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The Proposed Invasion of India by Russia and France in 1801

BY

J. LEE SHNEIDMAN

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The shades of mystery surrounding the reign of Tsar Paul I, of which N. Schilder speaks,¹ have, in part, been removed by W. L. Blease,² M. V. Klochkov,³ D. Miliutin,⁴ K. Osipov,⁵ and E. S. Shumigorski.⁶ Each of these authors has selected a portion of that memorable four year reign and placed it under the most intense scholarly critique. These individuals have scrutinized virtually every phase of the Tsar's activity.

There is one exception to this—the so-called “invasion of India.” The reason for the lack of a thorough scholarly examination of this affair appears to be a certain amount of confusion, or unwillingness on the part of interested historians to become involved in an endeavour which is virtually devoid of careful documentation. Still another reason for scholarly neglect seems to be the obvious discrepancy between what is supposed to have transpired and what actually did. Further, there seems to be some question as to the validity of one of the chief documents in the case.

The problem as to what happened during the last two years of Paul's rule may be easily bifurcated: First, what was planned, if there was a plan; and second, what was accomplished.

1. N. K. Schilder, *Histoire anecdotique de Paul Ier* (Paris, 1890), i.
2. W. Lyon Blease, *Suvoroff* (London, 1920).
3. M. V. Klochkov, *Ocherki pravitel'stvennot deiatel'nost vremeni Pavla I* (Petrograd, 1916).
4. D. Miliutin, *Istoriia Voina 1799 goda* (3 Vols., St. Petersburg, 1853).
5. K. Osipov, *Suvorov* (Moscow, 1950).
6. E. S. Shumigorski, *Imperator Pavel I* (St. Petersburg, 1907).



The document outlining the full plan for the combined Russo-French invasion of India is available in both French⁷ and Russian.⁸ The source of both accounts of the document is "a rather interesting brochure"⁹ entitled: *Mémoire de Leibnitz à Louis XIV, sur la conquête de l'Egypt, publié, avec une project d'expédition dans l'Inde, par terre concerté entre le premier consul et l'empereur Paul I en mil huit cent*. Historians are rather divided as to the authenticity of this document. Alfred Rambaud¹⁰ and Albert Sorel¹¹ have implicit faith in the document. P. A. Karatygin¹² presents the document without comment, while Miliutin is positive that the document is invention.¹³

The plan itself is rather detailed. It carefully outlines the route of the French Rhenish Army from Ulm¹⁴ down the Danube to the Black Sea, where Russian transports would take them to Taganrog. Disembarking, they were to proceed to Piatizbianski and then to Tsaritsyn, where barges were to be waiting to take them down the Volga to Astrakhan. A ten-day sea voyage was to bring them to Asterbad. Once the Franco-Russian army had united in Asterbad, they were to march to the Indus River via

7. Dubois de Jancigny and Xavier Raymond, *Inde* (Paris, 1873), 106-10.

8. P. A. Karatygin, "Proekt' Russko-Frantsuzskoi ekspeditsii v Indiiu," *Russkaia Starina*, VIII (1873) 401-8.

9. Dubois de Jancigny, *op. cit.*, 105.

10. Alfred Rambaud, *History of Russia* (New York, n.d.) II: 140. In the edition published in Boston in 1880, the pages are 263-8.

11. Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la révolution Française* (Paris, 1903), VII: 114. Despite all the work which has been done on the subject, some modern historians still believe that the documents are genuine. Sir Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia* (New York, 1933), 283-4; Paul Miliukov, *Histoire de Russie* (Paris, 1932), II: 624-5.

12. Karatygin, *op. cit.*, 408.

13. Miliutin, *op. cit.*, III: 667. Gustav Roloff in "Napoleon, Kaiser Paul und Indien im Jahr 1801," in *Preussische Jahrbucher* CLXXIII (1918), 204-17, carefully attempts to prove the document false.

14. The document does not indicate the starting point or name the commander. Sorel, however, places the marshalling point of the French army at Ulm and names General Massena as commander. Sorel insists that Massena was chosen because it was he who had defeated Korsakov at Zurich, but was defeated by Suvorov in the Alpine passes. Massena's command was to symbolize the unity of France and Russia. Sorel, however, does not disclose the source of this information. Pares and Rambaud simply quote Sorel.

Meshed, Herat, Ferah and Kandagar. The entire trip, from Ulm to the Indus, was to take one hundred and twenty days.

Once the plan has been completely outlined, the author presents some objections as raised by Napoleon. The First Consul is interested in whether there would be enough ships to transport an army of thirty-five thousand, whether the Sultan would oppose the French, whether the English Fleet could destroy the allied armada and whether there would be provisions on the line of march.

These comments are followed by the reply of the Tsar. Paul answers in detail all the objections and insures the success of the undertaking.

The programme is fully elaborated. The army of thirty-five thousand Frenchmen, twenty-five thousand Russian infantry and ten thousand Cossacks was to be accompanied by topographers, aërostaticians and pyrotechnicians. Rambaud makes a cogent and penetrating remark when he indicates that the scientific contingent was not unlike that which Napoleon took with him on his ill-fated invasion of Egypt.¹⁵ The plan seems to take care of everything. The supplies of the army, and the gifts to be taken to bribe the various local potentates, are carefully enumerated and the most convenient place to obtain them indicated.

Miliutin's chief objections to the document are: the lack of any original documental source and the impossibility of the completion of the march in four months.¹⁶ The first objection is valid, since there is no indication as to where the original copy of the document reposes. The second objection, however, is dubious since the document clearly states that "in order to avoid any aggravated forced marches, let us suppose that the expedition will take a full five months."

There are, however, other points in the document which seem rather confused. Why was Taganrog, and not the naval base of Azov, chosen as the point of disembarkation?¹⁷ There is a passage

15. Rambaud, *op. cit.*, II: 140.

16. Miliutin, *op. cit.*, III: 667.

17. If the document were invention, Taganrog would be the more famous Russian port since it was there that Tsar Alexander I had died. A

concerning the procurement of supplies at the Monastery of Sarepta "six miles from Tsaritsyn, on the right bank of the Volga." The document, in the section written by Paul, states that it was necessary to receive permission from the monastic headquarters in Saxony, then under French control, in order to buy supplies at Sarepta. Certainly Paul, who spent all his energies trying to revive the Imperial Absolutism as exercised by Ivan IV and Peter I, would be the last to admit that he had not the power to force a monastery in Russia to obey his command.

The questions raised by Napoleon seem dubious, since, as Sorel indicates, it was Napoleon's intention to invade India from Egypt through the very same route.¹⁸ Further, Napoleon's query concerning the British fleet seems out of place when one remembers that he sailed for Egypt knowing that Lord Nelson's armada stood between him and Alexandria.

A question of paramount importance in determining the validity of this document is to determine whether there are any corroborating documents. There are a number of such documents but their importance in this affair is limited.

In the *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*,¹⁹ L. A. F. d'Bourrienne quotes the Emperor as stating, upon learning of the Tsar's death, "in concert with the Tsar, I was sure of striking a mortal blow at the English power in India." Bourrienne makes his own observation that the Tsar "meant to undertake an expedition by land against the English Colonies in the East Indies."²⁰

These *Memoirs* were written in St. Helena many years after 1801 and so cannot be accepted as absolute fact. But even if historians could accept all of Napoleon's comments as accurate, we could not state that Napoleon speaks of a positive Russo-French alliance against India. Napoleon speaks only of what might have been.

landing at Taganrog would demand a crossing of the Don, provisions for which are not mentioned, while a landing at Azov would have removed that hazard.

18. Sorel, *op. cit.*, V: 444.

19. L.A.F. d'Bourrienne, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York, 1891), II: 66.

20. *Ibid.*, I: 346.

Other sources, of greater historical validity than Napoleon's *Memoirs*, are void of any positive statement of fact. There is a letter of April 11, 1801 in which Kalitschef, the Russian Plenipotentiary at Paris, expressed to Talleyrand Paul's desire to have France act as a counter weight to the English in India, Ceylon, Capetown and America.²¹ The letter speaks in generalities and cannot be used as positive evidence of any existing alliance.

Other references to India are to be found in the *Letters* of the First Consul.

On January 21, 1801, Napoleon wrote to Talleyrand concerning his plans for the world wide expansion of French power. India is simply listed as one of the areas in which France must exert greater influence.²² On March 31, 1801 the First Consul ordered Citizen Forfait to have "two or three officers fix public attention on a project for an expedition to India."²³

It is always dangerous to use silence as a historical tool, but when the above documents seem to be all that are available, one must go to obvious sources to see if there are comments. When one finds no comments in places where there *should* be comment, this is often as important as a positive fact. It is from the silence of various documents, which should substantiate our document under discussion, that one begins to wonder as to the validity of the document proposing the united invasion of India. In the one hundred and twenty-five pages of documents printed in the *Sbornik*²⁴ which cover Franco-Russian correspondence during 1800-1801, save for Document LV, there is no reference to India. Baron F. I. Brunov, discussing the principle transactions of the Russian cabinet during that period makes no mention of India.²⁵

21. Aleksandr Trachevski, "Diplomaticheskii Snosheniia Rossii S Frantsiei v epokhu Napoleona I," *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestvo*, LXX, 111. Document LV.

22. *Correspondence de Napoleon I* (32 Vols., 1858-70) Letter 5327.

23. *Ibid.*, Letter 5460.

24. Trachevski, *op. cit.*

25. F. I. Brunov, "Apercu des transactions politiques du Cabinet de Russie," *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestvo*, XXXI, 197.

The documents published by M. Dumas and C. G. Koch²⁶ immediately after the Napoleonic Wars make no mention of India in this connection. The diaries and letters of Talleyrand and Joseph Bonaparte and others of the courts of St. Petersburg²⁷ and Paris make no mention of the alliance or of India.

On April 18, 1801 Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph²⁸ of the Tsar's death. While the First Consul speaks highly of Paul, he makes no mention of any alliance.

At the request of Paul, Rostopchin drew up a set of plans for the division of the world between Russia and France. This was to be the basis for a peace treaty. The plan goes into careful detail on all points where Russian and French interests unite. There is no mention of India in this plan.²⁹

Why this document has been considered genuine is an interesting conjecture. It is a plausible programme. It was Napoleon's original intention after the conquest of Egypt. Napoleon seems never to have forgotten the idea. After the treaty of Tilsit, the Emperor sent General Gardane to Persia and Afganistan to find allies for such an invasion.³⁰ Lord Minto, the English Commander in India, was sufficiently convinced of the imminence of a Franco-Russian invasion to spend £ 200,000 to buy the loyalty of the Persian Shah.³¹

There are two other reasons why historians seem to have accepted the theory that an alliance did exist. In 1801 the British were convinced that such an alliance existed. Members of both the House of Lords³² and Commons³³ spoke of the war existing between Russia and England. The destruction of the Danish fleet

26. Mathieu Dumas, *Précis des événements militaires*, (Hamburg, 1817); C. G. Koch, *Histoire abrégée des traités de paix* (Paris, 1817).

27. The narrative of the Princess Lieven will be mentioned in its proper place.

28. *Correspondence*, Letter 5522.

29. Duc de Broglie, "La politique de la Russie en 1800," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, III, 1-2.

30. J. C. French, "Napoleon's India Plan," *National Review*, CX (1939), 614.

31. Dubois de Jancigny, *op. cit.* 546.

32. *Parliamentary Register* XIV (1801), 15-16, 58-9.

33. *Ibid.*, 60-61.

and the planned attack upon the Swedish and Russian fleets were an attempt to prevent Paul's Northern League from dominating the Baltic.

The other reason for the acceptance of the document is the undisputed fact that the Tsar did order the Russian forces to invade India. The fact that the Tsar ordered the invasion and the feeling that an alliance existed have led historians to believe that Paul and Napoleon had planned a joint invasion of India. As early as 1838 an English historian accepts this as fact.³⁴

Thus, the words of Napoleon, the actuality of Paul's actions, the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt and the English fear have combined to make the document, which under normal historical criticism would seem suspect, acceptable.

Is there anything within the document which would prevent it from being a fabrication? It does not seem so. All one would have to do to invent the document is to know the style of official documents, know the composition of the French mission to Egypt and the route taken by either Alexander the Great or Nadir Shah, whose names are mentioned in the document, for both conquerors followed the path as outlined in the document. There is nothing in the document which one could state *must* have originated in the secret rooms of the Russian or French Foreign Office. Roloff³⁵ insists that the document is false and is based upon some travel stories and fiction.

The sources for the Russian invasion of India, however, seem above reproach.

The first letter is dated January 12, 1801. In the letter the Tsar orders General Orlov to prepare to invade India. This letter is dated two months before Napoleon ordered Citizen Forfait to "fix public attention on a project for an expedition to India."

Princess Lieven³⁶ mentions the invasion of India, but describes it as part of Paul's plan to destroy the Cossacks. Nowhere does she mention a Franco-Russian alliance.

34. Robert Bell, *Russia* (3 Vols., London, 1838), III: 243-4.

35. Roloff, *op. cit.*, 216.

36. H. Montgomery Hyde, *Princess Lieven* (London, 1938), 34. The Princess was only 16 years old in 1801.

The documents describing the planned Russian invasion of India consist of five letters from the Tsar to General Orlov, commander of the Don Cossacks; and the diary of Ataman Denisov, one of Orlov's officers.

According to Kazimir Waliszewski the five letters were to be found in the Archives of the Russian Ministry of War, Scientific Section, first division, number 982.³⁷ Karatygin³⁸ and Miliutin³⁹ reproduce the letters and declare them genuine. The events, as they actually happened, fit into the pattern as outlined in the letters.

The letters date from January 12 to February 21, 1801 (O.S.). In the letters the Tsar orders General Vasili Petrovich Orlov to gather his Cossacks and proceed to Orenburg, a Russian fort on the Ural River. From Orenburg they are to go to the Indus via Khiva and Bokhara—i.e., follow the established caravan roads. The project from Orenburg to the Indus was to take three months. Paul, according to his words in the letters, enclosed all available maps for the expedition. While it is true that the Tsar demanded speed, he advised Orlov to "prepare everything necessary for the march." He further informed General Orlov that once the army had reached Orenburg it was to rest and await further instructions. While it must be admitted that the five letters do not outline a programme as thorough as that mentioned in the suspect document, it is nevertheless a reasonable plan. It can hardly be described as "mad".⁴⁰

The diary of Ataman Denisov describes the route of the army.⁴¹ Denisov gathered the Don Cossacks and brought them

37. Kazimir Waliszewski, *Le fils de la grande Catherine, Paul Ier* (Paris, 1912), 515.

38. Karatygin, *op. cit.*, 409-10.

39. Miliutin, *op. cit.*, III: 665.

40. Alexander Kornilov in his *Modern Russian History* (New York, 1916), 63, declares that this plan "illustrates Paul's madness." He declares, without giving authority, that the army lost half the horses in crossing the desert. M. T. Florinsky in *Russia* (New York, 1953), 622, describes the plan as preposterous and reckless.

41. A. P. Cherbotarev, "Zapiski Donskago Ataman Denisova," *Russkaya Starina*, XX (1875), 239-41.

to Saratov, where they were to cross the Volga. After some difficulty they crossed the river.⁴² The army, without further difficulty, reached a monastery of the Raskolniki on the Irguza River. The monastery lay in an area between Russian claims and the authority of the Central Asian Sultans; but it was on the route to Khiva and Bokhara. It was at the monastery that word reached the troops of Paul's murder and their recall.

Thus ended the proposed Russian invasion of India.

When one adds the complete discrepancy between what Paul actually ordered for the invasion and what the document calling for the joint Russo-French invasion said he ordered, to all the other facts—the lack of an original source for the document, the silence of contemporary authorities and the internal faults of the document itself, there can be but one conclusion: the document describing the Russo-French plans is invention. The evidence supporting the document is circumstantial—the actual Russian invasion plan, the feeling that in 1801 war existed between Russia and England and Napoleon's actions and words. Too many modern historians have enjoyed telling the story of a huge Russo-French invasion of India which was stopped by the dramatic murder of a half-crazed Tsar. It is an interesting story but it is just a story. The Tsar was neither half-crazed nor did Napoleon have any knowledge of the affair.

42. *Ibid.* The only casualty, according to Denisov, was one Cossack who fell off his horse in crossing the river and hit his head.

Classification of Indian Epigraphical Records

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona

Various Ways of Classification:

As the Indian Epigraphical material is very vast, even a general idea of it cannot be formed unless it is classified in some systematic way or the other. The system of classification will vary according to the purpose of study.

The whole stock of epigraphical records can be classified in various ways as under:

1. With regard to their nature as Official and Private.¹
2. With regard to the scripts in which they are written as Indus Valley script, Brāhmī script in all its derived varieties found in North India, South India, Ceylon and Greater India; Kharoshthi script; Arabic-Persian script; Greek, Roman and its various derived European scripts; and the East Asian scripts like the Chinese.
3. With regard to their languages as the Indus Valley language (at present unknown), Prakrit, Sanskrit, Sanskritic provincial languages like Oriya, Marathi, Assamese, Gujarati, Bengali; etc. Dravidian or South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam; Arabic-Persian and Urdu, and Hebrew, Pāhlavi, Greek, Armenian, Dutch, Portuguese; English; French etc.
4. With regard to the prominent dynasties to whose time the inscriptions refer as the Mauryas, Śungas, Śātavāhanas, Kushānas, Guptas, Chālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pālas; Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Early Rajputs; Mediaeval Rajputs; Muslim rulers and later Rajputs etc.

1. In foreign epigraphies the records are generally divided into two classes only (1) Religious and (2) Political and Social.

5. With regard to the main periods of Indian history into which they fall as the Indus Valley period 2500-1500 B.C. Ancient period 350 B.C. to 350 A.D.; Mediaeval period 350 A.D. to 1350 A.D. and Modern period 1350 A.D. to 1800 A.D.

6. With regard to the religious communities or their subjects which they represent, as the Indus Valley people; the Brahmanical Hindus, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas etc., Buddhists, Jains; Ājīvikas; Muslims; Christians and Jews.

7. With regard to the topics, they deal as Commemorative, Donatory, Eulogistic, Religious, Mythological, Administrative and Literary.

8. With regard to the material on which they are incised as stone and its various forms; metal and its various forms; clay and its various forms; and miscellaneous materials like crystal, jade, glass, ivory, conch, wood, and manuscripts or archives as of birch-bark; palm-leaf; cotton and silk cloth, paper and leather and Numismatics.

9. With regard to their dating and eras as those dated in Vikrama Samvat, Śaka Varsha, Kalachuri era, Gupta era, Harsha era; etc.

But the best way is the following which is based upon the chronology, dynastic sequence and family likeness of the records and with special reference to North India.

(I) First group of records of the Indus Valley period 2500 to 1500 B.C.

(II) Second group of records of the Ancient period consisting of the Brahmi-Kharoshthi-Prakrit inscriptions—350 B.C. to 350 A.D.

(1) Records of the Mauryan period—350 to 184 B.C.

(2) Records on North Indian Tribal coins—200 B.C. to 100 A.D.

(3) Records of the Śunga-Sātavāhana-Khāravela period and of tribal rulers—184 B.C. to 200 A.D.

(4) Records of the Hinduised foreign rulers like the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Bactrians, Indo-Parthians, Kshaharātas, Kshatrapas, Kushānas, etc.—150 B.C. to 300 A.D.

(5) Records of the successors of the Kushānas in the North like the republics of the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Maghas, and the contemporaries.—200 to 350 A.D.

(6) Records of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the South like the Ikshvākus and the early Pallavas, Śalankāyanas, Brihatphalāyanas, early Vākātakas and the contemporaries.—200 A.D. to 350 A.D.

Appendix—Distinguishing features of the epigraphical records of this period from those of the subsequent period.

(III) Third group of records of the Mediaeval period consisting of Sanskrit inscriptions written in several types of the Brahmi script—350 A.D. to 1350 A.D.

(1) Records of the Imperial Guptas and their contemporaries—350 A.D. to 550 A.D.

(2) Records of the Deccan Chālukyas and North Indian Pushyabhūties and contemporaries—560 to 760 A.D.

(3) Records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Pratihāras, Pālas and early Rajput dynasties—750 to 950 A.D.

(4) Records of the Mediaeval Rajput dynasties—950 to 1350 A.D.

Appendix—Distinguishing features of the epigraphical records of this period from those of the previous period.

(IV) Fourth group of records of the Muslim period in Indian History consisting of Sanskrit and Deśabhāṣā inscriptions from 1350 to 1800 A.D.

(1) Records in Sanskrit language referring to the Muslim sovereigns.

- (2) Records of the Hindu rulers independent of and subordinate to the Muslim sovereigns, like the later Rajput dynasties of different regions like Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujrat, Madhyabharat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Deccan, the South, etc.

Appendix—Distinguishing features of the epigraphical records of this period from those of the previous period.

- (V) Fifth group of records of the modern period consisting of inscriptions in Sanskrit provincial languages like Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, etc.
- (VI) Sixth group of South Indian inscriptions from 600 to 800 A.D.
- (1) Tamil inscriptions.
 - (2) Telugu inscriptions.
 - (3) Kannada inscriptions.
 - (4) Malayalam inscriptions.

Appendix—Distinguishing features of these records from the North Indian records.

- (VII) Seventh group of Greater Indian inscriptions mainly in Sanskrit—200 to 1200 A.D.
- (VIII) Eighth group of inscriptions of foreign Buddhist settlers or travellers in India in Chinese, Japanese and Burmese.
- (IX) Ninth group of Muslim inscriptions in India—1200 to 1800 A.D.
- (X) Tenth group of inscriptions of foreign settlers of foreign religious faiths in India mainly from 1600 to 1800 A.D. in Aramaic, Sabeian, Hebrew, Pāhlavi, Greek, Latin, etc.²

2. Notes on groups 1 to 4 are published below, those on 5 and 9 are being published in the Journals of the Oriental Institutes at Baroda and Ujjain respectively, those on 6 and 10 were published in the Journal of Indian History—August 1956 and April 1956 respectively, while notes on 7 and 8 are yet unpublished.

I. The first group of Indian epigraphical records consists of about 2000 inscriptions incised on small rectangular seals, made of steatite, fience and ivory discovered along with many other antiquities in the Indus Valley at Harappā in the Montgomery District, West Punjab, at Mohenjodaro in the Larkana District (Sind) and at Chanhudaro and Amri in the same Province. Mohenjodaro is about 450 miles from Harappa, Chanhudaro is 80 miles s.s.e. of Mohenjodaro and Amri is about 100 miles to the south of Mohenjodaro. The whole region in which the peculiar antiquities and inscribed seals were found extends on the banks of the river Indus and hence is called the Indus Valley, and the civilization represented by these finds is called the Indus Valley civilization. But in accordance with the convenient practice in Egypt and Mesopotamia of naming a culture after the site where traces of it were first found, the Indus Valley civilization is sometimes named as "Harappa Civilization".

Such finds are sometimes found, though on a very small scale, in several places outside this region, e.g., at Kotla Nihang, Rupar and Bara in Ambala Dist. (Punjab), at Sandharwala in Bahawalpur State, at Valā and Rangpur in Saurashtra at Kothal in Gujarat and at Mandsores in Central India. (*Anc. India* No. 9, p. 81). This shows that the Indus Valley culture was not restricted to the Indus Valley but had extended all over the West and North India. But such inscribed seals are rarely found except at Rupar and at Tarkhana-wala-dera in Bikaner. In shape, material, style animals, and characters engraved upon them the seals found at all these places are identical, which shows that at one time a cultural homogeneity had reigned at all these places.

The Indus Valley inscriptions bear a close resemblance with the seal inscriptions found in ancient Sumer, Egypt and South Iran. Typical seals of Indian workmanship are found in several sites in Mesopotamia—at Ur, Kish, Umma, Tello, etc., and at Susa in Iran. Particularly striking is the seal found at Tell Asmar which was accompanied by other objects apparently Indian in origin. Similarly there are some Mesopotamian imports in India. Their form is Mesopotamian but the technique and the themes are Indian. Rectangular seals with the same peculiar signs are also found in Eastern Island in the Pacific. The resemblance of the Indus

Valley inscriptions with those found outside India seems too close to be accidental. We have, therefore, to suppose that in very ancient times there was intercourse in ideas and concrete objects between Indians and the people of all these countries.

The inscriptions on the Indus Valley seals consist of peculiar signs which look like human figures holding various objects in their hands, animals like the elephant, antelope, horse, rhinoceros, buffalo, short-horned bull, Brahman bull, monkey, tiger, and a mythological two-headed composite animal, birds like duck in pool, goose, bee and insects, fishes with strokes on the body and angular adjunct overhead, hills and trees. Similarly peculiar signs consisting of one or more short lines grouped together and of straight and oblique strokes, etc., are also found.

In spite of persistent efforts of a number of scholars like Sir John Marshall, Mackay, Sayce, Piccoli, Gadd, Sydney-Smith, Waddell, Langdon, Hunter, Flingders, Petrie, Hevesy, Meriggi, Prānanāth, Barua, Hrozney, Heras, Shamsastri, Sankaranand, etc., nobody has yet been able to decipher these inscriptions and so nothing definite can be said about their nature. (H. Heras, *Studies in Proto. Indo. Mediterranean Culture*, 1953, p. 29).

There is no unanimity of opinion about the dating of these inscriptions. According to Sir John Marshall, they can be dated to c. 3250 to 2750 B.C. Dr. Fabri, basing his theory on the similarity of the signs on a Sumero-Babylonian seal assignable to 2800 B.C. found in Mohenjodaro itself with those on the Indian seals thinks that they cannot be older than 2800 B.C. Dr. Mackay and some other scholars who think that the dating is too early, place the inscriptions between 2500 to 2200 B.C. Dr. Wheeler assigns them to 2300 to 1520 B.C. approximately on account of the revision of the Mesopotamian chronology on which the Indus Valley chronology has been based. According to some scholars, since some of the antiquities discovered in the Mauryan sites dated in the fourth or third century B.C. bear some resemblance to some of the Indus Valley antiquities, the gap of two thousand years between them, as suggested by Marshall, is too great, and hence the Indus Valley antiquities require to be dated at a later date.

The remains at Harappā, Mohenjodaro and other places in the Indus Valley present to us a highly developed urban civilization which extended much beyond the Indus Valley proper, at least as far east as Rupar in the Ambala District, East Punjab, and as far south as Rangpur in Saurashtra, as evidenced by the remains unearthed there.

In spite of the fact that so many inscribed seals have been found in the Indus Valley, it must be said that from an epigraphical point of view, the Indus Valley is particularly deficient in yielding epigraphical records. It looks strange that, when the Indus Valley people knew the art of writing and were the authors of a very highly developed urban civilization, only short inscriptions on steatite and fiance seals of a stereotyped form are found in hundreds and not a single inscription in the proper sense of the term on a stone slab or on a copper plate or on the pedestal of an image is found. All these objects were not unknown to them, and they were in close contact with the contemporary people of West Asia, who had left for us very long and important inscriptions of various kinds. That the Indus people might have used for writing a frail material like the palm leaves does not explain the position satisfactorily. "When we compare the Indus Valley seals with the enormous crop of uniform tablets of ancient Babylonia preserving long epics and great narratives, or of the Hittite diplomatic correspondence, of the panegyric Assyrian records or the report of the eponymous magistracies or of the extensive inscriptions in the Ramesseum or on the exteriors of the Egyptian temple or with the hieroglyphics of the pyramids or the sarcophagi, the Indus Valley looks barren." (B. S. Upadhyaya—*The Ancient World*, p. 149).

II. The second group consists of various kinds of inscriptions falling in the period which runs from the middle of the fourth century B.C., to the middle of the fourth century A.D. These inscriptions are found in all parts of India but more in North India than in South India and in Ceylon. In this period parts of Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan were either comprised in India or were under the influence of Indian culture and religion. Consequently, a number of inscriptions are found in these regions which, in point of script, language and nature, are like the Indian records of the period. These inscriptions were set

up more at the initiative of private persons than of rulers and are more of a sectarian than of a secular nature, mainly Buddhist.

Although script, language and religion are not the only criteria for the classification of epigraphical material, the epigraphical records of this period can be generally denominated as Brāhmi-Prākṛit-Buddhist records because a large majority of them are written in the Brāhmi script, composed in the Prākṛit language and belong to the Buddhist religion. But some of the Prākṛit-Buddhist inscriptions are written in the Kharoshthi script. So this group of inscriptions which form a class by themselves may be denominated as Kharoshthi-Prākṛit-Buddhist records. But all Brāhmi-Buddhist inscriptions are not in Prākṛit, some of them are in Sanskrit. Similarly some Kharoshthi-Buddhist inscriptions are in Sanskrit. In the same way just as some Brāhmi-Prākṛit inscriptions are Brahmanical some Kharoshthi-Prākṛit inscriptions are also Brahmanical in religion. A number of Brāhmi-Prākṛit inscriptions at Mathura and the well-known Brāhmi-Prākṛit inscription of Khāravēla belong to the Jain religion.

The epigraphical material in this group can be further divided into the following sub-groups:

(1) *Records of the Maurya period: 350 to 187 B.C.*

(a) There are three short inscriptions found in North India, in the early Brāhmi script which contain some forms more archaic than those found in the edicts of Aśoka. They can, therefore, be assigned to the pre-Aśokan period to about 350 to 300 B.C. The language of the inscriptions is Prakrit. One of the three inscriptions is on a coin found at Eran in M.P. and gives only the name of a local tribal ruler named Dhanapāla, the other is on a stone tablet found at Mahāsthāna in East Bengal (*E.I.* 21-86; *I.H.Q.* -1934-57) and the third is on a cast copperplate found at Sohgaura in Gorakhpur District (*E.I.* 22.2; *I.H.Q.* 10.54). The two latter inscriptions, probably issued in the time of the monarch Chandragupta Maurya (324-300 B.C.), register instructions to Mahāmātras of Puṇḍravardhana, i.e., Bengal and of Śravastī respectively, in connection with famine relief measures by Government, such as distribution of grain from state granaries and advance of loans to the people.

The Kharoshthi legends on the oldest coins and the Kharoshthi syllables on the Persian Sigloi may, as shown by Dr. Buhler (*Ind. Paleog.* p. 24), be assigned to this period

(b) About forty inscriptions of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka himself (272-231 B.C.) in more than 150 versions are found in all parts of India from Shahabazgarhi on the Indo-Afghan border in the north, to Siddhapura in Mysore State in the south and from Girnar in Saurashtra in the west to Dhauli in the delta of the Mahānadi in Orissa in the east. These inscriptions have been edited individually or collectively by a number of scholars, but the most important Corpus is that of Hultzsch, (*C.I.I.* Vol. I). They are inscribed on rocks, monolith pillars and rockcut cave walls. Three pillar inscriptions are found in the Nepal Terai round about Rumindi, the birthplace of the Buddha, one of which records the erection of a memorial pillar in his honour and the grant of the village. Two cave inscriptions record donation of caves in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hills in Gaya District in Bihar to Ajīvika recluses; and the remaining inscriptions record Aśoka's instructions for the moral well-being, not only of his own subjects, but of those of neighbouring kingdoms and his charitable deeds done for both men and animals. They are thus of a commemorative, donative and religious nature. Only two of the above forty inscriptions of Aśoka which are found at Shahabazgarhi and Mansehra in the North-West are in the Kharoshthi script, while all the remaining inscriptions are written in a uniform Brāhmi script. The language of all the inscriptions is what may be called Aśokan Prākṛit with regional dialectical peculiarities. Only two of the inscriptions at Maski (in Andhra) and Gujjar (in M.P.) bear the name of Aśoka while the remaining bear the name Devānāmpīya Piyadasi by which Aśoka was generally known. These inscriptions can be assigned to 261 to 245 B.C., Aśoka is said to have succeeded his father Bindusāra in 272 B.C., crowned four years later, and died in 231 B.C. His inscriptions are dated in his regnal years 8 to 27. As epigraphical records, Aśoka's edicts, or *dhammalipi* as he calls them, are for various reasons unrivalled in the world. It is worth noting that no coins bearing the name of the Maurya emperors are known, though an inscribed coin of Dhanapāla of the pre-Mauryan or the Mauryan period and inscribed coins of several tribal rulers of this and of a slightly later period are found. A fragmentary Aramaic inscrip-

tion found engraved on an octagonal marble pillar in Taxila records a memorial to one Dmirki and mentions the name of lord Pvidds. According to Dr. Marshall, Aśoka's usual designation Priyadarsin can be recognized in the inscription which can be assigned to 275 B.C., in the early career of Aśoka when he was his father's Viceroy in the province (*J.R.A.S.* 1915, p. 346)

(c) Three inscriptions of Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka, are found in the above-mentioned Nāgārjuni hills, which like those of Aśoka record the gift of similar caves to the Ājīvika sect. They can be dated about 230 B.C. They are written in the Brāhmī script and in the Prakrit language. (*I.A.* 20.364; *M.A.S.I.* Vol. I and Hultsch, *C.I.I.* Vol. I).

All the inscriptions noted above are of an official nature, being inspired by royal authority, and no private person is known to have set up any inscriptions during the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period from 350 to 184 B.C.

(2) Inscriptions on North Indian Tribal Coins

Inscribed coins of a number of tribal republics (*Janapada*) and members of monarchical ruling families with Prakrit legends in early Brahmi and Kharoshthi characters are found in different parts of North India, specially in U.P. and the Punjab. They cover the period from the end of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C. when the regions were under the Mauryas, after which some of the tribal rulers were succeeded by foreign dynasties of Śakas called Kshatrapas. (Allan, *Cat. Coins of Anc. Ind.* London 1936). Unfortunately, no stone inscriptions or other records of these rulers are found. But the characters, the language and findspots of their coins and their names and titles enable us to determine the names of their dynasties, the approximate period in which they lived and the geographical extent of the territories over which they ruled. The rulers of Eran, Kauśāmbi, Māthurā, Taxilā, Ujjain, Ayodhyā, Pānchāl, Almora, Trigartā, and Tripuri may be mentioned as some of them. A seal from Gayā containing the expression *mokhalinām* in early Brāhmī may be assigned to the post-Aśokan period.

(3) Inscriptions of the Śunga-Sātavāhana period, 187 B.C. to 200 A.D. (See *Allahabad Uni. Studies*, Vol. 9 pp. 125-186)

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(a) This period is named after the Śungas (c. 187-75 B.C.) and the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas 150 B.C. to 227 A.D., because they are the two representative dynasties which were ruling as great sovereign powers after the Mauryas in the North and in the South respectively. The epigraphical material, however, which they have left as their own is very meagre. Not more than half a dozen Śunga inscriptions are found, most of them being from E. Malva. One of them at Ayodhya mentions the Śunga king Pushyamitra (*E.I.* 20). It is in Sanskrit and is the earliest Śunga inscription. (*E.I.* 20-55). The Bārhat inscription incised on the gateway of the stūpa (*I.A.* 14.138), mentions only the name of the family and the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription refers to the name of Bhāgabhadra (*A.R.A.S.I.* 1908-09, p. 126). The Badli inscription refers to the same family. Similarly only one or two inscriptions are found of the short-lived Kāṇva dynasty (c. 75-30 B.C.), who succeeded the Śungas as the sovereign power in North India. Coins bearing the names of Mitra kings found at Kosam, Bhiṭā, Gayā, Ahichchhatrā etc., and seals found at Besnagar may probably belong to the Śunga or the Kāṇva rulers. (Allan, *Cat.* p. xcvi).

The number of epigraphical records of the great Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty which ruled over a major portion of South India for a very long period, except for a period of about fifty years when the expansion of the Śaka power at the expense of the Sātavāhanas had occurred, is also remarkably small, though Āndhra period had been one of considerable prosperity. Not less than seventeen members of the family are known to have ruled though the Purāṇas list more than thirty kings among whom Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhiputra Śri Pulumāyi, Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi and Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi were prominent. (*Age of Impl. Unity*, p. 706). But not more than thirty inscriptions of the whole family are so far found. (Rapson, *Cat. Coins of Āndhra dynasty*, Introduction). The fact however that they are found in distant places in Central and South India, though mostly from Western Mahārāshṭra, shows the vast extent of their territories. On the southern gateway of the Sānci stūpa is an inscription of the Āndhra king Sātakarṇi I, assignable to the first century B.C. The Nānāghāt cave inscription gives names of the early rulers like Simukha, Krishṇa and Śri Sātakarṇi. Inscriptions of Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 166-196) are found at Kanheri and Nasik

in the west and at Chinna-Ganjam in the east. One of Śrī Chandra's inscriptions is found in Kalinga and of Pulumayi is found in the Bellari District. Sātavāhana inscriptions of Śrī Pulumāyi (c. 130.59 A.D.), Sivamakaśāta and Śrī Yajña (174.200 A.D.), are found in Amarāvati. (E.I. Vols. 4, 7, 8, 14). The most important of the Sātavāhana inscriptions are found at Nasik, Nānāghāt, Kārla and Kanheri. They are of great historical, religious, social and linguistic importance. (E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 8). The Sātavāhana inscriptions are dated in regnal years of the kings only. The large number of Sātavāhan coins found all over the Deccan also leave no doubt that they were great sovereign rulers (E. J. Rapson, *Cat. Coins of Andhra Dynasty* etc.). The coins do not give any dates nor do the inscriptions follow any definite era. Except for the Rathikas and Bhojas none of their feudatories also are known. The early Sātavāhana inscriptions speak of them as having performed great Vedic sacrifices, though some of the rulers were great patrons of Buddhism.

(b) *Early Buddhist inscriptions:* Though inscriptions of rulers set up in this period are rarely found, inscriptions of common people were numerous. Under both the Brahmanical dynasties of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas Buddhism flourished as the numerous Buddhist monuments erected in Northern India as well as in Southern India during their time, and the innumerable Prākṛit inscriptions connected with them plainly testify. The munificence of the Sātavāhanas themselves was responsible for some important Buddhist monuments. This period was in fact the most glorious in the history of Buddhist epigraphy. Soon after Aśoka's death Buddhist inscriptions began to appear in a large number from different parts of India. The inscriptions found at Piprāvā, Bādli, Mathurā, Paḍhyār in Kangra District, Sānchi, and Vakalā in Thanā District are some of the very early Buddhist inscriptions. The Piprāvā inscription records dedication of a relic casket containing portions obtained by the Śākyas out of remains of the Buddha (J.R.A.S., 1898, page 387; I.A. 36.117). But the number of Buddhist inscriptions specially found in Central India and Western Mahārāshtra are the most interesting. They are obtained from three sources: from the magnificent Buddhist stūpas as at Sānchi, Bārhut, Bhojpur, Andher, Sandhāra; Sonāri in Central India and at Bhaṭṭiprolu and Amarāvati in the Krishna-

Godavari Valley and from the beautiful rock-cut sanctuaries as at Nasik, Kārlā and Kanheri in West India and from miscellaneous moveable objects like clay seals, potsherds etc., generally used as votive offerings by the Buddhists and which are found from the Buddhist stupas situated in different parts of India. Though the inscriptions generally do not give the name or date of any ruler, they can be assigned to this period only on palaeographical grounds. They give us names of a number of Buddhist sects, monks, nuns and objects of worship.

How rich in inscriptions some of the Buddhist monuments were can be imagined from the fact that even after an expiry of about two thousand years, Sānchi and Bārhut alone have given us about one thousand and five hundred inscriptions respectively.

Certain *cairn* inscriptions found in the Pāndya country in South India and certain peculiar inscriptions found at Malakondā, Māmandur, Arikamedu, Myakdoni, Gaṅgāpuram, etc.; in South India which are written in an archaic script and in an unintelligible language, seem to be Buddhist records written in a very early form of the Brāhmi script and in Prākṛit language (E.I. 16.25; 22.199). Some scholars, however, think that their language is early Tamil.

From the adjoining island of Ceylon, where also Buddhism was flourishing as gloriously as in India in this period, under the patronage of the local rulers similar rich find of Buddhist inscriptions in early Brāhmi script and Prākṛit language is obtained (Ceylon Jour. of History).

(c) *Early Brahmanical inscriptions:* At Nagari, Ghosandī and Hāthibādā near Chitorgadh in Rājasthān pieces of a Brahmanical stone inscription assignable to the second century B.C. are found. The inscription which is entirely in Sanskrit records the erection of a stone wall at the Nārāyaṇavata for Bhagavat Saṅkar-śaṇa and Vāsudeva by one Sarvatāta Gājāyana, son of Pārāsari, who had also performed a Vedic sacrifice (M.A.S. No. 4; E.I. 16.25 and 22.198). The above-mentioned Ayodhyā inscription of the Śuṅga sovereign Pusyamitra (E.I. 20.57) which can be assigned to the same period speaks of him as having performed a horse sacrifice twice.

One of the inscriptions found at Besnagar assignable to c. 113 B.C. records the erection of a Garuḍadhvaja by Heliodoras, the

Greek ambassador at the Court of Bhāgabhadra from Antialkidas, the Indo-Greek King of Taxila in the fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra. The inscription is important for various reasons. The three precepts contained in the second part of the inscription, viz., *dāna*, *chāga* and *apamāda* meaning restraint, renunciation and recititude exhibit remarkable coincidence between this inscription and the Mahābhārata where in the *Striparvan* exactly the same precepts are mentioned. It is clear from this that there was some close connection between the teaching of the Mahābhārata and that of the Besnagar inscription which was caused to be set up by Heliodoros, who came from Taxila where the Mahābhārata had been recited to Janamejaya before and which had been famous as a centre of learning even in the time of the Buddha. The Garuḍa pillar inscription at Besnagar indicates that Vāsudeva was not only identified with Vishnu as conceived in the Mahābhārata but bears witness to the existence of a temple of Vishnu at the place.

A seal inscription of Sātakarāni from the same place assignable to the second or first century B.C. begins with an invocation of several Brahmanical gods including Sankarshana and Vāsudeva and records the performance of the Rajasuya and Asvamedha sacrifices. The Isapur Yupa pillar inscription of 33 B.C. which is in Sanskrit may be included in this group.

The few Brahmanical inscriptions noted above are sufficient to prove that, in spite of the find of numerous Buddhist inscriptions, Brahmanism continued to be as strong a religious force as Buddhism was to attract converts from foreign nationals, and that building of Brahmanical temples and performance of Vedic sacrifices was not uncommon. The paucity of the Brahmanical records only shows that the Brahmanical Hindus of the time did not take as much interest in epigraphical activities as the Buddhists and the Jainas did.

(d) *Early Jain Inscriptions*: Fifteen old Brāhmī inscriptions assignable to the second or first cent. B.C. are found in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves near Bhuvaneshvar in Orissa. One of them, in the Hāthigumphā cave, is the largest and the most important in that it is the earliest Jain inscription so far found and gives a detailed biography of the great Jain King Khāravela of Kalinga, of remarkable vigour and ambition. His year to year achievements enumerated in the record and his political rela-

tions with the Śuṅga and Sātavāhana rulers of the time and a Śaka invader throw much light on the political history of India of this period. It also gives very useful information about the economic, social and religious condition of the people in his kingdom. Next to the edicts of Aśoka this is the most important epigraphical record of the early times. It is worth noting that Jainism was patronised by the solitary king Khāravela and in the province of Kalinga only. No Śuṅga or Sātavāhana ruler seems to have patronized it as he did Buddhism.

(4) *Inscriptions of the Hinduised foreign rulers and people:*

The Persian rule over the Gandhar region in the sixth and fifth cent. B.C. and the subsequent campaign of Alexander (326 B.C.) laid the foundations of a closer contact between India, Persia and the Hellenic world as a result of which some *Yavana* adventurers renewed incursions and carved out independent kingdoms in the north-west of India. They first settled in Southern Afghanistan and gradually extended their sway to the Indus Valley and Western India where they founded various settlements in different regions. In course of time they were attracted towards the culture and religion of their Hindu subjects and adopted their beliefs and religion, and became adherents of Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism or Śaivism. They even contracted matrimonial relations with the indigenous people and were ultimately absorbed in the Hindu society. These Hinduised foreign rulers are known from coins issued by them in a large number bearing Greek, Kharoshthi and Brāhmī legends. The inscriptions for which these rulers were directly or indirectly responsible are in the Prākṛit language and in the Kharoshthi script, which had been lately introduced in the province, or in the Brāhmī script which had already been used there. These inscriptions form a class by themselves and can be divided into the following sub-groups according to the homogeneous group to which they belong. The numerous Indianised coins in bilingual legends—Greek and Indian, in either Kharoshthi or Brāhmī script, and in Greek and Prākṛit languages are artistically important and also form a class by themselves of great epigraphical importance.

(a) The first sub-group consists of the Kharoshthi inscriptions, except of the time of Aśoka, found in N. W. India. They

are inscribed on various objects generally used for Buddhist offerings and are in the Prākṛit language. Some of the inscriptions are painted. A few copper-plates are also found. These Kharoshthi inscriptions which number nearly two hundred and which are edited by Sten Konow in C. I. I. II, i, can be assigned to the period from the second cent. B.C. to the third cent. A.D. They belong to the Indo-Greek, Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian rulers who can be named as Kapiśa (or Northern) Kshatrapas, Taxila Kshatrapas and Mathurā Kshatrapas. They give a series of dates, one running from 59 to 189 and the other from 303 to 399. Nothing is known of the era or eras to which they belonged. Out of these interesting inscriptions the most important one is of the Indo-Bactrian King Menander (115-90 A.D.) inscribed on a stone casket found at Bajaur in N.W.F.P. referring to the consecration of a relic of the Buddha in the fifth year of his reign. The Mathura lion capital inscription of the Kshatrapa Śodasa and the Taxila copper-plate of Patika are equally important.

(b) The Brāhmi inscriptions of a Hinduised Śaka family known as Kshaharātas. This family is represented only by Nahapāna (119-125 A.D.) and his son-in-law Ushavadāta. By defeating the Sātavāhanas Nahapāna had carved out an independent kingdom in the Nasik and Karla regions in West Maharashtra which lasted for half a century after which it was overthrown and the regions were retaken by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi of the same Sātavāhana family. The seven inscriptions which these rulers have left at Nasik, Junnar, and Karla, and which bear dates from 42 to 46, are both Brahmanical and Buddhist. Like the Sātavāhana inscriptions from the same places they are important from various points of view. Nahapāna had left numerous beautiful coins which were re-struck by the victorious Sātavāhana ruler. (E.I. Vols. 7 and 8; A.S.W.I. Vol. 4, etc.).

(c) The Brāhmi inscriptions of the Hinduised Śaka family known as Western Kshatrapas. The family called by the name of *Kardamaka* was founded by Chashtana, son of Ysāmotika and ruled for 260 years over Cutch, Saurāshtra and Mālavā from about 125 to 380 A.D. But as compared with the large number of beautiful silver coins issued every year except for a period of sixteen years from 305 to 322 by at least 28 rulers in the family, the inscriptions which they have left are very few—not more than

fifteen and representing only four or five rulers out of the total of twenty-eight. Of these the inscriptions of Rudradāman found at Andhau in Cutch (E.I. 16.23) and at Girnar in Saurashtra (E.I. 8.42) and dated in 130 and 150 A.D., respectively, the Gundā inscription of Rudrasimha (I) dated 181 A.D., and the Mulvasar (Dwarka) inscription are important. The remaining Kshatrapa inscriptions give the dates 200, 205, 206 and 310 A.D. An inscription of a late date found at Kankheḍā near Sānchi and dated 319 A.D. and another found at Eran and dated 333 A.D., refer to a Śaka ruler named Rājan Mahākshatrapa Śridharavarman, who might have been a descendent of the Western Kshatrapa family and had set up an independent kingdom in 306 A.D., (E.I. 16.230; *The Classical Age*, p. 47).

(d) The Brāhmi and Kharoshthi inscriptions of the Kushān rulers Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva numbering above two hundred. The Brāhmī inscriptions are found in the Mathura region in U.P., and the Kharoshthi inscriptions are found in the Gāndhāra region in North-West India. All the inscriptions of the Kushānas are entirely in Prākṛit except a few later ones which are in mixed Prakrit and Sanskrit. They refer to Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. The Peshawar relic casket inscription proves the association of Kanishka with Buddhism from the beginning of his reign. The Wardak inscription of Huvishka shows the extent of his empire to the west of Kabul. Most of the inscriptions of Vāsudeva are found in the Mathura region. The Kushān inscriptions range in date from 2 to 99 and seem to refer to the Kanishka or Kushān era whose starting year is supposed to be 78 A.D. The Kushan rulers have also left many interesting gold and copper coins, which are useful also from an epigraphical point of view.

(e) The Kharoshthi inscriptions in Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan dated from 280 to 400 A.D. On the disruption of the Kushan empire (c. 280 A.D.). India ceased to have any political connection with most of their territories in Afghanistan, Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan, which, however, continued to keep the cultural and religious link with India at least up to the fifth century A.D. Buddhism was the prevailing religion in all these territories, although non-Buddhist trends of thought like the performance of sacrifices, worship of Brahmanical gods etc., were

there. Among the many Buddhist antiquities a number of Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit and Prākṛit as well as in local languages of Central Asia and in Indian scripts, both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī are found. About nine hundred secular documents have also been discovered, particularly at Niya, Endere and Loulan in Chinese Turkistan. They are written in Indian languages and scripts on small wooden tablets, leather pieces, silk fragments, paper manuscripts etc. The wooden tablets were used as short communications of an official character such as instructions to the local officials by the *Mahārāja* or information of a personal or official nature issued by one official to another. We find therein reference to land suits, inventories, list of provisions or presents, arrangements of guards, appointments, transport of arms etc. Some of them contain the names of ruling princes, officials and their relations. One of the documents on silk contains nine inscriptions in Prakrit containing a prayer for the health of an individual and his family. Some of the phrases used in the prayers are almost identical with those found in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushan period. Many documents in non-Indian languages were written in Indian script, and tables containing complete alphabets of the Brāhmī script have been found in Central Asia. Most of the documents are in the form of letters with the names of the addressees written on the covering tablets sealed ingeniously. Many of the persons who wrote them or to whom they were sent bear names which are either purely Indian such as Bhīma, Nandasena etc., or else look like Indian adaptations such as Angacha, Kushānasena etc. The use of Indian language, style and script for purposes of administration as far as the Lob-Nor region to the extreme east of the Tārim basin at the very threshold of China shows the extent of the political influence of Indian colonists. (R. C. Muzumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 688-689). That Sanskrit literature was regularly studied by the people is seen from the fact that one of the inscriptions found at Niyā contains a beautiful literary passage and another mentions the different branches of Sanskrit learning such as Grammar, Poetry, Astronomy etc. (*Niyā Documents from Central Asia*, by R. C. Agrawal, Nos. 523 and 514; see also *Kharosthi inscriptions discovered at Niyā* by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, 1920).

Even after the fifth century A.D., Buddhism and Indian culture continued to be popular over this wide area as attested by

Hiuen Tsang who had passed through Central Asia on his way back to China. But soon afterwards even the Indian cultural influence completely disappeared.

The Kharoshthī inscriptions and other Archaeological finds found in these regions which give us so valuable information about the social, religious, political and economic history of the people in those days, have a particular interest to us specially because all the regions in which they were found are now completely changed and have entirely lost the religion and culture represented by them.

