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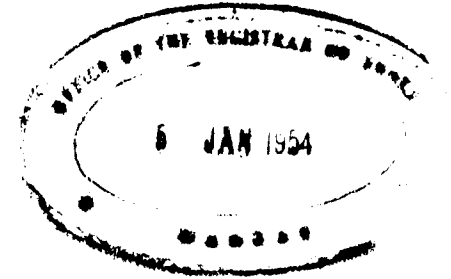
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The Foundation of the Saiyad Dynasty—Khizr Khan, 1414-1421 A.D.

BY

DR. A. HALIM, M.A., PH.D.

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University of Dacca.*

During the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq when the Delhi Empire was fast decaying, Malik Sulaiman, father of Khizr Khān, the founder of the Saiyad dynasty of the Delhi Sultāns began his early life in the household of Malik Mardān Daulat Khān, the Governor of Multān. Malik Sulaimān was adopted in his child-hood by Malik Mardān as his son.¹ After Malik Mardān's death, his son Malik Shaikh succeeded him, but after Malik Shaikh's death without an heir, Malik Sulaimān became the Governor of Multān. After Malik Sulaimān's death, his son Khizr Khān succeeded him and his appointment was confirmed by Sultān Firūz Shāh.²

Khizr Khān's ancestry.

Khizr Khān's claim to be a Saiyad is very doubtful. It does not rest on any family claim but on the guess of a holy man. The story repeated in every history is this, that one day, Malik Mardān had invited the celebrated mystic Saiyad Jalāluddīn Bukhārī³ to a dinner and when Malik Sulaimān was assisting the guests washing their hands before taking meal by pouring water from an ewer, the mystic refused to take service from a man whom he knew by intuition to be of Saiyad descent. According to Nizāmuddīn,⁴ this

1. 'Abdul Bāqī Nehāwāndī, *Maāsīr-i Rahīmī*, Bib Indica Series, 1, 403.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Bib. Indica, p. 183.; Nizāmuddīn *Tabaqat-i-Akbārī*, I, 265.

3. Saiyad Jalāl Bukhārī also called Saiyad Jalāl the Red, is a disciple of Shaikh-ul-Islām Bahāduddīn Zakaria Qureshi Multānī. He is the grandfather of Shaikh Jalāl, entitled *Makhdum-i-Jahāniyan*. He came from Bukhara to Bakkar, and settled in that town before coming to Uchh. Vide 'Abdul Haq Haqqi Dehlavī's *Akhbār-ul-Akhiār* Mujtaba-i Press, Delhi, p. 60. His tomb is at Uchh.

4. *Tabqāt-i Akbarī*, I, 265; *Maāsīr-i Rahīmī*, I, 404.

guess has been confirmed by subsequent enquiries. A second argument, as weak as the first one, is this that *Khizr Khān*, was good natured, generous, patient, pious, clement and truthful. He could not but be a Saiyad, because, these are the excellences of Muhammad the Prophet's character.

Khizr Khān ejected from Multān joins Tīmūr.

Khizr Khān was ejected from Multān by *Sārang Khān*, brother of *Mallū Iqbāl Khān*, the Wazir and king-maker of Delhi, in 798/1395. The circumstances were as follows. By that time there happened to be two Sultans in Delhi, claiming the allegiance of the subjects, *Naṣiruddīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad IV* (795-815/1393-1413), having been proclaimed in Delhi, and *Naṣrat Shāh bin Faṭḥ Khān*, son of *Firūz Tughlaq* (797-802/1395-1399) maintaining a court at *Firūzabad*, within the distance of five miles from Delhi. *Khizr Khān*'s fault was that he had withheld allegiance from *Maḥmūd Shāh*, as many other nobles and Provincial Governors did, because the territories of the Sultanate had become divided between the supporters of the two rival monarchs. *Sarang Khān* defeated *Khizr Khān* in a battle⁵ and remained in occupation of Multān in spite of his suffering a defeat at the hands of *Tatār Khān*, Governor of *Pānīpat* at *Kōtlā*.⁶ *Sarang Khān* did not long enjoy his loot, for during the same year (799/1396) he was defeated and captured by *Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr*, *Tīmūr*'s grand-son⁷ and subsequently killed by orders of *Tīmūr* in 801/1398,⁸ when the latter overran Multān on his way to India. When *Tīmūr* turned towards Delhi still torn by schism and intrigues of nobles changing sides like weather-cocks thousands of refugees fled before his invading hordes. One such was *Khizr Khān* who had taken refuge in the hills of *Miwāt* and later sought *Tīmūr*'s protection, just a few days after the latter's capture and sack of Delhi. *Bahādur Nāhir Khān*, the *Khān-zāda* chief of *Miwāt*⁹ was another notable

5. Tar Mub. Shāhi, 162.

6. Tar Mub. Shāhi, 162.

7. Sharfuddin 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, A. S. B., Edn., II, 51.

8. Tar Mub. Shāhi 163.

9. The *Khān-zādas* claim descent from *Jādon Rājput*s. The story has it that two brothers, *Sānpar Pāl* and *Sheopar-pāl*, sons of a *Rājput* chief of *Jādon* clan, accepted Islam during the reign of *Firūz Tughlaq*, in 757/1356, in the hands of *Hazrat Naṣiruddin Chirāgh* of Delhi, and were renamed *Bahādur Nāhir Khān* and *Chhajjū Khān* respectively. I have not yet found any support for this theory from reliable authorities.

who submitted to *Tīmūr* on this occasion. *Khizr Khān* was set at liberty because of his being a Saiyad; the rest were thrown into prison in spite of a promise of safe-conduct.¹⁰ When *Tīmūr* returned from India, leaving behind him destruction, fire, and smoke, *Khizr Khān*, accompanying *Tīmūr*'s army was bestowed the 'shaqs' of Multān and *Dipālpūr* (Montgomery District, W. Punjab) and was allowed to take charge of his assignment.¹¹ Meanwhile, soon after *Tīmūr*'s departure, *Nuṣrat Shāh* who had fled to *Miwāt*, came back and occupied the metropolis for some time. But ultimately he failed to consolidate his position against *Mallū Iqbāl Khān*, Wazir of *Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq*. Being defeated, *Nuṣrat Shāh* fled to *Miwāt* [Jamadi I, 801/March 1399] once more, to die there soon after. *Mallū Iqbāl Khān* brought the Middle Do-ab under his control, but the rest of the country, remained, as usual, under the possession of nobles and self-appointed chiefs.

Khizr Khān is bestowed Multān and Dipālpūr by Tīmūr.

Multān, *Dipālpūr* and the vicinity of *Sind*, passed in virtual sovereignty, under the control of *Khizr Khān*; *Mahoba* and *Kālpī* were usurped by *Maḥmūd Khān*, son of *Malik-Zāda Firūz*; the vast tract comprising *Kanauj*, *Awadh*, *Kara*, *Dalmaū* (*Hardoi District*, *Awadh*), *Sandila*, *Bahraich*, *Bihār*, and *Jaunpūr*, were held by *Khawaja-i-Jahān Malik-us-Sharq* (since 1394, A.D.); *Mālwa* was held by *Nizām Khān*, *Sāmānā* (in *Patiala State*) by *Ghālīb Khān*, *Bayāna* by *Shams Khān Awhadi*.¹² *Mallū* did his level best to reconquer the territories lately lost to Delhi. He captured *Bayāna*, temporarily established his authority over *Harsingh*, the Hindu chief of *Kaṭhēr* (*Rohil-khand*), and *Rai Subīr Singh*, the *Chauhān* chief of *Etāwā*, and compelled them to pay the withheld revenue. In 803/1400, a year before *Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlaq*'s return to Delhi from *Gujrāt*, the place of his refuge during *Tīmūr*'s invasion of India, *Khizr Khān*, had to fight a desperate battle with *Taghi Khān* described as a Turkish slave of *Sultān Firūz Tughlaq*,¹³ and a son-in-law of *Ghālīb Khān*, the all-powerful Governor of *Sāmāna*. *Taghi* was, however, defeated, on *Rajaq*, 803/March 6, 1401, by *Khizr Khān*, in the battle of *Ajodhan* (*Pāk Pattan*),¹⁴ and subsequently killed by the treacherous *Ghālīb Khān*.¹⁵

10. Tar Mub Shāhi, 167; *Nizāmuddin*, *Tabaqāt* I, 253.

11. Tar Mub Shāhi, 167; *Nizāmuddin* Tab. I, 256.

12. Tar Mub Shāhi, 168.

13. Turk-bach-cha-i Sultāni.

14. 30. 20N, 73. 25E.

15. Tar Mub Shāhi 170.

Chaos in Delhi after Tīmūr's departure.

Meanwhile, in Delhi, Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlaq after his return from Gujrāt was at best a puppet in Mallū Iqbāl's hands. The Sultan tried to shake off this tutelage by walking into the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī at Kanauj. Having been coldly received there, he came back, and forcibly occupied Kanauj¹⁶ and left Delhi with Mallū Iqbāl Khān.^{16a} as its un-crowned king. Iqbāl failed to reconquer Gwālīor, seized from the Muslims by Bir Singh, the Tonwār Rājput chief, during the dark days of Tīmūr's invasion of Delhi¹⁷ and failed also to eject Sultān Maḥmūd from Kanauj. Iqbāl Khān's expedition to Sāmānā 808/1405, culminating in the treacherous murder of Bahrām Khān Turk-bach-cha, at Talūndī, (Talwandī), and the imprisonment of Rāi Dāūd Kamāl, the Mēn Rājput chief and of Rāi Hānsū, son of Rāi Kulchand Bhattī, brought him into clash with Khizr Khān. Sultānshah (son of) Bahrām Lōdī, Khizr Khān's general defeated and killed Malik Iqbāl Mallū in the battle of Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan), 19 Jamādī I, 808/December 12, 1405.¹⁸

After Mallū Iqbāl's death, the loyal nobles, led by Daulat Khān Lōdī, brought back Sultān Maḥmūd from Kanauj to Delhi. Iqbāl Khān's family was sent to Kōl (Aligarh) and Daulat Khān was invested by the Sultān with the office of the Wazir and put in charge of the districts of the Middle Doāb.¹⁹ Maḥmūd Shāh deputed Daulat Khān to recover Kanauj seized by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī 809/1406, but Daulat Khān was defeated and driven by the Shārqi forces.

The tract from Multān to the bank of the Jumna occupied by Khizr Khān.

In 810/1407, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī was leading a huge army towards Delhi, and was about to cross the Jumna after capturing Sambhal (Moradabād District, U.P.), when the news of a projected

16. Tār Mub Shāhī, 170.

16a. Vide 'Idgāh Inscription dated 807/1404-5, in the village of Kharera near Delhi on a red sandstone slab fixed on the south bastion, constructed by Dilpasand Khān, probably a slave of Mallū Iqbāl, at the orders of the latter. Zafar Hasan, List of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments Vol. II, Monument No. 287.; Vide also the same author's article entitled "An Inscription of Mallū Iqbāl Khān", Proceedings of the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress, 1938.

17. Tār Mub Shāhī, 172.

18. Tār Mub Shāhī, 174.

19. Tār Mub Shāhī, 174.

invasion of Jaunpūr by Hushang Shāh Ghōrī of Mālwa²⁰ forced him to turn back. He did so after placing Malik Marḥaba in charge of Buland-Shahr lately captured. The menace to the metropolis being over, Daulat Khān marched on Sāmānā, offered battle and defeated Bairām Khān, son of Behram Khān, one of Khizr Khān's adherents in a battle.²¹ This caused Khizr Khān to march against Daulat Khān. The latter was defeated and forced across the Jumna, so that Khizr Khān became the leige-lord of many chiefs holding the whole tract from Multān upto the bank of the Jumna in full sway. He bestowed the fiefs of Hiṣār Firūza on Qawām Khān, the iqtas of Sāmānā and Sunām were taken away from Bairām Khān and bestowed on Maṣnad-i-Ālā Zirak Khān.²¹ Bairām was given Sirhind instead. The Sultān of Delhi had nothing left to him except the Middle Doāb and Rohtak. In Rajab 811/November 1408, Sultān Maḥmūd captured Sirhind by defeating Qawām Khān, Khizr Khān's Governor, but soon, after the retirement of the Sultān, Khizr Khān hurled back the Delhi forces, under Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa and sent them across the Jumna once more.²² He followed his success by launching an attack on Delhi via Rohtak, and besieged Sultān Maḥmūd at Sirī and Ikhtiar Khān at Firūzabād, but failing in his object, he retired to Fathpūr.²³

Khizr Khān attacks Delhi a second time but fails.

In 813, Khizr Khān captured Rohtak from Malik Idrīs; next year, he seized Hānsī, plundered Nārñol and most of Miwāt, including the town of Tijjārā,²⁴ again laid siege to Sirī, but failed to accomplish its subjugation. The Sultān, ever immersed in sensual pleasure and debauchery, found time after the raising of the siege of the capital for going out a-hunting. But he died on his way back to Delhi, in Rajab I, 915/October 1412.²⁵ After Sultān Maḥmūd's death, the nobles and chiefs offered fealty to Daulat Khān.²⁶

20. Nizamuddin, Tabaqāt, I, 261.

21. Tār Mub Shāhī, 177.

22. Tār Mub Shāhī, 177.

23. About 20 miles N. E. of Kahrōr, and shown in Constable's map at Lat.

24. 40N, long. 72. 10E. Hodivala, Studies, 399.

25. About 30 miles, north-east of Alwar city.

26. Tār Mub Shāhī, 180; Nizamuddin, Tabaqāt, I, 264.

27. Tār Mub Shāhī, 180.

Khizr Khān captures Delhi in the third attempt, 1414 A.D.

In 816/1413, Khizr Khān brought his forces to Delhi for the third time, and secured the submission of Jalāl Khān, brother's son of Bahādur Nāhīr Khān.²⁷ After a four month's siege the city capitulated. He deposed Daulat Khān and handed him over to Qawām Khān, to be imprisoned in Hisār Fīrūza. The latter killed him.²⁸ According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Delhi was captured by Khizr Khān on 15 Rabi I, 817/June 4, 1414.²⁹

Khizr Khān's accession to the throne, 1414 A.D.

After the capture of Delhi, Khizr Khān did not assume the title of the Sultān, but took the more humble title of Rāyāt-i-Ālā (the Sublime Standard). Though he caused the *Khuṭba* to be read in the name of Timūr, and Mirzā Shahrukh, he discontinued it when the Timurid Empire began to break up. "He did not strike coins in his own name", and "preferred to maintain types of coin that had become popular in the recent past, merely altering dates in them".³⁰ At the time of his seizure of Delhi, Khizr Khān possessed Multān, part of the Punjāb, a fraction of the Jumna-Ganges Dōab, and commanded a doubtful allegiance of the chiefs of Miwāt. The rest of the country had been lost to the Empire.

Political condition at his accession.

The Rājputs defied the authority of the Sultān in Rohilkhand and the Doāb whereas the Punjāb possessions were periodically ravaged by the Khokars, a tribe of Jāts and Rājput new converts to Islām, and the Turks, whose ancestors had been the slaves of the Tughlaq Sultāns. The nobles offering allegiance to him were self-seeking, and ever-ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder.

Rehabilitates Delhi and forms a government.

The immediate problem before him was to lay down the structure of an orderly government, rehabilitate Delhi, devastated and pillaged by Timūr, and restore the sway of the Sultanate over the

27. *Tabaqāti*, 264.

28. *Badāonī*, *Muntakhabut-Tawārikh*, I, 275. (Pers. Text., A. Sb. B).

29. *Tār Mub Shāhī*, 181.

30. H. N. Wright, *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Delhi*, p. 239.

fertile plains of the Doāb and in the areas in the vicinity of the capital. To the people of Delhi reduced to dire straits and abject poverty, he gave generous compensations for rehabilitation, with the result that peace and prosperity quickly returned to the hapless city. He formed an administration by making Malik-us-Sharq Malik Tuhfa, the Wazīr and dubbed him with the new title of Tāj-ul-Mulk. Saiyad Sālem of Amrōhā was conferred the fief of Sahāranpūr and invested with great power so that "all acts began to be transacted after his advice".³¹ Malik 'Abdur-Rahim, Khizr Khān's foster-brother, was bestowed the title of 'Ālā-ul-Mulk, and given the Shaqs of Multān and Fathpūr, once held by Khizr Khān. Malik Sarwar was made the Shahna (City Prefect) of Delhi and Deputy-in-absentia (Naib-i Ghaibat) of the Sultān; Malik Khair-uddīn Khān became the 'Ariz-i Mumālik (Muster-Master); Malik Kālū became the Superintendent of the Royal Elephants, and Malik Dāūd became the *Dabīr* (Secretary), and Ikhtiyār Khān was made the Governor of the Middle Doāb with sway over the tract recovered from the dominion of Maḥmūd Tughlaq. Khizr Khān behaved with the members of the late regnant family with kindness and compassion, restoring to them their pensions, endowments and grants.

Classification of his campaigns.

The administration became orderly and methodical. He then set his attention to reducing lawlessness in the areas under his control and establish his authority over territories which once formed a part of the empire. The expeditions undertaken in this connection, instead of being discussed chronologically, can be arranged under convenient regional heads, viz those undertaken in (1) Rohilkhand and the Dōab, (2) *Miwāt*, Bayana and Gwālīor, (3) against the western provinces and (4) against the rulers of independent Provincial Dynasties.

Khizr's Rohilkhand and Doāb Campaigns.

In the year of his accession to the throne, he deputed Tāj-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr to suppress Hindu uprisings in Rohilkhand and the Doāb. Passing to Rohilkhand via Ahār, in Bulandshahr district, and crossing the Ganges, he plundered Rāi Harsingh's

31. *Tār Mub Shāhī*, 183.

estates,³² and territories of other Kathēr chiefs. The latter fled and took refuge in the village of Āonla, and later submitted and paid the arrears of revenue in cash. Receiving the homage of Mahābat Khān, the chief of Badāun, the victorious Wazīr followed the courses of the Kālīnādī,³³ and crossing the Ganges by the Sargdwārī ford near Pātiālī, he fell on Khōr³⁴ near Shamsabad town, and Kampil and then came to Padham,³⁵ via Sakīt (Etah Distt., U. P.). Hasan Khān, governor of Rāprī (now a village in Shikohābād pargana, Mainpūrī Distt., U. P.), and his brother Hamza Khān surrendered. Rāi Subir Singh,³⁶ the Chauhan chief, who held sway over the whole tract from Etāwā to Jalēsar, offered service and the Rājās of Gwālīor, Siwri and Chandwār (near Fīruzbād town, Āgra Distt.), paid arrears of revenue. Jalēsar was taken from the Rājput chief of Chandwār and restored to its former Muslim owner. He also appointed his own Shiqdārs in the conquered localities.³⁷ From that place, he proceeded towards Etāwā, punishing its rebel chief, and then returned to Delhi, by the usual Doāb highway.³⁸ Two years later, Tāj-ul-Mulk secured the submission of Rāi Subir Singh, once again, in the following manner.

Tāj-ul-Mulk undertakes a second expedition, 821/1416.

In 821/1418, Khizr Khān sent a fresh expedition under Tāj-ul-Mulk, for the suppression of the refractory Kathēr chief, Rāi Harsingh Deo, who again fled to the forests of Āonla which covered a stretch of 48 miles.^{38a} He was driven from the jungles to the Kumaun hills with his luggage and horses left behind. After a

32. Harsingh in Tār Mub Shāhī and Tab Akbarī, Birsingh in Maāsīr-i Rahīmī, I, 405 and Narsingh in Ferishta, Lucknow, I, 162.

33. Kālīndī, Rahab and Ab-i Siāh are the names of the Kālīnādī.

34. Khōr is 3 miles from Shamsabād which is 12 miles n. e. of Farrukhabād town, in 27°32' Lat and 79°3' long. Fuhrer Arch. Survey of India, N. S. Vol. on U. P. See also Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 396.

35. Padham is situated on the high road to Etah, near the Arind river, 23 miles distant from Mainpūrī, and 18 miles from Shikuhābād, in Lat. 27. 20, Long. 78. 40 E, N.W.P. District Gaz. 1908, Mainpūrī Vol. 83, 146, 245-46; Hodivala, Studies, 401.

36. Subir Singh, in Maāsīr-i Rahīmī I, 405. Hodivala, Studies, 392, prefers following Ferishta and a strong local tradition, the name Sumer Singh or Sumēr Sāh, Vide also N.W.P. Distt. Gaz., 1908 Edition, Etāwā Vol. 129, 206, 220.

37. Tār Mub Shāhī 184, Tab. I, 266.

38. Tār Mub Shāhī, 137.

38a. Badāoni I, Ranking, 287.

five days' pursuit, Tāj-ul-Mulk rejoined his camp, crossing the Ganges at the Pachlāna ford near Pātiālī, proceeded to Etāwā, laid siege to its fort, and compelled its chief (Subir or Sumēr Singh) to pay the withheld revenue.³⁹

The Sultān himself undertakes control of operations and marches to Kathēr and the Do-āb.

The Sultān, apparently dissatisfied with the conduct of the campaigns by Tāj-ul-Mulk, led an army himself against Rāi Harsingh who had remained unsubjugated in the Kumaun hills, and had emerged to the plains as soon as the Delhi forces had turned their backs. After punishing the rebels of Kōl (Aligarh, presumably the Rājputs and Thākurs), and after completely pacifying the locality, he followed the courses of the Kālī-Nadī, and crossed the Ganges near Sambhal where he constructed a fort. From Sambhal he went to Padham, and from the latter place to Pātiālī. But the news of the revolt of Mahābat Khān, governor of Badāon, made him retrace his steps. He came to lay siege to the Badāon fort for six months and when its fall became only a question of time, the prey was seized from his hands by the treachery of Qawām Khān and Ikhtiār Khān. The Sultān hastened to the Sirhind, captured Qawām Khān, Ikhtiār Khān and their accomplices and had them executed as traitors after his return to Delhi.⁴⁰

Etāwā Zamīndārs attract the attention of the Wazīr and the Sultān once again in 823-24/1420-21.

In 823/1420, a fresh expedition under Taj-ul-Mulk was necessitated, for punishing the Etāwah Zamīndārs. Passing through Deoli,⁴¹ he exacted the arrears of revenue from Rāi Subir Singh, pillaged Chandwār and came back to Delhi, after realising cash from Kathēr chiefs. In 824/1421, the Sultān himself assumed the command of the army, and came to Etāwā via. Bayāna and Gwālīor.

39. Tār Mub Shāhī, 187.

40. Tār Mub Shāhī, 189.

41. Delhi in Persian Texts. Deoli lies between Sarsa and Sangar rivers. It is one of the places in U.P., where Chauhāns are still found in great strength. Deoli is the Duhlee of Thornton, who says that it is in 27.2 N. Lat, and 78.52 E. Long. 20 miles, N.W. of Etāwā. It is now in Barnahāl Parg. of Mainpūrī Distt. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Mainpuri Vol (X), 94. 151, 204; Hodivala Studies, 402.

