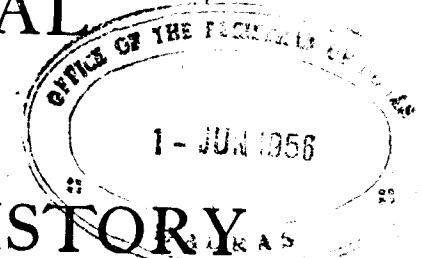


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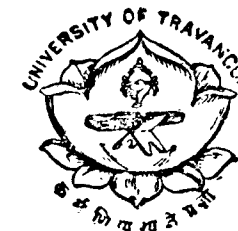
Vol. XXXIV, Part I

April 1956

Serial No. 100

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
SULTAN-QULI QUTBU'L-MULK, THE FIRST RULER OF MEDIEVAL TILANGANA—by Prof. H. K. Sherwani ..	1	GWALIOR SUCCESSION 1836-1843 —by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil. ..	59
FIRUZ TUGHLUQ AND ASOKAN PILARS—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	33	SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF RAJASTHAN AS REVEALED FROM THE BYAVA BAHU OF DASTRI RECORDS, JODHPUR—by Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. ..	67
INSCRIPTIONS OF FOREIGN SETTLERS IN INDIA—by Prof. D. B. Diskalkar ..	39	EARLY INDIAN ART EXPRESSION—by K. V. Soundara Rajan ..	75
KERALA AND KARNATAKA PLACENAMES—by T. K. Joseph ..	53	THE PRESIDENCY OF AGRA, 1834-1836—by Dr. Dharma Bhanu, M.A., Ph.D. ..	83
REVIEWS:—(1) The Purāna Index, Vol. II—by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; (2) Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 9, 1953 ..			101
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..			105
OUR EXCHANGES ..			109



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EARLY INDIAN ART EXPRESSION—by K. V. Soundara Rajan ..	75
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REVIEWS: (1) The Purāna Index, Vol. II—by V. R. Rama- chandra Dikshitar; (2) Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 9, 1953 ..	101
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..	105
OUR EXCHANGES ..	109

Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana

137

Part II

Qutbu'l-Mulk's Military Campaigns

BY

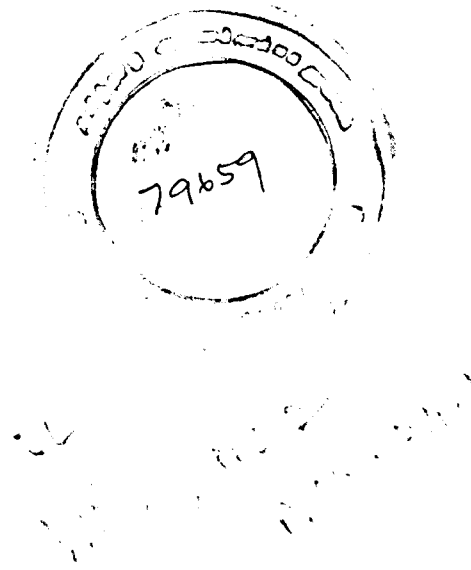
PROF. H. K. SHERWANI,
Hyderabad Deccan.

(Continued from J.I.H., December 1955, p. 287)

Orissa and Vijayanagar

The eastern coast-line was not long in the possession of the Orissan potentate, for with the accession of Krishna Dēva Rāya towards the end of 1509 the whole atmosphere was, in a way, electrified and the Vijayanagar arms came to be in the ascendent such as they had never been before him. The days of Orissan ascendancy were over with Purushotam's death, and the long reign of his successor Pratāp Rudra from 1497 to 1541 saw the precipitate decline of the Gajapatīs. The data regarding the progress of the eastern conquests of Krishna Dēva Rāya are meagre and at times contradictory, but the fact remains that when time came Qutbu'l-mulk had to reconquer the coastline bit by bit and sometimes after a fairly stiff resistance. It is said that Krishna's father had willed that the son should not rest till he had annexed the Rāichūr doab from the Bahmanīs and Udayagirī from Orissa.* He was wise enough to engage the Orissan army first as in case he had marched on the Rāichūr doab to begin with his eastern flank would have been left insecure. He therefore collected a large army and sent it to Udayagirī. But the resistance offered was extremely tough, and when the siege of the citadel was prolonged to more

* Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, in Sewell, p. 316, not 314 as in Banerji, I, 323.



than a year Krishna had to proceed to the beleaguered town himself, and the fort at last capitulated about July 1514.⁶⁴

Tilangānā and Vijayanagar

It is not certain whether Krishna marched to Konḍaviḍu with his army immediately after the battle of Udayagiri or returned to his capital while his army besieged the great fort of Konḍaviḍu.⁶⁵ However that may be, the commander of Konḍaviḍu, "the chief city of the Gajapati dominion south of the Krishna", laid down his arms after a siege of barely thirty-six hours, possibly after it

64. *Udayagiri*, headquarters of a taluqa in Nellore district, Andhra State; 14° 53' N., 79° 18' E. For the siege of Udayagiri see N. & V., I, 200-2. There seems to be some kind of contradiction between Nuniz's account given in *Sewell*, 316 and in the account given by our Telugu authorities such as *Vijayanagarasāmrajyam*, and N. & V. have tried to coordinate the two. The MSS *Rāyavāchakamu* referred to in *Sources*, 110, says that before subduing Udayagiri, Krishna reduced a fort called Hurmatti, but the compiler of the *Sources*, the late Dr. S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar, says on p. 114 that "there is no fort of that name near Udayagiri so far known". The date, 1514, in N. & V., 200; according to *Banerji*, 324, the fortress fell in 1513 "as an image of Bālakrishna captured at Udayagiri, was dedicated by him in 1514", but the argument hardly proves that the fortress fell in 1513.

65. There is a difference of opinion in the movements of Krishna Dēva Rāya after the fall of Udayagiri. We read in the *Sources*, 115, quoting *Rāyavāchakamu* that he marched to Konḍaviḍu himself, while N. & V. say on p. 203 that he returned to the capital; from there he is said to have "marched into the enemy territory and approached the town of Aḥmadnagar (Aḥmad-ābād-Bīdar)". In the battle which ensued he gained a complete victory and directed the fortifications which he destroyed. "He then ordered that castor seeds should be sown where fortifications stood" and then proceeded again to the eastern frontier of the kingdom; for this see *Sources*, 114-15. Now all this is most improbable. The first thing is that Bīdar was never called Aḥmadābād or Aḥmadnagar, but was renamed Muḥammadābād by Aḥmad I after his own son Muḥammad; for this see *Bahmanīs*, 184 and the note on p. 215; there is ample numismatic evidence to support this view. Moreover there is absolutely no mark of any razing of the fortifications at all and the old Bahmanī fortifications still stand intact. It seems that if the story is correct Aḥmadnagar may have been the name of any other minor fort (not, of course the capital of the Nizām-Shāhis) within the Bahmanī territory the walls of which may have been demolished by Krishna, but even that has still to be identified. It is interesting to note that the late S. K. Aiyangar, relying on *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam* says that the Rāya proceeded to "Aḥmadnagar" after the fall of Konḍaviḍu and the Kalinga war; *Sources*, 114.

had been stormed, on June 23, 1515.⁶⁶ The capture of Kondavidu was preceded by the subjugation of minor forts in the district such as Vinukunda, Bēlamkunda, Nāgarjunakunda and other forts in the vicinity and the devastation of the country round about at the hands of the Boya chiefs and three lakhs of Vijayanagar foot-soldiers.⁶⁷ This must have alienated the sympathies of the local population and perhaps made it easier for Quṭbu'l-mulk to reconquer the littoral later.

Krishna Dēva Rāya seems to have left his army in Andhra and returned to the capital in order to attend to urgent affairs of state. He was not at Vijayanagar for long but was again on the east coast supervising plans for further conquests at the expense of the Gajapati. It was not long before Vijayawada was captured and made the centre of operations. This town was within ten miles from the strong and lofty fort of Kondapalli, the erstwhile scene of the murder of the great Bahmani Wazir, Maḥmūd

66. N. & V., I, 204; *Sources*, 114. It is related that among those who were taken prisoners at Konḍaviḍu were Virabhadrayya, son of Pratāp Rudra of Orissa and two officers with Muslim surnames, Rāchūrī Mallū Kḥān and Uḍḍāṇḍā Kḥān; N. & V., I, 205, and Appendix, p. 230. We also read of Ajmal Kḥān and Bijli Kḥān in the service of the Gajapati, and this may well point to an alliance between the ruler of Orissa and Quṭbu'l-mulk referred to by S. K. Aiyangar in his article, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a long-forgotten Empire*, "Hindustan Review", 1917, p. 15. He also says that Krishna took Konḍaviḍu by storm himself. *Banerji*, 325, seems rather upset that Pratāp Rudra "had descended to the level of employing Musalman soldiers" in his campaign against Krishna Dēva Rāya. But we must remember that Muslim soldiers were likewise employed by Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler, Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagar, and even by Shivaji. The reason is simply that the wars waged were political in nature and the venom of purely sectarian communalism, as Professor Banerji knew it, had not raised its head.

67. N. & V., I, 203. *Banerji*, 325, agrees with S. K. Aiyangar (n. 65 above) that the subjugation of some of these forts followed the fall of Konḍaviḍu, but gives no references. *Vinukunda*, in the Gunṭūr district, Andhra State; 16° 3' N., 79° 44' E. *Bēlamkunda*, hill fort, Gunṭūr district, Andhra State; 16° 30' N., 80° E. *Nāgarjunakundā*, the village near Nāgarjuna Durga or fort, in the Pālnad taluqa of the Gunṭūr district, Andhra State; 16° 32' N., 79° 14' E. There is a good topographical account of the site and a short life history of the saint Nāgarjuna after whom the place is named in *Hyderabad Today* for September, 1955, in connection with the vast project to be known as the Nāgarjunakunda Sagar. The whole site, rich in historical remains going back to 2,000 years, will be submerged as the result of what is known as the Nāgarjunakunda Project.

Gawan.⁶⁸ It was garrisoned by a strong Orissan force under Prāharēśwar Pātra assisted by Bijlī Khān, Bodayanna Mahāpātrā and other high officials. On hearing that Krishna Rāya was himself besieging the fort, Pratāp Rudra Gajapatī marched on to the river Krishna. A great and sanguinary battle was fought on the banks of the river resulting in the complete success of the Vijayanagar forces. After putting Pratāp Rudra to flight Krishna Rāya continued the siege of the great fort which was subdued with some difficulty two months later.⁶⁹

As has been noted above, the political geography of Tilangāna had changed considerably since the death of Maḥmūd Gāwān. While the Andhra coast line had been annexed to the Gajapatī dominions the tract round about Warangal was occupied by small chieftains the most powerful of whom was one Sitādu or Sitāpati who is known in history as Shitāb Khān.⁷⁰ He seems to have taken Warangal on January 21, 1504 and held sway over a number of forts such as Khammamet, Dēvarkunda and Nalgunda. For the time being Shitāb Khān seems to have been overpowered and Krishna Rāya is shown in possession not only of these fortresses and of Warangal but also of certain places within the province over which Quṭbu'l-mulk held sway.⁷¹ Thinking that

68. For this see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, 168 ff.; *Bahmanis*, 333 ff. Dr. Srinivāsachār thinks that by Konḍāpallī is really meant Nekonḍāpallī in the Khammamēt Taluqa where he has found and edited an inscription dated May 4, 1516, now lying in the compound of a local library, which he considers an evidence of the conquest of the region by Krishna Dēva Rāya. But this does not preclude the possibility of the conquest of the lofty fort of Konḍāpallī without which it would not have been possible to keep the region under control.

Vijayanagar, in the Hospeṭ taluqa of the Bellary district, Andhra State; 15° 20' N., 76° 29' E.

Nēkonḍāpallī or *Nialēkonḍāpallī* in the Khammamēt taluqa of the district of that name, Hyderabad State; 17° 7' N., 80° 3' E.

69. N. & V., I, 206; here a series of epigraphs have been quoted in which Krishna's return to Vijayanagar is traced step by step till he reached the capital on a date before 19-12-1517 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, henceforward E.C., xii, pg. 4). Banerji, 329, has, I believe, wrongly computed the fall of Konḍāpallī in 1519.

70. For Shitāb Khān's identity, see n. 62 above.

71. Shitāb Khān's name is not mentioned in connection with Krishna Dēva Rāya's conquests, but we know from other sources that quite a number of forts conquered by Krishna belonged to him; see N. & V., 203, where the learned authors doubt whether Krishna was ever in possession

his left flank was secure, Krishna Rāya took possession of Rāja-mandri and marched right into the home territory of Orissa. But his way was barred by Shitāb Khān, (who seems to have fled to Orissa before him) at the hill south of Potnur. Shitāb Khān had sixty thousand warriors under him, but in the end Krishna's strategy and prowess held the field and Shitāb Khān had to fly leaving the road clear for the Vijayanagari troops.⁷² It is said that Krishna Rāya continued his triumphal march to Cuttack which was burned, and the expedition ended in his marriage to Princess Mohini of Orissa (also called Princess Tikka) and the annexation of the whole of the Andhra country south of the Krishna to the Vijayanagar empire.⁷³

Quṭbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangānā; First Phase

It may safely be asserted that so long as Krishna Dēva Rāya lived Quṭbu'l-mulk did not take any practical steps to recover the Tilangānā territory which has been lost during the regime of the weak rulers of the Bahmanī dynasty or their selfish advisers after Maḥmūd Gāwān's death. The political acumen of Krishna Rāya coupled with his strategic ability and his singleness of purpose must have kept Sultān-Qulī back. Krishna's death about the end of 1529 and the civil commotion at the capital by his preference for his half brother Achyuta at the expense of his eighteen month-

of Warangal as stated in the *Kaifiyat* of Anumakonda or Hanamkunda which is now a suburb of Warangal.

Khammamēt or *Khammam*, headquarters of a district, Hyderabad State; 17° 08' N., 80° 15' E.

Hanamkunda, a suburb of Warangal, headquarters of a district, Hyderabad State, 18° 01' N., 70° 34' E.

Nalgundā, headquarters of the district of that name, Hyderabad State; 17° 03' N., 79° 16' E.

72. N. & V., 209, quoting *Rayavācakamu*. Banerji, 326, doubts the occupation of Cuttack "as there is no epigraphical corroboration of the statement", and N. & V. doubt the burning of the city although they are satisfied that the city was reached, and apart from *Rāyavācakamu* they have quoted (on p. 204) an inscription at Komnūr in the Gunṭur district which mentions Krishna's conquests "as far as Katakam".

Rajahmundry, headquarters of the East Godavari district, Andhra State; 17° N., 81° 47' E.

73. *Sources*, 15; Aiyangar, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long-forgotten Empire*, 15; N. & V., I, 211.

Cuttack, now capital of Orissa State, 20° 29' N., 85° 52' E.

old son changed the whole situation.⁷⁴ Pratāp Rudra Gajapatī lost no time to invade the territory beyond the Krishna,⁷⁵ and quite a number of local potentates asserted their independence.⁷⁶ Great diplomat as he was, Quṭbu'l-mulk bided his time and allowed the southern kingdom to let itself weaken further before he invaded the lost territory. This invasion took place definitely before the death of Ismā'il 'Adil on 6-9-1534, and although no definite date has been mentioned we may put it down to 1530 or 1531.⁷⁷

74. N. & V., I, 233.

75. Pratāp Rudra's invasion is referred from certain verses of Allasani Peddanna, the court poet of Vijayanagar in which he showers rebuke on the Gajapati who had invaded his motherland, and it is on the moral impact of these verses that the Gajapati returns home; *Sources*, 153. Banerji, 333, disbelieves the whole story. We have another rather quaint story of Achyūta Rāya being seated on his jewelled throne surrounded by kings of Utkala (Orissa), Yavana (of Muslim faith) and Andhra". *Tārakabrahmarājīyam*, N. & V., III, 168. This shows the length to which local chronicles could go. It is possible that there was an invasion from Orissa after Krishna's death, and it is also possible that it was warded off; the rest seems to be an accretion.

76. This is very important, as when we come to Quṭbu'l-mulk's campaigns it is primarily the local chiefs who bar his way. We come across the names of the loyalist Gani Timma who fought many a battle for his overlord, the Rāya of Vijayanagar, and was granted the title of 'the Lord of Manne chiefs' by him, of Sānta Liṅga, head of the Vikshvrtti Maṭha at Srisailla, Kurnūl district, 16° 4' N., 78° 52' E. of the chief of Tondamarayagulla, the federation of the Andhra chiefs, the chiefs Chāya, and many others all of whom, except Timma, were asserting their independence; see *Velugōti-vārivamsāvali*, edited by Dr. Venkatramanayya (henceforward *Velugōt.*) Introduction, 45 & 46 and N. & V., III, 169, for Timma's exploits; on pp. 171-173 there is a list of 43 local chieftains who formed a federation to oppose the might of Vijayanagar.

77. Banerji, I, 330, says that Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti was "perfectly correct in dating the Musalman invasion from Golkonda in 1522", and refers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 185, for Mr. Chakravarti's views. Mr. Chakravarti's article in the said journal deals with an inscription of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa from Gomathipura, which now form a part of the district of Cuttack, and incidentally deals with "the last Hindu kings of Orissa". The only reference to 1522 (32nd Anka of Madala Panji or Chronicles of the temple of Jagannāth), is to *Ferishta*, Elphinstone's *History of India*, Appendix, p. 76 and Hunter's *History of Orissa*, Appendix viii, p. 193. Neither *Ferishta* nor Elphinstone have the date 1522 as the year when Quṭbu'l-mulk invaded the Orissa territory for the first time. It is possible that Professor Banerji got his data from Madala Panji itself, but unfortunately I have not been able to have recourse to it, and in any case the data has to be examined before any opinion can be formed.

It, however, appears that Quṭbu'l-mulk had to face a very tough fight, and the earliest venture by the Golkunda army seems to have been unsuccessful. The chief Velugoti Timma lord of Gani is said to have "destroyed a contingent of the Muslim infantry when they attempted to cross the frontier and enter the Vijayanagar territory, defeated the forces of Bhairava (Bahrām) Khān at Rompicerla, vanquished Khān-i-Khānān and Hayāt Khān and captured the insignia of their office."⁷⁸ This was evidently merely a reconnaissance of the actual military position, and once Quṭbu'l-mulk had taken account of the strength of the enemy he prepared a full-dress attack and engaged the enemy forces at Rāj-kunda some months later and thus launched a series of campaigns which resulted in his reaching the natural limits of Tilangānā and annexing "the territory from the confines of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rajahmundry...and the annexation of sixty or seventy forts."⁷⁹

Judging from the data at my disposal I feel that the year 1531 or 1532 fits in very well, for enough time had elapsed from Krishna Dēva Rāya's death for local chiefs to assert their independence and the Gajapati ruler to feel strong enough to reclaim what he thought were his lost provinces. Of course neither the one nor the other had counted on the strategic acumen of the ruler of Golkunda. 1532 is a year which lies midway between the death of Krishna Dēva Rāya on the one hand and the death of Ismā'il 'Adil on the other, and fits in well as the four or five campaigns of Quṭbu'l-mulk ending in the failure on the part of Ismā'il 'Adil to take Kovilkunda must have taken nearly two years. My surmise is fully corroborated by Q.S., 84, where it is clearly stated that the Golkunda army had been fighting continuously for two years at the time of the siege of Kovilkunda by the ruler of Bijāpūr.

78. *Velugōt.*, Introd., 45-46; N. & V., I, 233. There is no date attached to Timma's exploits but Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that they took place in the first year of Achyūta's reign, while the attack on Konḍāviḍu should be assigned to 1530. The later date is, however, only a conjecture as it is not mentioned in Briggs, III, 374-75 to which reference is made in *Velugōt.*, 47, n. 80 and N. & V., I, 233, n. If we refer to Briggs we would find that Konḍāviḍu ('Condbear') was attacked twice, and Briggs mentions the first attack on pp. 366-67 and the second on pp. 374-75. Gani Timma's exploits are so varied and so spread out that they must have taken more than a few months, and it is for this as well as other reasons mentioned in n. 77 above and for the need for a psychological moment for the launching of the attack by Quṭbu'l-mulk that I feel that one or two years must have elapsed after Krishna's death before he sent a full dress army to Andhra. See also n. 77.

79. This is a gist of Quṭbu'l-mulk's own words quoted in Q.S., 51 (Briggs, III, 352), from Mulla Husain al-Tiblisī's book the *Marḡhūbu'l-Qulūb*, a work which was completed towards the end of Quṭbu'l-mulk's reign but

Quṭbu'l-mulk was careful enough to strengthen the ramparts of the Golkunda fort, which was renamed Muḥammadnagar, and then marched on to Rājikunda as the chief of the place, Venkaṭa Nāyak seems to have made inroads into the Golkunda territory. The fort was closely besieged, but the garrison defended it bravely, and it was with difficulty that the Golkunda forces were able to capture it. Quṭbu'l-mulk did not continue the fight against local chiefs for the time being but, perhaps in order to take count of the toughness of the opposition he had encountered, returned to the capital. After reorganising his forces he advanced to the great fort of Dēvarkunda, the ramparts of which were "high like the very Pleiades." Dēvarkunda, is situated in a naturally hilly country and the fort is surrounded by seven hills, being thus stronger and more prominent than many other forts in the neighbourhood. The result was that, although the defenders did not have recourse to any outside help, they kept on for a considerable length of time. The conquest of Dēvarkunda meant a signal success for Quṭbu'l-mulk, for "all the Rāyas, Chaudhrīs and Sardārs" of the country round about brought costly presents and paid homage to him.⁸⁰

When the news of the fall of Dēvarkunda reached Vijayanagar, Achyūta Rāya and his ministers were touched to the quick.⁸¹ The Rāya immediately ordered the mobilization of his forces and himself marched north-eastward with thirty thousand horses and three lakhs of foot-soldiers, and as he crossed the border he began to lay waste Tilangānā. Quṭbu'l-mulk, on the other hand, could muster only five thousand horses and thirty

which, unfortunately, is lost. From the actual campaigns detailed in Q.S. one does not find that he annexed Rājamundri and Masulipatam, but there is no doubt that he regained complete control of the country as far as the Godavari delta.

Masulipatam or Machhlibandar, headquarters of the Krishna district, Andhra State; 16° 11' N., 81° 8' E.

80. For Rajkunda, see Sreenivas, *Rajkunda and its Remains*, Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society (henceforward J.H.A.S.), July 1916, pp. 166-79. *Seven hills*; *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State* 1909, p. 152, where the date of the siege, 1513, is wrongly given.

81. The name of the Rāya of Vijayanagar given in Q.S. is 'Krishna Rāi', but this seems to be the generic name adopted by our Persian authorities for every occupant of the throne of Vijayanagar right up to the end of the independence of that state. Achyūta had succeeded Krishna towards the end of 1529.

thousand infantry, and with these meagre numbers proceeded to Panagal near the Krishna where Achyūta had concentrated his vast army.⁸² It is related that, perhaps not knowing the strength or weakness of the Golkunda forces, the army of Vijayanagar took to its heels on its mere approach. But they soon gathered again. The battle which ensued was evidently long and wearisome. Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered that fifteen hundred horses should be kept in reserve hidden from the enemy, and when opportunity offered itself, to engage and tilt the scales in favour of Golkunda. Even with his odd three score and more years he put himself right in the centre of his army. The battle raged the whole day, and when Quṭbu'l-mulk thought that odds were against him and the fight might end in his defeat he prostrated before the Almighty God and ordered that it was time that his reserve of fifteen hundred should engage the enemy. As these were all fresh soldiers they turned the scales and Achyūta's army was defeated and put to flight leaving a vast amount of booty on the battlefield. But that was not the end of the fight, for the garrison remained obdurate and resisted Quṭbu'l-mulk's charges for nearly two months. There were sorties after sorties but they were all turned back. At last the commandant of the fort, who happened to belong to the royal family of Vijayanagar, realised that it was impossible to resist any further as there was no hope of any help from the capital and conditions of famine had already appeared. He therefore offered allegiance to Quṭbu'l-mulk provided he was pardoned and allowed to proceed home with honour. These conditions were accepted and the fort of Panagal became a part of Quṭbu'l-mulk's dominion.

It was a great day for Quṭbu'l-mulk who was much heartened by his victory especially as the army at his disposal was much smaller than the army which he had to oppose. He now sent a message to the *qil'āhdār* of Ghanpurā to lay down his arms, but "answered this message by the discharge of his artillery followed by a sally from the hills which descended into the

82. Panagal, a few miles north of the Krishna, now in the Maḥbūbnagar district Hyderabad State; 16° 34' N., 78° 8' E; it is, of course different to Panagal in the Nalgunda district. See also Sewell, 133. Dr. Sreenivasachar, R.H.A.D., 1934-35, in his article entitled *Nelakondapalli Inscription of Kṛṣṇa-Dēva-Rāya*, is obviously wrong in ascribing the account given in Briggs, III, 339 ff., to Fer., for, as Briggs himself says, it contains only the epitomised translation of the *History of the Kings of Golconda* entitled *Kootb Shahy*.

plains." The result was, of course foregone, and the fort was immediately besieged by the Golkunda army. The siege had, however, to be prolonged for fully two months and Quṭbu'l-mulk lost many of his brave officers and men. The fort is situated on a hill, "and the only road leading up to it runs along a narrow footpath with high precipices on either side. This passage was blocked up with stones and stockade and there were two bastions guarding it." Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered that the bastions should be destroyed first. When this had been done he led the storming party himself and was successful in carrying the fort, though not without a heavy loss. From Ghanpurā he proceeded to Kovilkunda "which was bravely defended" and it was only when there was no hope of any help coming from Vijayanagar that the Nāyak commanding the fortress at last capitulated. "The garrison was thereupon permitted to march out with all their private property, while the contents of the public treasury, which was represented to be extremely rich....were distributed among the soldiers."⁸³

This ended the first phase of the Tilangānā campaign, which resulted in the conquest of the territory to the south of Golkunda, guarded by the great forts of Rājikunda and Dēvarkunda in the north and north-west, Panagal in the south and Ghanpurā in the west, and "by the annexation of this territory Sulṭān-Qulī became the immediate neighbour both of Vijayanagar and Bijapur."⁸³

Quṭbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangānā: Second Phase

On achieving his immediate objective after a protracted campaign Quṭbu'l-mulk returned to his capital, Muḥammadnagar-Gōlkunda for a well-earned rest. But this he was not destined to have. For soon after his back was turned Qiwāmu'l-mulk Turk, one of the old Bahmani nobles, who had already taken possession of Elgaṇḍal and Malangūr, collected a fairly large army and began to lay waste certain portions of Tilangānā. Quṭbu'l-mulk sent word to him to desist from giving offence as they were once good friends, but these protests fell upon dead ears and he had to march to Elgaṇḍal. The battle raged outside the walls of the fort till midday, when, realising that it was impossible to resist

83. Quotation from *R.H.A.D.*, 1934-35, p. 41. War with Vijayanagar, *Q.S.*, 57-63; Briggs, III, 357-58; this meant the conquest of the whole territory now forming the district of Maḥbūbnagar.