(5) Inscriptions of local States in North India which were either contemporaries or successors of the Kushānas. These rulers belonged to the following clans:—Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Maukharis of Baḍvā, Maghas, Bhāraśivas, Rulers of Mekala, Śuravaṁsa etc. These rulers have left very few stone inscriptions and clay seals as compared with a large number of their coins, which are found in parts of Rajasthan and U.P. The Bhāraśivas, for instance, who seem to have flourished in the third century. A.D., in the Gangetic valley and who like the Yaudheyas and other feudatories and subordinate allies took a leading part in the expulsion of the Kushānas and had performed several *Aśvamedha* sacrifices are known from the Vākātaka inscriptions, but have left no inscriptions of their own. The few inscriptions, however, of the Mālavas and Maghas, which refer to the *Kṛita* or Mālava Saṁvat are useful for tracing the origin and history of the Vikrama Saṁvat and those engraved on stone *yūpa* pillars which refer to the Vedic sacrifices (E.I., 26.118), are useful for tracing the history of Brahmanism in the pre-Gupta times. Most of these inscriptions are noticed by R. C. Muzumdar and A. S. Altekar in the *History of the Indian People*. Vol. VI. Some inscriptions refer to stray rulers of unknown families, e.g., a king named Kumāraradatta, who donated one thousand cows at the sacred place Rishabhātīrtha, is known from a Prakrit inscription of the first century A.D., found at Gunji in M.P.; the Pabhosa inscription of Āshāḍhasena (E.I. II. 240); the Mithauri (Rewa) stone pillar Buddhist inscription of Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Vaṅgasena; Gunja hill painted inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmasena and the Bandhogarh (Rewa State) inscription of Poṭhasiri etc. The language of these records is generally Sanskrit containing several Prakrit expressions. Coins of a number of kings whose names end in *Mitra* are found mainly at Ahichchhatrā, modern Rāmpur in Bareilly District.

Whether they belong to the Imperial Śunga or Kāṇva dynasties whose names end in *Mitra* or to several local dynasties is not certain. Coins of Achyuta, a contemporary of Samudragupta, are found in Ahichchhatrā. We know from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta that a number of tribal states had continued to rule in Central India upto the Gupta period. Coins, seals and inscriptions of unknown rulers assignable to the pre-Gupta period are found at Kosam, Bhīṭā, etc., Innumerable small coins but no stone inscriptions are found of the Nāgas of Mathura and Padmāvati. Coins thus form an important epigraphical material for the history of these rulers.

(6) Inscriptions of local States in South India which were contemporaries or successors of the Sātavāhanas. They can be divided into two sub-groups.

(a) Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku family:—After the downfall of the Sātavāhanas in the first half of the first century A.D., the Deccan plateau as well as the Southern peninsula witnessed the rise of a number of small but independent kingdoms which partitioned the country among themselves and ruled for about three centuries. (See D. C. Sarkar, *Successors of the Satavahanas*). The Abhiras or Traikūṭakas rose to power in Nasik in the North-West, the Chuṭu-Sātavāhanas at Vijayanti in the South, the Pallavas in the South-East and the Ikshvākus in the Krishna-Godavari Valley. An inscription from Nasik speaks of the Abhira king Māthariputa Śvaravarman, son of Abhira Śvardatta. The Ikshvākus who held power for at least fiftyseven years from the first quarter of the third century A.D. have left more than a hundred very beautiful and interesting Buddhist inscriptions most of which are edited in the Ep. Ind. Vol. 20 and 21. They are found at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in Guntur District and in the neighbouring places like Bhaṭṭiprolu, Ghaṇṭaśāla, Jagayyapeta, Goli, Gummaḍiduru, Guḍivāḍa, Alluru, Chin etc., in the Krishna District. The most interesting information obtained from the Ikshvāku inscriptions is that while the kings were performers of Vedic sacrifices, their queens were devout Buddhists, that the Ceylonese Buddhism was in close touch with that of the Āndhra country and that navigation on the high seas and trade with the Roman world was very common. (See Shivrāmmurti, Amaravati Stupa, Bulletin Madras Mus.).

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A Prakrit inscription from Velapur (Guntur District) is of an unknown Aira family.

(b) Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of the early South Indian dynasties like the Brihatphalāyanas, early Pallavas, early Kadambas, Śalankāyanas, Āndhra-bhṛityas of Kalinga etc.—Most of the inscriptions are in the Prakrit language and are on copperplates, e.g., the Mayidavolu and Hiradagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman, Kōṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman, Komarti plates of Śalankāyana Chandravarman. They are of the third or fourth century A.D. The solitary copperplate grant of the Brihatphalāyana king Jayavarman is the earliest *brahmadeya* grant so far discovered. The Chandravalli inscription of Mayuravarman, (A.S. Mysore, 1929 p. 50) and the Garikaṭuka Prakrit copperplate inscription of the Śalankāyana king Chandravarman of the fifth century are noteworthy.

Appendix.—The features of the epigraphical records of this period (350 B.C. to 350 A.D.), distinguishing them from those of the following period are the following:—

(1) Size—Generally small. Long inscriptions very few, except the edicts of Aśoka, and Khāravela and some of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, Kshaharātas and Kshatrapas.

(2) Scripts—Brāhmī and Kharoshthī. Kharoshthī script was used in inscriptions found over a wide territory from the Ladakh territory in the North to Mohenjodaro in the South and from Mathurā in the East to Wardak in Afghanistan in the West, with its centre at Taxila. The Brāhmī script was used in all other parts of India and in stray places in the Kharoshthī region.

(3) Paleography.—Calligraphy almost neat, curvatures and process of evolution specially of the Brāhmī script from century to century clearly visible.

(4) Language—Prākṛit with a number of dialectical peculiarities. Sometimes mixed Prākṛit and Sanskrit. Very few inscriptions in pure Sanskrit. A majority of the Prākṛit inscriptions being very short and consisting of proper names only are linguistically unimportant but some Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions possess literary merit and are very useful for a study of the development of the Kāvya style, e.g., the Prākṛit inscriptions of

Khāravēla in the Hāthigumphā cave, of Sātakarṇi in the Nānāghāt cave, of Sri Pulumāyi in the Nasik cave and the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar. (See I.H.Q. 14.38). But none of the inscriptions give the name of the poet who composed it. This much is clear that the poets who wrote the Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions were not only well acquainted with the Sanskrit literature but had studied the rules of early Poetics. The queen mother Bālasiri's Nasik inscription refers to so many mythological heroes. Almost all the inscriptions are in prose.

(5) Epigraphical formula not well developed.—Simplicity in construction. Although Kauṭalya, Yājñavalkya and Śukra had laid down some rules regarding the method of drafting royal documents or *Lekhya*s, we have not discovered any of this period.

(6) Religion.—Most of the inscriptions are Buddhist, some are Jain and very few are Brahmanical. Buddhism and Jainism well established throughout India. A number of Buddhist and Jain sects and names of monks and nuns of various grades of learning and eminence mentioned. (Age of Imperial Unity, p. 379). Brahmanical Cults of devotion developed. Bhāgvatism, Śaivism and still minor sects like Lakuliśa-Pāśupata in Śaivism. Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and eighteen minor schools of Buddhism. Ajivikism probably a separate school. Digāmbara and Śvetāmbara sects in Jainism. Performance of Vedic sacrifices and charities to Brāhmanas in their connection duly continued. Performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was highly honoured. Some inscriptions commemorate the erection of Yūpa pillars in connection with the sacrifices (E.I. 24.245; 26.118). Creation of endowments for the maintenance of Brahmins etc. Development of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain iconography begun.

(7) Society.—No Indian king mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka, though his contemporary foreign kings were mentioned by name. Only tribal names appear in the edicts. Coins of several tribal rulers, found throughout North India show the absence of regular kingdoms. Later on, kings begin to outnumber kingless tribes (*Janapada*). In the early inscriptions mention of *gotras* and mother's name common. Numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the Brahmana and Kshatriya women were frequently called by the Vedic *gotras*. Sometimes persons of even non-Vedic *gotras* are mentioned. (See E.I., 22.32).

Beginning of the formation of the castes. Sub-castes begin to form on an occupational basis. But caste system not rigid. There were many intercaste marriages which were not only *anuloma* but also *pratiloma*. The Brāhmanas, as seen from the Ikshvāku inscriptions, were ready to give their daughter in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family. (E.I. 22.36). Conversion and complete assimilation in the society of alien invaders and immigrants to Buddhism frequent, to Brahmanism sometimes, but very rarely to Jainism, as evidenced by early Indian coins and inscriptions and numerous private Yavana donors as Buddhist caves in Western Mahārāshtra. (E.I. 7.47.74). On coins of the Indo-Parthian King Gondophernes, for instance, the king is called Devavrata and Śiva and represents with trident on the reverse of his coins and on coins of the Kushanas. The converted foreigners allowed to keep even their personal names and former caste surnames, though they often liked to adopt the Vedic and Buddhist names. Still caste-intermixture was not liked. Although Sātakarṇi could marry the daughter of the Śaka foreigner Rudradāman Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumayi claimed to have put an end to the intermixture of castes. Women prominent in social life, free to choose religious faith and make charities.

(8) Private or individual records common. Royal or official records few.

(9) Types.—Majority of the records are votive offerings incised on parts of stūpas, or on objects buried inside them, on outside and inside parts of cave temples and on clay seals and bricks. The ethical type of Aśoka's edicts unrivalled in epigraphical records of the world.

(10) Dating and Eras.—Generally no dating. Sometimes indefinite dating. In earlier inscriptions, seasons of the year, fortnights and *nakshatras* mentioned. Later on twelve lunar months mentioned. Regnal years of rulers generally given without naming the corresponding era. The chronological difficulties diminish as we descend the stream of time.

(11) Kinds and forms of material.—Much varied, stone in its many forms, metal of different kinds, clay used for seals, pots and bricks, and miscellaneous objects like crystal, ivory, conch-shell, wood, cotton, silk, leather, birch-bark and palm-leaves and

paper. Predominance of stūpa and cave inscriptions. Few copper-plates, their size and weight very small.

(12) Geographical extent.—Whole of India and Ceylon, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan. Intercourse with the outside world continuously maintained, as evidenced by a large number of inscriptions.

(13) Legends on coins form a special class of epigraphical material which is very important for political, geographical, social and religious history of India of this period. Numismatics and Epigraphy helpful to each other. The coins can be divided into four groups, (1) Punchmarked coins, (2) Coins of local tribal rulers, (3) Coins of foreign rulers and (4) Coins of Hindu rulers. Special epigraphical value of each group. Coinage of South India presents greater difficulties than those of the North and is less useful for historical purposes.

(14) Number of inscriptions more in North India than in South India during this period.

III. The third group of epigraphical records consists of inscriptions of the period running from the middle of the fourth century A.D., to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., from the rise of the Imperial Guptas to the complete destruction of the provincial Rajput dynasties by Muslim conquerors.

Just as a new political era dawned in the country with the rise of the Gupta power in the North and of the Chālukya power in the South, Indian epigraphy also began to assume a distinctly new aspect with the increasing interest taken by the ruling classes in setting up not only stone inscriptions but in issuing copperplate grants and with an all-round efflorescence of Sanskrit literature and Brahmanical culture. Inscriptions in the previous group generally issued by private persons rarely mention the ruler of the time. But the inscriptions in this group, whether issued by royal authority or by private persons often mention the name of the local king. The large number of artistic gold coins with high-flown poetic Sanskrit legends have added special interest to the Indian epigraphy of this period. The high-flown *Kāvya* style which had already been in a mature stage became the more attractive feature of the Sanskrit inscriptions from this time onwards. Adoption of Sanskrit by the Buddhists and the Jainas again widened the field

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of Sanskrit and increased its importance. The Kharoshthi script had almost disappeared from the regions in which it had been used for seven or eight hundred years. The Brāhmī script which continued to be used throughout India and even abroad, where Indian culture and religion had spread, began to develop into such a great variety of regional alphabets differing from each other as much as they had changed from the original form, that only a trained eye of a paleographer can detect the fundamental unity e.g., of the script of the inscriptions of Aśoka of the third century B.C., of the inscriptions of the Gupta rulers of the fourth century A.D., and of the inscriptions of the different provincial dynasties of the eleventh century A.D. The structural principles of the alphabet no doubt always remained the same, but the individual shapes of the letters were subject to endless variations.

The objects for which inscriptions were issued also began to be varied. The inscriptions began to be relatively longer and began to give more details about the ruler issuing a grant and about the donee receiving it, about the property granted, about the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, about the administrative organization and policy of the State, about the forms of worship and celebrations of festivals in temples and about the religious or social and material condition of the people of the day. This will show how the epigraphical history of India changed with the change in the political history of India and *vice versa*.

The epigraphical records in this group with a special reference to North India can be divided into two sub-groups: one consisting of inscriptions of the period from the rise of the Imperial Guptas to the end of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras dating from the fourth to the tenth century A.D., and the other consisting of inscriptions of the several provincial dynasties which ruled independently in different parts of India from the tenth to the fourteenth century. The inscriptions in the first sub-group can again be divided into three smaller groups as those falling in the periods from 350 to 550, from 550 to 750 and from 750 to 950 A.D., in which the Guptas, Pusyabhūties and the Gurjara-Pratihāras respectively were the dominant powers as they succeeded in reducing their rivals and holding sway over a considerable portion of North India. Their inscriptions are therefore generally of an all-India importance. Numerous minor states which were con-

temporaries and subordinates of these sovereign powers flourished in different parts of North India. The next important of them were the Vākāṭakas, Maitrakas, Guhilots, Maukharis, later Guptas and the rulers of Gujrat, Rajasthan, Kanauj, Bengal, Kamarupa, Kashmir, Nepāl, Orissa etc. Inscriptions of Harsha as compared with his greatness are very few. The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire rivalled that of the Guptas and was more extensive than that of the Pushyabhūti. (See list of Gupta inscriptions and Pratihār inscriptions—the Classical Age p. 661 and 40 and Dynasties of Northern India by H. C. Ray).

Inscriptions in South India can be divided into the same kind of groups and sub-groups, though their dating is somewhat later than that of the North Indian inscriptions. The Imperial struggles of the Deccan and South India were of greater historical importance than those in the North and inscriptions giving a detailed account of them are full of varied interest.

During the period from 350 to 550 when the Guptas held the sovereign power in North India, there was no corresponding imperial power in the Deccan or in South India before the rise of the Chālukyas of Badāmi in the Deccan in 542 A.D. Numerous ruling families flourished in different parts of the Deccan like the Vākāṭakas, Nalas in Central Deccan, the Bhojas, Traikūṭakas, later Kalachuris, the early Rāshtrakūṭas in the Western Deccan and the Ānandas, Śālakāyanas, Viṣṇukūṇḍins in Eastern Deccan. A number of smaller dynasties like the Pitrabhaktas, Mātharas, Vaśiṣṭhas, eastern Gangas etc., had parcelled out principalities in Kalinga and the Śarabhapuris and Pānduvansis were ruling in parts of Kosal.

In South India also there was no imperial dynasty ruling in this period but the Pallavas, early Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Western Gangas held sway over a considerable portion of South India. Two Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas, the Chendalur grant of Kumāravishnu II and the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman are important.

During the period from about 542 to 783 when the Chālukyas of Badāmi held almost a sovereign power in the Deccan and the later Pallavas (550 to 796) did the same in South India there was no sovereign power in the North except that of Harshavardhan. But it was short-lived.

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In the period roughly from 750 to 950 when the Gurjara-Pratihāras were the sovereign power in the North and the Pālas in Eastern India, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa were the sovereign power holding almost an undisputable sway over the Deccan and South India. For the important inscriptions of the Rāshtrakutas and Pālas see Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 470 and 473.

In the period roughly from 950 to 1350, there was no such sovereign power in North India which claimed even a nominal allegiance from any of the contemporary dynasties. But in South India the Cholas were a very great power. They held sway not only over a major portion of South India but even over Ceylon for a time. The Chola inscriptions therefore possess more than ordinary importance. The inscriptions of the regional dynasties which were almost contemporaries, and independent of one another, and which were responsible for the formation of most of the modern provinces of India are generally of regional importance only. A number of royal families were ruling under the former. Thus there was a regular hierarchy from the greatest sovereign to the smallest chief. Almost every ruler is seen to have issued an inscription, though it is generally of local importance only. The rulers of minor dynasties were as great patrons of art, architecture and literature as any ruler of bigger territories. In fact, many Indian rulers of the time, great or small, had a regular department for issuing inscriptions drafted by the court poet. Some of the religious, economic and village institutions which had always to do this work of issuing inscriptions had not only their own poets but even masons in their service, which posts were sometimes hereditary. The mass of epigraphical material began to grow enormously from the ninth century onwards specially in South India. The steadily increasing number of inscriptions of the South Indian dynasties rose to its climax in the time of the Cholas. They are as useful for the religious and social history of South India, as for the peculiar administration of the country by the village councils. From an epigraphical point of view the period from 750 to 1350 can be said to be the most flourishing. For important inscriptions of the important South Indian dynasties see *ibid.*, pp. 483 ff.

Although these inscriptions often refer to the continuous fights of one dynasty with another, they give us useful information

about the political, social, religious and economic condition of the people of the region who on the whole lived a peaceful, happy and prosperous life.

Hindu resistance to Muslim invaders for nearly 600 years is echoed in a number of Sanskrit inscriptions of both North India from 730 to 1360 A.D., and South India. See J. I. H. Vol. XV, pp. 161 ff and XVI, p. 24). The incidents may be taken to be only a prelude to the final act of the drama which saw the standards of Islam on most of the important citadels of North and South India.

Unlike the inscriptions in the previous group (No. 2), which were actuated by religious motives, a majority of the inscriptions in this group are of an official nature and were issued at the initiative of the rulers and their officials. Even the inscriptions set up by private persons almost generally refer to the rulers in whose time and territory they were issued, though the rulers were in no way concerned in them. Another noteworthy point with some of the inscriptions is that not only the genealogies of the rulers are given, but sometimes even the names of their queens are given in them. Thirdly the inscriptions in this group are issued for various purposes—to describe the exploits of the king on his return from a successful expedition against his neighbour or to commemorate the building or renovation of a temple or a public work like a tank or to the installation of images in the temples or to record the death of a warrior or a *sati* or a Jain *Sādhu* or to register a donatory charter. Among inscriptions of a religious nature a majority are those relating to the maintenance of the religious establishment for conduct of worship and keeping a perpetual lamp in the temple and for celebration of ordinary and special festivals or for providing for a pious or learned man. Inscriptions relating to the performance of various Vedic sacrifices particularly the horse sacrifice are more frequently found in South India than in North India. Similarly, inscriptions of social, economic and administrative nature are quite numerous in South India.

All these inscriptions supply very valuable information about the culture and standard of moral and material progress of the people in different regions and periods.

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Inscriptions in Sanskrit and in the Sanskrit-influenced local speeches found in Nepal, Ceylon and Greater India which are dated in this period and which in point of script, language, object and nature are like Indian records of the same period form a separate section of Indian inscriptions. India's direct connection with South-East Asia is evidenced by the Nālandā and Leiden copperplate inscriptions and the Negāpattinam Buddhist images. An account of these inscriptions is given separately in the Chapter of Greater India Inscriptions.

Numerous are the ruling families which were thus directly or indirectly responsible for the more numerous inscriptions issued by them which make up the two groups. Even the ruling families are too many to be enumerated in detail, not to speak of their inscriptions. It justifies the statement made above in the first chapter that feudalism helps the development of Indian epigraphy.

Appendix.—The features of the epigraphical records of this period (350 A.D. to 1350 A.D.) distinguishing them from those of the previous period are the following:—

1. Size: Much bigger than that of the records of the previous period. Maximum size of an inscribed stone slab 5'9" × 5' as found in the Dhar inscriptions and of several Kannada inscriptions. The largest number of big copperplates in one grant 55 and the maximum weight 216 lbs. as found in the Tanjore grant of Rajendra Chola. Very lengthy inscriptions specially of the Chola rulers in South India dated in the eleventh cent.

- 2-3. Script and Paleography—The Kharoshthi script ceased to be written from about the fifth cent. A.D. Brāhmi was very much developed forming different varieties from period to period and from region to region. Its complete development in the form of Devanagari in the 11-12th century. Unlike Prakrit inscriptions which are written both in Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts, Sanskrit inscriptions are written only in the Brahmi script and in its derived varieties. Certain varieties of the script as 'Shell' characters, 'box-headed', 'arrow-headed' or 'Bhaikshuki' or 'nail-headed' characters, etc., prevailing in particular localities can be distinguished. Brāhmi calligraphy almost always neat specially in the Harsha period. It had risen to its height in Nalanda in the script of the seals in about the eighth century and in certain localities in North

India in inscriptions of the eighth to tenth cent., e.g., in the Lākhāmaṇḍal praśasti, Bodhagaya inscriptions of Mahānām, several copperplate grants of Harshavardhan, Jhalrāpāṭan inscription, Banaras inscription of Pāntha, Deogarh inscription of Svāmibhara, etc. (See Sivaramamurti's *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, p. 174). Badly written and engraved inscriptions like the Banaras plates of Kalachuri Karṇa (1040-71) by an irresponsible and incompetent person (see E.I. 2305) were an exception.

For the non-Sanskrit inscriptions and sometimes even for Sanskrit inscriptions in South India, the South Indian scripts like the Kanarese-Telugu, Grantha, Tāmil, and Vatteluttu were used.

4. *Language*: In the former period the language of the inscriptions with few exceptions was Prākṛit while in this period the language with rare exceptions had been Sanskrit. With the exception of a few early records, as for example of the early Kadambas, Pallavas, Śālikāyanas, and Vākāṭakas in South India which are Prākṛit, all the records of this period are in Sanskrit. In South India Prākṛit was superseded by Sanskrit a century later than in North India. From about the 5th century A.D. Sanskrit was fully established as a language of the Epigraphical records throughout India. But in South India within a century or two the South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam began to be developed and inscriptions purely in these languages began to be set up sometimes along with Sanskrit inscriptions though in North India Sanskrit was the only generally recognized language of the inscriptions. The use of Prākṛit in stray inscriptions as at Ajantā (8th cent.) and Dhar (11th cent.) only shows that the language continued to be studied and was sometimes used in epigraphy as in literature. Mention may be made of an inscribed basrelief of the same century from Tevar near Jubbulpore in M.P. which contains an extract from the Prākṛit poem Hāla's Saptasati. The style of the inscriptions ranges from the very simple to the highly ornate. Particular attention was given to the literary merit of the language of the records which began to be very much florid and poetic. Certain inscriptions called *praśastis* can rank among the best of literary products and are of sufficient importance as to constitute an epigraphical branch of Sanskrit literature. Three stages in the development of the Kāvya style can be marked, from the fourth to sixth century, sixth to eighth century and eighth to twelfth century A.D. Some of

the inscriptions were composed entirely in verse, some in prose and verse mixed, while others wholly in prose.

5. Epigraphical formulae well developed. Complexities in construction—the later the inscription, the more the complexities. Every inscription on stone and copper is seen to follow a definite order. The opening is generally an invocation according to the sect of devotion of the author. Then follows a preamble, then the *praśasti* in which the name and achievements of the ruler who is generally the donor are narrated. Then an elaborate description of the donee and of the property granted. Then the formulae of the gift and lastly, the imprecatory portion, the date and names of the drafter, copyist and engraver. A majority of the inscriptions are land grants generally incised on copperplates and issued by the rulers from their capitals or from their military camps generally to Brāhmaṇas. Except the names of the granter, the grantee, the property granted and the date, the general contents of the donatory charter were more or less fixed. Laudatory phrases in praise of the person responsible for the inscription were also stereotyped. Benedictions began to be more pronounced. The imprecatory verses were fixed (See R. B. Pandey, *Indian Paleography*, Chapter IX).

6. *Religion*.—Generally Brahmanism. Sometimes Buddhism and Jainism. Various major and minor religious sects and cults were developed in Brahmanism in the Panchāyatana forms. Buddhist Mahāyanism developed into debased forms of Vajrayānism and Tantric worship. The Tantric cult had gained popularity from the tenth century specially in East India. After the 12th or 13th cent. Buddhism disappeared. Jainism had developed a third sect called Yāpaniya in certain places in South Mahārāshṭra. But it appears to have disappeared in the middle of this period. Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain Iconographies, which were responsible for a number of inscriptions were fully developed. Vedic texts were zealously studied by the Brāhmaṇas and recited on special occasions. Reading of epics in temples was popular and patronised. The donatory charters for the conduct of worship and the celebration of ordinary and special festivals at the numerous temples in South India are special feature of the South Indian inscriptions. Kings of several dynasties in the North as well as in the South boast of having performed various Vedic sacrifices including the Aśvamedha.

7. Society.—Fully constituted. Militarized tribes headed towards monarchy. Both local and invading tribes were eventually absorbed without a trace into the Hindu society. Almost every tribe or any power or influence had developed kingship in the Gupta period. The economic state of a tribe at the time of absorption is generally reflected in the social status of the caste which it usually became. Any successful adventurer would become a king and gain respectability by building temples and making donations to Brāhmaṇas and by going through the ceremonies like the Hiranyagarbha, (E.I. 27.8; 17.323). *Gotras* and *Pravaras* of the Brāhmaṇas were fixed. Genealogies were invented for the aboriginal ruling families from epic heroes. Some of the rulers claimed descent from epic heroes. Sometimes even divine origins. Naturally the dynasties are antedated by several thousand years and the lengths of reigns are arbitrarily lengthened. The best example in this respect is that of the Imperial Ganga dynasty (E.I. 29-239). In the Orissan branch of the Kesari family of the eleventh century, names of Yayāti, Janamejaya, Vichitravīrya, Abhimanyu, etc., are found. Posts of state officials began to be hereditary. Family connections were wonderfully continued for several generations together, e.g., of the ruler and of his family priest. Some of the official posts were hereditary. Many new castes were recruited from tribes and guilds. Although caste inter-mixture was frequent, the rulers who tried to impose caste rules, were highly praised for that. Bāṇa's statement in the *Kādambari* that *varṇasankara* was only in paintings and not in the society is mere poetry. The Hoysal king Vira Ballal, for instance, was praised for strengthening the caste system. (J.I.H., 1947, p. 28). Consequently caste system in the course of time became very rigid. The numerous land grants donated by the rulers to Brāhmaṇas show how the Brāhmaṇa community was respected, colonized, patronized and encouraged and how it prosecuted the Vedic and literary studies with devotion and assiduity. Their migration from one province to another and their assimilation in the local class of Brāhmaṇas was easy and frequent. They were distinguished from one another by the names of the Vedas they followed and the *Gotras* they adopted. Numerous *gotras* of the Brāhmaṇas and sometimes the *pravaras* are mentioned in the inscriptions specially from South India. The Brāhmaṇas adopted regional or other surnames at a later period only. Copperplate grants issued in favour of the

Brāhmaṇa caste which has no parallel in the history of any other country are a special feature of Indian epigraphy. Grants were issued even in favour of the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Śudras though very rarely. (E. I. 27.41; J. A. H. R. S. 21.113). Six copperplate grants donated by the Gāhadaval king Jayachandra-deva to a holy Kshatriya of Vatsa Gotra and five Pravaras show that before the twelfth century the Kshatriyas had *Ārsha Gotras* and *Pravaras*, as mentioned in the Baudhāyana and Āpastamba and *Śrauta Sūtras*. (Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol., page 9). Similarly, grants given to Jain establishments generally by Brahmanical rulers show how the two sects lived harmoniously together and how the Jain scholars prosecuted their studies like the Brahmanical scholars. Popular beliefs and practices were sometimes common to both the communities. Although provincialism was not keen, the dynastic spirit was so strong that a majority of the records of one dynasty give a detailed and sometimes jubilant account of the continuous and successful fights with another dynasty of the neighbouring province. Aggrandisement was the recognized duty of a ruler. In spite of all the political enmities of the ruling classes, inter-provincial marriages among them were very common. The numerous fiscal and other technical terms show the highly organised society throughout India in all aspects.

(8) Royal and official records more common, than private records. The local ruler is referred to even in private records where he is not really concerned. Royal records are very important for preparing the political, social, economic, administrative and literary history of India. They are particularly useful for preparing the dynastic history of India.

(9) Types: In the former period the objects for which inscriptions were set up were generally religious and rather limited. In this period they began to be varied and different people in different parts of India began to take interest in issuing inscriptions of different kinds. Consequently many types of records are found though a majority of them are donatory consisting of land and money grants. Cattle grants are sometimes found in South India for providing ghee to the perpetual lamp at the temple. The donatory grants were incised on copperplates and sometimes on stone slabs.

(10) Dating and Eras: Practice of mentioning seasons of the year discontinued, and of twelve lunar months and week days established. Different eras whose starting years are almost known but whose founders are not definitely known are often used in inscriptions by the rulers and the people. Regnal years of some rulers sometimes accompanied by the number of days of the reign are mentioned in some South Indian inscriptions. (See e.g. E.I. 24.153). The dates can be found out if the inscriptions mention an established era or give astronomical details.

(11) Kinds and forms of material.—No great variety as in the preceding period. Stone slabs and copperplates only common. Royal seals attached to copperplate grants is a special feature. Some dynasties issued more copperplate inscriptions than stone slab inscription. The Maitraka rulers, the Gāhaḍvāla rulers, and the Chola rulers had issued more than one hundred copperplate grants each. The preamble in later charters grew lengthier so the size and number of the plates increased. Inscribed clay seals and tablets of political and corporate bodies, of religious institutions and of private persons, formed a special feature only of the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Birch-bark and palm-leaf manuscripts in Brāhmi and Kharoshthi scripts discovered in excavations in Central Asia were also a special feature of the same period. The Meharauli iron pillar which measures 23' 8" in height and weighs six tons, and the Dhar iron pillar which measures more than 43 feet, and the beautifully inscribed bronze seals and images are solitary instances of the wonderful metalurgical skill of the ancient Indians. (E. I. 27-124). At times inscribed bells were also cast. (J. A. H. R. S. 21.156).

(12) Geographical extent reduced beyond the mountains in Central Asia but increased beyond the seas in South-East Asia. Maritime activities in the South and East continued as before. Numerous epigraphical records relating to both Brahmanism and Buddhism are found in Greater India which in all respects are like those found in India proper, so much that greater India seemed to be a part of India like Gujarat or Bengal.

(13) Want of coin inscriptions.—Except the Imperial Gupta dynasty whose beautiful coins with significant and poetical legends and marked by elegance of lettering serve as supplementary epigraphical records, very few of the large number of dynasties

which after the Guptas had ruled over not small territories and were quite independent of one another have given us coins. This absence is specially felt when we know that several tribal dynasties and Hinduised foreign Śaka families which in earlier times ruled over smaller territories and possessed less political importance had regularly issued coins of their own which have supplied us with valuable records of their history. Similarly we know that the Muslim dynasties which in later times ruled over the same provinces, big or small, had regularly issued coins of their own. We also know that several much smaller Rajput, Muslim and Maratha families in the Mughal and British times had a coinage of their own. But the absence of this kind of records of the medieval Rajput families was more than compensated by a large number of inscriptions on clay seals from Bhita, Basarh, Kosam, Nalanda and a number of ancient places in North India. These seals form a large and very interesting series by themselves. (A.S.R. 1903.4 p. 107 E. I. 24.283 27.64). For Nalanda seals, see M.A.S.I. No. 66 and I.H.Q. 10.119. Some copper seal matrices from Rajghat have given interesting inscriptions. (The Classical Age. p. 553).

(14) The number of inscriptions found in South India in this period is many times more than that found in North India. The inscriptions in South India are often of portentous length.

IV. The fourth group consists of Sanskrit inscriptions dated from 1350 to 1800 A.D. of (1) the Muslim Sovereigns and of (2) Hindu rulers independent of and subordinate to the Muslim sovereigns.

1. Having been firmly established as rulers in India and finding it necessary to win the loyalty and co-operation of their Hindu subjects for the administration of their territories, the Muslim rulers for a time set aside their bias towards idolatry and allowed their subjects to restore their broken temples and to build new ones. Consequently a number of temples of both the Brahminical or Jain communities specially of the Jainas were either repaired or newly built wherein new inscriptions sometimes referring to the contemporary Muslim sovereigns were set up. Some inscriptions were set up at the initiative of the Muslim rulers themselves. They are evidently of a secular nature e.g., relating to works of irrigation and affairs of administration and show how slowly the

Hindu subjects submitted to the Muslim rule. All these inscriptions are generally in Sanskrit language and Devanāgarī script though a few of them are in Arabic or Persian and in mixed Sanskrit and the local language. The influence of Muslim power and culture is seen in some of these Hindu inscriptions. Muslim kings are extolled in very flattering terms e.g., In the Pālam inscription of Balban it is said "since Balban rules the world, Vishnu has forsaken his task and gone asleep in ocean." (E.I.M. 1925-26). There are some more inscriptions like the Khaḍāvadā inscription noted below where, while praising their Muslim patrons, the Hindu poets give Hindu titles to them and even compare them with Hindu deities. (Ind. Arch. Review, 1953-54, page 15). The invocatory verses give no names of a God but simply describe him as the creator of the world, possessor of all qualities and yet destitute of them, manifest yet hidden, inherent in *Chit* and *Anand*, eternal and up-holder of the universe. (See E.I.M. 1925-26 p. 2). The Sanskrit inscriptions are often mere versions of Persian inscriptions. The Muhammadan rule over India can be divided into three periods. In the first period the Sultan or *Suratrāṇa* of Delhi or Yoginipura, as it is sometimes called in Sanskrit inscriptions held supreme power. Of this period few Sanskrit inscriptions are found. Of the second period when India was parcelled out by different Provincial Sultans of Gujarat, Malvā, Bengal, etc., and of the third period when the sovereign power of the Mughal emperors was firmly established over a major portion of India, a number of Sanskrit inscriptions are found. Of the time of the Mughal emperor Akbar a large number of Jain inscriptions recording restoration of old ruined temples, e.g., at Maheswar on the Narmada, are found.

A few typical inscriptions of the class may be mentioned below:—

(1) The Pālam (near Delhi) inscription of the reign of Ghiyasuddin Balban written in Sanskrit language and *Śāradā* script, dated V.S. 1337 (1280 A.D.). The inscription is interesting for various reasons. The *Śāradā* script from which Gurumukhī was evolved was the popular script of the Punjab as far east as Delhi. The inscription is in purely artificial and high-flown Sanskrit language. Names of the Delhi Sultans are given in Sanskritised form. (E.I.M. 1913.14 p. 35).

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(2) Lāḍnu (Rajasthan) inscription of V.S. 1373 (1317 A.D.) of the time of Sultan Qutbuddin (E.I. 12.23). It consists of two *prāśastis*, one of which records the digging of a State well in the reign of Allauddin Khalji and its consecration in the reign of Qutbuddin by Sādhāraṇa, a Kshatriya of Kashyapa Gotra. The inscription was engraved in the reign of Gayasuddin.

(3) The Khaḍāvadā inscriptions of the time of Giyassuddin Khilji, Sultan of Malwa. It records the digging of a State well, planning of a garden, etc., by Bahari, a Hindu convert and the military officer of the Sultan in V.S. 1541 (1485 A.D.). The *prāśasti* was composed by a poet named Maheśa, who gives a chronological history of the Sultan in a poetic style. (J.B.B.R.A.S. 23.12).

(4) Dohad and Ahmedabad inscriptions of the time of the Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begadā, dated V.S. 1543 and 1556 respectively recording the building of the Dohad Fort by Imādulmulk, Chief Minister of the Sultan, and by Bai Harir, the Superintendent of the harem of the Sultan, respectively.

(5) Dhoraili inscription of the reign of Sultan Muhammed Shah bin Hussain Shah of Bengal, dated Śaka 1455. It records the construction of a bridge by Farāskhān, Minister of the Sultan. It is the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Bengal of the Muhammadan period.

(6) The Alluru (Krishna District) inscription of Mir Jumla which is written in Sanskrit and which states that Mir Jumla who was an officer under Abdulla Qutb shah of Golkonda (17th cent. A.D.) had a *Sarvatomukha* Vedic sacrifice performed by Vemuri Ananta Nārāyaṇa Somayājīn and granted him an *agrahāra* for teaching the Vedas and Śāstras and for extending hospitality to strangers (Ancient India No. 2. 61).

2. In spite of all the efforts of the Muslim victors to bring the whole of India under their control by eliminating one after another almost all the important Hindu royal families which were ruling over different territorial divisions of India some Rajput dynasties still continued to rule in rather secluded places in the North, especially in the Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan and in the South almost independent of the Muslim sovereigns but taking care not to offend them as far as possible. Their ancestral principalities were no doubt considerably reduced but they continued to

keep up their old dignity and issued inscriptions as their ancestors had done. Some of their inscriptions as stated above show how they refused to submit to the Muslim conquerors though they were defeated more than once and had to suffer great hardships, sometimes even death. (See also J.I.H. Vol. XV 161). The inscriptions which these rulers have left are naturally like those of the rulers of the pre-Muslim period. The glorious rule of the independent Vijayanagar emperors in the South in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries was responsible for a large number of inscriptions.

The following are some of the independent Hindu dynasties of the period who have left interesting inscriptions:—

The Guhilas of Medapāṭa, who had been ruling from very old times, from V.S. 703 to 1561. Rulers from Hamira (1350 to 1364) onwards were successful in maintaining their independence. A typical inscription of this family consists of the well-known Rājāsamudra *praśasti* of V.S. 1732. (E.I. Vol. 27, 28).

The Chāhamānas of Marwar of the Songirā, Devdā and Sachorā Branches.

Rulers of Chambā in Himachal. M.A.S. No. 72.

The Oinwara dynasty of Mithila (c. 1324-1529).

The Chūḍāsamā rulers of Saurāshṭra or Junagadh V.S. 1369 to 1525. For their inscriptions see New. Ind. Ant. Vol. I-III.

Yādavas of Jaiselmer V.S. 1425 to 1673.

Rāthodas of Bikaner—a typical inscription of V.S. 1650 (Bhand. List No. 926).

Tomaras of Gopāchala or Gwalior V.S. 1497-1688.

Chandrāvatas of North Malva.

Nāgavarṇśi rulers of Chhattisgadḥ.

Rulers of Bastar.

The Bhaumas or Śālasthambhas of Assam.

The Chutia, Kachari, Bhuiya, Kamat, and Ahoms of Kāmārupa or Assam, 1215-1533.

Bhanja rulers of Orissa.

Gajapatis of Kalinga, 1496-1526.

Kapilendra dynasty of Orissa, 1435-1568.

Bhoi dynasty of Orissa, 1542-1568.

Rulers of Vijayanagar, 1336-1675.

Nāyakas of Ikkeri.

Setupatis of Rāmanādapuram.

The dynasties of Venad (Travancore) and of Zamorin of Calicut.

Nāyakas of Madura, 1529-1732.

Nāyakas of Tanjore, 1530-1676, etc.

The rise of the Maratha power in the South and in the North in the seventeenth century was responsible for a number of Sanskrit inscriptions issued at the initiative of the Maratha rulers and their officers and of the local Hindu rulers. They are, however, of very little epigraphical importance.

3. Some of the defeated minor Hindu dynasties which immediately submitted to the Muslim rule and transferred their allegiance from the older Hindu sovereigns to the new Muslim sovereigns were allowed to continue to rule over their reduced principalities provided they owned complete allegiance to their Muslim overlords. Some new chiefs who were useful to the Muslim rulers in consolidating their power were also created and small fiefs were granted to them as a favour. Thus a new order of feudal lords came into existence. All these Hindu rulers in spite of their allegiance to the Muslim overlords continued to keep up all the appearance of ancient feudalism. They had all the paraphernalia on a miniature scale of the ancient Hindu rulers. They kept up their ancestral culture, engaged themselves in all constructional and charitable activities and issued epigraphical records as the old rulers did. The temples, wells, tanks, *ghāṭs* and other works of public utility which they built were often accompanied by inscriptions and the endowments which they made to the temples and Brāhmaṇas, though their value and number were comparatively small, were incised on stone slabs or copper plates. Some rulers from Rajasthan even weighed themselves against gold and performed Vedic sacrifices in imitation of the ancient rulers. Inscriptions are found recording all such activities. With the availability of paper in these days some of the grants of this kind might have been written on paper; but the popularity

of inscriptions was still continued. As such inscriptions are more or less of a local interest, very few of them have been published. But as they are the only source of our knowledge of the subordinate Hindu rulers in the Muslim period, they possess an importance of their own.

4. The practice of raising a memorial stone or *Saśarirathabha* as mentioned in a Prakrit inscription at Karla, in honour of a great or revered man is an ancient one in India. These memorial stones were often sculptured and sometimes inscribed. The earliest memorial inscriptions, dated in 130 A.D. are found at Andhau in Cutch (E.I. 16.23) though a still earlier memorial inscription of the time of Aśoka, in Aramaic characters is found at Taxila (J.R.A.S. 1915 p. 346). A third century Brāhmī Prākṛit inscription discovered in Cuddapah District in Andhra states that a memorial pillar was set up in memory of Śivadāsa who died in a cattle raid. The Mathurā inscription of Chandra-Gupta II of 380 A.D. which records the building of a temple in honour of the spiritual ancestors of Udiṭa-charya (E.I. 21.1) is a memorial of a different kind. A memorial at Eran dated 510 A. D. is of the wife of Goparaja General of Bhānugupta. The Sāngsi (Kolhapur) inscription of the sixth century records the erection of a stela by the king in honour of his dead queen. (E. I. 28). But the practice does not seem to be very much followed as comparatively very few memorial or *Sati* inscriptions are found till the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. after which the number of such inscriptions began to increase very rapidly from all provinces of India especially where the feudal lords were ruling. The erection of hero stones seems to have reduced the popularity of the cists and dolmens, except in the predominantly tribal areas in the South. Like the Chhatris in North India memorial shrines called *pallippadai* were erected over the remains of great persons in this part. Though the memorial stones were originally meant to be raised in honour of a man who fell in battle while fighting for a worthy cause or in honour of a *Sati* who immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, the practice became so common that memorial stones were raised in honour not only of the actual ruler but of his nearer and distant relatives and even attendants, who met a natural death. A *sati* inscription is found in Gwalior State of a mother who became *sati* at the death of her sons fallen in battle. Similarly not

only the wife or wives of the deceased who fell in battle or met a natural death became *sati* but even the attendants of the wife became *sati*. Memorials were sometimes raised at a spot where a tiger was stabbed. (E.I. 4.179) and at another where a devotee severed his head with his sword (E.I. 5.260, Anc. Ind. No. 9). A king who fought a hundred and eight battles set up a temple on each battle field (E.I. 4.226). Sometimes memorial stones were also raised by the Jainas recording the fast upto death of a Jain monk or devotee called *Sallekhanā*. One more kind of memorial stones relating to ordeals has given us some interesting inscriptions. The great Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Amōghavarsha, for instance, cut off his fingers in the temple of Lakshmi to protect the subjects from calamities. Memorial stones representing devotees cutting off their own heads as votive offerings (E.I. 18.255). Such memorial inscriptions form a class by themselves though from an epigraphical point of view they are not of much importance. They give an insight into the social, religious and military practices of the people. They were generally composed by uneducated men. In course of time the use of the local languages in inscriptions increased so much that a man who set himself to the task of composing an inscription in Sanskrit which still was held in reverence by the people at least for its use in inscriptions could not use pure Sanskrit forms and merely gave Sanskrit appearance to the vernacular inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions were written in bad Sanskrit and bad vernacular.

It also seems that in this period people did not entertain as much zeal for setting up inscriptions as they did in earlier times. Formerly they were very particular not only in engaging the services of a learned Pandit to compose an inscription in Sanskrit but they seem also to have been careful in selecting a good stone which was regularly dressed and polished and in engaging a competent mason who could perform the work of engraving the inscription carefully and beautifully.

Whatever may be the reason for setting up the memorial stones and however deterioration in the technique of writing is seen in the epigraph incised on them, the memorial inscriptions form a distinct class of epigraphical records of this period. They are the chief material for our knowledge of the petty Hindu

chiefs and of their times as otherwise not being of great historical importance and not finding a place in the Persian historical papers of their Muslim sovereign rulers they would pass away in oblivion. How an inscription on a memorial stone is useful for our knowledge of a historical incident in the Muslim times can be seen from an inscription found at Somanath Patan in Saurāshtra. It records that on Saturday the seventh of the bright half of Āshāḍha in V. S. 1355 two Vājā warriors were killed at the door of the Somanātha temple while fighting against the *Turushkas*. This invasion of the Muhammedans, was no doubt the one undertaken by Ulukh Khan, the general of Allauddin Khilji of Delhi. The inscription gives an exact date of the capture of Somanatha by Ulukh Khan not known from other sources. Similarly, a number of memorial pillars of the same date in V. S. 1469 found at Vanthali in Saurāshtra recording the deaths of several warriors give the exact date not known from other sources of the severe battle fought between the Chūḍāsāmā ruler Meligadeva of Junagadh and the Muhammedans under Sultan Ahmed. (See Insc. of Kathiawad by D. B. Diskalkar). The inscriptions on the memorial stones sometimes give full details of the dead man and are accompanied by reliefs describing how he was killed and led by celestial women to heaven, how he attained the abode of the Sun God or of the God Vishṇu or Śiva or of the Jina.

5. The Jain inscriptions of this period which are found all over India in a very large number as well as the Jain *Praśastis* attached to some Jain manuscripts also form a distinct class of epigraphical records. As they are exclusively sectarian they are a useful material for the history of Jainism but sometimes they contain data useful for the history of the local place or of the period.

Appendix.—The distinguishing features of the epigraphical records of this period (1350 A.D. to 1800 A.D.) from those of the previous period are the following:—

1. Size:—Very much reduced, except in the case of a few inscriptions like the Rājāsamudra *praśasti* of the Udai-pur kings and the Brihadiśvara inscription of the Tanjore Maratha kings.
2. Script:—Devanagari script which had already completed its evolution by the end of the twelfth century was

generally used in inscriptions of North India and generally in Sanskrit inscriptions in South India during this period. But sometimes provincial scripts like Bengali, Oriya, Gujrati, etc., were used in North India though the language of the records was Sanskrit. The South Indian scripts like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha, continued to be used in South Indian inscriptions.

3. Paleography:—Much deterioration in the technique of writing as explained above.
4. Language:—Sanskrit was the common language of the inscriptions. The rich and highly developed South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, had already begun to be freely used in inscriptions. Similarly, in North India inscriptions began to be issued in some of the provincial languages like Oriya, Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi, etc., though they are not of much historical or linguistic importance. Inscriptions in the provincial languages issued by the Muslim rulers or by Hindu officials under their influence contain a number of Persian and Urdu words and expressions. Poetic flashes as seen in inscriptions of the previous period are generally absent.
5. Epigraphical formula as seen highly developed in inscriptions of the previous period is almost disregarded except in some cases.
6. Religion:—Brahmanism with various sects and sub-sects specially of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects and Jainism with two Digambar and Svetambar sects had been the religions of the records. Conversions of Brahmanical Hindus to Islam is echoed in many inscriptions.
7. Hindu society became much more complex than ever before. Names of different communities and sub-communities are often found. Caste names and surnames frequently mentioned.
8. Royal and official records useful for the genealogy of the Rajput rulers and for the history of their dynasties.

9. All types of records but with diminished importance. The type of *Praśastis* almost gone. The number of memorial inscriptions considerably increased.
10. Dates only in Vikrama Samvat in North India and in Śaka era accompanied by the name Śālivāhana in South India. Śaka era is sometimes mentioned along with the V. S. in North India but the V. S. is rarely mentioned along with Śaka era in South India.
11. Material:—Mostly stone slabs. Copper plates few. No particular care in cutting and polishing the stone slabs. No royal seals attached to the copper plates.
12. Geographical extent much reduced. India completely lost touch with Further India and began retreating also in North India.
13. No Hindu coins were issued during the Muslim period but after the fall of the Mughal empire many Rajput and Maratha ruling families began to issue coins with Persian legends and Devanāgarī legends in Sanskrit language. These coins have little epigraphical importance.
14. Number of South Indian inscriptions more than those of North India, specially due to the rise of the Vijayanagar empire and of the several Nayaka kingdoms in South India. Almost all in South Indian scripts and languages.

A Century of India's Freedom Struggle

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Curious as it may seem, modern India's Freedom Movement has been mainly the outcome of those diverse influences which British rule itself was instrumental in implanting in this country. In fact, Modern India's renaissance was born from the violent impact of Europe. The period of early British rule in India has been called the "Dark Age of Modern India," for the old order lay decaying with the collapse of the Mughal empire and the country's life and unity were temporarily uprooted. But, India's national self-consciousness is a continuum and her life since the unknown past has been an unbroken whole—synthetic and imperishable. The establishment of the British rule was no more than the burning of stubble as a prelude to the new crop. Imperial unity, English education, the influence of Western liberalism and the modern system of communications which came in the wake of British conquest constituted the soil on which India's nationhood grew in the last century.

The first phase of Indian nationalism was, however, religious for it was in the domain of religion that the country got back its lost soul. The prophet of Indian renaissance and the first man who dreamt of a self-governing India was a religious reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, whose Brahma Samaj formed the earliest symptom of national awakening. The Brahma Samaj is the forerunner of the Great Indian revival which subsequently through the movements led by Vivekananda and Dayananda became a potent factor in the transformation of Modern India. 'Sanyasi' heroes like Vivekananda and Dayananda were the motive force of a spiritual awakening which could not leave India's political consciousness untouched. They reminded their countrymen of their unknown greatness and condemned the present abuses of Hinduism as strongly as they denounced the gross materialism of

the West. They were, in fact, true nationalists whose passion was a militant love for their down-trodden country.

As an offshoot of religious revival came a new outlook in social and cultural life. The Indian social reform movement led by pioneers like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra and Keshab Chandra has been one of the most vital influences which have shaped the nationalist movement. The most significant symptom of social revival was the growth of the Indian woman's influence in national life. The zeal for the abolition of the barriers of caste and untouchability has also been part and parcel of the democratic faith of new India. In the domain of education and culture too, the encroaching tide of western civilization stimulated the new national feeling and led to a revival of Indian art and culture. How closely entwined is the cultural revival in modern India with the freedom movement needs no detailed elaboration. The national revival affected the Muslims no less than the Hindus, for a powerful reform movement was initiated by Moulvi Chiragh Ali and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan whose work in the modernisation of the Muslim society is of supreme importance to the making of modern India.

Modern India's political education began in the days of the Company, when the non-official Europeans used to criticise the government sometimes so strongly that a number of English editors had to be deported from India. The political consciousness of the educated Indians further developed by the growth of the Indian press and by the formation in 1851 of the British Indian Association in Bengal and the Bombay Association in the Western Presidency—the first political organisations of modern India and the fore-runners of the Indian National Congress. Though Ram Mohan Roy had already started an agitation for the political rights during his visit to England in 1832, Indian critics of the Company's rule first gained some prominence in 1853 when the Charter was being renewed. It was in 1853 again that the first regular Indian-owned and Indian-edited English newspaper—"The Hindu Patriot" was started at Calcutta by Girish Chandra Ghosh.

The rising of 1857 is Modern India's First War of Independence. It has been looked at and described in various ways. English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, but it was in fact more than a mutiny; for behind the grievances of the sepoy lay

a more widespread political discontent among various elements of the country. It is clear therefore, that the Revolt of 1857 was not a simple movement but a complex one. It would be a mistake to treat it as a disconnected and sudden explosion.

The Great Rebellion symbolises a new political awakening in the land. This awakening was cultural, even though the sepoys were one of its chief spearheads. The fact is that the impact of Western civilization had roused the average Indian from his usual complacency and the attacks on religious beliefs and institutions coming from the Christian missionaries had convinced many people that unless India was freed from British rule national culture could not be made safe and secure. But this discontent would not have taken the shape of a widespread revolt, if the yearning for freedom had not stood out as the outward emblem of the decaying old political order of India. *Dharma* or *Din* was the slogan which powerfully appealed to all sections who were disaffected against the foreign rule. Religion and politics became mixed up in 1857 in a manner in which it cannot do so in any other country than India, for the people were by nature and instinct intensely religious.