Taj-ul-Mulk dies and his son Malik Sikandar is made Wazir, 1421 A.D.

While passing through Gwalior, Taj-ul-Mulk the Wazir died after a short illness. The Sultan invested his son Malik Sikandar with his father's office. When the royal troops came near Etāwa, Rāi Subir's son, who had succeeded his father after the latter's death, professed loyalty, by sending his own son as a hostage to the Sultan's court.⁴² It was in the very same campaign, that the Sultān also fell ill and died shortly after his return to the capital city.

Gwālīor, Bayāna and Miwāt Campaigns.

In 819/1416, two years after a successful revenue-collecting expedition under Taj-ul-Mulk had been conducted towards Gwalior territories, Khizr Khān laid siege to the fort of Gwalior itself, reaching the place on his return journey from Nagaur (in Jodhpūr) to Delhi.⁴³ The fort defied all assaults and Khizr Khān had to rest content by taking only cash offerings from the Rāja. He came back to Delhi via Bayāna whose chief Karīm-ul-Mulk too submitted by paying 'the customary revenue'.

In 824/1421, Khizr Khān led an expedition against Miwāt in which country, Bahādur Nāhir Khān's descendants had been ruling in full independence for some time past. On the approach of the royal army, most of the Miwātīs left their dwellings in the plains and took refuge in the hills. Kōtla described by Abul Faẓl⁴⁴ as a fortified city on a hill containing a reservoir, 4 kos in circumference, and apparently the seat of government of the Khānzada chief, was abandoned by the Miwātīs and destroyed by the royal army, completely. The same treatment was meted out to the whole area between Gwālīor and Miwāt.⁴⁵

Campaigns in the Western Provinces.

The Punjab was one of the most disturbed areas in the possession of the new dynasty. The central portion of the Province was being constantly plundered and ravaged by the Khokhars,⁴⁶

42. Tār Mub Shāhī, 192.

43. Maāsīr-i Rahīmī, I, 406.

44. Āin-i Akbarī, Jarrett II, 193.

45. Tār Mub Shāhī, 192.

46. In the Punjab Census Reports, a larger part of the Khokhars are returned as converts from the Jāts, and a smaller part from the Rājput. Punj. Distt. Gaz., Shāhpūr Distt., Statistics Vol. p. 190.

who had risen into independence, after Timūr's departure and held possession of a considerable portion of the *Jach Do-āb*.⁴⁷ The Turk-bach-chas, the descendants of the slaves of the Tughlaq Sultāns were becoming powerful in the Central Punjāb. As a step towards strengthening the hold over Delhi, the Sultān had appointed, in 818/1416, his own son, prince Mubārak Khān Malik-us-Sharq, as governor of the Shaqs of Fīrūzpūr and the Sirhind, and the Prince being detained in court, Malik Saddhū Nādira was appointed his deputy, under designation of Nāib-i Shāhzāda.^{47a} The prince was called to the capital after a short visit to his charge. Unfortunately, in the very first year of his assumption of office, Malik Saddhū was treacherously seized and killed by the Turk-Bach-chas of the Bairām Khānī clan, who had, in addition, seized Sāmānā, so near the capital.

First expedition against rebels in the Western Provinces sent in 1416.

In Jamādi 819/June-July 1416, the Sultān sent a retaliatory expedition, under Malik Dāūd and Zirak Khān, who chased the Turk-bach-chas across the Sutlej upto the hills of Nagarkōt, without effecting their final subjugation.⁴⁸ In 820/1417, a second expedition was sent against Tughān, the Turk-bach-cha, who had made common cause with the assassins of Malik Saddhū and was encroaching on the fiefs of the western Punjāb, then under the command of Malik-us-Sharq Zirak Khān, governor of Sāmāna. When reinforcements reached near Sāmāna, the rebels abandoned the siege of Sirhind in charge of Malik Kamāl Baddha, successor of Malik Saddhū, and deputy on behalf of Prince Mubārak Khān. Tughān was pursued upto the hills and constrained to submit by sending his own son as hostage to the Delhi court, and surrendering the murderers of Malik Saddhū.⁴⁹ Tughān got the governorship of Jullundur as reward for his submission.

Expedition against impostor Sārang Khān, 822/1419.

In 822/1419, the Punjāb was disturbed by an impostor, so frequently met with in the history of Czarist Russia, who posed himself as Sārang Khān, brother of the great Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the

47. The tract between the Jhēlum and the Chenāb.

47a. Maāsīr-i Rahīmī I, 405.

48. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186-7; Tab. Akb. I, 267.

49. Tār Mub Shāhī, 187.

Khizr Khān is described by historians as a wise, just and benevolent ruler and a keeper of promises. But it must be remembered that on most occasions his benevolence resulted from the weakness of his position rather than of his nature. He was endowed with remarkable qualities of head and heart, like most adventurers who waded through war and diplomacy to a throne. Personally, he was brave and resourceful, and never hesitated to undertake a distant and difficult campaign, when occasion demanded. Though very often lenient and clement, he could be harsh when necessary. Though he pardoned Mahābat Khān the rebel governor of Badāon, his confederates were promptly executed to warn others. It must be said to his credit that he never resorted to any base treachery to get the better of a tough enemy. As a ruler, he seems to have been keenly solicitous of the welfare of his subjects. His grant in cash and kind and remission of revenue, noticed in the beginning of his reign, to the sufferers of Tīmūr's loot and rapine had resulted in the return of confidence and rehabilitation of Delhi. His ceaseless activity, in war and peace, had revived the Sultanate in the Punjāb and the Doāb and Rohilkhand, and had made many refractory chiefs law-abiding. His whole life was a struggle against the forces of disintegration and anarchy. He not only revived the lost prestige of the Sultanate, but also contributed to the increase of its life-span. From Multān in the west, upto the frontiers of Jaunpūr, a little beyond Etāwa, and from the foot-hills of the Himālayās, upto the boundary of Mālwa (inclusive of the vassal chiefs of Bayāna and Gwālior) all these tracts were brought by him once more under the rule of the Delhi Kingdom. "People," says Ferishta,⁶⁴ "were happy and contented under his rule, and for this reason, old and young, the slave and the free, lamented his death by wearing the black garment." According to 'Abdul Bāqī,⁶⁵ "innumerable charities are attributed to him; a number of people who became homeless due to the invasion of the Lord of the two Conjunctions, (Tīmūr) became prosperous, and masters of huge retinues."

64. Newalkishore I, 162.

65. Maāsīr-i Rahīmī, 409-10.

The Problem of Court Language in British India

BY

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In the District Records of Lucknow, I discovered recently a file of correspondence of 1875-6, regarding the adoption of Hindi as the court language of North-West Provinces. These letters bring to light the first and now totally forgotten official inquiry on the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the post-mutiny period. A perusal of these records would show how the problem of court language in North India was viewed by the authorities. The arguments put forward in these letters throw a flood of light on the outlook and policy of the British bureaucracy in India.

Curiously enough, the question whether Hindi could be recognised as the court language of Oudh came up for consideration in the wake of a public agitation¹ at Patna for the introduction of Hindi in the Courts and Offices of Bihar.² The Government of India forwarded a copy of a petition of certain citizens of Patna, entitled, "Why should Nagri be introduced in the Courts and Offices of Behar," to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for his opinion.³ This Patna petition occasioned an interesting discussion among officials in Bihar and Oudh, and eventually the petition was rejected. The Government of Bengal held that Hindi and Urdu could not⁴ be regarded as two distinct languages. Concurring in this view, the India Government further stated that 'an artificial, Sanskritized language' could not be fostered under the name of Hindi. The authorities in Oudh also rejected the claims of Hindi as against Urdu.⁵

1. Letter from C. S. Bayley, Commissioner of Patna, May 20, 1875.

2. Letter from Government of Bengal, No. 17, July 9, 1875.

3. Letter from Government of India, No. 2/208, Nov. 17, 1875.

4. Letter from Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner of Patna, July 9, 1875.

5. Circular from Govt. of India, Home Department, No. 17, 1875.

real Sārang Khān, having been executed, it may be remembered by order of Timūr after being taken captive by Prince Pīr Muḥammad in 801/1398. The impostor appeared in the hills of Bajwāra,⁵⁰ near Jullundur, and soon collected a formidable following of sturdy peasants. At the approach of the royal army under Malik Sultānshah Bahrām Lōdī, the governor of Sirhind,⁵¹ the pretender came out of the hills, captured Rūpar, (on the south bank of the Sutlej, in Ambāla Distt., 43 miles north of Ambāla city). A contested battle took place near Sirhind in Shabān 822/1419, in which Sultān Shāh became victorious.⁵² The false Sārang, retreated to Lohōrī, in the jurisdiction of the Sirhind, and after the arrival of royal reinforcements, was chased to Rūpar and ultimately to the Simla hills. In Muharram 823/Jan. 1420, the impostor emerged from the hills to be treacherously murdered⁵³ by Tughān who soon threw off the mask of conciliation, and revolted after acquiring the loots of the false Sārang. He rose in open revolt, laid siege to the fort of Sirhind,⁵⁴ and marched towards Mansūrpūr and Pāyal. Malik Khairuddin Khān, governor of the Middle Do-āb was placed in command, with Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmāna as his co-adjutant. Tughān was engaged in an action fought across the Sutlej, and decisively defeated, so that he sought safety in the unsubdued Khokhar territories, and became a guest of Jasrath, son of Shaikhā Khokhar.⁵⁵ Zīrak Khān was placed in charge of the forfeited jagīrs of Tughān. Khizr died before the Khokhar avalanche rolled over the north-western provinces of Delhi.

Khizr Khān's expedition against Gujrat, 824/1421.

Khizr Khān waged only one war against the monarch of an independent state, in 819./1416 A.D.⁵⁶ On the receipt of news, of the investment of the fortified city of Nagaur, and in response to an appeal for aid made by its local chief, he himself led a campaign against Ahmad Shah of Gujrat via Tonk and Tuda, in Jaipur state.⁵⁷

50. Bajwara is further north of Machhiwāra in Hoshiārpūr Dist. Punj.

51. Tār Mub Shāhī, 190. See also an Article on Malik Sultān Shāh Lōdī, in the Historical Quarterly Cal. Vol. 15, March, 1939, by the writer.

52. Tār Mub Shāhī, 190.

53. Tār Akb I, 269.

54. Tār Mub Shāhī, 191; Samana, acc to Tār Akb.

55. Tār Mub Shāhī 186.

56. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186.

57. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186. Also see "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India in the 15th and 16th centuries" by the author in the Journal of Ind Hist., Trivandrum, No. 78, Pt. III, p. 236, (1948).

In Nagaur,⁵⁸ a semi-independent dynasty had been established by Shams Khān, brother of Zāfar Khān (Muẓaffar Shāh I, 739-806; 806-814 A.H.), the first king of Gujrat. Muẓaffar Shāh being imprisoned by his own son Tātār Khān in 806/1403, the former appealed to his brother for aid, Shams Khān not only restored his brother to freedom and placed him on the throne of Gujrat, but he avenged the wrong on his brother by poisoning his nephew to death.⁵⁹ He got the 'shaq' of Nagaur in reward. This inaugurated a second reign of Muẓaffar Shāh I, and he was, on his death in 814/1411, succeeded by his grandson (son of Tātār Khān), who assumed the title of Aḥmad Shāh. Aḥmad Shāh conducted a campaign against Shams Khān to avenge his father's murder.⁶⁰ Shams Khān, apprehensive of the consequences, appealed to Khizr Khān, who readily responded at the prospect of coveting such a strategic point, though he had failed to redeem the fertile areas close to the metropolis of Delhi. At the appearance of Khizr Khān with a big force, Ahmad Shāh retired to Pātan (Anhilwāra), without measuring strength.⁶¹ The submission of the Nagaur chief was nominal and that too lasting till 821/1418, for in that year, Firūz Khān, son of Shams Khān being threatened with an invasion by Maḥmūd shāh Khalji of Mālwa, transferred his allegiance to Gujrat by sending the message of his submission through a swift camel rider.⁶² Thus ended Khizr Khān's dominion over Nagaur. Khizr Khān, as has been previously referred to, fell ill in the campaign, which he conducted in 824/1421, in Miwāt-Gwālior-Bayāna area while returning from Nagaur. This unlucky campaign had cost the life of the aged Wazir, Malik-us-Sharq, Taj-ul-Mulk as well. The Sultān succumbed after his return to the capital, on 17, Jamadi II, 824/May 20, 1421, after a reign of 7 lunar years and 2 months.⁶³ His tomb lies in the village of Okhla to the south-east of Khizrabad, supposed to be the city of Khizrabad.^{63a}

58. Nagaur in Mārwar, at 27.12N Lat., and 73.44E lon., at a distance of 11/2 miles from the Railway station of the same name, on the Jodhpūr-Bikāner Railway.

59. Tār Mub Shāhī, 172.

60. Bayley, Local Mahomedan Dynasties—Gujrat, 86-87.

61. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186.

62. Tār Akb., III, 103.

63. Tār Mub. Shāhī, 193.

63a. Āsar-i-Sanādīd, Syad Ahmad Khān Ch., II, 25-26. Carr Stephens Seven Cities of Delhi 159, Zāfar Hasan, A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 17.

But, a vast majority of officials reported in favour of Urdu, and they maintained that Hindi should not be substituted for Urdu as the court language. The Chief Commissioner of Oudh notified all Commissioners and Dy. Commissioners in Oudh as follows:

"The opinions of officers are unanimous that Urdu should remain the language of our courts; but that the use of difficult Perso-Arabic words should be discouraged as much as possible, and that writers generally should be made to write more legibly than they do at present".¹⁶

In short, the claims of Hindi were set aside in 1875-6 on grounds which were apparently more political and administrative than purely academic. One high official even asserted with an air of bravado, "There seems in fact as little reason for introducing Hindi as for introducing Chinese."¹⁷ The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow went to the extent of saying—"Why not make the Court language English to suit that increasing class—the *Eurasians*?"¹⁸ Another official recommended the use of the Roman character in these words: "Were the Roman character used, neither the Sanskrit element nor the Perso-Arabic would be at a disadvantage; and the Hindustani language would be formed, as it should be, by the survival of the fittest words".¹⁹

16. General Circular No. 30-3303 of 1876, July 24, 1876.

17. Letter from DPI, Oudh, to Chief Commissioner, Oudh, Lucknow, March 28, 1876. No. 3704 of 1875-6.

18. Letter from Dy. Commissioner, Lucknow, No. 1812, April 24, 1876.

19. Letter from A. Thomson to DPI, Oudh, Jan; 27, 1876, No. 841.

The First Expedition of Admiral Van Goens to Malabar

(M. Antoinette P. Roelofs's version)

BY

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

In 1652, after the expiry of the Dutch truce with Portugal, the Indian Ocean and the adjacent coasts became a new theatre of war between the contending powers. The stake was the hegemony over the Indian Ocean; the stage of the combat was principally the West Coast of India proper and Ceylon.

Serious insurrections in the Moluccas which caused the military might of the Company to be used in the first place only there and nowhere else obstructed a strong action in the Western Quarters in the earliest years after 1652. The capture of Colombo in 1656 and the renewed blockade of Goa in the self-same year just inaugurated a fresh powerful offensive against the centre of the Portuguese empire in India. The capture of Colombo necessarily resulted in the expulsion of the Portuguese from the neighbourhood of that fortress. It was Rijcklof Van Goens who was chosen by the Lords Seventeen for this task. In Van Goens the Lords Seventeen and the High Government found the man who did not put to shame in years to come the expectations of his masters.

Rijcklof Van Goens, to whose whole life and work no biography has up to the present been devoted, had behind him an already honourable career in the Company's service when he was appointed Admiral and General by the Governor-General and Council. Born at Rees on the 24th June 1619 as the son of Volckert Boyckes Van Goens and Hilligon Jacobsdichter, natives of Friesland, he had already as a boy of nine years come with his parents to India. Here the father, a former cornet of a company of cuirassiers in the service of the States who wished to try his luck in the far east, died shortly after his arrival at Batavia. As the mother likewise died speedily thereafter, the eleven year old Rijcklof stayed behind at Batavia without any particular inheritance other than the hope of God's mercy. On the intercession of

While expressing their strong opposition to making Hindi the court language, the official experts advanced arguments which would interest the students of Indian history at the present day. These may be thus summed up in the words of the authors themselves:

1. "To call Hindi and Urdu two languages is to perpetuate a vicious error. . ." "They are simply the city and rustic forms of one and the same language."⁶

2. It would be "very hazardous" for the Government to support Hindi against Urdu, for there was "political danger" involved in the disaffection of a class of men, about whom the "complaint already was that their means of living were too scanty." "The Mahomedans in fact would be ousted from public employ."⁷

3. Among the Hindus, "the facile Kayasth" who had "almost a monopoly of the court language" was strongly opposed to the change from Urdu to Hindi.⁸

4. The agitation for Hindi was ascribed to "the desire of Bengalis to be more extensively employed than at present in the Urdu-speaking provinces of India." "The Bengalis imagine they could learn Hindi easily", for "the Hindi characters and the Sanskrit technicalities are similar to those of Bengali".⁹

5. "The Hindi language is extinct". "Some persons doubt whether it was ever spoken at all by the masses". The Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, stated—"There can be no question now that what is known as Hindi, such, for instance, as that used in the Behar petition, is not the kind of speech used at the present day by the people of Oudh. During my five years' service in Bengal, I heard so much about the claims of the neglected Hindi language, that I came into Oudh with a mind imbued with the belief that the Urdu language was foreign to the masses. But, since I have had time to become better acquainted with the vernacular of the province, I have found out my mistake".¹⁰

6. Note by A. W. Croft, Inspector of Schools, July 16, 1875.

7. Letter from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oudh, No. 24, 1875.

8. Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, No. 397, Oct., 8, 1873.

9. Letter from A. Thomson, Inspector of Schools, Jan. 27, 1876.

10. Letter from Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, Lucknow, March 28, 1876.

6. "When it is rememebred that all the vernacular newspapers and all the vernacular periodicals published in Oudh are in Urdu, and none in Hindi, there cannot be much doubt as to what the vernacular of this country really is".¹¹ "There is no class in the community, not even Brahmins, who transact matters of business in the Nagri character". The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow stated emphatically "Hindi is not the vernacular of the Province and Urdu is".¹²

7. "The Nagri character has no advantage over the Persian".¹³ "The Nagri character is one which scarcely admits of being written in a running hand, and this fact alone is a decisive proof of its unfitness for being used as the court language".¹⁴

It is highly interesting to note that one official (S. C. Bayley) agreed with the opposite view that Hindi could be and "should be gradually introduced into the courts and offices" on the following¹⁵ grounds:

1. Hindi is not a rude language. It is a branch of Sanskrit which is the best language in the world.

2. Hindi can be written quickly.

3. Hindi can be learnt more easily than Urdu. "Nagri can be mastered in three or four months, while Urdu cannot be learnt so easily."

4. Hindi is better adapted for transliteration than Persian.

5. "The Persian characters can be altered with much greater facility than Nagri, and hence it affords greater temptation to fraudulent tampering with documents."

6. "Nagri is used in the transaction of all kinds of business in Nepal, Nagpur, and the Commissioner's Office at Almora,—a fact which proves that there is no defect in it."

7. Hindi is the vernacular of the Province.

8. "True, the Nagri takes a little more space in writing than Hindustani, but this defect cannot weigh against the many considerations in favour of the use of Nagri".

11. Letter from Inspector of Schools, Western Circle, Oudh, Feb. 25, 1876.

12. Letter from Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, April 26, 1876.

13. Letter from A. Thomson, Jan. 27, 1876.

14. Letter from Director of Public Instruction, March 28, 1876.

15. Letter from S. C. Bayley, May 20, 1875.

an uncle Boyckes Van Goens, who made his fortune in India, Arent Gardenijs, the governor of Coromandel, took pity on him. Van Goens entered into his service and Gardenijs took the boy with him to his place of duty. In 1634 Gardenijs returned home and the young Van Goens was again back at Batavia. The Governor-General Van Diemen appointed him as assistant in the ware-houses. Now he ascended gradually in the Company's grades from assistant, under-merchant and book-keeper of the trade books to merchant and second person over the administration of the Company's affairs. In 1645 he became senior merchant and chief of the pay-counting house at Batavia.

That he knew to draw attention to himself is obvious as in 1644, when he was hardly twenty-three years old, he was entrusted with the leadership of the embassy to Palembang, Djambi and Djohor. In 1649 he obtained for the first time a military commission. In the capacity of Commander over four ships, he was sent to Sunda Strait for capturing two Genoese ships which he fortunately accomplished. His diplomatic talents and his knack of handling Indian princes were utilised many times in the immediately following years.

In 1649-1650 he was ambassador with the King of Siam. In the ensuing years he performed five times the function of head of the embassy to the Soesoehoenen of Mataram, a perilous and not easy task. Meanwhile, he had obtained high office a number of times, was member of the Council of Justice (1651), first Upper Merchant of the Castle at Batavia—that is to say, first of the two assistants of the Director-General of Commerce—, President of the Orphan's Court (Court of Chancery) and in 1654 Extraordinary Councillor of India after he had been temporarily admitted in 1650 as co-opted member in that high College. In 1653 he was appointed Express Commissaris and Commander of the naval forces and militia sent to Ceylon, Wingurla and Surat in the Western Quarter. Here he secured his first military maritime success by attacking on the Indian Coast a Portuguese convoy of 64 frigates and galleys, and of these, 40 were destroyed and burned. Only 24 ships could escape. Shortly thereafter, he won a second victory over the Portuguese, close to Goa. By this means he destroyed four and seized as booty the fifth of a convoy of 5 heavily armed galleons.

At his own request he obtained discharge for returning to the fatherland after having received, in resounding words, the thanks of his masters in India as well as in the Netherlands.

As early as a year later he again, at the instance of the Lords Seventeen, entered the service of the Company, but on the condition that the first vacant seat in the College of the Council of India would be his. On the 22nd November 1656 he left for Batavia where he arrived in April 1657, passing through the Cape where, during his short stay, he performed his inspection as Director.

They were there just in the midst of the preparations for the equipment of the expedition to the coast of India proper and Ceylon for demolishing the Portuguese empire there. The Commander of the military forces to be despatched had at the same time as Director to inspect the factories in the Western Quarters. Van Goens who offered his services and whose antecedents made him extremely suitable for the double object of the expedition was nominated and sailed with wide plenary powers as "Director Superintendent, Admiral and General on water and on land over the coasts of India, Coromandel, Surat, Ceylon, Bengal and Malacca." His instructions contained the Company's wishes for what was to be fulfilled, to a great extent it is true not immediately but in the following years.

