmosphere. Their predilections for 'payjamas' and 'Kurtas', 'pan' and 'Huqqa',⁶⁷ their methods of social greetings, their preference for the construction of separate women's quarters in the house with spacious court-yards and varandas inside, and fixing of Persian or Urdu inscriptions in their house-gates and tombs, go to prove the extent to which they had imbibed the Indian habits and culture. To these may be added their love for processions, fire-works, their initiations into the Mughal custom of laying out costly garden-houses to serve as resting place after the builders' death,

67. Which had even spread to the ladies of the Mughal harem.

their resort to pull fan and hedge of 'Khas' during the summer and the use of 'chawri' against flies, their fancy to the juggler's feats, and Indian stringed instruments and above all their adoption of the Indian custom of weeping at the time of the departure of relations.

The depth of their adoption of the culture of this country can be gauged by any serious student of Urdū and Persian literature of the 18th and the 19th centuries. Shōr, Farāsū, and Fanā are not solitary names. They are only three out of hundreds contributed by the Skinners, the Gardners, the Fanthoms, the Burvettes and the Lezuas, whose works have been quoted and sometimes reproduced by Rām Bābū Saxena in his interesting and illuminating work entitled 'European and Indo-European poets of Urdu and Persian', Newalkishore, 1941. Suffice it to say that in the renaissance of Urdū, poetry beginning with great masters like Amir Zang, Dagh, Sauda and Hali, the contribution of the French-Indian poets had neither been mean nor negligible.

Side by side, a perusal of the history of such families, attracts even a care-less observer to the fact that, if these people imbibed the Mughal culture of the time, they also imitated the vices prevalent in the decadent society of the Hindūs and the Muslims. A deeper peep into the subject will also yield the conclusion, that they fell a victim in this respect, so that money easily earned at one stage was squandered by the earner or his successors soon after, in gambling, hard drinking of 'arrack' and whisky, in keeping concubines of disreputable morals even when they were living in law-ful wedlock with a wife, and had been fathers of children. Keeping of concubines or beguiling time with them was a fashion with the so-called aristocrats, as it was once in the days of Louis XV, in France. A series of less harmful pre-occupations, of which an account is given here and there, in Shor's Masnavis forming the hobbies of his acquaintances, are, indulgence in the fun of cock-fighting, and patridge-fighting, kite-flying, rearing of talking parrots (Pahāri Maina) and Bulbuls and erecting extensive aviaries with ponds, for the pigeons. The result was that even the most affluent of these men ran into debts, and without any justifiable excuse, allowed their peace of mind to be disturbed, by the reminders of the money-lenders for the payment of interest, which was calculated at very high rates, sometimes at compound computation, or see their houses and furnitures auctioned or transferred from theirs to the debtors' custody.

And lastly, in the cultural contribution, in quality and quantity, in the adaptation of Indian manners and customs, and language, the French-Indian families out-paced the representatives of other Indo-European communities. This was perhaps due to their consciousness, that they were not the ruling race in India and as such were not placed in the Himalayan heights in comparison with the 'natives'. Or it may be due to the French national trait of mixing more freely with the coloured peoples, a feature well-known to students of French Colonial history.

Genealogical TABLE A.

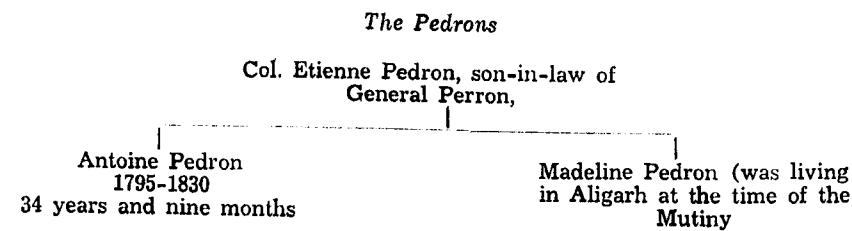
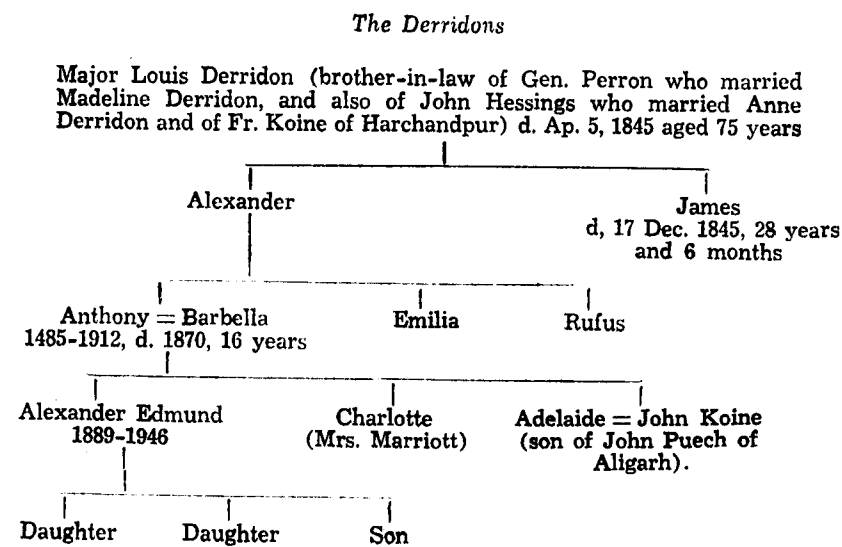
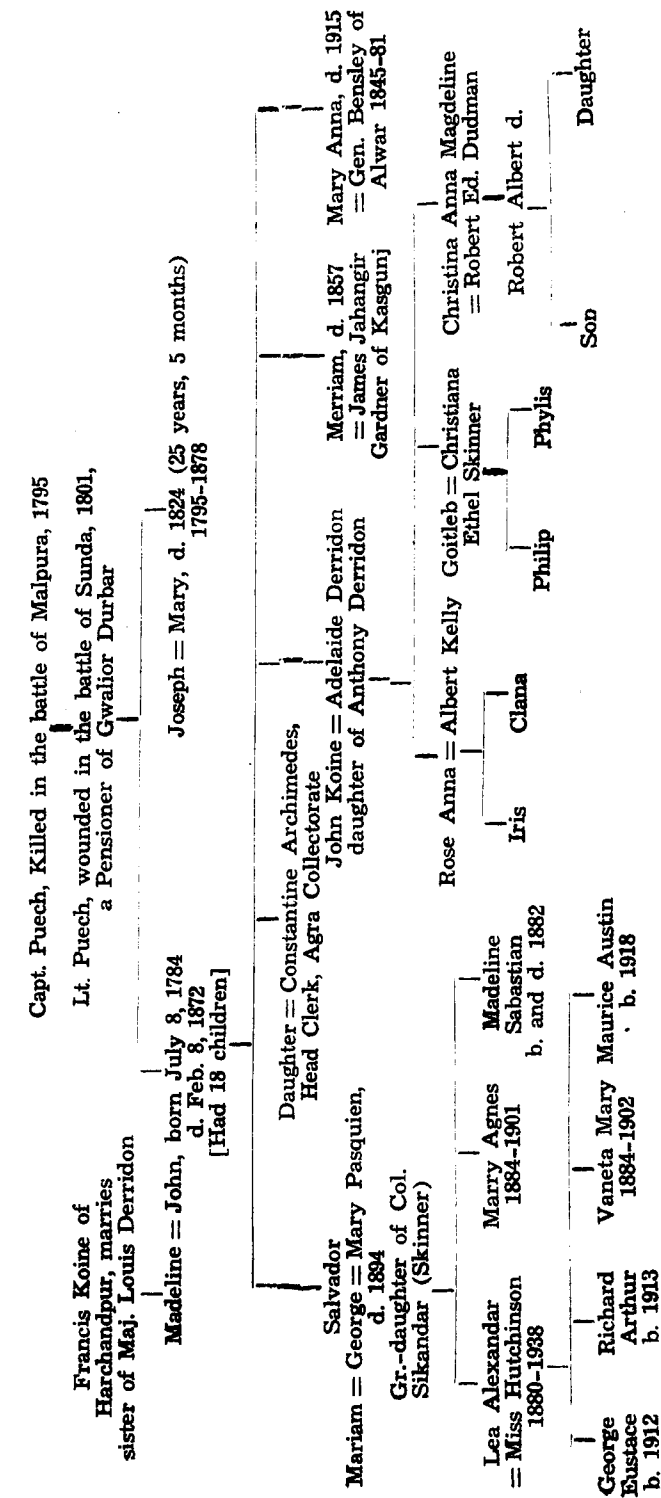


TABLE B.

*The Pueches*

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The Origin of the Western Gangas

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The Ikshvāku Origin

The origin of the Western Gangas lies concealed in legendary obscurity. The fanciful tales woven round their historical descent are to be assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian Era when the practice came to be adopted by the ruling houses of South India of giving themselves long puranic pedigrees to enhance the glory of their ancestry. In conformity with this practice prevailing at the contemporary courts later members of the Ganga dynasty and their relatives—ruling over Gangavāḍi as the feudatories of the Chālukyan chiefs of Kalyāṇi—attempted to trace their descent from the ancient Ikshvāku family.

The earliest of the records that refer to this fabricated origin is on a stone tablet in the court-yard of the Pancha Basti at Humcha in the Nagar taluq of the Mysore State.¹ It belongs to the reign of a Śāntara king Nanni Śāntara by name and bears the Śaka date 999. In setting the descent of one of the Śāntara queens Vīra Mahādevi by name, referred to as the daughter of Rakkasa Ganga's brother Arumuḷi Dēva, the Ganga genealogy is traced back to one Dhanañjaya of the Ikshvāku kula. To him and Gāndhārī Dēvi was born Hariśchandra. From him and Rōhiṇī Dēvi sprang Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who had the other names Daḍiga and Mādhava and their line was the Ganga line. A second inscription at the Rāma-lingēśvara temple in the village of Tattakere² bearing the date Ś. 1001 corroborates the meagre information contained in the Humcha stone. These two inscriptions mark the first stage in the fabrication of the Ikshvāku descent.

1. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VIII. No. 35.

2. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII. Sh. 10.

The next stage is noticeable in two other stone records from Kallurgudda and Purale in the Shimoga taluq.³ They belong to the period of later Ganga chiefs Nanniya Ganga and Permāḍi and are dated Ś. 1043 and Ś. 1054 respectively. They belong to the period of Chālukyan supremacy over Gangavāḍi during the reign of Vikramāditya VI referred to in these inscriptions as Tribhuvanamalladēva. The following detailed account of the Ganga family is given in these two records:

"A head jewel of the incomparable Ikshvāku race was Hariś-candra. His son was Bharata whose wife Vijayamahādēvi bathed in the Ganges during the period of pregnancy. To the son that she begot was given the name Gangadatta. In this Ganga line was born Viṣṇugupta to whom Indra made a gift of his Airāvata, being pleased with his performance of the Aindhradhvaḥa pūja. To Viṣṇugupta and Prthivīmāti Mahādēvi were born Śrīdatta and Bhagadatta. On Bhagadatta was conferred the Kaṭṭinga country where he ruled as Kaṭṭinga Ganga in peace. To Śrīdatta was given the Airāvata and the whole kingdom. From now onwards the elephant was adopted as the Ganga crest. In the family arose Priyabandhu to whom Indra gave five ornaments being pleased with his performance of the Kevali pūja. Giving to Ahicchatra the name Vijayapura, Dēvēndra departed. The Ganga line continued to flourish and to King Kampa was born Padmanābha. Being issueless he worshipped the Śāsana deity and obtained through the deity's blessings two sons whom he named Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Some time later Mahīpāla of Ujjainipura besieged his capital and demanded the five ornaments. The challenge was met with by a declaration of war. Padmanābha took counsel with his ministers and sent away his two sons and sister with *forty-eight Brahmins who were on their way to the south*. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were given the names Daḍiga and Mādhava. These two princes came south to Perūr where they met Āchārya Simhanandin of the Krānūrgaṇa and 'the promoter of the Ganga kingdom'. Propitiating the Goddess Padmāvati he obtained a boon for them and presented them with a sword and a whole kingdom. On Mādhava impressing him with his extraordinary energy when he broke into two a stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword Simhanandin made a coronet of the petals of the karanikara flower, bound it on

3. *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. VII. Sh. 4, 84.