The real significance of the Revolt of 1857 lies, therefore, in an ideological conflict which took the shape of a patriotic outburst against foreign rule. The rebels had their own grievances. But, how is it that discordant elements managed to combine against the mighty British Empire? Could individual spite and prejudice have led to a popular revolt? The revolt was scarcely a revolt of discordant elements alone. It is true that the outbreak was not a revolt of the Western type; still it marks a national upsurge for the first time in Modern India. This upsurge was erratic, even isolated, sporadic and unforeseen. This does not detract from the great significance of this upsurge. No revolutionary movement on a large scale can possibly take place only because some leaders are inspired by selfish motives. A widespread conflagration cannot be artificially engineered by self-seekers and manipulators. Such people certainly will exploit the situation favourable to them, but they themselves cannot create the situation. If a national consciousness had not appeared in a vague form the disgruntled leaders would not have been able to create a vast insurrectionary movement. The cartridge affair or any other factor may have hastened the outbreak but was not its cause. The very fact that

the rising was not organised by a single group shows that it was a vague sense of political discontent which caused it. Every party took a leap in the dark, conscious only of the fact that they wanted to destroy the British rule. Having begun as a military outburst in various cantonment towns, the revolt assumed in various parts of northern India the character of a popular rebellion.

There are certain things which demand a careful consideration. Firstly, how is it that both Hindus and Muslims joined together against a common foe unless it may be that a common patriotic sentiment inspired them all? Hindu-Muslim unity during the rebellion is a really memorable phenomenon which has so far been completely ignored by European historians. In their common fight against the British the two communities fought shoulder to shoulder. It is a highly significant fact that cow-killing was completely stopped in Delhi during the Revolt. Bahadur Shah's Chief Secretary during the brief period of his restoration was a Hindu, Mukund Ram, just as Nana Saheb's Chief Counsellor was a Muslim, Azimullah. This feeling of unity is a symptom which cannot be explained away except in terms of political nationalism.

Secondly, hundreds and thousands lost their all and gave up their lives. Was it because some political adventurer misled them? Thirdly, if the rebels were inspired by the cultural ideology of "Dharma" or "Din", this was the foundation on which Indian national awakening rested in the last century. Fourthly, how is it possible to explain that during the rebellion different elements of society, high and low, baron and peasant, man and woman, Brahman and untouchable, all forgot their differences and joined in a common cause? Fifthly, the fact has not been explained by English historians as to why in various parts of North India the whole countryside was in open revolt. In some areas of Uttar Pradesh even criminals and decoits are known to have joined in a common rising against the British. Lastly, why was not the revolt a localised affair? Even though there was no pre-conceived scheme on a fully national scale, the insurrection occurred simultaneously at many places of the country. Had there not been a common feeling against foreign imperialism the outbreak could not have been widespread. It would have remained a local affair as in the previous cases of the Vellore Mutiny and the Barrackpore Mutiny. A study of the facts would show that the Rising

of 1857 failed not because it was not national or patriotic, but because it was not well-organised and well-led.

It was after the Revolt of 1857 that constitutional agitation took root with the rise of the new educated middle-class. Though it was at first limited to a small circle, it was the starting point of a popular movement against all forms of injustice and suppression whether of the European indigo-planters or of the overbearing civilians or army officers. It was to stop this agitation that the odious Vernacular Press Act had to be passed by Lord Lytton in 1878. But, the Indian press could not be prevented from preaching the gospel of Indian nationalism. India's political movement gained its momentum only because the Indian press gave it its powerful support in those early days.

The next stage in the political movement was ushered in during the regime of Lord Ripon, who sought for the first time to instil the principles of Victorian liberalism into the dry bones of Indian administration. Through his scheme of local self-government Ripon gave a new stimulus to the Indian political aspirations. It was during his viceroyalty again that the European agitation against the Ilbert Bill marked the upsurge of a strong racial feeling the like of which had not been seen after 1857. It gave rise to a counter-agitation among the educated Indians. The London 'Punch' published at this time a cartoon which was prophetic. It depicted the Viceroy driving an elephant (i.e., India) with a party of howling Englishmen trying to molest him from the "howdah". The cartoon was entitled "The Anglo-Indian Mutiny—a bad example for the elephant." In fact the whole Ilbert Bill affair taught the Indians the use and technique of the art of political agitation, and one direct effect of this lesson was the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

It is, however, a grievous mistake to assume, as many have rather too hastily assumed, that the Indian National Congress, the acknowledged fountain-head of Indian freedom movement, was a sudden efflorescence of the blessed year of 1885. As a matter of fact, the Congress was a fundamental evolution of an era of political activity in this country. The activities of the political bodies—British Indian Association and the Indian Association in Bengal, the Bombay Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in the Western Presidency, the Native Association as also the subsequent

Mahajan Sabha in the Madras Presidency marked the dawn of constitutional agitation in modern India.

The Congress at its inception was not meant to be anti-British. In fact, the facts show that the Congress was originally intended to be a bulwark of British rule in India, for the Congress owed its birth to the initiative of Mr. A. O. Hume, and, what is still more interesting, to the secret encouragement of the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The reason is that the official mind in India at that time was on the look-out for some means whereby Indian discontent could be directed into a right course and Russia might be prevented from fomenting intrigues in India. It is worthy of note that Sir William Wedderburn also later corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a deliberate move to safeguard India against the menace of foreign invasion.

Among those who conceived or welcomed the idea that it would be to a great advantage both to India and to the British Government if Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss matters of general interest were not only prosperous and loyal Indian lawyers like W. C. Bannerji, Dadabhoy Naoroji, Phiroz Shah Mehta or Badruddin Tayabji, but also some liberal Englishmen like A. O. Hume, George Yule, Charles Bradlaugh, Henry Cotton, and William Wedderburn. The aims and objects of the founders and their annual resolutions were very modest and none of them contemplated the end of the British connection. But, still the Congress marked the birth of Modern India's organised agitation for a democratic form of government.

In his Presidential address at the fourth session of the Congress held at Allahabad, Mr. George Yule said that there are three phases through which all important movements have to pass—ridicule, abuse and concession. Indeed, the Congress too was ridiculed at first as a foolish adventure, but soon ridicule gave way to calumny and the Congress had to face the opposition of a powerful bureaucracy reinforced by the Anglo-Indian Press. The Congress Movement was denounced as an imitation of the Irish Fenians and its methods were looked upon as seditious, even though the Congress followed what has been called "a mendicant" policy, and did not visualise a goal higher than limited self-government of the colonial pattern. The Congress party was misrepresented as "a microscopic minority" and as a "Hindu body" and its

cherished goal as a "big jump into the unknown." While Anglo-India showed no sympathy it was reserved for Lord Curzon to adopt an attitude of undisguised animosity towards the Congress. His reform of the Universities was rightly looked upon as a veiled attack on the Indian educated classes—the backbone of the Congress. The partition of Bengal, specially the time and the manner of its execution, formed the spark that ignited the powder magazine of India's radical nationalism.

It is an undeniable fact that the ideology of violence as a political creed did not completely die out after the Great Rising of 1857. The inner spirit underlying the rebellion persisted and smouldered. In the last years of the 19th century the cult of violence had a fresh lease of life. During the plague agitation in Bombay and Maharashtra the murder of Europeans came to be looked upon as a necessary patriotic act. The first political murders by two youthful Chitpawan Brahmins named Chapekar set the ball rolling in the history of revolutionary movement in Modern India. It was, however, in Bengal, as a result of the stormy agitation against the partition of the province that the cult of the bomb was seriously initiated. Secret societies became active in Bengal and elsewhere after 1905. And, the first outburst of this new violent movement continued unabated until the rise of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement. It later continued only in a sporadic form and underwent a transformation during World War I, and specially during World War II, under the direction of Netaji Subhas Bose.

The revolutionary movement was a historic phase in the history of the freedom movement in India. It helped India's fight for freedom in various ways. The revolutionists were in fact the sappers and miners of India's political advance. The political murders and dacoities served to rouse the attention of the educated classes in an unprecedented manner. The fact that young men and even immature boys in their teens joined the secret societies is too significant to be lost sight of. The revolutionary societies gave a powerful impetus to the physical regeneration of the youth and encouraged training in the use of arms in secret gymnasiums. They also set an example in a new direction. The revolutionaries started a policy of enlisting the support of foreign powers in the cause of India's independence. They gave a much-

needed fillip to the Swadeshi Movement. Being deeply attached to religion revolutionaries were instrumental in consolidating a religious revival. And, of this movement Shri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak were the two top-men. The indirect influence of the revolutionaries on Modern India's constitutional development is also undeniable. The joke "No bombs, no boons" sums up the significance of the revolutionary movement. It was the cult of the bomb which forced the hands of the British Government into conceding the Reforms of 1909 and 1919.

During the regime of Lord Minto, bureaucratic manoeuvre successfully engineered the Muslim deputation of 1906 which asked from the Viceroy for separate communal electorates. This was the thin end of the wedge. The object was to prevent the Muslims from joining the Congress and use them as a counterpoise to the national movement. The policy of *divide-et-impera* had begun with a vengeance. Public opinion was in the meanwhile roused to fever-heat after the partition of Bengal. Revolutionary activity and also an organised boycott of British goods were started as a national move against the foreign government. Such was the popular discontent all over the country that a section of the younger Congressmen, the so-called extremists, raised their voice to protest against the loyalist policy so far followed by the Congress. The inevitable result was a split in the Congress.

"Blow up, if everything else fails", that is said to have been the historic telegram that the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to its delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the 23rd session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was more or less doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. The split of 1907 could be anticipated for the first time at the Varanasi session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of extremists walked out of the pandal as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. That is why Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, the President, in his address used the word 'Swaraj' as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment. The extremists, however, were not satisfied and they continued to preach the utter futility of all co-operation with the British

Government, and it was at Surat that the extremists came prepared for a trial of strength, and ready also to break up the Congress session, if necessary. In consequence, the session broke up in utter confusion. Chairs were thrown, sticks were brandished and a shoe was hurled at Phiroz Shah Mehta and Surendranath Bannerji. The heavy Maratha 'Chappal' which hit the leaders was a symbol marking the unpleasant transition of Indian national movement from a loyal and upper-class movement to an extremist, middle-class agitation. Even in unseemly rowdyism one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history — the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the neo-nationalists whose paths lay wide apart. Repressive measures in India and humiliating conditions which Indians had to face in other parts of the Empire as in South Africa further encouraged the growth of extremism. While Mahatma Gandhi fought against unjust racialism in South Africa, political discontent deepened with the rise of a party of direct action in India itself.

Though the Moderates held the Congress from 1907 to World War I, the Minto-Morley Reforms failed to satisfy the political hunger of India. The creed of the Congress as laid down in the revised constitution of 1908 was stated to be the demand for colonial self-government, but the loyalty of the Moderate leaders to the British government did not attract the younger sections. Democratic movement was fanned up by official repression and gained a firm foot-hold — in Maharashtra through the cults of Shivaji and Ganapati initiated by Tilak, and in Bengal through the cult of Mother India, whose votaries were prepared to kill and get killed for the freedom of their beloved motherland. The new gospel of radical nationalism was founded in the immortal hymn of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's "Bande Mataram" which was to become the nation's clarion-call in the course of its fight for freedom. The party of direct action worked secretly in Asia, Europe and America, and the World War I came as a fine opportunity in their way. These revolutionaries planned a 'Ghadr' conspiracy, the pan-Islamic anti-British League and a daring military coup from South-East Asia to bring about an armed revolution in India with German assistance. Repression was redoubled through the Regulation 3, of 1818, Press censorship, Ingress

Ordinance and the odious Defence of India Act. Meanwhile, Mrs. Annie Besant sought to lead a new Home Rule Movement. But events moved too rapidly for the Moderates and the end of the war witnessed the birth of a new epoch in India's freedom movement. The post-war period marks the Gandhian age in modern Indian history.

The Montford Reforms scheme marks a veritable water-shed in the national movement. Hitherto the main trend had been the acceptance of all reforms in a spirit of sullen dissatisfaction and unwilling compromise. Henceforth the tendency was a non-violent non-cooperation of Satyagraha as a means to force the hands of the Government. This movement which had been started by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa changed the whole political scene, for it was a novel force introduced into Indian politics. India's masses were awakened for the first time and the national movement was no longer a monopoly of the educated middle-class alone. This new political philosophy of Satyagraha and non-cooperation broke the hold of the Moderates over the Congress, and the Moderates had to secede from the Congress to form a separate Liberal Federation which lacked a popular backing. The impetus for the new movement came from the Civil Disobedience Movement which Mahatma Gandhi launched as a protest against the harsh legislation following in the wake of the Rowlatt-Committee Report on terrorist activities. The campaign of peaceful resistance stirred the imagination of both the educated classes and ignorant masses alike. The Indian peasantry were now at last awakened from their old "placid, pathetic contentment".

The brutal massacre of Amritsar confirmed Mahatma Gandhi's abhorrence of British rule. In condemning it he even used the word, 'Satanic'. The Non-cooperation Movement was started, and it also included the Muslims for it was aligned with their Khilafat agitation against the British treatment of Germany's ally, the Old Turkish Empire. 'Ahimsa' at times gave way to violence here and there culminating in a bloody attack on the police in 1922. The situation was so grave that the Government struck at Mahatma Gandhi and condemned him to six years' imprisonment. Though the Congress after this took part in the provincial elections on the Swarajist ticket it still aimed at wrecking the constitution from inside and brought a dead-lock in two provinces.

The constitution of 1919 was, however, too cumbrous and artificial to be a success in any province and even those Moderates who at first had agreed to work it were thoroughly disillusioned. It hurt the dignity of all self-respecting Indians to be told that they were still unfit for responsibility. The attempt of an All-White Simon Commission was still more galling to Indian politicians and its report hardly fulfilled the Indian demand voiced through the Nehru Report. The demand was already antiquated by the time the Round Table Conference met in London towards the end of 1930, when the Congress was in full revolt against the odious Salt Tax. Already the Congress had accepted the demand for the fullest freedom of India or 'Purna Swaraj'.

"Here comes the great sorcerer and by some magic he shall teach us the deliverance from bondage", these were the words with which Srimati Sarojini Naidu had eulogistically welcomed Mahatma Gandhi's participation in the Indian struggle; and she had scarcely exaggerated the supreme importance of that momentous development. Gandhiji had indeed come from South Africa like a magician across the seas and all through the length and breadth of the country his nonviolent movement spread like a wild-fire ushering in new dreams and new aspirations. Hundreds at this time made supreme sacrifices. Thousands went to jail. Hundreds of thousands took the vow of penury and underwent untold sufferings in the cause of the country's freedom. The wealthy spurned riches that were theirs, and those who were poor welcomed destitution and hunger as the necessary preparation and sacrifice in the cause of national independence. Was it not some magic fire which brought about this miraculous transformation?

For the first time in the history of the world the idea of non-violent non-cooperation was introduced and applied as a method of political struggle and as the means of national liberation. The idea of non-violence may be as old as history; yet Gandhiji's originality lay in its application in a direction in which it had never been thought of before. The success of this great experiment is doubtless one of the miracles of history. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the concept of non-violent non-cooperation puzzled its critics no less than its adherents. Many considered it to be a doctrine of negation or a cry of despair. Some took it for an expression of national frustration. Others regarded it as no

better than an idle dream impossible of fulfilment in this age of violence and power politics. Many more thought that it could only be a temporary expedient within the reach of an unarmed and helpless people. In short, people of all shades of opinion wondered at the uniqueness which such a step seemed to imply. And, when others admired or disputed, its author proclaimed in no uncertain terms that it was never a policy with him, but was an article of faith—his “*Kalpa Druma*”—his “*Jam-i-Jam*”—the Universal Provider.

Non-cooperation outwardly implied negation, yet in a sense it was an affirmation. We have to destroy in order to build. We reject with a view to accept. This is how man's mission in this world is fulfilled. That is why everyone is justified in non-cooperating with those who try to perpetuate his slavery. The idea on which the non-cooperation movement is thus based is that it is the duty of an individual as much as that of a nation to resist not with violence but with sincere non-violence all those dark and hostile forces which hinder or nullify development and self-realisation. In other words, non-cooperation was essentially an ethical device of self-purification and self-fulfilment. Gandhiji expressed his ideal in these significant words “I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke.”

If non-cooperation was directed against British rule, it was not because it was British, but because it stood in the way of the nation's striving for self-determination. Non-cooperation did not imply opposition to Western civilization because it was Western. The demand for national education did not mean a rejection of foreign education as such, but it meant the promotion of national culture. Boycott of foreign cloth was likewise inspired by the urge for national self-purification and self-fulfilment rather than hatred of the foreign manufacturer. Thus, the development of Khadi was not merely an urge but a duty, for the Lancashire trade was raised and sustained on the ruin of India's peasants. If British law-courts, councils, and other institutions were to be boycotted, the object was again moral purification and not an exhibition of spite or hatred. Non-cooperation was neither abnegation nor frustration.

When critics urged that non-cooperation was impracticable as a political weapon, they misunderstood the comprehensive

character of the philosophy on which non-cooperation was based. Gandhiji's movement was founded on Truth and so far as he was concerned there was no contradiction between politics and morality. What was morally wrong could not be politically right. If self-uplift through suffering was the basic feature of the non-cooperation it was due to Gandhiji's refusal to recognize any direct anti-thesis between the political and the moral. He would not favour any wrong or immoral short-cut to the aim. He could not think of an improper short-cut even to Indian independence, except through a process of self-purification and self-sacrifice. The higher moral values of the nation's struggle for freedom appeared to him to be no less glorious than the end of independence itself. Swaraj would not endure on foundations of untruth. So Gandhiji believed Swaraj would have to be secured honestly, truthfully and openly in the name of Truth and God. Secret or violent methods were of no use to him. He judged everything from the lofty standpoint of morality and considered all his political steps as so many selfless experiments with Truth.

At times Gandhiji had to challenge or break a law in the course of Satyagraha. But in so doing he always made it clear that his action was prompted by his inner voice which was the call of God. Morally viewed, Gandhiji's political action therefore represented a form of spiritual striving which ennobles the mind and leads to the uplift of mankind. Freedom, in the eyes of Gandhiji, was not to be only a kind of political experience but a process of self-purification which was vital to an individual as it was to a nation.

Gandhiji came into politics not to seek power for himself. He placed himself at the head of a people's movement because he wanted to serve the poor, the lowly and the down-trodden. Hand-spun cloth and the spinning-wheel rightly became the outward symbols of his movement, as they stood for the suffering and poverty no less than for the ultimate redemption of the starving masses of India. As a leader, he lived in the manner of an ascetic. He did so, because he thought that an honest leader could not claim the comforts and amenities which the poor masses could not afford. In his humble and meagre loin-cloth he symbolised the life of the nation more truthfully than he could have done if he had lived the conventional life of a leader.

Politics was never a matter of expediency so far as Gandhiji was concerned. He uplifted politics to a spiritual plane in a manner in which it had never been done before. As Gandhiji had nothing to conceal he would never conceal even his worst mistakes. Once he realised that he committed a great blunder he would not hesitate to admit it freely. This open-hearted frankness was at times as irksome to his followers as it was perplexing to his opponents. He would not only confess his errors but would go further and atone for it by self-purification and fasting in a spirit of penitence and sorrow. He believed that an error arises only from an evil feeling like anger, malice or greed. It is then necessary, he thought, to fight and conquer these evil feelings which are innate in man's nature.

Gandhiji was never a party leader in the strict sense of the term. He felt miserable when his followers desired him to function like a party boss. He refused to gather a faction or a clique round himself and resolutely opposed the formation of a special group of his own. He ushered in a novel trend in world affairs — a trend which possesses unknown potentialities for a war-worn world. This is nothing but the moral force which lies at the root of Truth and Non-violence. Some politicians may object that there is no place for religion or morality in politics. But, Gandhiji would have retorted that there could be no politics without religion or morality. The extent to which non-violent non-cooperation succeeded as a political weapon may or may not be a disputed question, but there is no denying the fact that it caused the major revolution in the character of Indian national movement. It was non-cooperation which roused the masses, and made them conscious of their inner strength. It awakened them from the age-old torpor of stagnation, apathy and subjection. Through its insistence on truth, fearlessness and suffering, it raised the moral tone of a subject people. If God is Truth, Satyagraha, according to Gandhiji, was search for Truth, and non-violence was the light that revealed that Truth to him. It was through non-cooperation again that Gandhiji turned what was formerly an upper-class Indian agitation into what was genuinely a popular mass movement. If non-violent non-cooperation led to sporadic outburst of violence at places it also prevented the growth of a much greater mob-violence which might have broken out, if the creed of non-violence had not been popularised.

The Marxist critic would object that Gandhiji's movement represented a middle-class reformist pacifism. This view is, however, wrong. It is based on a mis-reading of Gandhiji's ideas and methods, for he was shocked by mob-violence and was compelled to halt his programme of this kind more than once. He did so only to provide for a necessary moral discipline through constructive work. He was never an opponent of mass activity as such. If he opposed anything it was unrestrained physical violence. He knew the Government would surely be able to crush the revolt effectively causing thereby a serious set-back to the national movement as a whole. He knew that it was in non-violence alone that the real strength of the mass movement lay, for it was non-violent Satyagraha which created an almost impossible situation for the Government. This is amply borne out by the testimony of Lord Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, who admitted in an interview "his (i.e. Gandhiji's) programme filled our jails. You cannot go on arresting people for ever, you know — not when there are three-hundred nineteen millions of them. And if they had taken his next step and refused to pay taxes God knows where we should have been." Those who think that Gandhiji was afraid of revolutionary activity, lest it should threaten the propertied class interests have misjudged his ideological stand. He was never, and could never be a spokesman of the vested interests of the society. In his synthetic view which the Marxists cannot appreciate there was no contradiction between Right and Left. His conception of *Sarvodaya* recognized no inevitability of class-struggle, and it was based on a harmonious integration of diverse national interests, rich and poor, high and low, prince and peasant alike.

Gandhiji is a unique figure in world history. A morally elevated and humanised statesman of his kind is rarely seen in any age. He was not a saint gone astray in politics but was a spiritualised statesman who tried to become a saint. A wonderful blend of saint and statesman Gandhiji took to politics in the same spirit in which an ascetic takes to spiritual effort. If his ideal is still regarded as unachievable, it is because the spiritual transformation of man which is essential to its success has yet to take place. Critics made much of Gandhiji's confession of his "Himalayan blunder" which really consisted in over-estimating the moral discipline and self-restraint of the common people. But the critics did not care to realise the depth and genuineness of his inner faith

that non-violence never fails and that even one perfect "Satyagrahi" is enough to vindicate the truth. Referring to the outburst of violence, he admitted in the Court of the Judge who tried him "I knew that I was playing with fire." But, he asserted at the same time, "I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same." There is no doubt that Gandhiji's creed of non-violence is the finest legacy of India's freedom movement to humanity.

At the outset Gandhiji's movement did not directly aim at complete independence, for he was willing to work for Swaraj within the Empire. The Gandhi-Irwin agreement of 1931 and Gandhiji's participation in the Round Table Conference showed that Gandhiji was not prepared at the beginning to sever all connection with Britain, but Britain's own fault convinced Gandhiji that Purna Swaraj was essential to India's moral rebirth. The British policy was short-sighted and Gandhiji's movement therefore could not stop. In 1932 Gandhiji was back in prison. Repression followed with renewed vigour under the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, but Indian nationalism was now too powerful to be broken. Even communalism was no longer able to stem its rising tide. The Congress finally accepted in its revised constitution of 1934 the goal of complete independence.

It was during this period that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru sought to give a new re-orientation to the Congress creed. Nehru became an enthusiastic political disciple of Gandhiji and then followed a close political partnership between the Guru and the disciple. India has been blessed with a Gandhiji and a Jawaharlal Nehru, both being complementary to each other and both have advanced the cause of India's freedom in different ways. Gandhiji was the Lord Krishna and Nehru the Arjuna of the great Indian Mahabharata conflict of the twentieth century. Why did Nehru accept non-violence in this struggle for independence? With his rational and historical sense Nehru could not have done otherwise. Terrorism made no appeal to him for he regarded it as a sign of political immaturity. He had no doubt that it formed a tragic and futile weapon and that no nation had really benefited by it. Non-violence, he was convinced, was to be the salvation of India, and, indeed of the whole world, and like Gandhiji, Nehru was also clear that non-violence could not mean cowardice or weak-

ness. Nehru made his choice because Gandhiji represented to him the age-old soul of India more than the cult of violence that western ideologies idolised and worshipped. He chose the path of non-violence and suffering in the spirit of a true votary.

It was at the Madras session of the Congress in December 1927 that Nehru moved the historic resolution of Indian independence. The resolution was a bold and inspiring statement of India's future goal. For the first time the Congress ceased to equivocate, and it said frankly and publicly under Nehru's leadership that India wanted complete power to rule herself. But the internationalist in Nehru was apparent from his warning that independence, if it meant an addition to the warring nations, would be a dangerous thing. He wanted independence to be a step towards a world commonwealth of nations in which India should assist in the fullest measure to bring about peace and world-harmony. In his Presidential speech of 1929 at Lahore, Nehru said, "we stand for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way." Gandhiji gave his blessings to this new trend. This enabled the Congress to unfurl the flag of independence on the banks of the river Ravi. This was indeed a glorious day in the political career of Nehru. It was under the guidance of Gandhiji that Nehru converted the Congress into a mature organisation with its roots in the Indian genius and in the common man who lived in the country. Here was a genius who filled the new spirit of mass awakening and was able to break the mental inertia that had so far cramped the vast masses. Nehru symbolised a resurgent India that was marching to freedom.

Nehru viewed the Indian struggle as a part of a bigger fight for independence and the force that moved him seemed to him to be moving countless people all over the world and forcing them into activity. All Asia was responsive to the new spirit, and India was bound to play a not insignificant part in modern history. It shows that very few other Indian leaders possessed the world sense which characterised Nehru's outlook on Indian struggle. He could never miss the vital connection between the world events and our national problem. As a soldier of freedom Nehru took his stand with the socialist and nationalist forces of the world in order to rise above the tide of world imperialism.

He saw the world divided into two blocs—the imperialists and Fascists on the one side and the socialists and the anti-imperialists on the other. The British empire represented the strongest and oldest imperialism and this was the real argument for India's freedom and for the end of India's connection with this empire. After all, there could be no connection between India's freedom and British imperialism. So, if India remained within the British imperialist fold, whatever name or status and whatever external appearance and power India might have, she would have remained a slave to the reactionary forces and to the imperialist bloc.

Nehru saw as no other leader saw it before that the only key to the solution of India's problems lay in socialism and this socialism he viewed in its scientific and economic sense. To Nehru socialism was more than an economic idea. It was a new way of life and as such it immensely appealed to him. He saw no way of eradicating economic backwardness, the large-scale unemployment, the political subjection and the misery of the masses, except through socialism. He was aware that this meant drastic changes both in the political and social structures of the vested interests in all spheres. It was ultimately to mean the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service—which would amount to a change of philosophy of life completely different from the existing capitalistic order. But Nehru was always clear on the point that there could not be a slavish imitation of the Soviet system which he personally admired. He held that every nation must have its socialist system after its own way and build it in with its own genius.

Nehru worked for Indian independence and went to jail repeatedly and for long periods not only because the patriot in him could not put up with foreign rule but also because it appeared to him to be the inevitable step to a socialist rebuilding of society. He realised that the majority in the Congress might not be prepared to go thus far, and so he was prepared to slow down the pace of advance. As a soldier of freedom Nehru always experienced the thrill of mass feeling, the power of influencing the common man. He took to the crowd as the crowd took to him yet he never lost himself in it. His sentiments and language were inspiring but they were never those of a mob-leader. In order to be sure that the people really liked him for what he was, he was often frank, critical and even rough and rude in his

criticisms and denunciations. Still the people put up with him and he has remained to this day their beloved hero and darling.

On a survey of Nehru's contribution to the freedom struggle, it would appear that Nehru powerfully influenced it and gave it a new direction. Firstly, he introduced the independence creed which even Gandhiji had not at first approved. Secondly, he gave the Indian freedom movement a world background and perspective which would not have been possible under Gandhiji alone. Thirdly, though no pioneer in the socialist field in India Nehru was the first Congress leader who popularised socialist thought of the Marxian kind. Fourthly, he organised a sober front against all kinds of communalism and casteism. Lastly, it is Nehru who gave a concrete shape to the idea of national planning after the Soviet model of the Five Year Plan. Nehru's name in modern Indian history like that of Gandhiji will live for ever as that of a great architect of freedom.

A survey of the national movement shows that Khadi and boycott of foreign cloth had proved to be a specially potent weapon in India's freedom struggle under the guidance of Gandhiji. The idea of Swadeshi is as old as Congress yet the entire conception underwent a big change when Gandhiji came forward to take charge of the national movement in India. In the pre-Gandhian period Indian leaders were inspired more by the desire to starve the foreign exporter than by an un-alloyed zeal for national regeneration. The boycott of British cloth was first started in Bengal in 1905 as a form of protest against partition of the province. When the Bengal leaders realised that they had no weapon against the despotic move of the government, they in their extremity decided to start a Swadeshi movement by way of a patriotic counter-offensive. Thus, the boycott movement was at first a political expedient, adopted for a definite political purpose. It was prompted by the feeling that the weakness of the English people is money, and we must injure them there if we wish to attack them with any success. The Swadeshi movement entered on a new phase when it was subsequently approved by the liberal leaders of the Congress as a means to secure the country's industrial progress. To them, the Swadeshi scheme consisted in the development of Indian industry strictly within the limits of the law. It was to imply no disloyalty to Britain.

To Gandhiji, however, the boycott of foreign cloth was a permanent thing, not conceived as a punitive weapon but as a moral action of lasting value for the advancement of the nation. Swadeshi was not only the birth-right of the people but it was the condition of the national emancipation. Gandhiji looked upon boycott not as a selfish or even commercial proposition of profit and loss, but as a technique of moral and social regeneration. Gandhiji was well aware of the bad odour of the word 'boycott' which implied a hostile attitude, but as far as he was concerned he never intended the word to imply any such idea. Khadi was thus a positive aspect of the national programme. Gandhiji would also not like the boycott movement to end in a sentimental excitement. He resolved to make it a part and parcel of his comprehensive constructive scheme through the encouragement of hand-spinning. The Khadi idea was calculated not only to produce the political awakening but was also intended to make the poor peasants conscious of their strength and make them effective persons in the fight for country's freedom. To the critics the Khadi ideology seemed to be a vain return to the ancient or middle ages but for Gandhiji it was a dire necessity of national existence. The spinning-wheel was in short the symbol of Gandhiji's movement, and as such, it was more than a machine.

The Charkha reflected the will of the nation to be free from foreign exploitation. It represented the resurgence of a spirit of freedom in all forms and directions. It stood for the awakening of a new psychology, and summed up a new dignity and a new feeling of self-confidence. Considered in this light the boycott programme was a non-violent onslaught on the triple evils of the modern world, viz., imperialism, capitalism and industrialism. But more than that the spinning-wheel ushered in an era of moral exaltation in secular politics. Picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth was considered to be again a violence by many, but to Gandhiji it was a methodology of non-violence based on gentle persuasion and not on coercion or restraint on their beliefs and liberty of action. He insisted that picketing was to be unaggressive and that it was never to involve intimidation, hostile demonstration, obstruction or violence to the public. Thanks to Gandhiji's inspiration and resolute determination the boycott of foreign cloth secured a new meaning through the restoration of the spinning-wheel to its pristine glory and through the enterprise of the All-India Spinners' Association.

And let India not forget that of the two most historic feats of Gandhiji, Satyagraha and Khadi, even though it may not be easy to determine which of the two is more momentous, the boycott of foreign cloth and the implementation of the Khadder programme were at once the outward expression of the birth of a new ideology of self-development and of India's reawakened sense of self-esteem.

The new Reforms of 1935, which might have satisfied the India of Curzon's day were out of date now when even Dominion Status made no appeal to the advanced public opinion in India. For Indian democrats burning with the passion for achieving full independence it was impossible to remain content with the halting and diluted autonomy of the Act of 1935, or with its strange federal constitution. Though the Congress subsequently fought and won the elections in 1937 and formed ministries in eight provinces it had to withdraw at the outbreak of the World War, when it bitterly realised that British imperialism was no less hateful than German Nazism.

A final show-down was inevitable between a self-confident and resurgent nationalism and a retreating foreign government. Even the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps and his offer of a so-called "post-dated cheque on a crashing bank" failed to redeem the situation. The consequence was the so-called "open rebellion" of August 1942. The August Movement, a historic chapter in India's freedom movement, became in fact a people's revolt—spontaneous, widespread and violent. Even though the Congress leaders were in prison and even though the masses were unarmed and leaderless there was a widespread popular movement which testified to the strength of the national sentiment. Extreme repression and barbarity on the part of the Government stifled the outburst, even though the popular discontent continued to smoulder all over the country.

It was at this psychological hour of India's popular struggle that a most dramatic turn in India's national situation came with the rise of Netaji Bose's Azad Hind Movement outside India. Netaji Bose is a memorable figure in the history of India's national movement. As a Congress leader in India, he had already made supreme sacrifices like Nehru; and like Nehru again he had strengthened the leftist trend in Indian politics. He was also as-

sociated like Nehru again with the initiation of the socialist idea in India. But it is his spectacular escape from India during the war-time and his formation of the Azad Hind force which constitute a thrilling episode in the history of India's fight for freedom.

The manner in which Bose recruited and assembled a national army in Europe and in the Far East testifies to his wonderful capacity for organisation and his burning love of the motherland. His attempt to liberate India with his new army will be long remembered as a romantic chapter in the annals of modern India. The initial success of his liberation army in penetrating into Assam was finally frustrated for want of sufficient man-power and adequate resources. But, the remarkable patriotism and heroism which characterised his army are unforgettable.

It is no less significant that it was Netaji who formed a free India Government during the war-years outside India and secured for it recognition of several foreign powers. This had indeed a great effect on the popular mind in India. It was the eventful career of his Azad Hind Government and his Azad Hind Force which broke the myth of the Indian sepoy's loyalty to the British Government and thereby convinced Britain of the futility of ruling India by force of arms. Even though Netaji Bose eventually failed, his grand failure stirred one of the deepest chords in every Indian's heart—love and reverence for a patriotic martyr.

The story of the post-war negotiations between India and Britain, leading to the establishment of a sovereign Constituent Assembly and India's sad and fateful partition is too recent to be told in any detail. The Indian Independence Act marked the end of an epoch and prepared the ground for the creation of a sovereign Indian republic. It was hard for Britain to acquiesce in her own abdication, but the pressure of world events, the necessities of Britain's own situation and Gandhiji's movement in India finally compelled the voluntary surrender of 1947.

India has reached after a century-old struggle her political salvation, the story whereof is, all in all, one of the most inspiring chapters in recent world history. The Down Maidens have appeared on India's horizon. May the Sun of Freedom illumine secular India's path to a fuller realisation of her age-old ideal of unity in diversity!

Jainism in Kerala

BY

P. B. DESAI, Ootacamund

Scholars interested in the Jaina studies are indebted to the late Shri T. A. Gopinatha Rao whose interesting notes on the Chitarāl inscription and Jaina vestiges in Travancore are published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I (1910-13), pp. 193 ff. and Vol. II (1920), pp. 125 ff. While examining the sources in connection with my studies in the *Jainism in South India*,¹ I had to scrutinize all that this renowned scholar had said about Jainism in the the southernmost corner of the Indian peninsula. It was realised in the course of my scrutiny that the account of my predecessor could be supplemented and modified in certain respects.

The present-day Hindu temple of the goddess Bhagavati on the hill called Tiruchchāṇattumalai near Chitarāl in the Viḷavāṅgōḍ Taluk was, no doubt, originally a reputed Jaina religious centre, as revealed by the Jaina inscriptions and sculptures found in the vicinity. According to a Jaina inscription engraved on a rock near the temple the deity was formerly known as Bhaṭāri which, apparently, is local abbreviation of the Sanskrit term Bhaṭṭārikā meaning 'goddess.'

It has been rightly pointed out that the real name of the hill must be Tiruchchāṇattumalai, i.e., 'the sacred hill of the Chāraṇas,' the modern name Tiruchchāṇattumalai being its contraction. It was evidently named after the Chāraṇas who played a significant role in Jaina theology and religion. Chāraṇa, in the ordinary sense, stood for a Jaina monk in general; but the expression also connoted, in its special sense, a class of superhuman beings who had attained mastery over nature by implicitly practising the tenets of Jaina religion.

The hill was known in olden days by a short form of the name as Tiruchchāraṇam or 'the Sacred Chāraṇa.' This name is met

1. This book which will be issued shortly, is being published in the series *Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā* of Sholapur

with in two inscriptions engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters on its rock.² Kaḷugumalai, another hill in the Koilpaṭṭi Taluk of the Tirunelveli District, is rich in Jaina antiquities. Among the donors who contributed the figures of Jaina deities carved out on this hill figures a lady teacher who hailed from Tiruchchāraṇam.³ This place must evidently be identical with its namesake of the above description.

For a better understanding of the Chāraṇa cult and its association with the above stronghold of Jainism in Kēraḷa, it will not be out of place to take into account a few more places bearing similar traditions, in other regions of South India. The magnificent Jaina caves at Ellora in the Aurangabad District are excavated in the northern spur of the hill called Chāraṇādri, i.e., 'the Hill of Chāraṇas'. In an inscription incised on the pedestal of Pārśvanātha Jina at this place, the hill is described as being frequented by the Chāraṇas.⁴

Konakoṇḍla, a village in the Gooty Taluk of Anantapur District, was formerly known as Koṇḍakunde as testified by the epigraphic records of the place. In my article entitled 'Koṇḍakunda, His Domicile' I have adduced conclusive evidence in support of the fact that this place was the original home of the famous teacher Koṇḍakundāchārya, father of Jainism in South India.⁵ This Koṇḍakunde, according to an inscription from Bastihaḷḷi, dated 1134 A.D., was graced by the presence of the Chāraṇas.⁶ These semidivine beings also play a conspicuous role in the famous Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram*. They again figure prominently in Kannaḍa literary works, such as the *Āḍipurāṇa* of Pampa and the *Dharmāmṛitam* of Nayasēna.

As stated before, an inscription at Tiruchchāṇattumalai alludes to a Jaina goddess named Bhaṭāri. The epigraph speaks of a gift of gold ornaments to the Bhaṭāriyār made by the lady teacher Gunandāṅgi Kurattigaḷ, disciple of Araṭṭanēmi Bhaṭāra of Pērayakkuḍi.⁷ Now who is this Bhaṭāri or Bhaṭāriyār?

2. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 125, n.1 and 126.

3. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Ins. Nos. 324 and 326.

4. Fergusson and Burgess: *Cave Temples of India*, p. 502.

5. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (1955, July), Vol. XLVI, pp. 1-7.

6. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Belur 124.

7. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 125, n.1.

This query takes us to the rock-cut sculptures found on the overhanging rock to the north of the temple of Bhagavatī.⁸ The sculptures consist of two rows, one above the other. The upper row contains about a dozen miniature figures of the Jinas in sitting postures with the triple-umbrellas overhead. Below them is a group made up of about half a dozen figures of bigger size representing different deities, interspersed by small rows of miniature Jinas. At the right end of this group are two figures, bigger in size and majestic in appearance. One of these seated on a decorated pedestal is that of a Jina or Tirthankara. To his proper left is a female figure standing in an impressive posture. Her right hand is in the *varada* pose and the left one is hanging free by her side. A lion with massive head facing the front is seen to her right. Below the lion is a female attendant carrying a bowl in her left hand. Two children of smaller size are standing below to the proper left of the central figure.

The standing female figure of the above description must be Ambikā,⁹ the Yakshiṇī of the twenty-second Tirthankara who is known as Nēminātha. According to Jaina iconography, among the characteristic attributes of Ambikā are a lion and children,¹⁰ both of which are depicted in the above sculpture. On this account we can also identify the Jina to the proper right of this deity as Nēminātha. It becomes thus explicit that it is this Yakshiṇī Ambikā who was recipient of the gift mentioned in the above epigraph, though it refers to her by the general term Bhaṭāri, i.e., goddess.

The importance given to the Yakshiṇī in the above group of sculptures is significant. In my survey of ancient Jaina religious institutions in South India, I have come across a few more centres wherein also prominence is similarly given to the Yakshiṇīs,¹¹ who, really speaking, are only secondary deities subservient to the Jinas or Tirthankaras. From a study of such special features I

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 194.

9. Gopinatharao's description of this figure as given in *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 127 is not accurate and his identification of it with Padmāvatī is certainly wrong.

10. Bhattacharya; *Jaina Iconography*, p. 142.

11. Compare *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p. 203. In the Jaina Pantheon each Jina is attended by two Śāsanadēvatās or the guardian deities of the Jaina Law. They are commonly called Yaksha and Yakshī or Yakshiṇī.

have arrived at the conclusion that the Yakshī cult or the elevation of the Yakshī to a higher status as a goddess was one of the devices employed by the ingenious leaders of the Jaina Church for popularising their faith among the masses.

It is not possible within the scope of this article to undertake a detailed investigation of all the interesting features of Jainism in Kērala. I may, however, conclude this brief note with an interesting account of a family of chiefs from this region, who having been devout followers of the faith, perpetuated their devotion in a far-off place, a record of which is preserved to the present day.

Tirumalai, or 'the Sacred Hill', near Pōlūr in the North Arcot District, was a flourishing stronghold of Jainism and a renowned centre of pilgrimage during the early mediaeval centuries as gathered from a large number of Jaina relics found here. According to an epigraph,¹² inscribed on the outer wall of the doorway leading to the painted cave on the hill, Eḷini, a ruler of Vañji and chief of the Chēra lineage from Kērala, installed the images of a Yaksha and Yakshī on this holy mountain of Arhat. The images were worn out with the passage of time. Seeing this, a later descendant of Eḷini, named Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, son of Rājarāja, replaced the old images by new ones and restored their worship as before. This Chēra chief, in addition, presented a gong to the shrine and constructed a channel. The inscription furnishing these details is written both in Tamil and Sanskrit language. In the Tamil version of the record the hill is described as *Enguṇavirai-Tirumalai*, which means 'the sacred hill of the god possessing eight attributes, i.e., the Jina.' The inscription is assigned approximately to the 11th century A.D.

It becomes thus clear that Eḷini, Rājarāja and Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ belonged to a distinguished family of Chēra chiefs from Kērala who seem to have flourished about the 10th and the 11th century A.D. The members of this family were staunch adherents of the Jaina faith and they often went on pilgrimage to pay their homage to the Jina and other Jaina deities enshrined on the holy hill of Tirumalai, although it was situated at a considerable distance from their native land. These facts combined with the evidence afforded by the Jaina antiquities in Kērala itself seem to indicate that approximately the age of the 9th to the 11th centuries constituted the most glorious period of Jainism in Kērala.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 331 f.



Jaina sculptures near Bhagavati temple at Chitalar. The prominent female figure to the extreme right is the Yakshī Ambika.

under no circumstances move an iota from the path of justice.³ Such was the affluence of the state treasury that in spite of almost incessant wars to which Tilangana had been subject, there were in the Coronation procession seven hundred Arab horses and two hundred war elephants all fully caparisoned in the cloth of gold. When the cavalcade was ready, those in command came to Ibrāhīm and requested him to lead the procession. But the King excused himself and said that the first thing he had to do was to pray to God for His mercy and benevolence. With great humility he prayed that the Almighty may grant him power to rule the land with justice and according to Divine Will and that he should be granted the knowledge to distinguish the good from evil and right from wrong. It was only after this that he consented to proceed to the ceremonies attending the Coronation.⁴

The Sultān was crowned on a golden throne flanked on either side by a chair of gold, while a lion and an elephant, also made of gold, were placed on the right and left of these chairs, perhaps representing the might and majesty of the State. While Ibrāhīm was still an exile at Vijayanagar he had to fight a duel with one 'Ambar Khān as he had shown disrespect to the exiled prince, and had wrested from him his ensign which was sky-blue in colour; Ibrāhīm now adopted this sky-blue as the official colour of Tilangana. When the Coronation ceremonies were ended he called together an assembly of poets and *litterateurs* at which, among other compositions, poems were recited praying for the long life and prosperity of the youthful monarch.⁵

Ibrāhīm's General Policy

Habituated as he was to hard work, Ibrāhīm lost no time to give some kind of order to the riot-ridden state. It seems that the virtual interregnum of the few months of Subhān's "reign" and the

3. T.Q., 110a.

4. *Ibid.*, 110a.

5. *Sky-blue colour*, *Fer.*, II, 170; eulogistic poems, Q.S., 138. It seems that the sky-blue colour was incorporated into a tricolour consisting of red, sky-blue and white, for these were the colours of the ensigns carried by the Tilangana army which accompanied Ibrāhīm when he met Burhān Nizām Shāh and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh in 1564 just before the fateful battle of the Krishna; for this see T.Q., 112b.

civil war and treason which were then the order of the day, had completely unhinged the administration of the country. Ibrāhīm laid a heavy hand on those who in any way broke the peace of Tilangana. He sent express orders to all local officers in the districts to see that full justice was imparted to those who were wronged, and to leave no stone unturned to put down thieves, marauders and highwaymen who infested the land. It is said that there were thieves who were so adept in their nefarious art that they "would even remove a nose from between the two eyes"! With Ibrāhīm's permission his officers adjudged maximum punishment even in cases when the accused was guilty of only a trivial theft, and sometimes ordered the amputation of hands, legs, noses and ears. This may seem hard today, but an initial hardship on offenders resulted in peace and plenty, and it was not long before there were no marauders and highwaymen to account for. When once there was peace and security Ibrāhīm could give his fullest attention to the patronage of literature and art and lay the foundation of the greatness of Tilangana with its centre at Golkonda which was destined to become a byword for the peace and prosperity of the whole sub-continent.⁶

In many matters Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's reign is unique in the history of Tilangana. He is the first ruler who is definitely called a king by his contemporaries, the first to whom at least some coins can be traced, the first who is given a royal name on his tombstone and the first who patronised Telugu learning such as few other potentates have done since.

In his foreign policy Ibrahim always tried to steer a middle course, and it was seldom if ever that he attempted to extend his dominion beyond the confines of the country where Telugu was spoken by the majority of the population. There are some

6. Q.S., 138; *Bur.*, 528. No one can be eulogistic about the severe treatment meted out to offenders; but exigencies of the situation may well demand it, provided the intention is to maintain law and order and security of person, property and honour in the face of highwaymen and marauders. More recently the seemingly harsh treatment of the lawless bedouins of the Hijāz at the hands of Sultān Ibn Sa'ūd after his conquest of Mecca in 1926 led to an era of perfect peace. On the other hand the terrible atrocities perpetrated in modern wars and even in internal commotions in certain countries lead one nowhere except to bitterness and destruction.

Tilangana Under Ibrahim Qutb Shah
DIPLOMACY AND MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Part I, 1550-1565

BY

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Ibrāhīm's Accession

Ibrāhīm was born on 1-10-936/29-5-1530 about the time when his father Sultān-Qutb Qutbu'l-mulk had just been successful against Isma'il 'Adil of Bijapur outside Kōvilkondā.¹ He was the youngest of his children and he was barely fourteen when he had to fly to Vijayanagar for fear of his life at the hands of his unkind brother Jamshīd. He was the honoured guest of Rāmarāj at Vijayanagar for seven long years. Soon after Jamshīd's death he was invited to ascend the throne of Tilangana, and when he reached Golkonda on 12-7-957/27-7-1550 he was welcomed by all sections of the population such as no previous ruler had been. It was the first time after his father's murder that he had set his foot in his ancestral home, and the young man of twenty-one as he now was, he was so much agonised by the memory of his boyhood that he was in tears and was in deep mourning for two days, and it was only after this that he had the presence of mind to proceed to his father's tomb to offer prayers for the repose of his soul. It is related that the mausoleum was lit with thousands of golden lamps and while he was there largesse was distributed to the poor and the indigent to the tune of two thousand hons.² On the third day he dreamt that his father was standing at his bedside and the advice he gave to his son was that now that he was taking charge of his ancestral State he should

1. Date of Ibrāhīm's birth; Q.S., 91. He was the youngest child of his father; *ibid.*, 105. His accession; *ibid.*, 138. Isma'il 'Adil Shah, ruler of Bijapur; 1510-1538.

2. T.Q., 53b; T.Q.I., 109b, has 3 days and 3 nights.

historians who impute weakness, fruitlessness and even supineness to Ibrāhīm's foreign policy,⁷ but if we probe into it and take a long view we would find him essentially a man of peace surrounded by warlike neighbours, one who abhorred turmoil and was always ready to try and curb the causes of war even when he was dragged into it. Times were such that it was the fashion to go on fighting with one's neighbours, but at least in the first part of his reign Ibrāhīm would be found to discount war as much as possible even on pain of being accused of treachery by his friends.

Alliance with Ahmadnagar

Although the rulers of the Deccan were ambitious in their own way and perhaps believed in keeping themselves fit by carrying on incessant wars, one of them, Burhān Nizām Shāh, who had come to the throne of Ahmadnagar as far back as 911/1506 and was thus the seniormost in point of age, was also the most restless. Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr were always at daggers drawn, and Ahmadnagar sought help sometimes from Tilangana and at other times from Vijayanagar against its rival. It was through diplomacy born of strength that Jamshīd had curbed the power both of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr during the last months of his rule, and had been successful, without firing a single shot, not merely in freeing 'Alī Barīd from his Bijāpūr prison but in restoring him to the throne of Bidar and thus reestablishing a buffer between Tilangana on the one hand and Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr on the other. Realising the strength of Tilangana Burhān sought to bring Ibrāhīm to his side, and among the envoys from different states of South India who came to felicitate him on his accession was "one of the confidantes" of the king of Ahmadnagar who came to Golkonda with costly presents from his master. It seems that Ibrāhīm was inclined towards Ahmadnagar from the beginning, and the envoy was showered with costly robes of state and reciprocal presents by the Sultān. Ibrāhīm followed up by sending one of the most astute of his ministers (who had incidentally married

7. Such as *C.H.I.*, III, 446, and *N. and V.*, I, 255. It is strange that while the latter say what Ibrāhīm "had shown his determination by his recent activities to upset the balance of power in the Deccan", Prof. Siddiqī, in his *History of Golconda*, p. 74, says that "what weighed with him (Ibrāhīm): largely was the maintenance of the balance of power."

his sister) Mustafā Khān, who had already made a mark by his diplomatic talent. Burhān had always an eye on Gulbarga, which was within 'Adilshāhi territory, and a treaty was arranged under which both the Sultāns agreed to join hands in conquering Gulbarga and Yādgir, after which the former would be taken over by Ahmadnagar and the latter annexed to Tilangana. A seal was put on this treaty by its confirmation through the envoy of Ahmadnagar, Hakīm Qāsim Bēg Shīrāzī who held the high office of Wakil and Peshwa there.