In accordance with these instructions, the High Government readily directed that Van Goens, more than anything else, "must take, through surprise attack or siege, Diu, the Portuguese fort in the peninsula of Guzerat at the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay; however, Van Goens was given no definite command for the purpose and it was left to circumstances and his good discretion. After the capture of that place he must, sailing along the coast and harassing the enemy as much as possible, proceed to Colombo for consolidating there the capture of Colombo by taking the island of Mannar, the town and citadel of Jaffnapatam and Tuticorin situated on the opposite side on the south coast of India proper. By this the region nearest Colombo would be cleared of the enemy. The High Government already cast a covetous eye on the Malabar Coast also, not the least for becoming the sole master of the Malabar pepper which in the preceding years accrued to them in no small quantities in a peaceable manner. By becoming sole lord and master on the coast through an armed action, the Company hoped to switch off other competitors and thereby monopolise that trade for themselves. But in 1657, although these plans were set in view, there was nevertheless some hesitation as to whether the forces could accomplish so much.

The first part of his instructions, the military expedition to the Indian Coast, Van Goens executed in a brilliant manner although

the capture of Diu had to be abandoned so that the blockade of Goa might not be endangered. After the end of that voyage, Tuticorin, Mannar, Jaffnapatam and Negapatam had fallen into Dutch hands. To this success, the Commander of the blockading fleet in front of Goa, Admiral Roothaes, made his contribution in no small measure by his energetic and brave actions as a result of which the attempts at relief by the Portuguese were doomed to failure.

For a precise and detailed study of this campaign and voyage, we are indebted to Dr. J. Aalbers whose study however comprises only the activity of Van Goens in the years 1653-1654 and 1657-58 and alas! it did not develop into a biography of this remarkable Dutch empire builder with his wide embracing projects which however suited a great and ambitious king rather than a servant of a trading Company.

Van Goens did not attend to the inspection of Surat and Wingurla until his return from his military operations, but passed on these inspections to his fiscal, Lucas Van der Dussen.

After completion of the successful voyages along the Indian Coast in 1657-1658 there remained for him the carrying out of the further mandates of his instructions.

At this time, the Portuguese trade was in a highly critical position. Their homeland, Portugal, where in 1656 the first Braganza king, John IV, died, and the Government came into the hands of the Queen Regent, Louise, for the under-aged Alfonso IV, was since 1657 in renewed war with Spain. The Spanish Commander, Don Juan of Austria, invaded the country and occupied the frontier provinces. Also, the Dutch with whom the peace was not still ratified—of which circumstance the Portuguese made use for conquering Brazil which belonged to the Dutch—resolved to carry on the war energetically not only in India but also in Europe. In 1657 the Portuguese Coast was blockaded by a Dutch fleet under Van Wessenaar of Obdem. In 1658 the Portuguese coast was occupied for a portion of the year by a fleet of 22 ships under De Ruyter. It was only when the development of the political situation in Holland made the presence of the Dutch fleet there urgently necessary that the Portuguese coast again became free. The sending of a helping squadron to India by the Portuguese in 1657 and 1658 was not to be thought of.

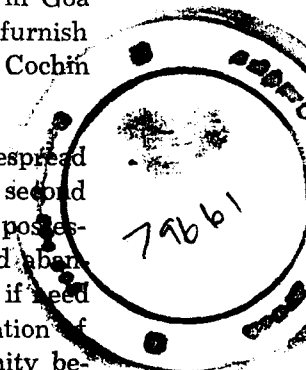
In India the occupation of Goa by the Dutch defence fleet not only crippled the Portuguese strategically, but also struck the Por-

tuguese Indian trade in the heart while it was fairly impossible that they could send reinforcements from Goa to the other Portuguese forts on the Malabar coast which would certainly be the next aim of the Dutch.

Lack of money, weapons and also of men caused by large desertions made the situation continually bitter. Cries for help went to Lisbon. If the already long promised help were not speedily sent, the situation wherein the Portuguese in India traded could not be maintained for two more years. But the greatest trouble in Goa was to scrape together the financial resources necessary to furnish the galleons with weapons and make the fortresses especially Cochin defensible.

The Dutch naturally gave ready credence to the widespread rumours that those Portuguese who had found their second fatherland in India and had married and acquired possession of land and felt that they had, now been deceived and abandoned by the Government would willingly yield themselves if need be to the Dutch provided freedom of religion and preservation of their possessions were permitted. But in view of the enmity between both people, it remained very much to be seen whether the number of such people would be great. It was rumoured that, provided reinforcements came from Batavia. Van Goens would rather proceed with his entire military forces to Cochin as he anticipated that the Portuguese would, by coming from outside Goa, make a desperate and vigorous exertion to recover what was lost. Meanwhile Commander Roothaes was to keep on besieging the harbour of Goa. If they succeeded in capturing Cochin, they could without bothering themselves about Goa, steer to Diu and besiege that place. Van Goens cherished a more daring plan—not first to occupy Goa but to attack Cochin with the combined forces. By so doing they could at the same time defeat the Portuguese fleet that would come to relieve Cochin. No beginning was made to carry out the plan. The great practical benefit of the blockade was advantageously evident in the preceding years.

It was not the least the rumours of the intrigues of the English in whose favour the Portuguese would make room at Cochin provided they would offer to the Portuguese protection against the Dutch waylayers that made Van Goens turn his eyes first of all on Cochin. These were daring projects; the execution, however, required more prudent tactics.



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The pepper trade which the Company had now already carried on for many years on the Malabar Coast thanks mainly to the work of Van Serooskercken at Kayamkulam, brought the Company no small profits. Since 25th October 1657 this trade was placed by the Governor-General and Council under the direction of the island of Ceylon. A survey of the developments from the commercial penetration of the Malabar Coast by the Dutch to their armed action against the Portuguese forts has already been given.

Although pepper was to be obtained at Kayamkulam for very low prices and Van Serooskercken estimated the number of lasts of pepper obtained there annually at 1400 provided a few yachts cruised on the Coast to keep out foreign competitors, in particular the traders of Cannanore, Purakkad, Kayamkulam and European nations, the Company was not at the outset so much concerned with this costly grain which they obtained in profusion from other regions. Its importance was rightly understood so that the Company wished to keep out other competitors. But hitherto they had not the right to do this, only the goods of the Indian merchants who carried goods to or took cargoes from Portuguese places could, according to the laws of war, be declared prize goods by the Dutch.

From the Malabar coast the Company asked annually about 1000 lasts of pepper which was to be purchased if possible as cheaply as at 10 to 12 reals in cash for 500 pounds. The spices and other commodities which were to be sold in exchange of pepper must yield the same prices as in Surat and Coromandel so that the trade of one place should not be injurious to the United East India Company from the trade of another settlement. Not only for a profitable pepper trade, but also because the support of the Malabar princes against the Portuguese was necessary for the United Company, friendship had to be preserved with the Malabar princes. In particular the princelings of Purakkad and Kayamkulam and the Queen of Quilon had offered their good services. Their trustworthiness was somewhat doubtfully regarded by the Company.

This pepper trade acquired greater importance for the East India Company when Palembang, one of their richest pepper houses, revolted. A punitive expedition had to be sent there and the supply of pepper from there stopped temporarily. The Malabar pepper again acquired greater value, the more so because now there was the possibility of forcibly eliminating undesirable competition and securing entirely the profitable export trade of pepper from Malabar

to Coromandel, Bengal, Hindustan, Persia and Mocha to the detriment of the Portuguese, but especially also of the Indian and Muhammadan traders. European merchants, naturally the English rivals in the first place, should likewise vacate the field.

During the most recent years, the English had displayed great activity in spreading on the Malabar Coast. To the north of the Malabar province they had already for a long time an establishment at Karwar. In 1658 and 1659 two new factories were established both under the presidency of Surat, i.e., on the Madura coast at Kayal close to Tuticorin and at Calicut. Kayal, a flourishing seaport at the time of Marco Polo, was in Portuguese times already declining through a shifting of the coast. The oldest establishment of the English at this place appears to have receded to a private English undertaking. The English arrived there after the capture of Tuticorin by the Dutch. The English were received kindly by the native population. Especially, the Indian merchants promised them a favourable trade.

The English agent, Robert Masters, was sent to Calicut in March 1659 to secure a cargo of red wood and cardamom. The Zamorin received the Englishman kindly and assured him that he could buy all the products of the land for reasonable prices. Masters could return to Surat with a fully loaded ship and the invitation of the Zamorin to establish a settlement at Calicut. The invitation was accepted. Two English agents were to stay at Calicut from where they hoped to expand their trading operations to other places on the Malabar coast like Cannanore. The Zamorin appears to have granted to the English a kind of trade monopoly, for Masters could lay his hand on every ship that traded at Calicut and in that harbour they did not hear of ships coming from places which had not made a covenant with the English. Not only at Karwar, but also at other ports and the more inland situated towns of the Bijapur kingdom, the English developed a great activity which assured them a certain portion of the trade along the West Coast of India proper. Thereby they could buy cargoes of pepper for England but in this way they spoiled the European pepper market of their Dutch rivals.

Only through a military occupation of the Malabar Coast could the United East India Company prevent the English penetration. The start which through the control of the trade in the Eastern Archipelago the English had over the Dutch was great as they had nourished the trade of India proper with their eastern trade. Now

that the Dutch had secured firmer footing in India proper, their position threatened to be fatal to the English advance. Envy and fear caused by the entry of money and European goods which were sometimes conveyed in large to small quantities filled the servants of the English Company. As the Dutch obtained absolute authority on the Malabar coast, it became impossible for the English to maintain themselves there unless they in time became masters of a fortified naval base which sheltered their navigation and provided them with favourable connections with the hinterland. England tried to acquire a share in the Portuguese heritage. Their help and declaration of friendship to the powerless and hard pressed Portuguese increased during these years very thickly—a policy which would finally lead to the cession to the English Crown of Bombay wherewith was laid one of the foundations of the British empire.

The Dutch who beheld this English interference with mixed feelings were firmly resolved not to allow themselves to be pushed behind and checked by the English. Therefore they would be vigilant and be on the sharp look out to remain master of the trade which they had acquired. Especially must the English be prevented from providing the Portuguese at Goa or other Portuguese fortresses besieged by the Dutch with weapons and further contraband. The English even allowed themselves to supply the Portuguese with contraband in Moorish ships which were purchased and loaded by them. This entailed a visitation of the English ships with these goods although the United East India Company would nevertheless prefer not to engage themselves in open hostilities with the English whose "glorious art" must as far as possible be respected. Commandeur Roothaas was ordered not to compel the English ships to lower their flags before the Dutch as such bravados only produced more bitterness. That the Dutch held the English outside the harbours as their enemies, they already took sufficiently amiss. Cochin and Diu were both fortresses to which the Portuguese attached great value. To the defence of both these places the greatest expenses were incurred by them. The resistance against the Dutch should decidedly be the greater there. Therefore the Dutch had plans, before the capture of Tuticorin to capture one of the less important forts of the Portuguese and they let their eyes fall on Ceylon or Quilon situated in the land of the Queen Signati, feudatory to the Travancore State. As has already been related above, this princess had made declarations of friendship to the Company. Both the Signati and the king of Kayamkulam had sought the help of the Company against the Portuguese.

The Signati offered to make room at Quilon for the Dutch and to give the pepper monopoly to the United East India Company. Further, the Queen of Kundara, to the south-east of Kayamkulam requested to be permitted to sell the pepper produced in her land to the Company at the usual price and to bind herself not to deliver this to any other. The king of Purakkad requested the Dutch to help him against the Portuguese to make himself master of Cochin. With a venture on the Malabar Coast, the United East India Company could thus reckon on allies. The choice for the capture of Quilon was perhaps in some measure determined by the fact that news reached the Dutch of the arrival of an Englishman at Quilon on a Moorish ship. This man had bought pepper in exchange of lead and sulphur and pretended that they were willing to establish a settlement. This Englishman must have been a certain Edmund Percival, a member of the ship *Welcome*. Coming from Mozambique the ship had touched Cochin and then connections were also established with Quilon.

The fort Quilon was particularly favourably situated in a prominent point of the Malabar coast whereby the Western coast possessed a natural defence in cliffs and rocks which rose as high walls from the sea. In olden times Quilon was an important port on the West coast of India, the Coilum of Marco Polo. The Portuguese had built the fort, were settled there and mixed with the native population. As in every Portuguese settlement they found within the fortified parts various churches and monasteries. About and inside the town grew very many cocoanut palms which furnished the inhabitants with a good means of existence. Quilon lay in a salubrious populous region.

But, before an expedition against Quilon was equipped, the blockade fleet under Roothaas appeared in front of the bar of Goa on the 20th September 1658 with 9 ships, the *Wapen Van Holland*, the *Sea Horse*, *Muyden*, *Tertholen*, *Hercules*, *Dolfin*, *Mars*, *Terschelling* and *Geldria* manned with 1069 head of select people. The despatch of reinforcements to the Portuguese had to be made impossible. Owing to the condition of defence on the coast it was scarcely possible to begin with the occupation in September. Although the Governor-General in Council had in 1657 sent the fleet as early as possible, the Portuguese nevertheless succeeded in receiving a helping squadron of three big galleons. Their attempts to break the blockade with their combined forces were unsuccessful and cost them two galleons. However, eight galleons were within Goa and would not only return with cargoes of Portugal whereby

the trade of the United East India Company was injured, but also attack and destroy the Dutch ships which passed along the Indian Coasts. And what plans could the Portuguese not cherish against the hardly pacified Ceylon?

As early as possible, Roothaas appeared in 1658 in front of the bar. However, this time also he was too late to hinder the coming in of a galleon from Portugal and a carrack that for some years was held up in Mozambique. But with all this it meant no huge perils to the Portuguese naval force after the heavy losses of the previous blockade in 1657-58. Rightly had Roothaas to keep his ships together as much as possible so that he might not risk being defeated if the enemy should sail with his own fleet. But it appeared that the enemy made no preparations with his ships for an attack. Therefore Roothaas embarked two ships of the fleet along the Coast to the south to cruise on enemy ships.

As the Dutch took care to keep together their naval forces, the smaller vessels, sailing close along the Coast, succeeded in moving in and out of the harbour of Goa without the Dutch ships preventing this and in consequence the Portuguese were provided with all manner of necessities. To hinder this, Roothaas introduced new tactics for making small quick sailing yachts to work together with the bigger heavy warships. For this purpose, in addition to some small yachts mounted with 8 or 10 cannon which must hinder the *cafillas*¹ sailing in and out of Goa and besides could co-operate better against enemy vessels than the heavy warships: he also wanted rowing vessels mounted with 3 or 4 small cannon which could come closer along the Coast, move quicker than the big ships and cut off all supplies from and to Goa. As to this town was specially assigned the supply from outside, in particular the rice of Kanara, the Dutch hoped to reduce the Portuguese to great extremities.

In theory these tactics appeared very proper and the Dutch built great expectations on this. But a great difficulty for the Dutch was for these yachts and rowing vessels to be manned. The big war ships could not be depleted of mariners. Hence the Dutch took native rowers in service. These experienced at the hands of rough Dutch sailors such treatment that they showed little pleasure

1. A *cafilla* was a fleet of trading ships, Portuguese as well as Indian, which could sail a certain number of times along the Indian Coast under the convoy of Portuguese ships taking cargoes and bringing them to Goa.

in entering or remaining in the Company's service. Because of shortage of their own Dutch people, the Dutch tried to make prize of native and Portuguese ships so that the native sailors thus taken prisoners might be used as rowers. With these men there was no need of such delicate handling as with hired people although a crew consisting wholly of prisoners involved certain dangers of surprise attack and treachery. The Dutch hoped that in the long run the natives would become accustomed to them as to the Portuguese from whom they most often obtained more drubbing than food.

Covered by the fleet of Commandeur Roothaas in front of Goa, Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens sailed on the 28th November 1658 from Ceylon towards the Indian Coast with the war yachts, *Ter Goes*, *Workum*, *Schelvis*, *Bantam* and some smaller ships manned with the most select soldiers. On the 5th December Cape Comorin was passed and four days later the Dutch fleet anchored 1½ miles to the south of Quilon. A message was sent to the magnates of the land. Because no answer was received to this message the following day at sunrise in clear weather and not without resistance from the natives, the military forces consisting of 1,200 soldiers were put on shore. The Undermerchant Jurrian Blom went as ambassador to the princes of the land with the request that they should remain neutral in the fight between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

The natives permitted the Dutch the time to draw up in battle array on the spacious beach. As they then advanced in five squadrons each of four companies, there followed suddenly a fierce sally to prevent this march forward to the fort and the town. The attack happened through a troop of 3000 armed Nairs who had flocked together. Among these were found also some Topasses (Portuguese half castes). It now became clear what the profession of friendship on the part of the Malabarees was worth.

The Dutch learned here to know for the first time the fighting value and fury in combat of the Nairs, the militia of Malabar. The Captain who stood at the vanguard of the forces made them charge immediately. The Commander of the second contingent did the same. This drove the Nairs to flight. Van Goens immediately gave orders to the Commanders of the two hindmost troops to march closely and to be vigilant in the rear as the second attack of the Nairs from the three sides at the same time was expected. A fierce attack actually followed, but was repulsed this time also. The Dutch pursued the

fleeing Nairs, but the latter could escape in the adjoining crowded forest of cocoanut palms which stretched along the Coast and harass the Dutch the whole morning and mid-day without making them dare to move up to a great attack. Keeping them continually under fire, the Dutch knew in the end to enter the interior of the town without hindrance. After the Dutch army was split, Van Goens with a portion of his men climbed up the walls of the fort while his subordinate Commander marched into the other side through the gate of the town. The fort as well as the town seems to have been abandoned by the Portuguese. No small booty of weapons and ammunition fell into the hands of the Dutch, e.g., 15 metal pieces with appurtenances. The capture of the first fort on the Malabar coast cost them only 10 dead and 23 wounded. In Batavia, because of this victory, there prevailed great joy which expressed itself in thanks services in the churches and much firing of cannon from the fortresses and ships as signals of joy that the ears of the enemies were filled with them everywhere. A bow-shooter had his brain pan smashed therewith so that the brain gushed out, but fortunately he was alive retaining his full intelligence.

The natives offered peace, but Van Goens first asked back his messenger. Sharp threats were given out of a relentless action if this servant of the Company with his retinue did not return in good health. The whole land would be laid waste and the king's temple and palace would be set fire to. At the same time these threats could, Van Goens hoped, serve as a good example for the Indian princes in the surrounding regions, i.e., for the Raja of Cochin and the Naik of Madura. The princess of the land of Quilon, the Signati, offered in a courteous note her excuse. They had to deal with the Portuguese who had dwelt in their land for 150 years and would not let slip their protection over them. Besides, her subjects had heard so much of the valour of the Dutch that they would willingly for once balance a chance with them. But now it appeared that the Portuguese were having an unlucky time and they had fulfilled their obligations and they now considered it the time to deny their land to those people and to permit the Dutch to be there on such advantageous terms as they could come to an agreement on. Hostilities must therefore be stopped and no further violence should be done to her subjects.

After the Dutch messenger was back again safe, a provisional peace was concluded. This peace was confirmed by the contract

of the 7th January 1659.² Hereby it was decided that there should be enduring peace between both the parties. Further, the town Quilon, the Portuguese gardens, grounds, houses and plantations which the Portuguese had pledged to the natives should be ceded to the United East India Company in full ownership provided they made the payments to which the properties were liable. The native Christians could continue to dwell in their houses and were liable to service to the United East India Company as they were to the Portuguese. No Portuguese priests or priests of mixed race might continue living in the land nor come into the land on pain of being banished for all time. No other European nation might trade in the land of the Signati. Both parties should assist each other reciprocally against each other's enemies. The Signati promised to deliver the pepper of the land exclusively to the United East India Company as they had before that time done to the Portuguese. No Indian vessels should sail without the pass of the Chief of the Dutch settlement. If the merchants in the kingdom of the Signati owed anything to the Company, they must pay it at a fixed time. If they did not do so, then the magnates of the land must demand payments and give satisfaction. Finally, there followed a specification of the passes, tolls and duties to be paid to the Company by the merchants. The Queen and her chief minister, the Bariatti Pillai, should annually receive a present from the United East India Company.

As already rumours had been circulating that the Portuguese were to reinforce themselves at Cochin, Van Goens sent Van Serooskercken with some soldiers on the yacht *Schelvis* to Cochin for occupying the river. Further Van Serooskercken must obtain the neutrality of the King of Cochin by the offer of a considerable present in cash (as much as 20,000 reals) and 3 or 4 elephants. Some days later Van Goens followed with the rest of the military forces while he left behind at Quilon only an assistant and some soldiers. Van Goens wasted no time in front of Cochin as the negotiations with the monarch of the land had yet made no progress and a landing would, in view of the reinforcements of the Portuguese and the anticipated enmity of the monarch and his Nair militia, be very perilous to the Dutch.

2. *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, pp. 139-142, Colonial Archives, 1121, O. B. 1660, III, p. 268 ff. Copy of the articles of alliance between the Signati and the Company. 7th January, 1659.

Van Goens now steered to Cannanore so that, after capturing this small Portuguese fort, he might attack the fortress of Diu. To the Zamorin were sent declarations of friendship and proposals for a combined armed action against the common enemies, the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin. The Zamorin promised help if the Dutch would take Cochin. In this way a wedge could be driven between Goa and Cochin.

Van Serooskercken whose diplomatic talents did not have the desired results in Cochin departed for his old station of Kayamkulam. From there he was at the same time to maintain surveillance on Ceylon. Meanwhile certain Dutch ships under the command of Captain Peter Wasch stayed behind in front of the harbour of Cochin awaiting the reply of the Raja of Cochin. They were as far as possible to hinder all ships coming into and going out of the harbour of Cochin and to acquaint themselves very well with the advantage of the situation of the place for a possible landing. If the answer of the Raja of Cochin was received, these ships were to follow the main forces to Cannanore as quickly as possible.

The Dutch who went for an audience with the Queen of Cochin had very little success. Only a Portuguese source gives us information on this matter. Not without resentful pleasure, the Portuguese noticed that the costly present of the Dutch was refused by her and that they had to turn back to their ship, their task unperformed.

On the 25th December 1658, Van Goens came in front of Cannanore. He caused Ali Raja, the Muhammadan merchant chief to be greeted. The latter permitted them a landing within cannon shot of the hostile Portuguese fort. The monarch of that land, afraid of the fury of the Portuguese, raised a large army of Nairs and was firmly resolved to prevent the landing of the Dutch in the land. A messenger of Van Goens was not received by this prince, the Kolattiri. Van Goens visited the coast and all was ready to risk a landing as the *Goudsbloem* (*Golden Flower*) appeared there from Batavia with the Job's news, the order of 30th September 1658, to suspend hostilities immediately and to send a portion of the armed forces to the Eastern Quarters for reinforcing the army there.