Ghanpura, Maḥbūbnagar district, Hyderabad State; 16° 34' N., 78° 8' E. •

SULṬĀN-QULĪ, RULER OF MEDIEVAL TILANGĀNĀ 11

a strong enemy like Quṭbu'l-mulk, Qiwāmu'l-mulk betook himself to the fort. But even there he felt unsafe and surreptitiously fled to Berar to seek protection from Darya 'Imādu'l-mulk who was ruling there. Both Elgaṇḍal and Malangur were now clear and Quṭbu'l-mulk appointed his own officers to take over charge of them.⁸⁴

It was the habit of Quṭbu'l-mulk to make a peaceful approach to a possible opponent first and to begin operations against him only on the receipt of an unfavourable reply from him. When Qiwāmu'l-mulk took refuge in Berar he sent word to Daryā that a rebel like Qiwām should be expelled from his territory. Moreover it was brought to the ruler of Berar that the district of Haft Ṭappa, which was included in the royal domain of the late Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani, had been granted to Quṭbu'l-mulk as a part of his fief but had been wrongly occupied by the officers of Berar, and it was time that it should be handed over to Tilangānā officers. Instead of treating the Golkunda envoy well according to current international usage Daryā scolded him and gave a most indignant reply. On hearing of the insult Quṭbu'l-mulk marched northwards and met the Berārī forces at Ramgīr. He adopted his usual strategy of placing a small force, in this case of 2,000 cavalry, in reserve, and just when the two forces were balanced and there was a danger of the Golkunda army being defeated this reserve was called in and effectually turned the scales, the day ending in Quṭbu'l-mulk's victory. Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk fled to Berār and Quṭbu'l-mulk returned to Gōlkunda after taking possession of Haft Ṭappa.

Quṭbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangānā: Third Phase

It was about this time that Quṭbu'l-mulk was informed that Sitāpatī *alias* Shitāb Khān, who seems to have taken possession of Warangal on January 21, 1504,⁸⁵ and who had extended his

84. *Q.S.*, 64-67. The ruler referred to is 'Imadu'l-mulk of Berar. As we have already stepped on the thirties of the 16th century this ruler must have been Darya who ruled from 1529 to 1572.

Malangūr, in the Karīmnnagar district, Hyderabad State; 18° 18' N., 79° 20' E. Elgaṇḍal, in the Karīmnnagar district, Hyderabad State; 18° 25' N., 79° 3' E.

Rāmgiṛ, a village and fort in the Karīmnnagar district, Hyderabad State; the fort is situated on an eminence 7,764 ft. in height; 18° 35' N., 79° 32' E.

85. For Shitāb Khān, see note 62 above.

authority to Khammamēt and Bēlamkundā, was laying waste even those tracts of Tilangānā which he had under his immediate control, and had recruited twelve thousand men to his service. For Quṭbu'l-mulk Shitāb Khān was a usurper, and now that he was the virtual overlord of Tilangānā he considered him to be a rebel. He therefore remobilised his forces and proceeded to Bēlamkundā which he besieged. But it was soon evident that it was not an easy matter to take such a strong fortress and the siege had to be prolonged. When the defending garrison was weakened by famine and decimated by fighting Quṭbu'l-mulk decided to take it by escalade and assault, and old as he was in years, he led the assault himself and was successful in capturing the fort.⁸⁶

When Shitāb Khān learned of the fall of Bēlamkundā he recruited more soldiers and marched to the place where Quṭbu'l-mulk was reported to be. The two armies were brought face to face, and although Shitāb Khān copied the Golkunda strategy of keeping 2,000 gunners in reserve he was not successful and had to fly for his life leaving much booty and treasure which fell to the soldiers in the army of Golkunda. It is, however, rather surprising that instead of following up the victory and sending Shitāb Khān to the wall at once Quṭbu'l-mulk should have returned to Golkunda and given his opponent enough opportunity to do further mischief. Shitāb Khān had still the great fort of Warangal in his possession, and now he sent urgent messages to the chiefs of Kondāpalli, Indrakunda, Ārāpalli and Eṭgīr giving them information of Quṭbu'l-mulk's might and his organizing power and telling them that if they did not all join hands they would be swept away by the Golkunda armies. The response was immediate and it is reported that the forces concentrated at Khammamēt was so large that the country round "was full of Hindu soldiers which defied all count."⁸⁷ Shitāb Khān's own

86. Q.S., 68; Briggs, III, 361. N. & V., I, 207, think that the territory was probably conquered by Shitāb Khān from the Bahmanīs with Orrisan aid; but as has been mentioned previously it was the loss of effective sovereignty by the Bahmanī centre which led to the independence of local chiefs of whom Sitāpatī was one. It was therefore most probably through his own ability that he extended his control over a large slice of Tilangānā. Also see n. 76 above.

87. Q.S., 70. Dr. Sreenivāsachār, in *R.H.A.D.*, 1934-35, p. 42, says that probably Shitāb Khān appealed to the Gajapatī of Orissa also and help might have come from that quarter as well.

army consisted of thousands of gunmen, many elephants and masses of infantry, and these were all concentrated at Khammamēt. The two opposing forces met outside the town and a ferocious battle ensued. Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered an enveloping movement both on the right and left of the enemy. Once a breach in Shitāb Khān's line was made the huge army under his command was routed and Eṭgīr, Indrakundā and Nekondāpalli fell into Quṭbu'l-mulk's hands.

But Khammamēt fort was still occupied by Shitāb Khān's men and this was reputed to be "impregnable even to artillery fire."⁸⁸ Quṭbu'l-mulk now sent his usual message to the commandant of the fort and told him that his chief Shitāb Khān and his confederates had already been defeated and it was better for the garrison not to shed any human blood but to lay down their arms. But this was of no avail. Fighting began and the forces were so balanced that that it went on for days resulting in the loss of many distinguished officers and hundreds of men on both sides. The intrepid Quṭbu'l-mulk now ordered a general assault which he led in person as on many previous occasions; walls were scaled and the fort was at last captured after a severe hand to hand fighting. The fall of Khammamēt meant the acquisition of immense booty on the part of Quṭbu'l-mulk as the place had been the main treasury of the enemy for years, and all this fell now into his hands.

Shitāb Khān now betook himself to Rāmchandra son of the Raja of Orissa who held his court at Kondāpalli and who was "king of the land on the seacoast of Tilangānā and Orissa as far as the confines of Bengal."⁸⁹ Shitāb Khān informed him that practically the whole of Tilangānā had passed into Quṭbu'l-mulk's hands and if he was not forced back then the kingdom of the

88. Q.S., 71.

Eṭgīr, modern Yādḡīr, headquarters of a taluqa in Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State, 16° 46' N., 77° 9' E.

89. Briggs, III, 362; Q.S., 73. The copy of Q.S., in Salar Jang Library, Hyderabad, 37 mss. *Tarikh*, fol. 74 b, is perfectly clear that Rāmchandra was the son of the Rāja of Orissa and perhaps Viceroy of Tilangānā with his capital at Kondāpalli. Pratap Rudra had a number of sons but all of them are said to have been murdered after his death, and the nicknames of only two of them, Kalua Dēva and Kakharu Dēva, are known; Banerji, I, 337. Q.S., 73, 77, seems to have mixed up the father and the son. Qadri, 249, says that Rāmchandra Deo was "one of the rājas of Sikakol and Rājamandri".

Gajapatis would be in a grave danger of being extinguished altogether. Pratāp Rudra now ordered that the whole of the Orissan army should be mobilised, and nearly three lakhs of infantry and thirty thousand horse were collected in no time. Rāmchandar, Shitāb Khān, Vidyādhara,⁹⁰ Harichand and other leaders of Orissa swore to fight to the last against the aggressor. On the other hand Qutbu'l-mulk also collected his forces, but it is said that he had only five thousand horse under his command. The two armies met on the bank of the river near Palankchipūr. The night was spent in reconnaissance on both sides. The next morning Rāmchandra began the attack with ten thousand horse, a hundred thousand foot soldiers and three hundred elephants on his right flank, while Harichand and Shitāb Khān were placed on the left flank with the same number of troops. In either case the elephants had archers sitting on their backs or were supported by archers and carabineers on foot.

The forces under Qutbu'l-mulk's command were meagre compared to these masses of well-equipped men. He put his son Prince Haidar Khān on his right and Fathī Khān on his left with just one thousand five hundred horse each, while he commanded the centre with two thousand horse. According to his habit he first prostrated before the Almighty to give victory to his arms and then advanced against Rāmchandra's forces. It is strange that with such a small army it was Qutbu'l-mulk who won the day, and the result can only be attributed to greater discipline and singleness of purpose on the part of the army of Golkunda.

90. Vidyādhara, who took part in the great battle, was probably Gōvinda Vidyādhara who eventually usurped the throne of Orissa in 1541. He belonged to the same Bhoī caste as Shitāb Khān; *Banerji*, I, 337. His participation in the battle of Palankchipūr nearly fixes its date, for it must have occurred in any case before 1541. *Briggs*, III, 363, calls the scene of the battle "at the river near Palukchipoor". It may be mentioned that *Banerji* does not refer to this battle at all. In fact he closes the episodes connected with Pratāp Rudra's reign with his treaty with Krishna Dēva Rāya in 1516 resulting in his marriage with the princess of Orissa and the cession of the part of the Orissan empire south of the Godāvari, with the remark that it was not possible to determine what happened after that. He considers the accounts of "Vijayanagara panegyrist" who describe "another invasion of Vijayanagara Empire" as "incredible"; *Banerji*, I, 323-34. But we have quite a detailed account of Pratāp Rudra's alliance with Shitāb Khān and the defeat of his army at the hands of Qutbu'l-mulk which cannot be brushed aside so lightly.

Qutbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangana; Fourth Phase

The last step in reaching of Qutbu'l-mulk's objective was consequent on the occupation of certain towns and forts of Tilangana by Achyūta Rāya of Vijayanagar when Qutbu'l-mulk was away fighting Shitāb Khān and others. But he was not long in the possession of this territory, for when the ruler of Golkunda was back the Rāya had to retrace his steps. Diplomat and strategist as he was, he now desired to make Tilangana safe for himself by ousting Achyūta from the whole of Tilangana territory in the east. Konḍaviḍu was still occupied by Vijayanagar, and Qutbu'l-mulk now ordered the movement of the troops towards that fort. But what Qutbu'l-mulk wanted was to envelop the citadel from all sides, and he ordered the investment of Bēlamkunḍa and Konḍāpalli, the Nayaks of which had rebelled against his authority. The jungle all round was soon cut down in order to facilitate the movement of troops. In spite of stubborn resistance on the part of the garrison Bēlamkunḍa was taken by a general assault and Suhail Khān was appointed its commander. He now sent Prince Haidar Khān to Konḍāpalli while he himself moved towards Konḍaviḍu. In the meantime, however, Achyūta had sent his own nephew with fifty thousand troops to engage the Golkunda army before the walls of the fort. The commander, now had recourse to a ruse. He gave out that he would lay down his arms within three days, but at the same he sent secret word to Qutbu'l-mulk informing him of the straits in which he was placed. On receiving this news Qutbu'l-mulk advanced to Bēlamkunḍa with a large army and forced the Vijayanagari army to raise the siege and leave sixty elephant load of spoils behind.

The battle of Palankchipūr proved to be one of the most decisive battles of the whole campaign. Apart from four lakhs of runs and uncountable gold and silver jewellery and other costly articles, practically the whole of the Tilangānā coastline fell into Qutbu'l-mulk's hands. Fethī Khān was now sent with reinforcements to Konḍāpalli which was subdued and put in charge of Khurshīd Khān, and Qutbu'l-mulk was able to subdue the Godāvari-Krishna doāb as far as Ellore in the centre and Rajahmundry in the north. Qutbu'l-mulk found that the rump of the army of the enemy had been collected again and was encamped on the northern bank of the river; but it was not long before Fethī Khān again defeated them and they had to fly north.

When news was brought to the Gajapati capital the Raja consulted his advisers with regard to the policy which should be pursued.⁹¹ He was told that Quṭbu'l-mulk had a great and a valiant army at his command and it would be most difficult to oppose him with any possibility of victory. His council therefore advised him to make peace with the ruler of Golkunda. Envoys were sent with a message to Quṭbu'l-mulk with profuse apologies for the conduct of Orissa in the past, and a treaty was entered into between the parties under which the Godāvari was fixed as the frontier between the two states.⁹²

Quṭbu'l-mulk now moved on to Konḍāviḍu. After a heavy bombardment the fort was re-taken and the keys of the citadel were surrendered. It was agreed that the chief, who seems to have revolted from the Golkunda authority, should pay a tribute of three lakhs of huns every year and in lieu of this be left in possession of the fort.⁹³ Achyūta was at Chandragiri when he heard of the defeat of his ally at Konḍāviḍu, and fearing that Quṭbu'l-mulk might well march on his own capital as his next move, he sent his son-in-law, Basava Rāja with one lakh infantry and twenty thousand horse to recover the fortress, and himself followed him. Evidently the forces now besieging the citadel were far too strong for Quṭbu'l-mulk, and he was now advised not to risk a battle at the walls of the fort but to retreat to a more favourable place in the open. Acting on the 'scorched earth' policy he now destroyed all the useful buildings of the fort, burnt its

91. There is much obscurity with regard to the names of Pratāp Rudra's successor at Cuttack. Q.S., 77 calls him Vasnad Deo, while Briggs, III, 364, has "Vusnad (properly Veija Nat) Dew", but quotes no authority for the corrected form. As has been related above (n. 89) Banerji does not throw much light on the line of the Gajapatīs between Pratāp Rudra's death and Govinda Vidyādhara's usurpation. This "Vasnad Deo" may be one of the *rois faibles* of the intervening period.

92. This was practically the same frontier as agreed to between Krishna Dēva Rāja and Pratāp Rudra some years previously; see above, section "Tilangānā and Vijayanagar"; thus Quṭbu'l-mulk had replaced the Rāja of Vijayanagar as the overlord of Tilangānā.

93. Q.S., 79-81, 101. Konḍāpalli had already opened its gates for Quṭbu'l-mulk in the campaign against Shitāb Khān, and either the citadel had slipped away in the meantime or else this was Nekonḍāpalli near Khammamēt, the garrison of which might not have been able to hold on owing to Quṭbu'l-mulk's enveloping movement.

gates and retreated to the banks of the Godāvari where he faced the enemy in full force.⁹⁴

The battle of the Godāvari was one of the most contested of the whole campaign. Hand to hand fighting between the opposing forces raged from morning till noon, and when both sides were equally fatigued and decimated, and therefore equally matched, Quṭbu'l-mulk appeared as if from nowhere at the head of fresh two thousand picked troops which he had, as usual kept in reserve, and thus entirely turned the scales in his favour. The enemy had therefore to retreat to Konḍāviḍu hotly pursued by Quṭbu'l-mulk. The Vijayanagaris were forced to sue for peace and history repeated itself by Achyūta agreeing to pay three lakhs of huns annually to Golkunda, while another two lakhs in cash as well as costly articles were presented to Sultān-Quli.⁹⁵ The recapture of Konḍāviḍu and the outcome of the battle of the Godāvari had a benumbing effect on the defenders of Konḍāpalli which had been besieged by Prince Haidar Khān for many months. The defenders thought that as there was no prospect of any help arriving from Vijayanagar it was futile to continue resistance any longer. They therefore requested the Prince to intercede with his father for the life and honour of those who had been fighting, and on being assured of his good offices by him they at last presented the keys of the fortress to him. Quṭbu'l-mulk now entirely pardoned them, but exchanged the defending Nāyaks with the Nāyaks of Ghanpurā which was already in his possession.⁹⁶

Quṭbu'l-mulk and Ismā'īl 'Adil

This was the time when the Bahmani succession states were on a constant and continuous war path against each other, and if there was one who was not taking part in these internecine feuds it was Sultān-Quli Quṭbu'l-mulk. It seems that the Vijayanagar troops who returned to the capital after their arduous campaigning in the east related the story of the might of Golkunda and the

94. Q.S., 82; *Velugōt*, Introduction, 47, referring to *Local Records*, IV, pp. 273-77. Briggs., III, 367, has 8,000 horses, but Q.S., 81, clearly says that Basava had 20,000 cavalry under his command.

95. 300,000 huns was a modest amount compared with the indemnity sometimes imposed on the southern kingdom in the early days of Bahmani rule, for which see *Bahmanis*, 153, 162, etc.

96. Q.S., 82-83.

bravery of its armies. Achyūta consulted his advisers who said that Vijayanagar had done all that was possible to help Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhara, but to no avail, and it would be better now to give all help to Ismā'il 'Adil of Bijapur and persuade him to attack Golkunda Tilangānā. It is related that most costly presents in cash as well as in kind were sent to Ismā'il 'Adil as a token of alliance between the two states.

Ismā'il moved on to Kalyāni, a strong border fortress, which was evidently captured by him, and from there he advanced to Kovilkunḍa and laid siege to that strong citadel. The fort was then under the command of Ja'far Bēg who was a kinsman of Quṭbu'l-mulk himself. When Ja'far heard that the ruler of Bijapur was marching to invest the fort he lost no time to strengthen it. When the news of the siege was brought to Quṭbu'l-mulk he immediately consulted his advisers regarding the policy which should be adopted. They said that it was more than two years since the Golkunda army had been fighting in Tilangānā, and as both man and beast wanted some rest it would be unwise to give battle to 'Adil Khān. They advised that the hand of friendship should be extended to the ruler of Bijapur, although they were doubtful if the move would have much effect as the attack on the Golkunda territory was being undertaken with the connivance and help of the Rāya of Vijayanagar. Sultān-Quli replied that he had never relied on mere numbers but always on God's grace and help, and that he had decided to oppose the intruder. He therefore ordered that the fort should be defended at all cost with the paltry three thousand men who formed the garrison. At the same time he sent envoys to Ismā'il 'Adil asking him to desist from any further fratricidal conflict. But Ismā'il was so sure of success that he would not even hear of peace, and there was no alternative left for Quṭbu'l-mulk except to fight.

The battle for Kōvilkunḍa proved to be decisive. Quṭbu'l-mulk arranged his army in such a way that he put Fathī Khān in charge of the left wing, 'Ainu'l-mulk in charge of the right wing and Prince Haidar Khān in charge of the centre, while he himself commanded the usual reserve contingent which was set apart to be utilised when time came. It was a hard struggle against great odds, and the battle raged for three consecutive days, reaching a stalemate on the third. Ismā'il 'Adil now sent a possée of two or three thousand horse to Golkunda by way of diversion, but even

that did not bear any decisive result, and the fourth day saw severe hand to hand fighting between the contending forces. Quṭbu'l-mulk, on his part, sent his heavy baggage to be dumped at the near-by fort of Ghanpurā, while he made a night attack on the 'Adilshāhi camp followed by a series of night attacks by the Golkunda reserves, while light troops were ordered to intercept the supplies of the enemy. There was also a simultaneous action before Ghanpurā as well in which the aged Quṭbu'l-mulk threw himself in the thick of the battle, receiving a bad sabre cut on his face which disfigured him for the rest of his life. This double action, however, resulted in the flight of Ismā'il 'Adil's troops followed by protracted guerilla action on the part of the Golkunda partisans which went on for another two or three months. Ismā'il had now been fighting for Kovilkunda for over a year without any hope of success. He was a broken man and died of fever and fatigue on 16.2.941/6.9.1534.⁹⁷

97. I have given a gist of the description of the invasion of Tilangānā by the ruler of Bijāpūr as given in Q.S., 83-91. *Fer.*, II, 25, 102, 106, 175, *Briggs*, III, 70-71, and *Basātīn*, 46, have different stories to tell. *Fer.*, II, 106, says that Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh (the epithet Shāh is unhistorical, for which see n. 57 above), Burhān Nizām Shāh and 'Alā'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh met together in 939/1532 and agreed that Burhān should conquer Berar and Ismā'il Tilangānā and they should divide the spoils among themselves. On p. 25, however, there is a cryptic passage (which has not been translated by Briggs at all, as follows:—

اسمعیل عادل شاه وبرهان نظام شاه چنان مقرر ساختند که ولایت سلطان
قلی قطب شاه وبرهان نظام شاه بحری و علاء الدین عماد شاه را متصرف با هم
دوست و یکدل باشند

"Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh agreed that they should occupy the province of Sultān-Qulī Qutb Shāh, Burhān Nizām Shāh Bahri and 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh and shall become friendly of one mind." This makes no sense at all. This is followed by the passage stating that Ismā'il 'Adil, who had been at daggers drawn with Qāsim Barīd got himself reconciled to him. Now *Fer.*, II, 176 (*Briggs*, III, 496) is explicit that Qāsim died in 910/1504, and his successor 'Alī Barīd reigned for 45 years, dying in 955/1548; so obviously it was not Qāsim but 'Alī who was Ismā'il 'Adil's ally in his invasion of the Golkunda territory. In the same way the reference to 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh in *Fer.*, II, 25, is wrong as that ruler died "soon after 934/1507", so it was his successor Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk who must have been ruling in Berār in 939/1532. Prof. Siddiqi, in his *Muqaddama-i-Tarikh*—

Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd

'Alī Barīd had been an ally of Ismā'il 'Adil in his invasion of Tilangānā, and although he was probably not present at the siege of Kōvilkuṇḍa he was laying waste large tracts of Tilangānā on his own account. When the Golkunda army was released from the long drawn campaign around Kōvilkuṇḍa Quṭbu'l-mulk marched to Barīd's capital, Bidar, and soon came to grips with the Barīdī forces. There was severe fighting on the first day, but it was indecisive and the battle continued on the second day as well. Fethī Khān, the hero of many a battle, was ably supported by Prince Haidar Khān. Slow fighting went on for some time, when

i-Dakan, p. 60, puts Daryā's rule as extending from 937/1529 to 970/1562. In any case the actors in the drama in 939/1532 were not Qāsim Barīd and 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh but 'Alī Barīd and Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk.

Fer., II, 25, goes on to say that Sulṭān Qulī did not move to Tilangānā when he heard of Ismā'il 'Adil's invasion but contented to send his army "to the help of the Nāyaka who was holding Kōvilkuṇḍa for him". This army was under the command of Asad Khān Lārī. It is related that the Hindu commandant of the fort was on the point of laying down his arms when Ismā'il became suddenly ill and decided to leave immediately for Gulbarga. But fate was against his departure and he died on Wednesday, 16-2-941/6-9-1534. In his epitomised translation of *Ferishta*, Briggs, III, 71, does not mention Quṭbu'l-mulk's name at all.

Basatin, 46, does not mention the treaty between Bijapur and Aḥmad-nagar but says that Kōvilkuṇḍa was attacked by Ismā'il single handed. There is no mention of Sulṭān-Qulī here either. It also relates how all the treatment of the ruler of Bijapur proved fruitless and how, in spite of the victory being within an ace of being achieved, it was resolved to retreat. Ismā'il is reported to have died at Sagar on the way back to Bijapur and not at Kōvilkuṇḍa. Bashīr Aḥmad, *Wāqī-āt-i Mamikat-i Bijāpur*, 69, follows *Basatin*.

My own opinion is that Q.S.'s version is more correct. Having taken possession of Tilangānā step by step through four arduous campaigns and then to have sat quietly at home when it was being attacked by a new enemy was not and could not be in the nature of a great leader and a commander like Quṭbu'l-mulk. Moreover an alliance between the weakening state of Vijayanagar and her erstwhile enemy, Bijapur, against a new and rising state is not at all improbable. The episode perhaps gives the first definite date of the campaign, namely 16-2-941/6-9-1534, and further proves my surmise that the series of campaigns undertaken by Quṭbu'l-mulk commenced not in 1522 but a couple of years before Ismā'il's death. This is fully corroborated not merely by Q.S., 84, but also by an interesting work the *Tawārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī*, Salar Jang Library, Naẓm-i Fārsī, 202, for which see note 111 below, is the history of the early rulers of the dynasty in verse after the fashion of the Shāh Nāmā. A little exaggeration

Quṭbu'l-mulk, who must have been in his later seventies, ordered a general assault resulting in the complete defeat of the Barīdī army. He now proceeded to besiege Kōhīr which was one of Barīd's strong fortresses. This completely upset all 'Alī's plans and he was forced to mobilise more troops, and with these under his command he moved on to relieve Kōhīr. Quṭbu'l-mulk now ordered that half of the Golkunda army in the field should go forward and meet the enemy while the other half should continue the siege. The two armies were face to face against each other for nearly three months without either of them gaining the upper hand. Both Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd were now thoroughly sick of the stalemate and a treaty was entered into between them under which Kōhīr was ceded to Golkunda while Quṭbu'l-mulk promised to desist from any further encroachment on the Barīdī

here and there is to be expected in a work like this but certain facts not found elsewhere can be gleaned from it. The book is written in beautiful calligraphy with golden tracings and beautifully executed borders and lines and seems to be at least 250 years old, although the exact date of the manuscript cannot be ascertained as there is no colophon. It says that Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh died "at the foot of the fort of Kōvilkuṇḍa", but before he died he willed that Ibrāhīm should ascend the throne and that Mallū should act as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur army. It is clear from a line on p. 25,

چنین نامه یک سال دیک ماه راست - بر آمد که رسن قنده و کینه خواست

that Ismā'il had been fighting for a year and a month. See also n. 111 below.

The siege of Kalyānī, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas (now in the Bidar district, Hyderabad State, 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E.) is mentioned in *Fer.*, II, 168, Briggs, III, 322, where, however, there is no mention of the siege of Kōvilkuṇḍa at all. Briggs says that "the kings of Golkonda, unable to cope with the Adil Shahy forces, only sent a detachment of cavalry to cut off their supplies", so that the conclusion I have drawn regarding the fall of Kalyānī to the army of Bijapur would not be wrong.

Q.S., 84 is perfectly clear that Kōvilkuṇḍa was commanded by Ja'far Beg.

Of course Ismā'il's objective was Kōvilkuṇḍa not Nalgundā as in *C.H.I.*, III, 438.

Sāgar, surnamed *Nusratābād*, Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State; 16° 37' N., 76° 48' E.

98. It was not Qāsim Barīd, as in Q.S., 97-102, but his son Alī Barīd who had succeeded Qāsim in 910/1504. Also see previous note.

Kōhīr, headquarters of a taluqa in the Bidar district, Hyderabad State; 17° 36' N., 77° 43' E.

territory.⁹⁹ The cession of Kōhīr gave Golkunda a central position in the Tilangānā State.

Nalgunda and Kondavidu

While Quṭbu'l-mulk was fighting against Ismā'il Ādil and 'Alī Barīd, Raja Harichand, who held Nalgundā as a tributary of Golkunda, rebelled, and began to lay waste the country right round the fort. Quṭbu'l-mulk now hurried to the scene, and as was usual with him began by asking the qil'ahdār to lay down his arms and thus save blood from being spilt. But the demand was rejected and Quṭbu'l-mulk laid seige to the fortress. The seige was marked by numerous sorties attempted by Harichand which were followed by attempts to storm the citadel on the part of the Golkunda army, resulting in heavy casualties on both sides. Quṭbu'l-mulk now sent a message to the Raja that if he did not surrender and agree to the payment of a small tribute he would blockade the fort on all sides and starve the garrison into submission. Harichand now had recourse to a trick. He agreed to lay down his arms and sent costly presents to Quṭbu'l-mulk, and welcomed the proposal that the ruler of Golkunda should visit the fort in person with just a few attendants. While waiting to receive the conqueror with open arms he issued secret orders that when Quṭbu'l-mulk should enter the fort practically unattended he should be enveloped by the Raja's men and murdered. When these rather naïve instructions were brought to Quṭbu'l-mulk's notice he parried them by passing secret orders that though he would enter the fort unattended as arranged, a good number of troops should be kept ready to storm the fort on a given signal. What was expected came to pass, and before any harm could be done to Sulṭān-Qulī his reserve came out of the hiding place and a general battle ensued which resulted in the success of the Golkunda army. Harichand was captured and met a traitor's death.