Mādhava's head, gave them the dominion of all the earth, presented them with a flag made from his peacock fan and furnished them with attendants, elephants and horses. Along with these he also gave them the following advice: 'If you fail in what you have promised, if you do not approve the jina śāsana, if you seize the wives of others, if you indulge in wine and flesh, if you form relationship with the low, if you give not your wealth to the needy, if you flee from the field of battle your family will go to ruin.' With the lofty Nandagiri as their fortress, Kuvalāla as their city, the 96,000 as their country, the blameless Jina as their lord, victory as their companion on the battle field, the Jina mata as their faith, Daḍiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth. The boundaries of the country were Marandale on the north, Tonḍenād on the east, the ocean and the place called Chēram on the west and the Kongu in the south."

This legendary account throws little light on the historical origin of the Western Gangas. Such light as it throws is, however, inadequate for postulating an Ikshvāku origin. Attempts nevertheless have been made to do so. It is suggested that the campaign of Samudragupta in Dakṣiṇāpatha resulted in the abeyance of political authority capable of enforcing law and order and that enterprising men took advantage of this situation to advance their plans of territorial aggrandisement. Under these circumstances the probability of two princes of the Ikshvāku dynasty of Āndhradēśa coming south in search of a throne is suggested.⁴ It should be noted at the outset that the evidence quoted in support of this theory is based on inscriptions which came to be inscribed centuries later than the events recorded therein. A more contemporaneous evidence is not forthcoming yet. There are also certain weak links in the theory. In the first place, the Śrīparvatiya Ikshvākus—as the Ikshvākus of Āndhradēśa are distinguished from the legendary Ikshvākus—do not mention any gotra at all in their records, whereas the Gangas even in their very early records lay claim to the Kāpavāyana gōtra. In the second instance, the Ikshvāku practice of adding metronymic epithets to their personal names is nowhere seen to have been adopted by the Gangas. Then again divergence in religious patronage and persuasion cannot easily be accounted for. Buddhism took strong and deep root in Āndhradēśa during the early centuries of the Christian Era mainly due to the patronage extended to it by the Śrīparvatiya Ikshvākus

4. Krishna Rao, M. V.: "The Gangas of Talkād." p. 5.

celebrated in the history of Buddhism as among its foremost patrons. In the domain of the Gangas, on the other hand, Jainism came to be patronised by the members of the royal household and Gangavādi came to be in course of time, as a result of this patronage, one of the main strongholds of the Jaina faith in the south. Further, Ganga social and administrative institutions bear little or no trace of Ikshvāku practices in this respect. We are not yet in possession of even a single piece of recorded evidence to connect the Ikshvāku kings of Āndhradēśa and the Gangas of Mysore over a period of one hundred and fifty years. The last of the Ikshvākus was Vāsishṭhī Putra Bahubala Śāntamūla known to us from two records⁵ and he is assumed by scholars to have ruled about the middle of the third century A.D.⁶ All traces of the Ikshvāku dynasty are lost to us with the rise of the Ābhiras in the north and the Pallavas in the south. The late legends incorporated in the eleventh and twelfth century records in the Nagar and Shimoga taluqs hardly constitute substantive evidence to postulate an Ikshvāku origin to the Western Gangas.

All the same, the inclusion of the Ikshvāku descent in these later day records has to be accounted for. It would appear to have found inclusion during the period when ruling houses of the south gave themselves puranic pedigrees. The Ganga attempt to connect themselves with the Ikshvākus was evidently motivated by a desire to connect themselves with the legendary Ikshvākus of the Purāṇās. The name Ikshvāku is one famous both in legend and literature. The earliest references to the Ikshvākus date back to the Rīgvēdic and Atharvavedic periods. Macdonell and Keith consider them a branch of the Puru family (Vēdic Index). An inscription of Virapurisiddhatta at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa⁷ claims that Lord Buddha belonged to the Ikshvāku vamsa of Kōśala. It is interesting to note in this connection that the eleventh and twelfth century records which make this Ikshvāku claim for the Gangas belong to the period of Chālukyan supremacy over Gangavādi. The Chālukyas are also traditionally associated with Ayodhya, the capital of the Kōśala janapada.⁸ The composers of the eleventh and twelfth century inscriptions might have drawn inspiration from

these Chālukyan attempts and sought descent for the Gangas from the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā. In doing so they fulfilled the dual purpose of connecting the Gangas with the most famous royal family of Northern India in early times and of establishing closer relationships with their overlords the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.

The Yādava Origin

The Gummireḍḍipura grant of Durvinita's fortieth regnal year refers to Durvinita as "Kṛṣṇakula tilakah kṛṣṇa samah".⁹ On this single piece of evidence Narasimhachar suggested that the Western Gangas like their eastern kinsmen belonged to the Yādava family.¹⁰ In the absence of any further evidence I find it difficult to accept this theory. The reference in the Gummireḍḍipura grant may be traced to the period in South Indian history when a succession of poet singers revolutionised religious thought and outlook by their memorable religious propaganda. It is not altogether impossible that Durvinita should have for a time come under the spell of their teachings and considered himself "a dweller at the feet of Kanālōdara (Viṣṇu)".¹¹ Like his father's contemporary Simhaviṣṇu at Kānchi he too might have been drawn for a time towards the Vaiṣṇava faith. But to build up a Yādava origin for the Ganga family on this single reference in the Gummireḍḍipura grant is to reach a hasty conclusion.

The Brahma-Kshatriya Origin

The undated Narasimharājapura plates of Śrīpurusha assignable to the third quarter of the eighth century describe the descendants of Kongaṇivarman as Kshatriyas.¹² This description may be taken to mean that like the Kadambas of Banavāsi the Gangas of Mysore were of Brahminic extraction but considered themselves as Kshatriyas because of the profession of soldiery they adopted. That they were originally a Brahmin family is clear from the reference to their gotra and from the absence of any attempt on their part to trace descent in either the solar or lunar families as was the practice among Kshatriya families. The attempt of scholars

5. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX, p. 23, 24.

6. Krishna Rao, B. V.: "Early History of Andhradēśa"

7. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X. No. 1202 and 1203.

8. *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. XI. Dv. 1.

9. *Mysore Archaeological Reports* 1912.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. IX. Bn. 141; *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. XII. Mi. 110.

12. *Mysore Archaeological Reports* 1920.

to trace their descent in the solar dynasty is based on their supposed Ikshvāku descent; and we have already shown why the Ikshvāku origin cannot be accepted. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests a Brahma-Kshatriya origin to the Pallavas and the Kadambas. Can it be that the Gangas of Mysore like their contemporaries at Kānchi and Kuntala also belonged to a family Brahmin by birth and Kshatriya by profession? It is interesting to note in this connection that the Sēnas of Bengal, who originally hailed from Karnāta, refer to themselves in their records as Brahma-Kshatriyas. If the position is conceded that the Gangas were originally Brahminical Hindus then we have a clue which can be usefully explored for tracing the original home of the Gangas.

The Kāṇva Origin

The earliest of the Ganga charters states that the founder belonged to the Kāṇva gotra and the Jāhnavēya kula. In the first edition of the Mysore Gazetteer Rice suggested that the Southern members of the Kāṇva lineage may have had something to do with the Imperial Kāṇvas of Magadha.¹³ The later edition of the Gazetteer, following Rice's suggestion, postulated a Kāṇva origin to the Gangas.¹⁴ It is suggested that the Kāṇvas, who according to the Purāṇas ruled over Magadha from 73 to 28 B.C., carrying the tradition of their Nanda and Maurya predecessors on the Magadhan throne possibly attempted to secure a footing in the state of Mysore in early times. It is further suggested that this attempt may be assigned to sometime before the close of the first century B.C., for the last Kāṇva ruler is said to have been slain by a Śātavāhana king in 27 B.C. This hypothesis is difficult to accept in the present state of historical research. Evidence—epigraphical or archaeological—is not yet forthcoming to corroborate the thesis that the Imperial Kāṇvas tried to gain a foothold in the south in early times. It is also far too improbable that the Maurya Empire after the death of Aśoka survived in its glory and extent for the Kāṇvas to have inherited the outlying parts in the Mysore state. Purāṇic evidence limits the extent of the Kāṇva empire to the north of the Vindhya only.¹⁵

13. Mysore Gazetteer, edited by Lewis Rice, Vol. I., p. 310.

14. Mysore Gazetteer, edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, Vol. II, p. 592.

15. Pargiter: "Dynasties of the Kali Age."

Jayaswal ventured the theory that the Southern Kāṇvāyanas were probably an offshoot of the Imperial Kāṇva line and that the members of the southern branch might have been the descendants of the last Kāṇva ruler Suśarman who was captured and taken prisoner to the south by a Śātavāhana king in 28 B.C.¹⁶ There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding this incident in Kāṇva history. Vincent Smith believes that the last Kāṇva ruler was killed in the course of this encounter with the Śātavāhana.¹⁷ Jayaswal cites the Matsya Purāṇa which states that Suśarman was captured.¹⁸ The other Purāṇas, however, state that he was only assailed.¹⁹ Nothing more is heard of the Kāṇvas. The Purāṇas only state that the imperial tradition was continued by the Āndhra Śātavāhanas. In the absence of any inscriptional evidence connecting the long gap of time between the Imperial Kāṇvas and the Southern Kāṇvāyanas of Mysore it is difficult to accept Jayaswal's view that the latter were an offshoot of the former.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes apparent that the ancestors of the Gangas of Mysore did not belong to any of the well known ruling families of either Northern or Southern India. They were probably fortune hunters who successfully carved out a principality for themselves in Mysore during the disturbed times in South Indian history following the campaign of Samudragupta. Where could these fortune hunters have come from?

The Location of their Ancestral Home

It is interesting to note that the Gangas turn out to be the first members of the Kāṇva lineage traceable in the south. They could hardly have adopted the gotra of any family that ruled prior to them in the south. The Śātavāhanas and their successors in Āndhradēśa—the Śrīparvatīya Ikshvākus—do not mention any gotra. The Cūṭu Śātakarṇis call themselves Mānavya gōtra Hāritīputras, a title later adopted by their successors in Kuntala the Kadambas. The Kānchi rulers claim lineage in the Bhāradvaja gōtra.

16. Jayaswal, K. P.: "History of India A.D. 150-350." p. 196; Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIX., p. 698.