The two kings, Burhān and Ibrāhīm, now proceeded to Gulbarga in 965/1557 with large forces and invested it from the direction of Alang and Siba.⁸ Husain ordered his masters of artillery, Rūmī Khān and Mādhava Rām to move their cannon, including the huge piece named Qil'ah-Kusha ("Opener of Forts"), to the edge of the moat, but the fortifications were so strong that it took a whole month to effect any breeches in the ramparts. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was greatly perturbed at the turn of events and sent an envoy with costly presents to Rāmarāj at Vijayanagar beseeching him for help, and himself moved to Gulbarga with a large army. Rāmarāj, who was a past master in the diplomatic art now took advantage of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's obligations to him and wrote to him to desist from helping Burhān whose sole aim was to wrest Gulbarga from Bijāpūr and annex it to his dominions.⁹

8. Thus according to *Fer.*, II, 170; *Q.S.*, 140, and *Bur.* have Bīdar. Both Gulbarga and Bīdar had been the capitals of the Brahmani kingdom one after the other, and as that kingdom extended to all parts of the Deccan plateau, the two towns became the meeting places of the languages and cultures of the whole area. The division of the kingdom into Ahmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Tilangana was more or less linguistic in character. It is also noticeable that the kingdom of Berar, which was confined to a small part of the Maharashtra, was soon enveloped and conquered by the predominantly Maharashtrian Ahmadnagar, Bīdar and Gulbarga, which had been capitals of the Bahmanis, were cosmopolitan and cosmopolitan in character. Even today, although Gulbarga and Bīdar have been allotted to the Kannada state of Mysore, the proportion of the Kannada speaking population in the former is only 33.75% and of the latter only 24.51% according to the census of 1951. Alang, probably Aland, about 25 miles N.N.W. of Gulbarga; 17°21' N., 76°51' E.

9. Date of the meeting of the two kings, *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, (H.A.), I, 117. There was already a treaty between Rāmarāj and Bijapur signed by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh in 1555; *Aravīdu*, 85. On the other hand it is stated in *Narasabupalamu* (*Sources*, 85) that Rāmarāj was "the terror of the city of Bijapur", Rāmarāj was a seasoned diplomat and played one sultān against the other

Simultaneously Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh also wrote an appealing letter to his youthful namesake of Golkonda. Ibrāhīm now summoned his Council of Advisers consisting of "ministers and amīrs" and consulted them as to what policy should be pursued. The Council was unanimous in reminding the Sultān that there was a common frontier between Vijayanagar and Tilangana running to hundreds of miles, and this was without doubt very vulnerable against the might of the southern kingdom; they also suggested that it was just as well that it was 'Adil Shāh who was appealing to the Sultān for peace, and full advantage should be taken of this.¹⁰ They therefore advised the monarch that Tilangana should not be a party to further bloodshed. The envoys from the Bijāpur camp were treated well and returned with assurances of friendship, while Ibrāhīm broke his camp in the middle of the night and returned home.

It was about this time that Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh died and was succeeded by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh on the Bijāpur throne. 'Alī began his reign by sending costly presents to Rāmarāj and an offer to renew the alliance between the two states. But Rāmarāj was too haughty to pay any heed to these demonstrations of friendship, and 'Alī had to go personally to the capital of the southern kingdom and beg Rāmarāj to agree to a treaty of friendship with him. It was probably about this time that intelligence was brought to Ibrāhīm that the 'Adilshāhi and Vijayanagari troops had invaded Tilangana, that Rāmarāj had commissioned Timmarāja "to subjugate Qutbshāhi territory" and the general was accompanied by certain Bijāpuri commanders as well. When they entered

according to the exigencies of the hour; see *N. and V.*, I, 245. As a matter of fact Rāmarāj's conduct had always been very dubious; he had entered into a treaty with Burhān Nizām Shāh against Bijapur in 1551, and this treaty was renewed the next year, while in 1555 he chose to join Bijapur against Ahmadnagar. He changed his policy in a kaleidoscopic fashion, and it was a sense of frustration on the part of the sultāns which made them join hands against him in spite of their differences.

10. *Q.S.*, 140-42. 'Adil Shāh's letter has been translated in extenso in *Briggs*, III, 396-97. *Aravidu*, 85, attributes this to the treachery on the part of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, but the question is that if this was treachery what did Ibrāhīm get out of it. *N. and V.*, I, 254, say that the meeting of the four rulers took place at the instance of Rāmarāj. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, 1534-57; 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, 1557-79.

Tilangana they were said to have destroyed all that came in their way. As the capital was practically denuded of troops it was feared that if events were allowed to take their shape then the worst might well happen.¹¹

Against the perfidious conduct of those who had so recently entered into agreement with Tilangana Ibrāhīm thought it best to approach Burhān again. When the two monarchs met it was considered advisable that they should arrange a meeting with 'Adil Shāh and Rāmarāj as the two seemed too powerful to be opposed at the time. Ibrāhīm was all for peace, and when the four chief actors met at the confluence of the Krishna and the Bhīma he was successful in persuading all participants to the Conference to return home while he himself retraced his steps towards Golkonda.¹²

This peace proved to be distinctly to Rāmarāj's advantage, for even while negotiations were going on he was informed that his two brothers, Khēmarāj and Gōvindarāj, who were in charge of the fort at Adōnī, had risen in revolt and had taken possession of certain other forts in the neighbourhood in their own names. Ibrāhīm had hardly reached his capital when he received a message from Rāmarāj asking his help against the unkind brothers. The Sultān, whose policy was essentially one of peace with the neighbouring states, sent a large army consisting of 6,000 horse, 12,000 infantry, and many pieces of artillery, under Qubūl Khān, Sarnaubat Zahiru'l-mulk, Hamid Khān and many other nobles and generals. The army of Tilangana was received by Rāmarāj with open arms and he distributed robes of state to the generals in command. It proceeded to Adoni with a *possé* of Vijayanagari troops among whom the names of Muslims like Tajalli Khān and Nūr Khān are worth noting. The rebels had made up their minds

11. *Eltemraj* of the Persian chronicles was Rāmarāj's brother, Yarra Timmarāja, for whom see *Velug.*, *Introd.*, 49. He is different from Siddharaju Tammaraju, governor of Murtaḍānafar-Kondaviḍu on behalf of Vijayanagar (see *N. and V.*, I, 260) and Yarra Timma Nayadu, the youngest of Gani Timma's sons (*Velug.*, *Introd.*, 49). Date of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's accession and his visit to Rāmarāj; *Bur.* 400-2.

12. *Q.S.*, 143-4.

to defend the fort of Adoni, "one of the largest in the Vijayanagar Empire", to the best of their ability and gathered together all the engines of defence that they could command. Sorties were attempted, hand to hand battles raged, and much bloodshed ensued. The fort withstood the siege for six long months when the rebels sent a message to Rāmarāj accepting defeat and offering homage to him. As it was through the efforts of the Tilangana army that victory had been achieved, Rāmarāj conveyed his thanks to the Tilangana generals. On his side Ibrāhīm was so pleased with the work of his commander, Qubūl Khān that he invested him with the title of Mujāhid Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk a title by which he was known in later life, and promoted other officers as well.¹³

Jagadēva Rāo's Flight

This action on the part of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh clearly demonstrates that he was devoted to peace and hated disorders and conspiracy wherever he found it, and that he wanted to have the best of relations with Rāmarāj in spite of the bad faith which he had shown in sending raiders to Tilangana after the settlement arrived at between the parties on the Krishna. But disillusionment came soon, and that was in the shape of the conspiracy of Rāmarāj's close friend, Jagadēva Rāo Nāyakwārī. What Jagadēva Rao wanted was to replace Ibrāhīm by his brother Daulat-Qulī as the king of Tilangana. The strangest part of the story is that it was Jagadēva who was instrumental in recalling Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar and putting him on the throne only a few years earlier, and now he wished to act the king-maker again and place Daulat on the throne although he was not of a perfectly sound mind and was nicknamed "the Mad" even in the lifetime of his father, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. It may be supposed from what followed and from the asylum given to Jagadēva by Rāmarāj, that

13. *Ibid.*, 144-47. The name of the Muslim commander is not "Bijli Khān" as in *Briggs*, III, 398 but Tajallī Khān. It is strange that *N. and V.* do not refer to this important episode, which is an evidence of the good faith which Ibrāhīm showed towards Rāmarāj right up to the time when he was forced to oppose him after the second sack of Ahmदनagar.

Adōnī, a large town in the Bellary district, now in the Mysore State; 15°37'N, 77°16'E.

the latter wanted someone on the throne at Golkonda who would be more pliable than Ibrāhīm and be under his influence.¹⁴

As has been related elsewhere, Jagadēva Rāo was definitely the most powerful man in the kingdom after Ibrāhīm, and although the Sulṭān had full confidence in him he would not be cajoled by anyone. Taking advantage of his position as the foremost nobleman in the state he began to issue independent orders even to such high officials as Mustafā Khān and Hamīd Khān. This conduct was naturally not to the liking of a disciplinarian like Ibrāhīm, but when he was further informed of Jagadēva's intention to dethrone him he laid strong hands on some of the conspirators. Fearing his own life Jagadēva fled to Elganḍal which he now made the centre of his operations against the monarch. Not finding much support, however, in the country he traced his steps to the court of Daryā 'Imād Shāh at Ellichpūr. There was no war going on between Berar and Tilangana, and the normal course should have been the expulsion of the leader of the treasonable conspiracy against a friendly monarch; but perhaps Daryā thought that that it was a good opportunity to hit a potential rival in the back, and he not merely received the rebel with open arms but actually granted him large jāgīrs and accorded him much honour and power. In the beginning Jagadēva served 'Imād Shāh well and was not merely in the forefront of the battles against the ruler of Khāndēsh but "actually brought many Rajas under the sovereignty of Berar". When, however, honour and authority were heaped on him he became so overbearing that it was feared that he would repeat the story of Golkonda at Ellichpūr and perhaps put an end to the tottering authority of the Sulṭān. Daryā therefore ordered that he should leave Berar forthwith, and like one who had already delineated his programme, he set out for Elganḍal again, a place which had recently been the centre of his activities. Here he managed to collect a vast army of mercenaries, both Hindu

14. Jagadeva Rao's treason and fight; *Q.S.*, 147-48. His exalted position in Golkonda; *N. & V.*, I, 259. His sojourn in Berar; *Q.S.*, 149 ff. Jagadeva Rao's ultimate flight to Vijayanagar is important in furnishing us with one of the reasons why Ibrāhīm had to change his policy of peace and why he began to take sides against Vijayanagar where he had lived with honour for seven years. Jagadēva's was not merely an ordinary conspiracy to place another scion of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty on the throne, but what he attempted was to change the whole history of medieval Deccan.

and Muslim, consisting, among others, of Afghāns, Arabs, Habashīs and Dakhnīs, as well as hundreds of elephants. On hearing that Jagadēva had returned, Ibrāhīm ordered Mustafā Khān and Mujāhid Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk to go and put an end to this dangerous situation. Mustafā Khān first of all sent an ultimatum to Jagadēva reminding him of his intimate connection with the Quṭbshāhī dynasty in general and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in particular. But Jagadēva did not pay any heed to this and instead, attacked the royal troops in full force. In the severe action which followed there were hundreds killed on both sides, and among the officers of Jagadēva's army who lost their lives at Elgandal were Shaikh Fāḍil 'Arab, Shaikh 'Alī Jalwānī, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, Shaikh Ibrāhīm and his own brother Venkaṭa Rao. Jagadēva Rao was defeated and finally took the road to Vijayanagar, while immense booty fell into the hands of the soldiers of Tilangana. When the victorious cavalcade reached Golkonda the King was well pleased at the final end of his arch enemy and showered honours on Mujāhid Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk, 'Alī Khān and other commanders, while Mustafā Khān "was raised above all the *amīrs* and *khāns* of the Kingdom."¹⁵

The Two Sieges of Ahmadnagar

The episode of Jagadēva Rao's defection and ultimate flight to Vijayanagar must have left a deep impression on Ibrāhīm Quṭb

15. Muslim recruits in Jagadēva Rao's army; Q.S., 149. From a certain viewpoint this is as significant as the presence of Muslims in the army of Vijayanagar and of the Hindus in the armies of the Sultāns of the Deccan, and only shows that there was no "communal" rancour in medieval Deccan in spite of all that court chroniclers might otherwise aver. See Briggs, III, 401, footnote, where he says that "the practice of enlisting Arabian infantry in the Deccan appears to be one of old standing. They proved, under the peshwa's government, the only good soldiers of his army especially for the defence of the fortifications". Briggs refers to an article by Col. Fitzclarence in the *Journal Asiatique* of February, 1827, on the same subject, but unfortunately I have not been able to consult this.

Darya 'Imād Shāh, 1529-62.

The ruler of Khāndēsh ("Burhānpūr and Asīr") is referred to as Maḥmūd Shāh in Q.S., 147 and Muḥammad Shāh in Briggs, III, 400, but actually it could only have been Mubārak Shāh who ruled from 943/1537 to 947/1566; Muḥammad Shāh did not come to the throne till December 1566, i.e., after the battle of the Krishna; see Fer., II, 286-88.

Shāh, and he must have begun to wonder whether it was worth while taking sides with his erstwhile friend Rāmarāj any longer. The occasion for a change in the policy of Tilangana arrived with the death of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and the accession of the youthful and rather impetuous 'Alī on the throne of Bijapur. In the very first year of his reign, i.e., in 965/1557, 'Alī made up his mind to recover Sholapūr and Kalyānī, which had been two bones of contention between the two states for a long time. While on the one hand he sent envoys to Aḥmadnagar to demand their restitution, on the other he sent a strong embassy to negotiate a close alliance with Rāmarāj which had as its object the coercion of Ḥusain to concede his demands. Rāmarāj now moved to Aḥmadnagar in full force, but at the same time sent a letter to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh reminding him of the close relations between the two and appealing him to join the coalition. On receiving this message from a potentate who had so recently given asylum to his bitter enemy, Ibrāhīm convened his Advisory Council and consulted them regarding the policy which he should pursue. The Council, which was led by the Chief Minister, Mustafā Khān, was of opinion that if Tilangana were to join Vijayanagar and Bijapur there would be no doubt about the outcome of the campaign, and the fall of Aḥmadnagar might well spell the fall of Golkonda as well. But perhaps feeling that a refusal to respond to the appeal might precipitate a crisis it was decided to join the coalition but at the same time to keep some kind of contact with the beleaguered garrison. It was with these motives that Ibrāhīm joined hands with 'Alī and Rāmarāj, and the armies of the three states reached the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar Fort. This was in 966/1559.

Before they had reached their destination, however Ḥusain has already taken a grave decision. He rightly realised that it was no use risking a final defeat at the gates of the capital and sought the advice of "the *amīrs* and other officers of state" regarding his next move. They agreed with him that it was not possible to oppose the might of the enemy and it was better to retreat to a safer place. They said that the rainy season was fast approaching and the mobility of the enemy forces was bound to be affected by it. He was aware that the fort of Aḥmadnagar was well supplied with food and ammunitions. He therefore ordered that the fort of Kalyānī should be given in the charge of Bhōpāl Rāi, and

after stationing some other officers of confidence in the capital he himself moved to Paithan on the Godavari.¹⁶

The progress of Rāmarāj from the south seems to have been marked with considerable bloodshed and looting, and Sadāsiva Nāyak was expressly commissioned "to harry the country as far as the Godavari". In this context it is well to quote the version of Briggs, the translators of Ferishta; he says:

"In the year 966 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, having invited Rāmarāj to join him, these two monarchs invaded the territory of Hoosein Nizam Shah and laid it waste so thoroughly that from Parenda to Joonere and from Ahmudnuggur to Dowlatabad not a vestige of population was left. The infidels of Beejanuggur, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpracticed. They insulted the honour of Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect the sacred Koran."¹⁷

16. See N. & V., I, 255; Q.S., 152.53; Bur., 404; Briggs, III, 117 ff., where the date of the campaign is given on p. 120. Bur.'s version is that Husain Nizām Shāh left for Paithan on the Godāvārī while Q.S. says that he left for Daulatābād. As Bur. was compiled at Aḥmadnagar one is inclined to prefer its version. See also Fer., II, 125. The reason why Husain went to Paithan was that he wanted to bring to his side not merely 'Alī Barīd and Daryā 'Imād Shāh but Mirān Mubārak Khān Fārūqī as well, which he could not conveniently do from Aḥmadnagar. But as ill-luck would have it, Barīd's brother, Khān-i Jahān actually went to Ellichpūr and persuaded Daryā not to side with Burhān; so the whole scheme fell through. The date in *Wāqī 'at-i Mamlukat-i Bijāpūr*, I, 105, i.e., 976 H., is evidently a misprint for 966 especially as the corresponding Christian date, 1558-9 given there is correct.

Paithan on the Godāvārī, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, in the Aurangābād District, now in the Bombay State; 19°18'N., 75°24'E.

Sholāpūr, headquarters of a district in the Bombay State; 17°40'N., 75°55'E.

17. For deprivations, see Bur., 403; N. & V., I, 255. The quotation is from Briggs, III, 120.

Parenda, headquarters of a taluqa in the Osmānābād district, now in the Bombay State; 18°16'N., 75°27'E. The fort here was constructed by the celebrated Bahmanī Wazir, Maḥmūd Gāwān. Junnair or Junnār, headquarters of a taluqa in the Poona district, Bombay State; once the capital of the Sultānate of Aḥmadnagar. It is 36 miles from Poona; 19°12'N., 73°53'E. Aḥmadnagar, once the capital of a kingdom, now headquarters of a district in Bombay State; 19°5'N., 74°55'E. Daulatābād, celebrated hill fort in the Aurangābād district, now in the Bombay State; it is about 12 miles from Aurangābād; 19°57'N., 75°13'E.

We are well aware of the gross exaggerations to which Ferishta is prone, especially when it comes to a high-handed treatment of the Muslims at the hands of non-Muslims, and it is possible that the account given here is exaggerated. It is hardly thinkable that with 'Alī 'Adil Shāh as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques and of the Qur'ān at the hands of Rāmarāj's soldiers, especially when the progress of the armies was in the dominions of a fellow Shī'ah monarch. What, however, seems to be certain is that there was a vast amount of depredation affected in the Aḥmadnagar territory at the instance of Rāmarāj and with the possible connivance of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh took full advantage of the wrong which had been done to the people of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom in order to promote his policy of inter-statal peace. He sent a secret message to Husain at Paithan that he had already put a brake on the killings perpetrated by the two invading armies from the south, and that he would try to make them retrace their steps home as soon as possible. He also assured the Queen Mother, Malika-i Jahān Amnā Khātūn, (who was still within the fort) of his services. The siege went on for two months resulting in the appearance of conditions of famine in the city. Ibrāhīm now went personally to Rāmarāj and represented to him that it was long since their armies had been fighting, and that there was no indication as to when the conflict might cease, and it would be advisable to give up the idea of the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. At the same time the officers of Rāmarāj's camp also petitioned him, possibly with the connivance of Ibrāhīm, that the rainy season was fast approaching and it was possible that the rivers might become unfordable. These arguments had the desired effect on Rāmarāj who now wished to raise the siege; but his ally, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh came in the way and told him that the enemy was almost on the point of laying down his arms and it was best to wait at least for another month. Within the citadel, provisions were fast running short, and now the Queen Mother of Aḥmadnagar begged Ibrāhīm to bring about an end to the hostilities somehow or other. While Ibrāhīm managed to send provisions surreptitiously to the beleaguered garrison he also sent his minister Mustafā Khān to Rāmarāj with certain definite conditions of peace. He told the Regent of Vijayanagar that Nizām Shāh had approached the Sultān of Gujarat and the ruler of Khāndēsh for help and their armies

were already on the way.¹⁸ Mustafā Khān also promised on behalf of his master that if the siege were raised he would cede Mustafānagar-Kondapalli, "one of the largest forts in Tilangana" to Vijayanagar. This offer was accepted, the siege was raised, and the enveloping armies returned home.¹⁹

This was certainly a very great diplomatic victory for Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, for by his political manoeuvres he had been able to bring about an agreed peace between the belligerents. It also shows how eager he was to effect this, as for the sake of peace he had ceded one of his most cherished possessions, the great fort of Kondāpalli to Vijayanagar. But it was not all well for Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, for not only had he to face a serious loss by the defection of Bhōpāl Rai, commandant of Kalyānī, but had also accepted certain ignominious conditions including that of the execution of his boon companion Jahāngīr Khān and the insult of having to kiss Rāmarāj's hand. He, however, knew that his troubles had not ended, and when he returned to Aḥmadnagar from Paithān, one of the first things that he did was to strengthen the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar and to have a deep moat dug right round in order to face the storm which he knew would burst sooner or later.²⁰

Before proceeding any further it would be appropriate to mention a small interlude which only demonstrated the strength of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the tottering condition of the neighbouring State of Berar where the Prime Minister and Regent, Tufāl Khān (or Tufāwal Khān) was supreme. Ḥusain Nizām Shāh

18. The Sultān of Gujarāt was Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from 961/1553 to 969/1561, while the ruler of Khāndēsh was Mirān Mubārak Khān Fārūqī; *Fer.*, II, 228-29, and 286-87. *Fer.* does not mention any such movement of the army in either case and it is quite possible that the whole story as related to Rāmrāj by Mustafā Khān was no more than a "diplomatic move".

19. *Bur.*, 409; *Q.S.*, 154.

20. *Fer.*, II, 125; *Q.S.*, 153-54. For the defection of Bhōpāl Rai and annexation of Kalyānī to Bijapur see *Bur.*, 406. It was not "owing to the conflicting interests of foreign policy" that Rāmarāj and Ibrāhīm fell apart (as surmised in *N. & V.*, I, 258), but it was because Ibrāhīm perceived from the asylum Rāmarāj gave to Jagadēva Rao and his later conduct that he was not to be relied upon and that his object was to weaken the Deccani Sultāns without exception. We do not find any "jealousy" on the part of Ibrāhīm towards 'Alī Shāh mentioned in *Briggs*, III, 240 to which *N. & V.* refer on p. 258. The motive was peace and nothing more, and Ibrāhīm actually sacrificed Kondāpalli at the altar of peace in the Deccan.

was unable to bring Daryā 'Imād Shāh to his side when he was forced to quit his capital in the last campaign, and now Tufāl Khān thought that Ibrāhīm was probably none too ready to oppose him after what happened at Aḥmadnagar. He therefore crossed into Tilangana territory with four thousand horse and challenged Ibrāhīm. It was in accordance with Rāmarāj's policy that he made an offer of help to Ibrāhīm and said that he would be most willing to send his forces to help him in driving out the invaders from Tilangana territory. Ibrāhīm had learnt much regarding Rāmarāj's sincerity or otherwise, and replied with a polite message that he was able to cope with the situation singlehanded and would not require any external help. He commanded Dastūr Khān to take with him just a thousand picked troops against the invading army. The commander proceeded northwards by forced marches regardless of the small number of troops at his disposal, and worsted Tufāl Khān in the decisive engagement at Bhīmkaḷ forcing him to fly back to Berar. It is significant that Ibrāhīm did not order the chase of Tufāl Khān after his rout, and this shows that he was not in favour of extending his dominions beyond the natural frontiers of Tilangana.²¹

We have seen how Kondāpalli was ceded to Rāmarāj by Ibrāhīm as a price of peace, while Kalyānī had been traitorously handed over to the enemy by Bhōpāl Rai. Ḥusain was naturally too upset over the devastation of his territory at the hands of the enemy to think of regaining Kalyānī immediately, and waited for three or four years during which he made his position strong. It was early in 970/1562 that sent Maulana 'Ināyatu'l-lāh, who was his Prime Minister ("Wakīl a Pēshwa-i Muṭlaq") to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with presents and an autograph letter in which he enumerated the tyrannical deeds perpetrated by the captors of Kalyānī and invited Ibrāhīm to meet him outside the ramparts of that fort.²² Maulana 'Ināyatu'l-lāh must also have brought some kind of message indicating the willingness of the Sultān of Aḥmadnagar to give his daughter Jamāl Bibī in marriage to the Sultān of Golkonda. For we find the Pēshwā of Tilangana, Mustafā Khān, persuading Ibrāhīm to consent to this matrimonial alliance and praising before him the beauty and fine qualities of the Princess.

21. *Q.S.*, 155-56. This episode is entirely ignored by Ferishta who devotes a very small space to the whole of the history of medieval Berar.

22. Meeting outside Kalyānī; *Fer.*, II, 126, 171.

Both sides were agreeable to the marriage and the nuptials were celebrated in the beginning of 970/1563. There were great rejoicings in both the capitals lasting a whole month.²³ This event put a seal on the close relations between the courts of Golkonda and Aḥmadnagar and paved the way for their increased co-operation in the international field. The immediate effect of this was that the two armies now invested Kalyānī which was occupied by the Bijapuri garrison. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh rightly felt that it was impossible to face the allies single-handed and again proceeded to Vijayanagar to seek the aid of Rāmarāj. Not much persuasion was required to make him move, for he accompanied 'Alī with a large army towards Kalyānī and was joined on the way by 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar and Tufāl Kḥān of Berar. When the serious news was brought to the notice of Ibrāhīm he immediately conveyed it to his father-in-law Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, and both agreed that it was necessary that the siege of Kalyani be raised and both the armies withdraw to their respective states.²⁴

On reaching Aḥmadnagar Ḥusain found his capital to be vulnerable and later removing his family to Ossa under the care of his son Prince Murtaḍā and his son-in-law Jamalu'd-dīn Ḥusain, he and Ibrāhīm proceeded to meet the enemy with seven hundred

23. While the princess is named Jamāl Bībī in *Fer.* and *Q.S.*, she is called Chandā Bībī in *T.Q.I.* (111 a). There is again a divergence between *Q.S.* (159) and *T.Q.I.* (112 a), for while the former is clear that the marriage was celebrated at Kalyānī the latter says that the princess was sent to Golkonda for nuptials. I am inclined to believe in the Kalyānī story. There is no mention anywhere that the princess's father came to Golkonda to attend the ceremony, while we know that the two monarchs definitely met at Kalyānī. *N. & V.*, I, 259, seem to think that the marriage was the result of the hostility of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh to Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. Date of the marriage in *Fer.*, II, 126, is "the beginning of 970" which corresponds to 1563, while on p. 171 it is stated to be 971. It is also stated there that one of the conditions of the marriage was that Kalyānī should be retained by Ḥusain after its reconquest. Tafaddul Ḥusain Āṭā, *Tuhfa-i Mukhtariya*, Mss. Salar Jang Library, Tārikh Fārsī 144, fol. 9 a says that Ibrāhīm married Jamāl Bībī "at the request of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh."

24. *Velug.*, *Introd.*, 49; *Q.S.*, 160.

Tufāl Kḥān was the prime minister and virtual ruler of Berar during the short reign of the child Burhān 'Imād Shāh from 1562-64. On his death Tufāl Kḥān assumed the royal dignity and reigned rather precariously till the extinction of the kingdom in 1574. Here it may be mentioned that while *Fer.* says on p. 126 that it was Tufāl Kḥān who joined the party, on p. 171 he names Burhān 'Imād Shāh himself.

cannon of various types and five hundred elephants of war. As ill-luck would have it, however, there was a downpour of rain "which turned the whole land into a vast sea", with the result that the gun carriages stuck firmly in the mud. It was with the greatest difficulty that Ḥusain could escape to Aḥmadnagar with just forty pieces of ordnance. 'Alī took advantage of the predicament and attacked the Tilangana forces, while Ḥusain thought it was futile to carry on the struggle even with a strengthened Aḥmadnagar, and retired to the ancient seat of the Nizāmshāhī Kingdom, Junair.²⁵

In the meantime the enemy had reached the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar and invested the city. It is related that the army of Vijayanagar, led by Rāmarāj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally it was not to the liking of 'Alī 'Adil Shah that the crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Aḥmadnagar should be repeated, and this time he had allied with Rāmarāj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated.²⁶

Ascendency of Rāmarāj

The events after the second siege of Aḥmadnagar are rather obscure, but it seems certain that it was with difficulty that

25. *Fer.* II, 126-27. The episodes round about the second siege of Aḥmadnagar are rather obscure. In *Fer.*, itself there are quite a number of contradictions, such as in the matter of the date of the meeting at Kalyānī and Ibrāhīm's marriage, and the military alliance of Rāmarāj and Berar. Strangely enough, *Bur.*, does not give any details of the second siege of Aḥmadnagar which is described in *Fer.*, II, 126-7. Rāmarāj's invasion of Tilangana and the action against Shitāb Kḥān and Vidyādhār are described in *Q.S.*, 163-4; *N. and V.*, follow the latter on p. 159.

It was with a certain amount of difficulty that I could piece together these rather contradictory statements. The method I have followed is to make the seige of Kalyānī and the marriage of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with Jamāl Bībī the pivot of my sequence as, except for one or two minor differences these two events have a common denominator; from this I have worked out the chronology according to the most common bases of agreement.

26. *Fer.*, II, 127; Briggs, III, 224. *Basātīn*, 89, is quite explicit that it was "against the understanding with 'Adil Shāh" that Rāmarāj's army caused such depredations to "mosques and Qur'āns" during his attacks on Aḥmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliance of the Deccanī Sultāns against Vijayanagar.

Ibrāhīm could reach Golkonda from the venture at Kalyānī. Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh had, evidently after retiring from Aḥmadnagar at the instance of the latter, penetrated as far as the village of Tārpallī which is only a few miles from Golkonda. Fighting in the vicinity of the capital went on for days, resulting in serious casualties on both sides. It was perhaps now, late in 1563, that Rāmarāj had recourse to a brilliant strategic move, and he commissioned his brother Venkaṭadrī, Jagadēva Rai, 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'ānī and others against Ibrāhīm with a formidable force of fifteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot-soldiers to harass the southern districts of the kingdom. But this proved of no avail and they had to fight a losing battle against Ibrāhīm's troops. Rāmarāj now attempted to turn the scales by ordering Siddirāja Timmappa, governor of Konḍaviḍu, to attack Konḍapallī and Masulipatam with fifty-thousand horse and Dēwarkonda and Uṇḍarkonda with another twenty-thousand. But Ibrāhīm's forces were able to cross the Krishna and reach Konḍaviḍu, while Mustafā Khān was successful in fomenting trouble in the Karnūl area among the Bōyas and the Chenchūs. This last manoeuvre was not successful, as Gani Tamma Nayadu is said to have defeated the Tilangana forces in that area. On his part Jagadēva Rāo was able to induce the friendly Nāyakwārīs of the neighbourhood, and those in command at Panagal, Kōvilkonda, Ghanpura and other forts to hand over their forts to the Vijayanagar forces. In the same way Kēsava Rāo, the Nāyakwārī of Indrakonda, transferred his allegiance to Rāmarāj. The invaders also found Sitāpatī, alias Shitāb Khān, and Vidyādhara useful instruments of revolt in the east and the south, and they now laid siege to Rājahmundrī and Ellore. Thus the whole of Tilangana from the capital to the sea was in a most precarious condition.²⁷

27. The enemy reaches Tārpallī, "4 gav" from Golkonda; Q.S., 161. It is possible that Konḍapallī had not been handed over to Rāmarāj according to the conditions agreed upon between Ibrāhīm and those who were besieging Aḥmadnagar. On the other hand T. Streenivas in his paper on *Old Masulipatam*, Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1918, says that in 1557 the city was occupied by Siddirāju Timmappā, governor of Konḍapallī. See *Velugot.*, Intr., 49; Q.S., 162. Kēsa Rao is no doubt Kēsava Rao; he is called Kasi Rao in *Aravidu*, 95. Tārpallī, or Tārāpallī, village, 22 miles S.W. of Golkonda in the Hyderabad district; 17°16'N., 78°8'E.

But Ibrāhīm was not to be cowed down. He convened his Council "consisting of *amīrs* and *khāns*" and frankly told them that fighting had been going on for months on end and the situation was deteriorating. He put it before them that there was no alternative left for him except to leave his fortress palace and fight in the open country once for all. The Council was greatly impressed by what the King told them. They, however, expressed the opinion that the army of the enemy far exceeded the royal army, and further, as the rivers were full of rain water and were not fordable, it would be most difficult to chase him. They therefore suggested that it would be far better if His Majesty sent an envoy to the enemy to enter into *pourparlers* with him and perhaps end the campaign.²⁸

But luck now seemed to favour Ibrāhīm's cause, and while he was perhaps deliberating on the personnel of the embassy he might send to Rāmarāj he received a secret message from 'Alī Barīd informing him of the concern of both 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and himself at the augmentation of Rāmarāj's power at the expense of Ibrāhīm, and also that Rāmarāj himself was prone to receive an envoy from him. It was also suggested that Ibrāhīm should send Mustafā Khān. The Khān had to accept the indignity of having to approach Jagadēva Rāi in the first instance and persuade him to accompany him to the "Rāi A'zam" as Rāmarāj is almost invariably entitled in our chronicles at this stage. A treaty was entered into by which it was agreed that Panagal and Ghanpurā should be ceded to Vijayanagar while Rāmarāj should quit the other forts which were still occupied by his troops or his feudatories. The result of this treaty was that the regent of Vijayanagar stood supreme in the whole of the Deccan; he had cowed down his ally 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, had completely eliminated the power of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh and had now taken possession of two of the important forts of Tilangana.²⁹

28. Q.S., 161-63. *Velugot.*, Intr., 49; *N. and V.*, I, 260. Of course the reference to "Firishta" is really a reference to the *appendix* in Briggs, III, in which *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Qutb Shāh* has been epitomised and translated. *Firishta* contains no such details at all.

29. Q.S., 164. *N. and V.*, I, 260, are clear that it was Jagadēva Rai who "induced the Naigwaris to surrender Kovilkunda, Panagal and Ghanpura to Rāmarāj." The fact that Mustafā Khān had to bow to the indignity of approaching the traitor Jagadēva Rao before he could have an audience of Rāmarāj shows the great depth to which Tilangana had sunk through the machinations of the Regent of Vijayanagar.

It was now that Mustafā Khān suggested to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that the country was surrounded by the enemies of the kingdom and it was necessary that the fortifications of the capital should be strengthened and widened. Ibrāhīm, therefore, ordered the extension of the fortifications, and the noble walls and moat of the great fortress-city of Golkonda as they exist now took their final shape. The high officers and jāgirdārs of the state took advantage of the security offered by the ramparts of the extended fortifications and built their own palaces within the walls. As has been related in another context, the city became replenished with gardens, ḥammāms, fine wide streets, shops belonging to various trades, and other works of public utility.³⁰

In spite of the treaty entered into by Rāmarāj he managed to foment insurrection in the country wherever possible. Unḍarkonda was still occupied by Kēsava Rāo who had put Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn, the *hawāladār* of the fort, in confinement. Ibrāhīm was greatly upset by the continued imprisonment of the Maulānā, (who is called *ustād* or preceptor and who had perhaps been Ibrāhīm's teacher once), and wanted to proceed there himself to set him free. But Mustafā Khān begged him not to go himself but allow him to proceed to the fort. On reaching the vicinity he first cleared the jungle round it and then invested it. It was not long before the fort was retaken and the Maulānā was sent back to Golkonda with rich presents for the king. But the trouble did not end here. The Nāyakwārīs, of whom Kēsava Rāo was probably one, were seething with ideas of revolt, and Ibrāhīm made

30. See Q.S., 165; Sherwani, *Cultural and Administrative set-up under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, Part II, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Dn., July, 1957.

I regret I do not agree with N. and V., I, 271 that "Rāmarāj did not attack Ibrāhīm for his territory but to chastise him for his treachery towards friends." Rāmarāj's conduct had been very dubious all along, and his high-handed policy towards Aḥmadnagar, in spite of his agreement with 'Alī, does not show him in the colours in which he is sometimes painted. In spite of what we read to the contrary, Ibrāhīm's policy was primarily to keep the peace in the Deccan, and when he came to know the real intentions of Rāmarāj, to be on the defensive. The many insurrections in Quṭbshāhī territory fomented by Rāmarāj are cases in point. There is no doubt that his policy was to weaken the Deccani states without regard of friend or foe, and to make himself supreme from sea to sea. As regards the theory of "chastisement" it is not clear who appointed Rāmarāj to chastise Ibrāhīm on behalf of his friends.

up his mind to break the strength of this element which was like a sore in the body of the State. The occasion was not long off when Sūria Rāo, the chief of the Nāyakwārīs of the capital, entered into a nefarious conspiracy with his brother Nāyakwārīs elsewhere that at the appointed time, when the Sultān went out on a shooting trip, they should all seize the forts in which they were stationed, on their own account and should take over the respective treasuries and do away with the royal officers. They should then try and hold on till help arrived from Vijayanagar. So when the king had left for *shikār* and had moved to a spacious camp outside the walls of the capital, he received the news that the Nāyakwārīs had closed the gates and were already attacking the royal officers who were left behind. Ibrāhīm immediately postponed his departure and ordered that the royal troops should surround the walls. The rebels now sent a message to the king that what they wanted was that Mustafā Khān should be handed over to them as he had maltreated the Nāyakwārīs all over the kingdom. Naturally Ibrāhīm would on no account hand over his Prime Minister to the insurgents and instead ordered the Nāyakwārīs to lay down their arms. When they were adamant he forced them to surrender. Sūria Rāo, the chief of the traitors, who had put to death many loyal citizens of the State, as well as many other chief conspirators were beheaded and thus an example was set to other Nāyakwārīs of Tilangana.³¹

After crushing this widespread conspiracy, which was secretly instigated by Rāmrāj, Ibrāhīm turned towards the eastern portion of Tilangana where Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhār were creating havoc.³² They had besieged Ellore when the armies of Vijaya-

31. Q.S., 166-170.

32. *Shitāb Khān*: The identity of Shitāb Khān has always been an enigma to the historians. For a general discussion see Hirananda Sastri, *Shitāb Khān of Warangal*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 9; Sherwani, *Sultān-Qulī Quṭbū'l-mulk*, J.I.H., December, 1955, n. 63. The name of Shitāb Khān has been mentioned in at least four different contexts in the history of the Deccan: (1) in the reign of Humāyū Shah Bahmani; (2) during the rule of Sultān-Qulī Quṭbū'l-mulk, (3) during the rule of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, in the village *Katfiyats*, where he is supposed to have been beheaded after 1537; (4) during the same reign, when he is allowed to proceed to Vijayanagar six years after the great battle of the Krishna, i.e., in 1571. Dr. Sastri says on pp. 7 and 15 of his monograph that Shitāb Khān was born about 1404 and became the governor of Warangal under Humāyūn Shah Bahmani (who reigned from 1458 to 1461), becoming independent ruler of

nagar and Bijapur were engaging the Tilangana forces at Tārpalli, but the qil'ahdar of Ellore, Dilāwar Khān, had gallantly defended the fort. On the other hand the insurgents had been able to occupy Rājahmundrī. The Sultān now commanded Raf'at Khān Lāri (whom he appointed Malik Nā'ib), 'Azizu'l-mulk and some other generals, to proceed to the scene of the insurrection. Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhara now called the rajahs and zamindars of the locality to join hands in repelling the army of Tilangana, and thus was able to gather together a very large army. The opposing forces met at the village of Bārāpalli and the day ended in the victory of the army of the Sultān and the flight of Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhara to the fort of Rājahmundrī. The victorious Malik Nā'ib now advanced to the fort of Dowleshwar which was barely two krohs from the citadel, and after capturing it he moved to Tatpak and took that fort as well. As the rainy season had now set in the army spent it at Dowleshwar. The remaining forts round about Rājahmundrī were evidently taken after the rains had ceased. Now that all approaches to the citadel had been secured it would not have been difficult for the royal army to take possession of it as well. But the time had arrived for a far more important venture, namely the subjugation of Vijayanagar itself,

Warangal in 1504. Even if he lived up to 1537 according to one of the Kaifiyats quoted by Dr. Sastri, he must have attained the age of 133 solar years in that year, and the year 1571 must have marked his 167th birthday! (Here it might be mentioned that the last date in connection with "Shitāb Khān" in Briggs, III, 423, i.e., 979 H. does not correspond to 1567 as given there but with 1571-2, and falls six years after the great battle.) Moreover the date of the fall of Rājahmundrī as given in the Kaifiyats, i.e., 5th in the light fortnight of Ashada, 1495, which corresponds to 12.1.1537, is obviously wrong as the date does not fall on a Thursday as mentioned, and the citadel did not fall till 20 years later). It is probably not true that "Shitāb Khān" was caught and beheaded at Tattapalli-Loddi as mentioned in the Kaifiyat, as he is allowed to proceed to Vijayanagar in 1571!

It seems that there were a series of "Shitāb Khāns" of whom at least the one of Humāyūn's reign may have been a Muslim. The other two or three persons of that name or title may have been in the mutual relationship of father and son and even grandson. If we believe in the story that "Shitāb Khān" was beheaded soon after 1537, then it may well have been his son who again fought the army of Ibrāhīm forty years later and was allowed to depart honourably from Tilangana long after the so-called battle of Talikota. N. and V., I, 260, are clear that it was Rāmarāj "who induced Sitapati (Citāpa Khan) and Vidiadry to march against Ellore and Rājahmundrī."

and the Sultān ordered that the attack on Rājahmundrī be postponed for the time.³³

This campaign is remarkable for the strategy of Malik Nā'ib who proved to be a fine general working at considerable distance from the capital and surrounded by the territory which was in the occupation of the insurgents. He must have found some loyal friends in the neighbourhood like Peddirājā,³⁴ who were out to help him against Shitāb Khān. He must also have kept his communications with Golkonda absolutely clear otherwise he would have been isolated. The building of a fort near Ellore and the enveloping movement resulting in the capture of the forts guarding the approach of Rājahmundrī must have required a considerable amount of vision and foresight. The campaign was successful to the extent that when the time arrived for an onslaught on Rājahmundrī its capture proved only a matter of days.

(To be continued in the next issue)

33. Q.S., 170-3. There was Govinda Vidyādhara who became all-powerful in Orissa in 1541, for whom see Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 337, and Danai Vidyādhara, who was the Prime Minister of the kings of the Bhoi dynasty but who was defeated and captured by the Telugu king of Orissa Mukunda Harichandana; *ibid.*, 341. Unless Danai was later released and made common cause with Shitāb Khān, this Vidyādhara may well be his son or other relative.

Bārāpalli, probably Dēvarāpalli, about 15 miles west of Rājahmundrī; 17°3'N., 81°33'E. Dowleshwar (Dowlaisheram in the Imperial Gazetteer of India), five miles south of Rājahmandrī; 16°57'N., 81°47'E. Tatpak or Tatipaka, south of Rājahmundrī, in the delta of the Godavari.

34. For various accounts regarding Peddirājū in the Kaifiyats, see Sastri, *op. cit.*, 7-9.

Reviews

THE NAYAKAS OF IKKERI: By K. D. Swaminathan, M.A., Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

There is little need for the author of this book to state apologetically that 'studies of small kingdoms and their rulers appear to be appreciated very little obviously because their history affords no scope for spectacular narrative'. For one thing, a true history of the past does not consist in concentrating only on the great achievements of big empires. In fact the importance of local history is now receiving its due recognition, and particularly in a country of vast size and enormous diversity like India the history of local dynasties and of the people under their rule is assigned its legitimate place. The history of the various Nayaka dynasties of South India in the 16th and 17th centuries is particularly significant, for each one of them in its own way extended in its sphere the features and ideals of the illustrious Vijayanagar Empire of which they were all at one time subordinate units. The Nayaka dynasties of Madurai, Tanjavur, Jinji and Ikkeri, which arose as the 'bye-products' of the provincial administrative system, adopted by the Vijayanagar emperors had between them a large part of South India under their control. Several rulers of these dynasties were ambitious warriors, eager to strengthen their respective kingdoms. Conflicts between these dynasties also occurred and at times the kingdoms were obliged to participate in the wars of the declining Vijayanagar empire. Many of the Nayaka rulers were enthusiastic patrons of art and literature. Some of the celebrated literary works in Telugu and Kannada and a few in Sanskrit and Tamil were produced during this epoch, while the fine arts of architecture, music and drama reached a high level of attainment under the Nayakas.

Perhaps the Nayakas of Madurai and of Tanjavur were able to achieve the greatest position in these spheres but the history of the Ikkeri Nayakas records no mean progress. The sources of knowledge regarding the Nayakas of Ikkeri are considerable; the available inscriptions, the indigenous literary works, the records of some of the European settlements and the accounts left by

foreign travellers provide the basic data. The indigenous literary sources consist essentially of the encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit called the *Sivatattvaratnākara* and the *Kelaḍinṛpavijaya* in Kan-nada. Though it is not possible to agree with the author's statement that the *Kelaḍinṛpavijaya* is a historical work (P-7) it provides a wealth of material which has to be carefully sifted and utilised in the reconstruction of the history. As the author himself admits this is particularly so in respect of the early history of the Ikkeri Nayakas.

Though certain aspects of the history of the Ikkeri Nayakas have received attention at the hands of historians like Robert Sewell, Fr. Heras, Shyama Sastri, M. S. Puttanna and N. Lakshmi-narayana Rao, the book under review is an attempt at providing a connected account of the Nayakas of Ikkeri. Regarding the origin of the Ikkeri Nayakship there are several incredible legends, and it is not surprising that the traditional origin of the Nayakships of Ikkeri and Jinji are almost identical. Chaudappa, a local leader, appears to have been the founder of the line early in the 16th century and it is not improbable that he was formally raised to the rank of a Nayaka by Krishnadeva Raya.

A connected account of the fortunes of the dynasty follows, though the determination of the chronology of the various reigns down to the commencement of the reign of Virabhadra Nayaka encounters certain difficulties. Perhaps it would have been better if the discussions of the dates (P. 20, 32, 36, 40) had been relegated to footnotes or appendices so that the readability of the account might not suffer.

The reign of Sadasiva Nayaka about the middle of the 16th century constitutes an important landmark, for it was during this period that the foundations of the future greatness of Ikkeri were laid. Sadasiva took part in the wars of Vijayanagar, and winning its goodwill, he was able to secure the stability of the infant Nayakship. Venkatappa Nayaka I (c. 1586-1629) succeeded in raising the prestige of his dynasty. During his time Ikkeri was practically recognised as an independent kingdom. A tireless warrior, he conquered the neighbouring chieftaincies all along the West Coast from Gersoppa in the north to the extreme corner of Tuluva in the south. A patron of religion, art, and literature, Venkatappa Nayaka I was, doubtless, one of the great monarchs of the dynasty.

Among the later rulers, Cannamaji (1671-96) and Virammaji were queens who discharged their political responsibilities well. Though Virammaji was of a disreputable character, she was a brave and patriotic ruler, endowed with considerable talents. But it was her misfortune that she had to encounter the rising leader, Haidar, who captured Bednur in 1763 after a fierce struggle and imprisoned the queen. With that ended the history of Ikkeri.

The latter part of the book deals with the history of the people, under different heads like the Government and the administration, social life, religion, learning, art and architecture. The data under these heads have had to be placed together from various sources and in respect of certain branches of activity as, for example, the organisation of the Ministerial council or the Secretariat, the available information is but scanty.

Concerning court life, social customs, habitation, food, dress, and amusements, festivals and ceremonies, patronage of literature and art, interesting details have been collected and presented. It is claimed that the Ikkeri Nayakas developed the Malnad style of architecture which is the result of the harmonious blending of the Hoysala and the Dravidian patterns with an admixture of a few features of the Indo-Saracenic style. The best representative of this style of architecture is found in the Aghoresvara temple at Ikkeri.

Some common lapses, largely the result of English renderings of South Indian expressions, have appeared. For example, 'disgusted with the pleasures of the kingdom (P. 86), 'Tirumala Nayaka had been showing signs of severance from the empire' (P. 88), and the 'image has an unworked Torana (P. 229). The designation 'Bull Mandapa' (Fig. 4) is as jarring to the ear as the wrongly spelt 'Nandi Pavilion' (P. 227).

The Bibliography is exhaustive. The Analytical index is useful. The Appendices, numbering sixteen, which are mostly translations of State Papers, Letters and Treaty documents in the Portuguese language, are all interesting. Mr. K. D. Swaminathan has succeeded in producing a dispassionate and balanced account of one of the less known but important kingdoms of South India in the 16th and 17th centuries and deserves our warm congratulations.

K. K. PILLAY.

HISTORICAL GENEALOGIES, Compiled by G. S. Sardesai.
Bombay Government Central Press 1957. Pages 181. Re. 1.58.

This is the first publication in the Historical Publications Series of the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments (Bombay), edited by Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments. The veteran historian G. S. Sardesai collected in the course of his work spread over many years information about the families and individuals who influenced and shaped the history of India from the seventeenth century onwards. This material was taken up by an associate of Sardesai, Shri V. S. Chitale who unfortunately died prematurely before completing the task. Then at Dr. Joshi's request, Shri Sardesai, in spite of his being over ninety, completed the work which has been put through the press by Shri V. G. Khobrekar and Shri Y. R. Tamhane, the latter being in sole charge in the last stages as Khobrekar had to be absent from office for well over eight months. Excepting the General Editor's Introduction and some entries in the Bibliography and Abbreviations at the end, all the rest is in Marathi, the Genealogies being arranged in alphabetical order and preceded by an index which includes the tables in the small supplement at the end of the main group of tables. This valuable work of reference will be a welcome and handy aid to all future research on Maratha history. But the Marathi text of the work will be a handicap to those who do not read the language. The reviewer recalls that in Indonesia many books are now published in three languages—Bhasha Indonesia, and English in parallel columns, and Dutch below on each page. Of course this puts up the cost, but it seems desirable that our governments accept a similar convention in regard to important works, particularly works of general reference calculated to help workers outside the respective States.

K. A. N.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: New Series,
I Expansion of Maratha Power (1707-61). Edited by P. M. Joshi,
Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Government of

Bombay. Government Central Press, Bombay, 1957. Price Rs. 1/86 or 3s. 3d.

Forty-five volumes of selections from the Peshwa Daftar were published under the editorship of G. S. Sardesai in 1929-34 by the Government of Bombay. This was a landmark in the reconstruction of Maratha history. But there is still left much valuable and unexploited material in the *Chitnisi* or diplomatic correspondence, the Diaries, the Prant Ajmas, the Jamav daftar and other account papers, and the decision to issue a new series of selections to cover them is very welcome. The present selection of 250 documents has been made under the guidance of Dr. V. G. Dighe who was closely associated with Sardesai in his work and is known as a keen and indefatigable student of Maratha history. The documents are printed in the original Marathi and accompanied by short English notes at the end of each document indicating the nature of its contents. A brief introduction (4 pages) from the editor, a select bibliography in English and Marathi, and a comprehensive Index of Persons and Places in English (18 pages) are other aids well calculated to help the reader. The volume is very appropriately dedicated to G. S. Sardesai and Jadunath Sarkar, veteran historians whose names will ever stand associated with each other and with Maratha History.

K. A. N.

TAMILAHAM IN THE 17th CENTURY, by R. Sathianathaier,
Professor of History and Politics, Annamalai University.
Published by the University of Madras, 1956. Price Rs. 5/-.

This book of two hundred pages contains the lectures delivered by the author for the year 1954-55 under the Sir William Mayer Endowment. It is divided into seven chapters of unequal length, the shortest (ch. V The Vassalage of Vēṇāḍ) being less than ten pages and a somewhat otiose polemic directed against an impossible thesis put forward by T. K. Velu Pillai (in the revised edition of the *Travancore Manual*, 1940) that 'Travancore was never subject to Vijayanagar or Madurai'. Indeed seventeenth century Tamilaham is hardly an inspiring subject, and the period is marked by no particular achievements in politics or culture. But the choice of the subject is justified by the author's intimate know-

ledge of the sources of the period at which he appears to have been working since his youthful days when he produced his well known *History of the Nayaks of Madura*. The book is a welcome record of his maturer findings on the subject.