From Nalgundā Quṭbu'l-mulk marched to Konḍaviḍu the commander of which had evidently revolted. Konḍavidu was again invested, and being hopeless of success in a clean fight tried to bribe some of Quṭbu'l-mulk's *amīrs* to intercede with him on his behalf. When Quṭbu'l-mulk heard of the plot he was furious and declaring that he would have none of these underhand tricks ordered the artillery to bombard the battlements of the fort. But

before it was too late the commander had to lay down his arms and petition that he should be pardoned for his faults. Quṭbu'l-mulk thereupon pardoned him and after erecting a tower of victory in the fort returned to his capital.¹⁰⁰

Quṭbu'l-mulk's last days and the Manner of his death

Octogenarian as he was Quṭbu'l-mulk was not destined to have rest even in the evening of his life. There was an internal revolution in Bijapur when Ismā'il Ādil's second son Ibrāhīm blinded his elder brother Mallū and himself ascended the throne, destined to be the first titled king of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty.¹⁰¹ While Quṭbu'l-mulk was engaged at Konḍaviḍu, Ibrāhīm joined hands with 'Alī Barīd and began to lay waste Golkunda territory which was adjacent to Bijapur. It seems that Kokai and Nawaki, two villages on the Golkunda-Bijapur border, had been occupied by the Bijapur forces while the ruler of Golkunda was fighting with Shitāb Khān. On being informed of further inroads by Bijapur troops Quṭbu'l-mulk advanced westwards and laid seige to Udgīr while at the same time he sent word to 'Alī Barīd that Mēdak and Kaulās should be

100. Q. S., 97-102; Briggs, III, 373-74.

101. The interesting question of the proclamation of kingship of Ibrāhīm 'Adil hinges on the death of the last Bahmani holder of the royal title, and this has been fully discussed in *Bahmanis*, 391-94 and 419. There is an inscription at Bijapur, published in *Bijapur Inscriptions, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 49, p. 26, described under No. 3251, on a ruined gateway near Khwāja Sunbul's mosque, dated 943/1537, where the ruler is entitled simply as Ibrāhīm 'Adil Khān, while two years later, in 945/1539 he styles himself as Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh in an inscription on a bastion inside the southern gateway of the citadel (inscription No. 439, p. 47). Dr. Nāzim, the editor of the monograph, says on p. 6, that "this is the first inscription in which the name of a king of Bijapur is mentioned with the title of 'Adil Shāh instead of 'Adil Khān. In all probability Kalimullah, the last ruler of the dynasty must have died about this time." (It is to be regretted that certain references in *Bahmanis*, p. 392 and notes 23 and 24 on p. 422 have been wrongly printed).

It is interesting to observe that Ferishta, who is so loud in his reports of the proclamation of kingships on the part of the provincial governors as early as 895/1490 (*Fer.*, I, 367) calls the Deccan a *mamlukat* or State and Aḥmadnagar a *wilāyat* or province of "Nizām Shāh" as late as 940/1533; for this see *Fer.*, II, 168. Briggs, III, 223 has quite wrongly translated *mamlukat* as "country" and *wilāyat* as "territory". It may here be mentioned that it was not till after 937/1531 that Burhān formally assumed the title and emblems of royalty; for this see *Fer.*, II, 108; also see Shērwanī, *Independence of Bahmani Governors*, I.H.C., 1945, p. 159.

evacuated at once as they belonged to Golkunda as of right. 'Alī Barīd knew his own weakness and realising that he could not hope to gain anything singlehanded he sent an urgent message to Burhān Nizām Shāh for help. But then Burhān and Ibrāhīm were not on friendly terms, and instead of sending military help to Bidar Burhān sent the great Shī'ah divine Shāh Ṭāhir to reconcile matters between Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd.¹⁰² When Shah Ṭāhir

102. Shāh Ṭāhir, one of the great Shī'ah divines of the 16th century. He was the person who successfully spread the Shī'ah doctrine in the Deccan and converted Burhān Nizām Shāh to his faith. His ancestors had made Khond in the district of Qazwin near the Caspian Sea their home and it was there that Shāh Ṭāhir was born. He arrived at Aḥmadnagar in 928 according to *Fer.*, II, 104 and in 926 according to *Bur.*, 254. The circumstances of his arrival in India are also variously given; *Fer.*, II, 111, relates how he became a suspect at the court of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī of Persia, for spreading Ismā'ilī heterodoxy, and had to leave his country, landing at Goa and thence treading his way to Aḥmadnagar; while *Bur.*, 253, says that he was sent as an envoy to Aḥmadnagar by the Ṣafawī monarch. However that may be, he succeeded in winning over Burhān to Shī'ism (*Bur.*, 258) and was the person behind the order given by that ruler ordering the removal of the names of the first three Caliphs from the *khutbah* and changing the colour of the flag to green; *Briggs*, III, 228. Next year, in Muḥarram 949/April, 1542, he was given precedence over "all the nobles and divines" of the kingdom.

انراکابر و اشرف ممتاز

While at Aḥmadnagar he soon gyrated to the diplomatic service of the State, and his career as a diplomat was as successful as that of a preacher. It was he who negotiated a meeting between Ismā'il 'Adil and Burhān at Sholapur in 930/1524 which resulted in Burhān's marriage with Ismā'il's sister Bibī Maryam (*Fer.*, II, 104), and with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat about 937/-1537 which resulted in the adoption of the title of Shāh by Burhān for the first time and his use of the white umbrella as an emblem of royalty; *Fer.*, II, 108; *Briggs*, III, 223. In 935/1529 it was Shāh Ṭāhir who wrote a letter in Burhan's name to Bābar on his taking possession of Delhi and becoming the pādshāh of India after the first battle of Pānīpat. In 950/1543 we find him sending his son Shāh Haidar with the Persian envoy, Aghā Salmān Tehrānī, to Iran with presents for the new ruler, Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawī. He was later sent as the envoy of Aḥmadnagar to wheel round 'Alī Barīd against Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bījāpūr, but was not successful in gaining his objective. He was, however, more successful in negotiating a treaty with Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk which cemented the relationship between the two Shī'ah monarchs of the Deccan; *Bur.*, 308. We now find him sending his son, Shāh Haidar to Iran with presents to the new ruler of Persia, Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawī in the company of Aqā Salmān Tehrani in 950/1543. He was later

reached Bidar he told 'Alī that "both Nizāmu'l-mulk and 'Imādu'l-mulk" thought that Mēdak was right within Golkunda territory and had formed a part of the *ṭaraf* of Tilangānā from the time of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani. On finding that he was morally hemmed in on all sides 'Alī Barīd consented to forego his claim to Mēdak and sent the keys of the fort as well as presents to Quṭbu'l-mulk. On his part Quṭbu'l-mulk raised the seige of Udgīr and returned to Golkunda, where he received Shāh Ṭāhir with the respect that was due to him. It was through his efforts that a treaty was negotiated between Quṭbu'l-mulk and Burhān under which 5,000 fully armed soldiers were sent to Aḥmadnagar in order to help Burhān against the pretensions of Ibrāhīm 'Adil regarding Shōlāpur which had been a bone of contention between the two for a very long time.¹⁰³

All this must have happened in or about 1534, the year of Ibrāhīm 'Adil's accession, and for nine years, i.e., up to 1543, Quṭbu'l-mulk had a well-earned rest after his arduous life of campaigning which had lasted almost without a break for a decade. He was a devout Muslim, and once he had reached his objective of controlling the whole of Tilangānā right up to the sea, and had thus made his position secure, he made up his mind to remain at peace with everyone and spend the rest of his time in prayers. He was spared nearly nine years after the siege of Udgīr, and we are not aware of any military exploit of his during the period. It redounds

sent to Bidar as the envoy of Aḥmadnagar in order to wheel round 'Alī Barīd against Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bījāpūr, but he was not successful in the attempt. He died in 953/1546 while on his way to Darya 'Imād Shāh as the Aḥmadnagar envoy, and his remains were taken to Karbala to be buried in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Imām Ḥusain. It is related in the *Tārikh-i Dakan*, (*Silsila-i Aṣafiyah*, Vol. III, p. 390) that Shāh Ṭāhir died in 956, but I have not been able to verify this from any of our authorities. It may be mentioned here that if *Bur.*, 325 is correct regarding the year of his death, then the whole story of his son Aḥmad ascending the throne of Aḥmadnagar on 10-12-1003/6-8-1595 at the age of 12 must be regarded as incorrect; it must have been some other Aḥmad who might have been remotely related to Shāh Ṭāhir; see *Briggs*, III, 392.

Mēdak, headquarters of a taluqa in Gulshanābād-Mēdak district, Hyderabad State; 18° 3' N., 78° 26' E.

Kaulās, hill fort in the north-east of Bidar district, Hyderabad State; 18° 20' N., 77° 42' E.

103. *Q. S.*, 97-104; *Bur.*, 308, calls 'Alī Barīd "Malik Barīd", and Quṭbu'l-mulk "Malik Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk". See note 2 above.

to his will power and to his robust physique that he should die not a natural death as an old and an infirm man but by being hit unawares at the back by an assassin. *

It is related by Ferishta that it was a case of parricide and one of Qutbu'l-mulk's sons, the crafty Jamshīd, who had been imprisoned by his father for his misdeeds, was at the back of the foul deed which put an end to the old man's life.¹⁰⁴ But the problem is not easy of solution. Except for *Tabaqāt-i Akbarshāhī*, which simply says that "after ruling over the province of Golkunda for twenty-four years Sultān-Qulī Qutbu'l-mulk passed away,"¹⁰⁵ it is agreed on all hands that he was done to death. But the place and the motive of the murder bear a certain amount of thinking. We cannot brush aside even *Tabaqāt*, as, though the book was written in the far north, and it was compiled within fifty years of the tragic occurrence at Golkunda. *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, which was completed at Aḥmadnagar in 1591, is more precise and says that Qutbu'l-mulk was killed "by one of his own companions," but makes no mention of any conspiracy whatsoever.¹⁰⁶ This is significant as, after all, Aḥmadnagar is not very far from Golkunda and not much time had elapsed since the murder. It is also strange that while the book gives quite a wealth of detail in the case of numerous events in the Deccan it does not say that the murder was the result of any conspiracy in which a member of the ruling House was involved. Jamshīd's name creeps in for the first time in Ferishta's *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* which was completed eight years after *Burāhan-i Ma'āthir* in 1611. As is usual with him, Ferishta gives a fairly long story ending in the manner, but the description he has given has a tinge of improbability about it. He says that Qutbu'l-mulk's son Jamshīd had grown old in the hope of ascending the throne on his father's death. But the father had lived on, and his impatience had led him to get one of his slaves to kill him whenever an opportunity offered itself. The potentate was sitting one day on the bank of a sheet of water and was examining some jewels when the slave suddenly appeared from behind and stabbed him to death.

104. *Fer.*, II, 168; *Briggs*, III, 324. Mānik Rāo Vitthal Rāo says in his encyclopaedic work, the *Bustān-i Asafiyah*, I, p. 20 that Sultān-Qulī was given the posthumous title of 'Ghufrān-Panāh' meaning 'May his refuge be God's forgiveness'.

105. *Tab.*, 373; this work was completed in 1593.

106. *Bur.*, 314.

After committing the foul deed he turned to Jamshīd for protection and reward but, fearing the disclosure of the conspiracy the prince instantly beheaded him.

If we take various details as given by Ferishta into account we would perceive the incongruity of the story. If Jamshīd was the chief conspirator it is very unlikely that he should make it a point of being present at the time of the murder, especially when it was his interest not to be mixed up with it. Moreover, if he was the eldest son and heir of his father, as Ferishta asserts, it seems improbable that he should behead the person who had, at his own command, facilitated his accession to the throne.¹⁰⁷

As a matter of fact *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Qutb Shāh* is categorical that Jamshīd was not Sultān-Qulī's eldest son. It says that he had two brothers who were older than he namely, Ḥaidar Khān, the hero of many a battle, who was already dead, and Qutbu'd-dīn who had been appointed heir by his father on Ḥaidar Khān's death and whom Jamshīd regarded as his bitter enemy. Jamshīd, who was of a most unscrupulous bent of mind, had conspired against Qutbu'd-dīn and had consequently been confined to the Golkunda fort by his father. He was therefore not merely impatient to take his father's place but was smarting at the indignity of being a prisoner within the palace. It is related that in spite of his incarceration he managed to enter into a conspiracy with his warder, the commandant of the Fort, to kill his father. The author of the *Tārīkh* says that Sultān-Qulī had ordered certain alteration to be made in the Jamī' Masjid of the Fort, which he had built some years previously, and had gone there to supervise the work personally on Thursday, 29. 5. 950/30-8-1543,¹⁰⁸ when it so happened that he dropped his handkerchief which had the names of the twelve *imāms* inscribed on it. Regarding this as a bad omen he

107. *Fer.*, II, 168 is again wrong here. As a matter of fact Sultān-Qulī had five sons whose names are given in *Q.S.*, 105, namely (1) Ḥaidar Khān, the heir apparent, who had shown his mettle in many a battlefield, had died during his father's lifetime; (2) Qutbu'd-dīn, who became his father's favourite after the death of his eldest son, Ḥaidar; he had been blinded at the instance of Jamshīd; (3) Yār-Qulī Jamshīd, who had been confined to the Golkunda fort for his misdeeds; (4) 'Abdul'l-Karīm, who had fled to Bijapur; (5) Daulat Khān, who seems to have been off his mind; (6) Ibrāhīm, who later ascended the throne as Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.

108. *Q.S.*, 107; *Briggs*, III, 377.

109. Not 4-9-1954, as in *Briggs*; see the *Indian Ephemeris*, V, 289.

immediately retired to the Palace and postponed his visit to the site for a few days. It was not till Sunday, 2. 6. 950/2-9-1543 that he went to the mosque after this, and while he was in the act of offering his 'aṣr prayers he was struck with a sabre by Mir Mahmūd Hamdāni and killed there and then. It is reported that he received as many as twenty-three wounds, but this seems to be an exaggeration, for a man of such an advanced age would succumb to death at the first stroke.

If we analyse the whole episode in the context of our authorities two or three things seem to be clear. The first thing is that neither *Burhān* nor *Tabaqāt*, which were perhaps the earliest chronicles to record Sulṭān-Qulī's murder, mention Jamshīd's name as one of the conspirators, although both of them were compiled within half a century of the event. It is *Ferishta* who mentions Jamshīd's name for the first time as a parricide, while *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* describes the whole episode in great detail as if the author was himself present on the occasion, basing his account on "all Deccan histories" which, however, are not mentioned by name. The strangest part of this is that when Jamshīd becomes the ruler of Tilangānā after his father's murder he receives letters of condolence from another Deccan ruler Burhān Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar,¹¹⁰ which would hardly be the case if he had been directly or openly involved in the murder.

These rather incongruous facts may perhaps be explained by a hypothesis. As is well known even to casual readers of Deccan history Jamshīd's younger brother Ibrāhīm had to fly to Vijayanagar for the safety of his life, and he did not return till after Jamshīd's death. It was not Jamshīd's but Ibrāhīm's descendents who ruled Golkunda and made the kingdom the *rendez-vous* of all who were wedded to culture and the arts, and the centre of trade and commerce. The question may well be asked whether that Jamshīd's name was not dragged in as a parricide by his enemies and they were helped in this propaganda by his unscrupulous nature and his habit of looking at things from a purely egotistic point of view. Moreover it was not till the reign of Ibrahim's son that *Ferishta*'s compendious work and not till the reign of his grandson that the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* was compiled. One may therefore hazard the opinion that while there is no doubt that

110. *Munt.*, III, 372.

Jamshīd was unscrupulous and self-centered, as his life history shows, and while it may be possible that he connived at the violent end of the fairly protracted life of his father, his name was dragged in by the chroniclers who flourished after him as the chief actor in the drama. This seems to be the only explanation of the extraordinary fact that while even minute details of Jamshīd being involved in the heinous crime should be provided by the chroniclers who were furthest away from the murder, those of them who were nearest to the deed should be silent regarding the motives for the murder, and at least one of them should not refer to the fact of the murder at all.

In this connection it is not possible to ignore the significant account of the hunt for the murderer given to us by the anonymous author of the metrical history of medieval Tilangānā, the *Tawārīgh-i Qutbshahi*, which was compiled during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh (988-1020). It is related that when Jamshīd returned to Golkunda after defeating 'Alī Barīd and the flight of Ibrahim to Vijayanagar the first thing he did was to proceed to his father's mausoleum where he stayed for three days and three nights, and it was only after much weeping and wailing and after distributing a large amount of gold and silver to the needy for the repose of father's soul that he left the precincts. When he came out of the tomb he publicly declared that he was in no way connected with the conspiracy, and he ordered that a search should be made for the murderer throughout the State, and that he would not rest till the culprit had been brought to book. It was after many days that the murderer was recognised by the *imām* of a mosque in which he had taken refuge and handed over to the entourage of the court. When Jamshīd came to know of the arrest of the man he was overjoyed and ordered that general rejoicings should be held in the capital. He went out of his way to rebuke the murderer personally and told him that he should not have coloured his white beard with the blood of such a venerable personage as his old father. He was bound to the leg of an elephant, pelted with stones and brickbats and dragged about for three days, and when he was at last killed his corpse was not buried but cremated.

Such is the account left to us by the author of the metric history of the Qutb-Shahs. It is necessary here to remember that, like the author of the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb-Shah*, the author

is without doubt Ibrāhīm's partisan and calls Jamshīd merely as Jamshīd *Khān* and not even as Jamshīd-Qulī Qutbū'l-mulk. Of course it is quite possible that Jamshīd should be shedding crocodile tears when he found that practically the whole of the Deccan was up in arms against him out of the suspicion of parricide. It is moreover significant that even after the murderer had been brought to book Jamshīd was not at ease for he still feared Ibrahim and 'Alī Barīd indicating that he still felt a pang in his conscience. But if the account is correct then the whole story of Mīr Maḥmūd Hamadānī running to Jamshīd after he had committed the foul deed and being put to death by him must be entirely discounted and the rest of the account containing the implication of Jamshīd also put to a certain amount of doubt.¹¹¹

111. *Tawārikh-i Qutbshāhī* (henceforward, T.Q.), Salarjung Library, Hyderabad, Deccan MSS., Nazm-i Fārsi, 1486 (not *Khamsah*, as indicated in pencil on the fly-leaf). This work, which is a metric history of the early Qutb Shāhs, is a beautifully calligraphed, gold-illuminated history of Tilan-gānā, and was composed during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612) after the style of the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausi. It traces the history of the dynasty from its inception in beautiful Persian verse and deals with certain events in great detail, parts of which are probably the result of the fertile imagination of the poet. The manuscript begins with the praise of God and a eulogy of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh who ruled over Tilan-gānā from 1585 to 1620. The whole work is in the form of a *nāmah* or letter as is mentioned in p. 1 and fol. 15a. The story of Sulṭān-Qulī, who is called *Baṭrē Malik* right through, does not begin till fol. 6 b. The whole manuscript seems to be the first part of a larger work and ends in the accession of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to the throne in 957/1550. Although it is not so indicated, the book is really divided into four nearly equal parts each beginning with the praise of God, which rather abruptly ends a narrative and begins another with *aghāz-i dāstān* or "beginning of the story". The parts are as follows: (1) The reign of Sulṭān-Qulī to the successful campaign of Koilkunda and the death of Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur; (2) From the accession of Mallū to the Bijapur throne to Sulṭān-Qulī's murder; (3) From the accession of "Jamshīd *Khān*" up to his return from Shōlāpūr; (4) The remaining period of Jamshīd's rule, Burhān's interlude and the arrival of Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar. The opening line of the manuscript, which extends to 55 folios, is:

چنین بود سرزمین لب آب گنگ - بر سر درگاه گریه میکند

The description of the arrest and execution of Sulṭān-Qulī's murderer given in folios 35(a) to 36(b) is unique and sheds more light on the whole question of the complicity or otherwise of Jamshīd in his father's murder. The poem, which is in the form of a mathnawī, is very similar to the book

described by C. A. Storey in his compendious work, *Persian Literature: a bibliographical Dictionary*, II, fasc. 3, p. 746. Here a reference is made to Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Sprenger, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'stā'ny Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh and Iwonow*, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The reference in Iwonow is to a work entitled *Nasab nāmah Qutb Shāhī* under No. 690 which is identical to Sprenger No. 227 where the poem is called *Nisbat Nāmah Shahryāri*. There is another poem of the same name and the same content under No. 309 but it is only half of its size and it is interesting to note that the colophon calls it *Tawārikh-i Qutb Shāhī*. The question of authorship is discussed by Iwonow under No. 690. The work is evidently much more than a *nasab nāmah* or genealogy as it contains a detailed history of the Qutb Shahs up to the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. The Persian poet Ḥakīm Thānā'ī is mentioned in one of the lines of the manuscript as a contemporary, and as he died in 996/1588 the work must have been compiled before that date.

The manuscript in the Salar Jang Library is evidently the first part of a larger work. Unfortunately the first lines of the poem in the India Office Library do not correspond either with the poem in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal nor with the Hyderabad MSS. although the subject matter is the same. See also note 97 above.

I believe this is the first time that use is being made of this interesting and useful work as a historical work of reference.

Firuz Tughluq and *Asokan* Pillars

BY

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The citadel of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq at Delhi, popularly known as *Kotla Firoz Shah*, is now mostly in ruins, but of its few existing structures the pyramid on which an '*Asokan*' pillar stands is one of the most striking monuments of Medieval India, and is deserving of much greater attention than it has so far received. The Sultan, we are told, was a devout Muslim who, in spite of his large-hearted beneficence, followed the tenets of the orthodox Sunni creed rigidly and persecuted the infidels and dissenters alike. In fact, the evidence of almost every contemporary chronicler indicates that personally he was extremely orthodox, and that he strove to stamp out paganism and irreligion from the empire. But, the zeal with which this Sultan transported two '*Asokan*' pillars from their original sites near *Khizrabad* and *Meerut*, respectively, to his new capital at Delhi and built a magnificent edifice inside his own citadel to form the base for one of them bears testimony to the fact that the Sultan's intolerance was not so blind as it has been represented and that in his enthusiastic efforts to house the pillars in his own capital he exhibited a liberal taste for ancient Indian art and antiquities, which only a few among the Muslim rulers of India ever possessed.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, a contemporary chronicler, relates in his well-known *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* that after Sultan Firuz returned from his expedition against *Thatta* he saw two stone pillars in the course of one of his excursions in the neighbourhood of Delhi. One stood in the village of *Topra*, near *Khizrabad*, and the other in the vicinity of *Meerut*. The chronicler goes on to say, "The author has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed *Bhim*, a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this *Bhim* used to devour a thousand '*mans*' of food daily and no one could compete with him. He was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending

the herds of cattle belonging to the wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Delhi and when Bhim died these two columns were left standing as memorials to him."

This fanciful story represents the popular notions of the day, and serves to show that in Medieval times the real significance of the 'Asokan' pillars was forgotten, and that even the Hindus believed them to have been the sticks of the great Pandava hero Bhima.

The Sultan took such a fancy for the pillar at *Topra* that he named it *Minar-i-Zarrin* (Golden Pillar), and resolved to remove it to his own citadel at Delhi with a view to keep it there as a striking memorial of ancient India. The amazing skill with which it was removed from its old site to Delhi constitutes one of the most romantic chapters in the history of Tughluq rule in India. The full story of its removal and installation appears in a contemporary work entitled "*Sirat-i-Firoz-Shahi*."

According to the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz-Shahi*, the Sultan was simply astonished at the sight of the *Minar-i-Zarrin* and tried in vain to find out how this huge monolith had been brought to this place and what engineering methods had been employed in its erection here. The Sultan was told that the achievement was beyond the powers of man. Some people suggested that the pillar had grown out of the bowels of the earth, some said that it was a magic talisman and that if excavations were made around the base, large snakes, scorpions and wasps would come out and bring the people to grief; while others said that it was the 'lathi' of Bhim. The Sultan announced, "By the grace of the Creator, who sees and hears everything, we shall remove this lofty pillar and make a 'Minar' of it in the *Jumrah Mosque* of Firozabad where, God willing, it shall stand as long as the world endures."

So the Sultan ordered his engineers to devise some means by which the pillar could be taken down and removed to his capital. They all confessed that the task was impracticable. Thereupon, the Sultan himself devised an ingenious plan. He got six wooden piers constructed, each ten yards in circumference and of the same height as the pillar itself. Two of these piers were constructed

behind the pillar, two to the right, and two on the left. The piers were then strengthened with iron nails and wrapped with ram hides and ropes. They were then jointed to each other with two large wooden beams in the middle and at the top. On each of the beams a wheel was fixed in a vertical position whereon the ropes could pass through pulleys. Four long ropes were tied to the top of the pillar. The ropes were pulled towards the front, while the ropes at the pulleys were slowly relaxed until the pillar was lowered to its resting place prepared with mud and paddy straw, and reinforced with wooden supports.

Then the Sultan gave directions for the removal of the pillar. A cart as long as the pillar itself was constructed with forty-two wheels, each ten yards in circumference. The pillar was encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, and was placed over the cart by means of thick ropes attached to the wheels and pulled by thousands of men as well as bullocks and elephants. The cart was brought to the banks of the Jumna where the Sultan personally supervised its transfer to the boats. A number of big boats had been kept ready along the river-side, and the pillar was dragged over to the raft by means of ropes tied to pulleys. As the pillar was safely placed on the raft, everybody cried, "*Bismillah-i-Majriha wa Mursaha*" (i.e., in the name of God may the boats go and anchor). When the raft reached *Kotla* at Delhi, the pillar was pulled out of it with the same labour and skill with which it had been loaded at *Topra*.

When the pillar was brought inside the royal citadel, a building was commenced for its reception, near the *Jami Masjid*, and the most eminent engineers and artisans were employed for the purpose. The structure was to consist of several storeys made of stone and *chunam*. When one storey was finished, the pillar was pulled over it with the help of ropes tied to pulleys and beams placed all round it, and so on in succession until it was at last raised to the top storey.

At this stage special care was taken to place the pillar in a perpendicular position. The pillar was tied with thirty-five strong ropes to the masonried piers on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar. The wheels were then turned, and the column was gradually pulled up. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then put under it to prevent its sinking again. In this manner, by degrees, the pillar was placed

in an erect position on Wednesday, the 4th of the month of *Safar*, 769 A.H. (i.e., 30th September, 1367 A.D.).

Large beams were then placed around it as buttresses until a regular scaffolding was made ready. After this, a pavement of coloured stones—white marble, red stone and black stone—was laid all round the monolith. The pillar was then polished and gilded, and a gilt finial, seven and a half yards in height, and consisting of a pedestal, a myrobalan-shaped ornament, a flat moulding, a dentil reel, a vase, a second reel and smaller vase and a third reel, a flask and a crescent was put up on the top as the crown.