This news hit Van Goens like a thunderclap. His voyage, crowded with success was interrupted, and what bad consequences

could this not drag behind! What impression must this make on the Indian princes, the Kolattiri and the Zamorin, and the Indian population? In the Council which he summoned, the consternation was great as he read to them the order of the high Government. Indeed for two months, they were receiving the wages of the poor so that they might continue the voyage. But the order of Batavia had to be obeyed. They should not be responsible for a bad result. They decided not to capture even the small fort of Cannanore. Apart from the inevitable deaths and wounds that this should cost to the so indispensable soldiery, they could no more incur the inevitable enmity of the Indian population whose help they stood highly in need of securing by the continuous passes of the Dutch ships. Few sound reasons could be made to appear to be plausible to the Kolattiri and the Zamorin. For such a small matter as the Portuguese fort of Cannanore, the Company did not wish to offend the Kolattiri. At a more convenient time they should return with a greatly reinforced army.

Van Goens departed to Ceylon. His presence was more necessary here than in Surat while at the same time negotiations with the Naik of Madura had to be brought speedily to a good end not in the least because of the English intrigues. In Ceylon Van Goens' arrival appears to have been just in time to hinder a surprise attack by the King of Kandy on the lowlands possessed by the Dutch.

The Mādālā Panji and the Pre-Sūryavamsi History of Orissa

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Scholars who have dealt with the history of Orissa have naturally referred to the accounts of the *Mādālā Pāñji* which is the Oṛiyā chronicle of the celebrated Jagannātha temple at Purī, Orissa. There are various versions of the *M.P.* usually conflicting with one another. It has not always been noticed, at least in Orissa, that the above characteristic of the chronicle detracts much from whatever value it may have as a historical composition. The *M.P.* claims to sketch the history of Orissa from the earliest times theoretically, but from the sixth century A.D. with a show of seriousness, down to quite recent times. But the Jagannātha temple was built by the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.)¹ and the *M.P.* chronicle prepared on behalf of the priests of this temple can by no means be regarded as a contemporary account of the Orissan history between the sixth and the eleventh century. Whether however the early part of the chronicle reflects any genuine tradition handed down from olden times is apparently a matter of investigation. Another matter of enquiry, if the chronicle was written at a particular date and was periodically supplemented thereafter, is no doubt whether this gradual growth can be attributed to specific dates with the help of manuscripts. Unfortunately a scientific study of the *M.P.* on the basis of the existing manuscript material was only rarely and imperfectly done, while a critical edition of the work was never attempted. Moreover, whatever small sober work has been done in this direction is almost completely ignored by the Oṛiyā writers on the history of their country.

The first three royal families of the post-fifth century history of Orissa (with special reference to the Purī region where the Jagannātha temple is situated), dealt with by the *M.P.*, are (1) the Kesari dynasty, from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D., (2) the

1. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 328-31; *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 209 ff.

Gaṅga dynasty, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth, and (3) the Solar dynasty, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Now the history of Orissa from the foundation of the Sūrya-vaṁśa or Solar dynasty by Kapilendra about 1435 A.D. is fairly wellknown. The chronology of the Sūryavaṁśis and their successors as found in the different versions of the *M.P.* are very often conflicting and erroneous, although the genealogy is fairly reliable. The accepted genealogy of the Sūryavaṁśis is as follows: (1) Kapilendra; his son (2) Purushottama; and his son (3) Pratāparudra. This is supported by the *M.P.* But the different versions of the *M.P.* are not unanimous in regard to the chronology of the three rulers. According to one version, Kapilendra, Purushottama and Pratāparudra ruled respectively for 32, 30 and 36 years, but according to a second version for 27, 25 and 28 years respectively, while a third version suggests that the reigns of the three kings fell respectively in the periods Śaka 1374-1402 (1452-80 A.D.), Śaka 1402-26 (1480-1504 A.D.) and Śaka 1426-54 (1504-32 A.D.).² But the actual reign-periods of Kapilendra, Purushottama and Pratāparudra are known to have fallen respectively in the periods, *circa* 1435-70 A.D. (about 35 years), *circa* 1470-96 A.D. (about 26 years) and *circa* 1496-1539 A.D. (about 43 years).³ This single fact would suggest that the present day versions of the *M.P.* were compiled even considerably after the Sūryavaṁśis of Orissa. When the *M.P.* is wrong in its chronology of the medieval Sūryavaṁśis, it is of course too much to expect correctness in its accounts of the earlier dynasties. It can be easily demonstrated now with the help of the definitely known facts of early Orissan history based on epigraphic evidence that the *M.P.* account of the pre-Sūryavaṁśi history of Orissa is hopelessly wrong both in regard to genealogy and chronology. As a matter of fact, no Kesari dynasty is known to have ruled in Orissa. More than half a century ago, when the reconstruction of early Orissan history from epigraphic sources was just at the initial stage, J. F. Fleet pointed out⁴ that the kings Yayāti Kesari and Janamejaya Kesari of the so-called Kesari-vaṁśa of the *M.P.* are no other than the kings Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I and Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I of the Somavaṁśa or lunar dynasty of South Kosala and Utkala. These two kings are assigned by the *M.P.* to the sixth

2. See *Mādalā Pāñji*, ed. A. B. Mahānti, introductory lists, p. 9.

3. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 289, 305; Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 373.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 335 ff.

and eighth centuries A.D.⁵ Actually however both the Somavaṁśi kings, viz. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I and his son Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I, flourished in the tenth century.⁶ Fleet showed the utter unreliability of the genealogical and chronological scheme of the *M.P.* and remarked that "everything relating to ancient times, which had been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history". This view was supported by the independent researches of M. Chakravarti⁷ who pointed out that the texts of the *M.P.* are "found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon unless corroborated by other evidence". Since Fleet and Chakravarti offered their opinions on the subject more than half a century ago, many new inscriptions have been discovered and we are in a better position to demonstrate the absurdity of the *M.P.* account of the pre-Sūryavaṁśi history of Orissa. About quarter of a century ago, R. P. Chanda⁸ made another serious attempt to determine the historical value of the *M.P.* accounts and ascribed their origin to the Mughal period. Our knowledge of early Orissan history has become fairly complete during the years that have passed since Chanda wrote on the subject. We now know that the Somavaṁśis (wrongly called the Kesari in the *M.P.*) ruled lower Orissa from the eleventh to the twelfth century when they were overthrown by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Before the Somavaṁśis, it was under the rule of the imperial dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas, who flourished from the ninth to the eleventh century, but about whom the *M.P.* is absolutely silent. Apparently the compilers of the *M.P.* were absolutely ignorant of the genuine events of Orissan history earlier than the tenth century. Before the rise of the Bhaumakaras, during the period between the fifth and the seventh century, the heart of Orissa was successively under the imperial Guptas of Magadha, the Vagrahas who were originally viceroys of the Guptas, the Mānas, the Gaudas and the Śailodbhavas. About 643 A.D. Orissa for a few years passed to Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The *M.P.* is naturally quite ignorant of these dynasties, although it claims to trace Orissan history seemingly with seriousness from the sixth century. There is hardly any doubt that the *M.P.* began to be compiled at a time when there were only faint echoes in the coun-

5. Mahānti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

6. I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, p. 307.

7. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I, pp. 376-79.

8. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10-27.

try of traditions regarding the past rule of some kings having names ending with the word *kesarī* (such as Uddyotakesarī and his successors of the Somavaṁśa) as well as of a few kings like Janamejaya and Yayāti.

That the *M.P.* began to be compiled long after the end of the Gaṅga rule in the fifteenth century is clear from the many unaccountable errors in its account of the Gaṅgas in regard to both their genealogy and chronology, although vague traditions regarding the rule of several kings of their dynasty must have been then prevalent in the country. It is also interesting to note that owing to the comparative proximity of time, the Gaṅgas were slightly better remembered than the earlier rulers. It is therefore rather strange that even at the present time there is some confusion in the minds of Oriyā scholars in regard to the historical value of the *M.P.* This is clear from the remarks of Professor Ārtta Ballabha Mahānti in the Oriyā introduction of his edition of the *M.P.* which is based mainly on three versions of the work and was published from Cuttack in 1940 under the patronage of the Government of Orissa. Professor Mahānti says, "From King Madana-mahādeva (who is fourth in succession from Choḍagaṅga according to the *M.P.*) to Mukunda-deva I, i.e., from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the accounts contained in the *M.P.* are quite true and creditable (*sampūrṇa satya* and *viśvāsa-yogyā*) (*op. cit.*, p. ii). The Professor also believes that the *M.P.* has been continuously written since a date following the reign of Choḍagaṅgadeva, i.e., Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, 1078-1147 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. iii). Unfortunately no arguments of any sort have been adduced in favour of such statements. I am sorry that the learned Professor did not care to examine the views of writers like Fleet, Chakravarti and Chanda, referred to above.

Of the three versions of the *M.P.* quoted by Professor Mahānti in his work, which may be styled A, B and C for the sake of convenience, A is older than B which is again earlier than C. This is suggested by the manner of their quoting the reign-period of particular rulers. Let us take up the case of the semi-mythical Yayāti Kesarī with whom the account of the seemingly serious portion of the *M.P.* begins (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

A—*e rājā bhoga kale va 57 rasa* (i.e., this king reigned for 57 years).

B—*e rājā bhoga kale a 84 nīkaru va 68 rasa* (i.e., this king reigned for 84 Aṅka years corresponding to 68 actual years).

C—*e rājā bhoga kale va 52 rasa—Sa 448 kābda paryanta* (i.e., this king reigned for 52 years from Śaka 396 to Śaka 488, i.e., from 474 to 562 A.D.).

Apart from the hopeless discrepancy in the number of years in the three accounts, it is clearly seen that B exhibits an attempt at improvement upon A, while C exhibits a similar attempt to improve upon B. A speaks of the reign-period in actual years only; but B thinks that the reign-period should be given not only in actual years but also according to the Aṅka system of reckoning. We know that the Aṅka method of reckoning was introduced by the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and that it became popular long after that monarch's time. It is however not our intention to say that A had been compiled before the Aṅka system was known or popular, because the same A actually refers to the Aṅka years in connection with Yayāti Kesarī himself (*cf. loc. cit.*; *e mahārājāṅka a 13 nīke Kakarā-di 25 ne siṁghāsana biḥe karāile*). But it certainly shows that its compiler, in mentioning reign-periods only in actual years, offered an opportunity to the compiler of B to improve his account by quoting both actual as well as Aṅka years. Again C is seen to have improved upon both A and B by referring to the ending Śaka years of particular reigns. Of course there is no question of any genuine tradition involving the use of the Śaka era in a sixth century date in Orissan history coming down to the chronicler, as the use of this era was introduced in the country by the Greater Gaṅgas about the end of the tenth century A.D. But it shows that the compiler of C was eager to improve upon other versions of the *M. P.* by quoting the periods of particular reigns with special reference to the Śaka era.

What has been said above would show that of the versions of *M. P.*, quoted by Professor Mahānti, A is the earliest. But we have seen how it refers to the Aṅka reckoning showing thereby that its compilation is considerably later than the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga who ended his rule about the middle of the twelfth century. Fortunately there is another clue in the language of A suggesting that it could not have been compiled before the end of Gaṅga rule three centuries later.

There is an interesting passage in A, quoted by Professor Mahānti at pp. 27-28 of his work. This passage forms a part of the description of one of the many Gaṅga kings named Anaṅga-bhīma, who is assigned a reign period of 27 years (*op. cit.*, p. 32). B and C also agree in ascribing the same length of reign to the

king in question, the former quoting 33 Aṅka years as corresponding to the said period and the latter equating the last year of the reign with Śaka 1124, i.e., 1202 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 34). Thus the above Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma is suggested to have ruled from Śaka 1097 to Śaka 1124, i.e., in 1175-1202 A.D. The length of the reign recorded, viz., 27 years, seems to suggest that this Anaṅgabhīma is Anaṅgabhīma III who ruled for 27 years actually however in the period circa 1211-38 A.D.⁹ We have to note that tradition in this case seems to have a partially historical basis. But the more interesting fact about the description of this king, referred to above, is concerning its language and style.

The passage runs as follows: . . . *Śrī-navare bije kari mudala karūile a mudalara bhūshā Śrī-vīra Śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara abhirāe bhṛita-bhairava dusahaduśāsana anīkarāne rāutarāe atula-bala-parākrama-saṁgrāma-sahasrabāhu-dhūmaketu Śrī-Anāgabhīmādeva-mahārājāṅkara virala a 15 nīka Śrāhi Phaguṇa-śukla da 10 mī tat-kāla ekādaśī Guruvāre Śrī-Purushottama-kaṭake Śrī-navara-dakṣiṇa-ghare devārchchana-avakāse abhinava-Yayātinagara-Vishṇu Śrī-pāda-mudale pura chaurī navare bāṅkiāre bije-samaya pāse pātra-paramahansa-vājapei-Dāmodara-purohita mahāpātra-Nīlakaṇṭha-rāeguru mahāpātra-Balabhadrapraharāja mahāpātra-Chāini-pāṭayoshi mahāpātra-Dāmodara-panḍā pātra-Gaṅgādhara-panḍā pātra-Chakradhara-panḍā pātra-Vidyādhara-panḍā pātra-Jagannātha-panḍā pātra-Nīlakaṇṭha-panḍā pātra-Bhīmakara-panḍā pātra-Gopīnātha-panḍā pātra-Balabhadra-panḍā pātra-Purīdāsa-mīśra Jenā-Bararāe-Narasimha-deo Ajayadeo parirāe-Anantadeo parirāe-Īśvaradeo parirāe-Satru-deo parirāe-Hariharadeo parirāe-Rāmādeo pora-pāñjidhara-parikṣhā-Mithuni-panḍā pora-Śrīkaraṇa-Surūya-puranāyaka Māra-kaṇḍa-Mahāsenāpti samasta pātra khaṭanti | burhāleṅkā thāi ṭhākure puruṇā hoi emanta boli tarapa karaile |*

The passage quoted above would interest any student of Orissan epigraphy owing to the similarity of its style with that of inscriptions and the use of certain expressions in common with medieval epigraphic records. The words *navara* and *bije* are Oriyā corruptions of Sanskrit *nagara* and *vijaya*, although the latter has been used in its modified Oriyā sense of 'presence', 'march', etc. It

9. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 501. For the genuineness of a few other traditions regarding this king, see *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

is interesting to note that both the words *navara* as well as *vijaya* in its Oriyā sense are found in medieval Orissan records beginning with the copper-plate grants of Narasimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.D.). The word *mudala* is used in the sense of 'arrangement made or to be made according to order'. It is found in the same sense in the Purī plates Narasimha IV (circa 1379-1410 A.D.). It is however originally a Telugu word meaning 'order' and is found exactly in this original sense in the charters of Narasimha II and his son. The use of the word *mudala* in the modified Oriyā sense in the passage quoted above seems to suggest that it may have been composed sometime after the rule of Narasimha II. This suggestion is possibly supported by the use of the word *pāse* (Sanskrit *pāśve*) in the style of the charters of Narasimha IV and not of those of earlier Gaṅga rulers like Narasimha II and Bhānu II (circa 1305-27 A.D.). *Parikṣhā* (Oriyā *parichhā*) is found in the earlier records usually under the form *parikṣhaka* and only rarely as *parikṣha*, but in the records of Narasimha IV usually as *parikṣhā*. Designations like *Burhāleṅkā* are found in the charters of Narasimha IV but not in earlier records. Family names or official designations like *Parirāe* as well as the reference to too many Paṇḍās in the list of officials appear to suggest for the passage a date even later than Gaṅga Narasimha IV. The expression *pora*, prefixed to the designations of *pāñjidhara-parikṣhā-Mithuni-panḍā* and *śrīkaraṇa-Surūya-puranāyaka* is found in the form of *puro* in the charters of Narasimha II and Bhānu II and in that of *poro* in the grants of Narasimha IV.¹⁰

From what has been said above, it would appear that the passage quoted from the A version of the M. P. could not have been composed much earlier than the fourteenth century. But more decisive in this connection is the king's title *Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara* (representing the

10. I have recently commented on many of these expressions in my articles on five grants of Narasimha II and one of Bhānu II. The Purī plates of Bhānu II and the first of the three sets of the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II have been published in J. R. A. S. B. L., Vol. XVII, while the Kendupatna plates (sets II and III) of Narasimha II are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I have also edited the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, jointly with Mr. P. Acharya, in a paper contributed to the *Ep. Ind.* I am inclined to re-edit the Purī plates (B) of Narasimha IV. It is a matter of regret that Professor Mahānti never attempted to explain any archaic word occurring in the M.P. It is equally curious that the voluminous *Pramoda Abhidhāna* (Cuttack, 1942) does not recognise expressions like *mudala*, *pora*, etc., although they are found in the M. P.

Gajapati or imperial ruler of Orissa as the lord of Gauda or Bengal, the Karnāta 9 crores, i.e., the dominions of the Vijayanagara emperors, and Gulbarga or the kingdom of the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga and Bīdar) which was introduced in Orissan history and epigraphy by the Sūryavamaśis for the first time. It is thus quite clear that the description, in the earliest version of the *M.P.* consulted by Professor Mahānti, of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhimā who ended his rule in the first half of the thirteenth century could not have been composed until considerably after the foundation of the Sūryavamaśa two centuries later. There is therefore hardly any doubt that even the account of the Gaṅgas in the *M.P.* was compiled long after the end of Gaṅga rule in Orissa. This account again seems to be based on traditions, only rarely genuine, about certain Gaṅga kings, which were prevalent in the country at a later period and not on any definitely reliable source such as a written document.

To demonstrate the conflicting and absolutely unreliable nature of the *M.P.* evidence in regard to the genealogy and chronology of the so-called Kesari dynasty and the imperial Gaṅga family (beginning with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga), it is only necessary to quote Professor Mahānti's list of these kings given in the introductory part of his work side by side with that of the kings of the heart of Orissa (the *M.P.* being especially concerned with the Purī region), who are known to have actually reigned in the period concerned.

MĀDALĀ PAÑJĪ

Kesari Dynasty

(From the sixth to the twelfth century)

1. Yayāti, 57 or 68 or 52 years or up to Śaka 448 (526 A.D.).
2. Sūrya, 30 or 26 or 57 years or up to Ś. 505 (583 A.D.).
3. Ananta, 14 or 24 or 40 years or up to Ś. 545 (623 A.D.).
4. Lalāṭa, 40 or 54 or upto Ś. 599 (677 A.D.).
5. Kanaka, 24 or 17 or 16 years or upto Ś. 615 (693 A.D.).
6. Nara or Ananta, 13 or 18 or 8 years or upto Ś. 623 (701 A.D.).
7. Gaṅga or Padma, 25 or 19 or 5 years or upto Ś. 628 (706 A.D.).
8. Vṛiddha or Dhruva, 40 or 9 years or upto Ś. 637 (715 A.D.).
9. Vaṭa, 26 or 15 or 11 years or upto Ś. 648 (726 A.D.).
10. Gaja or Rāja, 25 or 12 years or upto Ś. 660 (738 A.D.).

11. Vasanta, 2 years or upto Ś. 662 (740 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
12. Gandharva or Kṛishṇa, 17 or 14 years or upto Ś. 676 (754 A.D.).
13. Janamejaya or Gaṇa, 14 or 9 or 8 years or upto Ś. 685 (763 A.D.).
14. Bharatha, 25 or 15 years or upto Ś. 700 (778 A.D.).
15. Kavi, 27 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 724 (802 A.D.).
16. Kāma, 24 or 16 or 19 years or upto Ś. 733 (811 A.D.).
17. Kosala, 25 or 18 years or upto Ś. 751 (829 A.D.).
18. Chaṇḍa, 17 years or upto Ś. 768 (846 A.D.).
19. Prachaṇḍa, 15 or 19 years or upto Ś. 787 (865 A.D.).
20. Dhruva or Dhruva or Amṛita, 22 or 10 years or upto Ś. 797 (875 A.D.).
21. Vijaya, 22 or 10 or 15 years or upto Ś. 812 (890 A.D.).
22. Chaṇḍapāla, 18 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 826 (904 A.D.).
23. Madhsūdana, 12 or 10 or 16 years or upto Ś. 842 (920 A.D.).
24. Dharma or Bhauma, 27 or 19 or 10 years or upto Ś. 852 (930 A.D.).
25. Jaya, 30 or 7 or 11 years or upto Ś. 863 (941 A.D.).
26. Nṛipa, 19 or 14 or 12 years or upto Ś. 875 (953 A.D.).
27. Makara or Markata, 5 or 6 or 14 years or upto Ś. 889 (967 A.D.).
28. Tripura or Ghaṭa, 18 or 10 years or upto Ś. 899 (977 A.D.).
29. Mādhava or Madana, 14 or 12 years or upto Ś. 911 (989 A.D.).
30. Govinda, 8 or 7 or 10 years or upto Ś. 912 (990 A.D.).
31. Nṛitya or Anaṅga, 14 or 6 years or upto Ś. 935 (1013 A.D.).
32. Narasiṃha, 12 or 11 years or upto Ś. 946 (1024 A.D.).
33. Kṛishṇa or Rāma, 18 or 10 or 6 years or upto Ś. 956 (1034 A.D.).
34. Gokaṇṇa, 15 years; not mentioned in all versions.
35. Machchha, 17 or 8 or 16 years or upto Ś. 972 (1050 A.D.).
36. Varāha, 21 or 14 or 15 years or upto Ś. 987 (1065 A.D.).
37. Vāmana, 13 years or upto Ś. 1000 (1078 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
38. Paraśu or Rāja, 2 or 17 years or upto Ś. 1002 (1080 A.D.).
39. Chandra, 15 or 6 or 12 years or upto Ś. 1014 (1092 A.D.).
40. Sujana or Yadu, 8 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1021 (1099 A.D.).
41. Mālatī or Bhuvana, 9 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1026 (1104 A.D.).

42. Purañjaya or Bhīma, 3 or 8 years or upto Ś. 1029 (1107 A.D.).
43. Vasukaḥpa or Lakshmaṇa, 12 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1041 (1129 A.D.).
44. Indra or Ghaṭa, 3 or 4 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1045 (1123 A.D.).
45. Dhruva or Vasanta, 1 year; not mentioned in all versions.
46. Śūnya, 3 or 9 years or upto Ś. 1054 (1132 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.