In these lectures he traces the last stages in the decline of Vijayanagar in some detail and takes occasion to review recent literature on the subject and underline some of his own earlier findings that have not received adequate attention from other scholars. He accepts Caesar Frederick's evidence on the murder of Sadāśiva by one of the sons of Tirumala on the ground that Kaifiyats and inscriptions 'may give antiquated information', an argument he repeats in relation to the death of Śrīraṅga III which he fixes in 1672 on the basis of a letter from Fort St. George to the Company dated in that year which, however, does not contain the name of the monarch though it reports the recent death of 'the old Gentue king of Cornatta.' He does not concede the possibility of the foreign sources being misled or mistaken in these instances, though he is quite prepared to cast a doubt on the accuracy of definite and strong statements regarding the misrule of the Madura Nāyaks on the score that the Jesuits judged by an ideal standard of administration (p. 203) but the praise of Śrīraṅga III by the same writers is set aside with the plea 'perhaps distance lent enchantment to the view' (280). The Jesuit letters on Venkājī's misrule in Tanjore are, however, accepted at face value (116) because the author does not agree with Sarkar's vindication of Venkājī as 'no unworthy brother of Shivaji'—a view also partially supported by Jesuit sources.

The author evinces a particular partiality for Tirumala Nāyaka and defends his policy against the Jesuits' criticism that his disloyalty to the empire and intrigues with Muslim powers undermined Śrīraṅga's efforts to sustain it and hastened its dissolution. The argument is summed up thus: 'The tragic tug of war between Śrīraṅga and Tirumala was a case of diamond cut diamond. If Śrīraṅga III fought nobly for the integrity of the empire, Tirumala Nāyaka realised, like Asaf Jah, the impossibility of saving the whole empire and succeeded in saving a respectable slice of it' (58). The Jesuit view expressed in a letter of 1682 strikes one as far sounder: 'Far from profiting by their reverses and rectifying their faults, seeking their safety in union and in the wise administra-

tion of their kingdoms, these princes have weakened themselves by their mutual treasons, and drained the sources of their wealth by a tyranny, of which nothing can give you an idea.'

The last two chapters are based almost exclusively on Jesuit records. The chapter (VI) on 'Tamilaham's tolerance' is virtually a history of the Madura Mission in the period, and instances of persecution are not slurred in the account. That entitled 'Quasi-foreign epistolary sources' (VII) contains a string of interesting extracts with comments on Indian cults, character and learning, women, criminal law, caste and custom, magic followed by a section on 'Historical value of the Records of the Madura Mission.' Here the author affirms with justice: 'Indeed the Jesuit letters are primary sources for the history of Tamilaham in the 17th century' (197). The greater will be the surprise of the careful reader who traces the author's vacillation between faith and scepticism in handling these records as it suits the argument and the context.

There are some misprints which have escaped inclusion in the short 'Errata' at the end of the index (vi pages).

K. A. N.

THE STONE-USING CULTURES OF PRE-HISTORIC AND PROTO-HISTORIC MYSORE, by M. Seshadri, M.A., Ph.D., University of Mysore, pp. 105, London, 1956.

The study of Indian pre-history and proto-history is still in its infancy and the little knowledge we have of them is largely based on typology and very little on stratigraphy. But the subject is as vast as it is interesting, particularly South Indian Pre-history and Proto-history. Dr. M. Seshadri, now Professor of Indology in the University of Mysore and Director of Archaeology in the state surveys in this small study the evidence that has so far become available regarding the stone using cultures of the pre- and proto-history of modern and expanded Mysore. It is a modified version of a big thesis which won for the author the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the London University in 1952.

The book is divided into five chapters with the titles Environmental Background, the Palaeolithic Industries of Mysore, Microlithic Industries of Mysore, the Neolithic complex in Mysore and

the Megalithic problem in Mysore. In the first chapter the author describes in detail the geographical features of the Mysore country and explains how they have influenced the pre-history of the region. In the second chapter the author describes the Indian palaeolithic artifacts in general and then deals with ten palaeolithic sites in six districts in the Mysore State. A comparative study of the palaeoliths of Mysore with those from other parts of the country shows, according to the author, "that a late lower palaeolithic industry appears to be lacking in Mysore", p. 24.

Mysore is rich in its microlithic sites; among them the most important are Jalahalli, Brahmagiri and Kibbanahalli. Though the microliths of India cover a long range of time from the Mesolithic age to historical times, since the microlithic industry of Brahmagiri is found in association with the later phases of the Axe culture and disappears above the layers of the megalithic culture, one may agree with Dr. Seshadri when he assigns the period 1000 B.C., to 300 B.C., to it at Brahmagiri (p. 41). It is not so easy to fix the date of the Jalahalli artifacts. Geological evidence seems to assign a greater antiquity to Jalahalli than Brahmagiri. The neolithic culture of India presents a complicated problem. There appear to be different neolithic strains in the country. Evidences of the existence of a shouldered-celt culture in the Chota-Nagpur area and the Deccan are available; Probably the culture was a late intrusion into India from the Far East and was contemporaneous with the metal ages. The pointed butt-type of stone axe found widely distributed in some parts of the Deccan and characteristic of the older stratum of neolithic India has tempted some scholars to interpret them in terms of racial movements, though it must be noted that the distribution of these axes is clearly dependent on the occurrence of a suitable raw material, mainly trap rock. (p. 46). Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu give us a fairly good idea of the neolithic age in South India, which commenced between probably 3000 and 2500 B.C. The Mysore evidence is also specific on the precedence of copper over iron.

Mysore, like many parts of South India is remarkable for its megalithic finds. Five main types are found namely dolmens, menhirs, cairns, port-hole, cist circles and pit circles. The grave goods connected with the megaliths comprise pottery, iron objects

and beads, besides, in some cases, punch marked coins. The pottery used in them is of the red and black ware. Dr. Seshadri thinks that the Indian megaliths were different from the European ones, and were separated by a long distance of time. According to his modest calculations, while the former range from the sixth century B.C. to the first century A.D., the latter are about 1500 years older. But who exactly the authors of the Indian megalithic culture were and how that culture came to prevail are still moot questions that remain to be answered.

Dr. Seshadri has thus compressed in this little book a large volume of matter relating to the cultures of the Stone Ages of Mysore, and given us a very readable and lucid account of them. The value of this useful publication is enhanced by a detailed bibliography, five maps and illustrations of a number of pre-historic artifacts given at the end. Intensive regional studies of this kind are to be welcomed on account of their value for a proper understanding of the cultures of pre-historic and proto-historic India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE HOYSALAS, A MEDIEVAL INDIAN ROYAL FAMILY,
by J. Duncan M. Derrett, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, Reader in Oriental Laws, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Oxford University Press, 1957 pages XX and 257. Rs. 12/-.

This is a compact and well written monograph on the political history and administrative system of the Hoysala dynasty. 'The economic and social aspects of the Hoysala world', says Dr. Derrett, 'deserve separate treatment, utilizing not only the inscriptions but also the voluminous literary sources' (p. 175), and this is not attempted here.

The political history is treated with commendable fulness and in an orderly manner; while there is no major change in the outline of the story as presented by earlier writers, the details are filled in with the aid of the most recent discoveries, and though the reader may not agree fully with all the reconstructions offered by the author, he will not fail to recognize and be thankful for

the sustained effort at a rational explanation of the course of affairs spread over three centuries and more. The last chapter (VII), "the Administration of the Hoysala country", cannot, however, be said to fulfil expectations or add materially to our knowledge on the subject. But this is not due to any slackness on the part of the author, but rather to the scrappy and intractable nature of the evidence from inscriptions, which, in many cases, are as yet available only in faulty and ill-edited copies.

In the Preface Dr. Derrett explains that this work emerged more or less naturally when he sought answers to questions on the Hoysalas which occurred to him as he was working on an essay in South Indian, particularly Karnāṭaka epigraphy in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the London Ph.D. (1949). That essay was concerned more particularly with the geography of the regions in question, and a tour of South India in 1952 clarified and strengthened the author's knowledge of the geography of the Hoysala region. Indeed the most striking feature of this monograph is its clear and cogent exposition of the geographical factors bearing on the military campaigns of the Hoysala rulers, and the civil life of the realm, as also the remarkable relevance and precision noticeable in the six maps of the book. But this preoccupation with geography has lured the author into missing the wood for the trees, and the careful reader will notice that the narrative tends to stress throughout, more particularly in the chapter on the beginnings, the factors of difference among the people of the country to the almost total ignoring of those of unity. He sees only 'the governmental mosaic of the vast peninsula, itself a fascinating conglomeration of communities, sects, interests and personalities struggling throughout every period to find each its own level and comfortable relation to its fellows' (p. 3).

Dr. Derrett says: 'The Hoysala line ... was self made, as indeed it was self-destroyed; its rise, success, fall and collapse are visible and intelligible within one unbroken view; its records are adequate and, despite their defects, sufficiently reliable to form the basis of a connected and complete account; and its achievements merit consideration as those of a leading example of the mediaeval Hindu kingdom' (p. 4). All this is true, and amply borne out by the book; but he overstates his case when he says: 'no dynasty lends itself so readily to our purpose (the study of

kingship in its dynastic form) as that of the Hoysalas', and enters on a demonstration of this dictum by a summary review of the other Indian dynasties. This, however, is just an otiose excursion after he has told us in the Preface how he reached his subject.

The documentation is defective, and Dr. Derrett's explanation of this may not satisfy all readers. After stating that in order to render the book fit for general use he has passed over controversies that have been laid at rest by fresh discoveries in the last twenty years or so, he adds; 'Similarly, in a book which is largely of a pioneering nature every statement would seem to require substantiation and references. But such material, useful, unfortunately, to so few, cannot be permitted its accustomed part of the page. Nevertheless a few notes on more outstanding difficulties or matters of interest not essential to the flow of the narrative will be found at the end of the book (p. vii). There is an Appendix (II) giving an account of the principal sources, and this is very valuable so far as it goes.

Dr. Derrett says that he has taken care 'to distinguish the occasions when reliance has been placed upon conjecture or probability from the vast majority of statements for which unambiguous documentation is available.' While this is true in many instances, and there is no doubt that the author has striven his best to conform to the excellent canon he has laid down for himself, there are not wanting instances where he has failed to do so or at least offered a reconstruction which forms only one of several possible interpretations of the evidence at hand. One conspicuous instance of this is section 5 (pp. 156-7) of chapter VI which discusses the relations among rival Pāṇḍyan princes, the Tiruvaḍi King Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, the Hoysalas, and the Kakatiya Pratāparudra in 1315-18. Dr. Derrett supposes that Ballāḷa III attached himself to the side of Sundara Pāṇḍya and fought on the same side as the Kākatiya forces, though a Śrīrangam epigraph registers a Kākatiya victory against the 'Five Pāṇḍyas' obviously, including Sundara among them. The question is complicated, and other writers have dealt with it in quite other ways. And the conjecture hazarded on p. 233 in a note that "The 'Five Pāṇḍyas' were a large joint family (probably polyandrous) with several simultaneous 'heads' is totally unwarranted. On the rise of Vija-

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- I. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, Parts 1-2, May 1957, Madras.
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yanagara Dr. Derrett fully accepts the results reached by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (p. 167).

The theory that the Indian monarch held the *rājya* (kingdom) as a joint family asset like his subjects holding their respective properties, and that all the male members of his family acquired a right by birth (p. 178), is put forward by Dr. Derrett as a self-evident truth; the proofs adduced in favour of this view are disputed successions, civil wars, and the frequency of the title 'forest fire to the *dāyādas*.' But it may be doubted if the kingdom was a joint family asset either in ancient or modern Indian Law; even in the case of large impartible estates and Zamindaris many limitations have been recognized on the rights of the partners in the estate, and a *raj* has been held to partake of the nature of joint estate only for some purposes such as maintenance, and inheritance being confined to the family. In ancient India kingship was looked upon as a political office in the devolution of which the ruling king, his ministerial council, the popular assembly and corporate bodies like guilds had a say. No son had an absolute claim merely by reason of birth; instances of elder sons being set aside in favour of abler younger sons are known. And the king always had a duty to regulate the succession in the best interests of the people. One has only to read Kautilya, Kāmandaka and the ancient authors on the training of princes to realise this, and this view is confirmed by the whole course of dynastic history in India. Another matter on which Dr. Derrett holds a strong view is the royal ownership of the soil of the country. This question has often been discussed, and while the generality of old texts and modern Indian writers take the view that the king is absolute owner only of his personal and private property, over the rest of the state he is only overlord entitled to his share of the produce (*bhoga*), the British Indian government and its supporters held the opposite view in favour of state ownership of the soil. Dr. Derrett has a long note on the subject in which he seems to interpret *Vijñānēśvara* on *Yājñavalkya* I. 318-20 in a strained manner. And in an addendum at p. xvi he cites Kane in the opposite sense, and says: 'with great respect, the present writer remains unconvinced.' So strong indeed is his prejudice in favour of the royal ownership of the soil that he falls into an obvious solecism when he writes: 'If anyone could be said to own the soil, it was the king

in his capacity as manager of the royal joint family. He was the *bhū bhuja*, the one who embraced and supported, in the eyes of the poet and sculptor, the earth upon his arm. His were the lands, and their income was his by right.' This unwarranted play on the word *bhuja* will only amuse a Sanskritist.

'Venrumāṅkoṇḍa Sambnvarayan' at p. 163 must really be *Venrumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya*; 'āsuvakkaḍimai' on p. 252 must be *āsuvakkaḍamai*. There is no reference to Tiruccendur in S.I.I. viii 134 as stated in note 2 on p. 229. Even if Dr. Derrett has thus occasionally failed to master the nuances of the Indian languages or the basic qualities of the Indian outlook and culture, his monograph is a remarkable achievement, a triumph of patient, diligent and loving application to a strange subject of study, on which he deserves to be warmly congratulated.

K. A. N.

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Materials on which Indian Epigraphical Records were incised

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

Introduction

The materials on which Indian epigraphical records were incised are of various kinds which show the popularity of the art of writing with ancient Indians. They divide themselves into three main categories—of stone, metal and clay—with a number of kinds of each of them. But sometimes miscellaneous materials like crystal, ivory, conch-shells, tortoise shells and wooden boards, etc., were also used. Writings on pieces of skin, silk, cloth, birch-bark or palm-leaves or even on paper, though they are often included in a separate class of manuscripts or archives, sometimes possess great epigraphical importance, when they belong to an ancient period. An inscription, as the term implies, is almost always incised or engraved on a more or less hard material by a stylus but occasionally it is painted with a colour or written with ink or stamped on clay. Such writings or paintings with ink or graffiti or casual scratchings on rocks, cave walls, metal vases and plates, potsherds or wooden boards also form a peculiar class of epigraphical material (E.I. 28. 125; C.I.I. II. i. 121). Similarly, the legends on ancient coins, rings and gems though their treatment falls under a special class called Numismatics are closely connected with inscriptions and form in many cases an important epigraphical material especially for the early period.

In the early history of Indian epigraphy we find various kinds of material used for inscriptions. But in its later period only stone and metal were used, the former in the form of slabs and the latter in the form of sheets. The number of stone slab inscriptions is again very much larger than that of copper plate inscriptions.

Inscriptions, before they were engraved by an expert smith on a stone slab or a copper sheet or such other material, were

copied down in ink by a proficient writer from the original draft written on a birch-bark or a palm leaf or on cloth or in later times on paper. Sometimes, the intervening process of copying the draft on such material was dropped.

Muslim inscriptions on stone were nearly always carved in relief though on rare occasions they were inscribed in the proper sense of the term. There are some instances where Hindu inscriptions also were carved in relief. They are evidently of the Mohammedan period. These instances show the mutual influence of the Hindu and Muslim epigraphies. Only one record carved in relief is found of the pre-Muslim period. It is on the pedestal of a Buddha image of the Gupta period found at Sarnath (A.R.A.S., N.C. 1905-6, p. 33).

A. Stone

By inscriptions are meant documents incised with a sharp stylus on some hard or permanent material in the form of letters, so that they can defy the inclemencies of weather and last permanently. Naturally stone is the best material used for inscriptions, which, though hard for engraving, endures for a long time, or is *chirathitika* as Aśoka has said in one of his inscriptions. In fact what better lasting material can be found for recording things which the writer wishes to last long? Consequently, by far the largest number of inscriptions not only in India but in other parts of the world from ancient times to the modern times are engraved on stone in various forms. Stone had been used in the following forms for inscriptions in India.

(1) Rocks:

Rock inscriptions are found all over the world and are probably the earliest records written by man. (Diringer, *the Alphabet*, p. 21 ff.) Rock inscriptions are found in several hilly places in India where rock was easily available. The Buddhists and the Jains in early times and thereafter the Brahmanical Hindus caused many rock inscriptions to be engraved. The most important rock inscriptions in India are the well-known rock edicts of Aśoka found at several places in India. Among these rock inscriptions the most notable is that on a huge rock at Girnar in Saurashtra which contains, in addition to the edicts of Aśoka which are of the third cent. B.C., a record of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman of

150 A.D. and a record of the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta of 457 A.D. The Gunj rock inscription in the Chhattisgarh division of M.P. dated in the first cent. A.D. records the donation of three thousand cows to Brahmanas at the Rishabhatirtha by the king Kumāvaradatta and his minister. (E.I., 27). Rock inscriptions found at Swat, Shahadara, Tirath, etc., in the Gandhara country are written in the Kharosthi script (C.I.I., II, i—No. 5, p. 9). One of them at Saddo on the bank of the Panjkora river dated in the year 104 (A.D. 46) records the building of a bridge. (E.I., 21.25). Duplicate rock inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts are found at Kaniārā and Paṭhyār in the Kangra District, Punjab, (E.I., 7.116).

The Baḍgangā (in the Nowgong Dist., Assam) rock inscription of Bhūti-varman of the Naraka family dated in G.S. 234 (A.D. 554) which locates the *āśrama* or religious retreat of Ārya-guṇa, the king's minister, is the earliest inscription discovered in Assam, (E.I., 27.18). The Hutun rock inscription in Gilgit (Kashmir) shows that another royal family also claiming descent from the same Naraka had settled during the same period in the province widely separated from Assam. The hill rock inscriptions at Badami and Yekkeri of the early Chalukya rulers are important rock inscriptions in the Deccan. (E.I., 5.6). One of them is of Vallabheśvara or Pulakeśin dated Ś. 465. (E.I., 27.4).

Important rock inscriptions of the Jains of the seventh cent. A.D. are found on the Chandragiri hill in Mysore (E.I., 4.22) and of the tenth cent. are found at Panchapāṇḍavamalai, Vallimalai and Tirumalai in N. Arcot Dist. (E.I., 4.136). The Bijoli (Rājas-than) rock inscription dated V.S. 1226 which records the building of a Jain temple and which gives a detailed account of the Chahamāna family (E.I., 26.87), and the Ajayagadh rock inscription of the Chandella king Kīrtivarman dated between 1090-1098 A.D., which records the grant of a village and title to a loyal military servant, (E.I., 30.88) are important rock inscriptions of the mediaeval period.

The Tiriya rock inscription which is in Sanskrit and dated in the seventh cent. A.D. is a similar rock inscription from Ceylon (Ep. Zel. Vol. IV, p. 150).

Rock paintings form a class of rock inscriptions. Rock paintings of pre-historic and later times are found in several places in India. At Chakradharpur in Chhota Nagpur and at Singanapur in M. P., rock paintings containing representations of animals, men, unknown symbols and hunting scenes are found which seem to belong to pre-historic times. At Mirzapur in U.P., rock-paintings representing hunting scenes with elephant and deer and belonging to a period from the fourth to the tenth cent. A.D. are found. At Hoshangabad in M. P. similar hunting scenes with warriors armed with bows and arrows assignable to the ninth or tenth cent. A.D. are found (see *Imp. Gaz.*, II, 69; *M.A.S.I.*, No. 24).

The Tatvagumphā cave at Bhuvaneśvar and the Ginja (near Allahabad) hill rock have painted inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. The Ginja inscription mentions a mahārāja named Bhīmasena. (*E.I.*, 10.165 and 3.306 respectively).

A painted rock inscription from Sitabengi, Keonjhar Dist., Orissa, records the name of a king named Diṣābhanja in characters of the fourth cent. A.D. The painting above the inscription is the procession of a king seated on an elephant and followed by male and female attendants. (*I.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. 19, p. 191). According to D. C. Sircar it can be dated in the 8th cent. (*I.H.Q.*, 28.227).

(2) Caves or Rock-cut temples.

A large number of Indian inscriptions are found incised on different parts of the rock-cut temples or *Śilāgrīhas* which are too many to be enlisted. Although all of them have not given inscriptions, those that have given are also many. Consequently, the number of cave inscriptions, though some of them have been now worn out, damaged and lost, are innumerable. A majority of the caves are Buddhist. They are found not only throughout India but even in outside countries where Buddhism had spread. The remaining caves are of the Ājivika, Jaina or Brahminical sects. In some places, cave temples of more than one sect existed side by side, e.g., Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical cave temples at Ellorā, Buddhist and Brahmanical cave temples at Ajantā and Jain and Brahmanical temples at Udayagiri near Bhilsa in Madhya Bharat and at Badāmi in Karnatak. A few caves purely of a secular nature were excavated as pleasure houses on hills. All these caves are found in different parts of India and are dated from the third cent. B.C. to the 8th or 9th cent. A.D.

Different parts of the rock temples like the facades, pillars, walls, beams, chaityagrihas, ceilings, cisterns, etc., were richly carved with panels, images and scenes from the life of the founders of the sects. They were often inscribed with notices of the persons who had caused them to be made and installed. These objects were sometimes of the nature of donations.

From the paleography of the inscriptions, (if they are not dated) and the style of the architecture, the dates of the caves can generally be determined. Most of the cave inscriptions are generally short and of a stereotyped, sectarian nature. But the inscriptions in the Hāthigumphā, Nasik, Nānāghāt, Ajanta and Ghaṭotkacha caves, are sufficiently long and throw good light on the religious, linguistic and political history of India. All the cave inscriptions are not of a religious nature. Some of them record eulogies of kings and describe their donations, e.g., the inscriptions of Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā cave and of the Kshaharātas and Satavahanas in the Nasik, Nānāghāt and Junnar caves. They are inscribed on the walls of the caves. In later times such eulogistic inscriptions were inscribed on victory pillars, and donatory charters on stone slabs or copper-plates.

The most ancient and the most important cave inscriptions are in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hills, 16 miles north of Gayā, which were dedicated by Aśoka in 257 B.C. and by his grandson Daśaratha a few years later, to the monks of the Ājivika sect. The Vessagiri caves excavated by Devanam Piya Tissa, king of Ceylon, for the use of Buddhist monks are of a slightly later date. (*E.I.*, 1.10). The cavern inscriptions found in the Madura and Tinneveli Districts in South India, which seem to be Buddhist, may be assigned to the same period. The next in point of age but of greater importance from the Jain point of view are the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri cave inscriptions in Orissa, which are of the first cent. B.C. One of them in the Hathigumpha cave gives a succinct account of the career of Khāravela, the Jain king of Kalinga. (*E.I.*, 20.72). The Pabhosa cave inscription which is most probably Jaina (*E.I.*, 2.240) and the Ghanṭpalli cave inscription which is Buddhist (*E.I.*, 27.1), and which are slightly of a later date, are also important. Next in date and of peculiar importance are the groups of rock caves found at several places in the Sahyādri mountains in W. India, the most important of them being at

Bhājā, Kārī, Kanheri, Junnar, Nasik, Nānāghāt, Pitalkhora, Shelarwadi, Bhojpur, Ajanta, Aurangabad, Ghatotkacha, Elephanta, Ellora, etc. A majority of the inscriptions in these caves are dated from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. and the remaining to a later period up to the 8th cent. A.D. They sometimes refer to the reigns of rulers like Sātavāhanas, Kshaharātas, Vākatakas, Rāshtrakūṭas and Silāhāras and to a number of private persons from different places. But epigraphically the most important Buddhist caves are those at Kanheri which have given us a number of inscriptions from the beginning of the Christian era to at least 1000 A.D. How rich in epigraphical material the rock temples at places mentioned above must have been when they were in a good condition can be seen from the fact that though exposed to climatic actions and mischiefs of vandals, the Buddhist caves at Kanheri have given more than 200 inscriptions, Karla 40, Junnar 40, Nasik 30, Kuda 40, Bhājā 20, Nānāghāt 10, and Pitalkhora 6. The Udayagiri (near Bhilsa in M. P.) caves of the Gupta times are both Brahmanical and Jaina. The Badāmi caves in Karnatak are both Brahmanical and Jaina. One of the Brahmanical caves contains a very early inscription of 543 A.D. of the Western Chalukya family (*I.A.*, VI; *M.A.S.I.*, No. 25). The great importance of the magnificent Brahmanical caves at Elephanta near Bombay is slightly marred by an absence of an inscription. The Badāmi Jaina cave and the Aihole Jain cave which are essentially similar in plan and other arrangements contain inscriptions of the middle of the 7th cent. The Pallava rulers, Mahendravarman II and his son Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla, were fond of excavating rock-cut temples of the shape of *rathas*. The Sittannavāsāl caves are Jain while the others are Brahmanical. One of them at Mandagapattam (S. Arcot District) contains an inscription of Mahendravarman, which runs as follows: "This brickless, timberless, metalless, and mortarless temple which is a mansion of Brahmā, Īṣvara and Viṣṇu was caused to be made by the king Vichitrachitta" (*E.I.*, 17.17). The Mahābalipuram rock temple of the *ratha* style of the same period contains fine and carved inscribed statues of the Pallava kings. (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 36). The Trichinapalli cave contains an inscription of Lalitāṅkura Pallaveśvara. The world-famous Ellora caves unfortunately do not possess any epigraphical importance. Some caves seem to have been excavated for sportive or merry-making purposes. The Silā-

hara (in former Revā State) caves contain seven inscriptions in the Brāhmi script, one of which is in shell characters. They were excavated as pleasure houses on hills by Amātya Maudgaliputra Mūladeva of the Vatsa gotra in the reign of Svāmidatta. A dancer named Udayatārā is mentioned in one of the inscriptions. (*E.I.*, 22.30). Similarly, the Sitābengi and Jogimāra caves in the Rām-gadh Hill in the Chhattisgarh Division of M. P. served as an amphitheatre and a loveden respectively. The Sitābengi cave inscription contains some verses in praise of poetry, while the Jogimāra inscription states that there was a Devadāsī named Sutanukā, who was loved by Devadinna, a native of Vārānasi and a banker by profession.

- (3) *External or internal parts of stūpas, monasteries, temples, gopuras, maṭhas, maṇḍapas, ghāts, etc.*

Relic worship, monastic life, pilgrimage to sacred places and offerings of charities at them being considered meritorious by the Buddhists, a large number of stūpas enshrining the relics of the Buddha or Buddhist saints, and monasteries for the residence of Buddhist monks and nuns were built all over India and even outside India in Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan, Central Asia, etc., where Buddhism had spread. The most important of the Indian stupas in the precincts of which monasteries were built were at Piprāvā, Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Bhāṭṭiprolu, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, etc. They have given us a very large number of inscriptions which range in date from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D. Stupas of a later date like those at Pahadpur, Valabhi and Nalanda have also given us some inscriptions. The latest Buddhist monument in India was the one erected by a Kalachuri prince at Kāsia. A majority of these inscriptions were found engraved on the outside parts of the stupas and monasteries such as decorated gateways, pilasters, railings, cross-bars, coping stones, toraṇas, architraves, brackets, sculptures, and miscellaneous architectural pieces. Some of these Buddhist inscriptions are votive labels and record gifts of various grants of the monuments by pilgrims as prescribed by the religion. They give names of the pilgrims together with details of their sects and places from where they came. These inscriptions, short though they are, are important to establish the antiquity and popularity of the sacred places and of the Buddhist canon. Some of the inscriptions notice Jātaka and Avadāna stories. These inscriptions are written either

in the Brahmi or Kharoshthi script and almost always in the Prakrit language. Buddhist inscriptions of a peculiar nature inscribed on small relic caskets, clay tablets and seals or on small metal plates or pieces of stone with the well-known Buddhist creed formula or *dhārani* were buried inside the stupas.

A number of similar votive inscriptions were inscribed on parts of a large Jain stūpa found at Mathura. Just as the origin and development of the Buddhist and Jain doctrines were similar the early Buddhist and Jain stupas, architecture, sculptures and inscriptions engraved on their parts were also similar.

Of the very early Brahmanical temples on the parts of which inscriptions were incised, the Vishnu temple at Nagari of the second cent. B.C. and the Lakuliśa temple at Mathurā of 380 A.D. deserve mention. In the later period the Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical followers began to build temples of the same style of architecture and though their outside parts were richly carved they contain very few inscriptions. Innumerable Brahmanical temples were built in the mediaeval period all over India and in S. E. Asia but they have also given us comparatively few inscriptions incised on their outside or inside parts except the Orissa and South Indian temples like those at Bhuvaneśvar, Drākshārām, Śrīkurmam, Simhāchalam, Śrīrangam, Kanchipuram, Lalgudi, etc. (See *S.I.I.*, Vols. 4, 5 & 6). More than one thousand inscriptions are found engraved on different parts of the Tirupati temple. The gopurams and mandapas in South India and the mathas of the Śaiva sects of Lakulisa, Mattamayur, etc., in North India had inscriptions on their walls.

Of the Jain temples on the walls of which inscriptions were engraved the most important are those at Śravanabelgola, which have also given us more than one thousand inscriptions, and at Abu, Girnar and Śatrunjaya. Most of these inscriptions record names of pilgrims, some of whom were kings and officers who visited the sacred places from time to time and made donations for their maintenance.

Secular buildings like royal palaces, forts or gateways, which have remained, are comparatively of a very late period and the inscriptions which are at times found in them are not very old.

✓ (4) Columns and Pillars.

By these are meant isolated monolithic pillars set up in the open. These pillars are of five kinds—Votive or religious, Victory, Donatory, Administrative and Memorial.

(a) The votive pillars or pillars of religious importance are often associated with temples or religious establishments—Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical and are generally set up in front of them. (See *Journ. I.S.O. Art.*, 1937, p. 13.). They are often surmounted by the figures of gods, men, animals or sacred emblems.

The Buddhist pillars are generally surmounted by the figures of a lion. The lion column standing in front of the Chaitya cave at Karla, for instance, bears an inscription recording that it was set up by one Agnimitranaka, who was a Mahārathi and a Gotiputra. The Jain pillar, called *Mānastambha*, standing in front of almost every Jain temple supports the figure of a Tirthankara. The Brahmanical pillar generally supports the figure of Garuda, Hanumān or Trisūla.

The most ancient and important of the pillars of religious or ethical importance are the monolithic pillars raised by Aśoka in various places in India. The Besnagar pillar of Heliodoros which contains an inscription of the first cent. B.C. records the erection of a Garuḍa pillar in front of a Vishnu temple. Two capitals of columns whose shafts have disappeared are found at Pawaya in C. I. They are of the Śunga period and were votive pillars dedicated to two of the four Vyūhas of the Bhāgavata cult. A marble pillar inscription at Dharanikota in the Guntur Dist., Andhra, of the second cent. A.D. records erection of Dharmachakradhvaja by a minister for the benefit of the Bhikshu Sangha of the Pūrva-Śāilya sect. (*E.I.*, 24.257). Buddhist monolith pillars bearing Kharoshthi inscriptions are found at Taxila. Brahmanical Yūpa pillars bearing inscriptions of the second or the third century A.D. commemorating the performance of Vedic sacrifices are found at Mathura, Nandsā, Badvā, Kosam, Vijayagadh and Barnala. (*E.I.*, Vols. 26.27). The Kosam pillar inscription commemorates erection of seven Yūpas in connection with seven sacrifices. (*E.I.*, 24.245.). One of the two Eran pillar inscriptions set up by Satyanāga at the adhishthāna states that the pillar was set up for the removal of calamities, attainment of prosperity and happiness and well-being of all creatures. (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 605.).

(b) Among the victory pillars recording eulogies of victorious heroes may be mentioned the Allahabad pillar of Samudragupta of about 375 A.D. The victory pillars of Yaśodharman and Kākusthavarman raised at Mandasore and Tālgundā respectively are equally important. (*F.G.I.*, 142, 149; *E.I.*, 8.24). The Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭadakal pillars containing inscriptions of the Chālukya kings Mangaliśa and Kirtivarman, dated in 602 and 754 respectively, are also interesting pillars of victory. (*I.A.*, 19.7; *E.I.*, 2.3.). The Mahākūṭa pillar is called a Jayastambha in the inscription itself, and the Paṭṭadakal pillar is called a Lakshmi stambha. The Paṭhāri pillar of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala of V. S. 917 is also a victory pillar. (*E.I.*, 9.252). The Badal (Dinajpur, Bengal) pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyanapāla of Bengal of the ninth cent. A.D. contains a eulogy of a Brahmin family of ministers under the Pāla rulers. (*E.I.* 2.160). Although a monolithic pillar is the best material for a eulogistic or victory inscription, some of the best eulogies are found incised on different kinds of material, e.g., the eulogistic inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Bālasiri are inscribed on the Nasik cave walls. Victory pillars planted by the Sena rulers of Bengal in the territories seized from the Gāhaḍvāl rulers are mentioned in some of the Sena inscriptions. (See *E.I.*, 30).

(c) Grants of land, money and cattle were at times inscribed on stone pillars. One of the best instances of this kind of material is the Mathura pillar inscription of the 28th year of Huvishka which records a Brahmanical endowment. (*E.I.*, 21. 60). Such pillars, found largely in S. I. and Karnataka, have often the sculptures of a woman and an ass or of a cow and a calf below the inscribed portion.

(d) The boundary pillars. The Bhūmara pillar set up by the Mahārāja Hastin and Śarvanātha in the Gupta period to mark the boundary between their territories is the earliest boundary pillar inscription known. (*Bhand.* List No. 1661). Modern boundary pillars are found in Karnataka. They generally have sculptures of a woman and an ass as in the stone pillars inscribed with land grants.

(e) Memorial stone pillars containing obituary notices are numerous. They were raised in honour of dead relatives and are called hero or *sati* stones or *Virakkals* or *Salekkals* in South India and *Pāḷiyās* in Gujrat and commemorate the death of a hero or the immolation of a *sati*. The earliest of such memorial pillars are

those found at Suivihar dated 89 A.D. in the time of Kanishka (*S.I.I.*, II. 141) and at Andhau in Cutch dated A.D. 130 in the time of Rudradaman. (*E.I.*, 16.22). One of the two inscriptions on the Eran pillar records the death of Goparāja, a general of the Gupta sovereign, Bhanugupta. (*E.I.I.* III. 91). Sangsi memorial pillar of seventh cent. A.D. is beautifully sculptured. (*E.I.*, 28.132). Sometimes the pillars are sculptured with panels arranged one above the other showing the exploits of the hero, his heroic fights, his death and attainment of heaven and his religious creed. Such pillars are called Śaśarirathaba or Chhāyāthaba in inscriptions at Karla and Gangāpuram respectively. A particular class of memorial pillars called *Nishidhikals* common only with the Jains in South India commemorates the fast upto death called *Sallekhanā* of a Jain Sadhu or Sadhvi or even of a laity. One of the most important pillars of the kind is at Śraṇabelgoḷā which records the *Sallekhanās* of the Jain preceptors, Mallisena, Maldharideva in 1129 A.D.

(5) Slabs and Tablets:

The mountains everywhere in India afford an inexhaustible supply of stone slabs and make them the most suitable material for an inscription. In fact the stone slabs or *Śilā-śāsanas* are the most popular epigraphical material widely used for inscriptions in all countries. In India, the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims, Christians, etc., have used it freely. Consequently the largest number of Indian inscriptions are found incised on this material.

(a) The inscribed stone slabs which generally record commemorative notices are fixed in the walls of temples, mosques, churches, forts, gateways, houses, step-wells, tanks, bridges, etc. The use of rock for the purpose, e.g., on the bank of the Sudarshana lake at Girnar by Aśoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta is an exception.

(b) Stone slabs were sometimes used for inscribing donatory grants of land, money or cattle, though the most commonly used material for this purpose was the copper plate. The earliest of such grants were however found incised on cave walls as in the Nasik caves where the grants of Ushavdāta and Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumayi were engraved, (*E.I.*, 8.76; 7.60) and on stone pillars as at Mathura where as noted above the Brahmanical grant of

Huvishka was engraved. (*E.I.*, 21.60). Donatory grants inscribed on stone slabs are sometimes found such as those of the medieval rulers of North India like the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, and the Paramaras of Malwa. A stone slab fixed in the Kedaresvar temple at Bhuvanesvar contains an inscription recording the gift of a permanent lamp to the god by Ganga Pramatha in 1142 A.D. (*E.I.*, 30.91). There are numerous such inscriptions found in South India. Such inscriptions in Ceylon record endowments to Buddhist monasteries, e.g., the stone slab inscription from Vessa-giri in Ceylon recording grant of two hundred *kalandas* weight of gold to the priest of the Virakurcha monastery by King Dappula V (923-34). Inscriptions of this and the previous class often take the form of eulogies called *prasastis* in honour of rulers, ministers, venerable men or learned poets. The *prasastis* of rulers are numerous. Among *prasastis* of the second kind, the Badal stone inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva, Minister of Harivarman, (1075-1125) is interesting. The stone slabs are sometimes engraved with peculiar sketches and symbols. A stone slab which records the grant by a guild of agriculturists (Chitrameli) in S. 1143 in the time of Yādava king Simhana is engraved with sketches of plough and figures of bull, serpent, drum and *pūrṇakumbha*.

(c) Some stone slabs contain inscriptions of an administrative nature like official notices, copies of treaties, etc. A soapstone plaque of the third cent. B.C., found at Mahāsthān in Bogra District (Bengal), contains an inscription recording state measures against famine (*E.I.*, 21.83). A sale-deed (*kṛaya-chīrikā*) dated about 725 A.D. in the reign of the later Gupta king Vishnugupta is incised on a stone tablet found at Mangron in Bihar. The deed seems to have been first drafted on a piece (*chīrikā*) of cloth and then inscribed on the slab. (*E.I.*, 26.246). The most common material for recording such sale-deeds is the copper plate in India. In ancient Greece mortgages and sale-deeds were often recorded on pillars set up on the property. Such practice does not seem to have prevailed in India.

(d) Sometimes stone slabs were used for inscribing literary works like the Parijatamanjiri and Harakelinataka, religious works like the Mahimnastotra, Halāyudhastotra, Kurmasataka and the Sthalapurana or some Buddhist texts as at Dhar, Ajmer, Amarsvar, Bijoli and Nalanda respectively. A stone slab inscription of

the tenth cent. in the Cuttack Museum contains a quotation of some Buddhist Dharani purporting to have been uttered by Buddha himself to Ananda and which is followed by a discourse on the worth and virtue of the Dhāraṇi. (*E.I.*, 26.172).

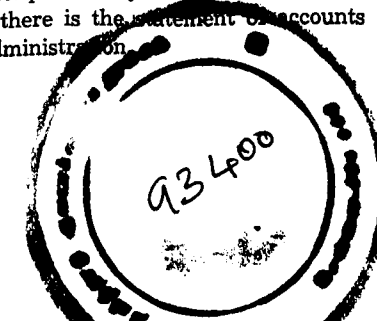
(e) Inscribed pavement slabs are occasionally found. (*E.I.*, 10.119).

(f) Stone slabs were selected, made smooth and fashioned like wooden boards or flanks for writing inscriptions and hence they are sometimes called *Silāphalakas*. The stone slabs are of various sizes and forms. If one slab is insufficient for accommodating a lengthy inscription, more slabs are used as in the case of the Rājaprasasti at Udaipur in which twenty-five slabs measuring $3' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ are used. Similarly for the Brihadesvara inscription at Tanjore, a number of stone slabs were used. By order of King Mindon of Burma, the Buddhist *Tripitakas* were incised on 729 slabs, Vinaya on 14 slabs. Suttanipāta on 410 slabs and Abhidhamma on 208 slabs.* The slabs used for inscribing the Sanskrit and Prakrit poems at Dhar are more than 5 feet in length and breadth. Some slabs bearing South Indian inscriptions are still larger. In the Kannada Research Institute at Dharwar there is a slab with a Kannada inscription, measuring $14'8''$, the inscribed portion being $8'7\frac{1}{4}''$. In such long inscriptions the letters were generally cut carefully and delicately in early times, though in later times the work was done in a somewhat careless and conventional way.

(6) *Pedestals of stone images, statues, etc.*

(a) Images of Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical gods and goddesses, some times contain inscriptions on their pedestals. When exactly image worship originated in India cannot be said, but the earliest image, which on the basis of the inscription engraved on it can be assigned to the third or second cent. B.C. is that of the Parkham Yaksha, belonging to an obscure cult of tutelary deities claimed equally by the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain faiths. No other image of any deity is found until about the first cent. B.C. or A.D., when image worship began suddenly to be

* Such an abnormally long inscription may be cited from the Greek Epigraphy. The longest inscription there is the statement of accounts of the temple at Delos under Athenian administration.



popular with the Jains and Brahmanical Hindus and with the Buddhists as well with the appearance of the iconographical type of the Buddha. A vital and prolific school of sculpture sprang up at Mathura owned equally by all the three sects. A similar and probably more vital school of sculpture with Hellenic impress sprang up soon at Taxila in the Gāndhār region under the patronage of Hellenic converts. Soon after a similar Buddhist school of sculpture sprang up at Amaravati in Andhra. As it had been the practice of dedicating or installing the images of the founders of the religion to acquire religious merit, the images began to be inscribed on the pedestals, the inscriptions recording the names of the devotees who dedicated or installed them.

With the development of the Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical architecture, sculpture and iconography in course of time, hundreds of images and sculptures of different gods and goddesses and minor deities of all the three faiths continued to be installed in temples throughout India and sometimes outside it where Indian religions were followed. Though inscriptions were not incised on the pedestals of all the images the total number of image inscriptions has thus risen to thousands. They are too numerous to be enumerated. The custom of installation of images for worship and engraving records on their pedestals to that effect prevailed more among the Buddhists and the Jains than among the Brahmanical Hindus. It became so popular with the Jainas that there is hardly any Jain image or sculpture which bears no inscription on its base recording the date and the names of the donor, his *guru* and his *gacchha*. These descriptive labels are specially important for preparing the religious history of India.

Images of semi-divine beings like the Yakhas and Nagas continued to be worshipped from the early times to the late times and consequently a number of such images bearing inscriptions on the pedestals have been found from several places in North India, like Mathura, Patna, Pawayā, etc. (*E.I.*, 30.239).

(b) Statues of deified and great persons.—Besides the images of gods and goddesses of the three principal faiths and of the above mentioned semi-divine beings, images of deified saints or teachers and portrait statues of rulers, warriors and great men who performed great deeds were also set up which sometimes bore inscriptions of their pedestal. A stone image of Kāśyapa, the favourite

disciple of the Buddha (Bhattacharya, *Ind. Budd. Ics.*, p. 10) found at Silao in Bihar and containing an inscription of the ninth cent. A.D. (*E.I.*, 25.327), and a colossal statue of the Jain saint Gomateśvar at Sravanabelgola containing on its pedestal inscriptions of the eleventh cent. are instances of deified saints.

The inscribed statue of a Satavahana king in the Nanaghat cave, and the heavy life-size portraits of the Kushan kings at Mathura, dated in the first and second cent. A.D. respectively, the statues of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman at Mahabalipuram of the 7th cent. (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 23), and of the Chola queen Vanavana Mahadevi, set up by her daughter Kundadevi in the Rajaraja temple at Tanjore, of Sangramasimha set up in the Sheori Narayan temple in Bilaspur (*C.I.I.*, IV, 583), of Naranarayan of Assam enshrined in the Kāmakhya temple (*E.I.*, 2.358) and of the Chudasama ruler Mahipaladeva set up in the Śatrunjaya temple in V.S. 1371 are instances of inscribed statues of rulers and warriors. Some of the historical sculptures decorating the walls of some South Indian temples bear inscriptions (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 63).

(7) *Sculptures and architectural pieces.*

(a) General.—A good number of stone reliefs bearing inscriptions are found throughout India. The earliest and the most interesting inscribed reliefs are the figures of elephants carved at the end of the well-known Aśoka's edicts at Dhanli and Kalsi. They bear the labels *best elephant* and *white elephant*. In the early days of Buddhism, the Buddha was not worshipped in the form of an image and in the early Buddhist monuments at Sanchi, Barhut, Bodhgaya, Amaravati, etc., his presence is invariably indicated by means of some symbols such as the Bodhi tree with the Vajrāsana beneath it, the garlanded wheel, the footprints of the Buddha and the Stupa. These sculptures were sometimes accompanied by inscriptions. Various kinds of very beautiful Buddhist sculptures bearing short inscriptions are found almost from every Buddhist site, e.g., from Mathurā, Taxila, Amaravati, Sarnath, Bodhgaya, Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, Pahadpur, Nalanda, etc. They were evidently connected with the Buddhist monuments. A number of architectural pieces containing scenes from the Jātakas which depict familiar topics of popular interest, treated with the greatest animation and originality and sometimes bearing appropriate labels, are found in various Buddhist monuments.

The most important Jain sculptures and architectural pieces which are almost always inscribed are found from Mathurā and are contemporary with the Buddhist architectural pieces.

Similar Brahmanical sculptures and architectural pieces are also found at Mathura but comparatively few of them bear inscriptions. Early inscribed Brahmanical sculptures are found also from Besnagar, Pawaya, Udayagiri, etc. Inscribed architectural pieces and sculptures of the Brahmanical faith of the mediaeval period are rather rare.

(b) The Āyāgapāṭas, which generally bear votive inscriptions for the worship of the Jinas and the Buddha, are among the most interesting architectural pieces. They were more common with the Jainas than with the Buddhists. (*I.U.P.H.S.*, 1943, p. 58).

(c) Architectural pieces containing the footprints of the Buddha, Jina or Brahmanical god or saint are also interesting. The Buddhist footprints, called Patipada are largely found in N. W. Provinces. They are of the early centuries of the Christian era. One such piece discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā bears an inscription along the tips of the toes which records the gift of the Patipada by a Śaka lady. (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 54, p. 24). Of the Jain footprints those found at Mathura and Śravanabelgola are the most important. A Vardhamāna Vidyāpitha bears an inscription of 1470 (*I. Ind. Soc. Orient. Art.*, 1941, p. 45). Brahmanical footprints generally of the Vaishnava sect are very common. (See *E.I.*, 24.12). In S. E. Asia (in Champa and Cambodia) Brahmanical footprints both of the Vaishnava and Śaiva sects are found. (*R.C. Majumdar Inscriptions of Kambuja, Sircar Select Inscriptions*, p. 468). The footprints set up by king Bhagadatta of the Bhāra clan seem to be Brahmanical. (*E.I.*, 24.12).

(8) *Relic caskets, vases etc.*

A number of inscribed stone vases and caskets of a small size containing corporal relics of the Buddha or of some venerable Buddhist Saint enshrined in stupas have been found in various places in India and outside where Buddhist stupas were built. In fact every Buddhist stūpa seems to have contained such a relic receptacle which generally contains an inscription on it. Sometimes this stone casket contained smaller copper or clay

caskets which again contained very small caskets of costly metal like gold or silver in which the holy relics of the Buddha were preserved. Sometimes a crystal relic casket was found inside a small stone box. The stone box was generally inscribed but occasionally the inside smaller caskets were also inscribed. Sometimes an extremely small piece of stone bearing an inscription was deposited inside the relic caskets. One such piece of stone $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad was found deposited inside a crystal relic casket in the Sonāri stupa in M.P. The inscription records the name of the Gotiputa Dudubhisara of the Himavata region (*J.R.A.S.* 1905 p. 687 Luders No. 158). The inscriptions are sometimes incised on the rims and lids of the caskets. These inscriptions are written in the Brahmi or Kharoshthi scripts and in the Prakrit language. They bear the names of donors and of the saints in whose honour the donations were made.

The following are some of the relic caskets found inside the Buddhist stūpas. An inscribed soapstone case was found at Piprāvā in the Basti district of U. P. which contains one of the earliest inscriptions assigned to the 2nd century B.C. It records the dedication of the relic casket of the Buddha by the Śākya-brethren along with their sisters, sons and wives, (*I.A.*, 36.117). Two steatite caskets bearing inscriptions in ink on the lids recording the names of the Buddha's two greatest disciples Śāriputra and Mahāmogallāna were found inside two stone boxes in the Sanchi stupa. Steatite vases bearing inscriptions written in ink are also found from the stupas at Andher. The Bhaṭṭiprolu stupa yielded three inscribed stone relic receptacles bearing nine short records assignable to the second century B.C. (*E.I.*, 2.323). The stone casket obtained from the remains of a stupa at Kolhapur bears on its lid the following inscription "The gift of Bamha; caused to be made by Dhamaguta", (*A.S.W.I.*, No. 10). The Gandhar country has given us many such Buddhist vases. A steatite casket discovered at Bajour bears seven Kharoshthi inscriptions which refer to the establishment of a relic of the Buddha in the reign of Menander. (*E.I.*, 24.1 and 26.318). A Buddhist steatite relic vase discovered in a village in the Swat valley and now preserved in the Peshawar Museum, contains a Kharosthi inscription recording the deposit of relics of Śākyamuni by the Meridarkh Theodoros, (*C.I.I.*, II). Similar inscribed relic caskets were also found at Chārsadda in the same Gāndhār country. A Buddhist vase of a

Kuruksetra in Ancient India

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Kuruksetra—Famous and sacred city, a mahājanapada

Kuruksetra was a well-known city of the Kurus in ancient times. It was the most sacred region of the Dvāpara age according to the Purāṇas.¹ It was one of the 16 great countries (*mahājanapadas*) of Jambudvīpa or the continent of India.² It was situated 25 miles south of Ambala on the river Sarasvatī.

Importance

Pāṇini mentions Kuruksetra in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4.1.172/176; 4.2.130). Manu indirectly praises the prowess of the people of Kuruksetra by saying that they should be placed in the van of any battle array.³ The *Yoginūtantra* (2/1; 2/7,8) refers to Kuruksetra. The city of the Kauravas was visited by the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and it appears to have been favoured by his masterly discourses. The Buddha went there for alms and ate up what he received as alms on the bank of the Anotatta lake.⁴ The *Mahābhārata* or the great Epic grew up with the Kuru people and their country as its background.⁵

Explanation of Kauravya

Pāṇini explains the formation of the word *Kauravya* from Kuru, the first in the sense of *apatya* (son) and second in the

1. *Matsya*, 106, 57; *Kūrma*, I. 37.

2. *Ang.*, I, p. 213; IV. 252, 256, 260.

3. *Manusamhitā*, VII. 193.

4. *Dīpavamsa*, I, vs. 43-44:

*pīṇḍapātāṃ kurudīpe gantvā . . . Anotattadahe Buddhō pari-
bhūñjitvāna bhojanam.*

5. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 101.

brownish grey stone containing a Kharoshthi inscription was found during excavations of the Bhimram stupa in Afghanistan. An inscribed casket with a coin of Kanishka beside it was found inside the gigantic stupa as Shāhji-ki-Dheri built by Kanishka and referred to by the Chinese pilgrims. The Wardak stupa found in the same province and containing the relics of the Buddha was presented to the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghitas by one Kamalagulya in the reign of the Kushan ruler Huvishka. In one of the stupas at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra, a stone casket shaped like a miniature stupa 1'4" high with tee and umbrella complete was found. Inside the stone casket was a small clay casket of similar shape. This again contained a still smaller copper casket of similar shape. Within the latter was again a very small silver casket. Inside this was a beautiful little gold reliquary in the form of a stupa. The latter contained a bone relic, gold lotus, and jasmine flowers and a few decayed pearls and coral beads. A stone relic box from Sarnath is inscribed with an inscription in Brahmi script recording the names of Arhat Upāditya of Kāshyapa gotra and of Suvijayita of Vatsya gotra (*E.I.*, 12.300).