17. Smith, V. A.: "Early History of India." p. 205.

18. Jayaswal, K. P.: Op. cit.

19. Pargiter: op. cit.

A local origin has been suggested to the Kadambas on the basis of their association with the Kadambu tree which is considered a native of South India.²⁰ This has enabled scholars to postulate a South Indian origin to the Kadambas.²¹ In Ganga records, however, we search in vain for any reference which might be safely employed in favour of a local origin. The association of the Mysore rulers with the Ganges is strongly suggestive of a northern home.

A Ganga dynasty ruled over Kaṭṭiṅga on the east coast for a period of eleven centuries from the fourth to the fifteenth. The members of this dynasty called themselves "Gāṅgēyakulatilakas." Their origin also is shrouded in legendary obscurity. We note, as in the case of the Western Gangas, the fabrication of their origin in two distinctive stages—one in two records giving a short genealogy and the other in two other records giving a longer genealogy,²²—but both developed during the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga. The latter records give the following account of the Eastern Gangas:

"The Gangas trace their descent from Viṣṇu. From Viṣṇu Brahma, from Brahma Atri and from Atri the moon were born. In this lunar race fifth in succession was Yayāti. His son was Turvasu, who being issueless propitiated the Ganga and begot Gāṅgēya. His descendants came to be known as Gangānvayas. Eighth from Gāṅgēya was Chitrāṅgadha. Eighth from him was Kōlāhala who built a temple for Hara in the city of Kolāhalapura in the Gangavāḍivīśaya. Eighty-one kings ruled after him from the city. Later came Virasimha who conquered Cōla, Pāṇḍya, the seven Konkanas, Kēraḷa, Karnāṭa and Lāṭa. He had five sons Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Gunārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta. On his uncle usurping the throne Kāmārṇava along with his brothers set out in an easterly direction and came to Mahēndragiri where he worshipped Gōkarṇaswāmi and obtained blessings from him. He conquered Kalinga after overpowering Bālāditya, made Dantapura the capital, crowned Dānārṇava yuvarāja and distributed the whole kingdom among his brothers."

This account hardly helps us to establish a relationship between the two Ganga dynasties. In the first place the two dynasties

20. Moraes, G.: "Kadambakula," p. 10.

21. Fleet "Sanskrit and Old Kanerese Inscriptions"; Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 34.

22. Fleet: Indian Antiquary Vol. XVIII.

belong to two different gotras and the Eastern Gangas lay specific claim to descent in the Lunar race whereas no such attempt is made by the Western Gangas. In the second place, no similarity in names or social or administrative features is observable in the history of the two dynasties. Again they pursued and patronised two different faiths. No reliance can be placed on the association of one of the Eastern Ganga kings with the founding of Kōlāhalapura where seventy-five of his successors are said to have ruled before the migration to Kalinga. No evidence other than this late one of the eleventh century records is available to account for the advent of Eastern Ganga princes in Gangavāḍi. The migration theory remains to be proved. Except for the solitary instance of the Vākāṭakas finding a northern home, as pointed out by Mr. V. V. Mirashi,²³ no instance of a South Indian ruling family founding a kingdom in the northern regions is available to us so far. The association of the Eastern Gangas with Gangavāḍivīśaya and Kolāhalapura appears to be a fabrication of later centuries. It would indeed be a futile attempt to explore a common home for the Gangas of Kalinga and Mysore. The only common elements in the two accounts dealing with the origin of the Western and Eastern Gangas are the common appellation 'Ganga' and the division of the original kingdom as a result of political disturbances. These do not, however, take us far in our attempt to locate the original home of the Western Gangas.

On the basis of the records of Greek writers and travellers the lower reaches of the Ganges can be associated with the original home of the Eastern Gangas.²⁴ Pliny, for instance, refers to a tribe called Gāngaridai living along the lower reaches of the Ganges with their capital at Gāṅgē. He also suggests a division of this original tribe when he refers to the division of Kalinga into Gāngaridai Calingae, Mocco Calingas and Modo Calingae. Gāngaridai Calingae may be taken to be a reference to the extension of the parent tribe into Kalinga. If this premise is accepted then the Eastern Gangas may be considered a branch of the Gāngaridai tribe of the classical writers.

We have no basis whatsoever, either in the classical sources or others, for associating the Western Gangas with the Gangaridai tribe. Even if it were possible to do so by stretching the signifi-

23. Mirashi, V. V.: Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXVI.

24. Manohan: "Early History of Bengal." J. 11

cance of the appellation 'Ganga' it would be very difficult to explain the migration to Gangavāḍi. It would, therefore, be a futile attempt to find a common original home for the two Ganga dynasties. There can, however, be little doubt that the Western Gangas also came from the Gangetic region although we are still in doubt as to the locality.

It is interesting in this connection to observe that the legendary accounts of the Western Gangas associate Daḍiga and Mādhava with Ahicchatra identified with Ramnagar in the Bareilly district of the Uttar Pradesh. For aught we know this might have been yet another attempt at glorifying the past of the Gangas. As the principal Jain dynasty of South India the Gangas might have sought connection with Ahicchatra considered sacred to the Jain saviour Pārśvanātha.²⁵ But the greater likelihood is that the Ganga association with Ahicchatra had something to do with the reference in the Talagunḍa Pillar inscription²⁶ to Kadamba Mayūraśarman bringing several brahmin families from Ahicchatra and settling them in Kuntala. Scholars are, however, not unanimous in accepting the evidence of the Talagunḍa inscription in this respect. But if its evidence is accepted as trustworthy in other respects, as it was inscribed within a century of the events referred to therein, there is no reason why we should not consider the migration reference as being based on fact. The tradition of migrations from Northern India is now generally accepted independently of the evidence of the Talagunḍa inscription. We can reasonably associate the Ganga founder Kongaṇivarman or an immediate ancestor of his with this exodus from Ahicchatra to Kuntala. The Shimoga records state: "Padmanābha took counsel with his ministers and sent away his two sons and sister with *forty-eight brahmins who were on their way to the south.*" If these forty-eight brahmins are considered as having formed a part of the brahmin group brought by Mayūraśarman to Kuntala from Ahicchatra, then we should have no difficulty in accepting the proposition that Kongaṇivarman or his ancestor hailed from this group. The invasion of Ahicchatra by Mahīpāla of adjacent Ujjainipura²⁷ would also lend support to this theory.

25. Handiqui, K. K.: "Yasastilaka and Indian Culture." p. 511.

26. Epigraphia Indica Vol. VIII p. 32; Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII, Sk. 176.

27. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII. Sh. 4, 64.

Having arrived in Kuntala the adventurers Daḍiga and Mādhava found in the unsettled condition of South India following the campaign of Samudragupta in Dakṣiṇāpatha a convenient opportunity to carve out a principality for themselves. This opportunity came from Kongudēśa where a dynastic change in the ruling house became necessary. Using Kongudēśa as a spring-board the Ganga progenitor Kongaṇivarman very soon spread his power to neighbouring Gangavāḍi encouraged by the keen desire of the Pallava rulers of Kānchi for replacing the weak and vacillating Bāṇas in the Kōlar region. Within fifty years of their arrival in Kuntala from Ahicchatra the Gangas succeeded in founding the Ganga kingdom towards the close of the fourth century A.D.²⁸

28. The circumstances leading to the foundation of the Ganga kingdom will be dealt with in a subsequent paper on "Kongaṇivarman, the founder of the Ganga Dynasty." A brief reference to the Pallava auspices under which the Gangas replaced the Bāṇas in the Kolar region is to be had in A. R. Baji: "A Genealogical Problem in Early Ganga History"; Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1950.

An Account of the Six Hair Relics of the Buddha (Chakesadhātuvamsa)

BY

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The *Chakesadhātuvamsa* is included in the *Vamsa* literature of Ceylon. It is a work of a Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. The language is simple and the diction is good. Like the *Thūpavamsa* its treatment of the subject matter is of the same pattern. This text contains an account of the topes built by Sakka, Pajjunna, Mañimekhalā, wayfarer sailor (*addhikanāvika*), Varuṇa the serpent king, and the seven sailors (*sattanāvikā*). It was edited by the late Professor Minayeff of St. Petersburg, and published in the Journal of the Pali Text Society for the year 1885.

In the following pages an attempt has been made for the first time to translate this text into English with notes, but I had to experience some difficulty in performing my task as the text is not at all free from inaccuracies.

Salutation be to the Blessed One, the elect and the most exalted Buddha. Saluting the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* (doctrine) and *Saṅgha*¹

1. *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Saṅgha* are the three gems of the Buddhists. They are also known as *saraṇas* (refuges). *Buddha*, the first member of the Triad, means the enlightened or awakened one. The epithet *Bhagavā* was not bestowed on him by his parents or other relations. It was acquired by him after having obtained omniscience (*Mahāniddeśa*, 142-43; *Paramatthajotikā*, I, 107-109). According to the *Upaniṣads* *Buddha* in the sense of the Awakened occurs as a predicate of soul.

Dhamma, the second of the Triad, signifies a doctrine which is well-expounded, which bears fruit in this very life, which is not conditioned by time, which has 'come and see' for its motto, which leads to the destination or desired end which is to be experienced by the wise individually (*Dīgha*, II, p. 93; Cf. *Majjhima*, III, p. 9).

Saṅgha, the third of the Triad, includes *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhunī-saṅgha*. It really means *sāvaka-saṅgha* or a fraternity of disciples. A *saṅgha* is a corporate body which is characterised by the uniformity of creed and conduct (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, p. 230; *Paramatthajotikā*, I, p. 20). *Samaggatā* or internal cohesion constitutes the real life of a *saṅgha*. The unity of action and commonness of goal characterise its external life. Thus the *saṅgha* stands essentially as a symbol of unity. For further discussions vide B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, I.

or *Gaṇa* (congregation), excellent, pure and the land of virtue of the people, I relate the account of the tope of the six hair relics for the expansion of the Buddha's religion.

(1.) Once the Blessed One was dwelling at Rājagaha, in the Bamboo-grove at Kalandakanivāpa.² Here he preached to the four assemblies his doctrine which was good at the beginning, good in the middle and good at the end, full of meaning, full of letters and entirely complete.³ At that time Anuruddha,⁴ Sobhita,⁵ Padumutara, Guṇasāgara, Nāṇapaṇḍita and Revata⁶—these six cankerwaned went together with the same motive to the place where the Blessed One was. Approaching they saluted the Blessed One and sat on one side. Seated on one side those cankerwaned monks said to the Blessed One thus: "Venerable Sir, you did not fulfil perfectionary virtues⁷ for the welfare of beings of one country but you did so for the good of all beings. Those creatures who are near, Venerable Sir, can accomplish their object both in this world and in the next by meeting you; but for other creatures who are far away, an object of worship pertaining to the body of the Blessed One should be established. Not far from the great ocean, Venerable Sir, many people live in a frontier country. Out of compassion for them it is proper to give something to be worshipped (by them)." Then

2. King Bimbisāra of Magadha made a gift of this grove to the Buddha. This grove was situated in the outer area of Rājagriha neither very far nor very near and yet at the same time a peaceful retreat most favourably situated (*Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, I, 39; Fausboll, *Jāt.* I, 85). Here the Buddha once lived (*Ang.* II, 35, 172, 179; III, 35; IV, 402; *Majjhima*, III, 128). A highly popular music of the day known as the *Giraggasamajjā* was played here in the presence of six monks while the Master was here (*Vinaya*, II, 107; IV, 267).