The seven edicts of *Asoka* inscribed on the base of the obelisk were shown to Hindu Pandits, and they were ordered to decipher them. But, no one was able to read them. Evidently, the ancient script of the inscriptions was unknown to the Hindu scholars of that age. *Afif* states that certain Hindus explained them as indicating that no one should be able to shift the pillar from its site till there should appear in a subsequent period a Muslim Sultan named Sultan *Firuz*. This interpretation was obviously too crude to be entirely convincing!

According to *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, the removal of the pillar from its old site and its re-installation at the *Kotla* were planned by the Sultan himself, and the success of the great venture was a personal triumph for the ruler. From the scheme of taking down the pillar, says the author of this chronicle, its transportation by boats, removal to the boats and from the boats to the fort, and its re-erection therein as well as the construction of the building on which it stands, none but the Sultan had any say in the matter of general plans or particular details. Making every allowance for the exaggeration of this writer, one is bound to admit that the Sultan took a personal interest in the whole scheme, and must have derived the greatest satisfaction from its successful completion.

The feat excited the admiration of the contemporaries and the following ode composed by a court writer will convey the popular sentiment of the day regarding the *Minar-i-Zarrin*.

1. "This pillar, high as the heaven, is made of a single block of stone and tapers upward, being broad at the base and narrow at the top.

2. "Seen from a hundred '*farsang*' it looks like a hillock of gold, as the Sun when it spreads its rays in the morning.

3. "No bird—neither eagle, nor crane—can fly as high as its top: and no arrows, whether *Khadang* or *Khatai*, can reach to its middle.

4. "If thunder were to rage about the top of this pillar, no one could hear the sound owing to the great distance (between the top of the pillar and the ground).

5. "O God! how did they lift this heavy mountain (i.e., the pillar), and in what did they fix it that it does not move from its place?

6. "How did they carry it to the top of the building which almost touches the heavens and place it there (in its upright position)?

7. "How could they paint it all over with gold, (so beautifully) that it appears to the people like the golden morning!

8. "Is it the lote-tree of paradise which the angels may have planted in this world or is it the heavenly "*sidrah*" which the people imagine to be a mountain?

9. "Its foundations have been filled with the iron and stone; and its trunk and branches (i.e., shaft and capital) are made of gold and corals."

The *Lat Pyramid* or the pyramidal structure on which the *Minar-i-Zarrin* stands is now in a state of decay, yet it has an imposing appearance that captivates the eyes of the visitor. It may justly be regarded as one of the wonders of the Medieval architecture of India. It consists of three storeys, gradually decreasing in size—the first terrace measuring 118' square, the second 83' and the third 55' square. There are vaulted rooms on each storey all round the solid core supporting the huge monolith. The pillar itself is 42'7" high, of which 35' is finely polished, the rest being rough. Its polish enhances the beauty of its orange colour, and some early European travellers like *Tom Coryat* and *Whittaker* thought it to be built of brass.

In any case, the whole monument must have presented in those days, as it does even in its present ruinous condition, a splendid appearance, and it is hardly surprising to note that *Timur* declared he had never come across, in all the countries he had seen, a monument so beautiful as this glittering obelisk, the *Minar-i-Zarrin*.

Inscriptions of Foreign Settlers in India

BY

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Like the Muslims there had been many other foreign settlers in India who came to India before and after them and who like them and unlike the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas, Hūṇas, etc., refused to adopt the culture and religion of the Indians and to be assimilated in their society. They include some very ancient people like Aramaics and Sabeans, whose religion is not known and others who were followers of Zoroaster, Judaic, Christian and Buddhist religions.

A majority of these settlers were the European Christians, who had formed their own East India Companies to carry on trade with India. They were always patronised and helped by the rulers and the people of their respective nations. They no doubt often ran the race of life amidst stormy seas but were ultimately successful in not only seizing the maritime trade of India but also in carving out portions of the country over which they continued to rule until ousted by rivals from their own continent. They lived a life of their own almost unmolested by the Indians in whose midst they lived for generations together.

The inscriptions which these foreign settlers have left in several places in India are in their own scripts and languages. Like the Muslims these people also had their own epigraphical traditions long maintained in their own countries and naturally their inscriptions form quite a separate class of Indian epigraphical records like that of the Indo-Muslims. But in the period in which they lived in India, Epigraphy had almost lost its importance every where in the world. The epigraphical records, therefore, which they have left in India are not many and valuable from historical or any other point of view.

A majority of the inscriptions are found engraved on tombs in grave yards and are obituary notices. There are a number of European Christian cemeteries in the whole of India which are rich in

inscriptions and full of old memories. The old Cathedral Cemetery in Agra, which dates back from the time of Akbar may be cited as an example. It is no wonder that among the inscriptions of the people who bury their dead the most frequent are their sepulchral inscriptions. 'Inscriptions on tombs are probably the most numerous of all classes of inscriptions, and though many of them are of no great individual interest, they convey, when taken collectively much valuable information as to the distribution and transference of population, as to health and longevity, and as to many other conditions of ancient life.' (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. Vol. 12 p. 400).

The obituary notices are generally of traders, missionaries, travellers and other private persons, who met a natural death, but some of them are of military persons who were killed while fighting with their enemies. Long before the different European nations obtained any political power in India their traders and missionaries used to visit the country where they lived peacefully upto their death. But when they tried to become rulers of India they met with a stiff resistance from the local rulers specially from the Muslim and the Maratha rulers, wherein they were sometimes killed. On the stone slabs marking their tombs a short account of the dead men or the killed men and the circumstances of their death are recorded specially when it took place in battles. In the later period of Indo-European history the number of such obituary notices became less as most of the Civil and Military Officers used to go home after retirement. The obituary inscriptions are generally short. They are frequently in metrical form and worded in conventional praise but sometimes they are poetical and touching to read. If a "Selections from Christian obituary inscriptions in India" is made like the collection of Greek epitaphs and the old Dutch Funeral Poems noticed by Bernet Kampars, it will show their literary merit.

Some of the inscriptions of the foreigners, which are of a religious nature and which are generally quotations from the Bible are incised on parts of their churches and religious buildings.

The remaining inscriptions which are of a secular nature are found incised on parts of structures like convents, houses, forts, etc., or are incised on various objects of public and private use as guns, bells, etc. The guns and bells bearing their inscriptions which are found in several Indian States and Hindu temples seem

to have been either seized by the Indian rulers as war trophies or had been manufactured for them by order. Though gun-casting was already known in India as stated by Tavernier (See *Tavernier's Travels in India*, ii 268) and as stated by Faria Y Souza that the Portuguese found the Indians much better supplied with guns and powder than they were themselves, (*Briggs* III 510) there is no doubt that the science of gun-casting and bell-casting was considerably developed in European countries (See *Gun-Founders of England*, Introduction). Recent discovery of an inscribed bell with a Telugu inscription dated Śaka 1342 recording the donation of the bell to God Narasimha of Tokumboondi shows that bell-casting also was known. (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. XXI p. 156). It was, therefore, natural for the Indian rulers who had come in contact with the Europeans to order for European guns and bells.

Inscriptions of these people of an official nature are few evidently because paper came to be largely used for the purpose and consequently innumerable historical records or diplomatic archives used for the purpose have been found. On the whole with regard to the Indo-European or rather Indo-Christian inscriptions it may be said that they have not attained sufficient importance among the epigraphical records of foreign settlers in India as the Indo-Muslim inscriptions have done for want of marked quality, quantity, variety and specially antiquity. Another reason is that the Indo-Europeans had interest in India only as one of their foreign colonies while the Indo-Muslims had considered India almost as their home-land though for all their epigraphical inspirations they looked to their elder Muslim Countries. It may be remarked that just as inscriptions in Indian scripts and languages are sometimes found of the Muslim foreigners, inscriptions of these foreign settlers in Indian scripts and languages are rarely found except when they are copies of official treaties. With all that the inscriptions of these foreign settlers are of some importance for the political and cultural history of India of the modern period and therefore, they deserve to be included in a separate group of Indian epigraphical records. They also show how the different foreign nationals lived happily in India to the end of their lives and how India has permanently reserved for them a portion of her valuable soil.

The British Government through their Public Works and Archaeological Departments had from the very beginning paid special attention to the preservation of the monuments, tombs and

inscriptions not only of the British but of all the fellow Europeans which were found throughout India. Lists of these antiquities were also compiled for the different provinces in India. No serious attempt however, seems to have been so far made to give a connected account of the inscriptions in each of their languages and to publish the most important of them except in the case of the Portuguese inscriptions. An attempt is, therefore, made here probably for the first time to give a short account of the inscriptions not only of the modern European settlers but of all other foreign nationals who had settled in India from early times and whose inscriptions are of a different nature from those of the indigenous Indians.¹ I am conscious of the fact that the account may not be complete. I shall therefore feel obliged to the reader who kindly adds to it or corrects it.

1. Aramaic Inscriptions:

A fragmentary Aramaic inscription engraved on an octagonal memorial pillar of white marble was found in a house of the first century B.C., at Taxila on the Hydaspes in North-West Frontier Province. It was published by Dr. L. D. Barnett and Prof. A. Cowley together with a facsimile in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915 p. 340. It runs thus—Memorial to *Dmirki* for the carving on cedar and ivory and they belonged to his father. Behold this is my charge this *Vohuwarda* bequeathing and when she was our lord *PDIDU* his kingdom... and also his sons... to one lord *PVIDDS* (?)—*Aśoka's* usual designation *Priyadarśin* can be recognised in the inscription. Sir John Marshall thinks that the inscription is earlier than the earliest edict of *Aśoka* which was not issued until about 259 B.C., about fifteen years after his accession to the throne. It dates from the years when as heir-apparent of *Bindusāra Aśoka* was ruling as Governor of Taxila and the North-West of India (*Taxila*, I. p. 165). About the importance of the inscription Prof. Cowley says—The discovery of the inscription throws an interesting light on the origin of the *Kharoṣṭhi* alphabet. Taxila where it was found was a chief city of the *Kharoṣṭhi* district and as Dr. Buhler says it is here that

1. My notes on Indo-Muslim inscriptions and on Inscriptions of the foreign Buddhist settlers or travellers to India are published in separate papers.

the *Kharoṣṭhi* alphabet must have originated. The view that Aramaic was officially used by the Achaemenians, that after the conquest of North India about 500 B.C., it became current there and that *Kharoṣṭhi* was derived from it in this way is thus being gradually confirmed. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915 p. 346).

2. Sabeian Inscriptions:

Two short Sabeian inscriptions along with one Hebrew inscription were found at Bhuj in Cutch. They seem to have been brought from South Arabia, perhaps from Aden since there had been Jewish settlers in South Arabia since very early times. They were edited by A. Cowley in *E.I.* 19. 300. One of them can be dated in first century B.C., and the other a few years later. They record the name of *Wadd'ah*. One more Sabeian inscription of the same type preserved in the Bombay Museum was published by J. Bird in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 2, 30.

3. Hebrew Inscriptions:

The Hebrew inscription found at Bhuj above referred to is an epitaph of Rabbi *Hiya*. It is dated in the month of *meeshewan* of the year 1563 of the era of contracts (= 1251 A.D.) with the usual eulogistic funeral formulae.

Another Hebrew inscription found in the possession of the synagogue of the Black Jews at Chennamangalam in Cochin was edited with a facsimile by P. Anujan Achan in *I.A.* 59. 134. It is also noticed in *A.R. Travancore State* for 1930 and in the *A. R. Archl. Deptt. Travancore-Cochin* for 1950 p. 9. It is dated in the year 1581 of the era of contracts on the tenth day of the month of *Kislev* corresponding to 1269 A.D., and records the death of *Sarah*, daughter of *Israel*. It is said that the inscription was brought to Chennamangalam from *Koṭṭappuram*, a locality in *Cranganore* which had been the first place of settlement of the Jews on the west coast soon after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. Another account of the migration of the Jews to India states that they came to India in the seventh century A.D. from Persia where they were persecuted by the victorious Muslims. The King *Bhaskara Ravi Varman* of Cochin granted them a charter which is now in the possession of the White Jews in Cochin. It conferred valuable privileges upon them and raised the head of the Jews to a position of equality with

the Nāḍuvāli Chiefs. They continued in the enjoyment of this high standing till the arrival of the Portuguese who not only persecuted them but compelled them to leave their ancestral settlement at Crangnore in 1565 though the immediate cause is said to be the quarrel between the two factions of the Jews (I. A. 1930, p. 134).

A third Hebrew inscription is found embossed on a circular copper tray in the possession of the Rajasaheb of Jamkhindi. It gives a descriptive account of Solomon's throne and his greatness (A. R. S. I. E., 138. 39 p. 19 and *Ancient India* No. 5 p. 58).

A fourth Hebrew inscription is inscribed on a stone slab found in the village Periyapattanam in Ramnad Taluka in Madras State. It is an epitaph of Marian, daughter of David (A. R. Ind. Ep. 1946. 47 No. 35(6)).

One more Hebrew inscription found at Parur in Travancore is on a granite slab built into the front wall of the Jewish synagogue in North Paravūr, North Travancore, recording the erection of the building by David a Castelian Jew in A.D. 1615 (*Ann. Bibli.*, 1930, No. 280).

Pahlavi Inscriptions:

A terracotta sealing bearing Pahlavi characters said to be of the fifth or sixth century A.D. was found at Jhukar in the Larkhana District Sindh (*Journ. Sindh Hist. Society* 2-9). Pahlavi inscriptions around crosses in South India probably of the ninth or tenth century are found in the Valiyapalli church at Kottayam in Travancore State and in the church on St. Thomas Mount near Madras. They are published with a facsimile in *E.I.* 4.176. According to Dr. J. J. Modi, the Christians who had offered the crosses had to leave Persia like the Zoroastrians to escape from the persecutions of the Arab invaders of Persia in the eighth century A.D., (*J. B. B. R. A. S. N. S.* Vol. II p. i ff). One of them has a line in old Syriac in Estrangela characters which contains the name of Lord Jesus Christ and is said to be a quotation from Galatians. (See Diring, *The Alphabet* p. 393). Five Pahlavi inscriptions one of which is now preserved in the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Museum, were found in the Kanheri Caves Nos. 66 and 69. They are all of the eleventh century A.D. Two of them are dated in the year 378 and 390 of Yazdakard (1009 and 1021 A.D.) (*I.A.*

9. 265, 268 and A.S.W.I. 10. 188 and *Inscriptions from Cave temples in W. I.* by Burgess and Bhagvanlal). The Syrian Christian plates of Sthanu Ravi II which are written in the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script have signatures of witnesses in Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew characters. They record gifts of families to the Church called Tariṣāppalli at Kurukkeni Kollam i.e., Quilon. (*J. R. A. S.*, 7. 343; *Travancore Inscriptions* No. 90 *Ann. Bibli.* 1930 No. 318). It may be mentioned here that the Malabar Christians are said to have four sets of copper plates recording religious, social and commercial privileges granted to them by local rulers in A.D. 345, 880 and 1320. *Ann. Bibli.* 1930 No. 282).

Coins of the later Indo-Scythian rulers of the Rai dynasty of Sindh or Multan bear inscriptions in Pahlavi (*Ann. Bibli. Kern. Insti.* Vol. 15 p. 12).

4. *Armenian Inscriptions:*

Armenian tombs on which most of the Armenian inscriptions are engraved are found in a number of places throughout India from Baluchistan to Bengal and from Delhi to Madras, specially at Calcutta, Sydabad near Madras, Chinsura, Patna, Dacca, Musli-patam, Agra, Gwalior, Surat, and Bombay, where their important colonies were established. The Armenians seem to have carried on trade with Persia and India from very early times. A copper plate grant is said to have been bestowed on the Armenian Tome Cana by the Malabarese king Cheraman Perumal in A.D., 346 but it is said to have been lost since A.D., 1544 (*Ann. Bibli. Kern. Inst.* 1930, No. 295). Two of the Armenian inscriptions dated in the year 1050 and 1067 of the Armenian era (i.e., 1601 and 1618 A.D.) were found at Kāch in Baluchistan and now preserved in the Lahore Museum (*A. S. I.* II 272, 74). Two Armenian inscriptions dated 1611 and 1615 are found on tombs in the Padre Santus' Chapel in the Cathedral cemetery at Agra recording the death of the Armenian merchant Khawaja Mortenepus and of the Armenian Bishop Zakur of Tabriz respectively. Prior to the days of Job Charnock, the British East India Company's Agent first settled at Calcutta on 20th December 1690, the Armenians had formed settlements there. In the Armenian Street in Calcutta there is a tomb stone in Armenian language recording the death of a lady named Rezabeebeh, wife of Sookeus, on 11-7-1630 A.D. Two tomb stones with Armenian inscriptions dated in 1646 and 1693 A.D. now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, were brought from Bihar. The latter records

the death of Mirzakhān native of Julpha. One of the tombs in the Church Yard at Chinsura bears an inscription in Armenian verse and is dated 1697 A.D. (*Hist. of Armenians in India* by M. J. Seth, pp. 34 and 37). One of the many tombstones with Armenian inscriptions in the Church of St. Thomas near Madras is dated in the Armenian year 1112, equivalent to 1663 A.D. (*E.I.* 6. 89). In the Mughal times there was an important Armenian Colony at Murshidabad to which Aurangzeb had granted a *firmān* in 1665 A.D.

At Tejgaon near Dacca many Armenian inscriptions are found on tomb stones, the oldest of which dated 15th August 1714 records the death of one Avetis, an Armenian merchant (*List Antq. Monu. Bengal*, 1885, p. 200). There are five tomb stones with Armenian inscriptions at Byculla in Bombay, one of which is dated 1767 A.D. Cunningham makes a vague mention of an Armenian inscription on one of the Christian tombs at Nalanda (*A. S. R.* I. p. 38). Mahadji Sindia's army seems to have contained an Armenian General.

5. Greek Inscriptions:

Greek was the official language in the realm of the Arsacids and several Greek inscriptions, of these monarchs have been found (*Scythian Period of Indian History*, p. 83). But no Greek inscription on stone is known to have been found in India proper in spite of the fact that numerous coins with Greek and Kushano-Greek legends are found in North-West India of the several Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan rulers. (In this connection see *Ann. Bibli. Kern. Inst.* Vol. 15, p. xxxv). It is well known that the Greek legends on coins had been very helpful to the early epigraphists for the decipherment of the Brāhmī and Kharoshthī scripts in India. (Cunningham *A.S.R.* I Intro.).

6. Latin Inscriptions:

It is well known that the Latin language and Roman institutions have exercised a profound influence on Western Europe and that Latin is still the official language of the Roman Catholic Church. When the Europeans came to India they brought this legacy of the Latin language with them. This language is rich in mottoes, axioms and pithy sayings and so certain buildings of the Europeans in India at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, etc., have Latin mottoes inscribed on their walls. Some of the Roman Catholic

Churches and educational institutions have Latin sayings inscribed on their walls. On the wall of even a modern building is inscribed the Latin motto '*In Deo Fides et perseverantia*' (= faith in God and perseverance). The initials of three Latin words '*Requiescat in PACE*'—R.I.P. (= may he or she rest in peace) are invariably inscribed on tombstones in Christian cemeteries, whatever be the language of the rest of the inscription. This testifies to the fact that the European Christians brought with them the Latin brand of Christianity which had once followed the Latin tradition.

The earliest Latin inscription found in India is dated 1618. It is found in the Bassein fort and records the building of the grave of Petri Galvas, who had died in Goa (*Guide to Ruins of Bassein* p. 11). There are three Latin inscriptions engraved on the fountain opposite the French Government House at Pondicherry. The inscription on the left records that the fountain was erected in the reign of Napoleon III. The inscription on the right facing the south is in excellent Latin and records thus—On the request of the inhabitants of Pondicherry for the security of the town as well as for its beauty this 'Porte-marine' as well as these ramparts along the sea were planned, built and achieved in the name and under the reign of the king of France Louis XV. In the name also of the Compagnie des Indes' by the most vigilant Governor Joseph Francois Dupleix. This is the only inscription which gives the name of Dupleix, a great national hero of the French who loved Pondicherry very dearly. In certain Tamil districts of South India bilingual inscriptions in Latin and Tamil are found on Christian tombs.

I am thankful to Mrs. Jv. R. Gaebele of the Societe de 'L' Histoire De L' Inde Francaise Pondicherry and to Prof. J. P. de Souza of the Elphinstone College, Bombay for supplying me the information contained in this note.

7. Portuguese Inscriptions:

Of all the European settlers the Portuguese have left a large number of inscriptions, which are found in several places in India like Goa, Daman, Diu, Cannanore, Quilon, Manner, Negapatam, San Thome, Cranganore, Bassein, Chaul, Kolaba, Revadanda, Korlai, Mylapur, Cochin, etc., where the Portuguese had erected factories in old times or which are still in their possession. They

are in Churches (Matriz) Convents, Graveyards, public buildings like jails and hospitals and forts and on guns and bells.

A bilingual inscription with an Arabic text and its Portuguese translation dated 939—A.H. (1526 A.D.) was published so far back as 1798 A.D. in the *Oriental Collections*, Vol. II 44. Another bilingual inscription in Arabic verse and Gujarati with Portuguese coat of Arms is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. A Jain inscription of 1530 A.D. found in Nagar Taluka of the Shimoga District in Mysore State, states while relating the successes of the Jain disputant Vijayanandasuri at various royal courts that he destroyed the European faith of the Viceroy of Srirangnagara (*Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions*, p. 209). The Jain Pandit's dispute might have been with a Portuguese Missionary. But probably the most important early Portuguese inscription is of 1536 A.D. recording the building of the Bassein fortress by the first captain of the place Garcia de Sa by command of the Governor Nuno de Cunha (*Guide to ruins of Bassein*, p. 14).

Some early Portuguese inscriptions are found in the Revadanda fort and in the Korlai fort near Revadanda (A.S.W. I. 1906, 7, p. 21). Some Portuguese tombstone inscriptions one of which is dated 27th October 1600 were found in the Cochin harbour. (*Ann. Bibli. Kern. Inst.* Vol. 12, p. 85 A.R. Archl. Deptt. Travn: Cochin 1950, p. 9). The Portuguese Church at Bendal near Hubli has inscriptions dated 1599, 1695, 1697 etc. A Portuguese inscription of 1654 found at Revadanda is an epitaph of Gasper Gomes de Faria. A bell in the Singanapur (Satara District) Siva temple bears a Portuguese inscription of 1630 A.D. There are also bells with Portuguese inscriptions in a temple at Pandharpur and at Sankeshwar near Alibag. Several tomb stone inscriptions dated 1632 and 1633 of Portuguese captives from Hooghly are found in the Catholic Cemetery of Agra. They include some of Jesuit fathers. Some more inscriptions of Jesuit scholars like Dorville, Anthony De Machalhaes, Henry Unwevens, *alias* Busi and Anthony Gabelsperger are also found there. A Portuguese inscription of 1656 testifying the vow made by King Dom Joas IV of Portugal to defend the Immaculate, the conception of virgin Mary is found in a church at Chaul in District Kolaba, (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* IX).

Most of the Portuguese inscriptions have been published in the following books. Inscriptions in Goa by Cunha Rivara, F. N.

Xaseviar, Mealquiacias, Richards Mical Tallas etc. Inscriptions in Daman and Diva by Cunha Rivera, A. F. Mouiz etc. Inscriptions in Bassein by Dr. Gerson De Cunha, Braz Fernandes etc. The inscriptions in Cochin by the Bishop of Cochin and Cunha Rivara and the inscriptions in Mylapur by the same scholars and Father Histen etc.

I am thankful to Dr. Pandurang Pissurlenkar of Goa for kindly supplying me the information.

8. Dutch Inscriptions:

The Dutch contact with India began in 1604. Very old Dutch tombs with inscriptions are existing at Surat, Olpad, Broach and some other places in Gujarat where the Dutch had their factories. (A.S.W.I. 1889-90 p. 9). One of the Dutch tombs near Kankaria tank at Ahmedabad bears an epigraph of 1659 A.D. (A.S.I., 8-124). Some of the Dutch tombs at Broach bear the following dates 23rd August 1654, 10 September 1666, Johannis Groenevaldt 1702, 1744 etc. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* 22-321). The Dutch remained at Broach for 115 years as their monuments and tombs are dated from 1654 to 1770. Old Dutch funeral poems in India in Dutch are noticed by Bernet Kampers in Ind. Gids 1837, p. 17-26. See Ann. Bib. Vol. 12 No. 249.

The Dutch had important political and economic relations with the Indian princes and other European powers. Dutch versions of a Telugu and a Tamil inscription on silver plates now preserved in the Batavia Museum are published in *Corpus Diplomaticum Naderland Indorum*. One records a charter granted by Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjore to the Dutch in 1658 and by Chikkanath Nayak of Madura in 1678 (A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, p. 90), and another records a treaty between the Maratha Chief of Tanjore named Ekoji, as the agent of the Bijapur Sultan and the Dutch E. I. Company confirming the grant of certain trading and colonising privileges made previously to the Company.

A stone slab with a Dutch inscription dated 14th May 1749 was found at Chingalput. It was originally fixed in the fort of Sadraspatanam south of Madras, and records the building of the fort by Joannes Spit and Philippus, Jacobus Dormeue, Chief merchant and his assistant of the Dutch company at the hands of the Engineer Coenraad Pieter Keller from Colombo (*E.I.*, 24, 11).

A number of bells bearing Dutch inscriptions are found in some places in India. A gun lying in the Parinda fort, Hyderabad State, bears a Dutch inscription dated 1627 A.D. Two guns now preserved in the Indore Museum which were probably seized or acquired from the Dutch by the Portuguese from whom they had been seized by the Maratha General Malharrao Holkar in the battle of Bassein in 1739 A.D. bear the following inscriptions. Anno 1653 Lambert Bargerink ne Fecit Dunkerck and 1673 Batavia (See *J.I.H.* 1944, p. 40). This Lambert was probably the same under whom the famous Vauxhall Gun Foundry in England was established in 1665 (*Gunfounders of England*, p. 113).

A Dutch inscription on a temple bell in Travancore is noticed in Travancore Information and Listener of 4-11-1942.

By the year 1825 all the Dutch possessions in India vanished (*I.H.Q.* 14-544) and no Dutch inscription of a subsequent date is found.

9. French Inscriptions:

French inscriptions are comparatively few. They are generally found on tomb stones in French cemeteries in the French factories and possessions at Pondicherry, Mahe, Chandranagar, Karaikal, Surat, etc. Old French tombs exist in Poona also. One of the tombs in Pondicherry was erected to the memory of Mariados Poulle, Chief Interpreter of the Superior Council and the Courts and President of the Consultation Chamber of the Malabars of Pondicherry. Honoured by a medal and other distinctions by the Government and the Academic Francaise Died on 3rd April 1773 at the age of 75.

A big bell hung outside the well-known Jagannath temple at Puri in Orissa contains a French inscription dated in 1746 A.D.