(9) *Votive offerings like bowls, lamps, etc.*

Buddhist inscriptions are found sometimes incised on miscellaneous stone objects mainly used as Buddhist votive offerings. An inscribed Buddha's bowl (mahāpātra) found at Sahet Mahet is mentioned in the index of annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of 1902-1950, page 76. Many such stone bowls are found at Mathura. A stone bowl supported on the broken head of a male figure found at Mathura bears an inscription in Kushan Brahmi characters stating it to be a gift of Ayala, son of Indrasena in the monastery of the goldsmiths for the acceptance of the teachers. (*E.I.*, 19.68). A Buddhist bowl also found in Mathura is dated in Sam. 192, Hemant 2, Divasa 7. (*J.U.P.H.S.*, July 1942).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that were often the objects of donation. A stone lamp inscribed in Kharoshthi characters and recording it as a gift to the village stupa by Khiksan Sangharakshita was found at Utmanzai in Peshawar district. (*E.I.*, 23.289). Similarly stone lamps inscribed in Kharoshthi characters were discovered at Taxila and Jamalgarhi. The latter records the name of Sidastupa. (*C.I.I.*, ii, i, No. 51, p. 89 and 116).

(10) *Stone Vessels.*

A stone vessel inscription is found at Kailvar in the Patna District. It bears an inscription in characters of about second cent. A.D. referring to a king named Arya Visaghamitra. It is dated in the year 108 of an unspecified era. The ruler seems to have belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadha. (*Anc. Ind.*, 1955).

(11) *Moulds for making Seals.*

Steatite moulds of stamps for making seals were found in the Indus Valley excavations. They bear characters the clue to the decipherment of which has not yet been obtained.

A steatite seal stamp incised in reverse with the name of Utarsana and other emblems was found at Sankish in the Farukabad District, (U. P.), (*A.S.I.*, 11, Pl. 9, No. 1). From the same place a goldsmith's mould made of steatite bearing three Kharoshthi characters was found (*Ibid.*, No. 6). A stone matrix inscribed in Kharoshthi script was found at Taxila recording the name of Gayaba (*C.I.I.*, II, i, p. 102). A rock-cut seal matrix of the last quarter of the sixth cent. A.D., was found at Rohtisgarh in Shahabad District, Bengal (*F.G.I.*, p. 283). This matrix exhibits a bull couchant and a legend below it, meaning "(Seal) of the illustrious Mahāsāmanta Śaśānkadeva". The device and the legend are surrounded by a circle about 4¼" in diameter. In the original the legend is in reverse. Sometimes such moulds were made of clay and bronze, e.g., a die bearing the royal seal of some of the South Indian rulers was used for striking their gold coins by goldsmiths. A small square stone seal bearing the name of Ranaka Balakesari in characters of 900 A.D. was found at Balapur on the Mahanadi in Orissa, (*O.H.R.I.*, 4.49).

(12) *Miscellaneous Stone Objects.*

Among these may be mentioned a big rounded stone discovered on the Elephanta Island near Bombay in 1950. The short inscription on it in Brahmi characters of the fifth or sixth cent. A.D. shows that the stone was used as a weight weighing 134 palas, which is equal to 1¼ maund of the modern days. The inscription is yet unpublished.

Ring stones found at Rajghāta (Banaras) and Kosan, bearing early Brahmi characters incised on brims seem to have been used as cult objects, (I. N. Banerji, *Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed.).

sense of king (*Kurādibhyo nyaḥ*; *Kurunādibhyo nyaḥ* IV. 1.151,172).

Capital Cities

The ancient capital of the Kurus was Hastināpura, identified with a ruined site in the Meerut district, on the old bed of the Ganges, and the later capital was Indraprastha founded by the Pāṇḍavas. It was identified with modern Indrapat near Delhi.⁶

Location

The ancient Kuru country included Sonapet (Sonapraṣṭha), Amin,⁷ Karnal and Panipat (Pāṇipraṣṭha). Pargiter points out that the Kurus occupied the country from the Śivis and Sub-Himalayan tribes on the north to Matsya, Śūrasena and south Pañcāla on the south and between north Pañcāla on the east and Marubhūmi (Rajputana desert) on the west.⁸ Koravya had a park called Migācira (Jāt. VI, 256).

Different names

Kurukṣetra, which was undoubtedly a holy place in India⁹, was also called Sthāṇutīrtha¹⁰ and Samantapañcaka.¹¹ It was also known under various names: Brahmasara, Rāmahrada,¹² Vinaśana and Sannihati or Sannihatyā.¹³ It was also called Dharmakṣetra as mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā* (Ch. I, v. 1) and the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 86.6). Brahmakṣetra¹⁴ was another

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 308; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, Tr., p. 355.

7. According to Cunningham five miles to the south-south-east of Thāneśvara there was a large and lofty mound called Amin which is a contraction of *Abhimanyu khera* or the mound of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna. It was about 2000 ft. long from north to south by 800 ft. in breadth with a height from 25 to 30 ft. On the top there was the small village called Amin. Cunningham, *ASIR*, XIV, p. 97 f.n.; *AGI*, 386.

8. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., 354 f.n.

9. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 129, pp. 394-95; *Saurapurāṇa*, 67. 12; *Padma-purāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, vs. 35-38; Cf. *Kūrmapurāṇa*, Pūrvabhāga, 30. 45-48.

10. *Ibid.*, Śalyaparva, Ch. 54; Vanaparva, Ch. 83.

11. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, 129. 22; Śalyaparva, Ch. 54; *Vāmanap.*, 22. 15-16.

12. *Ibid.*, III, Ch. 83, v. 40.

13. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, 129. 22; *Vāmanap.*, 22. 15-16; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 683.

14. *Ibid.*, Ch. 83, v. 6.

name of Kurukṣetra according to the Jābālopaniṣad quoted by Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata* (... *Kurukṣetram devānāṃ devayajanaṃ sarvesāṃ bhūtānāṃ Brahmasadanam*).

Identification

Kurukṣetra may be identified with Sthāneśvara or Sthāvīśvara or Thāneśvara which was known to the Chinese as *Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo* and to the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, as *Batangkaisara*.¹⁵ The name of Thāneśvara is said to be derived either from the *sthāna* or abode of *īśvara* or Mahādeva¹⁶ or from the junction of the names of *sthānu* and *īśvara* or from *sthānu* and *sar*, a lake.¹⁷ The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang describes Thāneśvara as the westernmost country of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa,¹⁸ whereas the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 22) and *Mahāvagga* (V. 13.12) mention Sthūna- or Thūna, a Brahmin village, as its western boundary (*pacchi-māyadisāya*). According to the *Divyāvadāna* Sthūna and Upasthūna were brahmin villages (*paścimena sthūnopasthūnakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau*, p. 22).

Boundary

This city, which is considered as especially holy in the three worlds,¹⁹ was bounded on the south by Khāṇḍava, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇaḥ on the west.²⁰ Parīṇaḥ was the name of a place in Kurukṣetra as mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa texts.²¹

The country known as Kurukṣetra

The country immediately around Thāneśvara between the rivers Sarasvatī (modern Sarsuti) and Driṣadvatī (Rigvedic

15. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, p. 128.

16. The temple of Mahādeva Sthānu was situated half a mile to the north of Thāneśvara—N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110.

17. Cunningham, *AGI*, pp. 376, 379.

18. Cunningham, *AGI*, Intro. xliii f.n.

19. Trayānāmapi lokānāṃ Kurukṣetram viśiṣyate—*Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83. 203.

20. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, v. 1. 1; *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 116; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 170.

21. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13. 1; *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*, X. 19. 1; *Kāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XXIV, 6. 34; *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XIII, 29. 32.

Aśmanvatī, modern Rākshī)²² was known as Kurukṣetra or the field or land of Kuru, who is said to have become an ascetic on the bank of the great holy lake to the south of the town.²³ This lake which was called by various names such as Brahmasar,²⁴ Rāmāhrad, Vāyu or Vāyavasara and Pavanasar, was an oblong sheet of water, 3546 ft. in length from east to west and 1900 ft. in breadth. Abu Riḥan on the authority of Varāhamihira records that during eclipses of the moon the waters of all other tanks visited the tank at Thāneśvara.²⁵ The territory to the south of the Sarasvatī and to the north of the Driṣadvatī appears to have been included in Kurukṣetra,²⁶ which comprised the whole tract on the west of the Yamunā.²⁷ Sometimes Uttarapañcāla was included in Kurukṣetra.²⁸ The Kurus of the Madhyadeśa were called the Dakṣiṇa-Kurus.²⁹ There existed a constant feud between the north and south Kurus. Khāṇḍava, Tūrgṇa and Parīṇaḥ were the border portions of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from it (P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 681). To the north of Kurukṣetra the Śivis occupied the land in the epic times and the Ūśīnaras, who were an ancient petty tribe, dwelt to its north.³⁰

Northern Kuru country

Northern Kuru country was the place where the inhabitants enjoyed natural perfection and complete happiness.³¹ It is described as a land rich in delights, having beautiful woods, streams, flowering trees, mansions, wide halls, elephants, horses, gates, triumphal gates, etc.³² Rāmacandra referred to the beauty of

22. CASR., XIV, 88.
23. Cunningham, AGI., p. 380; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 32, v. 24.
24. Mbh., Vanaparva, 83. 85; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 49. 38-41; *Nāradya*, Uttara, 65. 95.
25. Cunningham, AGI., pp. 380, 383.
26. Mbh., Vanaparva, 86. 6.
27. *Rāmāyana*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, lxx. 12.
28. *Jātaka* No. 505; *Kururattṛthe Uttarapañcālanagare*, Jāt. IV, p. 444; Cf. Mbh., I, 138.
29. Mbh., I, 109. 10.
30. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 103; JRAS., 1908, p. 322; CHI., I, p. 84; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 68.
31. *Rāmāyana*, Griffith's Tr., Bk. II, Canto XCI, p. 236.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Northern Kuru-land.³³ Kabandha referred to its blissful shade where stood trees with fruits throughout the year.³⁴ Sugrīva mentioned its golden buds of lilies, lovely flowers and blue lotuses.³⁵

Neighbouring places

The Pañcālas, a confederation of five tribes, were the neighbours of the Kurus. According to the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXV, 13.3) the Ruśamā is said to have run round Kurukṣetra. Asthipura and Vyāsasthalī were also the neighbouring places. Asthipura was situated on the west of Thāneśvara and south of Aujaśaghāt where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Kurukṣetra battle were cremated.³⁶ According to Cunningham Asthipura (place of bones) was close to Cakratīrtha³⁷ which is supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma.³⁸ Bones of large size were still to be seen here in the time of Hiuen Tsang.³⁹ The corpses were heaved up like straw-ricks and their bones still covered the plain.⁴⁰

Vyāsasthalī (modern Basthali) was 17 miles to the south-west of Thāneśvara. Here Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son.⁴¹ Vyāsasthalī was 16 miles to the west of Karnal and 17 miles south-south-west of Thāneśvara. Here Vyāsa was visited by 9 sages.⁴² Amin was situated 5 miles south of Thāneśvara, where Arjuna's son Abhimanyu was killed and Aśvatthāmā was defeated by Arjuna and the gem attached to his skull was severed and given to the Pāṇḍavas.⁴³

33. *Ibid.*, Bk. II, Canto XCIV, p. 242.
34. *Ibid.*, Bk. III, Canto LXXIV, p. 381.
35. *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, xliii, p. 455.
36. *Padmapurāṇa*, Adi, 27. 62.
37. ASIR., Vol. 2, p. 219.
38. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 42. 5; 57. 89; 81. 3.
39. Cunningham, ASIR., Vol. XIV, p. 98.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
41. *Mahābh.*, Vanaparva, 84. 96; *Nāradya*, Uttara, 65. 83; *Padmapurāṇa*, I. 26. 90-91.
42. Cunningham, ASIR., Vol. XIV, p. 98; Kennedy, *Researches in Hindu Mythology*, p. 135 note.
43. *Mahābhārata*, Saupatikaparva, Ch. XV, vs. 27 ff.; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110.

Extent

The extent of Kurukṣetra (Pali Kurukhetta—*Jāt.*, VI, 291) is said to be five yojanas (1 yojana=12 miles). It was 300 leagues in extent (*tiyojanasate Kururatthe—Jātaka* No. 537). Tradition gives the kingdom of the Kurus a circumference of 2000 miles.⁴⁴

Rivers

The rivers Driṣadvatī, Sarasvatī and Āpayā were the three rivers flowing within the boundaries of Kurukṣetra.⁴⁵ Pischel has assigned the river Āpayā to Kurukṣetra. Pastyā was a stream in Kurukṣetra (*Vedische Studien*, 219). The river Āpayā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under the name of Āpagā.⁴⁶ This famous river was used by the perfected beings according to the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁷

Lakes and forests

Anyataḥ-plakṣā and Śaryāṇāvant were the lakes of Kurukṣetra.⁴⁸ Pischel places the lake Anyataḥ-plakṣā somewhere in Sir-mor.⁴⁹ The lake Śaryāṇāvant⁵⁰ appears to have been situated in the back part of Kurukṣetra.⁵¹ Dvaipāyana lake was situated at Thāneśvara. There were seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra, which were considered as very holy. They were as follows: Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana, and Sītavana.⁵²

Kurukṣetra constituting Brahmarṣideśa and not Brahmāvarta

The *Mānavadharmasāstra* (II, 19) states that Kurukṣetra constituted Brahmarṣideśa (sacred land of the Brahmanical sages) contiguous to it.⁵³ It was not included in the Brahmāvarta which

44. *Jātaka*, V. 57, 484; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

45. *Mbh.*, III, 83, 68; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 218.

46. *Vanaparva*, LXXXIII, 6033-40; Cunningham, *ASR.*, XIV, 88; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 293.

47. *Āpagā nāma vikhyātā nadī siddhanīṣevitā—Vanaparva*, 83. v. 68.

48. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5. 1. 4.

49. *Vedische Studien*, 2, 217.

50. *Ṛgveda*, I. 84, 14; viii. 6, 39; 7, 29; ix. 65. 22; X. 35. 2.

51. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 364.

52. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 34. 3 ff.; *Nārādīya*, Uttara, 65. 4-7; *ASIR.*, XIV, pp. 90-91.

53. *Brahmāvartādanantaraḥ*.

lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Driṣadvatī and which was built by the gods according to the famous law-giver Manu.⁵⁴

Kurukṣetra of Manu—a centre of Vedic culture

The Kurukṣetra of Manu may be intended for the country of the Kurus in the more immediate vicinity of Delhi.⁵⁵ Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmaṇa period. King Kuruśravana, son of Trasasadyu, is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (X.33.4). The *Ṛgveda* (X. 98.5, 7; Cf. *Nirukta*, II, 10) refers to Devāpi and Śantanu as the sons of Rīṣtisena, a Kuru king. There is also a mention of a Kauravya husband talking with his wife in the *Atharvaveda* (20.127.8). The *Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā* (II, 1.4) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (V.1.1.) point out that gods performed a *sattra*⁵⁶ in Kurukṣetra. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (1.10.1-7; *S.B.E.*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19) occurs the story of Uṣasticākṛāyana, a contemporary of Janaka of Videha, who lived with his young wife in Ibhyagrāma, when the Kuru country was struck by hail-storms and when the crops were destroyed in the Kuruland by hailstones or locusts.⁵⁷

Founder of Kurukṣetra

King Kuru founded the city of Kurukṣetra which was named after him (*ya idaṃ dharmakṣetram Kurukṣetram cakāra*).⁵⁸ The region that lies between Taruntuka and Arantuka or Marantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Macakruka was Kurukṣetra.⁵⁹ According to the *Papañcasūdanī* (I, p. 225), the commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the chieftains from the Kuru country were known as the Kurus, and the country was later named after them. Originally

54. *Mānavadharmasāstra*, II, 17; Cf. *Mahābh.*, III, 83. 53; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 33. v. 9.

55. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Tr., Vol. II, p. 142 f.n. 4.

56. It may mean any oblation or meritorious work equivalent to the performance of a *sattra*—a great soma sacrifice. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 1138; Macdonell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1924, p. 33.

57. *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 4; *JRAS.*, 1911, 510.

58. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, Ch. XIX; Tr by Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 148 f.n. 1; *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, Vaṅgabāsī Ed., Ch. 75, pp. 86-88; Ch. 85, p. 96; Ch. 94, p. 104; *Harivaṃśa*, Ch. XXXII, 84-85.

59. *Mbh.*, III, 83. 4; 9; 15; 52; 200; 208; Ray Chaudhury, *PHAI.*, 5th Ed., p. 22—Taruntuka, Macakruka and Marantuka were the *Yakṣa dvārapālas* guarding the boundaries of Kurukṣetra.

Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *vedi* or the sacrificial altar of Brahmā (*Prajāpateruttaravedirucyate sanātani samantapañcakaṃ*).⁶⁰ It then came to be called Samantapañcaka⁶¹ when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of the Kṣatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pitṛs (*purayitvā naravyāghrā rudhirēneti visrutam pitarastarpitāḥ sarve tathaiva prapitāmahāḥ*).⁶² Lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarāṇa, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krośas* all round.⁶³ Really speaking Kurukṣetra was so called because the noble king Kuru of great prowess, who was a royal sage, ploughed it well for many years (*Purā ca rājarṣivareṇa dhīmatā bahūni varṣānyamitena tejasā prakṛiṣṭametāt kurunā mahātmanā tataḥ kurukṣetramitiḥa paprathe ||*).⁶⁴ He did it with great care quite unfatigued,⁶⁵ because those who would die here would reach the holy regions where there was no sin (*Iha ye puruṣāḥ ksetre mariṣyanti . . te gamiṣyanti sukritān lokān pāpavi-varjitān*).⁶⁶

Territory of the Kurus

The Kurus were the people of Kurukṣetra or the upper part of the Doab, about Delhi; the lower part of the Doab was occupied by the Pañcālas.⁶⁷ The territory of the Kurus appears to have been divided into 3 parts: (1) Kurukṣetra, (2) Kuru's country, and (3) Kurujāṅgala or the wasteland of the Kurus.⁶⁸ Some think that the Kuru kingdom was split up into several parts: one part having Hastināpura as its capital, was ruled by the direct

60. *Mbh.*, III, Ch. 83. v. 208; *Ibid.*, v. 206 (*Brahmavedi*); *Ibid.*, IX, 53; Cf. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 22. 59-60; 22. 18-20; Ch. 33, v. 15.

61. A tīrtha or the holy spot on the river Sarasvatī—*Mbh.*, III, 117, 10204-10; *Ibid.*, IX, 38. 2163; 45. 2501; 1, 1, 12-13; IX, 54, 3008.

62. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83. 28.

63. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 19. 74-77.

64. *Mbh.*, IX, 53. 2; Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99. 115-16; *Matsyapurāṇa*, 50. 20-21.

65. . . . yeneyam kriṣyate kṣitih . . . rājarṣirapyanirbhinnāḥ karṣatyeva vasundharām—*Mbh.*, IX, 53. vv. 5, 9; *Ibid.*, Śalyaparva, LIV, 3009; *Markandeyapurāṇa*, p. 354.

66. *Mbh.*, IX, 53. 6.

67. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Tr., Vol. II, p. 133 f.n. 1.

68. . . . Kurujāṅgalaṃ kuravotha kurukṣetraṃ trayametadavarddhata—*Mbh.*, Ādiparva, 109. v. 1.

descendants of Janamejaya himself. Another part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakṣasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha, which continued to be the seat of the kings of Yudhiṣṭhira gotra.⁶⁹ Kurukṣetra was really one of the three parts of the kingdom of Kuru according to the *Mahābhārata* (1.109.1). The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised Kurukṣetra or Thāneśvara. The middle region between the Ganges and the Jumna seems to have been called simply the Kuru's country.⁷⁰ The place of the inhabitants of Uttaradvīpa (northern island) was called the kingdom of the Kurus.⁷¹ A large number of inhabitants of Uttarakuru followed Mahāmandhātā, the Chakravartī king of Jambudvīpa to Jambudvīpa and the place in Jambudvīpa where they settled came to be known as the kingdom of Kuru, including provinces, villages, towns, etc.⁷² The Kurujāṅgala was the eastern part of the territory of the Kurus and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and the northern Pañcāla.⁷³ This forest tract of the Kuruland extended as far as the Kāmyaka forest on the river Sarasvatī.⁷⁴ Kurujāṅgala which was a forest country lay to the east of Kurukṣetra. It was Kuru's territory (apparently less cultivated).⁷⁵ After the death of Pāṇḍu, Kuntī the affectionate mother of the five Pāṇḍavas, soon reached Kurujāṅgala. She of great fame came to the gate of that prosperous city (. . . sā tvadīrghena kālena saṃprāptā kurujāṅgalaṃ vardhamānapuradvāramāsasāda yaśasvini).⁷⁶ It was also called Śrīkaṇṭhajanapada.⁷⁷ It was included in Kurukṣetra and the entire Kurudeśa was called by this name.⁷⁸ The

69. Ray Chaudhury, *PHAI*, 5th Ed., 37-38.

70. Pargiter, *Markandeyapurāṇa*, pp. 354-55 f.n.

71. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 12—*Uttarādvīpavāsīnam thānam Kururajam nāma*; Vide also Law, *History of Buddha's religion*, SBB, p. 13.

72. *Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 225-26—*Uttarakuruto āgatamanussehi āvasitapadeso Kururajam ti nāmam . . . gāmanigamādayo upādāya . . .*

73. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, LXXII; *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva, XIX, 793-94.

74. *Sarasvatikūle kāmīyakaṃ nāma kānanam*—*Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 36. 41.

75. Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 76; *Mbh.*, I. 126, 4901-6; II. 19. 793; V. 152. 5191, 5195.

76. *Mbh.*, I, Ch. 126, v. 9.

77. Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, Ch. iii, p. 108; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110.

78. N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dict.*, p. 110; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 32.

capital of Śrīkaṇṭha was Bilaspur, 33 miles north-west of Saharanpur.⁷⁹

The Pāṇḍavas saw the Kurujāṅgala region. Here the Kām-yaka forest was visited by them.⁸⁰ Nilakaṇṭha explains 'dhanvā' as jāṅgaladeśā. Yudhiṣṭhira was in this forest. He was met by the sage Maitreya who reached Kurujāṅgala, while visiting holy places.⁸¹ The messengers sent by the sage Vasiṣṭha to bring back Bharata from his maternal uncle's place, proceeded towards the west through the tract known as Kurujāṅgala.⁸² Pargiter rightly suggests that the Jāṅgalas were the same as the people of Kurujāṅgala (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p., 309 f.n.). The Jāṅgalas are mentioned with the Kurus and contiguous tribes. So Pargiter's assumption seems to be correct, for we do not hear of any other people of this name mentioned in ancient literature or inscription.

Kuru and his successors

Kuru raised the Paurava realm to eminence and extended his sway beyond Prayāga. He subdued south Pañcāla. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and Kurujāṅgala which adjoined it on the east and in which Hastināpura, the ancient capital of Kurukṣetra, lay.⁸³ The successors of Kuru were called the Kurus or the Kauravas. The Kurus ruled over Kurukṣetra about 830 B.C. according to Pargiter.⁸⁴ Rapson points out that the Bharatas who were settled in the country of the Sarasvatī in the Ṛgvedic times,⁸⁵ were later merged in the Kuru people and that their whole territory became famous in history under the name of Kurukṣetra, which was the scene of the great battle of the descen-

79. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Ch. 40; N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dictionary*, p. 191.

80. *Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, Ch. 5. v. 3—*Tataḥ Sarasvatīkule sameṣu marudhanvasu Kāmyakam nāma dadriśurvanam munijanapriyam.*

81. *Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, Ch. 10. v. 11—
Tīrthayātrāmanukrāman prāptosmi Kurujāṅgalān |
yadricchayā dharmarājāṃ dṛṣṭavān Kāmyake vane |

82. *Rāmāyana*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 68. v. 13—
Te Hāstinapure gaṅgāṃ tīrtvā pratyāṅgamukhā yayuh |
Pañcāladeśamāsādyā madhyena kurujāṅgalam |

83. *Mbh.*, I, 109, 4337, 4360; 199. 7355.

84. *A.I.H.T.*, p. 326.

85. *Ṛgveda* III. 723-4.

dants of Bharata Dauṣhanti and the centre from which the Indo-aryan culture spread first throughout Hindusthan and eventually throughout the whole sub-continent.⁸⁶

Hiuen Tsang's visit

Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., came to Thāneśvara (*Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo*). The holy land of Kurukṣetra must have been extended to the river Driṣadvatī at the time of Hiuen Tsang.⁸⁷ According to him it was above 7000 li in circuit and its capital was above 20 li in circuit. The town of Thāneśvara consisted of an old ruined fort about 1200 ft. square at top with the modern town on a mound to the east and a suburb called Bāhari on another mound to the west.⁸⁸ According to the Chinese pilgrim its soil was rich and fertile and the crops were abundant; the climate was warm; the manners and customs of the people were not liberal; the rich families vied with each other in extravagance. The people were greatly devoted to magical arts. The majority pursued trade, and few were given to farming; rarities from other lands were collected in this country. There were three Buddhist monasteries with more than 700 professed Buddhists, all Hīnayānists. There were more than 100 Deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous.⁸⁹ On every side of the capital within a precinct of 200 li in circuit was an area called by the men of that place as the land of religious merit. To the north-west of the city of Thāneśvara four or five li a stūpa existed about 300 ft. high built by Aśoka-rāja. The bricks were all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining. From the stūpa a brilliant light was frequently seen. Going south of the city about 100 li, there was the Gokaṇṭha monastery. The priests were virtuous and well-mannered, possessed of quiet dignity.⁹⁰

Religious history

Kurukṣetra was the holy spot of the righteous Kurus. There were about hundred *tīrthas* in Kurukṣetra according to the Nāra-

86. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 47.

87. Cunningham, *A.G.I.*, p. 382.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

89. Watters, *On Yuan Chang*, Vol. I, p. 314.

90. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 183, 186.

dīya.⁹¹ The *Kurukṣetramāhātmya* in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* mentions 180 holy places. But the popular belief is that there were 360 holy places,⁹² most of which are connected with the names of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Cunningham gives a list of *tīrthas* or holy places in Kurukṣetra.⁹³

The Linga worship was first established at Sthānvīśvara.⁹⁴ Muñjavata was a place of pilgrimage in or near Kurukṣetra.⁹⁵ According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 83.1-2) those who are in Kurukṣetra are free from all sins, and he who always says: 'I shall go to Kurukṣetra and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra, is freed from sins'

Kurukṣetram gamiṣyāmi kurukṣetre vasāmyaham |
ya evam satatam bruyāt sopi pāpaiḥ pramucyate ||

According to the *Mahābhārata* (126,10467) Māndhātṛi sacrificed in the country afterwards called Kurukṣetra, which was then Druhyu or Ānava land. The Vaiśālī king named Marutta, son of Avikṣit, sacrificed on the Jumna near Kurukṣetra.⁹⁶ The Tīrthayātrāparva of the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 5074) points out that south from the Sarasvatī and north from the Driṣadvatī one living in Kurukṣetra really lives in heaven.

Dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ Driṣadvatyuttareṇa ca |
ye vasanti Kurukṣetre te vasanti triviṣṭape ||

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁹⁷ says that the Videhan king Janaka celebrated a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon the Brahmins of the Kuru country. He collected a thousand kine, and ten *pādas* were tied to each single horn of each cow. D. R. Bhandarkar points out that *pāda* is known to be the name of a coin referred to in one of Pāṇini's *sūtras* (V.1.34) and also in an inscription of the 10th century A.D.⁹⁸ It must have denoted a

91. Uttara, Ch. 65.
92. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 380.
93. *ASIR.*, XIV, pp. 97-106; *IA.*, 1904, pp. 298-300.
94. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 44; N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dictionary*, p. 191.
95. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, LXXXIII, 5092; LXXXV, 8210.
96. *Ibid.*, III, 129, 10528-29; Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 268 f.n.
97. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, III, 1. 1. ff.; Vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 235-36.
98. *E.I.*, 1. 173. 23 and 178. 11.

coin which in value was ¼ of that coin which was the standard money.⁹⁹

According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 83 v.1) all animals are freed from all kinds of sin even at the sight of Kurukṣetra (... *Pāpebhyo yatra mucyante darśanāt sarvajantavaḥ*) . By visiting it one acquires the same amount of merit as can be obtained by making a gift of 1000 cows or by performing a Rājāsūya sacrifice.¹⁰⁰ Kurukṣetra was so very holy that even its dust removed the sins of the sinners.¹⁰¹

It was at this particularly sacred place that Nahuṣa's son Yayāti performed many religious ceremonies; it was here that divine and royal sages performed the *Sārasvata-yajña* and it was here that Prajāpati performed his *yajña*.¹⁰² The great sacrifice of *satranta* was performed in the wide region of Kurukṣetra on the banks of the Driṣadvatī which was considered holy on account of its virtues.¹⁰³

The Buddha is said to have delivered a number of profound religious discourses in the Kuruland, as already pointed out, and a large number of people embraced Buddhism.¹⁰⁴

In the 11th century A. D. Kurukṣetra was visited by people as a place of pilgrimage especially at the time of the eclipse.¹⁰⁵

Kuru kings

All the inhabitants of the Kuru kingdom gave gifts and performed good works following their king.¹⁰⁶ A Kuru together with the members of his family and his chief officials obeyed the *Kuru-*

99. Carmichael *Lectures*, 1921, 58-60.

100. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 83. 20.

101. *Ibid.*, 83. 1-8, 203-208:

Pāṃśavopi kurukṣetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ |
Api duṣkṛitakarmāṇaṃ nayanti paramāṇaṃ gatim ||

102. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 129. pp. 394-95.

103. *ASIR.*, XIV, p. 87; Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 382.

104. *Aṅguttara*, V. 29-32; *Saṃyutta*, II, 92-93; 107 ff.; *Majjhima*, I, 55 ff.; 501 ff.; II, 54 ff.; 261 ff.; *Digha*, II, 55 ff.; *Theragāthā*, vs. 769-93; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Sisters*, pp. 57-58.

105. Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 147.

106. *Jātaka* VI, p. 329—*Rājānaṃ ādimkatvā sabbeṭṭhi kururattavāsino dānādāni puññāni katvā.*

dhamma which consisted in the observance of the five rules of moral conduct and it possessed the mystic virtue of bringing prosperity to the country.¹⁰⁷ The *Jātaka* contains an account of the incidents connected with Dhanañjaya and Vidhura, notably the defeat of Dhanañjaya at dice and the mediation of Vidhurapaṇḍita in a friendly rivalry between the king and Sakka (Indra).¹⁰⁸ King Dhanañjaya had a seraglio containing 16000 dancing girls (*... mahantaṃ pariggahaṃ soḷasasahassa nāṭakittihā-paripunaṇaṃ*). Jarāsandha is mentioned as the king of Kurukhetta. King Korabba belonging to the family of Yudhiṭṭhila gotta made large gifts, but he got no pleasure in making such gifts, as there was none among the recipients possessing five moral qualities.¹⁰⁹

Prabhākaravardhana, father of Harṣa or Śilāditya II and of his brother Rājyavardhana, was the king of Sthānviśvara according to the *Harṣacarita of Bāṇa* (Ch. III, p. 108). Harṣa removed his seat of government from Thāneśvara to Kanauj.¹¹⁰ In A.D. 648 a Chinese ambassador was sent to Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvara. He found that the general (*senāpati*) Arjuna had usurped his kingdom and the dynasty then became extinct. In the latter part of the 6th century A.D. Prabhākaravardhana, Raja of Thāneśvara, rose to eminence by successful wars against his neighbours, including the Mālavas, the Hun settlements in the N. W. Punjab and the Gurjaras, probably those of Rajputana, but possibly those of the Gurjara kingdom in the Punjab, now represented by Gujrat and Gujranwala districts. The fact that his mother was a princess of the Gupta lineage undoubtedly stimulated his ambition and aided its realisation.¹¹¹ Thāneśvara continued to be a place of great sanctity but in 1014 A.D. it was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, and although recovered by the Hindu rājā of Delhi in 1043 A.D., it remained desolate for centuries.

107. *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, Jāt. Vol. II, 366 ff.

108. *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, 255 ff.

109. *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka*, Jāt. IV, 361 ff.—Rājā sakala Jambudīpaṃ
khobhento mahādānaṃ deti, taṃ gahetvā bhunjañtesu ekopi
pañcasūlaṃ rakkhanto nāma natthi, sabbe dussilā va, dānaṃ
rājānaṃ na toseti.

110. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 191.

111. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., pp. 348-49.

Constitution of Kuruland

The people of Kurukṣetra were not very important politically during the Buddha's time.¹¹² In the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Kurus had monarchical form of government but they became non-monarchical in the 4th century B.C. when Kauṭilya lived.¹¹³ The corporation of the Kurus lived by the title of *rājā* (*rājaśabdopajīvinah*).¹¹⁴

Battle of Kurukṣetra

The famous battle-field of Kurukṣetra was situated on the south of Thāneśvara, about 30 miles to the south of Ambala, and 40 miles to the north of Panipat.¹¹⁵ The battle was fought at the time of Duryodhana.¹¹⁶ The battle of Kurukṣetra is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a fight between the Kurus and Śrīñjayas.¹¹⁷ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the unfriendly feeling between them.¹¹⁸ When the terrible battle between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was being fought, Tārksī, the beautiful wife of Droṇa, the youngest son of Madanapāla, went to Kurukṣetra and entered into the battle. She beheld the contest between Bhagadatta and Arjuna.¹¹⁹ Arriving at Kurukṣetra the Pāṇḍavas encamped with their troops on the western part of the field, facing the numerically much stronger force of Duryodhana and his allies.¹²⁰ Duryodhana caused his camps to be made to look like a second Hastināpura and into these camps he made soldiers with their horses enter in groups of a hundred each, arranging names and emblems for all of them, so that they might be recognised in the battle. With the death of Duryodhana the victory in the Kurukṣetra battle fell to the Pāṇḍavas, but only a handful of their followers came out of the fray alive. The Pāṇḍus were reconciled to the aged Dhritrāṣṭra who retired to the forest, after remaining at the ancient capital of the Kurus, Hastināpura, for 15 years, and he and his

112. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

113. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165.

114. *Arthasāstra* Tr., p. 455.

115. *CASR.*, XIV, p. 86; *Ibid.*, II, p. 212; *IA.*, 1904, p. 298.

116. For a detailed account of the battle vide Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 23-33.

117. *Mbh.*, VI, 45. 2; 60. 29; 72. 15; VII, 20. 41; VIII, 47, 23; 57, 112

118. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 63.

119. Pargiter, *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 8.

120. *Mbh.*, Udyogaparva, Ch. 198; Ch. 151; Ch. 154.

queens finally perished in a forest conflagration. Yudhiṣṭhira himself did not reign long. On the eve of the Kurukṣetra battle Yudhiṣṭhira sought the help of the Madra king, Śalya. Śalya set out with his brave sons and a huge army. Duryodhana also solicited his help in the ensuing Kurukṣetra battle. Śalya consented, subsequently asking Yudhiṣṭhira to release him (on certain conditions) from his previous promise. After severe fighting and many vicissitudes the Madra soldiers were killed by Arjuna.¹²¹ The war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas took place not only at Thāneśvara, but also in the country around it. The people of Kurukṣetra received great help from the Kāmbojas and especially from their king Sudakṣiṇa in their great battle.¹²² The fast and powerful horses of Kāmboja were of great service in the famous battle of Kurukṣetra.¹²³ The Kāmbojas led a large army to the field of Kurukṣetra and lay down their lives like the valiant Kṣatriyas. The actions of the people of Gandhāra in the long-drawn-out battle of Kurukṣetra are given in detail in the *Mahābhārata*.¹²⁴ Bhīṣma while lying on the bed of arrows in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra, asked Karna to refrain from this fratricidal war. The field of the Kurus was the scene of the war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus in which all the nations of India were ranged on one side or the other.¹²⁵

The Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas rigidly followed the traditional rules of a fair fight prevalent among the Kṣatriyas of Ancient India.

The Yavanas or the Ionians took the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra battle along with other tribes of north-west India.¹²⁶ The Sauvīras and the Sindhus played an important part

121. *Ibid.*, Udyogaparva, Chs. 8 and 19; Dronaparva, Ch. 103; Bhīṣmaparva, Chg. 51, 105-6; Karnaparva, Chs. 5 and 6.

122. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9.

123. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣmaparva, 71, 13; 90, 3; Dronaparva, 22, 7; 22, 22-23; 22, 42; Karnaparva, 38, 13; Sautikaparva, 13, 12.

124. Vide, Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 6, 12.

125. Vide *JRAS.*, 1908, 309 ff.—Here an account is given of the part played by different nations and tribes who were arrayed in the great battle.

126. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 274; *Mbh.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 20, v. 13—

Śāradvatascottara dhurmahātmā maheṣvāso Gautamascitra yodhī |
Śakaiḥ Kīrātairyavanaiḥ Pallavaśca sārddham camūmutterato
abhiyāti ||

in the Kurukṣetra battle. They joined the Kauravas along with other tribes.¹²⁷ Kālidāsa refers to this battle in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 48).

Bhārata war & Trojan war compared

That the war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus is historical and that it took place in ancient times cannot be doubted, however much its story has been overloaded with legend, and however late may be the form in which it has been handed down. The legend of the Mahābhārata war in India finds its exact parallel in the legend of the Trojan war in Europe. Each became the great central point to which the nations of the middle ages referred their history. To have shared ancestrally in the fame of Kurukṣetra or of Troy was for nations the patent of nobility and ancient descent. The remotest peoples of eastern and southern India and the late invaders of the north-west alike claimed a place in the story of the *Mahābhārata*, even as the royal houses of Western Europe traced their origin to Trojan heroes.

On the termination of the great Kurukṣetra battle and on the death of one hundred sons of Dhritarāṣṭra, the line of the Kurus through the blind king became extinct. The Pāṇḍavas won the victory, regained their lost kingdom, and became masters of Kurukṣetra. We cannot vouch for the authenticity of the entire epic account of the battle, but the historicity of the battle itself should not be doubted.

127. *Mbh.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. IX, p. 822.

128. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 307.

European Influence on Indian *Pietra Dura*

BY

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The origin of the *pietra-dura* inlay work in Mughal architecture has been a subject of controversy for a long time past, and historians of medieval Indian architecture have advanced conflicting opinions based on a variety of data, historical as well as conjectural. A student of India's architectural history is not yet in a position to arrive at a decisive opinion, because conclusive contemporary evidence is still wanting to prove or disprove any hypothesis. There is, however, a sufficient amount of indirect evidence which has to be sifted critically before one can hazard any opinions on the subject.

It is a great pity that the authorities have not been actuated by a dispassionate regard for the actual truth. The critics have assumed the roles of advocates, and have shown a tendency to prove somehow by twisting the evidence of the Italian origin of Indian *pietra-dura*. What is needed is an impartial and scientific analysis of the available sources of information which alone can lead to the establishment of the truth.

Roughly, there are two schools of thought to be noticed in this connexion. One school is represented by writers like Smith, Burgess, Fergusson, Rev. H. Hosten, and others who have sought to ascribe the introduction of the *pietra-dura* to the Italian artists who resided at the Mughal Court. The other school is represented by that liberal connoisseur of Indian art, Havell, who has stoutly opposed the theory of European influence on Indian *pietra-dura*. In their enthusiasm for their respective viewpoints, both sides have assumed much that is historically yet to be proved, and have thus weakened their case thereby in the eyes of a sober student of Indian history. It is, however, necessary to present the main arguments of either side before any critical estimate of their intrinsic value can be attempted.

The main arguments urged by different critics in defence of the theory of Italian origin of Indian *pietra-dura* must be summarized at the outset before they can be discussed.

Firstly, some of the designs of the inlay to be seen at Agra and Delhi are of the "Renaissance" style of Florence of this period. It is assumed therefore that it was the work of Italian artists from Florence. Vincent Smith writes about the famous screen railing round the cenotaph in the Taj, "It may be taken as an unsurpassed example of the art in Shahjahan's time. The lines of the repeating pattern in this case are more like Italian Renaissance than Asiatic work" (vide History of Art in India and Ceylon, page 437). Even Sir John Marshall who rejected the story of the Italian designer of the Taj was of the opinion that this pattern betrays Italian influence.

Secondly, the picture of Orpheus playing the violin surrounded by animals and birds cannot but be Italian, and it demonstrates that Italian workmen were employed to reproduce a unique picture of the immortal Italian painter, Raphael. The fact that the aforesaid panel depicts an unmistakably Greek and Roman legend of Orpheus is cited as one of the strongest proofs of Italian influence on Indian architecture of those days. Even Sir Syed Ahmad Khan admitted this in his Asarus-Sanadid, "as the tableau was known only in Europe, it may be concluded with certainty that Europeans, come from Italy, were among the workmen employed on the construction of Shahjahan's castle" (vide M. Garcin de Tassy: Description des monuments de Delhi, Pt. 1, Ch. XIX). It may be added here that the same author writing about the mosaics at the palace baths goes on to say, "These mosaics prove that a clever Italian was among the artists employed for these constructions."

Thirdly, the Etruscan vases executed in several places in the Taj and elsewhere corroborate the tradition that the designers of the inlay were Italians.

Fourthly, it is definitely known that there were numerous Italian artists and craftsmen at Agra and Delhi during the Mughal times, and that they were in the service of the Emperors. It stands to reason, therefore, that they must have taught the designs and technique of the Florentine art of inlay to the Indian workmen.

Fifthly, the Rev. E. Terry, who resided at Jahangir's court for about three years with Sir Thomas Roe says, "The Jesuit congregations there are very thin, consisting of some Italians, which the Mughal entertains, by great pay given to them, to cut his diamonds and other rich stones . . ." (vide Terry; A Voyage to East Indies). It is argued from this that the Italian cutters of precious stones must evidently also have been the inlayers of *pietra-dura*.

Sixthly, Manucci also states that there were at the Mughal court large numbers of European lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, surgeons and gunners (vide Manucci: Storia de Mogor). The Rev. H. Hosten has argued that under the general designation of "enamellers" Italian *pietra-dura* inlayers are included. According to him, the Portuguese word "esmalter" means to enamel, to inlay, to variegate with colours.

Seventhly, the Rev. H. Hosten has found many allusions to the presence of Italians in Mughal India in the unpublished Jesuit letters (vide the Annual Report of the Jesuits for 1597, J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 88, 91, 92, 95, Purchas His Pilgrimes, IV, p. 174 etc.). He opines that the advent of the Italian diamond cutters and enamellers coincides with the period when the *pietra-dura* art flourished in India, and this supports the theory of Italian influence.

Eighthly, Father Catrou has referred to the grandest example of *pietra-dura* inlay at Delhi, which no longer exists. From his description, it appears to have been a vine formed of precious stones of the largest size, the leaves being made of emeralds and the grapes hanging in clusters being composed of costly diamonds and rubies (vide Catrou; The General History of the Mogol Empire, pp. 227-228). Catrou's story has been corroborated by Gentil (vide his Memoirs, pp. 173-174). The Rev. H. Hosten has suggested that the Anguri Baghs were an Italian idea and says, "Who would not be tempted to connect Shahjahan's vine in *pietra-dura* at Delhi, and similar ones at Agra and Lahore with the grapes of sunny Italy . . . ?" (vide J.U.P.H.S. III p. 157). It is assumed that Italian gardeners and inlayers alone could efficiently design the inlay of the vine-leaves and grapes in Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Catrou is again cited to show that the Delhi gardens were laid out by a Venetian.

Ninthly, it is urged that if *pietra-dura* had been really indigenous to India, some treatises on it must have existed. The absence of the latter supports the belief of the foreign origin of the art.

Tenthly, without admitting Italian influence, it is impossible to account for the sudden appearance of this art in its perfection in India of that age. It is argued that an art like this could not spring into prominence all of a sudden and be perfect from the very start.

Eleventhly, Bernier says about the Taj (vide his Travels, p. 298) that Shahjahan wanted to rival the work of Florence. Tavernier (vide his Travels I, 98-99) also mentions about the Diwan-i-Khas in the Delhi palace that Shahjahan intended the mosaic work therein to be as rich and ornamental as in the Chapel of the Grand Duke in Italy. The Rev. H. Hosten argues from these statements, "If, as we might understand Bernier and Tavernier, Shahjahan wished to rival the lavish use of *pietra-dura* in the Medicean Chapel, who was to imitate it but those who had seen it and could intimate it"?

Twelfthly, a modern Italian writer, Antonio Zobi, whose account has been accented by the Rev. H. Hosten states that Grand Duke Ferdinand I after starting the construction of the Medicean Chapel had sent four of his workmen to India in quest of precious stones. The Medicean Archives show that Ferdinand I had to address himself to the ruler of Spain for the necessary passport to be given to the workmen. No details as regards these men are, however, available, but it was suggested by Signor Zobi that these workmen might have been persuaded to stay in India, and that they might have explained their art to the Indians.

Lastly, it is to be noted that a modern Florentine inlayer, A. Menegatti, who had been commissioned by Lord Curzon to replace the picture of Orpheus at Delhi, was of the opinion that the work of the Taj, Delhi, and Florence was one and the same.

From the formidable array of arguments summarized above from different sources, it might appear that a very strong case has been made out in favour of the view that the Italians introduced the art of *pietra-dura* in India. But, that the above position

is not convincing will be apparent from the arguments advanced against it.

Firstly, from the Indian chronicles it does not appear that foreigners did the inlay work in the Taj or elsewhere. On the other hand, the names of Hindu inlayers, Chiranji Lal, Chhotey Lal, Mannu Lal and Manohar Singh, who are said to have received high salaries are included in the list of workmen engaged in the construction of the Taj.

Secondly, it is wrong to assume that *pietra-dura* had not existed before the Mughals. Havell refers to a fine example of Indian *pietra-dura* in the fifteenth century Jain Temple of Chitor, wherein mosaics of cornelian and agate could be found. Sir John Marshall also has mentioned an earlier form at Mandu (vide Annual Report A. S. India, 1904-5, p. 5, 1903-4, p. 38). Even another type of *pietra-dura* is to be seen in Rajputana in the Jagmandir palace at Udaipur, built about 1623 for Prince Khurram.

Thirdly, the *pietra-dura* in Mughal architecture is Persian in character, and the idea of Florentine design is far-fetched. The motifs are all Persian—the tree of life, the cypress tree, the flower vases, fruits, wine-cups, rose-water vessels, etc. have all been imitated from either Persian pottery, or Persian mosaic tiles. The naturalistic fresco painting of Persia has only been reproduced in the Taj and in Shahjahan's palaces.

Fourthly, the Indians had nothing new to learn about the technique of inlay from the Italians, as the art had been popularized by the Arab and the Persian styles already.

Lastly, the solitary example of Florentine *pietra-dura* decoration, that is to be seen at the throne-chamber of Delhi, is not a decisive proof of Italian influence. Havell suggests that the panel might have been imported complete from Italy and fixed in the wall by local workmen.

On a dispassionate examination of the conflicting arguments it is difficult to reject summarily the theory of Italian influence, as it is equally difficult to ignore the strength of the arguments advanced by Havell and others.

Some of the arguments of Smith, Hosten, and others are unassailable. For example, the Florentine *pietra-dura* in the Diwan-i-Am at Delhi could not have been executed by Indian

Democratic Experiments in Ancient South India

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Much talk is generally heard particularly in these days about democratic institutions. That such institutions existed in every village in early times in South India is generally agreed upon by scholars of every variety. Doubt still lurks in many quarters as to the mode in which they functioned in ancient times, which would indirectly raise the question as to how far they were really democratic. An attempt is made in this short paper to study the working of the democratic institutions of a particular village about which inscriptions deal at great length and in large numbers. As a prelude to it I shall also indicate the fundamentals of the village administrative system as gleaned from various inscriptional records of the middle ages.

That the village assemblies of South India are perhaps as old as at least the first century of the Christian era is borne out by the Sangam poems, in which the mention of *manram* and the *podiyal* often occurs. That this does not refer to the assembly of the king is borne out not only by the context of these poems but also by the learned commentaries they bear. Naccinarkiniyar, for example, always explains the meaning of the term, *manram*, as "the open space in the centre of the village. After the period of the Sangam upto the days of the Pallavas, however, no reference is to be found about these village institutions; but that must be due more to the lack of source materials than anything else. It could not be conceived that the democratic institutions that were planted on congenial soil, and in early times, must have suddenly disappeared especially since we hear of them with renewed vigour when the inscriptions begin to speak. It would, on the other hand, appear that these democratic institutions always formed the irrevocable substratum of the administrative system of South India and they remain so to this day.

workmen, and the picture of Orpheus, for instance, is peculiarly European. Again, it is undeniable that there were a large number of Italian and other European artists and jewellers in the Mughal court, and they must have had a hand in the artistic work executed at that time.

But, it is equally certain that many of the arguments given above are conjectural at best, or fail to be conclusive. The solitary picture of Orpheus which is nowhere repeated in any form does not by itself prove anything. Havell's opinion that it might have been imported from Europe, or purchased by the Emperor from the Italians as a curio is certainly not unreasonable. Again, the design and symbolism of the inlay at other places are not definitely Italian as is maintained by some critics. They are rather glaringly Persian in style. Besides, in the absence of definite evidence vague allusions to the presence of Europeans in the Mughal court in the diaries of the travellers and the Jesuits do not necessarily prove that the Italians introduced any new art in India. The foreign workmen may have been employed, as is expressly stated, for cutting the precious stones used in the inlay work. The stone-cutters referred to by Terry need not have been inlayers. Any presumption to that effect in the absence of a definite statement is hardly logical.

The fact that no Asiatic treatises on *pietra-dura* have been found does not prove that it could not be an indigenous art. Craftsmanship in the East is generally handed down by oral tradition from father to son. Again, it is strange that no European traveller has definitely stated that the Italians had been engaged to do the *pietra-dura* work in the Taj or elsewhere. Why should they not have mentioned it, if it had been a fact?

Signor Zobi's theory that four Italian workmen sent by Ferdinand I taught the art to the Indians has not been proved, and is no more than a conjecture. No clear documentary evidence has been produced in defence of this assertion. Signor Menegatti's opinion may have been promoted by a patriotic desire to praise the art of his country.

The *pietra-dura* work undertaken in Shahjahan's time was on such a large scale that it is difficult to believe that a handful of Italians could have designed or supervised the whole of it.

The design of the vine and grapes has again been wrongly assumed to have been borrowed from Italy. Persia too was a land of grapes, and was much nearer to India. Besides, Persian designs or tastes were fashionable in the Mughal times. The designs as adopted in India were Persian.

The arguments of Havell, based as they are on historical as well as artistic grounds, are more telling. But, he has not adduced sufficient evidence to show how that art had gradually evolved in India before the arrival of the Europeans. The solitary instances from Chitor and Mandu are not conclusive, as they are not real *pietra-dura*. The inlay work at Mandu is only marble mosaic. It has, therefore, yet to be shown how the technique had been mastered in India, or whether it was imported wholesale from Persia.