3. *Dīgha*, I, 62; *Sam.* I, 105; IV, 315; *Ang.* II, 147, 208; III, 113 ff, 135, 262; *Dīgha*, III, 96; *Niddesa*, 316; *Itivuttaka* 79, etc.

4. Anuruddha was born in the Sakiyan clan. He was one of the most eminent disciples of the Buddha and ranked foremost among those who attained the celestial insight (*Ang.* I, 23). He showed the great importance of the cultivation of right recollection (*satipaṭṭhāna*) *Sam.*, V, 294; *Theragāthā*, vs. 892-912.

5. Sobhita belonged to a brahmin family of Sāvattihī. He was declared by the Buddha to be the foremost among those who could remember past births. (*Ang.*, I, 25; *Theragāthā*, vs. 165-166).

6. Revata used to visit the Buddha with the Thera Sāriputta after having won arahatship. He instructed his disciples to work out their good with zeal and earnestness (*sampādetha appamādena*). *Theragāthā* vs. 645-658.

7. For *Pāramī* or *Pāramitā* vide *Law, Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. II; *Law, Cariyāpiṭaka Intro; Cariyāpiṭaka Commy* (PTS) p. 8; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 66; L. D. Barnett, *The Path of Light (Wisdom of the East Series)*, p. 21. *Pāramīs* are perfect virtues according to Kern.

the Blessed One, listening to their words, became pleased in mind, out of his great kindness, and he touched his head with his right hand in order to do good to the countryfolk. When he had touched his head, six hairs shining with the golden rays, stuck to the hand of the Blessed One.

(2.) Then the Buddha gave them to the six elect. And they being delighted accepted them on their heads. Then the revered Ānanda asked the Blessed One, "Venerable Sir! what shall be the impediment to the beings in that country on account of the relics of the Blessed One?" The Blessed One replied, "I do not see, Ānanda, any loss to beings in that country. I only see their gain."

He explained thus: "My religion, Ānanda, will stand firm for five thousand years from the time of my *parinibbāna*. These six hair-relics will be protected for more than two thousand and five hundred years. Thereafter there will be great worship and honour (for them). Each of the shrines will be built by a great being."

Thereafter the Venerable Anuruddha saluted the Blessed One and departed going round him. Those cankerwaned too, after receiving the hairs and saluting the Blessed One, departed with Anuruddha. Departing they rose up in the air and they came down in that frontier country. They stayed there for one night; and at the time of the sun-rise they took care of their bodies. Then they entered the village for alms and took such food as they got. Then all the cankerwaned proceeded towards the southern direction and when they saw a pleasant spot having the colour like that of the sun, and covered with a forest containing branches and sprouts, they became delighted in mind and thought thus: "It is proper to keep one hair-relic in this comfortable place." They thought: "Here how can we get a donor of the relics, friend?" Then Anuruddha while making a resolution uttered this verse with folded hands:

"Formerly you greatly sacrificed your life, wealth and your own son and wife. If you obtained on that account the knowledge of enlightenment, a good attendant should appear here to-day."

At that very moment Sakka's throne of light red blanket⁸ became hot. Sakka, the king of gods,⁹ observed and came to know

8. *Paṇḍukambalasīlāsana* has been translated by some as of yellow coloured marble (vide G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper names*, II, p. 961.).

9. Cf. *Dhammapada Commy*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 264 ff; *Majjhima*, I, 253; *Sam.* I, 228.

the cause. He thought : " It is indeed a gain to me, it is indeed a good gain to me that I shall become a donor of the greatly powerful hair-relic of the excellent conqueror, which is without a donor. "

(3.) He then came down from the heaven and appeared before the six elect. Anuruddha then uttered this verse :

" Wonderful indeed it is in this world that the thousand-eyed Sakka has reached this secluded place by the power of the relics. "

The elder seeing him said thus : " The king of gods ! You are endowed with great supernatural power ; you become a donor of the relics of the best of wise men. " Hearing it Sakka said : " Very well, Venerable Sir. " He took one relic from the elder Anuruddha and placed it on his own head. He being happy built a pit by his supernormal power, and he placed in it the golden images of eighty disciples, the Buddha's parents and the incomparable ten potentialities.¹⁰ In the middle of it he made seven heaps of seven kinds of jewel. On all sides he placed a golden net, raised a white umbrella and under it made a couch resplendent with various jewels, he took down the relic of one who was endowed with ten potentialities from his head, and bathed it with water from Sakka's jar. He placed it, saying : " Let the Venerable Blessed One live here for five thousand years for the welfare of all beings. " At that very moment this great earth measuring more than four *nahutas*,¹¹ two hundred thousand *yojanas*,¹² shook up to its water boundary. Sineru,¹³ the

10. *Dasabala* is an epithet of the Buddha. Ten powers or potentialities belonging to a Buddha are the ten kinds of knowledge which are as follows :

- (1) Knowledge of the cause and non-cause
- (2) Knowledge of the past, present and future *karmas*
- (3) Knowledge of the way leading to all directions
- (4) Knowledge of the diverse nature of persons
- (5) Knowledge of the inclination of other beings
- (6) Knowledge of the senses of other beings
- (7) Knowledge of the meditation, concentration, emancipation, attainments and freedom from impurities
- (8) Knowledge of remembering previous births
- (9) Knowledge of the birth and death of beings
- (10) Knowledge of the extinction of sins.

Cf. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, 2nd Chap; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62; *Vinaya* 1. 38; *Jātaka*, I, 84; *Saṃ.*, II, 27; *Visuddhimagga*, 193, 391; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 14; *Vibhaṅga*, 317; *Buddhavaṃsa*, XII, v. 6.

11. *Nahuta* means a great number, myriad.

12. One *yojana*—a distance of about 7 miles.

13. It is the mount Meru (*Therīgāthā Comy.*, p. 150) which was 68000 leagues high. It is identical with the Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal near the Badarikāśrama. It is probably the same as the mount Meros of Arrian.

lord of mountains, stooped down. The great ocean was troubled. The gods of the ten thousand world-systems being delighted worshipped the image of the Master with various good things. Then Sakka worshipped the shrine with a jewelled lamp resembling the gem of a universal monarch, and built a jewelled shrine over the relics. In the same manner he caused a golden shrine to be built outside the jewelled shrine, and he caused circles to be made surrounding it, so that there might not arise any hindrance in future. In order to make known that the relic was brought by him, the Venerable Anuruddha placed his own image facing the north.

Sakka, the king of gods, also had one golden cave constructed and worshipped the relic. He placed a treasure near the shrine and caused it to be guarded by a god. All the six elect being full of joy and delight saluted the shrine with fivefold prostration and sat there. At that moment Sakka resolved and uttered this verse :

(4.) " Let the excellent tope stand here for a long time, if you belong to the head of the sage. Oh Conqueror, let the congregation of people be always given strength by your excellent power. " So saying he became delighted, went round the shrine, saluted it with fivefold prostration and departed.

Here ends the account of the tope built by Sakka

All the six cankerwaned went along a road in the southern direction, not far from that place, at a distance of three *gāvutas*.¹⁴ They saw a place scattered over with heaps of various kinds of sand, the most charming, resembling the Kelāsa mountain¹⁵ like a white-washed courtyard, free from trees, grass, stone, gravel and pebble, and pleasant to all people and thought thus : " This place, Oh friend, is suitable. One hair-relic should be placed here by us. " Then the Venerable Sobhita said : " It is my duty to search for a donor of this relic. " He put his upper garment on one shoulder, kept his knees on the earth, raised his folded hands and saluted the

14. One *gāvuta*—a quarter of a *yojana* = 80 *Usabhas*, a little less than 2 miles (*Jāt.* I, 57, 59; II, 209; *Visuddhimagga*, 118).

15. Kelāsa mountain—It is Sanskrit Kailāsa which includes Kumaun and Garwal mountains. It is known as Bhūtesagiri surrounded by the river Gaṅgā (*Bhāgavatapurāna*, IV, 5, 22; V, 16, 27). It is also called Hemakūṭa according to the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 6). It runs parallel to the Ladak range, 50 miles behind the latter. It may be identified with the Vaidyūtaparvata. It is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānasa-sarovara. Badarikāśrama is said to be situated on this mountain.

excellent relic of the Conqueror. While praying he uttered this verse :

"Oh Leader ! let a donor appear to-day by your power, if the island would last for the good of all beings".

While he was praying and rendering great service in this way, a god named Pajjunna surrounded by a big retinue came down from his own celestial abode, adorned with many kinds of good-looking ornaments, and appeared before him from the cloud. Then the Venerable Sobhita saw him and said : "Oh lay devotee ! you are of great power. Be a donor of the relic of Angirasa, the incomparable Blessed One." The great king Pajjunna, too, hearing the word, said : "Very well, Sir, I shall be a donor of it." He said : "On lay devotee ! You select a place, therefore, for building the tope. At that moment the great king Pajjunna made

(5.) a pit by his supernatural power, built a relic-chamber there, prepared a seven-jewelled seat in it, repaired the golden images of the eighty great disciples of the Buddha and of the Buddha's parents, as said before, placed the relic-casket made of seven jewels in the midst of the seat, bathed with the celestial scented water the excellent relic of the Conqueror, shining with six kinds of rays, and said : "Venerable Sir ! let the relic remain here for the good of all people."

He got the opinion of the six elect and placed it in that very casket. At that moment there occurred, as said above, an earthquake and other wonders. Then the great king Pajjunna being full of love for the excellent relic, uttered this verse :

"Thus I am the donor of the relic of the incomparable and greatly powerful great sage. Oh, the accumulation of my merit !"

So saying he saluted the hair-relic of the Blessed One with fivefold prostration, removed the covering of his own body and said : "To see you is indeed a rarity." He worshipped the relic. All the gods also worshipped it in the manner befitting themselves. Thereafter the great king Pajjunna caused the shrine to be built with bricks adorned with many kinds of jewels. He also caused the courtyard of the shrine to be cleaned and encircled by a wall on all sides. Not far from it he dug a pond, buried treasures in the four directions, and worshipped the relic. All the cankerwaned predicted : "In future this shrine will be one hundred fathoms in extent. A righteous king also will be here." The shrine made a noise on all sides. It was subsequently known as Sobhaṇḍāyacetiya, taking into account the arrangement of paths, etc. of the tope.

Here ends the account of the tope built by Pajjunna.

Then all the cankerwaned came back from that place. On the sea-shore there was a place full of *asoka* trees¹⁶ on all sides.

The eastern side of it was encircled by caves. Seeing it all the cankerwaned thought : "Friend, how shall we search for an attendant of the relic in this country ?"

(6.) Then the Venerable Padumuttara said to the five cankerwaned thus : "I should search for a donor of the relic." So saying he while making a resolution in verse in connection with the virtues of the Buddha, uttered this verse :

"Oh, the best of the whole world ! if you are an ascetic helping the people to overcome the flood in this world, let my prayer be fulfilled by your power. Oh, that which grows on the head of the Conqueror ! To-day I should get a donor of the tope."