10. English Inscriptions :

Numerous English inscriptions are found all over India. As the English had been sovereign rulers of India for a number of years some of their inscriptions are infested with political and historical importance. But as in the case of inscriptions of other European peoples a majority of the English inscriptions are found in graveyards. Most of them no doubt record the natural death of the

Englishmen but some record the obituary notices of the English soldiers who were killed while fighting against their enemies like the Marathas, Hyder and Tipu of Mysore and the Amirs of Sindh.

The oldest English inscription found in India is probably the one dated 1614 which is on a tomb in the Agra Cathedral cemetery and which records the death of John Mildenhall who called himself to be Queen Elizabeth's ambassador and had an audience with Akbar.

Some early English inscriptions on tombstones are found in North Kanara District at Bhatkal Nagarbastikere, Murdesvar, Chitakule, Honavar, Girsappa, Bilgi, etc. (*A.S.W.I.R.* 1907. 8 p. 26). One of the Bhatkal inscriptions, which records the death in 1637 of a merchant is interesting in that there are such combinations of letters formed much in the same way as diphthongs are usually printed (*A.S.W.I.R.* 1892-93 p. 6). One of the inscriptions in Surat, which was one of the early factory places of the English, records the death on 18-4-1659 of Sir George Onenden, the President of the Surat factory. An inscription of 1766 is found on a tomb in Tummurakota in Guntur District. An English inscription at Gohad in Madhya Bharat records the death of Lambert Pierie on 24-1-1780. A tomb at Pullalur in Madras State contains an inscription dated 1781 recording the death of an English Officer in a battle with Hydar (*A.R. Epi.* 1922-23, p. 126). An inscription from Tirupachchuru in Chingalpet District records the death of Kirkpatrick in 1781. (*List of Inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Madras*). At Ahobalipuram in Hubli Taluka in Dharwad District is a tomb inscription recording the death of James Cooke by Cholera in 1818. An English inscription on a tomb dated 1849 was raised by the Raja of Wallawanad at Terantalmanna in Malabar District (*A.R. Epi.* 1929-30).

The following are some of the English inscriptions of a general nature.

An English version of a Tamil inscription dated 5-12-1776 registers a gift of four kani of land for the flower garden and for constructing a Ganesa temple by the community of oilmongers of Chennapattam. An English inscription dated in 1783 recording the erection of a building by order of the Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Huges is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

11. *Parsi Inscriptions* :

Inscriptions of the Parsis, though they have settled in India from very early times, are rarely found. The reason probably is that the ancient Parsis or Pārasikas,* mentioned in early Indian literature and inscriptions as administrators and rulers of certain Indian territories, had as suggested by the late Drs. R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar become completely Hindus under the name of the *Sūrya-dvijas* or Magi Brahmanas. The inscriptions which they might have set up must have been like those of the indigenous Hindus in Indian script and language and nature. The Parsis of later times who had settled in India as refugees from Persia and who have been living as a separate community had probably no occasions for setting up inscriptions particularly because their funeral customs give little occasions for setting up obituary notices as those of the Muslim and Christian settlers do.

Kerala and Karnataka Place-names

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, *Travancore*

In this *Journal* for April 1953, pp. 81-85, appeared Mr. Hiremath's study of the terminal components of some place-names in Karnataka. Naturally some of those elements occur in Kerala also (and in Andhra and Tamilnad), besides many others. His article deals with the following words :—

Koppa	Kal	Haṭṭi
Guṇḍa	Goḷ	Kōṭe
Gā, gi	Wāḍa	Kaṭṭi
Baḷ	Ūru	Biḍu
Oḷ	Kēri	Sāgara, samudra

I. *Koppam* in Malayalam is a narrow, well-like pit in which wild elephants are caught (and not a heap). *Kuppam* (with *u*) occurs at the end of Tamil place-names, e.g., *Nellikuppam*. *Mal. kuppā* (with no *m*) means a heap of sweepings, refuse. These three have perhaps no relation to Sanskrit *gumpha*, stringing together. Had *koppa* localities in Karnataka elephant-pits originally? A few *Mal. place-names* end in *kompə*, a branch or a horn (Tamil *kompu* or *koppu*), e.g. *Chēla-kompə*, the branch of the 'chela' tree (a place-name).

(Note : ə above is inverted e; it represents a Malayalam vowel found also in Eng. *her*, *butter*, &c.).

II. If Kanarese *guṇḍa* is from *koṇḍa*, a hill, there are many *Mal. place-names* ending in, or beginning with *kunnə*, or *kunnam*, both meaning hill, like Tamil *kunru*, *kunram* (குன்றம், குன்றம்).

III. Kanarese *kal* corresponds to *Mal. kal* or *kallə*, stone, and not hill or mountain. These two occur in many *Mal. place-names*, e.g., *Kalkkuḷam*, stone-tank; *Ānakkallə*, elephant-like stone. These two present place-names must originally have denoted *only* the tank and the stone. But later on, as usual with other place-names, the surrounding small area, and gradually larger areas, came to be known by that tank's and stone's names!

Kalkulam (tank) is now a big taluk in Travancore, and not a tank at all.

Mal. has also the case-ending *kal*, coming at the end of place-names like Kōṭṭackal, at the fort; Vāṭackal, at the mud-fort.

IV. Corresponding to kanarese *goḷ* (*koḷa*, tank) there is *koḷam* (correctly *kuḷam*) in Mal. place-names. E.g., Kalkkuḷam stone tank, ka-yaṅkuḷam (=kāyalin kuḷam; lagoon's tank; or *kaḷam*, threshing floor, or prepared ground), Iraṇākuḷam (in Cochin), the first half of which has been variously interpreted. It may originally have been iraivanārkuḷam இறைவனார் குளம், the king's tank. Kuḷam, however in some such instances was possibly *kaḷam*, threshing floor, or levelled ground, at first. This Mal. *kaḷam* sounds like Skt. *khala*, of which one sense is threshing floor. Skt. *khalapū* is literally the sweeper of a threshing floor. Iraṇākuḷam may be Irānār-*kaḷam*, the Iran, Persian, people's *kaḷam*, ground.

V. Kan. *Ūru* corresponds to Mal. *ūr*, *ūr*, which appears in very many Kerala place-names and even *house*-names. Tamil place-names too have *ūru*, *ūr*, village. Its derivation is a puzzle. *Ūr* has several meanings in Mal.—(1) to draw out, like a sword from its sheath, (2) to creep, like a reptile, (3) life, *ūr* in this case being a corrupt form of *uyir*, life, Skt. *jīvitam*. This *jīvitam* occurs in certain old Kerala place-names found in inscriptions, in the sense of land assigned to a person for his *livelihood*. *Ūr*, found in Kerala *house*-names also, may be related to Tamil *uraivu*, inhabiting (உறைவிடம்) There is *Ur* in Chaldea!

VI. Kan. *Kēri* corresponds to *chēri* in Mal. and Tamil, and occurs in many Kerala place-names and *house*-names. *Chēri* is probably from *chēr*, to join, or join together, and a *chēri* may be interpreted (not as a regular street, but) as a place where people live in huts or houses which are close together. Mal. *paraçchēri* is a Pariah hamlet, and *iṭacchēri* is a cowherds' hamlet.

There is *kēri* also in Mal. in the sense of a wet paddy field in the low-lying parts of Kerala. This *kēri* is a corrupt form of *kari* (கரி) having the same sense. *Kari* means black, as in *kari-nilam*, field with black clay. *Kaṇṭan-kari* was originally one (Neela-) *kaṇṭan*'s black paddy field. *Uppukkēri* is such a field under *uppu*,

i.e., brackish, water. The former is now a place-name; the latter a *house*-name!

There was in Kōṭṭayam, Travancore, a white Englishman, Baker, called "Kari-sahib", as he was living beside a vast 'kari'-field owned by him. *Kari-sahib* means also an Englishman black as coal! He belonged to the family of the famous English missionary Baker who was in Travancore from 1816 A.D.

The local myth about such *kari* fields is that they were in the Puranic Khāṇḍava forest burned down by Arjuna the Pāṇḍava, and that the black leafless trees lying embedded in the black soil there are that forest's burnt trees. But we know that there is no evidence that the five Pāṇḍavas (or Parasurama, or the Buddha, or St. Thomas) ever came to Kerala, although several localities, foot-prints on rocks, caves, temples, churches, crosses, &c., in this region are assigned to those heroes. The Khāṇḍava forest was in fact on the banks of the Jumna far away in North India. The black tree trunks with branches, lying in the black clay of the above *kari* or *kēri* paddy fields are called *kāṇṭā-marams* காண்டா மரம், i.e., Khāṇḍava trees. They are for the most part really uprooted forest trees brought down by flooded rivers from the eastern mountains.

VII. Kanarese *haṭṭi* must be a form of Tamil and Mal. *paṭṭi*; which when applied to a place means a cattle-pen in an open field, or a sheep-fold on tall pillars, safe from wild beasts' ravages. In Tamil *paṭṭikkāṭu* (பட்டிக்காடு) signifies an uncivilized hamlet, literally a wild dogs' (*paṭṭi*'s) jungle or one in which miserable men live watching the cattle and sheep in their *paṭṭis* (= pens or folds, though *paṭṭi* means also a dog). *Paṭṭi* may be from *paṭu* (படு), to be in, or enclosed, one of the several senses of that Tamil word.

VIII. Kanarese *kōṭṭe* is *kōṭṭai* (கோட்டை) in Tamil, and *kōṭṭa* in Mal., all three meaning a fort. Each of these may be directly or indirectly from Skt. *kōṣṭha*, an inner room, and not from Skt. *gōṣṭha*, a cowshed or cattle pen. This latter appears as *kōṭṭam* in some old Kerala place-names found in inscriptions. *Gōṣṭha*'s old Mal. translation is *āmpāṭi* (அம்பாடி), wherein *ā* means cow or ox, and *pāṭi*, a hamlet, as in *Irattappāṭi*, *chōvappāṭi*. This *pāṭi* has probably no relation to *pāṭi* of Skt. *pāṭi-gaṇita*, *pāṭi-pāṭi*, &c., but is perhaps cognate with *paṭṭi* discussed *supra*, VII.

IX. Kōṭe of Kanarese may be Kōtu of Tamil (Mal. Kōtə), a corner, as in Tiru-āṇ-Kōṭu (English Travancore), and Kōzhi-kōtu (English Calicut), = the marshy corner. Travancore means the sacred (tiru) corner of the Ay-King, or of Siva's bull, āvu (அவு).

The other words dealt with by Mr. Hiremath occur rarely in Kerala place-names, although Kanara Brahmins called Dēsis in Kerala, as distinct from Grāma Brahmins called Nambudiris (correctly Nampu-, or Nampi-tiri), alleged to have started originally from Ahicchatra in Bareilly of U. P., North India, have been in Tiruvalla in Travancore from before 220 M.E. (1044 A.D.) as the unpublished Sanskrit metrical work Brahma-Pratiṣṭhā suggests. Vide *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. I (1930), pp. 135-145 for my study of that work, and of its summary the Sanskrit poem Dēś-yaṣṭaka.

Unlike Karnataka or Karnata, originally Kannaṭa or Kannaḍa (Eng. Canara), Kerala has several names:—

1. Chēram, Cheral, Kēraḷam.
2. Malanāṭə, Malayānnāṭə, Malātə, Mananaṭə.
3. Malayāḷam (now applied to the language).
4. Malaṅkara (used by "St. Thhomas" Christians alone).
5. Malabār (with Arabic *bar*, Mallē-Vārah in Skt.)
Mallē-Vārah மல்லை வாராறு
6. Male (2 syllables: Cosmas's Greek form, ca. 525).
7. Kerobothras (in Greek *Periplus* ca. 60), almost like Kēralaputra, Kēraḍaputro, Kēlalaputra, and Kētala-puto found in Aśoka's four inscriptions, 3rd cent. B.C.

The Tamil name Chēram is King Cheran's land. They are from the root chēr, to *join*. Keralam was called by the first three names in the above list probably (1) because it adjoined the Western Ghats, or the much more extensive Tamilnad, or (2) because it was once under a Tamilnad prince (*putra* of the above Aśokan place-names in 7 above) as Viceroy, and thus politically *joined* to Tamilnad. Aśoka's edicts, we know, mention four princes who were his Viceroys, "designated as *Kumaras* or *Arya-putras*", as Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji says in his *Aśoka*, London (1928), p. 9. Mān in Chera-mān, Chera king means *putra*.

As already pointed out, Tamil-Mal. chēri became keri in Canarese. But was it through Kanarese that Tamil Chēral reached Aśoka and the first century Greeks (or earlier ones) in the altered forms (with *k* for *ch*)? The Greeks, however, with their defective alphabet and limited phonemes were likely to pronounce Chera as Kera, but Aśoka and his scholars were not. Perhaps he did not obtain the form Kerala from the Greeks of his days.

Cosmas's Male (2 syllables) is clearly from Tamil Malai (மலை) of Malai-nāṭu, also pronounced Malei-nāṭu. *Bar* of Malabar is Arabic, which occurs also in the Arabic name Ma'abar for the east coast of South India. Malabar's Skt. form is Malle-Vārah.

Ālam of Malayāḷam (now usually applied to the language) has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Arabic ālam (with ordinary English *l*) means the world; and there is ālam in Vangāḷam (= Bengal), also called simply Vangam. Besides these two (ālam and ālam) there is ālam found in the Kerala place-names Pacchāḷam and Patinettarayāḷam, both in Cochin (which may be kocchu-aḷi, the little opening in the bar of the sea there.) Cochin and Cochin were European's old renderings of Kocchi—காச்சி—with *m* and *n* added to suit their tongues.

Old S. W. India's Christians' Malaṅkara (4, *supra*) may be from Greek Male-chora, meaning Malai-nāḍu itself. Syriac used by them, freely borrowed Greek words. The Portuguese (after 1498 A.D.) called Malei-nāḍu (Keraḷa) "the Serra," i.e. mountain, Tamil Malai (Malei, மலை), Cosmas's Ma-le. Was it a Canarese Brahmin who changed Tamil Cheral into Keralam? When?

Gwalior Succession 1836-1843

BY

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University of Saugor.

In the powerful state of Gwalior, allied to the British Government by a subordinate alliance, the question of succession cropped up twice within a period of fifteen years almost under identical circumstances, once in 1826-27 and again in 1836-43. Like Daulat Rao Sindhia, whose last years of life were a period of protracted illness and mortal agony due to the absence of a male issue, his successor Jankoji Rao Sindhia's last years of life were characterised more or less by similar circumstances. On both occasions question of succession agitated the minds of the interested persons and engaged the serious attention of the Paramount Power.¹

Maharaja Jankoji Rao Sindhia was adopted as son and successor to the splendid inheritance of Daulat Rao Sindhia after his death in March 1827 by his junior and most favourite wife Baiza Bai under the pressure from the Paramount Power and against her wishes when he was a tender lad of about ten years. Under her careful influence he developed into a man of temperate and moderate habits. During his minority, the talented, resourceful and capable Regent Baiza Bai administered the state most efficiently and successfully. After attaining the age of majority hardly he had enjoyed power for a couple of years when his frail health and delicate constitution began to show marked deterioration. In 1835 he fell seriously ill and his condition became so precarious that great apprehension of his death began to be entertained and anxiety prevailed all over the state.² Although only nineteen years in age, he became scrofulous and consumptive. Dr. Hope, the Residency surgeon, attended on him on two occasions and after a thorough examination gave his expert medical opinion that the Maharaja would not enjoy a long span of life.³ Due to his constitutional

1. Gupta, H. L.—“Gwalior Succession, 1826-27.

2. Bengal Political consultation, 21st December 1835, No. 33A.

3. *Ibid.*

weakness, he continued to lose his powers of body and mind and the brilliant traits of his character which he had exhibited when Col. Stewart was the Resident of Gwalior and Lord William Bentinck had visited his state. As the Maharaja had no offspring and there was no hope of having one in the near future, the Resident J. Sutherland asked for instruction from the Governor General on the probable question of succession to that important principality. The persons who had their interests to advance in the state were seen actively at work. In his ardent desire to promote his interests at the expense of others, the maternal uncle of the Maharaja, popularly known as Mama Sahib who was an influential minister of the state, expelled from Gwalior Jaswant Rao Gorporeah, the father-in-law of the Maharaja and a man of no note or influence in the state or in the Deccan, on the charge of murder of a menial servant but in reality to get rid of him lest he should through his daughter Tara Bai gain in influence over the Maharaja and become a potential rival to his rank and position of minister in the state.⁴

The Resident was of the view that in case of the Maharaja's death without a son his only wife Tara Bai should exercise the privilege of adopting an heir to the throne from amongst the members of the Sindhia family provided she did not declare herself to be pregnant. Under similar circumstances on two occasions in the past, when Mahadaji Sindhia and Daulat Rao Sindhia had died without male issues, the function of adopting heirs had devolved on their widows. In the previous case in 1827 Baiza Bai was not allowed freedom to select a boy for adoption. The selection was actually made by the British Resident and she had to accept him reluctantly. But in the present case the right of Regency and title to manage the affairs of the state was likely to become a subject of triangular dispute between the families of the Sindhia, the Gorporeahs and the Mama Sahib. The Resident apprehended some trouble as had happened last time during the period of Baiza Bai's Regency. Mama Sahib was a very ambitious man. He had resources to fulfil his inordinate ambition. His power and influence which were paramount in Gwalior were not likely to terminate with the life of his nephew. Legally he had no claims to Regency but it was clear that he would prove obnoxious to immature and inexperienced Tara Bai and her simple minded father against

4. *Ibid.*

whom he had already adopted very harsh measures. There was also a fear that Baiza Bai or any other pretender to power might usurp authority after the death of the Maharaja. In these circumstances, the Resident was of the view that due to the position occupied by the British in India it was impossible to act as quiet spectators of disturbed conditions in Gwalior or to abstain from taking some part in the affairs of that state on the death of the Maharaja.⁵

As there was no desire to annex Gwalior by the application of the principle of lapse, the Resident considered it expedient to acknowledge the right of the widow to adopt an heir and act as Regent and to afford her and her adopted son security against encroachments without effecting interference in the internal administration of the country. If, however, disputes occurred then some sort of interposition would be considered necessary and expedient. On this point the Resident wanted definite instructions from the Governor General.⁶

The Governor General, in his letter to the Resident dated 21st December 1835, adopted almost similar attitude as was done by Lord Amherst when the question of succession had exercised his mind in 1826. The Resident was instructed to bring to the mind of the Maharaja in strongest terms the evils of a disputed succession prejudicial to the welfare of his country and to the interests of the House of Sindhia and to ask him to adopt a son during his life-time to succeed him in the event of his death without a male issue and also to nominate a council of Regency to administer the State during the minority of the adopted son. If, however, the Maharaja did not act upon the suggestions given to him and died without adopting a son, then the right of his wife Tara Bai to adopt a son from amongst the members of the Sindhia family and to act as Regent during his minority, if that arrangement was found to be in consonance with the general wish of the chiefs and nobles of the state, was to be recognised without any delay.⁷

On the instructions received from the Governor General the Resident impressed on Mama Sahib and Sivaji Pant Tatia and Dadaji Khasgiwala, the two accredited agents of the Durbar to

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. P. C. 21st December 1836 No. 33B; Political letter from the Government of India to the Court of Directors, 25th July, 1836 No. 20.

transact business with him, that in the interest of tranquillity in the state it was highly desirable that the Maharaja should name a person from amongst the members of the Sindhia family as his successor as otherwise it would put the British Government to great embarrassment and might endanger the peace of the country.⁸ They fully agreed with the Resident but considered it vain to expect from the Maharaja at so early an age of his life to name a child for adoption. The Maharaja too resented such a suggestion and even deplored persuasions to contract a second marriage in order to have a son. As Tara Bai had not reached the years of puberty there was no reason not to hope for an issue from her at proper time.⁹ Hence, the Resident failed in his attempts to induce the Maharaja to nominate his successor. In the mean time the Maharaja recovered his health and there remained no apprehension of his early death.¹⁰ Therefore, the Resident expressed his view to the Governor General that the Paramount Power should not worry about succession in Gwalior. If there was no legitimate heir to that principality, there was hardly any member of the Sindhia family who could set up any pretensions to the throne. The Maharaja might have a son of his own in course of time.¹¹ Agreeing with the view that the adoption of a child, in case of a future issue, might create greater embarrassment than the death of the Maharaja without an adoption, the Resident assured the Governor General that after the death of the Maharaja, there might not be much difficulty in accomplishing an adoption and recognising his widow as Regent during the minority of her adopted son, without the slightest apprehension of general tranquillity being endangered. And even if any disturbance was caused by the men in arms to carve out a position in the state it would afford a most appropriate occasion and the best opportunity to destroy the troublous spirits and reduce the armed might of the state in the least objectionable manner.¹² The Governor General fully endorsed the inexpediency of raising the issue of succession at a premature time.¹³

8. P. C. 18th January 1836, No. 30.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Political letter from the Government of India to the Court of Directors 26th September 1836.

11. P. C. 18th January 1836 No. 30.

12. *Ibid.*

13. P. C. 18th January 1836 No. 31.

Between 1835 and 1841 the Maharaja had several minor attacks of illness which did not enable him to regain his normal health. He remained infirm and frail in health. In February 1841 he again had a severe attack of melancholia. This time his physicians showed great anxiety about his recovery. Lt.-Col. Alexander Spiers, the new Resident paid him a visit and found him very weak, pale and much reduced although he spoke with considerable confidence and mental balance. He, therefore, brought the subject of succession again to the immediate attention of the Governor General Lord Auckland on 25th February 1841 and sought his instructions on the issue.¹⁴ The Governor General endorsed the instructions issued by his predecessor on 7th November 1835 as they were likely to prove most popular, though they were not quite consistent with the Hindu Law but all the same not contrary to the known usages of the time. However, the practical difficulty was that the Maharani was of too tender an age to make a selection after the death of her husband, and the discovery of a person closely related to the Sindhia family was not an easy task to be accomplished in a short time and a vacant throne for a long time might become an inducement to ambitious persons to advance their claims and even to fight for it. In view of this contingency which might endanger peace, the Resident sought permission to select a member of the Sindhia family and in the event of the Maharaja's death to recommend him to his widow for adoption with the consent of the leading chiefs of the state and influential members of the Durbar.¹⁵

The Governor-General reiterated his previous instructions in more positive terms to recognise an adoption from the Sindhia family made by his widow on the direction of the Resident and with the consent of the leading chiefs of the Durbar, as the Maharani would be too tender in age to exercise her discretion judiciously and effectively. The Resident was asked to guarantee security to the mother and the heir from molestation.¹⁶ A report on the character, condition and circumstances of all the four boys mentioned in the 'Gwalior Diary' and information about the proceedings of ministers, officers and chiefs with respect to adoption were asked for and the Resident was instructed to adopt the line of action prescribed

14. P. C. 8th March 1841 No. 42.

15. *Ibid.*

16. P. C. 8th March 1841 No. 43.

for him without disclosing it to anybody in the state as it might create complications.¹⁷

The Resident complied with the requisitions and transmitted along with other information a genealogical table of the Sindhia family collected from the information in the Persian Office of his Residency and corroborated by the best available sources in Gwalior.¹⁸ The general feeling was that the choice of adoption would be between Bhagirath Rao, son of Hemvant Rao alias Babajee Sindhia, a sharp, fine and good-looking boy of about eight years, and the son of Sergajee or Sugajee Sindhia, a boy of about three years of age.¹⁹ The Resident was very cautious in making inquiries and collecting information lest these steps might create suspicion in Gwalior. He had made known the contents of his instructions only to his assistant Captain Ellis. He came to know from reliable sources that there would be no objection to an adoption being made either by Rukma Bai, Senior widow of Daulat Rao Sindhia, or by Tara Bai.²⁰ The Governor General agreed that Bhagirath Rao, a boy nearest in blood to the Maharaja, had the best claims to succession.²¹

The Maharaja expired on 7th February 1843.²² On pressing messages from the ministers earnestly requesting his presence in the palace, the Resident went there accompanied by Captain Ellis. There, on the recommendations of the Resident and with the general concurrence of all chiefs and parties in the state, Tara Bai adopted Bhagirath Rao as her adopted son and waited for the Governor General's approval and confirmation.²³ The Governor General Lord Ellenborough approved the adoption and expressed his desire to receive the new Maharaja in a Durbar at Agra in

17. A letter from the Secy. to the Government to the Resident at Gwalior 14th September 1842.

A letter from the Secret Department, Government of India to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 20th Feb., 1843 No. 13.

18. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Govt., 23rd Sept. 1842.

19. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Govt., 24th Sept., 1842.

20. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government, 23rd September 1842.

21. A letter from the Secretary to Government to the Resident, 5th October 1842.

22. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government 7th February 1843.

23. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government 8th February 1843.

March and to invest him with a khil'at.²⁴ He ascended the throne under the name of Maharaja Ali Jah Jyajee Rao Sindhia.²⁵ But owing to the tender age of the Maharaja, lack of his training in Durbar etiquette, decay in administration and tension in the army, it was not considered prudent to allow him to move to Agra as it might become an occasion for serious disturbances by the army.²⁶ Therefore, the Resident conferred khil'at on the Maharaja on the day of his accession to the gaddi on the 22nd February and pledged British support to him.²⁷

In deciding this question of succession the selection of a member of the Sindhia family was made by the Resident and was endorsed by the influential members of the state and Tara Bai had to accept him for adoption. This practice was in accordance with the procedure established by the Paramount Power. It indicates the extent to which the Indian states were made to feel their dependence on the representatives of the superior authority who enjoyed unlimited de facto power to advise and influence the quasi de jure sovereigns in diverse ways and on all sorts of affairs of their states and the problems arising therein.

As the new Maharaja was too young to administer the State and the Regent Tara Bai too inexperienced to wield power, Mama Sahib was appointed as chief minister on the advice of the Resident and against the wishes of the royal household, who favoured Dadaji Khasgiwala. The subsequent kaleidoscopic changes in Gwalior and in the policy of the Paramount Power, when Col. Sleeman was the Resident and Lord Ellenborough was determined to reduce the armed might of the state, to destroy the semblance of its independence and to change the political status of the state from an ally to a protected state, reveal a woeful story of injudicious, and high-handed interposition of the British Government in the affairs of that state and enormities committed for promotion of imperial interests.

24. A letter from the Secretary to Government to the Resident 13th February 1843.

25. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government, 14th February 1843.

26. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government, 16th February 1843.

27. A letter from the Resident to the Secretary to Government, 23rd February 1843.

**Some Aspects of Society and Culture of Rajasthan as
Revealed from the Byava Bahi of Dastri
Records, Jodhpur**

BY

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Recently I had an occasion to examine the *Dastri* Records lodged in the Records¹ room of Jodhpur Division, Jodhpur. During the course of my examination I came across *Byāva-Bahis*²—ledgers regarding marriages of Royal princes and princesses of Jodhpur. Such Bahis are nine in number, from V.S. 1776-1976 (1719-1919 A.D.), each consisting of about 500 folios of considerable length. They contain either leather or cloth covers with a long string to tie and roll them in double folds. This device of tying and rolling the *Bahis* with strong strings has at least saved the papers from being destroyed.

The script and language used for writing the *Bahis* is Mār-wārī. The letters and words have all been written in continued lines without stops or paragraphs.