Again, there is at least some similarity in the technique of Indian *pietra-dura* and that of Florence. Is this merely a coincidence? Shahjahan had cosmopolitan tastes as is evident from the employment of European artists and jewellers, and it is not unlikely that the latter might have supplied some models and designs. Ideas were not shunned in those days simply on the ground that they had been imported from Europe. It may be pointed out that even Havell has conceded (vide his Handbook to Agra and the Taj, p. 89), "It is quite possible that some Italians may have shown the native inlayers specimens of Florentine *pietra-dura*, and suggested to them this naturalistic treatment . . ."

From the existing evidence, it is impossible to hazard a dogmatic opinion, and all that can be said is that until an authoritative and genuine contemporary statement is produced, the theory of the Italian origin of Indian *pietra-dura* must remain open to doubt.

The earliest reference that is unmistakably to the village sabha in inscriptions is from roughly 800 A.D. and they belong to both the Pallavas and the Pandyas. The importance of the Uttaramē rur inscriptions is that it is from them that we get the first reference to the working of the sabha, the method of election, the election of committees, the *variyams* as they are called, the qualifications for election to them etc. These records are both Pallava and Cola, ranging from the period of the later Pallavas and the Colas of imperial times ranging from the IX to the XIII century.

Before we proceed to understand what these inscriptional records impart to us by way of knowledge, we must try to grasp the general political set-up of the ancient South Indian village. These epigraphs of the middle ages refer to *Ūr*, the *Sabha*, the *Mahāsabha*, the *nādu*, and the *nagaram* as the various deliberative bodies of ancient municipal administration. For easy understanding we may define the *Ūr* as the general village assembly of the non-Brahmadēya village, the *sabha*, that of the Brahmadēya village, the *Mahāsabha* was perhaps the combination of both the *Ūr* and the *Sabha* (though inscriptions sometimes refer to the *Mahāsabha* and for the *Ūr* separately in the same village;) the *nādu* was the assembly of the *nādu* or the taluk and the *nagaram* was the assembly of merchants, who preponderated in certain villages. Thus we have a reference in inscriptions to the *nagaram* of Conjeevaram in the words "Eyirkottatu-nagaram-Kancipuram".

Scholars are however of the opinion that all but the *Sabha* did not matter in the administration of the Village, the others devoting greater attention to one or the other of the functions of the Village, sometimes economic, sometimes religious, and sometimes mere matter of social interest like arranging for a dance etc. In the larger division, the *nādu*, naturally the *nāttar* or members of the assembly of the *nādu* did the work of the *Sabha* in the Village. But the Kings particularly the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the early Colas left the *Sabha* to its initiative more than any other assembly. An inscription of the Pandyan King, Maran Sadaiyan, (c. 800 A.D.) thus refers to the calling together of an assembly like the *Sabha*: "We the members of the Mahasabha of Manainallur summoned the great assembly by beat of drums".

Later Cola records however refer to royal orders communicating certain rules regulating the qualification of members and the

procedure in the *Sabha*, indicating thereby that in these days the Village assemblies were becoming more and more controlled by the Centre and often times the rules and regulations changed from *Sabha* to *Sabha*.

In Uttaramē rur, lying in the modern district of Chingleput, some fifty miles to the S.W. of Madras we have not less than 100 inscriptions engraved on its seven temples, the temples of Vaikuntaperumāl, Sundaravardaperumāl, Subramaniya, Kailāsanātha, Kolambēsvara, Irattaitaḷigāēisvara and Mādariamman. Of these not less than 60 bear on the constitution and the working of the local *Sabha*. The name Uttaramē rur itself seems to refer to an old ruler going by the name of Uttaramē ru, who had given the Village as a Brahmadēya in some undated time certainly earlier than the VII century to which the first inscription on these temple walls refers. It is not possible to whom exactly the name refers. South India from the III to the V century A.D. is enveloped in such darkness so far as her history is concerned that it is impossible to identify many things belonging to this period. We are at any rate certain that this was the period of many chieftains from the north usurping the sceptres and the thrones of many a ruler of the south, popularly known as the period of the Kaḷabhrās, Uttaramē ru was probably one such ruler.

In the first place we learn from these records that this Village possessed besides its seven temples at least, twelve streets (mentioned in the inscriptions as *cēris*), with bazaars (one record refers to the people of the north bazaar, *vadakilangādi*), and upstairs houses (*mādaḍiyyar*), with a huge tank (the famous *Vairamēghatadāga*) and palaces of the king, referred to in ruins to-day as *Rajamēdu* and *Māligaimēdu* in the West of the modern Village. The tank of the place now found at least one mile away from the Uttaramē rur Village seems to be the vestige of the old *tadāgam* celebrated in inscriptions. If this be accepted, it ought to give us an idea as to how big the old village must have been and to what an extent it has shrunk to-day from its old proportions.

Uttaramē rur, though mainly a Brahmadēya, seems to have allowed many non-Brahmans also to settle within its limits, since in earlier inscriptions we have reference not only to the *Sabha* but also to the *Ūr*, though in later times the latter sinks into

insignificance. Thus in the XV year of the Cola Parantaka I it is recorded that the *Ūr* sold some lands to two temples. But it is always clear from our inscriptions that the *Ur* was always subordinate to the *Sabha*. There is found no single instance in the whole range of Uttaramēṛur inscriptions that at any time the *Ūr* acted independently of the *Sabha*. This is a point to be noted since in all such villages where the *Sabha*, and the *Ūr* acted together they have always acted conjointly.

The *Sabha* of Uttaramēṛur sold land, accepted and undertook to carry out an endowment, apportioned the duties of the *Ūr* and its executive, the *alunganattār*, appointed the *vāriyams* or committees composing of the *Vāriyapperumakkal* to assay gold, to look after the Village tank, to control the temple administration etc. These committees seem to have functioned for one year every time and the tank committee is often referred to as the "annual tank committee". The election to the *Pon-variyaṁ* (gold committee) is thus described in one of these inscriptions: "4 from the *māḍavidi*, 2 from the *senai* and three from *sankarapadi* all chosen by the method of *kudavolai* (pot-tickets)." Besides thus giving us the manner and the method of election to these *sabhas* and the committees, the same record gives us an idea of what was meant by these peculiar committees known as gold committees. It would appear that in early times no one was sure about pure gold and its alloy and it was necessary to have a committee of experts to whom gold could be brought for testing whenever there was some doubt about the purity of gold in transactions. This was particularly so with regard to temple donations which were pouring in every day. This committee was appointed for this purpose and it assayed gold by testing it on wax. It is not possible to say more on this; but we are sure about this much that the wax thus used was given over after some time, when it had possibly accumulated to the tank-committee. To what use they had put this wax we cannot again say with confidence. The duties of other committees need no explanation here. They bear out their own meaning.

One is struck by the numerous functions carried out by the *Sabha* of Uttaramēṛur. Agriculture, temple affairs, laying of roads, education, levy of and exemption from taxes, the buying of lands, the protection of the Village Common, distribution and

assignment of land to particular individuals—these and many more fell within the purview of this assembly. It is remarkable that private charity often came and added to the finances of the *Sabha* very considerably and even if some money was necessary for capital outlay it was always available from the temple funds. Thus in the reign of Parantaka Cola the necessity of drinking water supply became essential to the Village. This was immediately attended to with the help of the income from a private endowment that had been invested at 15% per annum and this work was supervised by the tank-committee. We have also evidence of the *sabha* borrowing from the temple, since an inscription found on these temple walls speaks of the repayment of a debt to the temple by the alienation of some land. The sale-deed signed by the *pottakam* and *vari* of the *sabha* indicates that the *Sabha* had so much land to manage that it had its own *Karnam* and manager or *maniagār*.

Agriculture was naturally the first concern of this assembly, since that was the mainstay of the people and the *Sabha* itself was the biggest land-owner of the Village. Thus was built the *Vairameghatadāka*, which is said to have been kept in good repair by the silt being removed every year by the money given to the *Sabha* by a private donor.¹ That the silt was removed by the use of boats is seen from another inscription which records the donation of 100 *kalañju* of gold for the use of "a second boat". When a road became useless, since it was submerged under water, the *Sabha* is said to have decided to renew the road. This task was assigned to the garden committee and an officer called "*Ur-mēl-ninra-tiruvadi*" which meant perhaps "the person interested in the affairs of the Village".

Most of the records of Uttaramēṛur deal with endowments to the temples, which thus became vast sources of wealth and charged with onerous responsibilities. They were in ancient times "fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition-sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one". One of the most important things done by the temple was to ensure the education of the people under the supervision and control of the *Sabha*. Many of the schools maintained were, however, religious schools mostly

1. All inscriptions of the Village are in A.R.E. 1898.

meant for the Brahmans. This is understandable, since the village was predominantly a Brahman village. The Vedas, particularly the White Yajur and the Black Yajur, the vyakarana and mimamsa philosophy, the nyayabhāshya, the recital of the hymns and subjects of like variety were those chiefly patronised in these schools. The *Matha*, another educational institution of the period, is also mentioned in these records. Certain subjects of study were endowed by private persons and sometimes by the assembly itself. Thus the *Sabha* of Uttarmēṛur often endowed what is called "Vyakarna-sastra-vyakhya-vritti." A lady by name Sannaicani endows a 'bhattachritti' (teaching-endowment) placed under the supervision of her younger brother, Narayanadattabhattacha, his descendants and the *Mahāsabha*. No one who had a share in the village lands was also to participate in the endowment. In effect, however, it must have been enjoyed only by those who were well-up in religious lore, knowing at least one of the Vedas, with Vyakarana and the two *darsanās* of the Mimamsa with a proficiency in *Nratabhāshya* etc.—qualifications that nearly take one's breath away.

There were accepted methods of election and stated qualifications for election to this assembly and to its various committees from at least the times of Pallava Dantivarman. But they appear to have been put into form in the time of the Cola Parantaka I, from whose time the *vāriyams* begin to function regularly. Generally it was expected that intending members to the assembly were to know at least one Veda and were to be of a uniformly good character. Persons nominated for election to the committees should not have served on them during the three years preceding their standing again. They should not be even close relations of those who had thus served. This latter rule is singularly meaningful, though at first sight it appears unreasonable. In a country and at a time when the system of joint-family was the order of the day, such a rule was found necessary, though later on according to changing conditions the same was changed and modified.

The actual method of election is highly controverted. The record in question² speaks of thirty tickets being collected from

the *kudumbus* (clans or families) of which the first twelve selected would form the annual committee, one representing each of the 12 *ceries*, the next 12 would form the garden-committee and the remaining 6, the tank-committee. Possibly the same method was adopted for the constitution of the other committees as well. But it is not clear as to what exactly is meant by the term 'kudumbu'; nor is it clear as to how the one ticket was collected from each *kudumbu* and how the 12 selected would represent the 12 streets or *ceries*.

The *Sabha* of this village seems to have been left to itself to all intents and purposes without interference from the Centre and in all the records found at this place only three, two of Parantaka and one of Kulottunga III, refer to such interference. The constitution and the kind of village administration here portrayed are what is generally described as the democratic system of ancient times. While democracy is a comparatively modern conception as it is understood to-day and there could be nothing of the kind that the modern democrat would expect in the transactions of this assembly what could be claimed for it is that it helped the growth of self-help and continuity of administration, since whatever be the changes at the Centre, the village carried on its own government finishing that which has been begun and carrying on old traditions almost unaffected by what has happened to the reigning king. This was in itself a great advantage especially when viewed in the background of conditions in modern democratic countries where the Government runs the danger of being changed with every cock-crow of election and the growth of new parties.

2. A.R.E., 1899, paras, 58-75; See also A. S. I., 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.

The Revolt of 1857 and its Failure

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The Revolt of 1857, miscalled the Mutiny, was the last bid of feudal India to shake off foreign yoke by violent methods. It was a struggle to attain freedom for India under feudal leadership. Till then, the age of people had not dawned and the middle class had not come into prominence in India. Democratic leadership was, therefore, unimaginable. The revolt was conceived, designed and organised by Nana Sahib and Maulvi Ahmad Shah who, by their extensive tours of Northern India and Maratha territories in the south, made use of the general discontent against British rule to effect the expulsion of the British from India and recovery of independence from foreign domination. The uprising was to begin with the Bengal Army stationed at different centres. Without the discipline, organisation and resources of the army, success of general rising was quite unthinkable and impossible. The sepoy, therefore, necessarily became its shield and spear.

Although the 19th century political and philosophical concept of nationalism of a strictly western type was not evolved in India till then, the idea of nationhood and the concept of India, as one country inhabited by the Hindus and Muslims, were not new. As compared with the small European countries, India has been a vast sub-continent, equal to more than a score of countries of their size. If, therefore, the Great Revolt of 1857 could not cover the entire sub-continent and some parts remained in a state of smouldering, and could not revolt, due to strong barriers interposed by mountain ranges, difficult travel facilities and language difficulties, or due to strong British position and loyalty of the Indian Princes, and some other parts remained quiet and even supported the British Government, it would be unfair to deprive the uprising of its national character. It is an undisputed fact that discontent and spirit of defiance were widespread and 'Delhi-Chalo' was the common cry of all revolutionaries. After a good deal of painstaking researches, Malletson held a view that the

'sipahis' represented ill-feeling and hatred towards the British, which were not personal but national. The explosive material that lay scattered all over India was noticed by most of the contemporary Europeans serving in India.

Northern India, from the Narbada to the foot of the Himalayas, with the exception of Rajputana, Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh and Bengal, was in a blazing condition. For short durations British rule was actually removed from innumerable parts of that vast tract. There, the revolt enjoyed strong mass support and was undoubtedly a popular movement under feudal leadership. At Jhansi, it looked like a contest between two races. The landowners, martial communities and cultivators of the modern Uttar Pradesh were rebels at heart. They rose almost to a man. Even a large number of officers and functionaries of the Government had rebelled. Nine-tenths of the 'sipahis' of the Bengal Army and many of those serving in the Bombay Presidency participated in the revolt. There was scarcely a family in Oudh which was not represented in the Bengal Army directly or indirectly. Situation in western Bihar was equally grave. Hence, at least from Delhi to Patna, the rebellion was nothing less than a popular rising.

Outbreaks occurred in Bengal, Punjab and Rajputana also and their manifestations were observed at a number of places like Chitagong, Dacca and Barrackpore, Peshawar, Lahore, Ferozepur, Jhelum, Ambala, Sialkot, Jalundhar, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Hazara and Hoshiarpur, and Nasirabad, Nimuch, Mount Abu and other places. But they were nipped in the bud with great promptitude by the British armies which were already there. Reports of the occurrences in the Punjab during the critical period of 1857, prepared under the direction of R. Montgomery, reveal the awful struggle through which the Punjab passed. For some time, even Calcutta was in a state of panic.

South of the Narbada also, sporadic revolts occurred at Aurangabad, Kolhapur, Dharwar, Belgau and Sholapur and in several parts of the southern Maratha territories. Revolutionary trends were visible in several other parts of the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad. With great difficulties they were prevented from taking the shape of open outbursts by Elphinstone and his subordinate officials and by Salar Jang and his men. The Muslims of Mysore had also shown a tumultuous attitude. Thus,

Probably with the exception of South India, predominantly dominated by the Dravidian group of languages with which communication of ideas was not easy for the northerners, the entire "unrebelled India" was in a state of 'veiled rebellion'. The dimensions of the rebellion reveal its character as a struggle for freedom. It was presumed with considerable truth that, if Delhi had not been reconquered by the British troops, entire India would have rebelled. To the palpitating hearts of the half-decided, self-interested and calculating people, prone to be on the winning side, the defeat of the British attempts to retake Delhi would have been a signal for a swing in favour of revolt. Help came to the British from several loyal quarters only after Delhi had fallen and the weakness of the revolt was realised. Betrayal and demoralisation among the people came after the tide had turned against the rebels.

With these facts in mind, if Shri Savarkar designated the uprising of 1857 as the first war of Indian Independence, he revealed a simple truth and provided inspiration to the English educated intelligentsia of India coming to the forefront of the nationalist organisations. There is nothing wrong in calling the great Revolt as the national uprising of India against foreign domination. If the limited and unfruitful revolts of 1830 and 1848 in the Central and Southern European countries have been regarded as national uprisings, there is no reason why the Great Indian Outbreak that convulsed practically the whole of the sub-continent should not be similarly termed. Without the least doubt, the revolt possessed the hall-marks of a truly national uprising.

In this war of national liberation the Hindus and Muslims worked shoulder to shoulder. They harmonised their differences to remove the common yoke. There was perfect cordiality and understanding among them. Its leaders were also drawn from both the communities. There was large number of local leaders worthy of being remembered as heroes and martyrs for freedom in their respective regions. But the most outstanding national leaders who deserve national memorials were Nana Sahib, Maulvi Ahmad Shah, Rani Laxmi Bai, Tantya Tope, Kunwar Singh, Bahadur Shah, Khan Bahadur Khan and Azimulla Khan. With the exception of the octogenarian Emperor Bahadur Shah, who was neither quite fit for youthful activities, nor was meant for

them, all other leaders had been greatly admired by the contemporary Englishmen in India for their talents, qualities, and brilliant traits of character and achievements.

Under the inspiring leadership of remarkable persons with granite wills, the war of liberation began well. It spread like an epidemic for the Europeans. Its leaders scored victories everywhere. The British rule was shaken to its foundations. From Delhi to Patna and from Bareilly to the Narbada, British rule was removed from most of the places for varying periods. But the initial success could not be maintained for more than four months at Delhi and for not more than a year at any other place. By the end of 1858, due to the forces beyond the control of the leaders, the revolt completely collapsed, and by 1860 all operations ended. During the period of success as well as defeat the heroism and sacrifices of the revolutionaries were commendable.

One by one, all the leaders were removed from their scenes. Several of them were killed; several of them were hanged to death; several of them escaped; and several of them were transported for life. Of the most outstanding leaders, Kunwar Singh died a natural death in harness, due to heavy strain of war at the old age of eighty; Rani Laxmi Bai, the best and the bravest of the rebel leaders, fell fighting heroically, sword in hand; Bahadur Shah was caught, tried and transported to Rangoon; Tantya Tope, the marvellous guerilla warrior and a great military genius, who had the capacity to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm, was caught by the treachery of a trusted friend and was hanged. Maulvi Ahmad Shah, a remarkable organiser and a true patriot, who fought for the independence of the country wrongfully destroyed, was shot dead by the Raja of Powain, who was friendly to the British; Khan Bahadur Khan, the Viceroy of the Emperor, escaped into Nepal never to appear again; Nana Sahib, the tiger of Bithur and the terror for the British, disappeared with his close associates. His escape was greatly regretted and remains a mystery even to this day. The rank and file became cannon fodder. Their supporters were crippled by a well-set programme of brutal killing, mass massacres, burning and pillaging. Renaud's forces marched through several districts of U.P., uprooting all life on the road-side villages. Those areas looked like a vast dreary waste land dotted with charred ruins of ravaged villages. The reign of terror and tortures so unleashed created a period of terrible hor-

rors, unimaginable brutalities and insensate savagery, when the ferocious British lion went mad with rage, effected destruction indiscriminately and quenched its thirst for blood to its heart's content. The Englishmen treated the war as a struggle for existence and justified the lowest and the meanest acts. They did not feel satisfied till at least a hundred Indians were killed for every life lost by England in India. Public shooting, hanging and flogging on the road-side became general features. In the wave of destruction of life that commenced, no mercy was shown to anybody. Even suspects and innocents had to mount the gallows and perish in the flaming vengeance of the Feringis. Women, boys as well as children were made gleeful games. In all, not less than two lacs of people were consumed by the fury of revenge. Such was the terrible price that India had to pay for its desire to be free. The list of her martyrs is a legion. Out of the ashes of this general martyrdom emerged the modern nationalism of India.

The Great Revolt failed in its purpose. Its failure was caused by a number of forces which were simultaneously at work. The revolt was precipitated before it was thoroughly organised and before adequate arrangements could be made for its success. The premature outburst on the 10th of May, instead of a later date fixed for the general uprising (31st of May or 22nd of June, 1857), lacked the well-planned and thoroughly organised strength of a fully co-ordinated scheme. It greatly disturbed the time-table and seriously upset the plan of our leaders. The revolt had to run a great risk of being sporadic in character. There was no dearth of inflammatory material for a country-wide uprising. But, before all the discontented elements could be rallied together to overthrow British rule in the quickest possible time, with the aid and help of the army, so that nothing could be left to chance, the cartridge incident exploded the mine of discontent at an untimely hour. This proved as disastrous to the cause of the revolt as fortunate for the British. The blow which was to be struck simultaneously on the same day all over the country, lost more than half of its power when delivered piecemeal. Its force was frittered away in isolated outbreaks. The Great Revolt, therefore, lost all chances of success against the superior organisation and resources of the Company, and it remained a risky venture. In spite of this prematurity of the revolt, if the Princes had not flocked round the foreign overlords, the English would have been forced to pack off from India.

The prematurity of the revolt brought in its train a number of other inevitable defects, which accounted equally for the defeat of the great venture. There was no one master-mind, with military and political foresight, as the supreme head, at whose command the entire revolt could be directed in a planned manner as one movement. It was certain that after the overthrow of the British power an Indian Government was to be established. But what was to be the nature of that government and who were to be the rulers? These questions remained undecided. The north Indian communities had the idea of the restoration of the Mughal rule. The Marathas had the idea of the re-establishment of their domination. This diversity of interests divested the uprising of its strength. Thus, want of centralised leadership, absence of an attractive and captivating ideal and hazy and undecided ideas about the future shape of things to come showed the intrinsic weakness of the Great Upheaval.

The disunity of India destroyed all chances of success. True to the traditions of the subsidiary and tributary alliances, the feudatory Princes not only kept aloof from the tremendous political upsurge, but also rendered memorable services to the Paramount Power, in token of their steadfast loyalty for perpetuating their self-interests. Hardly with any exception, they remained strong bulwarks of the British power instead of making a common cause with the liberators. Even when the armies of Sindhia and Holkar rebelled, the rulers remained firm in their professions of loyalty, in spite of strong goadings from several quarters. The Sikh chieftains of Sirhind, who were saved from Maharaja Ranjit Singh's aggressions and were diplomatically kept aloof from him, rendered remarkable services to the British in token of their gratitude. The rulers of Rajputana, Hyderabad, Mysore and all other states remained fully subservient. The powerful ministers of the States, who owed their positions to the British support, gave effective help. In the gravest hour of peril, Dinkar Rao maintained peace in Gwalior. When the rebel troops attacked the Hyderabad Residency, and, a little later, when the Raja of Sholapur rebelled and Aurangabad was in turmoil, Salar Jang suppressed the revolts in the satellite state of the Nizam. Thus, the oldest ally of England remained the surest guarantee of peace in the south,

All the vested interests in India, whose fortunes were at stake, remained firm in their loyalty. Deeply interested in the continuance of British dominion and quite true to their salt, the zamindars of the areas under the Permanent Settlement, with their control over the masses, showed devotion to the cause of the authors of their fortunes and completely identified themselves with them. Strangely enough, in Bengal, where the pernicious effects of British rule had been felt longer, the rising middle class remained fanatically loyal. No goading could inspire it. At best, some of the upper classes were discussing 'which man amongst them was the fittest to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the King of Delhi'. The Christians, the English-educated people and the Bengalis, Madrasis and Sikhs in the services remained loyal. The Madras sipahis took no part in the storm. On the contrary, they were used for its suppression.

This disunity in India was the greatest hurdle in the success of a revolt. The revolt, therefore, remained virtually localised in the region north of the river Narbada and troops could be moved from the quiet parts of the country to the disturbed areas. Ultimately, by a four-pronged drive from Bombay, Bengal, Punjab and Nepal, concerted efforts were made to rehabilitate British rule in India.

The highly exaggerated expectations of the leaders of the revolt, however rightly held, that all discontented people and Princes would join and that a strong wave of anti-British feeling would arise in the newly conquered provinces of India and in the neighbouring countries, were sadly belied by the interplay of subtle British diplomacy, which gained over several irreconcilable elements in India and outside. Nepal, Burma and Afghanistan could not take advantage of the British misfortunes. On the contrary, the militant Gurkhas were won over against the rebels of Oudh, and the Sikhs of the Punjab against the Mughal Emperor Bahadur, the Chief Minister of Nepal, refused shelter to the rebels and when they forced entry into his state, he permitted the British troops to hunt them out. The Sikhs, who were conquered only eight years ago, helped in defeating and disarming the Bengal troops. The Afghans were prevented from fishing in the troubled waters of India. By private assurances, given by Lord Canning to the Princes of India, that the British right of escheat would not

be indiscriminately exercised and that the Princes's right of adoption would not be ordinarily abrogated, the Princes of India were used as breakwaters to the storm. The higher classes being in the vanguard of revolt, the British officers harnessed the inferior castes and submerged communities like 'Mahars' and 'Pasis' to their yoke to frustrate the designs of the rebels. In Hyderabad, the false bogey of Maratha domination was created among the Muslims who rendered valuable help to the Government. In Rajputana and Bombay, fear was excited among the Hindus against the Muslim domination in order to keep them subservient and seek their support. These were the remarkable achievements of the British propaganda machine and burrowing diplomatic manoeuvres. These diplomatic triumphs enabled the terrified British Government to mobilise Indians against Indians, by constantly playing upon their age-old prejudices and fears, and to keep the greatest gem in the British diadem in signal bondage. Among the leaders of the revolt, there was hardly anybody who could match the British in the diplomat's craft. The loyalty of the Punjab surprised the rebel leaders of India who had fully expected its cooperation. In these circumstances, the fate of the revolt was sealed. The British Government tided over the crisis with the old policy of divide and rule. On account of this policy the letter of the Mughal Emperor addressed to the rulers of Rajputana to join the revolutionary war evoked no response.

Inadequate military resources of the rebels was the greatest weakness of India struggling for freedom. Apart from soldiers, ex-soldiers and scions of the decaying feudal aristocracy, there was hardly any other section of trained military personnel to fight the war of liberation. With the exception of personal arms and ammunition and those seized from the Government arsenals and magazines, there was no other source from which modern military equipments, arms and accoutrements could be supplied to the people engaged in a deadly struggle. Artillery they had none. The commissariat arrangements were hopelessly insufficient. Besides soldiers, other insurgents fought with their indigenous primitive weapons like swords, spears, sabres, spades and sticks. Without up-to-date war materials, fight, in the military sense, was between two unequals. Hearts to dare and hands to execute were numerous but the weapons of military warfare were hardly sufficient and efficient to score success over superior military technique, war stra-

tegy and discipline and more effective weapons, abundant military resources and inexhaustible supply of reinforcements of all kinds. The much hated Enfield Rifle wrought terrible havoc. The crude and worn-out indigenous weapons and great man-power of India proved to be poor substitutes for it. With better arms and equipment the rebellion would have ended differently.

The military organisation of the fighters for freedom was equally defective. It was hardly worth its name. It lacked a common and united command and a supreme controlling hand. On account of the prematurity of the revolt there remained no pre-determined plan of military action. Each sector had its own armed revolutionaries and leaders. Hence, they were defeated separately. With the exception of Tantya Tope and Kunwar Singh, there were no talented military tacticians among the rebels. There were only a few who could be superior to a plethora of talents in the British army, in respect of military experience, skill and generalship. Hence, with the superior military organisation of the British, the backbone of the revolt was broken.

The financial resources of the revolutionaries were negligible, depleted and impoverished. Like military organisation, their financial organisation also suffered from grievous defects. Finances constitute one of the most important sinews of war. For recruitment, purchase of arms, collection of supplies and maintenance of efficient commissariat, steady flow of money and sound reserves become prerequisites. War entails huge expenditure. Regular supply of money alone could have ensured consistently effective military action. Scanty private resources were undependable. Questionable methods of acquiring money for financing the struggle made the cause unpopular. Captured treasures were not quite sufficient to finance the great venture. On the contrary, the British Government commanded the entire resources of India and, if necessary, huge amounts of money could have been obtained from England. This inadequacy of finances paralysed the freedom struggle.

The modern concept of nationalism had not yet developed in India then. The bonds of unity were not strong. Education had not acquired the status of a force powerful enough to transform the Indian mind from mediaeval modes and conceptions to a robust modern outlook. The political and administrative unification of the

country was quite new for that age. At that time it was more useful for the British than for India. The unified national economy was unknown. Socially, psychologically and emotionally the people were not fully integrated. Common interests and common grievances had not crystallised themselves into an irresistible force. The modern means of transport had not become so extensive as to be helpful in the consolidation of the people. Foreign rule in India was the only common burden on the shoulders of India and common grievances were the only means to solidify determination to destroy foreign rule. But many could not see beyond their noses. They stuck to their personal self-interest like a limpet to a rock. That is why the British propaganda machine succeeded in its bid to keep people divided.

The Indian-owned press was active in spreading the gospel of revolt in northern India. A number of Urdu papers had sprung up for this purpose alone. They were urging the people to destroy foreign rule. Lithographed proclamations having similar urges were found posted on the walls of the houses even in Bhopal where Nawab Sikander Begum showed exceptional loyalty to her overlords. The Press Act XV was, therefore, enacted in 1857 to regulate the establishment of printing presses, to stop the circulation of objectionable books and papers and to penalise printing of anything subversive to law and order and detrimental to British interests. This stringent regulation gagged the freedom of the press completely and enabled the Government to keep under its iron heels the most potent instrument for the dissemination of information, which was extensively used for pro-British propaganda. In this way, even the weak propaganda machine in the hands of the rebel leaders was effectively crippled.

In the initial stage, the revolutionaries had the sympathy and the co-operation of the people who had suffered under British rule in different ways. Quick victories were also scored and British rule was removed from many places with popular support. But mismanagement during the period of transition alarmed the people. The vacuum was taken advantage of by the criminals, miscreants and anti-social elements. They started looting and pillaging, committed atrocities and identified themselves with the revolution. This damaged the cause of revolt considerably. Owing to this lack of national discipline and civic sense, peace could not be maintained and safety could not be guaranteed in the new order. Hence, at

several places the revolt lost its popularity and sympathy of the civil population. The harassed people longed for law, order and established government. When the British position began to improve, people were prevented from having any association with the rebels by a reign of terror. The British army crippled or destroyed all those who had helped the rebels or had shown sympathy for them and kept others away from them by a demoralising propaganda, indiscriminate vindictiveness and inhuman persecution, which made countless angels weep.

Modern scientific means of communication under British control, like the widespread telegraph system and postal communications blasted the prospects of success. The revolutionaries did not know their importance and made no concerted efforts to destroy them. The English made extensive use of them for retrieving their position in India. Through them the messages flashed to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, across thousands of miles, and help could come in the shortest possible time. The copies of the original telegrams hurriedly sent from one place to another confirm the important role of the telegraph system in suppressing the uprisings. From Russell's diary it is known that never since its discovery the telegraph played so important and daring a role as it did in India during the revolt of 1857. Without it half the British army in India would have become ineffective. The telegraph system served the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief better than their right arms. By it they received information in no time and acted with great promptitude. The return of troops from Persia and Crimea was hastened. Reinforcements came from Madras, Burma and Ceylon. The British naval and military expedition on its way to China was intercepted and diverted to India with all possible speed. The march of battalions and movements of artillery and cavalry could be directed telegraphically. Accurate information could be obtained and precise orders could be issued to the generals of the army, stationed in different parts of the country. But for the control of telegraph lines, the quick success of the British would have been more difficult and doubtful, if not impossible. But for it more calamities would have occurred and preventive methods would have become difficult. The telegraph averted uprisings in the Bombay Presidency. It prevented the Kolhapur revolt from spreading elsewhere. It enabled Elphinstone to launch 'aggressive defence' as a preventive measure. It prevented the Punjab

from catching the conflagration. It was that 'accursed string' that strangled the revolt.

The international situation was in favour of the British. The Indian army, which had gone abroad for service, had completed the task assigned to it and was called back without any disadvantage. The Crimean war had ended. Trouble in Persia was over. War in China could be delayed. Had the units of the armies of India and England been engaged in wars in those parts of the world, a very dangerous situation would have arisen for the British in India. The Indian revolutionaries did not know that the armies sent for service abroad would be called back so quickly and reinforcements from England could be possible. Hence, they could not use the international situation to their advantage and thus remained internationally isolated.

The control of the seas, the port towns and the western frontier of India enabled the British Government to suppress the rebellion. The naval power facilitated the regular supply of huge quantities of war material and heavy reinforcements from England. It is said that half of the best of England's army with a large number of highly experienced military officials was sent to India. The control of the sea coast ensured their safe landing. The control of the frontier prevented the turbulent Afghans from taking any advantage of the unsettled conditions in India and joining in the revolt.

The failure of the revolt of 1857 was the defeat of mediaeval ignorance by modern scientific knowledge, of ante-diluvian technique of warfare by modern methods and weapons, of scanty means by superior resources, of weak organisation by a strong one, of inexperience by experience, of mediaeval slowness by modern swift methods, and of indiscipline by discipline. In short, the war of liberation was fought with incomplete plans and a disunited country, scanty resources and unscientific methods and worn-out principles and worn-out arms. These were the well-marked limitations of the Great Uprising. Under these conditions its collapse was inevitable. Unity alone would have been sufficient for political liberation at least for some time. This was the one great lessor which India had to learn from the failure of the Revolt of 1857. Freedom achieved through unity would have been maintained only with up-to-date arms. This is a lesson which our country has to learn to-day when atomic weapons are being piled up on our western border.

An Unpublished Inscription

OF

BHARTRIPATTA II OF MERWAR

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The Partabgarh Inscription of the Guhila ruler Bhartṛipatṭa II (son of Khommāṇa) and dated in V.S. 999 (Circa 942 A.D.) has been duly edited in *Ep. Ind.*,¹ Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff., while another epigraph of his reign-period, though noticed by Dr. G. H. Ojha (*op. cit.*, p. 425; *Annual Working Report of the Rajputana Museum* for the year ending March 1914, p. 2), has remained unpublished so far. The latter was discovered at Āhār (near Udaipur, ancient Āghaṭapura) and has now been preserved in the M.B. College at Udaipur. This incised slab, from Āhār, is in a fragmentary condition and remains considerably damaged on both the sides. The inscription consists of 14 lines² in the Sanskrit language and carved in the Kuṭīla script of the 10th century A.D.

The existing inscription from Āhār records the installation of an image of Ādivarāha—Viṣṇu during the regime of Mahārāja Bhartri (i.e. Bhartṛipatṭa or Bhartṛibhaṭṭa), in the (Vikrama) year 1000 + (?) and not the construction of the temple of Ādivarāha as previously suggested by Dr. Ojha and others. It is equally interesting to note that Dr. Ojha did not furnish the particular day and the *nakṣatra* of the installation of the image under reference. The last line, though peeled off towards the very beginning of the record, presents the date as (Sa)hasre

1. Cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, 1936, Calcutta, p. 1169; G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, Hindi, p. 425.

2. Covering a space about 15½" × 10½" at the present moment.

Kujasya pañcamyām Ādivarā(haḥ) Puṣye pratiṣṭhito Jyeṣṭha-Sita-pakṣe i.e. Tuesday, the 5th day of the bright-half of the month of Jyeṣṭha and in the *Puṣya Nakṣatra* of the *Vikrama* year 1000 (?) In case we take the year as V.S. 1000 here, the particular month and *nakṣatra* and also the date do not tally with the aforesaid details of V.S. 1000. Further calculation shows that we should make a selection between the *Vikrama* years 998 and 1001 in order to suit the particular *nakṣatra*, the day and the month together. Of these two dates, *Tuesday, the 5th day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha of V.S. 1001 (= 30th April, 944 A.D.) will be much more appropriate* from the point of view of the style and the metre³ of the record—and that is very essential to be considered. Under these circumstances, the previous suggestion of Dr. Ojha does not appear to be plausible in any way.

Owing to considerable damage to the slab, the epithet and the name of *Bhartripaṭṭa* are not fully clear in the existing record, the preserved phrases being *Maha* towards the end of line 8 and *trinṛipa* in the beginning of the next line.

The image of *Ādivarāha*, as cited above, was carved and installed during the regime of *(Bha)rtṛi*. The blessings of the deity have been duly invoked in line 3 of the record. There is also a specific reference to the temple⁴ of *Viṣṇu's Boar Incarnation*, various epithets⁵ of god *Viṣṇu* and the *Vaiṣṇava* creed.⁶ Not only this, the person, responsible for the installation of the image, under reference, appears to have been an ardent devotee of the icon of *Viṣṇu's Boar Incarnation* so much so that he liked himself to be called by the name *Ādivarāha*, after the presiding deity itself i.e. *Ādivarāha-nāmnā svakīya-nāmnādivarāhamūrttiḥ svakāri* (..... line 10). The existing epigraph thus bears testimony to the stronghold of the *Vaiṣṇava* pantheon at *Āhār* towards the end of the 10th century A.D., and this fact is further corroborated by

3. The phrase, originally engraved, may be reconstructed as *Ekādhi-kavarṣa sahasre kujasya pañcamyām*.....etc. *Kuja* means "Tuesday". I stand obliged to my office assistant Pt. S. L. Kaushik for helping me in calculating the above dates in the Christian Era.

4. i.e. *Mandiram Ādikolasya* in line 11. *Ādikola* means *Ādivarāha*.

5. i.e. *Janārdana*, *Viṣṇu* and *Kaiṭabharipu* in lines 1, 7 and 9 respectively.

6. Such as the *Pañcarātra Vidhi* in line 7.

the *Sāraṇeśvara*⁷ Temple Inscription of *Bhartripaṭṭa's* son *Allaṭa* and dated in V.S. 1008 and 1010. (E.I., IX, pp. 161 ff.)

Āghāta in line 8 is identical with modern *Āhār*, near the railway station of *Udaipur*. The writer of this article had the opportunity of excavating this ancient site in the years 1955 and 1956. The Excavations at *Āhār*, brought to light a valuable material⁸ having an important bearing on the *Red and Black Wares* and the early cultures associated with it. It is also interesting to find a reference to the *Gaṅgodbheda* (modern *Gaṅgobheva*) *tīrtha* in line 13 of this inscription. The sanctity of this particular tank, at *Āhār*, is preserved even now-a-days and the people of the locality feel elated after taking bath in it on various ceremonial occasions.

The legible text of this fragmentary inscription from *Āhār* may be presented as follows:—

- Line 1. (Broken) *cittacāriṇe. Namaḥ samastāmarasārapūrt-taye. Janārdanāyādiva*
- " 2 " *śrutivarairudgīyate tadgataiḥ. Śrīmān Ādivarāhamūrttiravatāddevaḥ sa vaḥ*
- " 3 " *nnata niketanatā na ramyam. Prakhyāta-prathima-prasiddha-garimaspaṣṭikṛta drāghima pro*
- " 4 " *(ghaṃ) vidyate. Prithulātulaśākḥā rdṛidhamūlaiḥ samunnataiḥ lavadbhirnnage yatra bhava*
- " 5 " *pāruṣyaṃ yadi kokilākalaravāttriṣṇā (yasam) hemataḥ śītāṃśo (vi) saviśruti*
- " 6 " *kasya naraḥṣasya vallabhā. Haṃsī tasyābhavadbhāryā sumukhī madhuradhvaniḥ. Dharma i*

7. The *Sāraṇeśvara* temple is situated at a distance of about 2 or 3 furlongs from village *Āhār*.

8. For details consult *Indian Archaeology—A Review 1954-5*, New-Delhi, 1955, pp. 14-15; *ibid*, 1956, p. 11.

9. None of the lines has been completely preserved here. It is hoped that the scholars of Mediaeval Rajput History will throw more light on the details of the record under review.

- " 7 "*dvijajanasya ca manyamāno. Yo Paṃcarā-
travidhimapyavalamva[ba]māno Viṣṇoḥ sadā
vi*
- " 8 "*sya. Guṇijanadhanadhāmnī Śrīmadāghāṭa-
nāmnī saṃgrāmāgravinirjitorjita Maha*
- " 9 "*tri-nṛipe svam maṇḍalam śāsati. Mūrttirdvā-
daśakena Kaiṭabhariporudbhāsīte mārgataḥ prā
....*
- " 10 "*tuh. SaṇḍakenĀdivarāhanāmnā svakīya-
nāmnĀdivarāhamūrttiḥ svakāri*
- " 11 "*sthiramaṇḍiramādīkolasya. Kandarpassyeva
dehaḥ sakalajanamanohārī visrā*
- " 12 "*(ma)dhubbinnābhikhradāmbhoruḥ. Devaḥ
ṣaṭcaraṇāyate kamalabhūḥ sāmānigāya*
- " 13 "*ṛiṇā Gaṇ[n]godbheda iti sphuṭam tada-
vanau tīrtham taṭasthaḥ svayam stheyānādivata.
E....*
- " 14 " (Sa)hasre Kujasya Paṃcamyām, Ādi-
varā(haḥ) Puṣye pratiṣṭhito Jyeṣṭhasitapakṣe.
Saṃ (or bham)....

Tilangana Under Ibrahim Qutb Shah DIPLOMACY AND MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Part I, 1550-1565

BY

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(Continued from J. I. H., August 1957, p. 269)

BATTLE OF THE KRISHNA

(i) Introduction

The year 972/1564-65 may be regarded as one of the most important in the history of South India, if not in the history of the whole country. It was the first time after the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom that its succession states sheathed their swords which they had been continuously sharpening against one another, and not merely entered into treaties but actually sealed them by matrimonial alliances between their ruling families. Even long-standing feuds, such as that concerning Shōlāpūr, were settled at least for the time being, and in spite of differing temperaments of the rulers and differing interests of the states it was resolved once for all to join hands in order to put an end to the pretensions of the southern empire once for all.³⁵ As among themselves the Sultāns agreed on a policy which may be termed that of co-existence. It is still a moot point whether all the Sultāns joined hands or not;

35. There seems to be a marked similarity between the alliance of the Sultāns against Rāmarāj and the alliance of the states with such widely divergent ideologies as England, the United States and Russia against Nazi Germany in 1941. The similarity is almost complete when we see that, just as the western powers and the U.S.S.R. fell out after the defeat of the Nazis, so, once the danger from Vijayanagar had been set at rest the old animosities reappeared and continued till practically the whole of the south was swallowed up by the Mughal Empire. We have still to see what is going to happen to Europe which is torn at present by recurrent cold war.

but what is absolutely clear is that if there were any among them, who did not send their soldiers to the battlefield *against* Rāmrāj they did not have the courage or the moral urge to help him in the struggle either.

No doubt the battle did not eliminate the Vijayanagar State and only the Krishna-Tungābhadra doāb and certain other districts were taken away from it; still the fact remains that the might and the splendour of the Empire had faded away. The kingdom of Vijayanagar still remained with its capital shifted first to Penūgonda and later to Chandragiri further south, but the shock suffered really broke its back, and it was only a question of time that the State was eliminated. The result of this was the partition of practically the whole of Peninsular India between Golkonda and Bijapur and the simplification of the political map of Southern India. Had it not been for the stiffness of the opposition on the part of Aḥmadnagar under the vigorous leadership of Chānd Sulṭānā and Malik 'Ambar and the rise of the Marathas under Shivājī over the ashes of that kingdom, the unification of South India under one flag would have been achieved much earlier as the result of the battle fought on 22-5-972-/23-1-1565.

(ii) Immediate Causes

No state had suffered more than Aḥmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the southern Empire, for "they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way". The two sieges of Aḥmadnagar had left the whole country round in a state of utter ruin. Again, though fate had dragged 'Alī 'Adil Shāh towards Rāmrāj, he took strong exception to the atrocities committed by the Vijayanagari soldiers in Aḥmadnagar territory. However opposed he might have been to Ḥusain Nizām Shāh's pretensions he could not see eye to eye with Rāmarāj's men who had "committed great outrages at Aḥmudnuggur, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing...their worship in every mosque." When 'Alī had asked Rāmarāj's help against Ḥusain he had made him promise that the army would not do any harm to Muslim places of worship and would not cause wanton destruction to Muslim property, but all this was of no avail. 'Alī was galled at the behaviour of the army of his ally, and to make matters still worse, when the campaign was over, Rāmrāj actually

despatched his troops to the frontiers both of 'Adil Shāh and Quṭb Shāh, and 'Alī was forced to purchase peace by the cession of Bāgalkōt and Yādgir. To add insult to injury Rāmarāj began to treat the envoys of the Sulṭāns with scant respect, and was thus, in a way, breaking all international traditions. Thus he would not even allow the envoys to take a seat in his presence. In fact when 'Alī sent a message to Rāmarāj on the eve of the hostilities which were to cost him his life, he had the 'Adilshāhi envoy expelled from Vijayanagar.³⁶

As regards Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, we have already seen how he had to change from one who had implicit faith in Rāmarāj to one who began to consider him as his bitterest enemy. The conspiracy of Jagadēva Rāo to unseat Ibrāhīm, his battles against Tilangana forces, his ultimate flight to Vijayanagar where he was received as an honoured guest and given high command, the rebellion of the Nāyakwārīs in which the hand of Rāmarāj clearly showed itself, the invasion of the Quṭbshāhi territory by Rāmarāj himself after the second siege of Aḥmadnagar resulting in the forced cession of Kōvil Kondā and Pānagal, all this must have had a deciding effect on the policy of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

36. For Ḥusain's attitude see *Fer.*, II, 172; *Briggs*, II, 122. For 'Alī's attitude see *Fer.*, II, 35; *Briggs*, III, 123; *Basatin*, 89-91. *N. and V. I.*, 275 quote *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, which they confess to be of "an uncertain date," that "Alī 'Adil did not join the confederacy wholeheartedly," a story which is corroborated by *Keladīnṛpavijayam*. But we must remember that *Rāmarājana Bakhair* is the book which brings in the Emperor Akbar as one of the combatants and calls him "the ruler of Jalnapura". In spite of this most glaring misstatement *N. and V.* say on p. 276 that "the facts mentioned in these works" must not be dismissed without consideration". Chandorkar, in his article on *the Destruction of Vijayanagar* (in Marathi), *Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdaka Maṇḍal*, Poona 1914 p. 170, says that the Maratha accounts of the battle name "Akbar Shāh Bādshāh" as one of the participants. It is known that Aḥmadnagar was the "cradle of the Maratha race" as modern fighters and it was the first in the Deccan to feel the pressure from the Mughal north; it is no doubt ante-dating the first contacts with Akbar that he is named as one of the allies.

We know fully well that the union of the Sulṭāns was cemented by matrimonial alliances, while the long-standing feud about the possession of Shōlāpūr was set aside by the voluntary cession of the fort by Ḥusain. Surely this could only be a prelude to the whole-hearted co-operation of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh in the work which Ḥusain Nizām Shāh had placed before himself.

Bāgalkōt, headquarters of a taluqa in the Bijapur district, now in the Mysore State; 16°11'N., 75°42'E.

It is absolutely clear that about this time Husain Nizām Shāh, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were the three personalities which mattered in the Bahmani succession states. There was, of course the kingdom of Berar, but it was on its downward path and was soon, to be absorbed in the Nizāmshāhi kingdom. The child, Burhān 'Imād Shāh was on the throne for barely two years, and the real power lay with the minister, Tufāl Khān, who, however, could not keep the State independent for long. The fifth Bahmanī succession state, Bīdar, was still ruled by the intrepid 'Alī Barīd, but it had almost ceased to have an independent policy of its own.

Besides the Deccani Sultāns, an extraordinary personage is brought in the forum by the Telugu *kaifiyat* of Guṭṭi, which says that the "Delhi Sultān" also participated in the battle, and this statement is further glossed over by *Rāmarājana Bakhair* which "identifies the Sultan of Delhi with the Mughal Emperor Jalāluddīn Akbar, who is, however, said to be the ruler of Jālnāpurā".³⁷ This, of course, makes no sense at all, and only leads us to the conclusion that we should not put too much faith in these village records so far as historical facts of a general nature are concerned, as they are at best, records based on hearsay and of far off events both in point of time and of place.

(iii) League of the Four Sultāns

It has already been noticed that Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar had been opposed to each other almost from the time of the dissolution of the Bahmanī State, and the Sultāns of Aḥmadnagar sought help sometimes from Tilangana and at other times from Vijayanagar against their rival. We have also seen that Rāmarāj was a past master in the art of diplomacy and played one Sultān against another in order to weaken all of them, and it was mainly through these tactics that he was able to gain supremacy practically over the whole of Southern India. Ibrāhīm had also been lured

37. See *N. and V.*, I, 274, 275; also see the previous note. It is strange that the eminent authors of *Further Sources* consider it worthwhile to discuss the question of the participation of the Emperor Akbar in the battle and simply round off the argument with the remark that "that there is no evidence at present" (italics mine) for the verification of this statement. One would have thought that they would simply brush aside a "howler" like this without comment!

into the internecine feuds, but he was essentially a man of peace and was never happy to carry on an offensive campaign. Even Ferishta, who wrote down his chronicle at Bījāpūr and always blamed Ibrāhīm of treachery to his allies in the middle of a battle, recognises his diplomatic talent when he says that it was through the diplomacy of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that peace was made while the siege of Aḥmadnagar was in progress about 971/1564.³⁸ Ibrāhīm had already put a seal on the alliance of Tilangana with Aḥmadnagar by marrying Husain's daughter Jamāl Bībī in 1562-63. There was, however, no certainty regarding the policy and behaviour of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh as time and again he was being cajoled by Rāmarāj. Thus when 'Alī paid a condolence visit to Vijayanagar on the death of Rāmarāj's son, his wife actually adopted him as her own son.³⁹ But now, even 'Alī was disgusted with the behaviour of the Vijayanagar troops followed by the wanton attack of his own territory by Rāmarāj. The time seemed to be ripe for the formation of a league of the Sultāns all round.

We have already seen how 'Alī had to purchase peace from Rāmarāj by the cession of Yādgir and Bāgalkōt. While still at Naldurg he convened his *Majlis-i Kingāsh* or Advisory Council to give him a lead what should be done to save the kingdom from the danger which beset it. Two of the prominent members of this council, Kishwar Khān and Abū Turāb Shīrāzī, spoke out and told the King that while it was necessary that Rāmarāj's power should be curbed, nothing was possible without a close alliance with the Sultāns of the Deccan, for Bījāpūr could not hope to win against a vast empire like Vijayanagar.⁴⁰

The question as to who took the initiative in bringing about an all-round alliance of the Sultāns is immaterial, and what is important is that such an alliance was entered into. Ferishta says that it was 'Alī 'Adil Shāh who took the initiative and sent an envoy to Ibrāhīm to act as an intermediary between Nizām Shāh and himself; Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī reports that both Ibrāhīm

38. *Fer.* II, 171; this has been wrongly rendered by Briggs, III, 331 as "Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh sent an envoy and sued for peace".

39. Briggs, III, 118.

40. *Fer.*, II, 38.

Naldurg, on the Borī river, in the Tuljāpūr taluqa, Osmanabad district, now in the Bombay State; 17°49'N., 76°29'E.

Quṭb Shāh and Ḥusain Nizām Shāh sent their emissaries to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, while both 'Alī Tabāṭabā, the author of *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* and Diego de Couto attribute the initiative to Ḥusain Nizām Shāh. There is, however, nothing radically "contradictory" in these accounts.⁴¹ It was the realisation of the danger from the south on the part of all the three sultāns whose territory was vulnerable, that something must be done to obviate the danger, and the only way to do this appeared to be to join hands in the first place. Ibrāhīm was a traditional friend of the King of Aḥmadnagar and his kingdom had lately been ransacked by the agents of Rāmarāj. It is therefore not unlikely that while the need for joint action was felt simultaneously by all the three sultāns it was Ibrāhīm who was asked to act as the intermediary between the erstwhile warring kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur.