As he was thus praying a goddess¹⁷ named Maṇimekhalā, the female guardian of the sea, being adorned with all kinds of ornaments and accompanied by a big retinue, appeared, making herself visible from the sea, as if she was seen by the power of the Buddha. Then the elders said thus : "Oh, female lay-devotee ! Are you fit to build a tope for the relic ? If you are able, you become a donor of the relic of the incomparable One, the bull among men." Then she thought thus : "I am a woman. How am I to give donation¹⁸ towards the construction of a tope ?" She asked : "How shall I, Venerable Sir, do it ?" He replied : "If you, Oh female lay devotee, are able to give wages to the inhabitants of the frontier country, they will quickly build the shrine." She consented, saying : "Very well." She went in disguise, gave them wages and caused the shrine to be built up again.¹⁹ Those people built in that place the relic-chamber, eighty cubits in depth. Then the goddess accumulated on all sides the gems that were brought by her supernatural power, and in the middle of the jewelled relic-chamber she placed a gem-case shining like a lamp resembling the gem of a universal monarch

16. *Saraca Indica*, Linn—handsome trees, flowers at the beginning of the hot season, flowers pretty large in clusters. *Asoka* is a medicinal plant. Its bark is very useful as well as its seeds (Cf. *Jāt.* V. 188; *Visuddhimagga*, 625; *Apadāna*, 345; *Vimānavatthu*, 35 etc.).

17. Daughter of a God.

18. *Pariccayana*. The P. T. S. Dictionary uses *Pariccajana* meaning 'making a donation.'

19. *Paṭisamkhārāpesi* means 'restored, repaired, built up again.'

(brought) from the mountain Vepula.²⁰ On it she made a relic-casket and placed it. As soon as it was placed, the great earth quaked, and an untimely lightning brought about a pleasant rain-fall. All the gods applauded. Thereafter Mañimekhalā greatly honoured the relic of the Blessed One and caused the shrine to be built. Building it and finishing the construction of the shrine, she, while making a resolution, uttered this verse :

"Let the chamber of the Conqueror last for five thousand years, and let these beings know the immortal state²¹ by your power."

(7.) So saying the goddess Mañimekhalā became delighted and having caused the hair-tope of him (the Buddha) to be established, she raised the banner around. The goddess then saluted the feet of the elect. With a cheerful mind she departed and entered her own abode.

Here ends the account of the tope built by Mañimekhalā.

Thereafter all the elect went towards the northern direction. A deity who lived on a banyan tree adorned with branches and sprouts, in a cool shade, saw them coming and asked : "Sirs, why have you come here ?" They then answered : "Friend, this place is suitable. We have come to keep an excellent hair-relic of the Conqueror in this place." The deity said : "Very well, Sirs, I shall also approve with you."

The Venerable Guṇasāgara said ; "It is my duty to search for an attendant of the relic." He, while making a resolution for an attendant of the relic by stretching forth his folded hands, uttered this verse :

"Let a donor be easily obtained, if you belong to the head of the sage. You²² will always remain here for the welfare of all beings."

20. The Vepula or Vepulla mountain was known as the Pācīnavamśa in a very remote age. It was later changed to Vaṅkaka. It then received the name of Supassa and afterwards it became known as Vepulla (*Sam.* II, 190 ff.). It was one of the five hills encircling Rājagriha. It runs for some length towards the south-east leading to the northern range of hills extending upto the village called Giriyeḥ on the Behar-sharif-Nawadah road. It has been described as the best among the hills of Rājagriha (*Sam.* I, 67). It lay to the north of the Gijjhakūṭa and stood in the midst of the girdle of the Magadhan hills.

21. i.e., Nirvāṇa.

22. *Thassati* does not convey the real sense. It seems to be an error.

So saying he sat down saluting the relic. At that moment, by the power of the relic of the Conqueror, by the strength of the resolution of the elder, and by the influence of the Master and others, a boat brought by the wind already blowing, and full of merchants who knew the doctrine, reached that very region. Then the merchants saw the congregation of monks and thought thus : "We who undertake sea voyages, should approach the six rare cankerwaned and see the Order," and they informed the sailor accordingly. The sailor, too, hearing it took faith in the Order, came down from the great boat with the merchants, ascended a small boat, approached those six cankerwaned, saluted the congregation of monks and asked : "What business have these gentlemen got here ?" (They replied :) "We have come here, O lay devotee, for placing one bodily relic of the Master for the welfare of the world."

(8.) Hearing it the sailor being delighted, addressed the merchants thus : "It is indeed a gain and indeed a good gain to us that we see the bodily relic of the Master which is of such miraculous power and which leads to the good of the people. Such gain was not formerly obtained by those undertaking a voyage for a long time in the great sea." "You befriend me ; I should build a tope," said he. Those merchants also agreed, saying "Very well." The tree-deity took the human form and said : "I should also be your friend." All of them approached the elders, and they making gifts befitting them and saluting the elders, sat down. Then the sailor prayed : "Venerable sir, should I show zeal for the sake of a relic tope ?" The elders answered : "Very well, O lay devotee, do it." The sailor ordered his men and built a relic-chamber by spending much wealth. He filled the chamber with the seven kinds of jewels and in the midst of the chamber he spread out a seat befitting the Buddha. He placed the relic, taking it from the hand of the elder Guṇasāgara. As soon as it was placed, all wonders appeared. Then the sailor, being delighted, uttered this verse :

"I am the donor of the relic of the incomparable great sage, who is the teacher of the world. It is indeed a gain to me, Sirs."

So saying he saluted the shrine with fivefold prostration, got various kinds of flags and banners raised, went round the shrine, worshipped the feet of the elect, ascended the boat, being surrounded by the merchants, and proceeded to his own city. The tree-deity was pleased, and she being long-lived guards the shrine even up to this day.

Here ends the account of the tope, built by the wayfarer sailor.

To the eastern direction from that place, on the bank of the Ganges, there existed a pleasant spot. All the cankerwaned going there (thought thus): "Friend, this place is shady and it has plenty of water. It is proper to put a relic at this place." The other Nāṇa-paṇḍita said: "It is my duty to search for a donor." He laying down one of his knees on the earth, placing his folded hands on his head, uttered this verse: "If the relic belongs to one who is wise, a leader of the world, incomparable, and a bull among men, I should get its donor."

(9.) As he was speaking in this way with due reverence, a serpent-king named Varuṇa²³ came from the abode of serpents together with his retinue and appeared before the elder. At that time the serpent-king saluted the elder, and enquired about the reason of his coming. Being told (by the elder), "We have come here for placing one bodily relic of the Blessed One, O lay devotee," he prayed thus: "Therefore Oh Sir, put me in charge of (the construction of) the relic-shrine." When he was permitted by them, he called his own retinue, and being delighted, he caused the earth to be cleaned for the relic-chamber, had a pit dug, and had the relic-chamber built like a celestial abode. He made one jewelled couch in the midst of it, and caused a white umbrella to be raised. He received the relic-casket on his head, made one valuable gem-casket and with great reverence placed it according to the wishes of the elders. As told before, all the wonders appeared at that very moment. The serpent-king being elated with joy, removed from his neck another gem not previously used by him, resembling the gem of a universal monarch, which is invaluable and which fulfils all desires. He worshipped the relic of the Blessed One by offering it. The whole assembly of serpents danced, sang, played all musical instruments and made a great noise. All the gods praised in various ways. At that moment the serpent got the relic-tope beautifully built. The tope being finished, the serpent went round it and saluted it lowering his head. He uttered this verse: "I, being the well-wisher, become the donor of the relic of the Buddha, who is difficult to be found by the immortals even in a crore of kalpas."

Saying thus the serpent-king Varuṇa of great supernatural power became delighted and departed surrounded by the serpents. *Here ends the account of the tope built by the serpent-king Varuṇa.*

23. Cf. *Apadāna*, I, 31; *Jāt.*, VI, 329.

Thence going towards the northern direction the cankerwaned monks finding a spot, neither too near nor too far and frequented by wayfarers, said thus: "Friend, this spot is suitable. The remaining one hair-relic should be placed in this spot." Then it occurred to the venerable Revata thus:

(10.) "The wishes of all the five elect have been fulfilled by obtaining the relic's donor. Similarly I should obtain a donor in this country. I should, therefore, pray for a donor of the relic-tope." Then the elder Revata cherished²⁴ the highest regard for the Master and said thus: "If you, Oh Venerable Sir, obtained Buddhahood after fulfilling the perfectionary virtues for more than hundreds of thousands of kalpas²⁵ and four *asamkheyyas* (countless ages), making five great sacrifices and performing difficult acts for gods and men, let a donor of the tope come here to-day by your power." Resolving thus he uttered this verse:

"If for the welfare of the world, the leader permits here, I should get a donor of the relic-tope by your power."

While praying thus, some believing Damiḷa²⁶ merchants being unable to go to any other country, reached that place in seven great boats, as if they were brought by the influence of the Conqueror's relic. Those merchants seeing the congregation of monks from a distance and being desirous of the relic, informed the seniormost sailor. Hearing it the sailor said: "Therefore I shall accompany (you)." Surrounded by other sailors he went near them, gave something to the cankerwaned, served them and asked the cankerwaned thus: "Venerable Sirs, why have you come here?" They replied: "We have come to place the hair-relic of the Blessed One, who possesses ten potentialities and who is famous among men, for the welfare of beings." Then it occurred to the seven sailors and the merchants: "While seeing the Blessed One in the past, we saw his body miraculous in every way, shining with the six-coloured rays. How powerful is the hair-relic of the Blessed One now?"

24. Lit. produced.

25. *Kalpa* or *Kappa* means a cycle lasting many millions of years as pointed out by Geiger (*Mahāvamsa Tr.* p. 100, f. n. 1). There are three principal cycles: *Mahā*, *Asamkheyya* and *Antara*. Each *Mahā* consists of four *Asamkheyya* kalpas. The four *Asamkheyyas* are: *samvatta*, *samvattatthāyī*, *vivatta*, *vivattatthāyī*. Cf. *Ang.* II, 142.

26. The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful south-Indian tribe. They were a warlike people. The Pali chronicles point out that they had two settlements on both sides of the Ganges. For further details vide Law, *Geographical Essays*, 76 ff.

While thinking thus doubt arose in them. To remove their doubt the hair-relic showed a miracle. Therefore it was said, "In that relic the twin miracle is shown, like the (miracle) of the eye-ball of the world at the foot of the Kaṇḍamba tree.²⁷ Then those sailors and merchants, seeing the miracle and being full of faith, worshipped and honoured (the relic),

(11.) worthy of them. Honouring the relic they went near the cankerwaned and asked their permission to build the tope. Permitted by the cankerwaned those sailors and merchants caused the relic-chamber to be built as told by them. They accumulated all gems in it, prepared a seat worthy of the Buddha, and burnt an oil-lamp. They made an image of the Buddha and those of the eighty disciples, placed a golden casket in the middle, accepted the incomparable hair-relic from the hand of the elder Revata, bathed it with scented water and decorated it with flowers and lamps made up of gold and silver, and placed it in the casket. At that very moment there appeared wonders, such as earthquake and the like, as said before. The gods of the ten thousand world-systems applauded. The sailors built the shrine and on finishing the construction they caused many kinds of flags and banners to be raised. Saluting the shrine they said thus: "Venerable Sir, we, the Damiḷa lay devotees, who have not seen another of its kind, do like this, putting faith in the hair-relic." Since then as the shrine was built out of faith, it was called the Faith-shrine; as it was built by the Damiḷas, it was called the Damiḷa-shrine. The sailors and merchants building the shrine and offering gifts to the elect ascended their respective boats and departed. The six cankerwaned had their wishes fulfilled.²⁸

Here ends the account of the tope built by the seven sailors.