Gaṅga Dynasty

1. Chuḍagaṅga, 62 or 24 or 20 years or upto Śaka 1074 (1152 A.D.).
2. Gaṅgeśvara, 9 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 1088 (1166 A.D.).
3. Ekajaṭā Kāma, 7 or 12 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1093 (1171 A.D.).
4. Madana-Mahādeva or Rājarājeśvara, 15 or 26 or 4 years or upto Ś. 1097 (1175 A.D.).
5. Anaṅgabhīma, 27 years or upto Ś. 1124 (1202 A.D.).
6. Rājarājeśvara or Bhīmasena, 10 or 35 or 25 years or upto Ś. 1159 (1237 A.D.).
7. Lāṅgulā Narasiṃha, 26 or 18 or 45 years or upto Ś. 1204 (1282 A.D.).
8. Kavi or Vīra Narasiṃha, 25 years or upto Ś. 1229 (1307 A.D.).
9. Pratāpa Narasiṃha, 31 or 20 years or upto Ś. 1249 (1327 A.D.).
10. Kavikānta or Kavikānta Narasiṃha or Virakharakāla Narasiṃha, 1 or 2 or 9 years or upto Ś. 1251 (1329 A.D.).
11. Kajalā or Sakhi Narasiṃha, about 1½ months or 1 year or upto Ś. 1252 (1330 A.D.).
12. Śaṅkhabhānu Narasiṃha, 17 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1259 (1337 A.D.).
13. Niśaṅka Bhānu, 16 or 24 years or upto Ś. 1283 (1361 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
14. Balī Bhānu, 26 or 21 years or upto Ś. 1304 (1382 A.D.).
15. Vīra Bhṣnu, 2 or 12 or 19 years or upto Ś. 1323 (1401 A.D.).
16. Kali Bhānu, 14 or 10 or 13 years or upto Ś. 1336 (1414 A.D.).

17. Akatā-abaṭā Bhānu, 14 or 30 or 15 years or upto Ś. 1351 (1429 A.D.).
18. Matta Bhānu, 23 or 14 years or upto Ś. 1374 (1452 A.D.).

SOBER HISTORY OF ORISSA

[Based on epigraphic sources]

(Sixth and seventh centuries)

The Imperial Guptas; their Viceroys who later became independent rulers; the Mānas; the Gauḍas and the feudatories of the Gauḍa kings; Harshavardhana.

Prithivivigraha, Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.).

Lokavigraha, G. 280 (599 A.D.).

Śambhuyaśas, G. 260 (579 A.D.); G. 283 (602 A.D.).

Śasāṅka of Gauḍa (circa 605-25 A.D.).

Harshavardhana of Kanauj in Orissa, circa 643-47 A.D.

Śailodbhava dynasty

(From the seventh to the ninth century in the Puri area)

1. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, circa 610-65 A.D.
2. Ayaśobhīta Madhyamarāja I, son of No. 1; circa 665-95 A.D.
3. Dharamarāja Mānabhīta, son of No. 2; circa 695-730 A.D.
4. Madhyamarāja II, son of No. 3, circa 730-50 A.D.
5. Raṇakshobha, son of No. 4; circa 750-70 A.D.
6. Allaparāja, son of the paternal uncle of No. 5; circa 770-800 A.D.
7. Madhyamarāja III, circa 800-835 A.D.

Bhauma-Kara dynasty

(From the ninth to the eleventh century)

(The era used by these kings started from 831 A.D. See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148-55.)

1. Lakshmīkara or Kshemaṅkara. (They may be two different persons also.)
2. Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasiṃha Bharasaha, son of No. 1.
3. Śubhākara I, son of No. 2.
4. Śivakara II, son of No. 3.
5. Śāntikara I Gayāḍa, son of No. 3; year 93 (924 A.D.).
6. Śubhākara II, son of No. 4; year 100 (931 A.D.).

7. Śubhākara III Kusumahāra Simhadvaja, son of No. 5; year 103 (934 A.D.).
8. Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of No. 7; year 120 (951 A.D.).
9. Śāntikara II Gayāḍa Loṇabhāra, son of No. 7.
10. Śubhākara IV Kusumahāra, son of No. 9; year 145 (976 A.D.).
11. Śivakara III Lalitahāra, son of No. 9; year 149 (980 A.D.).
12. Prithvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī, wife of No. 10, year 158 (989 A.D.).
13. Śāntikara III, son of No. 11.
14. Śubhākara V, son of No. 11.
15. Gaurī, wife of No. 14.
16. Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Nos. 14-15; years 180 (1011 A.D.), 187 (A.D.).
17. Vakulamahādevī, wife of No. 14.
18. Dharmamahādevī, wife of No. 13.

Soma-vamśa or Lunar dynasty

(From the eleventh to the twelfth century in Lower Orissa)

1. Śivagupta.
2. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I (circa 935-70 A.D.); son of No. 1.
3. Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (circa 970-1000 A.D.); son of No. 2.
4. Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II (circa 1000-15 A.D.); son of No. 3.
5. Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta II (circa 1015-20 A.D.); son of No. 4.
6. Nahusha [Indraratha Mahābhavagupta III] (circa 1020-25 A.D.), son of No. 4.
7. Chaṇḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (circa 1025-60 A.D.); first ruler of lower Orissa, great-grandson of No. 2.
8. Uddyotakesarī Mahābhavagupta IV (circa 1060-80 A.D.); son of No. 7.
9. Karṇakesarī (circa 1080-95 A.D.).
10. Viravarakesarī (circa 1095-1105 A.D.).
11. Raṇakesarī (circa 1105-10 A.D.).
12. Abhimanyu of Kosala, circa 1080-1105 A.D.
13. Someśvara of Paśchima-Laṅkā, circa 1105-1115 A.D.]

Gaṅga Dynasty

(From Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga)

1. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, circa 1078-1147 A.D.
2. Kāmārṇava, circa 1147-56 A.D.; son of No. 1.
3. Rāghava, circa 1156-70 A.D.; son of No. 1.
4. Rājarāja I, circa 1170-90 A.D.; son of No. 1.
5. Anaṅgabhīma II, circa 1190-96 A.D.; son of No. 1.
6. Rājarāja II, circa 1196-1211 A.D.; son of No. 5.
7. Anaṅgabhīma III, circa 1211-38 A.D.; son of No. 6.
8. Narasimha I, circa 1238-64 A.D.; son of No. 7.
9. Bhānu I, circa 1264-78 A.D.; son of No. 8.
10. Narasimha II, circa 1278-1305 A.D., son of No. 9.
11. Bhānu II, circa 1305-27 A.D.; son of No. 10.
12. Narasimha III, circa 1327-52 A.D.; son of No. 11.
13. Bhānu III, circa 1352-78 A.D.; son of No. 12.
14. Narasimha IV, circa 1379-1410 A.D., son of No. 13.
15. Bhānu IV, circa 1410-35 A.D.; son (?) of No. 14. He was overthrown or succeeded by the founder of the Sūryavamśa.

It will be seen from the above lists that while the chroniclers had scarcely any knowledge at all of the history of Orissa prior to the conquest of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century, they had some vague information about the Gaṅgas. The account of the so-called Kesarī dynasty is no doubt entirely fabricated on the basis of the very vague echo of traditions regarding past kings having names ending with *kesarī* and including a Yayāti and a Janamejaya. The great number of omissions and commissions in the account of the Gaṅgas (especially the curious multiplication of the Narasimhas and Bhānus wrongly placed one after another) can be clearly seen from a comparison of the *M.P.* list with the authentic list quoted side by side. The relations that the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the *M.P.* bore to one another have been given in the work although they have not been indicated in the list compiled by Professor Mahānti and quoted by us. It may be summarily pointed out that the indications of the *M.P.* in this connection are opposed to epigraphic evidence and are absolutely unhistorical. A word may be said here about the list of the Kesarī and Gaṅga kings compiled by Professor Mahānti from the different versions of the *M.P.* and quoted by us above. By comparing it with the text of the *M.P.* versions quoted by the Professor, I have found some inaccuracies. But it is needless to

point them out in detail as the lists themselves are hardly of any real importance to the students of history.

Before conclusion, it may further be pointed out that the *M.P.* traditions regarding the Gaṅgas are of the nature of folklore. This is clearly seen from various passages, especially from the accounts of Choḍagaṅga and of his occupation of Orissa, quoted (from A) by Professor Mahānti at pp. 21 ff. of his work. The utter absurdity of these legends will be apparent to anybody who will care to compare them with the definitely established facts about this king that have been gathered from epigraphic sources. The chroniclers did not know that Choḍagaṅga described as *rāṇḍī-pua*, i.e., a poor widow's son, was himself a powerful ruler with his capital at Kaliṅga-nagara (modern Mukhalingam near Chicacole or Śrīkākulam) before his conquest of Orissa and that his immediate predecessors were mighty monarchs. It may be noted in this connection, that *rāṇḍī-pua Anantā* (cf. *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, s.v.) is famous in Oriyā folklore as the only worthless son of a poor Brāhmaṇa widow. The washerwoman called Netei, introduced in Choḍagaṅga's story, is wellknown in Bengali folklore of the late medieval period as Nityā or Nitāi. The mention of a Paṭhāṇa (i.e., a Pushtu-speaking Musalman) in the same context is again extremely suspicious and suggestive of a late date of the composition. It is unnecessary to take the readers' time by further demonstration of the nature of what one may call a mere *farrago* of legends and myths of no authority. R. P. Chanda is no doubt quite right when he says, "as the foreigners who invaded Orissa in the fifth century A.D. are called Mughals (in all the versions of the *M.P.*), it may be safely concluded that the sections relating to the pre-Mughal period of these texts were first compiled in the Mughal period".

The Iconic Development of the Early Tamils

BY

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Early religion in India was restricted to certain totemistic beliefs. The idea of a dark grove or forest (*kāvu*) exerted a profound uncanny influence upon the people as also the natural phenomena like thunder and rain. Later, cult objects and fetishistic figurines mostly of terracotta came into existence and these slowly developed into plastic forms which received impetus in the wake of the plastic representations that were being evolved in the north in the late Mauryan period. The Nāga cult particularly was popular all over India. When the Aryan cultural traits infiltrated into South India, the eclecticism of the Tamils led to an assimilation of unsystematised and systematised cults and this marked a stage of religious stabilisation in the country. Nāga cult was extensively adopted in the south. It was attributed to Murugan, the hill God (the Kārttikēya of the Aryans). It had well known associations also with Śiva, Vishnu and even Buddhists and Jains adopted it. In the Tamil country there existed already in the early times a crude pantheon related to the five-fold geographical division of the country into Kuriṇji (hill tract), Mullai (pastoral tract), Marudam (the plains), Neydal (coastal tract) and Pālai (desert). Each had its own specific God such as Murugan (Śēyōn), Māyōn, (Kaṇṇan), the Sky God, the Sea God and Korṟavai respectively. No iconic fixation had been attempted at this stage.

When the Aryan cults migrated into the Tamil country, the indigenous gods mentioned above were identified with their Aryan counterparts so that Māyōn became Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, Śēyōn or Murugan became Subrahmaṇya, the Sea God was Varuṇa, the Sky God Indra and Korṟavai was easily equated with Durgā.

In early Tamil works like *Agam* and *Puram* (*Sangam* works of about the 2nd century A.D.) Śiva is referred to occasionally—associated usually with the banyan tree—as *Tripurāntaka*,¹ *Neelakanṭha*² etc. Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛishṇa and Murugan are described

1. *Puram*, 55 ll. 1-5.

2. *Puram*, 94 ll. 5-6.

on one occasion with their respective weapons and features.³ Śiva is spoken of as riding on his bull, with matted locks blazing like fire, with his battle-axe and blue throat; Balarāma is described as having a body of chank-white colour with a plough and a palmyrah banner; Krishṇa as having a blue complexion holding aloft a bird banner (Garuḍa) and Subrahmaṇya as having red colour and mounted on a peacock. Krishṇa is referred to in a few places. Rāma is alluded to once in Agam⁴ and once in Puram,⁵ in which certain incidents in Rāmāyana are mentioned. In the later group of the Ten Idylls (Pattu-p-pāṭṭu) ascribable to about the 5th-6th centuries A.D., Vishnu as Trivikrama⁶ is mentioned and at another place in the same, Sūrya⁷ with seven horses yoked to his chariot is mentioned. In Tirumurugārrupadai (6th century A.D.) devoted to Murugan, Śiva as Ardhanārī and as Tripurāntaka are mentioned.⁸ In the great Tamil epic Śilappadikāram⁹ itself (5th century A.D.), the two Vishnu shrines at Srirangam and Vēṅgaḍam (Tirupathi) are described, whereas, in Agam, Vēṅgaḍam is mentioned as belonging to both Tirayar and Kaḷḷar, but no mention is made of the temple on it. At Śilappadikāram time, the shrine was sufficiently famous as to evoke the appellation Neḍiyōnkunram (the hill of Vishnu) by its author. Further the Āycciyarkuravai (about the episodes in Krishṇa's Avatar) of the same epic, the featuring of a Jain nun Kaunti Aḍigaḷ in this epic, the clearly saṅskṛitic names like Mādhavi, Vasantamālai, Bhavakāriṇi etc. occurring in this epic all indicate the gradual assimilation of the Aryan culture into the indigenous one.

The spirit behind image worship in India seems to have an antiquity which is pre-Buddhist, coeval perhaps with the prevalence of yogic practices to which Buddha himself was initiated in the early stages of his quest after self-knowledge. The actual worship of icons may have become established by the time of Patanjali, the author of Mahābhāṣya and the great exponent of the yogas, whose date has been assigned to 2nd century B.C. It is with the dawn and spread of Bhakti cult that a well constituted assemblage

3. Puram, 56, ll. 1-8.
4. Agam 70 ll. 13-16.
5. Puram, 378, ll. 18-21.
6. Mullaipāṭṭu, ll. 1-3.
7. Kurinjipāṭṭu, ll. 215-216.
8. Tiru., ll. 150-156.
9. Śilappadikāram, XI ll. 35-51.

of personal gods was found necessary. In Śwētāśvatara Upaniṣad¹⁰ is made the first mention of this Bhakti relationship. Even in South India we find that the Nāyanmārs, the Āḷwars and Rāmānuja, even though they were cultured persons themselves who could have delved into the labyrinths of absolute Brihmagāna, preferred to have this special medium of Bhakti to propagate their dear doctrines.

In Pāṇini's grammar, we find words like 'pratikṛiti' etc. and Patanjali's exposition of Pāṇini's Sutra (IV-3. 99) is specially important since it mentions a few of the gods like Śiva, Skanda, Vishnu whose images were being made for worship at this time and that Mauryas devised the method of filling royal coffers by selling images also¹¹ which would indicate a great demand for them. It is equally significant that none of these three gods mentioned is distinctly vedic in character.

The linga cult has almost been a pre-Aryan cult as we may glean from the Indus valley cult objects. In South India the linga of Guḍimallam seems to be the oldest of Hindu iconic sculptures. With marked similarity in portraiture and in the delineation of the drapery thereof to the Bhārhut figures, it has been assigned to the same age, with some margin for a southern spread i.e., the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D. Śiva is worshipped both in the form of the phallic symbol, an extremely exceptional type of which being mentioned above, as well as in anthropomorphic forms. Even in the case of the linga itself, oftentimes we find a tendency to anthropomorphise it, by supplying it with eyes, mouth etc. In lingas, we have many varieties, many of which are plain cylindrical ones with a convex top such as the achalas, or aṣṭōttaras with as many divisions on them marked or the dhara lingas of faceted ones, or the mukha lingas, i.e., phallic forms with divine physiognomy sculptured on them, which may be single or multiple. The pañcha-mukha linga has the five aspects of Śiva namely Īśāna, tatpurusha, aghōra, vāmadēva and sadyōjāta. The first, or the highest is not represented usually and the orientation of the faces relates to the four cardinal directions and the plan of the central shrine of the temple. All the four faces need not be carved; it may be three or two or one. A fine representation (7th or 8th century A.D.) of

10. Śwētāśvatara Upaniṣad, VI-23.
11. 'Mauryair-hiranyārthibhihi-Archā prakalpita'.

the three-faced Śiva is at Elephanta, in the so-called 'Trimurti' cave.

The main forms of Śiva as we see represented in the Pallava shrines of the Tamil country are Somāskanda (i.e., Śiva and Pārvatī with the baby form of Subrahmaṇya in between), Umāsaḥita-mūrti, Gaṅgādhara, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Ardhanārī, Gajāntaka, Urdhvatāṇḍava etc. This shows how as early as the 7th century A.D. an iconic determination has been evolved and also how by that time Subrahmaṇya cult also has struck roots in Hindu iconography. But in the Pallava era Śiva and Viṣṇu images have not got isolated into water-tight compartments but actually the shrines and the sculptures of Viṣṇu and Śiva are found side by side at every place and the early Āḷwārs (Vaishnavite saints) prior to Tirumaṅgai (8-9 century A.D.) sing in their hymns about the inseparable nature of Viṣṇu and Śiva godheads. As a matter of fact, the first Āḷwār Poigaiyār (5th-6th century A.D.) gives an exquisite and clear conceptual imagery of the Harihara form.¹² Besides, such syncretisations or composite forms like Harihara, Ardhanārī, etc., had such wide repercussions that some waves reached as far as Jāvā and Cambōḍia where these and further composite forms like Śiva-Buddha and Bhairava-Gaṇēśa¹³ were also formed.

In the Chōla period a slight change of the religious atmosphere particularly in the outlook and activities of the Sivaite saints singing mainly in praise of Śiva took place and we have the appearance of the Lingōdbhava form. This form shows at one stroke the superiority of Śiva over Viṣṇu and Brahma, though in a mild manner. The Lingōdbhava sculpture took its place on the western (outer) wall of the main shrine of every Śiva temple from the Imperial-Chōla period onwards. Here Viṣṇu and Brahma, as boar and swan are depicted as if in search of Śivatattva and Śiva is shown exposed within a linga. But in the early Chola period, Viṣṇu usually occupied the central niche in the western (outer) wall.

It was in the Chōla period also that the division of the Śivamūrtis into Anugraha, Śānta, Nritta and Samhāra types was com-

12. Poigaiyār-pāsuram, 5 and 98.

13. There is a sculptural depiction probably of Bhairava-Gaṇēśa in low relief on the rock on the northern side below the Mahāstupa, near to an underground cave at Sankaram (Sanghārāma) a Buddhist site near Anakapalle. This figure may be much later to the occupation of the place by Buddhists and may indicate the presence of the Pāsupata cult there.

pleted. Thus Lingōdbhava, Chandraśekhara, Umāsaḥita and Somāskanda are of the Śānta type. Chandikeśa Anugrahamūrti, of the Anugraha type, Natarāja of the dancing type and Gajāntaka, Kālārī, Bhairava etc., of the Samhāra or Aghōra types. In the late Chōla period, controversy and bickerings between Sivaites and Vaishnavites for religious supremacy led to certain rabid sectarian representations of Śiva's greatness over Viṣṇu, like the Śarabhamūrti and Viṣṇu Anugrahamūrti at Dārāsūram and Tribuvanam temples and the depiction of Kacchapēśvara at Kacchapēśvara temple, Kāncīpuram.

The Natarāja sculpture of Śiva is a class by itself. It is represented in the great Śiva temple at Chidambaram dedicated to this God. The Nataraja conception or the Lord performing the cosmic dance had probably been evolved in the Chōla times, as the earliest depictions in stone and metal belong to this period. There are five different types of this Tāṇḍavamūrti which have all been harmonised in the Ānanda Tāṇḍava. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti aspect of Śiva as an omniscient sage comprises essentially four different types namely the yōgamūrti (with knees high and crossed and bound by yōgapaṭṭa), Vyākhyāmūrti, Jñānamūrti and Viṇādharamūrti. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti icon is quite an early form, often occurring in the Pallava shrines and more frequently in the Chōla period. Of the four types mentioned above, the last one achieved a high water-mark of excellence in bronze in mediaeval times and the supreme elegance and slender rhythmic pose of this form, represents Śiva as a protector of art and letters. In the Gupta period (450-650 A.D.) of the north, at Ahichchātrā¹⁴ we have a Dakṣiṇāmūrti terracotta plaque. This has the requisites of Dakṣiṇāmūrti image namely the jaṭā, akṣhamālā and amritakalāśa and the sandarśanamudrā and probably represents a Vyākhyāmūrti.

Bhairava is taken to be the terrific form of Śiva and has the dual aspects of Bharaṇa (protection) and Bhīṣhaṇa (terrifying) as the name implies. He is supposed to have a flabby belly, round eyes and serpent ornament (as enjoined by the Viṣṇudharmōtara) as also Muṇḍamālā, canine side-teeth and many weapons. There are in main eight forms of Bhairava such as Vaṭuka, Atirik-tāṅga etc. He is not a very popularly worshipped deity since he has a dismal aspect unpleasant to contemplate upon, but is favoured by tantric worshippers. He finds a place generally in every Śiva

14. V. S. Agrawala—Ancient India, No. 4 p. 104-179.

temple of the later times in the Tamil country. One of the earliest specimens of Bhairava from North India is got from the brick temple of Śiva at Ahichchatrā¹⁵ ascribable to the Gupta period between 450-650 A.D. It is a terracotta plaque of Bhairava which would appear to belong, from the unconformity of its details with the later conventional icons of Bhairava in the south, to the formative period of Sivaite iconography in the north. The Aghōra-forms of Śiva like Bhairava came to the fore due to the tantric devotees of the Pāśupata and Kālāmukha cults of north, from Ahichchatrā and Lāṭa country and these when they came to the south evolved the Bhairava representation for their sādhanas, deriving inspiration from the Pratyabhigñā school of Kashmir tantrics on the one hand and by the conception of loving self-surrender to God of the Nāyanmārs of the Tamil country on the other.

Veerabhadra is another terrific form of Śiva manifested at Daksha's sacrifice where he was uninvited. The erection of this image is generally supposed to possess great expiatory and curative effect upon the doer. Generally Veerabhadra image is depicted as standing on the prostrate figure of Daksha or the latter is represented in the form of a goatheaded man who along with his daughter—Śiva's spouse—stands by. There are beautiful representations of Veerabhadra at Tiruvenkāḍu (where He is a principal deity), Madura, and Ammankurichi image (now in Pudukkottai Museum) is also a fine specimen of it.

The earliest extant evidence of Viṣṇu or Bhāgavata cult is furnished by the Garuḍa pillar found at Besnagar, contemporaneous with Antialkidas and belonging to the middle of the second century B.C.,¹⁶ proclaiming Heliodorus—the ambassador of Antialkidas—who set up the pillar, as a Bhāgavata and the name of the God honoured by him as Vāsudēva. It is this early Vāsudēva cult which when it travelled south probably merged with the Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma cult mentioned in the Sangam works and formed ultimately the basis for the Vaikhānasāgama of the early Vaiṣṇavaitees.