As regards orthography of the *Bahis*, the following points need mention—‘ka’ and ‘pha’, ‘da’ and ‘ra’, ‘tha’ and ‘dha’, ‘pa’ and ‘ya’, ‘na’ and ‘ta’, ‘u’ and ‘ru’, ‘ju’ and ‘jhu’, etc., bear similar appearance. ‘Sa’, ‘jha’, ‘e’, ‘chha’, etc., have their own peculiar shape which can only be identified with the reference to the relative position the particular letters hold with the context.

The *Bahis* under review are of immense value to the students of cultural history of Rājasthān. They supply rich store of infor-

1. *Dastri* Records are the State owned Records possessing rich material for the history of Rājasthān. They are in a fairly good state of preservation and are carefully looked after by a special staff kept for the purpose by the Government of Rājasthān. They cover the period from V.S. 1776, to V.S. 2005.

2. *Byāva* is a Mār-wārī word denoting marriage. The word traces its origin from the Sanskrit word ‘Vivāh’.

mation regarding the period between V.S. 1776 to V.S. 1976 (1719-1919 A.D.) for the social, economic and political history of Mārwar in particular and history of Rājasthān in general. They afford a scope for the study of the matrimonial alliances entered into by the Rāthors with other Rajput rulers. They furnish an adequate picture of social customs related with marriage ceremonies of male and female members of the Royal family. Through these records we know hundreds of names of persons belonging to different occupations and ranks. Prices of several articles have also been preserved in them. In brief, these *Bahis* fill up important gaps in the socio-economic history of Rājasthān.

I propose here to give some selected portions of the *Bahī* No. I of the Dastri Records belonging to V. S. 1776-1821 (1719-1764 A.D.), with a brief survey of the contents as preserved in it.

The *Bahī* opens with the offer of *Birā*—packet of betel to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur by Ajit Singh as a token of approval of the proposal of the marriage of the princess Suraj Kunwar,³ daughter of Ajit Singh with him (Jai Singh). This is a strange event recorded as against the established custom. The marriage proposal always comes from the girl's party. Usually, in the initial stage such proposals in medieval times (as in modern times) were conveyed by *Bhats*, singers, barbers or elderly ladies. Such persons were expected to know all about the young men and women of the neighbouring States. They were also supposed to know much about their lineage, incomes, character and social as well as economic standing. The contemporary Rājasthānī literature⁴ like *Dholā Maruri-Vāt*, *Sanwali Sakhī-rī-Vāt*, *Chand Kunwari-rī-Vāt* and *Vāt Sangraha* etc., afford ample evidence in support of this custom. The formalising of the proposal was, of course to be conducted by the family priest by way of leading a *Tikā* to the bridegroom.

The conspicuous absence of the account of the *Tikā* in this particular case demands our serious consideration, specially when the same *Bahī* in the year V.S. 1820 records the offer of the *Tikā*

I have used the actual word '*Byāva-Bahī*' as it occurs in the index volume of the department.

3. She was the fourth daughter of Ajit Singh, Ojhā's Jodhpur *Rapya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. II, p. 602.

4. Mss. Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur.

to Mahārājā Vijaya Singh from Bundi.⁵ Hence the absence of the account of the *Tikā* cannot be passed over merely as an error on the part of the scribe or recorder. The reason of the absence of the account of this important function is to be searched out elsewhere. Unfortunately no historian of our age gives any reference to this marriage and hence we are at loss to trace out any clue to this fact. The obvious reason of non-reference to *Tikā* ceremony was that it was not observed then. It appears that when Sawai Jai Singh came to Jodhpur on some political mission and their differences were bridged on certain points the newly framed friendship was cemented by marriage alliance and as there was little time left for observing *Tikā* festival the packet of *Birā* was offered to Jai Singh in open *Durbār* at Jodhpur and marriage preparations were expedited.

This thesis is supported by the political situation of the time. India during those days was passing through a critical phase of political unrest. "Farrukh—Siyar's reign was one long attempt at a perfidious conspiracy against his Wazir Sayyid Abdullāh Khān and Mir Bukhshi Husain Ali Khan, the two Sayyid brothers."⁶ In this he was actively co-operated by Sawai Jai Singh.⁷ Ajit Singh in spite of being the father-in-law of the Emperor sided with the Sayyid brothers. But ultimately the Sayyid brothers were successful in throwing the Emperor into the prison and putting Rafi-ud-darājāt on the throne.⁸ This changed circumstances put Ajit in a favourable situation. In a way he became one of the partisans in the makers and unmakers of kings.⁹ He was in possession of immense wealth due to his obtaining lion's share out of the plunder

5. The *Tikā* consisted of the following articles:—

2 cocoanuts, one of silver and another of gold.

16 Betel-nuts, 8 of silver and eight of gold.

9 Horses.

1 Elephant.

1 Square shaped rupee.

1000 Silver coins.

24 Sets of dresses etc.

6. Dr. A. L. Srivastava: The Mughal Empire, p. 407.

7. Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. II, p. 68 (Routledge and Kegan Paul ed.).

8. Irvine: Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 376-8. J. Scott: History of Deccan, Vol. II, pp. 161-162.

9. Later Mughals: Vol. I, p. 389. Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. II, p. 68 (Rou. Paul, ed.).

of the Royal treasures.¹⁰ He was successful in getting issued the orders for abolishing *Jazia*.¹¹ Thus Ajit Singh became a person of importance and a man of confidence of the Sayyid brothers.

Jai Singh who had left the scene of destruction after the imprisonment of the Emperor for his capital and who was likely to be invaded by the Sayyid brothers¹² could only look to Ajit Singh's help. Though both the Rāthor and Kacchwāh leaders belonged to different camps,¹³ they rightly came to some understanding which was crystalized by the submission of proposal of this marriage on the 7th of the dark-half of *Vishākha*, V.S. 1776 (29th April, 1719). Hereafter both of them were on good terms and Ajit tried to help Jai Singh on several occasions.¹⁴ He was the guest of Ajit Singh during the rains of V.S. 1777 and received rich presents from him.¹⁵ Of course, the Rāthors and Kacchwās again were hostile during the reigning period of Abhaya Singh, the son and successor of Ajit Singh.¹⁶ Thus the *Bahī* by recording the event of the offer of *Birā* throws light for the first time on the political nature of the matrimonial alliance and the subsequent friendly relations between the two ruling houses of Rājasthān. In tracing out these circumstances, which have been lost sight of by all modern writers, the testimony of the *Bahī* is extremely trustworthy.

Dispersing the court Ajit Singh asked *Vyās* Fatehchand to compare the horoscope and decide the day of marriage and other relevant dates of allied ceremonies. The very night the information regarding the day of the marriage was conveyed to Sawai Jai

10. Bankidās's *Khyāt*, No. 56. Karnidān: Suraj Prakash (MS), p. 132.

11. Sangram Singh's letter to Ajit Singh 11th of the dark-half of *Vaishākha*, V.S. 1775 (*Dastri* Records, Jodhpur). Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 404; J. Scott: History of Deccan, Vol. II, p. 164. Muntakhāb-ul-lubāb, E.D. Vol. VII, p. 479.

12. Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. II, p. 68. (Rou. and Paul, ed.).

13. Ajit Singh's letter to Dayaldās, vide Rou's *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 314-315.

14. Ajitodaya, canto 27, VV. 53-57 and canto, 28, VV. 1-29. Raj Rupak, pp. 216-217. Reu: *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 316-317.

15. Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. II, pp. 68-69. (Rou. and Paul, ed.). Ajitodaya, canto 28, VV. 30-33, canto 29, VV. 1-66, Raj Rupak, p. 218.

16. Vansha Bhaskar, Vol. IV pp. 3298-3301. Tod: Annals and Antiquities (Crook) Vol. II pp. 1050-1051 Ojha: Jodhpur—*Rajyā-kā-Itihās*, Vol. II p. 653-656. Reu: *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 352-355.

Singh who was staying at Sur Sāgar, a place just five miles away from Jodhpur. The *Vyās* and his co-workers were offered one rupee each along with handful of '*gur*' as a remuneration and reward for their labour.

Then the account proceeds with the description of the opening ceremony of the marriage festival called '*Hat-kamliyo*' observed on Friday the 9th of the dark-half of *Vaishākha*, V.S. 1776 (Friday, 1st May, 1719 A.D.). The *Bāiji* was seated on a pedestal and was anointed with unguent mixed with perfumes and oil.¹⁷ Four rupees and four cocoanuts were put beneath the seat and regular worship was conducted by *Vediās* and *Joshis*. Four different kinds of grains were sifted¹⁸ by four *Ranis* and *Ārti* was swung by *Bāi* Padmāvati for which the latter was offered rupee one.¹⁹

The *Bahī* then devotes about 14 folios to the account of the distribution of '*gur*'²⁰ to all persons and officials of various departments. This ceremony was in a way the official declaration of the marriage and as such the list of the recipient included persons of all status from high nobility to low workmen like barbers and washermen.²¹

Perhaps more important historically is the *Bahī* when we get names of many historical personages serving in several departments and who were the recipients of the gift of '*gur*'. The list of the names thus recorded helps us to determine the strength of several departments working during Mahārājā Ajit Singh's reigning period. Neither Dr. Ojhā nor Pt. Reu has given any account of the administrative history of Ajit Singh. Col. Tod²² has of course slightly touched this aspect with the remarks, "He (Ajit) coined in his own name, established his own *guz* (measure), and *seer* (weight), his own court of justice, and a new scale of rank for his chiefs, nalkees and male-bearers, *nobuts* and standards, and every

17. This function is locally termed as '*Bānebithareyā*' and '*Pithirōdastūr*'.

18. '*Chārdhān Soyā*' as it has been termed in the *Bāhi*.

19. *Byāva Bahi*, No. I, Folio, 2.

20. Instead of '*gur*' these days '*patāsā*' or '*patasi*' are distributed generally, though in poor families and villages the distribution of '*gur*' is still in practice.

21. They were *Melaripaddāyataniyan*, *Nāzar*, *Maji*, *Gāyaniyan*, *Raniji*, *Gitereniyan*, (*Pardhi*, *Kusālāribahu*), *Asō machi*, *Bhadbhunja*, *Dhabi*, *Jadri-bahu*, *Sonaniyā*, *Kunpavat*, *Medtiyā*, *Jodhā*, *Udāvat*, *Muhujan Sherra*, (vide Folios, 3-16).

22. Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. II, p. 69 (Rou. and Paul, ed.).

emblem of sovereign rule." But this description does not come to our aid to reconstruct the administrative history of his reign. In this respect the *Bahī* under review helps us to add much to our information. It furnishes the names of departments and persons attached to them. The names of the departments are as, *Ābdār Khānā* (Department of water), *Rasōvdā* (Royal kitchen), *Bagan-rā-kothār* (Department of gardens), *Navākapadā-kā-kothār* (Department of new clothes), *Sej-khānā* (Department of equipments etc), *Pharash-khānā* (Department of furniture and camp equipments), *Chitā-khānā* (Department of Royal hunt), *Jina-khānā* (Department of saddles), *Zenāni dodi* (Department of harem guards), *Chokidārs* and so on.²³ This list of departments or *kārkhānās* favourably compares with the list of *kārkhānās* furnished by Abul Fazl in his *Āin-i-Akbari*.²⁴ This fact definitely indicates the growing importance of the Mughal influence over the administrative departments of the Rājasthān. The suffixing of the word *kārkhānās* with the names of the departments is sufficient to trace the Mughal impact over Rājasthāni system.

The recorder further proceeds with the account of the worship of Nagnechi Mātā,²⁵ the family deity of the Rāthors. Then follows the description of the ceremony of tying *Kankan-dora*,²⁶ in commemoration of which *Lāpsi* and *Gugri*²⁷ were distributed to the concerning persons.

The main items of the ceremonies of the day of the 9th of the Dark-half of *Vaishākh* of V.S. 1776 (Friday the 1st May 1719 A.D.) are *Ratijoga*,²⁸ *Ghirat-ri-dhār*,²⁹ *Bhuvā-ro-neg*,³⁰ *Padalo*,³¹ *Samelā*,³²

23. *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. Pp. 62 and 474. Sarkar: Mughal Administration, pp. 2, 3. G. N. Sharma: Mewār and the Mughal Emperors, pp. 187-190.

24. *Byāva-rī-Bāhī*, Folios 3-16.

25. Nagnechi-Mata. Every Rajput house of Rājasthān had its own family deity. For details see Ojha's History of Mārwar, Vol. I, Introductory part.

26. It is a ceremony of tying thread round the wrist which is untied by the bridegroom when the bride enters her father-in-law's house.

27. It is a preparation of grinded corn mixed with *gur* and *ghee*. The weight of the preparation amounted to 39 and half a maund, with 20 mds. of grinded corn, 9 mds. of *gur* and 10 mds. of *ghee*, (vide Folio 21).

28. When ladies keep themselves engaged for the whole night in singing and dancing in honour of the worship of *Kuldevi*.

29. It is a special ceremony performed before the marriage.

30. The aunt received the spoon and cup of silver after this ceremony.

31. Dress of the bride received from the father-in-law's side.

32. It is the reception ceremony.

Mod Āvan,³³ *Pagmandā*³⁴ and *Toran*.³⁵ After the completion of touching the *Torans* the *Vyās* received the bridegroom by affixing of pearls with saffron over the forehead and took him to the *Mandap*^{35a} which was specially decorated with *Chanvari*, flags, *Vedies*³⁶ and canopy of silk.

Then the *Bahī* takes us to the account of the *Gadjodā*, when the priest takes a piece of linen and fastens one end of it to the bridegroom's clothes and the other to the bride's. This follows the chanting of Vedic verses and joining of the hands of the bride and bridegroom under the cover of the same cloth with the powdered colour³⁷ in between them.

The recorder then refers to the visit of the city by the bridegroom, the marriage feast, send off of the *Barāt* party and distribution of sweets to the entire population of the capital. The main dishes of the feast as given are *Churmā*, *Jalebi*, *Siro* and *Dahitharā*.³⁸

The *Bahī* also preserves exhaustive notes on the dowry with weights, measures and prices of articles. These notes besides giving us an idea of the custom and cost of dowry throw flood of light on the cost and nature of costumes and ornaments. As for example out of the 24 suits, the superb suit was worth Rs. 267-14as. The suit consisted of a *skirt*³⁹ (Rs. 91), a *Sāri*⁴⁰ (Rs. 90), a *bodice*⁴¹ (Rs. 17-12) and a *Dupattā* (Rs. 69-2).

33. The head-gear received from the bridegroom.

34. Spreading of carpet for the bridegroom to tread upon.

35. Four *Torans* were suspended of different designs with lotus, *Ganesh* and maid attendants at different gates.

35a. It was specious with 24 pillars.

36. The length and breadth has been given in fingers, span and hands and not in 'Guz'.

37. It consisted of '*Pudo Kesarro*, *Nāler*, *Pudo Pānro*, *Mujitropullo*, or *Pudo Haladro*', (vide Folio 30).

38. Vide Folios 30-41.

39. The skirts of *Ghāgaras* used to be of exceptional size, not less than 1/2 the yarn each. The usual colour preferred were yellow, red, blue with shining prints and stars (vide F. 58).

40. *Banarsi Sari* were commonly preferred (vide F. 34).

41. The best design of bodice as it appears used to have lattice cut with similar lattice-designed cloth for linings (vide Folios 33-34).

The ornaments⁴² offered at the occasion were chiefly of jewellery, gold and silver. They were *Bāju Bund*, *Anvat*, *pagpān*, *Bichhiyā*, *Nath*, *Tikidiyā*, *Kadā bund*, *Kankan*, *Chotiḅand*, *Vinti*, *Nakhaliyā*, *Nogri*, *Gujri*, *Ṭimaniyo*, *Veno kabān*, *Chob*, *Dugdugi*, *Navsaro-hār*, *Chand hār* etc., with different prices ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 3000.

Other articles made of silver were *Rakābi*, *Charvi*, *kundi*, *jhari*, *kalsiyo*, *bājot*, *pikdān*, *gulab dāni*, *chaklotō*, *belan*, *ghado*, *divi* (lamp stand), *mombutti* (candle stick) and *chālṇi*. The cost of these articles varied from Rs. 15 to Rs. 301.

The dress of bridegroom consisted of Turban of yellow colour (Rs. 120), (loin cloth (Rs. 75), *Khinkhāb* (cloth for coating Rs. 325), *Balā bundi* (Rs. 40, for rapping over the turban), *Ilachiyo* (Rs. 70) and *Gospech* (Rs. 8, Rapper over shoulder). In bedding equipments there were *Gadeolo*, *osiso* (pillow), *takiyo* and *sirakh* (cover sheet).⁴³

Similarly it preserves the account of the marriages arranged with Udaipur, Bundi, Idar etc., in the years, V.S. 1819, 1821, 1881 etc.

Thus the *Byāvṛ Bahīs* remain to us a register of ceremonial details pertaining to marriages, preserving facts and figures which are useful for the social, economic and administrative history of Rājasthān. In informing us about the matrimonial alliance of Sawai Jaisingh and Ajit Singh and the administrative *kārkhānās* under the latter's rule the originality and historical importance of the *Bahī* No. I remains undisputable. They are an admirable treatise of references for items of costumes, customs, ornaments, articles of food, weight and measurements of the period. They are extraordinarily abundant as regards the source-material for the cultural history of Rājasthān.

42. Vide ff. 38, 39 and 50.

43. Vide ff. 50-53.

Early Indian Art Expression

BY

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Early Indian sculpture reveals a phenomenal urge on the part of the craftsmen to carve out in relief shapes and scenes, on all available spaces in a monument. In this what is aimed at is generally a collective and narrative effect and thus individual delineations are little more than caricatures. Large sculptures in the round of an elaborate kind, as for instance, the Mauryan 'Capital' sculptures and some animal figures in the toranas at Sanchi were comparatively fewer. The essential concentration was on the diminutive, crowded narrative sculptures dealing with Buddhist legends. Lack of traditions and proper canons of sculpture, resulted in a flattish and rigid and sharply outlined figures and needed inscribed labels often, to recognise them as what the sculptor intended them to be. The pictures have been essentially drawn from the life around, human beings, animals, birds and plants feature a great deal. The as yet untamed impulse to fill every part of the pillar and rail with sculptural cameos is the result of an effort to compensate with richness and exuberance, the lack of control and symbolic suggestivity which obtain in the classical and early medieval art.

The absence of any adequate amount of Hindu sculptures in this period is partly due to the great royal patronage extended to Buddhism by Asoka, and his missionary zeal to spare no pains in propagating that religion. The influence of this new offshoot over the masses was steadily stabilised. To start with, only the chief incidents in the life of the Buddha were the popular themes but in the next period started the depiction of what are called the Jataka stories. Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi and Mathura were great centres of Buddhist art in Madhyadesa and in the sculptures of the latter two, can be traced the development in figure carving over the former two. Thousands of Buddhist and Jain monks must have joined together in carving out countless cave shrines, chait-

yas, viharas and cells for meditation, in live rock in secluded hilly regions, in the central, western and eastern India.

Each region developed an artistic idiom of its own consistent with local factors and not militating against the common conventions in art by now slowly evolving. In the South also, the great influence of Buddhism and to a less extent Jainism prevailed in these early times and the monuments at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Goli and countless other sites testify to the strength and sustaining power of Buddhism in the Andhra country. When myriads of sculptural representations, essentially in relief, are there, it is indeed amazing that only Buddha alone had not been shown in human form in the Hinayana times. It is apparently due to the fact that a puzzled state of mind prevailed as to how to depict him that had attained "sambhodi" and is a Buddha. This anachronism in the representation of the Buddha by abstract symbols would also tend to show how art in Hinayana Buddhism sub-served religion and was a part of its machinery. But gradually the Buddhist craftsmen under greater artistic urges and creative genius could not scrupulously adhere to what was the orthodox Hinayana Buddhist's view on artistic and sculptural delineations, but had to foster the art as such into a living and growing one, by a suitable change in the idiom. The rigidity of forms and the prolific vegetal patterns of the earlier period gave place to a more realistic figure sculpture and a tendency to impart certain flavour or 'rasa' into the carvings. Indeed it does not savour of a strictly religious appeal that mithuna couples in strikingly intimate postures should be depicted on either side of the Jataka slabs or Yakshis like those on the Bhutesvar (Mathura) pillars should be shown. But not only the art of sculpture was coming into its own and breaking new grounds, but it has also to resist the growing importance of the Brahmanic religion which was ultimately to supplant it from about the 5th/6th centuries A.D. onwards. From the flattishly modelled monumental stiffness of the Bharhut Yakshas and Yakshis to the supple and rhythmic mobility of the Andhrasundaris at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda or the Mathura Yakshis is involved a steady refinement in aesthetic taste which is not totally subservient to the religious canons. It is the struggle of Buddhism for co-existence with Brahmanism that made it revitalize itself by now (100-200 A.D.) by the creation of the image of

the Buddha also. This is certainly not an inspiration from the Gandharan art, but due to the background of cult images and their worship which was the peculiar development of early Brahmanism. Thus the Buddha and a host of Bodhisattvas (the potential Buddhas) like padmapani, avalokitesvara, maitreya etc., came into being. The Bodhisattva was also conceived as a Chakravarti (Universal ruler) and was endowed with all the seven jewels or magnificent possessions such as the priceless horse, the elephant, Sri etc. All these are basically brahmanic concepts.

We should take note of another factor also, in this connection, which was responsible for the lack of sufficient brahmanic art-vestiges in this early period. Besides the great royal patronage to Buddhism, Brahmanism was itself averse to representation of mortals in sculpture. A later text, the Sukranitisara forbids strongly the erection of statues and carvings of human beings, other than gods or goddesses. It is, in fact, this aspect that Buddha was also stressing when he banned any art or painting which merely catered to the pleasure of the sensory organs. In Brahmanism, the basic principle was one of having personal gods and individual worship as different from the congregational worship that was the practice in Buddhism. The 'Yagnas' and 'Kratu' had been performed from Vedic times onwards by each individual for his own prosperity. It will be interesting to note, en passant, about the shift in the meaning of the word 'Yajamana' from Vedic to the present times. Formerly 'Yajamana' meant he who performs Yagas, Yagnas or any other ritual. But in modern times, it means master, or more etymologically, the person on whose behalf a particular ritual is conducted by the priest. It is this compartmentalisation of the so-called priestly class from the other Brahmins that ultimately led to unorthodox elements in brahmanic class on the one hand, and a growing dependence and economic distress of the priestly group within it, on the other. Anyway, brahmanism involving as it does individual performance of rituals from an individuals point of view, was the very opposite of the congregational worship and a greater community feeling engendered by the Buddha and his Sangha. It is this mass religious movement of Buddhism that was able to hold sway over the generality of human beings. Thus we do not have any early brahmanic religious edifices or divine sculptures as such, because the sacrificial altars and the

tretagnis etc. of the brahmanic rituals were of a perishable order and were not intended to be perpetual monuments.¹

But we do have extensive textual references to the worship of various divinities and the hierarchy of gods and goddesses, which indeed was readily utilised by the dissident Buddhism also in its own sculpture. This may tend to create the impression to many that Buddhist iconography has much to offer to the Brahmanical. But the issue is just the contrary and the very root of this heritage lies in the vedic and brahmanic ages. Later, when brahmanic Hinduism started its religious conquest patronised by the Gupta imperial sovereigns and their counterparts elsewhere, ushering in what is popularly called the golden age, then it repeated with greater success, with a surer assimilative excellence, all that Buddhism achieved earlier, by way of rock cut cave shrines, breathing-taking bas-reliefs, monolithic and structural stone temples in every part of the country. The silpa sastra texts were composed from about the 5th or 6th century A.D. and were finalised about 4 or 5 centuries later. Hindu iconography developed in rapid strides and soon enough entrenched itself well amidst the society. Against the iconic profundity of a Siva Nataraja, of a Vishnu Varaha or a Mahesamurthi, with rich divine grace, contemplative excellence and supple modelling, the Buddhist or Jain images with their set patterns could not stand. Hindu artisans carved caves at Udayagiri and Badami and filled them with vigorous bas-reliefs depicting puranic episodes. They filled the temple walls elsewhere at Ellora with diminutive narrative reliefs of the story of the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. These were the counterblasts and to some extent an emulation of the Buddhist Jataka reliefs of earlier times. These spread as far as Java and Cambodia in early medieval times.

How much the prevailing rock formation of each region could affect the appearance of sculptures is very clearly evidenced by the carvings of western India, Kalinga and Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The western India Deccan trap rock which is easy to chisel had been deeply excavated into cave shrines. The colour of the

1. That these sacrifices were actually performed through an architectural medium of specific dimensions as laid down in the Sastras is most spectacularly brought out by the recent discovery of Asvamedha sites with 'Garuda Cayanas' at Jagatgram near Dehradun by the Dept. of Archaeology.

rock itself being dark, certain ponderosity and divine immanence and potent power are lent to the relief carvings situated in the dark interior of the caves, whether the Buddhist ones at Karle, Bhaja and Nasik, or the Brahmanical ones at Elephant or Badami or Ellora. At some of the Southern Andhra sites, on the other hand, the delightful marble rock material enabled the sculptors to impart a tenuous suppleness to the sculpture, and the physiognomy particularly was so daintily carved as to reflect lively emotions. A similar mastery over a favourable raw material like the sandstone is seen in the pre- and early medieval sculptures of Bhuvaneshvar. But in the still earlier Buddhist and Jain carvings of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves of Orissa, a patently disadvantageous rock material like gneissic granite, which stands in the way of figure control, had really affected the artisan, even though many of the sculptures take their inspiration from the Mauryan idiom, and a development in the maturity of forms is also perceivable.

We have to consider now briefly certain art motifs which were introduced with great enthusiasm and naivete though not with great piety in the Buddhist art. The mithuna sculptures of Nagarjunakonda alone, for example, form a unique study by themselves, for their devastatingly beautiful figure sculpture. Subtle emotions expressed in a fleeting moment in the love play of the glamorous couples had been captured and crystallised in stone for ever. The only way in which their presence in a Buddhist stupa could be explained is that they form a contrast to the solemnity and unswerving pursuit of the divine ideal visualised in the Buddha sculptures in the panels, in order to contrast what was ephemeral with what was everlasting. It is to be said here that these sculptures do never infringe the bounds of decency. But in the early medieval sculptures of the Brahmanical temples in Orissa and Central India, (Bundhelkhand) this mithuna figures put on a grossly 'maithuna' garb in their postures and tend to distract the minds of the religious votaries completely from the god-head enshrined within the walls. These sculptures have been sought to be explained on the basis of certain supposed earlier sastraic sanctions. But most of the earlier texts which describe the auspicious symbols for any new edifice, temple of residence, merely mention among other themes such as swastika designs, vessels, leaves, creepers etc., mithuna figures also. Further, animals, birds and nagas could also be shown in couples according to these texts and not merely human beings. There was no erotics of any particular

kind involved in it. When human mithunas in alluring poses are to be carved on the house door jambs etc., the idea was essentially for making the site of the house attractive but no undue emphasis is laid on erotic scenes as such.²

The only references to erotic scenes come to us from the Samārāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra (about 11th century A.D.), Mayamata and Silparatna and all these texts belong to the medieval times. The Suprabhēdāgama also is said to have a reference to 'Siva Kṛīḍā, Hari Kṛīḍā and Tapah Kṛīḍā' as the subject matter of sculptures. The Samārāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra says that love play of an erotic type may be depicted.³ The Mayamata (Ch. 8-111) and Silparatna (Ch. 46, 9-10) enjoin that no scenes of wars, death or sorrow, god and asura legends or nude figures or the lilas of ascetics should be depicted on habitation houses; on other buildings intended for other purposes, whatever is desired may be done. But this kind of negative sanction for showing erotics of ascetics on temples is not totally valid.