That country was called Kesavati on account of the hair-relics being kept here.

Here ends the account of the six hair-relics.

27. It should be Gaṇḍamba tree where the Buddha went to destroy the heretics (Cf. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, Chap. V, verse 54).

28. *Saṅkappa* means wish, intention, etc.

The Burial Place of St. Thomas

BY

K. N. DANIEL

Without trying to meet the arguments adduced in my pamphlet, "The South Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas", Mr. T. K. Joseph has brought forward his counter-arguments in the *N. C. C. Review* (January 1952) *Journal of Indian History* and other magazines.

First Counter evidence: His first evidence is that the person buried at Mylapore was accidentally killed by an arrow; but St. Thomas was a martyr. Therefore the person buried at Mylapore was not St. Thomas. What is his evidence for the major premise, that the Saint of Mylapore was a non-martyr? Some Christians said so: What was their story? While St. Thomas was sitting in the forest with a number of peacocks around him, he was hit by a chance arrow (Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 355). Mr. Joseph, who is highly sceptical in dealing with the historical documents adduced against him, does not in the least hesitate to take any story supporting his views as Gospel truth, and build his arguments thereon. Such is the premise from which he asks us to come to the conclusion that the Saint of Mylapore was a non-martyr. Mr. Joseph would postulate instead of proving all his premises.

Second Counter-evidence: His second evidence is that the Saint of Mylapore was a Muslim, not St. Thomas. Mr. Joseph says, "The Muslims then and there ca. 1288 counter-claimed that the same Saint in the same tomb was a 'Saracen holy man and great prophet of their own, come from Nubia' and not a Jew from Jerusalem, or Galilee or Edessa or Fars, Socotra or N. W. India" (*N. C. C. Review*).

In the *Journal of Indian History* he gives the same words in quotation marks, "Saracen, holy man and great prophet of their own come from Nubia" (p. 324). In his article published in the Malayalam magazines too he gives the same words in quotation marks. In a pamphlet published in 1950 Mr. Joseph says:—"In 1293 the Muslims asserted (as Marco Polo says.....) that the Saint buried in the Mylapore tomb was a Saracen

'Avarian'.....of their own come from Nubia" (Propagation of Christianity in India in the early Centuries, p. 85).

Mr. Joseph's conclusion that the Saint was "not a Jew from Jerusalem, or Galilee" is sure to follow from the premise that he came from Nubia—his logic here is quite sound; but the premise is false. Mr. Joseph, it is deplorable, not only put his own words in quotation marks, as if they were the words of Marco Polo, but also added quite gratuitously the words, "come from Nubia", and thereby proved his case. I shall quote the very words of Polo. "For the Saracens also", says Polo, "hold the Saint in great reverence and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet giving him the title of *Avarian* which is as much as to say holy man" (Vol. ii, pp. 353, 354). Nubia is mentioned only once by Polo, "He (St. Thomas) had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ" (Vol. II, p. 255). Mr. Joseph, I am sure, is the last one to garble a quotation deliberately; but his great passion to establish his case is in evidence here.

Let us take the whole situation into consideration. Polo says that a Hindu Baron in 1288 (i.e. four years before Polo's visit) filled up with rice "all the houses that belonged to the church and stood round about it", so that the pilgrims had "nowhere to lay their heads". "So one night the Saint himself appeared to the Baron and said, "If thou void not my houses that my pilgrims may have rooms thou shalt die an evil death". "And when morning came, he caused all the houses to be void of his rice and told everybody what had befallen him at the Saint's hands" (p. 354). Here "my pilgrims" evidently means Christians—it is at least mainly the Christian pilgrims that lived in the houses belonging to the Church. It is, therefore, evident that the Hindu Baron thought of the Saint as a Christian.

Now we understand that there was a church at Mylapore and several houses belonging to the church and a large concourse of pilgrims at the time of Polo. Friar Odoric in the 14th century found there a church with a grave of St. Thomas and some Christians (Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. ii, pp. 141, 142). Amr, a Nestorian writer in the same century, speaks of the tomb of St. Thomas and a monastery at Mylapore (Asseman, Bible oriental, IV, p. 34). Nicolo de Conti, who visited Mylapore during the 15th century, speaks of the tomb of St. Thomas there, "A very large and beautiful church" and a large number of Christians (India

in the 15th Century, p. 7). Duarte Barbosa, who visited the place, wrote in A.D. 1516 as follows:—"In this city is buried the body of Apostle St. Thomas in a small church near the sea.....So he remains still in the hermitage, very humbly and lighted up by the grace of God, because the Moors and gentiles light him up, each one saying that he is something belonging to them..... This church is much deteriorated..... A poor Moor takes care of that building and begs of alms for it, and for a lamp, which still continues burning. The Christians of India still go there as pilgrims and carry away thence, as relics, some little pellets of earth of the tomb of this blessed Apostle" (A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar, pp. 174-176).

Some Muslims and Hindus said that the Apostle was "something belonging to them". Some Hindus and Muslims even now make offerings to the Christian Saints and thereby claim them as something belonging to them. Their claim to the Saint of Mylapore was probably similar. When some Saracens told Polo that the Saint of Mylapore was "one of their own", the latter took it to mean their own Saracens. Most probably this explanation is the correct one.

Let us take the opposite aspect. A Hindu *Siddha* was buried at Mylapore and the place was venerated by the Hindus as a holy one. Then the Muslims buried a *Nabi* of their own there without any opposition from the Hindus, and they both attached a sanctity to the place. Last of all Christians appropriated the compound and built a church and several buildings without any opposition from the Hindus or Muslims, and proclaimed to the world that the Apostle was buried there; Christians, Hindus and Muslims, began to "frequent it in pilgrimage", and moved on quite amicably. This makes an enormous demand on our credulity. Is it possible? If the place was a public ground of burial, it is barely possible. In that case it cannot be argued that St. Thomas was not buried there.

Lastly let us take the stories as they stand. There were a church and Christians who believed that St. Thomas was buried there. Some Hindus of the place told the travellers that the person buried there was a Hindu *Siddha* and some Muslims in turn that the person was a Muslim *Nabi*. The travellers did not give credit to the claims of the Hindus or Muslims. Under these circumstances is it reasonable to disregard the claims of the Hindus and the Christians and the verdict of the travellers in favour of the Christians, and also the verdict of a Hindu Baron to the same effect, and

take the words of Muslims as Gospel truth and build arguments thereon?

Mr. Joseph concluded that the Saint was a Muslim because some Muslims said so; he would not for his life take him as the Apostle relying on the words of the Christians; a historian would not conclude that St. Thomas was buried there relying on the words of the 13th century Mylapore Christians, nor would he conclude that a *Nabi* was buried there several centuries back relying on the words of the 13th century Muslims. A mere word of anybody, to Mr. Joseph, is *satis superque* (enough and more than enough) to arrive at an irrefutable conclusion which suits his fancy—special pleading pure and simple.

Third Counter-evidence, First ignored Document: "The famous Asian King Prester John's famous letter of 1165 to the Emperor of Constantinople and Rome, locates deserts (not the sea) east of St. Thomas' burial place in further India..... Could that place be Mylapore on the seashore or a tomb site of 1165 in N. W. India, now West Pakistan.....?"

As the Emperor speaks of himself as the ruler of India, so goes the argument, he must be relied on when he speaks of the burial place of St. Thomas in India.

When I visited Mr. Joseph a few months back, I told him that Prester John was a mythical person. Then he gave me a copy of "World Church" by Mr. John Foster, and assured me that that booklet would convince me of the historicity of Prester John.

"It is the year after the fall of Edessa", Mr. John Foster says, "that we first hear of Prester John. Stories concerning him are to become the most widespread of the Middle Ages. There is a continuous record of the legend for a hundred and fifty years.

"The nearest parallel in modern times is the classic example afforded by England in the darkest days of the first World War. For all our modern critical spirit and cold common sense, how little we doubted these strange stories of the Russians. They have been seen landing at various ports of North-East coastline. We never met anyone who had himself seen them. It was some one who had met some one who had seen them. But the evidence was most circumstantial even to the blackness of their beards and the snow upon their boots. The Prester John legend was similar, but on a larger scale and with a longer life. It told of a mighty Christian empire to the east of the dreaded Muslims and a Christian king

whose armies would take them in the rear. The end of failure was in sight. The victory of Christendom was sure (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, X, 272 ff)".

Then a letter dated 1165 addressed to the Eastern and Western Emperors is quoted:—"Know and believe that I am the priest John, the servant of God, and I surpass in riches, in power, and in virtue, all the kings of the earth. Sixty-two kings are tributary to me..... We have formed the project of visiting the sepulchre of our Lord at the head of a great army as becomes the glory of our Majesty. And we wish to combat and to humble the enemies of the Cross of Christ.....our magnificence dominates the three Indies, our domains, setting out from further India, where reposes the body of St. Thomas the Apostle, advanced across the deserts to the place where the sun is born..... Our Empire extends on one side for four months' Journey on the other side no one can know how great it is. If you can count the sands of the sea and the stars of heaven, you may number my domain and reckon my power" (pp. 72, 73).

These are from Mr. John Foster. When I returned this booklet with a letter, Mr. Joseph wrote to me on 6-10-'51 as follows:—"Received 'World Church' on 4-10. Thanks. Its author, solely relying on Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, is defective in his Prester John's portion..... Yule will give you a much fuller account of Prester John". He wrote again on 31st November and referred me to the Catholic Encyclopedia and Yule—Cordiers Marco Polo, Vol. II, 1903).

In fact Catholic Encyclopedia speaks of him as a "Fabulous King" (Vol. IV, p. 555) and as a "fabled Christian King" (Vol. VI, p. 720).

Let us now turn to Yule, the next authority of Mr. Joseph. "I do not admit", says Yule, "that the character of Prester John properly belonged to any real person" (Marco Polo, Vol. ii, p. 20). Mr. Joseph referred me to the three books mentioned above to prove the historicity of Prester John and all of them speak of him as a mythical person. In order to prove his hopeless case Mr. Joseph, I fear, may cite Encyclopedia Britannica, Chambers's Encyclopedia and others, I shall quote them before he cites them.

Encyclopedia Britannica speaks of Prester John as a "fabulous Mediaeval Christian monarch of Asia". "The history of Prester John, no doubt, originally gathered round, some nucleus of fact,

though what that was is extremely difficult to determine" (Vol. XVIII, p. 459).

Chambers's Encyclopedia says:—"Prester John, the name applied by mediaeval credulity for two hundred years to the supposed Christian sovereign of a vast but ill-defined empire in central Asia. The idea of a powerful Christian potentate in the far East, at once priest and king, was universal in Europe from about the middle of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th century, when it was transferred to Ethiopia and finally found a fancied historical justification in identification with the Christian king of Abyssinia Again, about 1165, there was widely current in Europe an extravagant epistle supposed to be addressed by Prester John to the Greek Emperor Manuel. Herein we read astounding wonders enough; how that he ruled over the three Indies and countless hordes of men, among them those unclean races which Alexander the Great shut up within the northern mountains; that thirteen great crosses of gold and jewels were borne before as many armies, each of 10,000 knights and 100,000 foot; that all his subjects were virtuous and happy; attendant upon him were seven kings, sixty dukes, and 365 counts, twelve archbishops, and twenty bishops, while seventy-two kings with their kingdoms were his tributaries; before his throne stood a wondrous mirror, in which he saw everything that was happening in all his vast dominions; his kingdom contained the Fountain of Youth, the Sea of Sand, the River of Stones, and the river whose sand was precious gems, ants that dug gold, fish that yielded purple, pebbles that give light and make invisible, and the salamander which lives in fire, from the incombustible covering of which were fashioned robes for the presbyter to wear. There is also extant a letter of date 1177, written by Pope Alexander III and evidently addressed to the imaginary author of the grandiloquent epistle of 1165" (Vol. viii, p. 398).