In Viṣṇu images we have the standing, sitting as well as the reclining postures. He is the only deity that is represented in the Śayana pose. In the Vaiṣṇavism of the Tamil country, there are

15. Terracottas of Ahichchatrā V. S. Agrawala—Ancient India No. 4 p. 167 and pl. LXIII.

16. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 1 R. P. Chanda 1919.

two reclining gods worshipped, namely the Vāṭapatrasāyin Bāla-kṛṣṇa and the Anantaśāyin Nārāyaṇa. In the latter either Lakshmi or Bhudevi is depicted as shampooing the legs of the God and Brahma is poised on a lotus sprung out of the navel of the God and two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha are shown in a defiant mood by the side. The sleeping pose is peculiar to the Tamil country and has a special name of Raṅganātha as at Srirangam near Tiruchirāpalli or Padmanābha as at Trivandrum. There is a fine early sculpture of Raṅganātha belonging to the early Pallava period at Māmalapuram. A special and rare type of Viṣṇu seated on Seshanāga is Vaikunṭhanārāyaṇa where he is seated at ease (instead of reclining) on the narrowly piled up coils of Sesha whose hoods form a canopy above his head. A representation of this is found at Nāmakkal and belongs to the Pallava period. The hymns of the early Āḷvars also repeatedly mention the standing, sitting and sleeping poses of Viṣṇu.

Among the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Varāha, Narasimha and Trivikrama had captivated the minds of the early Āḷvars and the people. The first two are half-human, half-animal forms and the third is the titanic form of the God. The Varāha incarnation has a few sculptural varieties like Bhūvarāha or Ādivarāha, Yagñavarāha, Praḷayavarāha etc., the first being the most popular. It is shown in the standing pose where one of the God's legs, usually the left, is kept raised and resting on Nāgarāja (representing Pātāla) and on the thigh of the raised leg Bhūdevi is seated with hanging legs and hands in Anjali pose and face towards the God, one of whose hands is put around the waist of the Goddess. A very fine sculpture of Bhūvarāha is found in the Ādivarāha cave of Māmallapuram belonging to the early Pallava period. There is a gigantic specimen of this God at Udayagiri near Ujjain in Central India, belonging to the Gupta period. A seated variety of this God, as a Bhōgamūrti with his two consorts is depicted in the temple at Srimushnam in South Arcot District.

The Trivikrama concept was a very favourite one with the early Tamils and recurs continuously in the hymns of the early Āḷvars (5th-7th century A.D.). Its remotest origin is in the Vedas themselves where God Viṣṇu is described as having taken the three great steps as Trivikrama (Trēdha nidadhē padam). The Trivikrama icon is carved in three forms i.e., with the raised left foot (since invariably the right foot is shown as planted on the ground) reaching the level either of his own right knee or the navel or the forehead, conceptually denoting the God measuring the

earth, antariksha and the heaven respectively. But the first form is very rare. A beautiful example of Trivikrama of the third stage is found in the Ādivarāha cave at Māmallapuram belonging to the early Pallava period and an equally exquisite piece of the second stage is seen in the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora.

The Narasimha concept has given birth in South India to some of the most vigorous pieces of sculpture comparable in quality and anatomical details to the Hellenic plastic art. Narasimha is represented in Yōga, Sṭhūṇa (in the pillar) and Ugra forms. The first has the utkuṭuka pose or knees bent crosswise and belted around by the yōgapaṭṭa. The sṭhūṇa type shows the God as emerging out of the kicked pillar (sṭhūṇa = tūṇ—Tamil) and is very ferocious in aspect. A vigorous representation of Narasimha killing Hiranya-kaśipu is depicted in a panel sculpture at Kailāsanātha temple, Kānchipuram belonging to the Pallava period. In Ahōbilam, Kurnool district, which is a Vaishnavite centre, the God is Lakshminarasimha i.e., the stage after Lakshmi had intervened and brought down the tempo of his anger. This type of God is popular all over the south among the Vaishnavites. In such a case, the Goddess is seated either by his side or on his lap.

Among Krishna images which are some of the earliest iconic ideas of the Tamils, the Vēṇugōpāla, Bālakrishṇa, Kāliyamardana forms are more popularly worshipped and these gained currency in the Chōla period. In most of these, the God has only two hands and wears Kirīṭamakūṭa, Channavira, Aṅgada (bracelet) and in the case of the last, Udarabandha also. An arresting sculpture of Krishna as Govardhanadhāri belonging to the Pallava period occurs in the Krishṇamaṇḍapa at Māmallapuram. A fine illustration, though of the mediaeval times, of the unusual pose of Krishna as Pārthasārathi occurs in the prākāra of the Kēśavaswāmi temple at Pushpagiri in the Andhra country.

Skanda is known by various names as Śaravaṇabhava, Guha, Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra, Kārttikēya, Tārakāri, etc. The most characteristic weapon he wields is Śakti and hence he is known as Śaktidhara. The worship of Skanda is as ancient as Patanjali's time as we have already shown. Later we see Kālidāsa making him the subject matter of his Kumārasambhava kāvya. We have a fine sandstone panel sculpture of Kārttikēya, seated on his peacock and wielding the Sakti or spear in one of his two hands, belonging to the Gupta period (6th century A.D.) coming from Uttar Pradesh, now at Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benaras. During the Pal-

lava period we have numerous Sōmaskanda sculptures as at Māmallapuram. A post-sangam Tamil work Tirumurugārrupadai deals entirely with the six divine abodes of Skanda. One of the important forms of Skanda is as Guha or the Dēśika where he gives exposition, though yet a child upon the sacred Praṇavamāntra, to his own divine father Śiva. We have got these at Tirupalātturai and Kumbakōṇam, both in Tanjore district. We have an early specimen of a Kalyāṇasundara Subrahmaṇya at Tirupparankunram near Madura and of the Shaṇmukha at Paṭṭisvaram in Tanjore District. The earliest representation of Skanda and the earliest dedication of a separate temple to him was at Kaṇṇanūr (Pudukkottai State) belonging to the early Chōla period. Owing to his unique position as the symbol of Aryo-Dravidian synthesis, Murugan or Skanda has a large following both among the non-brahmins as well as the Brahmins of the Tamil country, more in the former group.

The popularity and importance of Gaṇapati, the pūrvaja to Subrahmaṇya is second to none in the Tamil country and any orthodox brahmin or non-brahmin invokes the blessings of this God before initiating any ritual or embarking on any literary, or artistic undertaking. He is the Lord of obstacles (Vighnēśvara) and is variously known as Hēramba, Ēkadanta, Lambōdara, Bālachandra, according to the different mythological episodes associated with him. We have the earliest examples of this God in the Pallava period in the devakaṣṭhas of temples but all the Pallava Gaṇēśas are invariably of the valampuri type i.e. with the trunk turned to the right. But generally the trunk of this God is shown as turned towards the left. He may be represented as sitting, standing or dancing. His weapons are the pāśa, aṅkuśa, danṇa etc., and he often holds on his right hand a Mōdaka. There are various types of Gaṇapati images like Hēramba, Bālagāṇēsa, Lakshmi-gaṇapati, Ucchiṣṭagaṇapati etc. In some of these, Śakti is seen sitting at his left, often on his lap. In the case of Ucchiṣṭa type, the proboscis of the God is resting on the private parts of the Goddess. This image has obviously some tāntric significance.

Hēramba has got five heads, four facing the four cardinal directions and one on the top. The God is seated on a ferocious lion. An example of this type in bronze, though belonging to the late mediaeval times, is at Nāgapaṭṭinam. We have a fine example of dancing Gaṇēśa in one of the niches at the Brhadiśvara temple, Gangaikōṇḍachōlapuram. Gaṇēśa, though apparently a celibate,

is invested conceptually with two spouses, Buddhi and Siddhi, begotten of whom are the offsprings *kshēma* and *lābha*. Thus he is the Lord of wisdom and prosperity. The *Mōdaka* in his hand is itself explained in *Padmapurāṇa* as the expression of 'Mahābuddhi'.

Ayyanār or Hariharaputra or Śāstā is essentially an indigenous deity of the Tamil country and very popular in south Tamilnad, particularly in Kērala, Tinnevely and Tanjore regions. He is not known to North India. In Kērala, every temple contains an Ayyanār or Śāstā shrine in the south west corner. He is supposed to be the guardian deity of land and his temples are usually situated on mountain tops as also on the bunds of irrigation tanks (as in Tinnevely district). That Śāstā seems to have had the same popularity with the early Tamils as now is seen by the fact that in the early grammatical treatises we find constant occurrence of the name Śāttān for a proper name used as the hypothetical subject of a sentence (just like 'this is the house that Jack built' of English grammar, or 'Dēvadatta' occurring in Sanskrit grammar). As for the puranic origin or association of the deity, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Suprabhēdāgama* tell us that Śāstā was born of Mōhini—the form that Vishṇu took during the churning of the ocean, to entice the Asuras—and Śiva who fell in love with the Mōhini form. Śāstā images are usually seated in *padmāsana* pose and armed with *khadga* and *khēṭaka* and when the image has only two hands the right hand holds a crooked stick (*śeṇḍu* in Tamil). He is also represented as riding on an elephant and is known on that score as *Gajārūḍha*. Some of the best known Śāstā figures are from Śāttānkōṭṭai in North Travancore, and Tiruppalāturai and Valuvūr in Tanjore district.

Jyeṣṭhā appears to have been worshipped, though by a minority, for a long time in Tamilnad from Pallava times upto about the 12th century, since we find references in literature and inscriptions to her. Her shrines were exempt, as were those of the seven *pidāris* or *Saptamātrikas*, from taxation as mentioned in early Chōla records. *Toṇḍaraḍippōḍi Ālwār*, one of the later Vaishnavite saints deprecated the worship of this disreputable deity. She is mentioned in inscriptions and in other places as *Tirukkēṭṭai* and Goddess of ill-luck. Tamil *Nighanṭu* has many names like *Moodevi* etc., for this minor goddess. She can be seen in some temples relegated to a corner and not worshipped or as in some cases pulled out of her pedestal. She is considered as the elder sister of bounteous *Lakshmīdēvi*. Her *vāhana* is ass, weapon broomstick and banner-bird, the crow. She is usually depicted with hanging breasts, flabby

belly, a single knotted haid (She is thus called *Ēkavēṇi*) drooping lower lip and thick thighs. She is often accompanied by her bowine headed son and beautiful daughter at her sides. An early specimen of Jyeṣṭhā is found in Mylapore in one corner of the temple tank and held as belonging to the Pallava period, as also in *Kumbakōṇam* temple and *Tiruvellavāyil* temple. She seems to be essentially a non-Aryan deity who had latterly come into the Aryan pantheon as a minor manifestation of Śakti.

In contrast with this ugly Goddess, we have some inspiring representations of the Śakti group of goddesses like *Saubhāgya-bhuvaneśwari* as at *Dārāsūram* (late Chōla period), *Rājarājeśwari*, *Tripurasundari* etc. The worship of the latter two is usually associated with some mystic geometrical drawings known as *Śrichakra* or *Srīpiṭha*. The most energetic representative of this female pantheon is, of course, *Durgā* or *Mahiṣamardani*, widely worshipped in India and who got equated in early ages with the indigenous *korṟavai* of the Tamil country. Her sculptures are some of the earliest found in the Tamil country (7th-9th century A.D.). At *Māmallapuram*, we have a huge awe-inspiring panel sculpture of *Durgā* on her lion killing *Mahishāsura*.

Another group of Mother goddesses is the *Saptamātrikas*, a group which consists of *Brāhmi*, *Māhēśwari*, *Kaumāri*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Vārāhi*, *Māhēndrī* and *Chāmuṇḍā* and are found with *Gaṇēśa* and *Virabhadra* on either side. These are typical of early Chōla period and extended sporadically upto the late mediaeval times.

All the village deities of Tamilnad which have, mainly, a protective role over people from diseases, epidemics etc., like *Māriyammā*, *Ankāḷammā* and others, though indigenous, found wider worship and iconic fixation through fusion of some sort with the Śakti group of goddesses mentioned above and continued, upto the present day, to be the objects of popular worship.

Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

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IV

The next diplomatic trouble between Baillie and Saadut Ali centred in the person of a eunuch called Mohammed Tuhseen Ali Khan, Khaja Serai. Of this official the greatest recommendation was that at the time of Wazar Ali's deposition he had been the chief informant of Sir John Shore. As he was the Nazir of the Khoord Mahal (the Palace where the ladies of the household of the late Nawab Wazir Shujauddowlah were housed), and as this Khoord Mahal was situated in Fyzabad, the capital of the jagir of the Bhow Begum, this dispute brought in the dirty linen of the Oudh royal house to be washed in public. One finds, on looking through the original correspondence on this particular affair that the historian can easily be made to lose his way in the labyrinth of detail or a web of intrigue and false propaganda. For an impartial assessment of the truth in this matter, however, it is essential to by-pass the one and avoid the other.

At the time of his accession to the masnad in 1798, Saadut Ali had been made to grant a jagir near Fyzabad to the Bhow Begum. The jagir of Gonda he had also to give her, but that was for collection only and its yield was to be used in giving pensions to the ladies of the Khoord and Khass Mahals.²¹⁷ Upto this point all is clear. Tuhseen Ali Khan was then Nazir of Khoord Mahal, but the Bhow Begum was displeased with him. Saadut Ali, however, insisted that after collection, the yields of the Jagir of Gonda should be handed over to Tuhseen for distribution to the ladies of the palaces, and in this she acquiesced.²¹⁸ If and when there was any surplus money, after due distribution of the pensions, Tuhseen was in the habit of remitting it to the Royal Treasury of Saadut

217. Aitchison: Op. Cit page 121 (Engagment of 7th Feb., 1798).

218. Oude Papers: Op. Cit. p. 279.

Ali as well as submitting all accounts to him.²¹⁹ This coupled with the fact that when any ladies of the Mahal died their funeral expenses too were paid by the Nawab-Wazir, convinced the latter that he was the sole guardian of the Mahals and had the authority in himself, for their management.²²⁰ That legally, as head of the family, he was their protector (waris) there can be no doubt; that morally he felt bound to look after the ladies of his father's household, we may be sure.²²¹ By 1812 a change was wrought: the Bhow Begum considered herself a protégé of the British Power, so also did Tuhseen himself. Both of them started having the feeling of camaraderie that comes out of a common allegiance. The Nawab-Wazir on the other hand was even in his helpless and powerless way uncompromisingly anti-British at heart. He was, naturally, also against any and all of his subjects who put their faith in British protection. Just about the same time the ladies of the Khoord Mahal raised a hue and cry against Tuhseen Ali. The Nawab asked Tuhseen to submit a plan for the improved management of the Mahal. This he failed to do. He was, therefore, summarily dismissed and the post was given to another person of the Nawab Wazir's selection.²²²

Baillie entered the arena at this stage as the avowed protagonist of Tuhseen. His approach to the problem was a bit too thorough. While demanding the re-instatement of Tuhseen, declaring that he was innocent of all the charges levelled against him by the ladies who agitated to see him ousted, because they in their turn had been tutored to do so by the Nawab-Wazir;²²³ he also declared that the management of the Khoord Mahal was out of the province of the Nawab's prerogative and that the British as guarantors of the engagement, which secured to the Bhow Begum the jagir of Gonda for the express purpose of the support of the Khoord Mahal, would do all they could to see her rights respect-

219. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 411.

220. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 273, 279, 430, etc.

221. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 447 and 453 (where the Khoord Mahal ladies ask him to respond to the call of his duty as their Wauris).

222. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., 272, 280.

223. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 268, 270, 273, 274-275; (categorical assertions of Baillie about his right to interfere and Bhow Begum's right to control the Khoord Mahal management; open allegations that disturbances are due to Saadut Ali's encouragement).

ed.²²⁴ Minto, as usual, was in complete harmony with the views of his representative. He supported him by a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir the gist of which was "Hands off the Khoord Mahal. Reinstate Tuhseen and obey Baillie!"²²⁵

The Nawab-Wazir, the Resident and the Bhow Begum were all string-pullers in the sordid intrigues which now followed. The actors in this dirty drama were as well the victims of their own punch and Judy show. There can be no doubt that in the disgraceful events that followed the blame for intriguing must be shared equally by Saadut Ali and Baillie.²²⁶ They were both trying to prove the correctness of their assertions by manoeuvring the occurrence of incidents. Tuhseen had to be, under inevitable and unavoidable pressure from the British Government, restored to his office of Nazir.²²⁷ The ladies of the Mahal rebelled against this, decided to leave the Mahal to make some token demonstration at Golab Basi (tomb of Shujaud-dowlah) and to repair to Lucknow to appeal personally to the Nawab-Wazir.²²⁸ They met with persecution and insults at the hands of officers who acted under orders of the Bhow Begum, who, in her turn, took her directions from Baillie.²²⁹ There was a storm in the tea-cup, as futile as it was nauseating. It subsided as aimlessly as it had brewed up. The net result was that Saadut Ali had to agree that he had no right in the management of the Khoord Mahal, which was the exclusive province of the Bhow Begum; Tuhseen had to be restored and the ladies were as miserable as ever.²³⁰ Of this, however, one can be sure that the Nawab-Wazir, true to his character, acquiesced only after seeing that there was no help, and after realising how determined the Governor General was to support each single action of

224. Oude Papers: Loc., Cit., page 275 (where the Resident says, "Your Excellency's power and control over any branch of your household cannot be more absolute, under the terms of the Treaty of 1798, in their nature than your obligation to consult with the British Government and be guided by its counsels") Page 270 (where he emphasises the British guarantee of the arrangements).

225. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 285-286.

226. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. That they were both active intriguers, is clear from the Records. Refer pp. 457-461 for Saadut Ali's actions to incite trouble; and pp. 447-453 on Baillie's part in the dirty occurrences.

227. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., para 4, page 299.

228. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 448-453.

229. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 450, 452, the Resident therein referred to as a 'person of Authority'.

230. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511.

his Resident. Even then he succeeded in making a fine art of his tactics of delay and evasion.²³¹

In the same sequence, seeing that the Nawab-Wazir had been intimidated, the grievances of the Bhow Begum against certain zemindars and Amils of the Nawab-Wazir were brought forth.²³² They were also, in spite of the feeble resistance of Saadut Ali, decided in her favour and she got some nineteen villages, which had been the bone of contention for a long time, as well as all the other advantages that she claimed.²³³

Our narrative of this none-too-happy episode cannot be complete without mentioning the death of Tuhseen. He died on August 27, 1813, of old age and exhaustion.²³⁴ While he was on his death-bed he made a will and nominated Major Baillie as his executor. He was a Hindu-convert and a slave of the Nawab-Wazir. His property, therefore, under the customary law of Oudh, was liable to escheat by the sovereign. His brother's family was not converted, they had remained Hindus. That family was represented by two small boys, the grand-sons of Tuhseen's elder brother. Now he bequeathed all his property to them. He made some grants of pensions etc., to some of his faithful servants too.²³⁵ This he was not entitled to do (a) because, under Muslim Law a person suffering from 'Marz-ul-Maut' (i.e., on his death-bed) cannot make a bequest of more than one-third of his property, (b) because, a Muslim convert cannot make his relatives who are not Muslims, his heirs,²³⁶ (c) fundamentally, as a slave, he had no testamentary rights at all.²³⁷

231. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 278 [His attitude in the beginning was "..... the discussion of such subjects as this is extremely unpleasant to me" and "it (guarantee of the British Govt.) cannot circumscribe or render nugatory my hereditary rights and authorities over my own household."] In correspondence pp. 272-281, 287-290, in discussions pp. 411-423, and renewed correspondence pp. 455-456, Saadut Ali was difficult to grapple, elusive; and bowed only when the extraneous pressure had brought him to breaking point.

232. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 473, 474-475, 493-495, 495-497. The Amil of Bahraich, Raja Gungole of Bahraich, Luchman Pershad Amin, Buhwar Singh, Zemindar of Buhwareh etc., were particularly reported.

233. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511 (Minto expresses satisfaction on the end of all these troubles, in his letter to Saadut Ali) p. 512. (He expresses satisfaction in his letter to the Bhow Begum).

234. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 525-526.

235. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 521-523.

236. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 525-526.

237. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 527.

Baillie, even before Tuhseen's death, had referred the question to the Supreme Government. Minto's decision was that the letter of the law was to be shelved in this case, in view of the exceptional circumstances and the meritorious service of Tuhseen. The only consideration which prompted him to take this decision was the desire to get Tuhseen's last wishes respected.²³⁸ This decision was one of the last on Oudh affairs, made in the Governor Generalship of Minto. It shows to what lengths this nobleman could go in supporting his subordinates and those whom he considered his or his government's dependants. His successor Lord Moira, in whose times later this dispute on Tuhseen's will was settled, did not take such a vigorous radical stand. The Nawab was allowed to resume Tuhseen's property,²³⁹ which, one feels sure, would not have been allowed to happen if Minto was at the helm of affairs when the question came for final settlement.

In July 1813, Baillie went to Fyzabad²⁴⁰ and made some arrangements about the valuables and property of the Bhow Begum, which were remarkable, one may say unique, in character; and we ought to have noticed them in some detail here had they been placed for ratification before Lord Minto and had we known his comments and views on the topic. As it was, Moira was at the head of the government at Fort William by the time this came up. Suffice it to say here that in this case too, the British Government, through its Resident, became a guarantor for a future arrangement for the payment of a large number of pensions, the custodian of her treasures and jewellery, and an executor of the Bhow Begum's last will and testament.²⁴¹

If the case of the Bhow Begum was full of intriguing complications, Bhabi Begum's (i.e., that of Shamsunissa Begum—the widow of the late Nawab-Wazir Asafuddowla) was absolutely straight but full of psychological interest. She was the daughter of Nawab Intizamuddowla, Bakhshi-i-Mumalik, Khan-i-Khanan, and the grand daughter of the famous Wazir-ul-Mumalik Asafjah Etemad-ud-dowla Nawab Meer Kamaruddin Khan Nusrat Jang.²⁴² and was, therefore considered to be 'the descendant of ancestors

238. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 526-527 (Paras 3 and 4).

239. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit.: p. 600-602.

240. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., para 1, p. 527.

241. Aitchison: Op. Cit., pp. 143-157.

242. Oude Papers: Op. Cit., p. 461.

by far more illustrious than his (Saadut Ali's) own."²⁴³ Her marriage into the Oudh Royal House, during the life time of Shujaud-dowlah, had been possible only after the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had given it his imperial sanction.²⁴⁴ During the reign of her husband over Oudh, while Saadut Ali was a struggling exile at Benares, she used to receive most obsequious letters from him.²⁴⁵ But now Saadut Ali was the sovereign and he expected deference from her who was not used to play her part as "a subject in a place where she possessed the rule."²⁴⁶

Against this psychological and emotional background the further development of troubles between them was but natural and easy. The Nawab Wazir went out of his way to make her realise that he was the master now, and every little wish of hers was thwarted.²⁴⁷ She on her part tried more and more to rely on British protection and to show Saadut Ali that she remembered the past only too well. These troubles were allowed to develop until they were, by all the parties concerned, considered to be "totally unsusceptible of adjustment or reconciliation."²⁴⁸ The Begum addressed the Resident and the Governor General on the issue of her grievances,²⁴⁹ which were: I, that the Nawab Wazir had been failing in the observance of respect due to her rank and person. II Her father's property in Delhi, which she had inherited, had been usurped by the Nawab-Wazir, III. Pay and allowances to various classes of her servants, which were, by usage, payable from the Nawab's exchequer had been discontinued. IV. Her Jagir was despoiled by the Nawab-Wazir's zemindars and amils, under his encouragement if not incitement. V. That the Nawab-Wazir on every little occasion assiduously tried to hurt her feelings and injure her interests.