It may be that by the time these texts were finished, there had already been carvings of such erotics on temples, particularly in Orissa and parts of Central India and the final recensions of these texts perhaps added such post-facto sanctions for these depictions.

The origin of such erotic bandhas is seen by some in the development of Mahayana tantric cults. The description of idol houses in Tibet and the highly obscene, cult practices in the form of 'practical' tests for 'detachment' from worldly pleasures conducted, by the Lamas in late periods have been mentioned in this connection.⁴ But it might not be wholly proper to project back through centuries what is a comparatively modern occurrence and observation. Besides, the temple of Bhuvanesvar, Konarak and Khajuraho

2. Agni Purāṇa (140-30), Haribhaktivilāsa-Hayaśirsha-Pāñcharātrā (Śaura Kāṇḍa).

"Patrabhange samithunaih śākhadūrdhwam vibhushayet," Brhat Samhitā, Prāsāda lakshana (Chapter 55).

'Yā vāhanānām sukhadā mithunānām ratipradāh purārtham tūh praśasyantē bhūmayo janitā śriyāh'.....

3. 'Rati Kṛīḍāparanāryo nāyakastu yadricchaya Kimchit pratanubhingat-rāih Kāryāh suratalālasāh'—Supra Bhedagama (V. R. Society copy) 30th Patala.

4. Panigrahi K. C.—*Special Orissa Annual*, 1949, quoting 'Harrison Foreman: Through Forbidden Tibet'—London, 1936, pp. 107-109.

raho (Kandariya Mahadeva) are all brahmanical and not Buddhist temples. We may probably be more justified in tracing the origin of these erotic bandhas as depicting the union of Siva or male principle with Sakti or female principle as enunciated in many Saiva Agamic texts. For instance, the Anandanubhava says that the union of the Guhya or Sakti part with the linga part of Siva causes universal bliss.⁵ In Sankara's 'Saundaryalahiri' also, we see the idea of the non-existence of Siva without Sakti and the activity of Siva being caused only when in communion with Sakti.⁶ The utilisation of the sringara rasa for expressing religious yearnings, however, was not unusual in brahmanism. The bhakti cult introduced this dasa-bhava or dasibhava and most of the utterances of early Ālwārs or Vaishnavite saints of the South express the ardent and passionate yearning of the bhakta for divine communion in the form of the love pangs of a vipralabdhā nāyikā; and according to the subtle philosophical mantras of the Vaishnavites ('dvayam'), this is based on the inextricable relationship of Sri or Lakshmi and Vishnu and how the bhakta, himself being a servant of God could not look upon himself as an independent entity from God. Besides, the Sringara and Karuṇārāsa which form the very soul of Krishna-lila with the gopis was always an enchanting theme for sculptors. The later Chaitanya cult in Eastern India accelerated the vigour of this aspect of Bhakti. While Vaishnavism reached almost a lyrical pitch in its bhakti enunciations with not a little tingle of sringara in it, it is, however, the 'shākta' cult, with its esoteric practices, that perhaps paved the way for a grosser representation of the divine-human relationship. It may be that the development of this 'Shākta' philosophy and ritual in the medieval times was largely responsible for offering themes for the erotic bandhas or interlocked mithuna poses in Orissa and Bundelkhand. But it must be said that the Silpa sastra texts, on the whole, had not given any clear-cut sanction for this transformation. It is an independent and later development, suggesting a certain debasement of the earlier loftier ideologies.

5. Guhyānandātmikā Śaktih Liṅgarūpa Śiva parah Tayōrmithuna Kausālyam Jagadānanda Kāraṇam.

6. Saundaryalahiri—Verse 1.

The Presidency of Agra, 1834-1836

BY

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With the gradual extension of the East India Company's possessions in India, the different parts of the far-flung empire were becoming more and more distant from the headquarters of the Governor-General-in-Council sitting at Calcutta. The different parts of the empire were more distant from one another than ever before, and the exchange of information and papers took a long time, while control and supervision from distant Calcutta had become very weak and inefficient, if not impossible. The Government also found itself unable to cope with the volume of work on its hands. Those were the days of which Bishop Heber complained: "there are no roads at all, and the tracks which we follow are often such as to require care even on horseback."¹ The Governor-General, under whose direct administration these territories (practically the whole of the modern Uttar Pradesh *minus* Awadh) were up to this time, could visit the Upper Provinces (as they were then called) but rarely and after long intervals; and on those occasions the work at Calcutta in the Lower Provinces had to be delegated to the Vice-President-in-Council, while many experienced public servants, specially the Secretary to the Government in Secret, Political and Foreign departments, and the Persian Secretary accompanied the Governor-General on tour.² On account of these difficulties the Governor-General had very often to delegate his authority to his subordinates.³ The over-grown Presidency of Bengal spread from the banks of the Satlaj river on the west to Calcutta and even further in the east. Naturally, such a vast territory was unmanageable. The advantages of some presiding or

1. Bishop Heber: *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India*, 1828, pp. 192 and 227.

2. National Archives of India, Home Department, Public Proceedings, Bodysheet of May 27, 1814; Home, Public Proceedings, No. 38 of June 3, 1814.

3. Thompson: *Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 1937, p. 252.

high authority in the Upper Provinces was fully acknowledged on all hands and by the people of all shades of opinion.

The formation of a separate administrative unit for the Upper Provinces apparently originated with one Mr. Stuart, "a gentleman of very remarkable talent" who recommended as early as 1808 that the Upper Provinces "should be formed into a separate Presidency".⁴ The reasons given by him were the increase of population, the extension of the territory, the necessity of local inspection and control along with "the peculiar character of the provinces and their people", the distance from Calcutta, the peculiar climate and the high tone of the character of the people of the Upper Provinces. The most important reason, however, was the deficiency of proper control over local matters. Mr. Stuart predicted many evils which could arise if nothing was done for the efficient administration and control of these parts.⁵ Other persons who made a mild suggestion to this effect in 1808 were the two Commissioners, Messrs. R. W. Cox and Henry St. George Tucker.⁶ They suggested the creation of "a very high official authority" in this part of the East India Company's empire. The soldier-statesman John Malcolm had the same idea in view when he wrote to Sir Charles Metcalfe in a letter dated February 19, 1820: "I may leave you a Governor-General's Agent or Commissioner (in Central India), but depend upon it that ere long you will be a Lieutenant-Governor."⁷ These are changes which will force themselves; I shall give Adam (Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras) my sentiments confidentially on this point."⁸ Malcolm had the idea of forming "a new administration for Central India" (meaning thereby the Upper Provinces and its neighbourhood or Central Hindustan), and hence this letter.

4. Earl of Ripon in the House of Lords on July 5, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament for 1833*, Volume III, p. 2780.

5. Charles Grant in the House of Commons on July 10, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament for 1833*, Vol. III, p. 2924.

6. Auckland's letter to Charles Metcalfe dated March 17, 1836, vide J. W. Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Volume II, p. 294.

7. It is worth noting in this connection that so far there were only the Governor-General and the two Governors of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. No Lieutenant-Governorship had been created so far.

8. J. W. Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, vol. I, pp. 484-485.

For some time, however, this proposal was shelved by the Government of India as also by the Court of Directors. The question was revived in 1829, and the division of the big and unmanageable Bengal Presidency was strongly recommended by the Finance Committee consisting of Messrs. Holt Mackenzie, David Hill and Bax.⁹ It was generally admitted that such a measure would improve "the efficiency of administration", but objection was raised "on the ground of expense, and much difference of opinion prevailed upon the amount of patronage and of control over the most important of our political relations which could be delegated to the newly created office."¹⁰ From 1830 onwards most of the statesmen in India as also in Britain had veered round the opinion of Malcolm, Cox, Mackenzie, Hill and others, and felt that it had become necessary to divide the duties, if not the responsibilities, powers and prerogatives of the Governor-General-in-Council.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, in a Minute dated September 14, 1831, expressed the opinion that the local details pressed so much upon the time and energy of the Governor-General and his Council that the Supreme Government was precluded from the performance of its higher and more important functions and duties of greater responsibility. He put forward two suggestions in order to improve the efficiency of the Government; first, that the Supreme Government be divested of all its local duties and that its functions be confined purely to the work of supervision; second, that the seat of the Government of India be shifted from the Lower Provinces to the Upper Provinces. He suggested Allahabad as the capital of the Supreme Government, a town which was also the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief. The Governor-General suggested that in order to look after the administration of the Lower Provinces there should be the Vice-President-in-Council living at Calcutta and superintending revenue and judicial administration.¹¹ Thus Bentinck envisaged the distribution of duties. He agreed to it only because the prediction of Stuart made in 1809 was being realized in the administration, and the condition of the Upper Provinces had become

9. Lord Auckland's letter to Metcalfe dated March 17, 1836, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 294-295.

10. Lord Auckland's letter to Metcalfe, pp. *Ibid.*

11. *Indian Constitutional Documents*, edited by A. C. Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 188-191.

"highly discreditable to the Government They have been subjected to every specie of misrule..."¹² In fact, Bentinck was opposed to the division of territories and the division of duties, but he was compelled by circumstances to record the Minute mentioned above.

The same opinion of the unwieldiness for the Upper Provinces was expressed by Charles Grant in the House of Commons while introducing the Charter Bill of 1833. He said "in consequence of the great change of circumstances which have taken place¹³ it is impossible that the Government of Bengal can exercise proper jurisdiction and attention over the Western Provinces of Upper India". The main reasons for his remarks, as he said, were the vast area of the new territories, unsettled state of those areas, and the war-like people living in those parts who required marked attention on the part of the Government. He concluded: "...it is impossible to do justice to the public services unless a separate Presidency be established for the Western Provinces with a Governor over it."¹⁴

The Court of Directors ultimately recommended that a Lieutenant-Governorship be created for the Upper Provinces. But the Parliament thought otherwise and did not agree with the modest proposal of the Directors. It was now in favour of the creation of a new Presidency for Agra.

The Charter Bill of 1833¹⁵ was introduced in the House of Commons by Charles Grant in June 1833; soon afterwards he fell ill and Macaulay, the Secretary to the Board of Control, took over the proceedings and piloted the Bill. The Parliament, however, took little interest in it and the attendance in the House of Commons rarely exceeded one hundred and fifty members at a sitting; and the same was the case in the House of Lords. The Bill was

12. Charles Grant in the House of Commons on July 19, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, p. 2924.

13. The change to which Charles Grant referred was brought about by the acquisition of the vast territories of the Indian continent by the East India Company most of the northern portion of which was attached to the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

14. Charles Grant in the House of Commons on June 13, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, p. 2296.

15. For the text of the Bill see *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, 1833, Public Bills, Volume II.

passed clause by clause without adequate discussion.¹⁶ When the question of the division of the Bengal Presidency came up before the House, some opposition was made to it, while one useful amendment was tabled by Sir Henry Verney. He moved "that the Governor-General be the Governor of the whole Province of Bengal and that there be named two Lieutenant-Governors to carry on the details of administration."¹⁷ According to him the duties of the Governor-General ought to have been to maintain general supervision and control over the two Lieutenant-Governors at Agra and Calcutta, a suggestion which was rejected in 1833, but materialized in 1853. Messrs. C. Wynn and Hume and Colonel Evans supported the Bill in the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, Lansdowne moved the Bill and the Earl of Ripon concluded with the remark that "there should be a firm, steady local Government there" in the Upper Provinces. "They may be considered as the bulwark of our eastern empire—the only point whence that empire may be successfully assailed—it is, therefore, necessary to defend them well".¹⁸

The Bill was finally passed into an Act by the Parliament on Monday, August 19, 1833, and it received the royal assent on August 28, 1833. It was ranked in the Statute Book as 3 & 4 William IV c. 85. The Act was to come into force from April 22, 1834, and to expire on April 30, 1854.

The Charter Act of 1833 introduced vital changes in the Government of India, its administration, its personnel, its policies and its subsidiary Governments. The running of a Government and carrying on trade were acknowledged as incompatible by the Act of 1833.¹⁹

The Act divided the Presidency of Bengal into two—one called the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and the other called the Presidency of Agra.²⁰ The territorial limits of the two Presi-

16. C. H. Philips: *The East India Company*, pp. 287-294.

17. Sir Henry Verney in the House of Commons on July 10, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, p. 2925.

18. Earl of Ripon in House of Lords, vide *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, p. 2780.

19. MacCulloch, a contemporary writer, wrote: "A Company that maintained armies and retailed tea, that carried a sword in one hand and a ledger in the other, was a contradiction, and had she traded with success would have been a prodigy."—MacCulloch: *Dictionary of Commerce*, p. 535.

20. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 38.

dencies were fixed by dividing the Bengal Presidency in such a way as to leave to the Presidency of Fort William "all that territory usually denominated the Lower Provinces and any other territory east of Allahabad...", while the Agra Presidency was "to comprehend the remainder, including Allahabad, Gorakhpur and the Ceded Districts on the Nerbuda".²¹ Thus the New Presidency of Agra was to comprise the Doab, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Allahabad and Jabalpur Divisions. Banaras Division was included in the Presidency of Fort William.

The Charter Act laid down that the Government of each Presidency should be administered by a Governor and three Councillors, to be styled the Governor-in-Council of that Presidency.²² But the ultimate abolition of the Council in the separate Presidencies was also contemplated,²³ and it was, therefore, provided "that it shall and may be lawful for the said Court of Directors, under such control as is by this Act provided, to revoke or suspend, so often for such periods as the said Court shall in that behalf direct, in the appointment of Councils in all or any of the said Presidencies, or to reduce the number of Councillors in all or any of the said Councils, and during such time as a Council shall not be appointed in any such Presidency, the Executive Government thereof shall be administered by a Governor alone".²⁴ In so far as the Agra Presidency was concerned, this Council was never appointed. The Governors of the three Presidencies, said the Act, "shall be bound to obey such orders and instructions" as will be issued by the Governor-General, and that they will be controlled and superintended by the same authority.²⁵ The Presidency Governors were, however, allowed to suggest draft laws and regulations which they thought essential for the proper functioning of the Government in their jurisdictions.²⁶ The Governor was required regularly to transmit to the Governor-General-in-Council true copies of all orders and acts of his Government for the information and record of the Supreme Government.²⁷ The salary of the Governor of the

21. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political).

22. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 56.

23. Beveridge: *Comprehensive History of India*, (1865), Vol. III, p. 244.

24. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 57.

25. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 65.

26. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 66.

27. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 68.

Agra Presidency was fixed at Rs. 1,20,000 per year, while that of each of the members of his Council (who were, however, never appointed) was to be Rs. 60,000 per year.²⁸ They were debarred from accepting any gift, donation, gratuity or present from any body besides the pay allotted to them. The servants of the East India Company, from top to bottom, were debarred also from carrying on private trade. For the equipment and passage from England to India each Governor was to be paid £ 2,500.²⁹ The new position and the powers assigned to the Supreme Government and the Presidency Governments were explained by the Court of Directors in two of their Despatches³⁰ to the Government of India.

As soon as the new Presidency of Agra was created, the question of the appointment of a suitable person as its Governor assumed great importance. On November 20, 1833, in the full Court of Directors, Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Vice-President in the Governor-General's Council, was unanimously appointed Governor of the Agra Presidency, and the British cabinet confirmed his appointment. Accordingly, an announcement was made by the Court of Directors on December 27, 1833, appointing him Governor of the Agra Presidency, the appointment to take effect from April 22, 1834. The same day, by another proclamation, the Court of Directors appointed Messrs William Blunt, Alexander Ross, William B. Martin and Thomas Babington Macaulay to be the first, second, third and fourth members of the Governor-General's Council from April 22, 1834.

Metcalfe, however, felt his "removal from the Supreme Council to the Government at Agra like a descent".³¹ A month later he was nominated by the Court also a Provisional Governor-General of India as a successor to Lord William Bentinck in case of the latter's illness or death. Metcalfe was now satisfied and thanked the Court for this provisional appointment. In the same connection he made a suggestion for the abolition of the proposed Coun-

28. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 76.

When the Act was enforced, however, the Governor of the Agra Presidency administered the province without a Council.

29. Act 3 & 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, section 76.

30. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political) and Despatch dated December 10, 1834, No. 44 (Public).

31. Metcalfe's letter to Henry St. George Tucker, Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, op. cit.

cil of the Agra Presidency provided for in the Act of 1833. He wrote to the Court of Directors on May 11, 1834: "With respect to a Council at Agra, so long as you have a Company's servant who may have presumed to have local experience, you will, I conceive, be better without a Council. When you appoint a stranger to the Government, you may require a Council for aid as well as a check. At present it is desirable to avoid the expense".³² This suggestion was accepted by the Court.

Due to the campaign against Coorg and his subsequent illness—paroxysms of giddiness—in the beginning of 1834 Bentinck had gone to Ootacamund in the Nilgiri Hills with a view to regaining his health, and there he was detained for an unexpectedly long time. He left Calcutta for the Nilgiris on February 3, 1834, and could return only in November 1834. Metcalfe was, therefore, again appointed Vice-President-in-Council at Calcutta, being the senior member of that body. Now, this occurred at a very critical time which made the situation very embarrassing. The old Charter of the Company was on its last legs and the new Charter was to come into operation from April 22, 1834. This was really unfortunate, as many important changes had to be made in the existing Government of India in accordance with the new Act, but all that could not be done and the Act could not be enforced due to the absence of the Governor-General in the south. Bentinck had, therefore, to devise a make-shift arrangement at Ootacamund. He called a provisional Council consisting of Colonel Morison and Messrs Macaulay and Ironside. Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, joined them as a temporary member of the Council. This Provisional Council issued a proclamation announcing its formation on June 16, 1834, and requested Metcalfe to continue the routine conduct of the Government of India at Calcutta as Vice-President so long as Bentinck was away from the capital. The Proclamation read: "Whereas it is impracticable to carry into immediate execution all the preliminary measures that shall be necessary before the duties of the Government of Agra can be entered upon, or to adopt, without previous inquiry and mature deliberations, the different officials and legislative proceedings which the separation of the two Governments require, and whereas, for the aforesaid reasons, it is not expedient that the Hon'ble Sir Charles Metcalfe should assume the Government of Agra be-

32. Metcalfe's letter to Henry St. George Tucker, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 212.

fore the return of the Governor-General and the Council to Calcutta, the Governor-General-in-Council, therefore, has been pleased to resolve, and it is hereby notified accordingly, that the administration of the Presidency of Bengal, as heretofore constituted, shall in the meantime continue to be carried by the Hon'ble the Vice-President-in-Council."³³

In the normal course of events Sir Charles Metcalfe would have taken over the Agra Government and given up his seat in the Governor-General's Council on April 22, 1834. Obviously, the declaration of Bentinck's Provisional Council, dated June 16, 1834, was illegal, for after April 22 there was no Supreme Government in India and the formation of the Agra Presidency was a legal necessity which the Governor-General was not empowered to withhold or postpone. Ten days after Bentinck's declaration Metcalfe wrote to Henry St. George Tucker: "I fear that several things in this arrangement are illegal",³⁴ and Blunt, another member of the Supreme Council, joined him in this criticism of Bentinck's arrangements.³⁵ Metcalfe criticized the unconstitutional Council appointed by Bentinck at Ootacamund and called it a 'misnomer'.³⁶ The Governor-General returned to Calcutta on November 14, 1834, and up to that time Metcalfe could not take over his new assignment at Agra and remained at Calcutta.

In order to wipe out the stigma of illegality of his acts during the period April 22 and November 14, 1834, the Governor-General-in-Council passed a resolution on November 20, which read: "Be it enacted that all acts done by the Governor-General of India in Council or by the Vice-President of Fort William in Bengal in Council . . . between the 22nd of April 1834 and the 14th of November 1834, shall be valid and effectual, to all intents and purpose, as if the said acts had been done before the said April 22, 1834".³⁷ The British Parliament also indemnified the Governor-General by a special Act^{37a} to this effect.

33. Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 216; Beveridge: *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 247.

34. Beveridge: *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 248.

35. Home, *Political Proceedings*, Consultation No. 3 of May 8, 1834.

36. Home, *Political Consultation* No. 3 of May 8, 1834.

37. Beveridge: *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 248.

37a. Act 5 & 6 Will. IV Cap. 52 and Letter No. 46 from the Court of Directors dated 30 September, 1835, to the Governor-General of India, vide Home, *Public Proceedings* No. 7 of March 9, 1836.

Meanwhile the relations between Bentinck and Metcalfe seem to have deteriorated over the question of the Agra Presidency and the powers, privileges and initiative of the Governor of the proposed Agra Presidency. Bentinck did not want to part with power and patronage and, therefore, even when the Charter Act of 1833 was being discussed he had not favoured the formation of a separate Government at Agra, though he had made a "solemn declaration" "that he found the administration of the Upper Provinces fundamentally ineffective, exhibiting a want of energy in the Government and a want of happiness in the people There is that peculiarity in the character of those provinces that requires they should be dealt with by a Government more prompt, more energetic and more able to enforce its decrees and determinations than any other provinces whatever".³⁸ Bentinck was from the beginning opposed to the division of the Bengal Presidency, despite the concurrence of the opinions of his Councillors Messrs Bayley and Metcalfe in its favour.³⁹ The remarks of Metcalfe about the Council at Ootacamund also incensed him, as they were not palatable to the Governor-General. That was why he decided to interfere in the work of the Agra Government and to cut down to the minimum the powers and prerogatives of the Governor of that Presidency. In matters of political relations with the neighbouring independent States "with whom we have the most important political relations" the Governor-General decided that the Supreme Government "could not delegate to another authority any portion of the responsibility which attaches to the exercise of these important duties".⁴⁰ The Governor-General-in-Council further wrote: "We feel that to divest the Agra Governor of all political authority is in some measure to detract from his official consequence, yet we are of the opinion that this is a minor evil in comparison with that which should be experienced by the interposition between us and the confidential representatives of the Governor-General of a functionary who is not appointed by us". It was suggested, therefore, that the Governor of the Agra Presidency "should be confined to duties of internal ad-

38. Marquis of Lansdowne in the House of Lords on August 5, 1833, vide *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, pp. 3533 and 3540.

39. Governor-General's Minute of September 11, 1834, vide A. C. Banerji: *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. I, p. 189.

40. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors dated Ootacamund, August 11, 1834, No. 11 (Political).

ministration".⁴¹ It was also decided that the capital of the new Presidency be located at Allahabad, against the wishes of Metcalfe who wanted some more western town like Agra. Thompson seems to have hit right on the point: "possibly smarting under his subordinate's recent frankness of criticism of his pseudo-Council, (Bentinck) sent him a letter of instruction which dictated the personnel of his staff."⁴² At the same time, the Governor-General had "very serious objections" to the principle of separation of the civil services of the two Presidencies which would "transfer to a subordinate officer one-half of the civil patronage and it would so far as the general interests are concerned make a separation and division where there now exists the closest union and connection as regarding the agency by which the whole is to be governed".⁴³ Hence it was that he appointed the different officers of the new Presidency himself. Metcalfe resented the imposition of the Secretary to Agra Government by the Governor-General, as also the appointment of other high officials against his wishes and without his consent. In a letter written on August 30, 1834, he remonstrated against the Governor-General. "By the results of your deliberations", he wrote, "I feel unqualified annoyance. Whatever pride or pleasure I had in the prospect of the Agra Government has been completely destroyed. You have turned the Governor that was to be of Agra, into a Commissioner of Revenue and Police at Allahabad You have not even allowed me the selection of my Secretary, an officer who, of all others, ought to be chosen by the Governor under whom he is to serve. A Secretary chosen by the Supreme Government will be above the Governor, not under him. This arrangement I consider personally degrading to me".⁴⁴ Not satisfied with this letter to the Governor-General, Metcalfe wrote another to Henry St. George Tucker, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, on September 4, 1834, in which he appraised Tucker of the ulterior motives and desires of Bentinck in connection with the Agra Government. "You will perceive", he wrote, "that the Governor-General proposes to station it at Allahabad and to turn it into a sort of Judicial and Revenue Commissionership, which is to have no concern whatever in political,

41. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, *Ibid*.

42. Thompson: *Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, p. 309.

43. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated Ootacamund, August 11, 1834, No. 11 (Political).

44. Thompson: *Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, pp. 309-310.

military or financial affairs". Metcalfe was so much annoyed with the interference of Bentinck that in exasperation he suggested the total abolition of the new Presidency. He concluded his letter to Tucker: "If an efficient Government is not required in the North-West quarter, or if it cannot be formed, owing to the difficulty of separating power and patronage from the Supreme Government, why have any? Such a thing as it is proposed to set up at Allahabad, will be a useless expense".⁴⁵

Protests from different quarters led the Government of India to modify their earlier decision. The new position was explained in their Consultation of November 21, 1834. It was now decided that the important political officers would "be subject to the direct control of the Government of India" and all junior officers were to "receive their orders from the Government within the sphere of whose jurisdiction they may be respectively situated". The political relations with Awadh, Gwalior, Indore, Bahawalpur, the Rajputana States and the East Punjab States were to be directly under the supervision of the Supreme Government, though copies of all important correspondence and papers were to be furnished to the Agra Government. Political relations with "the Court at Delhi, the Sikh and the Hill protected States, the Bundelkhand Rajas and the chiefs depending upon the Saugor and Narbada Agency" were placed under the Governor of Agra.⁴⁶ This concession was made in view of "the eminent qualifications of the present Governor of Agra, Sir Charles Metcalfe."⁴⁷

Metcalfe ultimately accepted the Governorship of the Agra Presidency and "suddenly took the prescribed oath as Governor of Agra"⁴⁸ on November 14, 1834, and made his way to Allahabad.⁴⁹ A Government notification announced this and declared that "the seat of the Government will be for the present at Allahabad and it will comprise all those territories which have hitherto been under the control of the Courts of the Sadr Diwani and the Sadr

45. Metcalfe's letter to Henry St. George Tucker, dated September 4, 1834, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Metcalfe*, Vol. II, op. cit.

46. Auckland's letter to Metcalfe dated March 17, 1836, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 294-295.

47. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors dated Ootacamund, August 20, 1834, No. 12 (Political).

48. Thompson: *Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, p. 310.

49. Beveridge: *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 249.

Nizam Adalat for the Western Provinces in their judicial and revenue capacity".

Metcalfe's first report on the administration of his new charge was forwarded direct to the Court of Directors on February 26, 1835, in which he stated: "The Agra Government commenced its proceedings in Calcutta immediately after my assumption of office of Governor on November 14, 1834.... The papers of the provinces composing the Presidency of Agra were at once handed over by the Bengal Secretaries to the Secretaries of the new Presidency, and business was proceeded with without interruption."⁵⁰ He left Calcutta for Allahabad on December 16, 1834, and reached his capital city on February 6, 1835.⁵¹

Soon after his arrival at Allahabad, Metcalfe became interested in the Government and administration of the Presidency of Agra. He wrote to his patron, Tucker: "I am becoming interested in my Agra Government and hope to do some good. I am now getting deeply interested in its duties.... I still, however, think that the Government ought to be made more of or abolished".⁵² Metcalfe would not tolerate the interference of Bentinck in the administration of the Agra Presidency. Even from Allahabad he protested against the Governor-General's interference in his nominations and appointments. "When I nominate a bad or inefficient servant", he wrote, "I shall feel that your check is well exercised", but not otherwise. If the Governor-General were to interfere in the revenue and judicial appointments made by the Governor, how could the latter be held responsible for the good and efficient administration in his province, he pertinently asked.