Historians' History of the World:—"Prester John, a mythical Emperor believed in the Middle Ages to have had dominions in Africa or Asia" (Vol. XXV, p. 409).

Against this unanimous verdict of historical scholars, Mr. Joseph is not able to cite a single historian in his favour. Every student of Indian History knows that no Christian Emperor ruled India during the 12th century. Now the contention of Mr. Joseph seems to be this: all the students of history have gone wrong in this matter. Let him prove it and command the assent at least

of a single historian. Instead of this he brought forward Prester John as an unquestionable historical person and built his argument on his supposed letter. This by no means is justifiable.

Fourth Counter-evidence, Second ignored Document: The letter of 1248 to the King of Cyprus from the Armenian Prince, Sampad, who actually visited 'India where St. Thomas preached and made conversions' finding many Muslims enslaved by the Tartar conquerors of a few years before, mentioned a Christian King among inimical Saracen Kings. The Tartars had spared this Christian King who sided with them, and presumably his Christian subjects also."

Mr. Joseph goes on to argue that Sampad was not "speaking broadly of the whole of our India", but of N. W. India. There is nothing in the words quoted to substantiate his conclusion.

Before citing a document all the information regarding the document must be placed before the readers. This is how historians do. Mr. Joseph does not tell us anything about his document, nor does he tell us where he got this from. Nor has he given a full quotation. In a Malayalam pamphlet and in a Malayalam magazine he has cited this without any reference whatever. That Mr. Joseph is not careful and accurate in citing documents is clear from his citations of Marco Polo and of "The famous Asian King Prester John's famous letter".

Friar John of Monte Corvino, in 1291, and Marco Polo, in 1292, travelled from Eastern Persia to Mylapore (Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. III, p. 45, Marco Polo, Vol. I, Ch. XVII, pp. 86, 87). They did not find anywhere in the North of India a place reputed to be the burial place of St. Thomas. Were there a grave of St. Thomas in the North in 1248, it would not have gone out of memory within a span of 43 years, i.e., in 1291.

Dr. Milne Rae, while speaking about Polo's visit to the grave of St. Thomas, says that "there is some reason to suppose that it may have been developed by the tenth century" (Syrian Church in India, p. 25). To attain the celebrity which the grave had in 1292, it requires at least three centuries. This is what Rae meant when he said that it may have been developed by the 10th century. It follows that in 1248 there was no grave of St. Thomas in India other than that in Mylapore.

Reviews

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID SCOTT, DIRECTOR
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1787-1805, Vols. I & II :
Edited by C. H. Philips and published by the Offices of the
Royal Historical Society, London, 1951.

David Scott (1746-1805) was Director of the East India Company from December 1788 to April 1802, Deputy Chairman during 1795-96 and 1800-01, and Chairman in 1796-97 and 1801-02. His dramatic and fertile career is sketched by the editor in his illuminating Introduction, which is a model of brevity. Scott made his fortune and reputation at Bombay, returned to London, and became the personal friend of Henry Dundas and William Pitt. He came into close contact with several other great personalities like Shore, Hobart, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Wilberforce, Addington and Castlereagh. He played a conspicuous part in shaping the policy of the East India Company and stood by Wellesley during his Governor-Generalship. Therefore Scott is to be reckoned as a maker not only of British India, but of Britain herself.

The correspondence under review exhibits the rise of Wellesley's imperial policy both in London and in India and explains how and why opposition to that policy developed within the Company. It therefore assists in a fresh appraisal of Wellesley's achievements in India. The 477 letters published in two volumes throw much light also on Indian and European politics, the war against France, the East India Company at work, the Nawab of Arcot's Debts, and the charges against Scott impugning his character and fame. He vindicated himself before the Proprietors and was unanimously acquitted. Though he was exhausted, the cause for which he stood triumphed. The following gleanings from his letters are worthy of note; Cochin would be a good exchange for Negapatam, Anjengo and Tellicherry (p. 4); the disgraceful management of Bombay for long (p. 12); Sir William Jones, a most valuable character (p. 76); the desolation exhibited by the dominions of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh (p. 77); the commotions amongst the chiefs of the Maratha empire (p. 81); the rebellion of Pyche Raja in Cottote (Palassi Raja of Kottayam, North Malabar)—pp. 116, 140, 142, 293 and 299; the Red Sea expedition from India despatched by Wellesley and his masterly management of

the Nizam (p. 184); British jubilation over the fall of Tipu Sultan (pp. 254 and 276); the death of Nana Fadnis and its possible consequences (p. 278); revolt of the Polygars in Tinnevely (p. 299); the difficulty of seizing the Pyche Raia (p. 309) College of Fort William (pp. 400-01, 414, 416, 428-29 and 431). Vol. I contains a portrait of David Scott, and Vol. II, a very good Index.

R. SATHIANATHAIER.

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF ASSAM, Vol. I (EARLY PERIOD)

—By B. K. Barua, published by K. K. Barooah, Nowgong, Assam, 1951, Rs. 15.

On the basis of a thorough exploitation of the original authorities, indigenous and foreign, the author gives a full picture of Assam from the earliest times to the advent of the Ahoms in the 13th century A.D. His account of early Assamese culture is scholarly and readable, well documented and substantially illustrated. He explains in Chapter I the ancient names, Pragjyotisha and Kamarupa and the modern name Assam, which is of recent origin. The political history of Assam down to about 1257 A.D. is sketched in Chapter II, and Bhaskaravarman (600-650) is described as "one of the most remarkable rulers of mediaeval India" (p. 23). The remaining chapters discuss Administration (Civil and Military), Economic Condition, Social Life, Education, Religion and Fine Arts—Architecture, Sculpture and Iconography. In the last chapter, the author rejects the view that Assam was free from Aryan influences and shows that it maintained close contacts with India in the fields of politics, trade and commerce, social life, religion and fine arts. In short, "Assam is a small unit of India, but it played a most distinct and important role as a transmitter of Aryan civilisation in lands like Tibet, Nepal and Burma. In fact, Assam is the frontier outpost of Indian civilisation" (p. 200). The author explains the reasons for Assam becoming the home of Tantric worship in the mediaeval period (p. 199). The first two Appendices by B. Kakati examine personal names (male and female), place names, and some Austro-Sanskrit word-correspondences. Appendix III relates to musical instruments. Besides an Index, the volume contains 36 plates including a map of Assam. On p. 197, line 4, *eras* is a misprint for *era*; the following sentence on the same page may be rewritten: "It is felt that all these informations have been able to reconstruct a picture of the rural life of ancient Assam."

R. SATHIANATHAIER.

THE INWARDNESS OF BRITISH ANNEXATIONS IN INDIA
(Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures, 1948-49): By C. S. Srinivasachari, published by the University of Madras, 1951, Rs. 10.

In the Introduction the author traces the inwardness of British annexations in India to the Company's resolve in 1689 "to acquire territory and to build up revenues". Though the Acts of 1784 and 1793 had set their face against annexation, Lord Wellesley thought that those Acts did not prevent him from acquiring territories in India by legitimate means. But in 1813 Lord Hastings emphasised the importance of scrupulous regard for Indian laws and usages and for the letter of the treaties, which should be interpreted in favour of the princes. Lord Dalhousie however, felt that he was in duty bound to seize all rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue. Thus his Nagpur Despatch of 1854 was a glorification of the original sin of 1689. The author discusses the political, legal and moral aspects of the British annexations in India other than those resulting from war. His exposition of the circumstances in which such annexations were made is critical and well documented. He traces the history of successions by adoption which were respected by the British Government till 1841, but a reversal of policy was witnessed in that year when Colaba was annexed. Mughal and Maratha sovereigns did not refuse to recognise adoptions. The Satara case revealed the mentality of the annexationist and the Resident at Satara and the Governor of Bombay were in favour of confirming the adoption made by Appa Sahib in 1848. Jhansi was annexed, though there was Lakshmi Bai to function admirably as Regent and in spite of the great military help that had been rendered to the British in 1825 by the ruler of that State. At Nagpur no adoption had been made, and consequently it was a case of simple lapse. The annexation of the Carnatic is discussed in all its aspects. "Bell goes so far as to say that even if there had been no Nawab of the Carnatic at all, one ought to have been created" (p. 101). The morality of the mediatisation of Tanjore is doubtful. The threatened annexation of Mysore after 1831 is expounded in Chapter VII. The history of Oudh is sketched from the days of Warren Hastings to its annexation by Dalhousie. The acquisition of Berar in 1853 was "a sharp bargain, founded avowedly on a claim which could not be based on treaty and enforced with such disregard of the very courtesies of alliance, so galling to a faithful friend" (p. 182). The book contains a select Bibliography, an analytical Index and an Errata.

R. SATHIANATHAIER.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES, Part II—by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., published by the Indian Research Institute, 170, Ramesh Dutt Street, Calcutta-6 (1952).

Dr. B. C. Law is one of the leading indologists in India and a great scholar in Buddhist and Pali literature. He has published a number of learned books bearing on ancient Indian culture and civilization, and in recognition and appreciation of his services in the field of indological studies a commemoration volume was presented to him by his admirers and friends a few years ago.

The present book under review is a collection of some nineteen of the published and unpublished articles by Dr. B. C. Law dealing with various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilization. The articles are Early Buddhist Monks and Nuns, Buddha's first Discourse, Dependent origination, Reincarnation in Buddhism, early kings of Ceylon as in the chronicles and Inscriptions, Occupations in Buddha's Time, Slaves in Ancient India, Buddhist Rules of Decorum, Evolution of Cave architecture in India and Ceylon, Buddha's Life in Art, Buddhism and its expansion in India and outside, Amity in Buddhism, Some distinguished men and women in Jainism, Mahavira and his doctrine, Jain view of Karma, Asvaghosa's Philosophy, Tirukkural and Dhammapada, Three Buddhist Commentaries and Ancient Indian Flora. It is not possible to assess here individually the striking contributions made by the author to our knowledge on the subjects with which the articles deal, but some of the articles are of very great interest, as for instance the one on the evolution of cave architecture in India and Ceylon; for the cave is one of the probable lines along which religious architecture developed in India and Ceylon. In the historical process of its development one may trace the different forms of its combination, amalgamation or co-ordination, conscious or unconscious with other lines of development. Buddhism has directly or indirectly been responsible greatly for the very best that is found in Indian art, and that is well portrayed in the article on Buddha's life in art. Likewise the article on Buddhism and its expansion in India and outside is of great interest.

V. R. R.

SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS—Records in Oriental Languages, Vol. 2, Edited by Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Hony.), and Mahamahopadhyaya Umesha Misra, M.A., D.Litt. published on behalf of the National Archives of India

by the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, 1951. Price Rs. 15, pages xi, 64, 206, and Addenda and Corrigenda 7.