Her demands were (i) to be given money in lieu of the victuals supplied for her table daily from the royal kitchen; and (ii) to be permitted to quit the Oudh territories after handing over the management of her jagir into the hands of the British officers, of the Hon'ble East India Company.

243. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 441.

244. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 461.

245. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 437, 462.

246. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 431.

247. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 8-13, p. 440-441.

248. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 413.

249. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 276-277 and p. 461-465.

When things had come to this pass, Saadut Ali sincerely started wishing that a rapprochement between him and his sister-in-law should take place.²⁵⁰ She, however, on her part was not prepared even to see his face. Saadut Ali wrote her a very conciliatory note saying that he would personally pay her his compliments.²⁵¹ The result was that being afraid of having to face a situation in which she might have to speak with her brother-in-law, she left Lucknow, even against Baillie's advice and went to her jagir.²⁵² From there, in spite of all requests and entreaties to come back to Lucknow, she proceeded onwards to take up permanent residence in the Company's territories and reached Allahabad, where the magistrate, under orders from above, received her with honour and eclat.²⁵³

In the meanwhile the usual negotiations between the Nawab-Wazir and the Resident regarding the complaints and claims of the Begum proceeded apace. Again the same process of long files of correspondence between Saadut Ali and Baillie,²⁵⁴ the direct address from Minto,²⁵⁵ in support of Baillie's efforts, the personal conferences between the hapless Nawab-Wazir and the bullying Resident,²⁵⁶ the systematic intimidation of the reticent and sometimes enraged Saadut Ali, the same proposals and counterproposals and higgling²⁵⁷ continued.

As could be expected, Saadut Ali was reluctant to be pushed into a corner, but the British advocates of his sister-in-law proved to be too strong for him. They used her offer of the management of her jagir to them, as an ace up their sleeve.²⁵⁸ At last Saadut Ali had to swallow, what he considered to be a slur upon the reputation of his house, i.e. the desertion of his dominions by a lady of the royal family. He had further to yield to grant a monthly stipend to her in lieu of the victuals that used to be served for her table while she was in Lucknow, at the terms dictated to

250. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 479.

251. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 439.

252. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 310-311, 437-438.

253. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 320, 475-477.

254. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 277, 279, 281, 360-364, 453-455, 467, 471-472, 479-483, 516-520, 541.

255. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 286, 510-511.

256. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 397-398, 413, 421, 423-424.

257. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 360-363, 516-520.

258. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 397, para 2.

him by Baillie.²⁵⁹ The British did not want to put themselves in an awkward, and perhaps untenable, situation by taking over the management of Shamsunnissa's jagir and so they handed it over to Saadut Ali in lieu of an yearly pension to the Begum which was equal to the net yield of the jagir—even this sum was decided by Baillie.²⁶⁰ On the question of her Delhi property, Saadut Ali in the beginning remained stubborn. He said he had inherited it amongst all other belongings of his predecessor and brother Asaf-ud-dowlah.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, he had to yield to the inexorable pressure. He, however, was adamant in maintaining that the Begum could inherit only such portion of it as was justly hers after satisfying the demands of her nephew Husainuddin Khan, who was a preferential heir to the said property, under Islamic law.²⁶²

Agitated simultaneously were the cases of persons who were in British employ, although in very low positions, e.g. sepoy and naiks etc. in the company's Indian forces, and who were at the same time residents of Oudh. There can hardly be any doubt that the Nawab-Wazir never allowed any opportunity pass without trying to show his vindictiveness against these weak individuals whom he considered to be British protégés. Being aware of the fact, his amils and other officials almost always oppressed those of the Company's protégés whom they could lay their hands upon. The other aspect of the matter, however, was that these individuals in their vanity at being protégés of a superior and mightier power always tried to be overbearing. But Baillie, in his turn, pressed Saadut Ali a little too far into a corner when he got his unwilling consent "that on every future occasion of such oppressive proceedings as those on part of his Excellency's Aumils, or of the seizure of any part of the property of a sepoy, on whatever pretext, the declaration of the plaintiff on oath to the extent or value of his property seized, without any specification of the articles or testimony of witnesses in his behalf, shall be received as proof against the aumil, who shall be immediately compelled to repay the amount of the sepoy's loss to the full extent of his declaration."²⁶³

Be it said to the credit of his determined obstinacy (in which there was something pathetic on account of his essential helplessness)

259. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 517.

260. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 517-518.

261. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 481-482.

262. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 546.

263. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 399—para 14.

ness) that Saadut Ali exhausted all possible means of evasion before he finally complied with each different requisition of Baillie.²⁶⁴ A classic example of this is the case of Mal Tiwari Naik. After the usual routines of negotiations (i.e. correspondence, conferences, personal addresses from the Governor-General in support of Baillie, delays, wranglings, evasions and postponements) even in these small and annoying affairs poor Saadut Ali had to abide by the decisions forced upon him by the British Government and its representative. This much, however, ought to be plainly stated, that each of these small matters meant as much humiliation and trouble to the Nawab-Wazir as any of the greater affairs of state on which there was difference of opinion between him and the Resident. Such were the cases of Mal Tiwari Naik,²⁶⁵ and Pershad Singh Subadar,²⁶⁶ to mention only two of the many subordinate employees of the East India Company about whom there was discussion.

Of the Apprehension of Marauders and Banditti

In itself the dispute that arose between the British Government and the Nawab-Wazir on the question of British Subsidiary forces of Oudh being used for the pursuit of public offenders from the company's territories who found refuge there, was a thing of minor importance. On account of the principles it involved, the decisive step taken by Saadut Ali of lodging a report on the behaviour and conduct of Major Baillie with the Governor-General, and the absolute determination of Minto to show the Oudh ruler his subordinate position the interest it has for a student of the Oudh-British Relations is much enhanced.

A continuous but minor trouble which existed between Oudh and the British power in these days was that marauders and banditti who infested the Company's territories near Oudh crossed into Oudh and got shelter sometimes with influential zemindars and taluqdars of this state.²⁶⁷ Usually in such cases, on the Resident's application to the Nawab-Wazir, a proclamation against such offenders was issued, and Oudh amils were ordered to seize them.²⁶⁸ But now

264. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 539—para 19. (An example is, where the Nawab Wazir shows a wonderful way of delaying satisfaction of a claim which he has been forced to accept).

265. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511 (Final satisfaction).

266. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 492.

267. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 298-299, 300-301.

268. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 300, 308-309.

Minto became keen to make the seizure of such culprits absolutely sure and foolproof.²⁶⁹ For this purpose it was proposed to use the British troops stationed in Oudh against these marauders. The Nawab's first and eminently just objection was that when he had asked for the use of these troops, for which he had paid with two-thirds of his kingdom, against offenders against his government it was refused saying that "the apprehension of criminals is the duty of the police."²⁷⁰ The same troops were now sought to be used against offenders, whom the British government wished to apprehend.²⁷¹ Even for this he was agreeable, but he proposed that before each such operation for rounding up criminals was undertaken he should be informed in advance so that he might be able to instruct the amil concerned to accompany and assist the British force.²⁷² This the British refused. They said plainly that amils were usually abettors and accomplices of the criminals and if they had previous information of the operations success never could be achieved.²⁷³ What Minto wished Baillie to extract from Saadut Ali was a general licence for the Resident, in his discretion, to be permitted the use of troops in Oudh and their movements, against marauders and banditti to be pointed out either by the Resident or by the district magistrates of the districts in British territories from which the marauders had escaped.²⁷⁴ Such a general licence, argued the Nawab-Wazir, would ".....create a general belief among the people that I possess no power or authority and that I have transferred the whole of my authority to the English gentlemen."²⁷⁵ Such arguments of his were labelled "groundless remarks"²⁷⁶ by the British. On only one thing was Saadut Ali really keen and it was the maintenance of his prestige as ruler and of his authority over his own affairs.²⁷⁷ When it seemed that he would prove obdurate, Minto decided to carry out the scheme of moving troops, without permission or even information to the Nawab within Oudh territories, and in spite of his opposition, if any.²⁷⁸

269. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 302, 303-304, 309-310.

270. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 296.

271. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 315-316.

272. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 306-307.

273. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 356, 358.

274. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 367, 368.

275. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 315.

276. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 336—para 6.

277. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 351-352.

278. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 317-318.

Saadut Ali now had to reconcile himself to the inevitable.²⁷⁹ Be it said to his credit that even while matching swords, in negotiations, with a career diplomat like Baillie, he proved as vigilant and efficient as few Indian rulers of his times have done. Even while realising that his opposition to this plan must prove unavailing he prevailed upon Baillie to agree that before each operation against such Banditti at least he would be informed of the names of the marauders against whom the operation was undertaken.²⁸⁰ Even though to Baillie, this concession seemed 'puerile' and vain, one must confess that in winning this concession, Saadut Ali had got the recognition of the principle that he was the sovereign and that without his previous knowledge no action within his dominions could be taken.

An interesting off-shoot of these discussions, though not entirely unconnected with other problems, was that during their progress Saadut Ali took the extreme measure of reporting to Minto against Baillie's conduct. The six charges he preferred, and substantiated by concrete examples were:—(1) Disrespect to the Nawab-Wazir, (2) Attempt to play the ruler in Oudh, (3) Intemperance in behaviour, (4) Impropriety of remarks, (5) Undue interference in domestic affairs of Oudh, (6) Assumption of too much responsibility to himself.²⁸¹

This disgust of Saadut Ali was such that in the same communication he expressed a desire to be allowed to resign his government and leave on pilgrimage.²⁸² This he might have written in sheer desperation or as an empty threat to impress the Governor-General. One cannot be sure.

This report against Baillie met with the same fate as all other communications from him, and the correspondence on it took exactly the same lines as all others did. Minto supported Baillie outright and rebuked Saadut Ali for his impudence in lodging such a report.²⁸³ As a counter-measure against this Baillie charged the Nawab-Wabir with a disrespectful style of addressing the representative of the British government.²⁸⁴ In due course came the

279. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 367—para 8.

280. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 391—para 28.

281. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 331-332.

282. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 332.

283. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 376-381.

284. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 339-340.

mandate from the Governor-General to the poor Saadut Ali, enjoining him to be more careful in the future and not to repeat the mistake of using an overbearing tone in his communications with the Resident.²⁸⁵ This helpless prince now realised his utter helplessness and reconciled himself to his fate but his satisfaction must have been, if such a thought can be of any satisfaction, that he had not yielded without manfully struggling to maintain his power and prestige.

This narrative makes it plain that Baillie was the villain of the piece. We may not go all the distance with Irwin, who considered Saadut Ali as "perhaps the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living."²⁸⁶ but this certainly is a fact that Saadut Ali was hard-working, conscientious, efficient, capable and God-fearing as a sovereign. In this we have the verdicts of Lord Valentia,²⁸⁷ Bishop Heber,²⁸⁸ Col. Sleeman²⁸⁹ and Col. Mc Andrew.²⁹⁰ in our support. If only Saadut Ali had not that peevishness and the tendency sometimes, to stoop in order to conquer, a little too much of avarice for all that glitters (both reputation and gold) and a certain lack of personal bravery and chivalry, he might have been one of the greatest rulers and statesmen of India. That he had great facility for negotiations and that his diplomatic acumen was great nobody can deny.

Minto's conduct in his relations with Oudh shows clearly how radically he had broken off from the traditions of non-intervention which Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow had tried to establish. The pendulum in its swing had reached the edge where it was kept by Lord Wellesley. Minto was clear that Oudh was a subordinate power and he, therefore, felt justified in interfering in its affairs whenever it suited his convenience and British interests. If the Nawab opposed his wishes, in the first place he was to be persuaded to conform and obey but if necessary Minto was prepared to go full length and compel the poor potentate. The right of might could not be challenged.

(Concluded)

285. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 376-381.

286. Irvin. Garden of India: Op. Cit. p. 104.

287. Lord Valentia: Travels; Vol. I (Pub. 1811) pp. 133-134.

288. Heber: Narrative of a Journey; Vol. II (Pub. 1828) p. 77-78.

289. Irvin: Garden of India, Op. Cit. p. 109-110.

290. Irvin: Garden of India, Loc. Cit., p. 109.

Obituary

With deep sorrow, we record the death of Sri. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras and Associate Editor of the Journal of Indian History, on November 24th 1953.

Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar was born in April 1896 at Vishnampet, Tanjore District, in an orthodox Brahmin family. He was educated at the Sir Sivaswami Aiyar High School, Tirukkattupalli and St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. After graduation in 1923, he worked as a Research Scholar in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras for four years. Later he joined the staff of St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, and served there as Lecturer in History for a year. In 1928, he was appointed Lecturer in Indian History in the University of Madras. He at once plunged into that long and deep immersion in Ancient Indian studies which earned for him the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology in the Madras University in 1947.

Prof. Dikshitar was a profound scholar in Ancient Indian History and Culture and a prolific writer. He was the author of a number of original publications relating to ancient Indian History and Culture among which particular mention may be made of the following:—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, *Mauryan Polity*, *the Silappadikaram* (English translation with introduction and notes), *War in Ancient India*, *Tirukkural* (English translation), *The Gupta Polity*, *An Index for the Major Historical Puranas*, viz., *Matsya*, *Vishnu*, *Brahmanda*, *Vayu* and *Bhagavata* of which two volumes have been printed and the third is now in the press.

His other publications are:—Some aspects of the *Vayu Purana*, *the Matsya Purana—a Study*, *the Lalita Cult* and *Kulottunga Chola III* (in Tamil). He has edited two works, one the *Bharadwaja Siksha in Sanskrit* and the other *The Karnatakadesarajakkal Charitram in Tamil*. In addition he has contributed more than 100 research papers to learned periodicals in India and abroad.

qat-i-Nasiri is a composition of Sadr-i-Jahan Minhaj-ud-din, who flourished in the court of Delhi in the times of the Sultans Nasir-ud-din and Balban of the so-called Slave Dynasty; and it has absolutely no connection whatever with the history of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan. It is surprising that some important histories both contemporary and later find no place in Prof. Sherwani's chapter on 'Authorities'. The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif is the only Muslim history which throws some light on the relations between the Sultanates of Gulbarga and Madura. *Muntakhib-ul-lubab* of the famous Khafi Khan though a late work, is valuable in some ways. Khafi Khan, no doubt, follows generally Ferishta's account; but he rejects it sometimes and furnishes information not found in any other available source. Nor is there any mention here of Abdul Jabbar, an Urdu writer of the early twentieth century, from whom Prof. Sherwani seems to derive information on important topics such as the political organization of the Bahmani kingdom in the pre-Mahmūd Gawan period.

Professor Sherwani makes no distinction between contemporary and later sources. He prefers, contrary to the canons of modern historical investigation, later to the earlier and even contemporary works. A few instances culled at random may serve to illustrate the point. On p. 46, speaking of Shaikh Siraj-ud-din, he asserts (on what authority it is not known) that 'he succeeded in persuading Pratap Rudra to embrace Islam' (n. 83). This is far from the truth. According to Shams-i-Siraj Afif, the Rai of Telingana (Pratap Rudra), whom Sultan Muhammad sent to Delhi, 'died upon the road. Kattu (Kannu) then presented himself to Sultan Muhammad, and made his profession of Muhammadan faith' (E.D. III, p. 367). His pointed reference to Kattu's (Kannu's) conversion to Islam and his silence regarding Pratap Rudra, implies that the latter died a Hindu. This is corroborated by the evidence of Vilasa and Kaluvacheru grants which state that Pratap Rudra committed suicide on the banks of the Narmada, while being carried away to Delhi as prisoner. There is nothing to indicate that he embraced Islam before he put an end to his own existence. Again, Prof. Sherwani accepts the melodramatic story of Ferishta in preference to the contemporary evidence of Isamy concerning the death of Ismail Mukh (pp. 63-4). According to Ferishta, he was executed by Sultan Ala-ud-din Gangu himself in the open durbar; but Isamy (and he is followed by Tabataba) states that Ismail Mukh was beguiled by the wily Narayan of Miraj and Jamkhandy to his place, where having thrown him into dungeon he caused him to be assassinated.

Similarly Prof. Sherwani prefers Ferishta's account of Mahmūd Gawan's death to the contemporary evidence of Sakhawi who heard of the occurrences at Mecca, but whose evidence cannot be brushed aside as of no value. Though the latter refers to the plot of Muhammad Muhammad Shah III's ministers against Gawan, he does not mention the forged letter. According to Sakhawi, some ministers of the Sultan who were ill-disposed towards Gawan communicated an alleged warning to him from the Sultan that Narsingh's army was about to launch attack on him and persuaded him to take all the necessary precautions to defend himself. They next repaired to the Sultan and told him that Gawan was making preparations to fall upon the royal camp and destroy it. The Sultan on seeing the war-like preparations of Gawan was so convinced of his treachery that he ordered his immediate execution.

Prof. Sherwani sometimes suppresses evidence in order to paint a better picture of the character of the Sultan than the facts warrant. From Isamy we learn that Sultan Ala-ud-din Hasan made an unprovoked attack on Vijayanagara and captured the fort of Karai-chur belonging to Harihara; Ferishta also refers to another invasion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the end of Ala-ud-din's reign and the subjugation of the territory up to the Tungabhadra. These events find no place in Prof. Sherwani's history, because he wants his readers to believe that 'the breach of peace emanated not from Muhammad Shah but from the Rayas of Telingana and Vijayanagar' (p. 89) though he vaguely mentions a tribute from Vijayanagara in the reign of the first Sultan without explaining it (p. 61). He also accepts Ferishta's false account of Muhammad Shah's war with Vijayanagara, and suppresses Khafi Khan's more sober account lest it should mar the impressive character of the grandiose picture of an irresistible mighty conqueror. Prof. Sherwani's work so far as it deals with the relations of the Bahmani Sultans with their Hindu neighbours is a perversion of facts. What the Sultans failed to achieve with their swords, Prof. Sherwani, following the example of Ferishta, attempts to accomplish by means of his pen.

The greatest defect of Prof. Sherwani's history is its one-sidedness. This arises from the neglect of Hindu sources. In the chapter on 'Antecedents', while describing the circumstances that led to the downfall of Tughluq empire, he buries his head in the sands of the Muslim chronicles and forgets conveniently the Hindu side of the question. He ignores totally such important documents as the Vilasa grant of Prolaya Nayaka and the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli,

His three lectures, the Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures on the Origin and Spread of the Tamils, the Sir Subrahmanya Iyer Lectures on South India and China and the Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures on Pre-historic South India, are some of the most useful and scholarly in the series.

He presided over the second section of the Indian History Congress at Annamalainagar in 1945 and over the History section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Nagpur in 1946. He was a member of the All-India Oriental Conference, the Indian History Congress, the Indian Historical Records Commission, and the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology. He served as a member both of the Senate and Academic Council of the Madras University for several years. He was also a member of the Board of Studies in Tamil and the Oriental Languages and Chairman of the Board of Studies in History and Politics in the Madras University.

Prof. Dikshitar was a distinguished scholar who combined a remarkably rich stock of historical learning with a gift of simple and scholarly exposition. No one has contributed as he did to our knowledge and understanding of the polities of the Mauryas and the Guptas in all their varied aspects. The *Journal of Indian History* especially owes a great debt to his memory for his long period of unselfish and fruitful work as Associate Editor. He was a modest, even a retiring man with simple tastes, unfailing kindness and gentleness, but renowned for his steady and unflinching devotion to the cause of exact scholarship. His untimely death has created a void in the world of Indological studies which is hard to fill.

Reviews

THE BAHMANIS OF THE DECCAN: by Prof Haroon Khan Sherwani—crown, pp. 452. Published by the Manager of Publications, Saood Manzil, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad-Deccan. 1953.

A history of the Bahmani kingdom has been a long felt want; and Professor Sherwani deserves the thanks of all students of the history of the Mediaeval Deccan for having made the first attempt to present a connected account of the activities of the rulers of the dynasty. Besides the preface, the table of contents, a list of abbreviations and a map representing the extent of the Bahmani kingdom at the beginning and three appendices describing the chronology, the works laid under contribution by him in the preparation of the volume, and a genealogical table of the Bahmani Sultans at the end, the book comprises fourteen chapters with captions the appropriateness of some of which is not quite apparent. To take an instance chapter 5 bears the title 'Interregnum', a term which is generally taken to mean 'a period during which a State has no normal ruler, especially between the end of a king's reign and the accession of his successor'. During the period of twenty years from A.D. 1378 to 1397, no less than five kings sat on the Bahmani throne, without leaving any interval between one reign and another, when the kingdom could be considered to have had no ruler. The fact that most of these kings met their death by the assassin's knife does not make it an interregnum.