When the Agra Presidency was formed, it became necessary that a statement of the Civil Servants and other officers of the Presidency be prepared for the record of the Government of India and the Court of Directors. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary of the General Department of the Government of India recorded on January 20, 1835: "The Government of Agra has been so recently

50. Home, *Miscellaneous Records*, General section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 1 of 1835 dated Allahabad, February 26, 1835.

51. Home, *Miscellaneous Records*, General section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 1 of 1835 dated Allahabad, February 26, 1835.

52. Metcalfe's letter to Henry St. George Tucker dated February 2, 1835, vide Kaye: *Life of Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 232-233 f.n.

consolidated that in the present instance the requisite information in regard to its officers has been collected more conveniently at this (Fort William in Bengal) Presidency."⁵³ It was decided that officers serving in either of the two divisions of the Bengal Presidency at the time of the division should be considered to be the Civil Servants of that particular Presidency.⁵⁴ No transfers from one Presidency to the other were to be allowed. The statement of the Covenanted and non-Covenanted officers of the two Presidencies in 1835 was:—

Table I

Class of Officers	Fort William	Agra	Total
Senior officers	.. 167	123	290
Junior officers	.. 51	76	127
Total	.. 218	199	417

Thus of the total Civil Servants and other officers there were more than thirty-eight per cent Junior Assistants in the Agra Presidency and less than twenty-five per cent in the Presidency of Fort William. The proportion of officers was higher in the Fort William than in the Agra Presidency. The reason for the large number of Junior Assistants in Agra was that "the business of revenue settlement.... in those (North-western) Provinces creates a larger demand for such (junior) officers...."⁵⁵ Many more officers of this category were required for the efficient conduct of Government in the country of sturdy people which had been acquired only a few decades before.

Charles Macsween, Secretary to the Judicial and Revenue departments of the undivided Bengal Presidency, was appointed Secretary to the Judicial and Revenue departments of the new

53. Home, Public Proceedings No. 12 of January 26, 1835.

In the beginning the Court of Directors did not favour the division of the Civil Service between the two Presidencies.

Despatch from Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 10, 1834, No. 44 (Public).

54. H. T. Prinsep in House of Commons Report from Committees, 1852, Vol. X, Question No. 844.

55. Home, Public Proceedings, No. 12 of January 26, 1835.

Government of the Agra Presidency.⁵⁶ G. A. Bushby was to be the Second Secretary to the Agra Government and was made in charge of the Police and General departments.⁵⁷

The Civil Servants⁵⁸ of the new Government of Agra were as shown below:—

Table II

Secretaries to the Government	..	2
Accountant General	..	1
Deputy Accountant	..	1
Judges of the Sadr Courts	..	6
Registers and Assistants of Sadr Courts	..	2
Civil and Sessions Judges	..	18
Additional Judges	..	3
Magistrates	..	2
Members of the Board of Revenue	..	2
Secretary to the Board of Revenue	..	1
Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue	..	1
Collectors and Magistrates	..	27
Collectors	..	2
Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit	..	12
Sub-Collectors, Deputy-Collectors and Joint-Magistrates	..	22
Head Assistants	..	15
Junior Assistants	..	76
Deputy-Collector with Magistracy	..	1
Collectors of Customs	..	4
Deputy-Collector of Revenue	..	1
Members of the Board of Trade	..	2
Total	..	199

Metcalf prepared to push on with the land settlement started in 1833 in accordance with Regulation IX of that year, and suggested to the Chairman of the Court of Directors that some lands in the

56. H. T. Prinsep in House of Commons Report from Committees, 1852, Vol. X, Question 843.

57. Home, Miscellaneous Records, General section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 1 of 1835.

58. Home, Public Proceedings No. 13 of January 26, 1835.

Presidency should be permanently settled and that the authority of doing so be conferred upon the Governor of the Presidency.⁵⁹

Lord William Bentinck, who had been ill for the past one year, could not improve and was compelled to leave India for England. Naturally, Metcalfe who had already been appointed Provisional Governor-General was to take charge of the Supreme Government. He was hurriedly recalled to Calcutta when he was on the way to settling the Government of his new Presidency. Therefore, Metcalfe could do practically nothing during the brief period of his office at Allahabad; all that he could do was to have a look at the capital of his charge and then to return to Calcutta forthwith. He left Allahabad for Calcutta on February 28, 1835.⁶⁰ John William Kaye has very aptly said about Metcalfe's brief Governorship of the Agra Presidency: 'He went to Allahabad—he pitched his tent in the Fort—he held a levee—and he returned to Calcutta'.⁶¹ On his return to Calcutta, Metcalfe took over from Bentinck the Governor-Generalship of India on March 20, 1835—just to give him farewell.⁶² Metcalfe was to continue at Calcutta as in charge of the Government of India till the arrival of a new Governor-General.

William Blunt was now appointed to act as Governor of the Agra Presidency during the absence of Lord Metcalfe.⁶³ He took charge of the Government of Agra the same day Metcalfe gave it up, i.e., March 20.⁶⁴

The salary of the Private Secretary to the Governor of the Agra Presidency was fixed, inclusive of all allowances, at Rs. 1,500 per month and that of the Military Secretary to the Governor at Rs. 1,000 per month.⁶⁵ The salary of the Surgeon to the Governor

59. Metcalfe to Tucker dated October 4, 1835, vide Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 275-276.

60. Home, *Miscellaneous Records*, General section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 2 of 1835. Metcalfe to Court of Directors (Proceedings).

61. Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 232-233.

62. Prinsep to Blunt vide Home, *Public Proceedings* No. 3, of March 20, 1835; Thompson: *Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, p. 312; Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 232.

63. Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 1 of February 10, 1835.

64. Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 3 of March 20, 1835.

65. Torrens to Secretary, Agra Government on March 23, 1835, vide Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 4 of March 25, 1835.

of Agra was fixed at Rs. 5,400 a year or Rs. 450 per month.⁶⁶ The expenses for the maintenance of several departments of the Agra Government were Rs. 47,000 per month, and this sum included the expenses of the Secretariat, the Audit and Accounts Office, the Government establishments and the expenditure on the Government House and the Darbar charges.⁶⁷

An important change took place at this time in the duties and functions of the Government of the Presidency. The Acting Governor-General-in-Council resolved on April 15, 1835, "to relieve the Supreme Government of the direct management of those details of business which had been placed within executive control of the Council of India by the Resolution of December 22, 1834 with the exception of general education". The departments whose work was now delegated to the Presidency Governments were ecclesiastical department, the civil services and all other establishments of a general nature, the Mint Committee and the Post Office.⁶⁸ The income accruing from the post office, stamps, abkari, ferries, dak bungalows and all other public works in those departments was to be credited to the account of the Presidency Governments wherever they be arising. At the same time the expenses of the ecclesiastical department, stamps, post office, ferries, dak bungalows and public works of a Presidency were to be met from the income of that particular Presidency.

William Blunt continued as Governor of the Agra Presidency from March 20 to November 10, 1835. On November 11, 1835, Alexander Ross, who had been the senior member of the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta, was appointed as the new Governor of the Presidency. Ross, who took charge of the Presidency the same day,⁶⁹ continued to hold that post till he received a despatch from the Acting Governor-General of India in Council (Metcalfe) dated February 29, 1836, enclosing a copy of letter No. 46 from the

66. Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 5 of May 20, 1835.

67. Home, *Miscellaneous Records*, General section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 6 of 1835.

The expenditure on the same items in the Presidency of Fort St. George was Rs. 51,928-13-6 per month, vide Bentinck's Minute in Council, dated January 15, 1835, quoted by Blunt in No. 6 of 1835 mentioned above.

68. Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 3 of May 20, 1835.

69. Home, *Public Proceedings*, No. 1 of November 11, 1835. Also Home *Public Proceedings*, No. 10 of December 2, 1835.

Court of Directors⁷⁰ dated September 30, 1835, suspending Section 38 of the Charter Act of 1833 which had created Agra as a separate Presidency. On that very day the Agra Presidency was renamed as the North-Western Provinces and became a subordinate part of the re-united Bengal Presidency. The re-union of the Presidencies of Agra and Fort William in Bengal took place as a result of Act 5 and 6 Will. IV Cap. 52 which made it "lawful for the Court of Directors of the East India Company under the control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India to suspend the execution of the provisions of the said Act (3 and 4 Will. IV Cap. 85) so far as the same relate to the division of the said territory into two distinct presidencies...."⁷¹ The Governor of the Agra Presidency henceforth came to be called Lieutenant-Governor after its unification with Bengal. He was, however, allowed to draw the full salary of the Governor heretofore.⁷² Act 5 and 6 Will. IV Cap. 52, passed on August 31, 1835, empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to appoint from time to time any servant of the East India Company, who should have been ten years in the service in India, to the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, now under the Presidency of Bengal, and from time to time declare and limit the extent of the territories so placed under the Lieutenant-Governor as the Governor-General might deem fit. The idea of a separate Presidency for Agra was thus shelved for ever;⁷³ and though it became the headquarters of the North-western Provinces on its reconstitution, Agra could not rise to the level of a Presidency headquarters like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

70. Proceedings of the Governor-General-in-Council, dated February 29, 1836 Vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 7 of March 9, 1836.

71. Home, Public Proceedings, dated February 29, 1836; House of Commons, Public Bills, 1835, Vol. II, Bill 5 & 6 Will IV 1835 Cap. 52.

72. Home, Miscellaneous Records, General section, Volume 502. Note to the Proceedings of the North-Western Provinces Government for January, February and March, 1836.

73. A. C. Banerji: Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol. I, p. 202 f.n.; Beveridge: Comprehensive History of India, Vol. III, p. 249.

Reviews

THE PURĀṆA INDEX Vol. II, By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras University Historical series No. 19; University of Madras—1952. Price Rs. 20/-.

It is admitted on all hands now that the Purāṇas are rich sources of Indian History, Mythology, Religion, Geography and Literature. Their mythology and legends fill the popular mind and mould its thoughts even to-day. Their fascinating tales are highly influential; and, their heroes are regarded as the heroes of the country. And they are important to a student of research. To him they are a veritable storehouse of information. But the information is not easily available, because a scholar will have to wade through a huge mass of literature ere he can unearth the information he needs. It is here that the *Purāṇa Index* volumes step in to aid the researcher.

Under the General Editorship of Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, the first volume appeared in 1951. The volume under review is the second. Here are indexed five *Purāṇas*—the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa, the Matsya, the Vāyu, and the Viṣṇu. This volume of 746 pages comprises entries covering the letters from T to M. The alphabetical order maintained is on the basis of the Nāgari script. The method adopted in Indexing is good. The entries are made first and against them a brief explanation is given generally. Afterwards, immediately below are mentioned references to the Purāṇas. The marking of the references are a notable feature of the Index Volumes; and this is highly useful, as they enable a scholar to go straight to the Purāṇa and its chapter and verse for consultation. Though it is merely an Index, the author rightly digresses here and there and tries to give detailed information on many entries. Particularly interesting is the information supplied on items like Dakṣa, Diti, Devayānī, Devahūti, Draupadī, Dvāparayuga, Dharma, Parīkṣit, Purañjana and others. The details mentioned are such that the reader's curiosity is held and satisfied at the same time. To a student of historical research, words like 'Mlecchas', 'Mauryas' and 'Maunas' and explanations offered thereon hold special attraction.

However, a second edition would look better if a few minor defects are touched up. Greater care may be bestowed in the marking of the diacriticals. In some cases it appears as if one unknown word is explained by another unknown word. The word "Tṛṇapatkali" for instance has the explanation, "A Mauneya" after it, and the reader cannot make much out of it. The aim should be to make it all useful both to the scholar and the general reader. The matter presented becomes more readable if unnecessary abbreviation like 'R' and 'Mt' are removed and their originals restored. (pp. 28, 44). The last line under 'Trivarga' in p. 49 should read "To one devoid of Dharma, the other two, Kāma and Artha, are of no use," instead of one use. On page 6, first line, the Tamil name of the month 'Māsi' is used; this may not be followed by a non-Tamil reader. And, why does the word "Brāhmaṇa" appear throughout the volume without the diacritical mark underneath the 'N' in it?

All this apart, the world of scholarship is indebted to the editor for the highly useful book presented. The book looks impressive with its well-bound cover and coloured wrapper. A student of Cultural History will appreciate the publisher's gesture, if the price of the volume is reduced considerably.

Mysore
13th March, 1956

S. RAMACHANDRA RAO

ANCIENT INDIA: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 9, 1953—Special Jubilee Number, pp. 1-233. Published by the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Rs. 17/-.

The Archaeological Survey of India as a Central organisation for carrying out Archaeological Research completed fifty years of its useful existence in 1952; and for bringing out a Special Volume to commemorate this great occasion, the Director General of Archaeology in India deserves the warmest congratulations of the world of Archaeologists. The publication is a fitting tribute; and nothing would have given greater satisfaction to those interested in the advancement of Archaeological Research in this country.

On an occasion like the Jubilee, it is quite fitting to give a history of Indian Archaeology and Mr. S. Roy has admirably done this in his article "Indian Archaeology from Jones to Marshall

(1784-1902)". This has been lucidly supplemented by Mr. Ghosh's article on fifty years of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami's review of *Progress in Prehistory* gives a penetrating analysis of the problem and achievements connected with the prehistory of India. He has given a graphic picture of the palaeolithic industries of India, including some of the most recently discovered sites. A time has come when we have to consider if some of these industries have their own special characteristics. Further investigations would probably show whether the (a) Punjab industries, (b) Gujarat industries and (c) South Indian industries are clearly different from one another. Dr. K. N. Puri's discovery of a palaeolithic site at Deogarh in Jhansi District which appears to be meeting ground of Sohan and Madras industries is significant in this connection. It may also be possible to note whether the Clactonian tradition or the Levalloisian predominates or, both figure in equal measure in any particular industry.

The problem of the upper palaeolithic in India has been engaging the attention of scholars for sometime. Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami has finely summarised the evidence on this subject on page 64. Whether the microlithic industries (some of them, particularly from the Teri sites may be mesolithic; digging some of these sites may throw some light on this problem) particularly of South India have been derived from the blade cultures of the Upper Palaeolithic or from a hypothetical Levalloisian flake-industry is an interesting problem which requires elucidation. Mr. Ghosh, the Director General of Archaeology, has raised a necessary warning that working in isolation is a dangerous luxury to Indian Archaeology. Similarities of Indian tool-types with those of Africa and Palestine is a fascinating but perplexing problem which deserves unravelling.

Regarding the Neolithic complex in its fullest sense, evidences are still wanting. Prof. Zeuner has pertinently pointed out that unless the skeletal remains of domesticated types of animals are uncovered in excavations, it would be difficult to establish the Neolithic. In recognition of this difficulty Prof. Wheeler introduced the phrase polished-stone axe, culture, as a substitute for the Neolithic. Mr. Krishnaswami has tackled these problems with insight and acumen in his illuminating article.

Mr. B. B. Lal's interesting review on Proto-historic investigation presents the problem of the grey ware. He associates the

painted grey ware with the 'Aryans.' He has also thrown in this article much valuable light on the problem of the chalcolithic culture in India.

A survey of South Indian Megaliths by Mr. K. R. Srinivasan and Mr. N. R. Banerjee refers to the various types of megaliths of South India. They have discussed Prof. Haimendorf's thesis that the Megalithic folk should be equated with the Dravidians; and have rightly pointed out that we would be nearer the solution of this problem when the reports of the skeletal material from Brahmagiri, Maski, Sanur, and sites from Chingleput are available.

There is a valuable article on the exploration of Historical sites by Dr. Y. D. Sharma. The Joint Director General of Archaeology, Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has focussed his attention on the most important subject of preservation of monuments. The descriptive list of some of the outstanding conservation works in the nine circles is of great interest both to the Archaeologist and the general cultured public.

Dr. B. B. Lal's review of studies connected with Archaeological Chemistry and Geo-chronological investigations shows the vastness of the problem of Archaeological research. Dr. Oakley's Flourine test in determining the age of the bones both of man and animals from our prehistoric sites may be of vital importance to the Indian Prehistorian. Soil-samples from excavated sites like Bahadarabad in Saharanpur District are being analysed and would yield valuable results.

The History of Epigraphical research contributed by Dr. Chhabra, Dr. Sircar and Desai and the Survey of Museums by Mr. Roy and Mr. Sivaramamurti are notable accounts which have added to the usefulness of the volume. All those interested in the cause of Historical and Archaeological research in India should express their deep satisfaction at the technical perfection of the publication. The volumes of Ancient India, planned by Dr. Wheeler and continued by the succeeding Directors General have made a mark and deserve to adorn the library shelves. May we thank the Director General for bringing out this Special Number of Ancient India.

Mysore
March, 1956

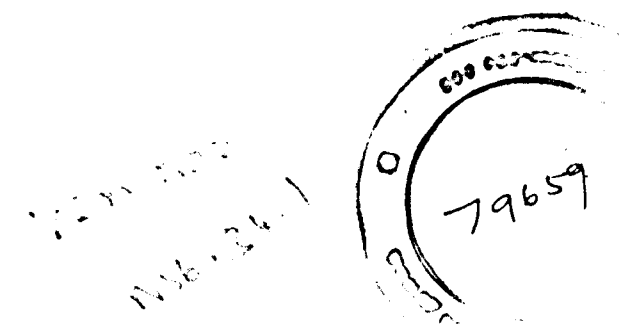
M. SESHADRI

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Adyar Library Bulletin*—Vol. XIX, Parts 3-4, December 1955, Madras.
 1. *Indian Theories on Homophones and Homonyms*, by Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja
 2. *Some Material from the Dastri Records in Jodhpur, Rājasthān*, by Dr. G. N. Sharma.
- II. *Ancient India—Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*—Numbers 10 and 11 (1954 and 1955) New Delhi.
 1. *Excavation at Hastināpura and other Explorations in the Upper Gangā and Sutlej Basins 1950-52*, by B. B. Lal.
 2. *Angling in Ancient India*, by Sunder Lal Hora.
- III. *History and Political Science Journal*—Vol. III, Agra.
 1. *Agra Through the Ages*, by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.
 2. *A Medieval attempt to fuse Hinduism and Islam*, by Dr. Brij Gopal Tiwari.
 3. *The Partition of Bengal (1905-1911)*, by B. C. Panigrahi.
 4. *Javli Incident Re-examined*, by Virendra Singh Gandok.
- IV. *Indian Historical Quarterly*—Vol. XXXI, No. 3, September 1955, Calcutta.
 1. *History of Sanskrit Literature of Kāshmīra*, by Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray.
 2. *Jijābai, the Inspirer of Shivaji*, by M. B. Deopujari.
 3. *Rānā Udayasimha's Relations with Islam Shāh*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
- V. *Indian Review*—Vol. 57, No. 1, January 1956.
 1. *India's Spiritual Heritage*, by Babu Rajendra Prasad.

2. *The Unity of India*, by Shriman Narayan.
 3. *Synthesis in Indian Architecture*, by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.
- VI. *Kashmir*—Vol. VI, No. 1, New Delhi.
1. *Kashmir's Contribution to Aesthetics*, by Dr. V. S. Naravane.
- VII. *Mysore University—The Half-yearly Journal of the*—Vol. XV, No. 2, March, 1955, Mysore.
1. *The Message of the Sanskrit Epics—An Early Estimate*, by Anandavardhana, by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy.
 2. *New Light on Megalithic Dating in India*, by Dr. M. Seshadri.
- VIII. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the M. S. University*—Vol. V, No. 2, December 1955, Baroda.
1. *The Rāmāyaṇa—Dr. H. Jacobi*, by Dr. S. N. Ghoshal.
 2. *The Aryan Way of Life in the Rāmāyaṇa*, by Dr. S. N. Vyas.
 3. *Un-Pāṇinian Nominal Declension in the Rāmāyaṇa*, by Dr. Nilmadhav Sen.
- IX. *Oriental Research—Journal of the*—Vol. XXIV, Parts 1-4, Madras.
1. *Indianistic Researches in Laos*, by Henri Deydier.
 2. *Ancient Hindu Criminal Law*, by Dr. Ludo Rocher.
 3. *A Survey of Epigraphical Materials found at Sarnath*, by Adris Banerji.
 4. *Vālmīki's View of the Social, Economic and Political roots of Culture and Happiness*, by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.
- X. *Royal Asiatic Society—Journal of the Bombay Branch*—Vol. XXIX, Part II, 1954.
1. *More on the Mahābhārata text-criticism*, by A. Esteller.
 2. *Bādarāyaṇa's Conception of Brahman*, by P. N. Modi.

3. *Kālidāsa and the Smṛitis*, by V. Raghavan.
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 5. *A Unique Sculpture of the Jaina Goddess Saccika*, by R. C. Agrawala.
 6. *John Stuart Mill and India*, by George D. Bearce, Jr.
- XI. *Tamil Culture*—Vol. IV, No. 4, October, 1955, Madras.
1. *Tamil and Sanskrit in South India*, by Dr. J. Filliozat.
 2. *Tribes of the Nilgiris—The kotars*, by Rev. F. Legrand.
 3. *Tamil Culture—its past, its present and its future with special reference to Ceylon*, by Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam.
- XII. *University of Ceylon Review*—Vol. XIII, No. 1, January 1955, Ceylon.
1. *The Early Contacts between Islam and Buddhism*, by S. M. Yusuf.



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2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya*, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
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12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
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16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
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28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
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31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.

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INDEX OF ARTICLES

	PAGE
THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM OF WESTERN INDIA?: By Dr. Frenise A. Logan ..	91
THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH POSTAL SYSTEM IN INDIA: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji ..	171
BENGAL UNDER THE DIWANI ADMINISTRATION 1765-1772, PART II: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji ..	47
DECLINE AND DOWNFALL OF THE SAIYADS: By Dr. A. Halim ..	31
DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF INDIAN EPIGRAPHY: By D. B. Diskalkar ..	289
IDENTIFICATION OF INDO-AEGEAN TRIBES: By Dr. J. T. Cornelius ..	11
INDO-AEGEAN BOAT DESIGNS AND THEIR ETHNOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION: By Dr. J. T. Cornelius ..	175
"KURUKSETRA IN EARLY SANSKRIT LITERATURE": By Ratna Chandra Agrawala ..	85
MAHISMATI IN ANCIENT INDIA: By Dr. B. C. Law ..	313
MUHAMMAD ADIL SHAH (1627-1656) AND THE PORTUGUESE: By Dr. P. M. Joshi ..	1
NIZAM'S RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH AND TIPPU SULTAN DURING 1787-1789: By B. Sheikh Ali ..	185
A NOTE ON THE SITTANNAVASAL AND KUDUMIYAMALAI MONUMENTS: By K. R. Venkata Raman ..	347
THE ORIGIN OF THE VELLALAS: By M. Arokiaswami ..	25
THE PROGRESS AND FUTURE OF INDIAN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES: By D. B. Diskalkar ..	131
SARASVATI BHANDARAS IN SOUTH INDIA: By K. D. Swaminathan ..	195

INDEX OF ARTICLES

iii

PAGE

SULTAN-QULI, THE FIRST RULER OF MEDIEVAL TILANGANA: By H. K. Sherwani ..	261
SYNTHESIS IN INDIAN ARCHITECTURE: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji ..	41
THE UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITIONS OF RIJCKLOF VAN GOENS AND ADRIAAN VAN DER MEYDEN TO THE MALABAR COAST — (1660-1661): By Dr. T. I. Poonen ..	321
WAS THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857 A FIGHT FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM?: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji ..	341
WHO IS A QALANDAR?: By Dr. Mahammad Tagi Ahmad ..	155
THE YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDITION, AN INTERPRETATION: By P. L. Mehra ..	201

BOOKS REVIEWED

Altekar, A. S.,— <i>Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the Bayana Hoard</i> ..	118
Annamalai University (Publisher),— <i>Journal of the Annamalai University Vol. XIX</i> ..	241
Basham, A. L.,— <i>The Wonder That was India</i> ..	109
Bimal Kanti Majumdar,— <i>The Military System in Ancient India</i> ..	360
Chaudhuri, S. B.,— <i>Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India (1765-1857)</i> ..	361
Datta, K. K., (Editor),— <i>Selections from unpublished correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna 1790-1857.</i> ..	240
Ganda Singh.,— <i>A Bibliography of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union</i> ..	117
Jadunath Sarkar, (Editor),— <i>Sindhia as Regent of Delhi, 1787 and 1789-91</i> ..	108
John Correia Afonso, S. J.,— <i>Jesuit Letters and Indian History</i> ..	358
Joseph, T. K.,— <i>Six St. Thomasses of South India</i> ..	255
Joseph Needham,— <i>Science and Civilisation in China</i> ..	103

	PAGE
Joshi, P. M., (Editor),— <i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department Series, 1755-1820</i> ..	236
Joshi, P. M., (Editor),— <i>Historical Selections from Baroda Records, New Series, Vol. I, 1826-1935</i> ..	239
Joshi, R. M., (Editor),— <i>Poona Akhbars, Vols. I and II</i> ..	237
Kaul, G. L.,— <i>Kashmir Through the Ages</i> ..	116
Krishna Kumari J. Virji,— <i>Ancient History of Saurashtra</i> ..	234
Lal Bahadur,— <i>The Muslim League</i> ..	117
Law, B. C.,— <i>Historical Geography of Ancient India</i> ..	113
Mahalingam, T. V.,— <i>South Indian Polity</i> ..	355
Majumdar, R. C., (Editor),— <i>The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III.—The Age of Imperial Kanauj</i> ..	243
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—Publications Division— <i>Kashmir, Vol. IV, No. 11</i> ..	115
M. Naseer-Ud-Din Khan (Editor),— <i>Sanpuri Bakhar</i> ..	238
Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.,— <i>A History of South India</i> ..	251
Powell Price, J. C.,— <i>A History of India</i> ..	229
Pulleyblank, E. G.,— <i>Chinese History and World History —An Inaugural Lecture</i> ..	235
Ramachandran Chettiar, C. M.,— <i>Kongu Nāṭṭu Varalāṟu (Tamil)</i> ..	249
Robert Shafer,— <i>Ethnography of Ancient India</i> ..	241
Sinha, H. N., (Editor),— <i>Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records, Vol. IV, (1818-1840)</i> ..	115
Sukumar Bhattacharya,— <i>The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704-1740</i> ..	121
Swami Sankarananda,— <i>The Indus People Speak</i> ..	364
UNESCO (Publishers),— <i>Cahiers D' Historie Mondiale (Journal of World History), Vol. I, No. 1</i> ..	112
Villehardouin and De Joinville,— <i>Memoirs of the Crusades</i> ..	363
Vishwanath Prasad Varma,— <i>Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations</i> ..	123