This moderate sized volume of which the printing and publication have been due to the munificence of His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal contains twenty-five Sanskrit documents with dates from A.D. 1778 to 1885. Dr. Sen assisted by Mr. Sourindranath Roy of the National Archives and other scholars mentioned in the preface has prepared the text and provided English translations of the documents and all the necessary notes and elucidations. He contributes further the introduction of sixty-four pages in which the documents are carefully analysed and their historical import assessed. Dr. Umesha Misra contributes a short Sanskrit preface and it seems that but for his personal efforts 'the publication of this small collection of Sanskrit letters and legal papers might have been still further delayed'. Six documents are reproduced in facsimiles also. There is a list of authorities consulted, and an Index to the Text besides a General Index.

During the period of three quarters of a century from Warren Hastings the languages in common use for official communications were English and Persian; that other languages figure in the documents in the National Archives at all is in itself a matter of interest. Among these however Sanskrit yields to none in interest and importance. Though perhaps at no time a spoken language in the strict form prescribed by Pāṇini and his successors, it has always been the foundation of all Indian languages and literatures, and an unfailing source of mutual understanding among *élite* of the different parts of the country and between them and the rest of the world including Chinese pilgrims and modern philologists and antiquarians. It is not surprising therefore that some of our countrymen and women used the medium for addressing their English rulers. The matters dealt with in them are indeed not of wide public interest; they often relate to private claims and are of the nature of pleadings of advocates of particular causes and interests; one set of three documents are solicitations for financial aid addressed to Sir John Shore by a Brahmin youth of Gwalior eager to pursue his studies in the Sanskrit College in Benares. Another is a letter from Kāśināth Pandit, the first Rector of that institution, addressed to Lord Mornington and received by him early in August 1798, on the affairs of the college; commenting on this letter Dr. Sen gives a very instructive account of the early tribulations of this institution. Eight of the letters deal with questions of succession and inheritance, and though they are called *Vyavasthāpatras*, they are of the nature of advocate's pleadings and

this seems to have been correctly understood by the authorities who dealt with them. A document which bears witness to the success of Wellesley in conciliating the temple priests of Jagannāth (Puri) and the two testimonials from the learned men of Benares to the 'wise and charitable policy followed by Mr. Hastings' are documents of more general interest.

K. A. N.

STUDIES IN MEDIAEVAL INDIAN HISTORY by P. Saran. Ph.D. (Lond.) Professor and Head of the History Department, University of Utkal, Cuttack. Delhi, Ranjit Printers and Publishers, 1952. Pages 255. Rs. 4 8 or 8s. 6d. net.

Dr. P. Saran is well known to students of Indian History by his works on *Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941) and *Islamic Polity*. The present volume is a collection of ten essays based on his lectures to post-graduate classes. Every one of them rests on a study of original sources and seeks to make a distinct contribution to elucidate the subject discussed. As the author has sometimes to clear the ground of current views for which there is no warrant in the sources before putting forward his own interpretations, a certain amount of polemic is unavoidable; Dr. Saran is quite alive to this aspect of his writing and avows himself ready to 'sincerely appreciate healthy and helpful criticism' while expecting 'orthodoxies hardened by long usage into deep albeit unconscious prejudices to be shed, if found untenable'.

The first of these studies convincingly demonstrates that the 'feudal system' of Rajputana exhibits far more differences than resemblances to the 'feudal system' of mediaeval Europe both in its characteristic features and in the causes and circumstances of its growth. The next four studies (II—V) are on Sher Shāh's life and administration; here the author has necessarily to canvass the views of Prof. Quanungo, the best known of the modern writers on the great Afghan ruler. The date of Sher Shāh's birth is found to be A.D. 1472 and not 1486 as Quanungo surmised; and the place of his birth was not Hissar Firoza but somewhere in the *pargana* of Bajwara. The *sarkar* was not the largest political unit of the administrative system, but *subas* comprising several *sarkars* were known. These conclusions are supported by a detailed documentation which is apparently conclusive. The revenue system of Sher Shāh is studied afresh in the light of the sources and with a glance on the rival conclusions of Quanungo and Moreland, and

the annual income and expenditure of Sher Shāh are estimated in detail in a separate study. Study VI traces the history of the *Kotwal*, and the title is held to be of Hindi origin — *Kōjapāla*, guardian of the fort, corresponding to *durga-pāla* of the *Artha-sāstra*. The *niyāh*, a subject Dr. Saran has already dealt with in his *Islamic Polity*, is studied afresh and shown to violate the true ideal of the prophet and the spirit of Islam in the manner in which it was applied by the Muslim governing classes of India under conditions which it was never meant to cover. The economic policy and price control of Alauddin Khalji comes in for detailed analysis and severe criticism as ruinous to large classes of producers and calculated to unhinge the economic life of the community. The king and his advisers 'had no true conception of either the good of the people or of the state' (p. 184). Professor Habib of Aligarh who writes a short appreciative 'Introductory Note' says that 'this thesis is so completely staggering in its boldness and novelty that it is likely to be the subject of a prolonged controversy.' Even Alauddin's capacity for military leadership is called into serious question in the next study (IX) on the 'Frontier policy of the Turkish sultans of Dihli. The Slave Sultans are credited with a greater awareness of the frontier problems and Balban in particular receives high praise for his caution and foresight in dealing with the tribal area and the Mongol invaders. Alauddin on the other hand 'had no grasp of the reality of the task which lay before him' (p. 212), and even after the capital was saved in 1300 only at the cost of the life of Zafar Khān, one of the ablest soldiers of his time, the Sultan took no steps to safeguard the frontier or defend the capital, but went himself on distant expeditions and sent away Malik Kafur to the South. The Mongols were no good at besieging cities, and Alauddin was 'a mere soldier of fortune with a dash and reckless boldness bordering on bravado, but in no sense did he "possess the qualities of a born military leader" as some superficial and uncritical writers would seem to think' (p. 221). The last essay is an original study of the political currents in the reign of Nasiruddin. The current estimate of the sultan as a pious monarch full of the milk of human kindness and of the Hindu convert Imad-uddin Raihan as a lax and incompetent administrator in no way fit to stand by the side of Balban rests on the biased account of Minhaj-i-Siraj, a protégé of Balban. In fact Nasiruddin was an ungrateful wretch and played into the hands of the Turkish party of nobles headed by Balban who plotted the overthrow of Alauddin Masud, the sultan who might have done away with Nasiruddin as a possible rival but refrained;

and Raihan was neither lax nor corrupt, but the head of the Indian Muslim section among the nobles who had no love lost to the Turks. Balban himself deserved credit for his efficient spy system and frontier defence, but he undermined the future of his own house by destroying the party of Turkish slaves 'systematically and deliberately' with the ulterior motive of leaving no rival to compete for the crown against his progeny' (p. 243).

So much should suffice to show that Dr. Saran is no humdrum follower of the beaten track, and that his essays are full of fresh and lively thinking. To quote Prof. Habib again; 'Dr. Saran's *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History* is an outstanding work of ripe and mature scholarship which all teachers and students should peruse and assimilate with the greatest care. Most of its conclusions will stand the test of time'.

K. A. N.

HISTORY OF THE LATER CHOLAS (Pirkalachcholar Charittiram) in Tamil—Part II by T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, Lecturer, Tamil Research Department, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar, 1951.

Mr. Sadasiva Pandarathar traces in this book the history of the Chōlas from the accession of Kulōttunga I to the end of the imperial line in 1279, its earlier history up to the death of Adhirājendra having been treated in Part I of the Series and reviewed by us in the last number of this journal. The book contains eight chapters, the chapter numbers starting from the sixteenth, the first part having ended with the fifteenth. In these chapters written in elegant Tamil the author gives a succinct account of the political fortunes of the Chōla dynasty.

As in the first part of the book he has studied and made use of the large volume of epigraphical material bearing on his subject. The author while describing the two wars waged by Kulōttunga I in the Kalinga country says that the Chōla princess Rājasundari who was married by the Kalinga ruler Rājarāja, the father of Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga must have been a daughter of Rājendra II the son of Rājendra Gangaikonda Chōla (pp. 56-7). But the fact seems to be that she was the daughter of Virarājendra, who, after accepting the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya VII as his feudatory in the Vengi kingdom, married one of his daughters to the Western Chālukya prince Vikramāditya and another to Kalinga Rājarāja. Mr. Pandarathar says that Rājarāja II, son of Kulōt-

tunga II was a patron of Vaishnavism for he is referred to in his inscriptions as *vilunda ariṣamayattaiyum mīlaveḍuttavan* (pp. 111-12). Rājarāja II ruled according to the author up to 1163 and the inscriptions of the king bearing dates after that are undependable for Rājādhirāja II his successor had his coronation in 1166 (pp. 125-26). Though the exact relationship between Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III is not quite clear, some even holding that they were brothers, Mr. Pandarathar feels sure that the latter was the son of the former (pp. 145-46). Śēkkilār is made a contemporary of Kulōttunga III (pp. 166-7), while Kambar is made a contemporary of Uttamachōla (p. 101). Again the author puts forth laboured arguments to show that the Chōla king who was defeated by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and whose capitals were set fire to was not Kulōttunga III as is usually supposed to be, but his son Rājarāja III (pp. 187-9). But this view appears to be unsustainable in the light of the evidence contained in a Pāṇḍyan inscription which says that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya after having taken the Chōla country gave it back to Kulōttunga III (9 of 1926).

The map showing the extent of the Chōla empire under Kulōttunga I, appendices and index are useful guides for studying the book. We look forward to the publication of the third part which is bound to be interesting on account of its scope, namely, general considerations of Chōla rule.

T. V. M.

THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHA'S RELIGION (SĀSANA-VAMSA). Translated by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., D.Litt., etc. pp. xviii and 174. Luzac & Co., Ltd. London, 1952 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XVII).

The exact title of this work is *Sāsanavamsappadīpikā*, as three colophons tell us. The author was Paññāsāmi, a Burmese monk, who wrote it first in Burmese, and translated it into Pali for the benefit of the "islanders" (of Ceylon). He is said to have been the tutor of king Meng-dun-Meng (known better to the British as king Mindon), who reigned from 1853 to 1876. Paññāsāmi finished the book in 1861.

The work, according to Winternitz, completely follows the old pattern of the legend. This is true of the former portion, but its most important part, forming more than half of the whole, is an independent history of the religion in Burma down to modern times. It undertakes to be more even than this, for it starts from J. 15

the story of Moggaliputta sending out missionaries to nine different regions after the Third Council. It is the history of the religion in each of these nine regions that Paññāsāmi gives. Two of these are Suvannabhūmi and Aparanta—roughly lower and upper Burma. The other regions are treated very cursorily, but the account of Aparanta or Burma proper is very full and takes up more than half the book. Although it is chiefly the history of the Buddhist Order, it records much secular history and will have to be studied by future historians of Burma. They will find Dr. Law's work most helpful, but as he himself complains of the corrupt text, they will find the study of the Pali text itself advisable. One curious feature is that Paññāsāmi uses Indian names of countries which he applies to Burmese regions, but there is no need to try to equate the meanings of the countries in the *Mahāvamsa* with those mentioned by Paññāsāmi, especially when he points out that Aparanta as understood by him is in the *Maramma-maṇḍala*. The translation is very richly furnished with notes and references, which enormously increase its value.

E. J. THOMAS.

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