In the preparation of the present history, Professor Sherwani has not utilised all the available sources of information, but confined himself to certain Muslim histories which he enumerates in one of the chapters of the volume (ch. 14), called 'Authorities'. They are ten in number, viz. (1) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Zia-ud-Din Barani, (2) *Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami, (3) *Riyazu'l-Insha* of Mahmud Gawan, (4) *Zau'u'l Lami* of Sakhwi, (5) *Zafaru'l-Walih* of Hajjuyud-dabir, (6) *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* of Tabataba, (7) *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk* of Rafi'ud-din Shirazi, (8) *Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi* of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, (9) *Haft Iqlim* of Ahmad Razi, and (10) *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* of Ferishta. Of these, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (No. 1) is obviously a mistake for the *Tarikh-i-Fruzshahi*; for Ziya-ud-din Barani never wrote a book of that name. The *Taba-*

which throw a flood of light on the history of Andhra during this period. No wonder he is unaware of the Andhra national movement which took shape under the able leadership of Prolaya Nayaka and expelled the Muhammadans bag and baggage from the coastal regions within half a dozen years after the fall of Warangal. Nor has he anything to say about the conquest of the Western Andhra and the province of Kampili including the important forts of Ane-gondi and Raichur, from Sultan Muhammad by the Chālukya prince Somadeva. He also accepts without question the absurd story of the Muslim chroniclers that the Rāya of Orissa, Kapileśvara, who invaded the Bahmani dominions with 10,000 men and 400 cavalry was not only defeated by a small company of 160 armour clad troopers under Shah Muhibb-ul-Iah, one of the officers of Nizam Shah (Ahmad III) but also compelled to pay a war indemnity of five lacs of silver tankas. It is incredible that Kapileśvara's army which destroyed in the previous year the Bahmani forces at Devarakonda and wrested almost the whole of Telingana from Bahmani Sultan would have been routed by a small company of Muslim troopers. The Hindu inscriptions, on the contrary, state that Kapileśvara conquered the kingdom of Gulbarga, and their provenance shows that the whole of Telingana was still in his possession. The contemporary records of the Uriya monarch and his officers deserve more credence than the exaggerations of the much later Muslim chroniclers. Nevertheless, Prof. Sherwani ignores the former, and gives undue prominence to the latter. Another instance of this kind is furnished by his description of Muhammad Shah III's expedition to Kanchi, which he represents as a glorious triumph of the Sultan's military genius. Conveniently enough, he forgets to mention the evidence of the contemporary Telugu literature, according to which Isvara Nayaka, the commander-in-chief of Saluva Narasimha defeated, at the instance of his master, in a battle at Kandukur the Yavanas of Bidar and captured their horse as a part of the booty. A similar omission is found in his description of Krishnadevaraya's relations with Yusuf Adil Khan and Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk. "There were two men however, says he, 'who proved too much of a match for the stalwart Vijayanagara ruler, i.e., Yusuf 'Adil of Bijapur, and Qutb-ul-Mulk, Governor of Telingana. We read of frequent scuffles between Yusuf 'Adil and Krishnadevaraya in which the latter was not always victorious, and Qutb-ul-Mulk seems to have got the better of the southerner in the east as we find him endowing some villages near Kondapalli and Bezwada for a charitable purpose in 1524, showing that he must have reconquered these parts before that year'

(p. 413). A little knowledge of the Hindu sources and of the history of the coastal Andhra country would have shown to Prof. Sherwani the hazardous character of these statements. Krishnadevaraya came to the throne in A.D. 1509-10 and Yusuf Adil Khan died in 1510. Therefore there could not have been frequent scuffles between the two. They came into conflict with each other in A.D. 1510, and Krishnadevaraya killed Adil Khan in a battle near Kovilkonda during the course of an expedition against the northern country. (Amukta 1; 42, Briggs Ferishta III, p. 350, Burhan-i-M'alsir, IA. XXVIII, p. 319). The evidence of the inscriptions cited by Prof. Sherwani to show that Qutb-ul-Mulk reconquered Kondapalli from Krishnadevaraya does not support his contention as the fort was included at the time not in the Vijayanagara empire. According to the terms of peace between the Raya and the Gajapati in 1518 at the end of the Kalinga war, the former ceded all the territory to the north of the Krishna and annexed only what lay to the south of it. Qutb-ul-Mulk could not have wrested Kondapalli from Krishnadevaraya.

Prof. Sherwani, no doubt, cites occasionally the evidence of Hindu inscriptions; but he generally belittles their importance, and holds that the facts mentioned are of no material consequence. Take for instance Mujahid Shah's expedition against Vijayanagara. The bombastic descriptions of Muslim historians notwithstanding, his expedition ended in a terrible disaster. He suffered defeat twice, once at Vijayanagara and again at Adoni. His army was nearly destroyed; his prime minister and his brother fell into the hands of the enemy; and he had to beat a hasty retreat into his own dominions, during the course of which he was himself murdered by his cousin Daud. The Raya of Vijayanagara took full advantage of these victories. He planned a double attack on the Bahmani kingdom. He commanded Chaundapa Madhava, the Governor of Banavasi, to proceed northward and subjugate the territory belonging to the Bahmani Sultan on both sides of the Ghats as far as Chaul and Dabul. The campaign was brilliantly successful, and the Konkan coast as well as Belgaum and its neighbourhood passed into the hands of the Raya of Vijayanagara. Another army under Bukka II which was despatched against the Sultan's allies, the Velamas of Rajukonda, penetrated into the heart of Telingana, and reached Kottakonda near Warangal, where in an engagement with the Bahmani forces Saluva Ramadeva, one of the officers in the Vijayanagara army fell. The death of Ramadeva did not affect the course of the campaign; for according to the *Vaidyaraja-vallabham*,

a treatise on Medicine by Bukka II's physician, Lakshmanacharya, which describes the campaign at some length, Bukka II routed his enemies, the king of Andhra as well as the Sultan, exacted tribute from both and returned home in triumph. To Prof. Sherwani these Vijayanagara victories signify nothing; he brushes them aside with the remark, 'All this is rather obscure, and there they seem to be no more than desultory skirmishes,' and concludes complacently that Harihara II ultimately agreed to pay tribute (p. 126).

Prof. Sherwani is a sincere Muslim. Though he does speak at times of the synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim cultures, he is an isolationist by instinct. To him contact with the Hindus is painful; and he labours hard to show that the Mussalmans did not mix with them, and soil the purity of their race. He repudiates the association of Hasan Gangu with Gangu Brahman and formulates for him a pedigree from Kaikus Bahman and Isfandiar, the mythical kings of Iran. But his attempt to foist Hasan into the family of Zafar Khan, one of the noblemen in the court of Ala-ud-din Khalji, is an instance of *tour de force* calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the readers unacquainted with Persian sources. 'Hasan' says Prof. Sherwani, 'was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din entitled Zafar Khan 'Alai who had been killed in action in 697/1298 against the Trans-Oxianian Turki hordes, when Hasan was only six years old' (p. 49). 'Ali Shah Natthu was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan.... He was sent by the Viceroy Qutlugh Khan to Gulbarga to collect taxes, but instead of carrying out his orders he proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the title of Ala-ud-din Malik Shah, and was joined by his three brothers, Hasan Gangu, Ahmad and Muhammad' (p. 24). The name of Hasan Gangu has been substituted by Prof. Sherwani for Malik Ikhtiyar to provide a place for him among the nephews of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan. Is this deliberate, or the result of a strong prepossession? Fortunately, Isamy who knew these brothers gives their names as Ali Shah, Ahmad Shah, Malik Ikhtiyar and Muhammad Shah (*Futuh-us-Salatin* p. 463, Agra Edn., p. 484 Madras Edn.). Another instance of Prof. Sherwani's isolationism is found in his re-interpretation of the party labels of Muslim nobles, the Dakhnis and Gharibs in the Bahmani court. In the place of Gharib he introduces a new word 'afaqi' which he takes to mean a 'new comer'; he interprets the term 'Dakhni' to mean an 'old comer' and contends that the struggle was indeed between two sections of foreign Muslim immigrants one of which came earlier than the other. Is the substitution of afaqi for Gharib and the inter-

pretation of Dakhni as 'old comer', one may ask, due to the influence of the specious 'two nation' theory of recent years? The division of Mussalmans into parties was not peculiar to the Deccan. It was known in Delhi in the time of Slave, Khalji and Tughluq Sultans. When the Arab, Turki and Persian Mussalmans ranged themselves against those that were Indian in origin, colour prejudice exercised considerable influence. The Arab, Turki, and Persian immigrants despised the Indian Muslims and called them the blacks. That is the reason why the Habshies (Abyssinians) joined the Indian and the Dakhni Mussalmans, though like the Arabs, Turks and Persians they also came from abroad.

Prof. Sherwani gives an exaggerated importance to Mahmūd Gawan. He was no doubt a great minister, but not certainly greater than Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorī. Prof. Sherwani represents him as an innocent victim who fell a prey to the machinations of his political rivals; but he does not explain the cause which provoked their hostility and incited them to compass his ruin. Mahmūd was a foreigner, an immigrant from Persia, and he favoured foreigners especially his own countrymen; he introduced them into royal service and offered them rich and strategic places as apanages, so that they became a powerful force in the kingdom and a menace to its stability. This roused the jealousy of the Dakhnis, and in order to get rid of a dangerous and powerful rival, they plotted against him successfully.

The map of the Bahmani kingdom is quite faulty; the southern boundary of the kingdom never reached the Tungabhadra during the period under consideration. The Krishna-Tungabhadra doab was the bone of contention between the two kingdoms. True, the Bahmani Sultans occupied large portions of it during the periods of invasion; but they were as often driven out by the Rayas of Vijayanagar who re-established their authority over it. Towards the close of the rule of the Bahmani Sultans, Krishnadevaraya expelled the Muhammadans from the doab and annexed it to his empire. There is no justification for including it in the Bahmani kingdom. The work is not provided with an index; and the reader is left to his own devices for locating information on any given topic. Slips of grammar and idiom are common, and the style is enlivened by occasional malapropisms. The printing is bad, and no proper effort seems to have been made to read the proofs.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY, POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE Vol. 13, POONA AFFAIRS; *Elphinstone's Embassy* Part II (1816-1818) Edited by G. S. Sardesai and Printed at the Govt. Press, Bombay, in 1953; Pages XVI and 522". Price Rs. 22/7/-.

The Poona Residency correspondence series is already very well known as an authoritative source of information respecting the relations between the Marathas and the English in the 18th and 19th centuries. A wise choice of leading authorities, who have presented this information in a manner both scholarly and readable, and of a format attractive to the eye and easy on the hand, has built for this series a high reputation well deserved. In the new volume on *Elphinstone's Embassy* in Poona Affairs the same qualities are maintained.

Best known as the author of the multi-volume *Marathi Riyasat* and its English version—*the New History of the Maratha People* (3 vols.), the doyen of contemporary Indian historians, G. S. Sardesai has performed with characteristic excellence this labour of love, the editing of the second part of *Elphinstone's Embassy* (1816-1818). This is a collection of about 150 despatches from Poona Residency arranged under four convenient sections dealing with Triambakji Dingle, Treaty of Poona, 'Third Maratha War', and the Settlement after it. The lucid foreword (5 pages) by P. M. Joshi, the Director of Bombay Archives, deals with the relations of Peshwa Baji Rao II with the Company and explains briefly the plan of the publications to follow. The brilliant career of *Elphinstone*, forms the subject of a fine sketch by Jadu Nath Sarkar, the veteran General Editor of the series, in his introduction which, as is only to be expected, furnishes a model of clarity, brevity and precision. There is an index to the letters arranged in alphabetical order of the writers which makes for easy reference. There is also a summary indication of the contents of each letter prefixed to its text in the body of the book and a serviceable index at the end so that the reader finds all the facilities he is likely to need.

The main sections are as already indicated:-

1. Escape and insurrection of Trimbakji Dingle, 1816-17 (41)
2. Treaty of Poona and After, 1817 (24 despatches)
3. War with Peshwa and his pursuit, 1817-1818 (71 despatches)

4. Settlement of the Territory conquered from the Peshwa, 1818 (14 despatches)

The two last despatches (149 and 150) were written two years later (1820), after everything was settled, and addressed to the Home authorities by the Governor-General.

There are sometimes several enclosures to a letter and these are often more important than the covering letter, and the editor has done well to draw the reader's attention to this in every case.

The despatches in the volume are a veritable store house of historical information, throwing a welcome light on the diplomacy and political skill of *Elphinstone*, the Resident at Poona in those fateful days. As *Jadunath Sarkar* writes:

"It gives us a full inside view of the almost inevitable course of events which brought about the deposition of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II and the annexation of his dominions to the British Indian Empire. The steps which led to this momentous change in India's political destiny are here illustrated with a wealth of detail and a revelation of the secret plans and policy of the British authorities and the Maratha Courts, which make it a documentary record of equal interest and instruction to the serious student of Indian History."

The despatches serve a double purpose to the historian. On the one side, they exhibit the various forces that worked to bring about the disintegration of the Maratha State during the regime of the Peshwa Baji Rao II, the evil genius of the Marathas. The mean tricks, the intrigues and the plots which Baji Rao used in his attempt to expel the British authority from his province, are fully set forth. But Baji Rao was disappointed in the end and lost his status as well as his Empire, thanks to *Elphinstone's* remarkable ability in handling difficult and tricky situations.

This volume will serve also as a useful source for a well-documented and authentic biography of Mount Stuart *Elphinstone*, one of the best statesmen and administrators that Britain ever sent to India. In diplomatic manoeuvring, and administrative capacity, he was unrivalled and was far superior to his predecessors like Malet and Collins. He made his fortune first in 1795 as a Private Secretary to the Wellesley brothers, then by dint of sheer merit rose to the position of a Resident in 1804 and was in Nagpur for seven years. In 1811, he became the Resident at Poona and came into closer contact with the affairs of the Peshwa. As Resident at

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Ancient India*, 7, January, 1951, New Delhi.
 1. *Plant-remains from Harappa, 1946*, by K. A. Chowdhury and S. S. Ghosh.
 2. *Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the problem*, by B. B. Lal.
 3. *Rajgir 1950*, by A. Ghosh.
- II. *Aryan Path*, Vol. XXIV, November 1953, No. II, Bombay.
 1. *The Eastward Expansion of Aryan Culture*, by Chand Chhabra.
- III. *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XIII, 1952.
 1. *Decline of Buddhism in Bengal*, by Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar.
 2. *The Brahmanas—What Can They Teach Us*, by Dr. H. R. Karnik.
 3. *Saivism and Andhra Desa*, by Prof. K. Sitaramaiya.
 4. *Kashmir Saivism*, by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.
 5. *Vettakkorumakan, A Kerala Deity*, by Shri S. Venkitasubramania Iyer.
- IV. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, January and April 1953, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, Colombo.
 1. *Sociological Background of Early Sinhalese Paintings*, by Nandadeva Wijesekera.
 2. *Some Aspects of Early Sinhalese Architecture* by K. V. Soundararajan.
 3. *Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator*, by A. P. Buddhadatta Thera.
 4. *The Catholic Church in Ceylon from 1658 to 1687*, by Rev. Robrecht Boudens.
 5. *The Treaty of 1766 between the King of Kandy and the Dutch (2)*, by E. Reimers.

Poona, his most valuable service consisted in the annexation of Maratha State to the British without enraging the feelings of the Maratha people. His pre-eminence was recognised by the Governor-General who chose him as the ruler of the newly annexed Peshwa's dominions at first as commissioner and then elevated him to the Governorship of the greatly expanded Bombay Presidency.

The volume is on the whole very well produced and makes for comfortable reading. One hopes that the supplementary volume of some important records of the Second Maratha War omitted 'in the hurry of completing the work' as Dr. Joshi puts it will soon be forthcoming. The Government of Bombay have earned the gratitude of scholars by their liberal policy in the publication of their archives and they will doubtless be quick to respond to the demands made on them by the future programme indicated by their Director of Archives at the end of his Foreword.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BARODA THROUGH THE AGES BY BENDAPUDI SUBBA
RAO; University of Baroda, Baroda—1953. pp. XIV and 1-130.
Rs. 15.

This spectacularly titled volume mainly gives a summary of the results of an excavation carried out by the author in the Baroda City area for the year 1950-51. Apart from this important archaeological material, the book includes information mostly compiled from literary works and has been divided into three parts.

The first part (11 pages) includes

- (i) Introduction
- (ii) Baroda area—topography
- (iii) Previous work
- (iv) Aims and objects of the present work
- (v) A brief summary of the results.

Part two with its subdivisions and appendices contains the most relevant material, the description of the dig, the sections and the plates which form the core of the work and contribute to its real value. But the limitations of digging in a live city have imposed inevitable handicaps on the work.

Part three is purely compilatory and inclusion of such material along with original work leaves a bewildering impression on the

mind of the reader. Though this is perhaps meant for a popular appeal, the work would have been more compact and greater in value without it.

The Red Polished Ware (See p. 32 and Appendix I, p. 56) commonly occurs on most of the Andhra sites. At best, it is an imitation of Roman pottery, particularly the Samian. It is also true that types of this Red Polished Ware are often associated with "Graeco-Roman" moulded pottery figurines, which probably are also imitations, as evidenced by the Chandravalli site in Mysore. On the whole, their date would fit well with the early centuries of the Christian era, but precise dating would be possible only if these types of pottery are associated with either the Andhra or the Roman coins. It would have been useful if the author had given a map of distribution of this particular ware, particularly the sprinklers, over the Whole of India, besides Gujrat (Fig. 27 p. 63).

In the microlithic phase, the earliest culture of Baroda, it is significant that microlithic tools and flakes occurred in diminishing quantities in period II (Historical) (p. 19). They may be accidental as the author supposes, but evidences for the survival of microliths into the historical period are well known in India and that possibility should not be overlooked. Fig. 28 on microliths shows one of the greatest defects of Indian publications on stone age cultures and could have been made much neater.

On the whole, the book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of regional archaeology for which there is an unlimited scope in the sub-continent of India. A pottery corpus, on which the future of Indian Archaeology depends so much, can be accomplished, if more regional work in Archaeology is carried on by our universities, and the young university of Baroda must be congratulated on the production of this work.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

6. *The Events Leading to the Capitulation of 1796, A Re-statement*, by R. L. Brohier.
7. *The Sinhalese Caste-system of Central and Southern Ceylon*, by William H. Gilbert, Jr.

V. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, Part V, January 1950.

1. *The Kendupatna Plates of Narasimha II; Sets II and III*, by Dinesh Chandra Sircar.
2. *Two Sendraka Grants*, by G. H. Khare.
3. *Velicherla Grant of Prataparudra Gajapati, Saka 1432*, by Ramadas, G.
4. *Terundia Plate of Subhakara II*, by D. C. Sircar.
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7. *Madras Museum Plates of Anantasaktivarman; year 28*, by M. Venkatramayya.
8. *Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III; Saka 1151 and 1152*, by D. C. Sircar.

VI. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, Part VI, April 1950.

1. *Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III; Saka 1151 and 1152*, by D. C. Sircar.
2. *Russellkonda Plates of Nettabhanja*, by D. C. Sircar.
3. *Jabalpur Plates of Maharaja Hastin; G. E. 170*, by Raj Bali Pandey.
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6. *Mahada Plates of Somesvaradevavarman: Year 23*, by D. C. Sircar and Venkataramayya.

VII. *Indian Archives*, January to December 1952, Vol. VI, Number 1-2, New Delhi.

1. *The Madras Record Office*, by B. S. Baliga.

VIII. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, June, 1953.

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IX. *Indian Review, The*, Vol. 54, November 1953, No. 11, Madras.

1. *Indian Influences in Modern Times*, by Sir Sisirkumar Mitra.

X. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, April 1953, Hyderabad-Deccan.

1. *Al-Masudis Contribution to Medieval Arab Geography*, by Dr. S. Maqbul Ahmed.
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XI. *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. XVIII, September 1953, Annamalainagar.

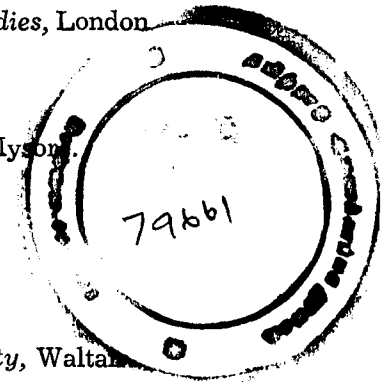
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2. *Kumara Kampana in the Tamil Country*, by Sri A. Krishnaswami Pillai.

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1. *Lakulisa Pasupatas and Their Temples in Medieval India*, by B. P. Majumdar.
 2. *A Newly Discovered Volume of Awadhi Works including Padmawat and Akhrawat of Malik Muhammad Jaisi*, by Prof. S. H. Askari.
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1. *Two New Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Chalukya Dynasty*, by Dr. H. G. Shastri.
- XIV. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. III, September 1953, No. 1.
1. *Contribution to a Buddhistic Bibliography—No. 3*, by Shri Sibadas Chaudhuri.
 2. *Position of the daughter in Ramayana Society*, by Dr. S. N. Vyas.
- XV. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1953, Vol. XXII (New Series), Part 1.
1. *Notes on Some Obscure Taxes of the Maratha Regime*, by B. R. Kulkarni.
- XVI. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1953, Vol. XXII, (New Series), Part 2.
1. *Historical Data from the Kṛṣṇacarita Ascribed to Samudra-Gupta*, by A. D. Pusalker.
- XVII. *Man in India*, Vol. 33, No. 3, July-September 1953.
1. *Prehistoric Researches in India*, by Dharani Sen.
 2. *The Kon-Tiki Expedition*, by Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

- XVIII. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, July 1952, Bangalore.
1. *Expansion of Satavahana Kingdom from Eastern Deccan*, by Y. V. Ramana Rao.
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 3. *Some Ancient Territorial Divisions—Sindavadi, 1,000* by K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XIX. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, No. 2, October 1952, Bangalore.
1. *Notes: Two Ancient Territorial Divisions* by K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XX. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, Nos. 3 & 4 January & April 1953.
1. *The Kodumbalur Chiefs and the Revival of the Colas* by K. V. Subramanya Aiyer.
 2. *Eastern Ganga Inscriptions in the Tamil Country*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
 3. *Srivilliputtur: History and Epigraphy*, by V. Srinivasan.
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 5. *A Coronation 4,000 years ago*, by Sell, F. R.
 6. *The Javantinathapuram Inscription of Varaguna Maharaja*, by M. Venkataramayya & K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XXI. *Tamil Culture*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4 September 1953.
1. *When the Dravidian South Led India*, by P. J. Thomas.
 2. *Sources for the Study of the History of Jaffna*, by S. Gnana Prakasar.
 3. *The Problem of Dravidian Origins*, by M. Arokiaswami.
- XXII. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 & 4, July-October 1953.
1. *The Cultural Background of the Veda*, by Professor R. N. Dandekar.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
7. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
8. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
9. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
11. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
12. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
13. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
14. *Indian Review*, Madras.
15. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
17. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
18. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
19. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
20. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
21. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
22. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
23. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
24. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
25. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
26. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
27. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
29. *University of Ceylon Review*.



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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
SIXTEENTH SESSION (1953), WALTAIR

The sixteenth session of the Indian History Congress will be held at Waltair under the auspices of the Andhra University. The session will commence on the 29th December and close on the 31st. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has kindly agreed to inaugurate it. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, the eminent Indologist, will preside over the proceedings. There will be five Sections representing different periods of Indian History and also a Section for Local History of the Andhra country.

The membership of the Congress is open to all interested in the study and research of Indian History. The annual membership fee of Rs. 10/- should be remitted to Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Treasurer, Indian History Congress, 2, College Square, Calcutta-12. The fees for Patron and Life Member are Rs. 500/- and Rs. 100/- respectively. Old members are requested to renew their membership unless they have already done so. It will be very much appreciated if they will kindly ask their friends, who are interested in the objects of this Association, to become members also.

Papers for the session should be sent without delay to the Secretary, Indian History Congress, 125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta-29. Each paper should be in *duplicate* accompanied by a short summary and should not exceed ten typed pages.

Members attending the session of the Indian History Congress enjoy special facilities from the Railways and travel at a concession rate. Free accommodation will be provided for them by the Reception Committee. They will be, however, required to contribute towards their messing expenses. Members attending the session will kindly intimate Professor Gurti Venkat Rao, M.A., LL.B., Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, Andhra University, Waltair, by the 28th November.

Excursions and sight-seeing arranged by the Reception Committee will include a visit to the famous Simhachalam temple about ten miles from Waltair. The programme will also include symposium on problems of Indian History and lantern lecture.

The undersigned will be obliged if you will kindly send your membership fee at an early date and intimate the Local Secretary about your accommodation and messing.

6th October, 1953.
125, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta-29.

P. C. GUPTA,
Secretary.