The question remains whether the all-powerful minister of Berar, Tufāl Khān, was party to the League as the representative of his young master, Burhān 'Imād Shāh. We have seen that Tufāl Khān was defeated not so long ago by Ibrāhīm, and it is perhaps natural that the army of Berar is not mentioned in the context of the great battle which followed. Ferishta is explicit that Burhān 'Imād Shāh did not join the alliance, while other authorities say that only four Sultāns took part in the battle, of whom 'Alī Barīd was certainly one. The league, therefore, may well be called the League of the Four Sultāns.

Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh gives a graphic account of the negotiations. Perhaps in response to a note from Aḥmadnagar, Mustafā Khān was sent there in order to negotiate a treaty which

41. See *Fer.*, II, 38; *Basatin*, 91; *Bur.*, 413; *Q.S.*, 174. While criticising the Persian authorities on their seeming contradiction, *N. and V.* I, 273, rely on *Briggs*, 413, which is a epitomised translation of a page from *Q.S.* ("Anonymous Historian"). The initiative on the part of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh has, however, been missed in the epitomised translation. For, the original says on p. 174 that it was Ḥusain who sent Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh with an autograph letter to Ibrāhīm in which he made an offer of friendship and entreated him for help against Rāmarāj. It was in response to this that Ibrāhīm sent Mustafā Khān to Aḥmadnagar. *Bur.*, 412, says that both Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh and Qāsim Bēg were sent from Aḥmadnagar to Bijapur. It should be noted that Diego de Couto in his *Decadas*, VIII, 28-29, referred to in *Aravida*, 195, also attributes the initiative to Ḥusain.

should put an end to the power of Vijayanagar once for all. When the first part of the mission was fulfilled he was to go to Bijapur and sound 'Alī. Ḥusain not merely sent his good wishes to 'Alī but commissioned Ḥakīm Qāsim Bēg to accompany Mustafā Khān to Bijapur. When the two envoys were received in audience by the Sultān they reminded him that the sultānates of the Deccan were all off-shoots of the old Bahmani kingdom, and now it was incumbent on the Sultāns to join hands and halt Rāmarāj's power. He also begged His Majesty to change enmity into love for his brother kings. 'Alī was greatly impressed by this argument and it was decided that there should be a double marriage linking the courts of Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar, that 'Alī should marry Ḥusain Nizām Shāh's daughter Princess Chānd Bibī while 'Alī's sister Princess Hadya Sultānā should be married to Ḥusain's son Prince Murtaḍā. The two marriages were celebrated with great rejoicings in both the capitals, and in order to put an end to an old feud, Ḥusain transferred the citadel of Shōlāpūr to 'Alī as a part of his daughter's dowry. The three kings now met near Shōlāpūr and swore that they would have a complete unity of purpose against Rāmarāj.⁴²

(iii) War

(a) *Preparations*:—The stage was now set for a decisive conflict between Vijayanagar and the allies who considered them-

42. *Four Sultāns*; *Fer.*, II, 128; *Tab.*, 438; *Basatin*, 95. This is corroborated by Caesar Fredericke in *Purchas*, X, 93 and followed by most modern writers. The Telugu Kaifiyats are very cryptic. Thus the Kaifiyat of Taḍ-patrī enumerates "five Turuksha padusahas" including the Nizāmshah of Aḥmadnagar and "the Nizāmshah of Daulatabad" and "Imadulmulk of Birad-Burhanpur", while the Kaifiyat of Cudappah enumerates four Sultāns but allots one to Aḥmadnagar and another to Daulatabad. It is strange that in spite of those glaring discrepancies, which amount to near absurdities, *N. & V.*, I, 274, give some credit to them and include 'Imād Shāh of Berar as one of the belligerents, simply because the number in one of the Kaifiyats reaches 5!

43. *Q.S.*, 174-76. Oath; *T.Q.I.*, 113 a, where it is stated that it was after 3 days' consultation that full accord was reached. *T.Q.I.*, 112 b, says that the meeting took place at Gulbarga, but all the other authorities, e.g. *Bur.*, 416, mention Shōlāpūr as the meeting place, while *Q.S.*, has the suburbs of Shōlāpūr as the place where the Sultāns met. Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, I, 92, quite wrongly makes Hadya Sultānā 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's daughter; of course Gribble is none too reliable an author even apart from this *faux pas*.

selves to be grossly wronged by their southern neighbour. It was 'Alī 'Adil Shāh who took the initiative by sending an ultimatum to Rāmarāj to restore Yādگیر and Bāgalkōt which had been occupied by him and also to evacuate Rāichūr and Mudgal. The Bījapūr envoy was received in audience by the Regent, and when he presented his demands it is related that Rāmarāj disdainfully smiled at the affront and ordered the envoy to leave the capital immediately.⁴⁴ There was nothing left for the allies except to prepare for the fray in right earnest. As the allied armies were in the Bījapūr territory it was up to 'Alī to arrange for the supplies.⁴⁵ This must have been a gigantic task as the army which was to march southwards consisted of lacs and lacs of men, horses and elephants, and it shows that the kingdom had an excellent commissariat organization otherwise it would have been almost impossible to cope with this.

From Shōlāpūr the allies first marched to Bījapūr where they stayed for a short time and then they marched on to Tālikōṭa which is twenty-two miles from north of the Krishna.⁴⁶ 'Alī 'Adil was so keen on pleasing his new friends that he told them that they, as they were still in his territory, should consider themselves as his guests and that he would gladly arrange for supplies for them as well as for their armies and attendants.⁴⁷ On his part, when Rāmarāj heard that the allies were almost on his doorsteps he sent word to all his governors and feudatories "as far south as Ceylon" to send troops, supplies and arms to fight the enemy. He also ordered that the bastions of the capital be strengthened and appointed Krishnappa Nāyaka, the head of the Belūr family and titular Betel-leaf Bearer of the Emperor Sadāsiva, to complete the work under his supervision. The army which was mobilised and which now started northwards consisted of mercenaries belonging to practically all the linguistic and racial elements which went to form the Vijayanagar Empire; there were Kannadigas, Telugus of

44. *Fer.*, II, 39; *Bastin*, 91.

45. *Fer.*, II, 39. How wrong is the theory that 'Alī 'Adil Shāh did not allow the Sultāns or their armies to pass through his territory on the way to Vijayanagar; for this Chandorkar, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

46. *Bur.*, 416, is clear that the allies started from Bījapur on 20-5-972.

47. *Bastin*, 96.

the border, Mysoreans and Malayalis, Tamils and Muslims from the south. All this vast army was under the command of the Regent and under him, of his two younger brothers Venkaṭādrī and Timmappa or Timmaraja.⁴⁸

It appears that the allies tarried too long on the way from Sholapur and Bījapūr to the border, for, when they reached the Krishna they found that all the known ferries and shallow fords had already been occupied by the enemy who had found time even to build high ramparts on the other side of the river and mount cannon on them. They had started from Bījapur on 20-5-972/24-12-1564,⁴⁹ and as the great battle which decided the fate of the southern Empire took place on 20-6-972/23-1-1565 it must have taken fully four weeks to cover a distance of a little more than a hundred miles.⁵⁰ It is possible that the delay was due to lack of mobility on the part of a huge army, but one of the factors must have been an over-confidence on the part of the allies. We must remember that the army which was mobilised by Rāmarāj to face them was no whit less clumsy than their army, and further the time at the disposal of Rāmarāj was considerably less. It therefore goes to his credit that he could reach the river long before the allies.

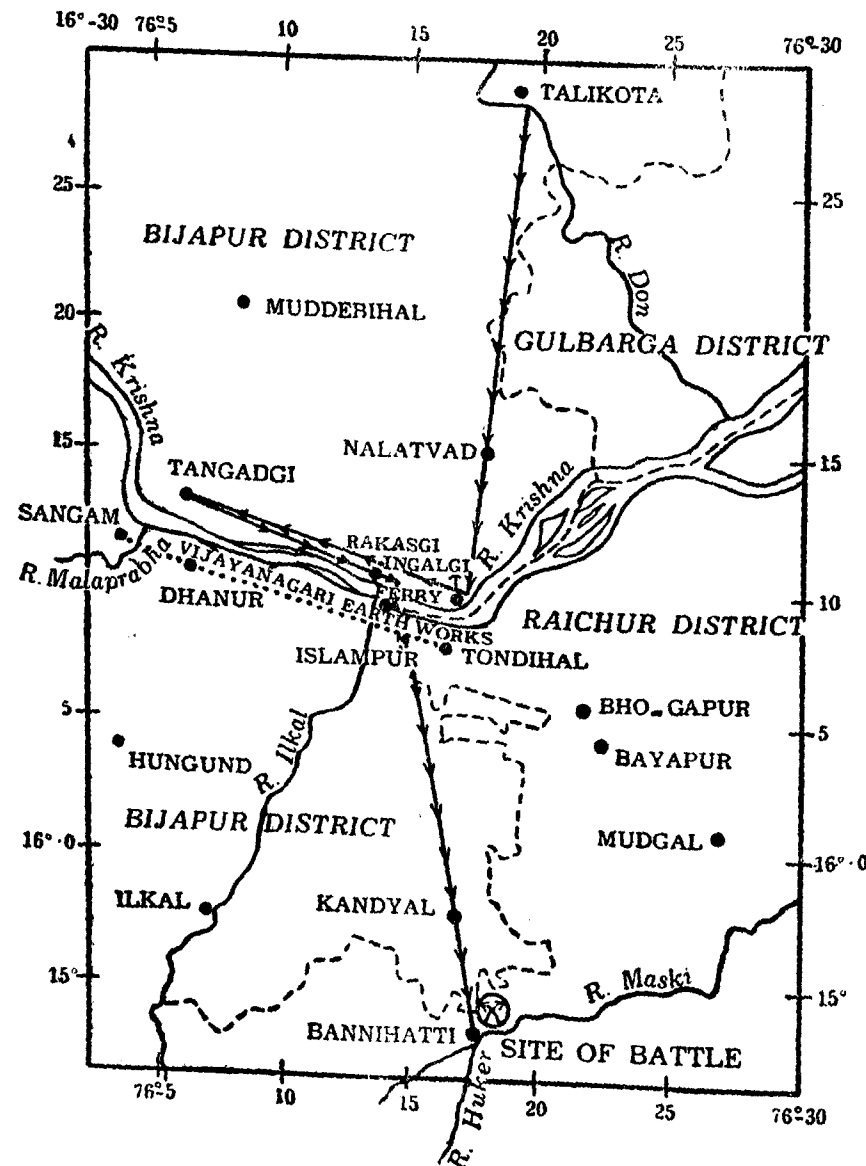
48. Bastions of Vijayanagar; *Aravida*, 98. Forces from "furthest Ceylon", *Q.S.*, 177. Composition of the Vijayanagar forces, *Sewell*, 201; Muslims, *N. & V.*, I, 244-5, 267; *Purchas*, X, 53. It is beyond all doubt that Rāmarāj was not sleeping over the invasion as Diego de Couto seems to think: *Decadas*, VIII, c. 15; see *Sewell*, 200.

49. *Fer.*, II, 39. 20-5-972 corresponds to 24-12-1564, not to 26-12-1564 as in *Briggs*, III, 126.

50. Date of the battle, *Q.S.*, 184. Here also Briggs has miscalculated the Christian date; it should be 23-1-1565 not 25-1-1565. *Sewell* rightly says that 20-6-972 was not Friday but Tuesday. *Bur.*, 420 has 2-5-972, and this has been followed in its epitomised translation by King. By a curious misunderstanding the date of the battle as given in *N. & V.*, I, 279 is 20-5-972/26-12-1564, which is really the date on which the allied armies left Bījapur for the south. The learned authors even go on to add that it was on that date that Rāmarāj was killed! As a matter of fact there was no contact with the Vijayanagar troops till the allies had reached the Krishna. All that we can say is that war conditions started with expulsion of the 'Adilshāhi envoy by the Regent of Vijayanagar; but fighting did not actually commence till the morning of 20.6.972. See *Fer.*, II, 39; *Bur.*, 416; *Q.S.*, 177.

(b) *Site of the Battle:—*

The problem which has so far defied solution is that of the actual site of the battle which is usually called the battle of Tālī-



kōṭa after a village of that name situated twenty-two miles north of the Krishna, where the concentration of the armies of the allied

Sultāns took place.⁵¹ It is nowhere mentioned that there was any fighting at Tālīkōṭa, for when the armies had been mobilised and commissariat arrangements had been made they were ordered to proceed southwards at once. It is only by a mere convention that the battle is named after the village. But there is so much divergence in the theories concerning the site of the actual battle that the best way to get at the probable truth would be, firstly, to set out these theories, and then to discuss them.

Our Persian chronicles are not clear about the site of the battle, but they are unanimous that the engagement took place south of the Krishna. They are also fairly unanimous in the description of the earlier contacts. When the allies reached the northern banks of the river, which formed the boundary between the Bijapūr and the Vijayanagar states, they found the route blocked, for Rāmarāj had already constructed a huge wall, two or three *gāv* in length, along the whole waterfront on the southern bank of the river, and mounted pieces of artillery on it blocking practically all the fordable approaches of the allied army.⁵² The allies were much perplexed, and there was a stalemate lasting several days, for neither side had the courage to strike first. The Sultāns now held a Council of War which decided that they must have recourse to a ruse, and the whole army should strike camp and move upstream to a point further than the fortifications put up by Rāmarāj. As the allied forces marched westward by the northern bank they were followed by the Vijayanagar army on the southern bank. The Vijayanagar commanders were in fact deluded that the allies wanted to cross the river beyond the earthworks erected by them. The allied armies marched leisurely for two or three days, closely followed by the Vijayanagar forces. They now suddenly stopped,

51. Tālīkōṭa is not on the Krishna as in Q.S., 177 and Fer., 39 but is on the Don about 22 miles due north of the river Krishna, in Muddēbihāl taluqa of the Bijapur district, Bombay State; 16°28'N. 76°19' E.

Concentration of the army of the allies; Fer., II, 39; Briggs, III, 126; Bur., 416; Q.S., 177. Tālīkōṭa is not mentioned in the rhymed history of the Qutbshāhs, the *Tawārīkh Qutbshāh*, where it is mentioned that the concentration took place "in the Gulbarga plain"; T.Q.I., 112b.

52. *Gāv* is a little more than 6 miles, not 30 to 40 *kroh* or 60 to 80 miles as in Fer., II, 39; this is unthinkable, as the spurs of the Western Ghats reach the south bank of the Krishna within 20 miles of this place.

left forty thousand soldiers to fight a rear-guard action if necessary, turned round, and managed to cover the whole distance in a single night. When they reached the original ford they found it undefended, and the great crossing was led by the Sultāns themselves. In the morning Rāmarāj knew that he had been hoodwinked, and when he himself reached the original ford he was greatly perturbed to find that the allies had already crossed into his territory. It is related that they continued their march till they reached the Hukēri river situated six kos or twelve miles from the Krishna, and it was then that fighting began.⁵³

Perhaps the first attempt to explore the site of the battle by a modern writer was made by J. A. Campbell, the author of *Bijapur District Gazetteer*. He says that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Krishna "about thirty miles south of Tālikōṭa" (which he calls Tālikōṭi), and six miles from Nālatvad. The ford by which the allied army crossed was at Ingalgī on the left bank, while remains of the earthworks erected by Rāmarāj were still visible on the left bank near Tonḍihāl village. The allies manoeuvred as if they would cross by the Dhānūr ford ten miles higher up. They marched leisurely on the northern bank westward for three days in the direction of Dhānūr and then marched back suddenly to the Ingalgī ford and crossed.⁵⁴

Sewell has another theory to offer. He says that there is no available information regarding the site of the battle, but it was probably in the plains about "the village of Bayāpur or Bhōgāpur" on the road leading from Ingalgī to Mudgal.⁵⁵

53. The first contacts; *Fer.*, II, 39, 128; *Basatin*, 97, 98. *Bur.*, 97, says that the earthwork was erected "opposite all possible crossings." See also *Q.S.*, 177.

54. J. A. Campbell, *Bijāpur District Gazetteer*, 1884, pp. 416, 679. He names the town Tālikōṭi although it is generally known as Tālikōṭa and is so named in the *Survey of India Map*, 56/D/SW, 1922.

Nālatvad, in the Raichūr District, on the direct route due South from Tālikōṭa, 6 miles due north of the southward curve of the river; 16°15'N., 76°18'E.

55. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, p. 199, note 2.

Mudgal, headquarters of the taluqa of that name in the Raichur district; 16°1'N., 76°26'E. Bhogāpur, 6½ miles from the nearest bank of the Krishna, in the south-eastern direction of Nālatvad; 16°6'N., 76°21'E. It is distinct from Bayāpur, which is 1½ miles to the south-east; 16°5'N., 76°22'E. Sewell is mistaken in regarding them as the two names of a single village. Both

All these theories have been discussed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya in their comprehensive work, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, along with information contained in the Telugu *Kaifiyats* of a number of villages and towns, as well as in *Rāmarājana Bakhair*.⁵⁶ They brush aside the evidence of "Muhammedan historians" who "state that the battle in which the Deccani Sultāns overthrew Rāmarāja was fought in the village of Tālikōṭa".⁵⁷ They then go on to say that "the place of the famous battle has been correctly described in the Hindu records." They first take their stand on *Rāmarājana Bakhair* which "locates the camp of Rāmarāj in the plain between the villages of Rakṣasī and Tangaḍi This is confirmed in the village *Kaifiyats* several of which allude to the event." Further on they state that "the majority of the *Kaifiyats* merely assert that Rāmarāja the Great perished with all his army near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Malāpahārī (the modern Mālaprabhā), one of them, the *Kaifiyat* of Nandiyāla, says that the Muham-madans put Aliya Rāmarāja together with his army to death at Rakṣasī-Tangaḍi in the pargana of Honugunda near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Malaprabha." Thus "these accounts contradict the accounts of the Muhammedan historians". Yet, in spite of the assertion that the battle has been correctly described in the Telugu records referred to, the learned authors are not fully convinced of their veracity and close the discussion with the ominous query, "Where does the truth lie?"⁵⁸

Before proceeding to discuss the various data contained in the statements before us, it is well to understand the topography of the locality. To begin with, Tālikōṭa is situated on the river Don twenty-two miles from the northern bank of the Krishna. The land lying between the village and the river is absolutely flat, and there is still a cartway from it leading to the river and passing through the town of Nālatvad which is six miles from the nearest point on the southward curve of the river. Ingalgī is a

these hamlets as well as the town of Mudgal are well to the southeast of Tālikōṭa, and it is very unlikely that the allied army should have swerved eastwards in its march to the south.

56. *N. and V.*, II, 263-65.

57. This is no doubt due to a misunderstanding, as it is nowhere mentioned that the battle was fought at Tālikōṭa.

58. The query is on I, 265.

village about half a mile from the north bank practically on the straight line from Tālikōṭa southwards, while Tondihal, where the remains of earthworks were noticed by Campbell, is almost exactly opposite Ingalgī on the south bank. These earthworks extended to a distance of about ten miles westwards. There is a local tradition that the battle was fought at a village called Islāmpūr half a mile south of the Krishna near the place where the Ilkal joins it. It should be noted that the Krishna has a very narrow bed here and there is a ferry which takes passengers from the bank opposite Rakasgī to the bank opposite Islāmpūr. The site of the battle indicated in the Survey of India 2 inch map is fully three miles east of Islāmpūr and quite a distance from where the limits of the earthworks were seen by Campbell, and it is not known why the site of the battle was indicated there. If we suppose the Vijayanagari wall to commence at Tondihāl it would pass through Islāmpūr and extend westwards to Dhānūr ford about thirteen miles from Tondihāl and a couple of miles from the sangam of the Mālaprabhā and the Krishna. Hukeri river joins the Maskī twelve miles south of the Krishna which corresponds with the site of the battle given by Ferishta. Bāyāpūr and Bhōgapūr are the names of two distinct hamlets south-east of Ingalgī on the road to Mudgal, and are separated from each other by about a mile and a half. In the same way Rakasgī and Tangadgī, which are doubtless, the real names of the villages mentioned in the Telugu documents as Rakṣagī and Tangadī, are two distinct places on the northern or left side of the river, both half a mile north of the Krishna but separated from each other by nine miles.⁵⁹

59. Ingalgī, village in the Bijapur district, now in the Mysore State, half a mile from the northern bank of the Krishna, almost within a southward bend; 16°13'N., 76°17'E. Tondihal, in the Raichūr district, now in the Mysore State, almost due south of Nalatvad, S.E. of Ingalgī half a mile from the south bank of the Krishna; 16°9'N., 76°19'E.

Dhanūr, in the Bijapur district, about 12 miles from the ford opposite Tondihal in the west, a couple of miles from the sangam of the Mālaprabha and the Krishna, half a mile from the south bank of the river; 16°12'N., 76°7'E. Rakasgī (not Rakāsī) in the Bijapur district, half a mile north of the Krishna, 4 miles west of Ingalgī; 16°11'N., 76°13'E. Tangadgī (not Tangādī) in the Bijapur district, also half a mile north of the Krishna, nine miles west of Rakasgī; 16°13'N., 76°6'E.

Sangam of Mālaprabhā with the Krishna, also the name of a village; 16°12'N., 76°3'E.

Now if we look at this topography objectively and picture to ourselves the probable movement of troops, it would appear that the invading army proceeded due south from Tālikōṭa towards Vijayanagar territory, especially as it would then pass through the friendly town of Nālatvad, and then reached the northern or left bank of the river which is but six miles from it. On reaching Ingalgī it would save the earthworks in full view just twelve furlongs away on the southern or the right bank at Tondihal. These earthworks must have followed the present straight path from Tondihal to Dhānūr and the sangam of Mālaprabha and the Krishna. The invading army adopted the ruse of leaving the Indulgī ford, passed by Rakasgī to Tangadgī (which is almost opposite to Dhānūr as Tondihal is to Ingulgī); then it suddenly turned back and reached Ingulgī, which is twelve miles distant from Tangadgī, and crossed the ford when there was hardly anyone to oppose it. It is possible that some Vijayanagar troops were left to guard the place where the Ilkal joins the Krishna which later came to be known as Islāmpūr, and an engagement took place there between the opposing armies. As the main Vijayanagar army was some miles distant it must have been a walkover on the part of the allied forces and after this initial advantage they must have moved on to the south till they reached Banihaṭṭī on the confluence of the Maskī with its southern tributary. There is no doubt that by this time the main Vijayanagar army had reached Banihaṭṭī as well and the two main armies came to grips. There is no reason why the allied armies should have waited at Tondihāl and not taken advantage of the open ground to push forward.⁶⁰

There is not much to be said in favour of the battle having taken place between Rakasgī and Tangadgī on the northern or left bank of the Krishna, and even the protagonists of the theory are

It is interesting to note that local tradition places the ford by which the allied armies crossed over from Ingalgī at Islāmpūr on the other side of the river; for this see Bashīrūddīn Ahmad, *Waqi'āt Mamlukat Bijāpur*, Agra, 1915, Vol. I, p. 112, n.

Islāmpūr, in the Bijapur district, ½ a mile south of the Krishna, about 2 miles W.N.W., of Tondihal; 16°9'N., 76°14'E.

60. River Hukēri; *Fer.*, II, 128; *Briggs*, III, 246. The Hukēri flows into the Maskī from the south near the village of Banihaṭṭī which is situated on 15°53'N., 76°18'E. This place is twelve miles from the Krishna within what was then Vijayanagar territory. See *Bijapur District Gazetteer*, p. 770.

not certain of it. *Rāmarājana Bakhair* on which a stand may be taken, is full of the most absurd details in regard to the battle as well as in other matters. Thus "Akbar Jalālu'd-dīn Mughal Padshah, the king of Jahānapur" is made to take part in the fight with two and a half crores of foot-soldiers, one lac elephants, two lac camels and many others; the weight of the gunpowder carried by the Vijayanagar troops is said to come to nearly ten crore of maunds, the number of cannon balls in the army reached the astronomical figure of ten thousand billions! Obviously it is difficult to put any reliance on a document like this. The same highly exaggerated account of the battle is given in the Kaifiyat of Nandiyāla as well as some other Kaifiyats, where it is related that "the Muhammadans who invaded (the country) put Aḷiya Rāmarāja with his army to death at Rakṣasī-Tangadi. Now an "invasion" of the Vijayanagar country was possible only after the enemy had crossed the Krishna and not otherwise. There is absolutely no evidence to show that Rāmarāj crossed the river at all. We must also remember that the place where the Vijayanagar army was routed was, according to the Kaifiyats, near the confluence of Mālaprabha and the Krishna, and this confluence is on the southern bank of the Krishna. The two villages, Rakasgī and Tangadgī are separated by no less than nine miles, and yet they been hyphenated together as if they formed one unit and placed near the Sangam! It is related by Ferishta that the allies left forty thousand soldiers at the furthest point they reached in the strategic movement westwards, which would be near Tangadgī, and it is possible that some kind of rear-guard action took place there; but it could not have been a major action as the Vijayanagar army must have set upon the pursuit of the main allied army which had marched southwards. There could have been no need on the part of Rāmarāj to cross over when the enemy was already within the Vijayanagar territory ready to give battle. It is strange that even the late Father Heras, who was always in search of objective realities, accepted "Raksas-Tagdi" as the scene of the battle, and further tried to coordinate the Persian chronicles with Telugu documents by placing the two villages south of the Krishna!⁶¹

Thus, with the historical, topographical and documentary data at our disposal we must reach the conclusion that the so-called

61. *Aravidu*, 203.

battle of Tālikōṭa or Rakṣasī-Tangaḍi was fought twelve miles south of the Krishna, possibly at Bannihattī on the sangam of the Maski river and its southern tributary. It is time that either traditional name of Tālikōṭa is restored or, better still, the battle is called *the Battle of the Krishna*.

(c) *The opposing forces:—*

The allies did not begin to attack the Vijayanagar forces immediately, but instead sent a message to Rāmarāj that if he were to restore the territory which originally belonged to Bijapūr and Tilangana then the allied Sultāns would evacuate the Vijayanagar territory and retire to their own kingdoms. But Rāmarāj was too proud to accept these terms and prepared to face the enemy with forces collected from all parts of the Empire under his own command with his brothers Venkaṭādri and Timmarāja in subordinate commands.⁶²

It is hardly necessary to discuss here the number of the armies which now came into grips near the southern banks of the Krishna, as they have been discussed threadbare elsewhere. While the Telugu documents estimate the number of the soldiers under the Vijayanagar banner to reach millions and millions there is no estimate of the allies armies given in the Kaifiyats at all. The estimate of the losses sustained by the Vijayanagar army also varies considerably. The Persian authorities say that these losses were about a lac of soldiers and certainly not more than three lacs, while some of the Telugu Kaifiyats say that the allies killed Rāmarāj "and all his troops" during the battle.⁶³ There is no

62. There was no question of "petitioning" Rāmarāj as *Keladinrpavi-jayam* would have it. The learned authors of *Further Sources* are quite rightly doubtful; see *N. and V.*, I, 276. The allied armies were already in Vijayanagar territory, and were fully aware of the might of the southern Empire before they made up their mind to sink their own differences and attack it. This message was really a kind of a peaceful move to which Rāmarāj did not pay any heed.

63. The problem of the number of the armies facing each other, especially of the Vijayanagar army, has been fully discussed by *N. and V.*, I, 281-82, and by Father Heras, *Aravidu*, 200. I am afraid it is too facile to give much importance to a document like *Rāmarājana Bakhair* in certain matters. See note 41 above. As has been mentioned above the *Bakhair* includes "Akbar Jalaluddin", as well as "the Mughal Padshah Abdulla Khan" as combatants in the battle (*N. and V.*, III, 209 n.), makes the Vijayanagar

doubt that here the totality would mean only the majority of the combatants, for a large part of the army must have been successful in leaving the battlefields, otherwise there was no reason why the allies did not trample upon the whole kingdom then and there. Again, we know that the Emperor Sadāsiva, who had been left in confinement by Rāmarāj and his brothers was taken to Penu-gonda with practically the whole of the treasury, and this could hardly have been done without the strongest possible military guard, especially as "the roads were infested by thieves and robbers" after the battle.⁶⁴ It is therefore very likely that the estimate of those killed in battle as given by the Persian authorities is more or less correct, and the defeat must have resulted in the flight of a considerable number of soldiers after Rāmarāj's death, though it cannot be said how many of them were still a part of the effective disciplined army.

(d) *Duration:*

Some doubt has been cast whether "this mighty host of seasoned warriors... was annihilated... within less than four hours."⁶⁵ There is nothing strange in the phenomenon, for even in comparatively recent times wars have consisted mostly of a battle, and fates of countries and nations have generally hung on the outcome of a single pitched action. As a matter of fact almost every battle worth remembering was successful in turning the scale of fortune one way or other. Practically every important battle even of the nineteenth century comes under the category, and in our own country Plassey, Baksar, Seringapatam, Laswari, Aligarh and

army carry nearly ten crore maunds of gunpowder and 9,87,65,43,21,00,00,000 cannon balls, which is something like a notation exercise. (*Ibid.*, III, 233). The accounts included in the documents are truly too fantastic to be believed. To quote another instance, it says that Akbar took with him to the battlefield 2½ crore of footsoldiers, 12000 riderless horses, 1 lac elephants, 2 lac camels, besides a huge number of followers; *ibid.*, I, 282. "Most of these figures are quite worthless to the historian"; *ibid.*, I, 283. Losses of Vijayanagar; *Fer.*, II, 41, 1 to 3 lacs; *Bur.*, 426, ninety thousand.

64. Wealth valued at more than 100,000,000 sterling, loaded on the backs of 1,550 elephants, according to *N. and V.*, I, 291, where a reference is made to *Purchas*, X, 94.

65. *Ibid.*, 280. Pēnūgonda, headquarters of a subdivision on the Anantāpūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 14°5'N., 77°36'E. For a general description of this town see *Subrahmanyam, Geographical Notes on the Chief Capitals of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary volume, p. 330.

Shakar-Khēra, to name only a few, are all cases in point. That was natural in the days when countries were ruled by autocrats, and when the autocrat fell there was nothing left for the mercenaries except to leave the battlefield in disorder. Thus, the statement that such large masses of troops such as those collected by Rāmarāj could not have been subdued so soon, does not hold good.⁶⁶

As regards the duration of the conflict, the struggle was certainly long drawn, and it is not a mere coincidence that the period of time from the mobilisation of the allied army on 24-12-1564 to the day the battle was fought, i.e., 23-1-1565, which amounts to thirty-three days, coincides with the period of the war as given by most of the Telugu documents. It is plain that the Battle of the Krishna was not the only pitched engagement of the war, and it is not necessary to prolong the conflict to April, 1565 on scanty evidence, especially when there is a corroboration on the part of *Kelādinrpa-vijayam* that Rāmarāj lost his life in January, 1565.⁶⁷ The preliminary engagement, which is said to have lasted for three days, may have been with the 40,000 troops left by the allies to guard the northern banks of the Krishna, while the final battle on the Maski was fought thirty-three days after the virtual declaration of war.

Again in spite of what may be said to the contrary, the war was certainly not a communal war. Caesar Fredericke, who visited Vijayanagar immediately after the conflict, definitely says that the Rāya of Vijayanagar had two prominent captains or commanders in the army who were "Moores" or Muslims, and each of them had as many as sixty to eighty thousand men under his command.⁶⁸ We are also told that there were "several Maratha detachments" which had joined the allied forces, and "shortly after

66. A single battle, that fought at Waterloo, decided the fate of Europe, and perhaps, of the world. It was only when wars began to be fought by nations rather than by autocrats, and trench warfare was developed, that battles became long drawn.

67. For the calculation of the different versions of the period of the war see *N. and V.*, I, 280.

68. *Purchas*, X, 93. Caesar Fredericke left Venice in 1563 and travelled from Ormuz to Goa and then proceeded to Vijayanagar via Khambāyat which was then a great emporium of trade. He calls Rāmarāj and his two brothers "three tyrants" who had placed the "lawful king" in confinement.

we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur."⁶⁹ It is plain that, with thousands of Muslims in the Vijayanagar army and thousands of Hindus in the army of the allied forces, the war must have lost its communal sting if such a thing ever existed. This fact must be borne in mind when we come to evaluate the causes and results of the war.

(e) *The Action:*

Coming to the actual action near the Krishna which decided the fate of the Empire of Vijayanagar in the long run, we find that it was not long that the two armies were in grips. Our authorities are almost unanimous that the great battle was fought on 2-6-972/23-1-1565, but its duration needs a little more consideration.⁷⁰ The line of battle adopted on both sides has also been repeated by a number of chronicles and may be said to be correct. Husain Nizām Shāh, who was the prime mover of the League of the Sultāns, was in the centre and was opposed by his great enemy, Rāmarāj; on his right was 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, who faced Timmarāja, and on his left were Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd who were opposed by Venkaṭādri. Rāmarāj was so sure of his success that he issued an order of the day that while an attempt should be made to capture 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh alive, he wanted that it should be the head of Husain Nizām Shāh which should be brought to him, for while he had some regard for Ibrāhīm and 'Alī he did not want Husain to live for another day.⁷¹

The first onslaught was made by the fifty thousand rocket-throwers of the Vijayanagar army which showered numerous rockets on the allies and "attacked them with swords and guns"

69. *Aravidu*, 200, where a reference has been made to Taylor, *Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language*, 1825, II, 15.

70. For the date of the battle see note 50 above. A number of the accounts of the engagement have been left to us which differ in detail, and it is difficult for us to evaluate their veracity. In the narrative given here an attempt has been made to give the most plausible or the most corroborated account and to coordinate or discuss other accounts at the same time.

71. Line of battle; *Fer.*, II, 128; *T.Q.I.*, 118b; *Q.S.*, 179 follows *Fer.*, but does not mention 'Alī Barīd's participation. "Order the Day." *Fer.*, *ibid.* *T.Q.I.*, 114t/115b introduces another brother of Rāmarāj named *Aswād*, who was killed probably in the engagement on the banks of the Krishna with forty thousand allied troops; this name is not mentioned in any other chronicle.

right and left till they were forced to give way. It is interesting to note that Rāmarāj had warned his brother Venkaṭādri, who was facing Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, that the grit and hardihood of the soldiers of Tilangana knew no bounds and that they should face them with fortitude.⁷² It was, however, this wing which was forced to retire after a terrible hand to hand fight, while the wing commanded by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh also gave way. The allies "were completely overpowered by the numerous soldiers of Vijayanagar".⁷³ But then the ranks of the army of Tilangana were again formed and they launched a severe attack on the enemy in which Venkaṭādri perhaps lost his life. On 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's front also the Vijayanagar army sustained a loss by the retirement of Timmarāja who was blinded by an arrow.⁷⁴ But it was the allied

72. *Rockets*; *Basatin*, 101; *Fer.*, II, 40. Praise of the fortitude of Tilangana soldiers; *T.Q.I.*, 118b; the lines are:

بزرگ افکنان تنگانه اند
از آهنگ آن مردم قطبشاه
که آن قوم در کینه دیوانه اند
که هشتیا روی باش از سرزنگاه

73. Retreat of the two wings of the allied army; *Bur.*, 422; *T.Q.I.*, 118b. *Rāmarājana Bakhair* relates the story of the attempted bribery of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh on the part of Rāmarāj during the battle, resulting in the protest of the former that he was still the regent's friend. It may or may not be true that Rāmarāj attempted to bribe 'Alī and to put an end to his resistance by underhand methods; but there is no doubt that 'Alī did continue the struggle in spite of this; see *N. and V.*, I, 287. The *Bakhair* also says that "Imādu'l-mulk retired from the fray"; but as we know, 'Imād Shāh was not a party to the battle at all, and this fact resulted in the invasion of Berar and its annexation to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

74. *Fate of Venkaṭādri and Timmarāja*; *T.Q.I.*, 119b, says that Venkaṭādri was killed at the hands of Ibrāhīm's officer, Syedjī, the same as had accompanied Ibrāhīm to his exile at Vijayanagar. This is corroborated by Caesar Fredericke (*Purchas*, X, 93) referred to in *Aravidu* 216. We however, find, that it was Venkaṭādri who restored all the forts and parganas taken by his brother, after the battle; for this see *Fer.*, II, 129. It seems possible that

centre under Husain's command which had to bear the main burden of the enemy attacks, and it was chiefly the bowmen under *Ikhlas Khān* and the artillery under the Turkish artillery officer *Chelepi Rūmī Khān* which was keeping it from annihilation. *Rūmī Khān* had placed his guns in serried rows according to their calibre, and he was constantly firing cylinders and boxes full of gunpowder towards the enemy.⁷⁵ But evidently they were of no avail. The aged *Rāmarāj* was seated in a beautiful *singāsan* or moveable throne put in the middle of his *dihliz* or *shāmiānā* made of the most costly cloth embroidered in gold and scented with sandalwood and other substances, and with "mountains of gold and silver" placed on both sides which he wanted to be distributed among those who fought in the battle with distinction.⁷⁶

It was when all efforts to overpower the Vijayanagar centre had failed that *Kishwar Khān Lārī* had recourse to a new artifice. Perhaps at the instance of *Nizām Shāh* himself, he got the famous *Malik-i-Maidān* cannon and other pieces stuffed with copper coins and then fired them, with the result that lacs and lacs of heavy, flat, expanding shot fell on the enemy killing thousands and creating a veritable havoc in the enemy lines.⁷⁷ And just then the

while *Venkatādri* fled from the battlefield and *Timmaraja* was struck in his eye they were taken as casualties by the allied army and so reported in some of our chronicles. The whole question of *Venkatādri's* death has been discussed in *Aravidu*, 216, where Portuguese, Telugu and Persian authorities have been collated.

75. The allied artillery; *Fer.*, II, 128. There were three kinds of cannon which were used by *Rūmī Khān*, viz., the largest called *tōp*, the cannon of moderate size called the *darb-zan*, and the piece larger than a musket but smaller than the *darb-zan* called the *zambūrak*. The muskets were called *tufang*; see *Briggs*, III, 248 Cylinders of gunpowder

تارورہائے نفل

Bur., 423 حقه بانزی آتش بانان T.Q.I., 121a

76. *Fer.* 128. Both *Rāmarāj* and *Husain Nizām Shāh* had set up huge *shāmiānās* or *dihliz* in the middle of their lines to show that they would not retreat under any circumstances. See *Briggs*, III, 405, note; also *Bur.* 423. Description of *Rāmarāj's dihliz*; *Briggs*, III, 129.

77. Intensity of the bombardment; T.Q.I., 121a. Bombardment by cannon stuffed with brass coins; *Fer.*, II, 128; *Fer.* II, 40, has that it was *Kishwar Khān* who fired brass coins,

Nizām-shāhī troops appeared from the rear, and along with *Kishwar Khān Lārī*, who had advanced with seven or eight thousand 'Adilshāhī troops, fell upon the enemy.

While there is no doubt that *Rāmarāj* lost his life on that fateful day, there is much variation among our sources about the way in which he met his death. There is the rather interesting but most improbable story that he was decapitated by his friend 'Ali 'Adil Shāh in order that he might not fall in the hands of his enemies of *Ahmadnagar* and dishonoured! There is then the story of his having been left sitting on his moveable throne by the throne-bearers in the *mélée* which ensued the firing of brass coins, that he was lifted bodily by the trunk of an elephant and brought to *Husain Nizām Shāh* who had him beheaded. Another variation of the same story is that *Rūmī Khān* wanted to kill *Rāmarāj* when he was captured but his friend *Dalpat Rao* said that it was the great *Rāmarāj* himself whom *Rūmī* had captured, and that if his life were spared *Rūmī* was sure to be rewarded with favours and with the grant of *jāgīr*; but he would have none of it and forthwith carried him to his master the *Sultān*. *Husain* had him seated opposite him and began to ask him questions about himself when one of his courtiers warned him that if he were to be spared for a few more minutes then 'Ali would know of the capture and the prize would slip off; on which *Husain* ordered his decapitation. There is then the version of the death of *Rāmarāj* in actual battle, and this is the most likely of all. It is that *Rāmarāj* was struck by a cannon ball from the *Ahmadnagar* lines which were directly opposite and was killed on the spot. It seems most unlikely that *Rāmarāj* should have lived on through the whole battle when he was sitting in state directly opposite his sworn enemy *Husain Nizām Shāh*, and that he should have been brought alive to be killed by 'Ali or *Husain*.⁷⁸

78. 'Ali shoots *Rāmarāj* with a cannon ball out of compassion; *N. and V.*, III, 241. The elephant episode; *Fer.*, II, 29. *Dalpat Rao*; *Basatin*; 103-4. *Rāmarāj* killed in battle with a cannon ball; *Tab.*, 438. Here it would be better to give a gist of the story as related in T.Q.I., 122a. It says that when *Rāmarāj* realised that the game was up he rode a horse intending to fly from the battlefield, but he was espied by *Husain's* soldiers who caught him and brought him before the King. *Husain* addressed him thus: "You know that you invaded my country, despoiled mosques and laid waste my territory, and it is time that you should be punished for all the crimes that you committed",

It is truly remarkable that in the whole episode of Rāmarāj's death we do not find Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's name being mentioned even once; this only shows that while the King of Telingana was valiant in battle and a disciplined and seasoned soldier he would not allow himself to be a party to the killing of an enemy after he had been taken prisoner.

As was the case with all medieval battles, the death of the leader meant the rout of the enemy, and when Rāmarāj's head was raised on a spear and shown to the Vijayanagar army the disciplined forces became a mere rabble, and whoever could escape saved his life by flying from the battlefield.

The Battle of the Krishna was one of the shortest battles which have ever decided the fates of kingdoms and empires. There is

and so saying he drew his sword and struck him dead. *Aravidu*, 213, quoting the so-called *Poona Persian Poem* (P.P.P.), in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Sam-shōdaka Mandala* of Poona, no. 126, Persian, (for which see Bibliographical Introduction, pp. xvii-xix) says that the story contained in the poem culminates in the beheading of Rāmarāj by Husain's order. Unfortunately I do not find any such reference in the lines of the poem in Appendix A. There is also a slight mistake in the transcription of the relevant line 30 on p. 559 which should read:

سرش بر زمین خورد و افتاد تاج
بر زخم سنان کافر امراج

which is translated thus on p. 563: "With the blow of the spear the head of the infidel Ram Raj fell to the ground, and (also) his crown." This obviously does not mean that "the Sultan ordered his head to be struck off" at the outset, as in *Aravidu*, 213. When we read this line along with line 32 on the same page, which is again a slightly faulty copy of the lines on plates opposite pp. 214 and 216,

بیک کس اشارت چو آن شاه کرد
سرش را بریدند و پیکاه کرد

we would come to the conclusion that Rāmarāj died of a spear wound and when his body was brought to Husain he had his head cut off in order to show the Vijayanagar army that it was no use prolonging the fight. The most probable story seems to be that Rāmarāj was struck by a cannon ball and died there and then. This is related by *Tab.*, 438. As *N. and V. I*, 290 rightly say, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad compiled his book "within three decades of the death of Rāmarāj ... and he seems to give a true account of the circumstances under which Rāmarāj met his death."

a version that the battle lasted for "two days and two nights", but most of our authorities are unanimous that the fighting started at midday and stopped at about four in the afternoon.⁷⁹ The continuous chain of events beginning with the weakening of the allied flanks, advance of the strong centre backed by heavy bombardment, firing of thousands and thousands of brass pieces by Husain's artillery, and finally the death of Rāmarāj and the complete rout of the enemy—all these closely woven facts could hardly have left a breathing space for the parties to have tarried for many days before the end came. Scales therefore seem to turn in favour of the single day theory.

(f) *After the Battle:—*

There is also some difference of opinion regarding the period of time the allied monarchs stayed in their camps on the battlefield before they moved on to Vijayanagar, and this ranges from three to ten days.⁸⁰ We, however, know that the interregnum at Vijayanagar lasted long enough for Tirumala taking with him to Panugonda "550 elephants laden with gold, diamonds and precious stones valued at more than one hundred million sterling, the state insignia and the celebrated jewelled throne of the kings", under the convoy of soldiers who remained true to the Crown", and we are forced to conclude that these varied arrangements must have taken more than three days. And that was not all. For "the next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjārīs, Lambāḍīs, Kurubas and the like, pounced upon the hapless city and looted the stores and shops".⁸¹ That was only natural, for the nominal Emperor, Sadaśīva, who had been in close confinement ever since Rāmarāj took over the government of Vijayanagar, was also removed to Penugonda, and there was no government left in the city. There could not have been much left at Vijaya-

79. Two days and two nights; *T.Q.I.*, 122a. Four hours; *Purchas*, X, 93. Here it might be noted that Caesar Fredericke was at Vijayanagar immediately after the end of the war, when "an attempt was made to repopulate the city," and was therefore an eye witness of the reactions of the battle on the inhabitants of the city.

80. Three days; *T.Q.I.*, 122b; also, Diego de Couto in *Sewell*, 207; 10 days, *Q.S.*, 180.

81. *Sewell*, 206-7, quoting Diego de Couto.

nagar when the four Sultāns arrived there in triumph and pitched their camp outside the city walls. Although it is said that the Nizamshahi soldiers, whose homes had been put to so much havoc only a few months previously, wanted to take revenge on the Vijayanagaris, the city must have been depleted of its wealth and its population already.⁸²

The Sultāns remained at Vijayanagar for a few months⁸³ and left it after the promise of the Penugonda government that they would restore the districts of Tilangana and Bījapūr lately annexed by Rāmarāj.

82. Nizāmshāhī soldiers' thirst for revenge; Q.S., 181.
83. For the extent of the destruction at the hands of the Sultāns, see Sherwani, *Cultural and Administrative Set-up under Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh*, Islamic Culture, April 1957, note 34. The period of stay at Vijayanagar; Aravidu, 223, 5 months; Purchas, X, 93; 6 months; Sewell 180, 5 months.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aravidu: Father Heras, *The Aravidū Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras, 1927.
Basatin: Mirza Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn*; Hyderabad Deccan.
Briggs: Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1910.
Bur.: Syed 'Alī b. 'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*; Hyderabad Deccan, 1936.
C.H.I.: *Cambridge History of India*.
Fer.: Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishtā: *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; Lucknow, 1281 H.
H. A.: *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam*; Hyderabad Dn., 1310H.
J.I.H.: *Journal of Indian History*.
N. and V.: Nilkanta Sāstrī and Venkataramayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*; Madras, 1946.
Q.S.: *Tarikh-i Muḥammad Qutb Shāh*; MSS., Aṣafiyah Library, Hyderabad Deccan, *Tarikh-i Fārsī*, 401.
Sources: Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras, 1919.
T.Q.: *Tarikh-i Qutbshahi*, MSS. Salar Jang Library, Hyderabad Deccan, *Nāẓm-i Fārsī*, 143.
T.Q.I.: *Tawarikh Kutb Shāh*; MSS. India Office Library, London; Ethé, 1486, I.O., 2685.
Velugot.: Venkata Ramnayya, *Velugōṭivārivamśāvalī*; Madras, 1939.

Reviews

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA IN GUPTA PERIOD: Cir. A.D. (300.550), Sachindra Kumar Maity, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer, Jadavpur University, Calcutta. With a foreword by A. L. Basham, Ph.D., Calcutta, The World Press Private Ltd., 1957. pages xviii, and 223. Rs. 12.50., 21 s. net.

A thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of London and accepted by that university in 1956, this compact little book gives as complete a picture as possible with the sources at hand of the economic life in Northern India in the two centuries and a half during which the Gupta Empire flourished. It was, as Basham says truly in his Foreword, 'a period of high civilization in every sense, but especially in the truest sense of the term — an age of equilibrium, when human relations reached a degree of kindliness rare in the history of the world, and when the best minds of India expressed the fulness and goodness of life in imperishable art and literature'. This efflorescence of culture must have had a solid economic basis in industry, the arts and trade. Yet, the economic aspect of life in the period was not dealt with fully or even adequately by previous writers on the subject. The political history, literature, architecture and sculpture as well as painting have been studied more or less exhaustively; but on economic life the existing literature cannot be said to be equally satisfactory. Even a monograph like *Life in Gupta Acc*, by R. N. Saletore leaves much unexplained and has ignored the evidence of coins and of important literary sources of the time like Varāhamihira and Amarasiṃha. 'The Vākāṭaka-Gupta volume in the *New History of the Indian People* dismisses the economic conditions of the empire in a meagre five pages, and the chapter in *The Classical Age* (of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan) deals with the subject' in a very casual and superficial way! The reason for this recurring feature is the scattered and recondite nature of our sources. We have no work corresponding to the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Ain-i-ākbari*, and no contemporary popular tales like the Jātakas. No Indian merchant recorded his day-to-day transactions on durable material as did

his Babylonian counterpart. Detailed records of early Indian economic activity were either never made or have been lost beyond recovery. Inscriptions give scrappy details which often raise more questions than they enables us to answer.

For the first time Dr. S. K. Maity has made a bold and determined effort to reconstruct a complete picture of the economic life of the Gupta age by a methodical and painstaking research into all available sources with a view to cull every scrap of information and put it in a proper setting. His thorough study of literary sources like Varāhamihira and Amarasimha, and his careful examination of all the known Gupta coins have produced evidence of importance; even Justinian's *Institutes* and Procopius have been laid under contribution in elucidating the foreign trade of India. Dr. Maity discusses all aspects of every question and fairly presents the evidence for rival views on vexed subjects like the King's ownership of the soil (11-23), or the authorship of the Chandragupta I-Kumārādēvi coins (174 ff.). He states his conclusions with moderation and in a tentative manner, and does not claim undue certainty for the theories he puts forward often on the basis of fragmentary material. He has also avoided the temptation to gild the Golden Age and admitted the existence of slaves, the hard lot of the toiler, the periodical threats of drought and famine, and the prevalence of debt and poverty.

The doubt which assails the reader at every stage arises from the way in which the normative rules of the *dharmaśāstras* and the factual data drawn from inscriptions, observations of travellers, and foreign sources have been woven together into a composite pattern. Perhaps this is the only way in which a consistent picture of the age can be drawn, but the method has its obvious limitations. Dr. Maity's work may be taken to provide a good basis for further studies, but every section of it will need careful testing by further research before its results can win general acceptance. To say this is by no means to underrate the excellence of Dr. Maity's work or its value to students; it is only an acknowledgement of the fact that history knows no final court from whose findings there is no appeal.

The book is divided into nine chapters: Introduction; Land system; Revenue system; Agriculture, Famine, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardening and Animal Husbandry; Industry and Industrial

Workers; Trade and Commerce; Labour; Corporate Economic life; Currency; Exchange and Money-lending. There are three Appendices which present respectively the primary data from Varāhamihira's works, and inscriptions of land sales, and on the gold content of Gupta coins. There are also a select Bibliography (208-13), a map of the Gupta empire, and a plate illustrating Gupta pottery from Arichchhatra (p. 109). The book is well documented and well produced.

K. A. N.

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Orient Longmans, 1957. Pages xxvi and 538, price Rs. 25.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal is a reputed Indologist whose contributions to the knowledge of ancient Indian history and culture, particularly in the field of political theory and institutions, are widely known and appreciated. In 1944 he brought together a selection of his papers on various topics under the caption *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and Other Essays*. The present book is an enlarged and revised edition with a different title and with omissions and additions. All the chapters on South-East Asia and one or two others have been deleted, and nine new chapters of unequal length added. In this edition the chapters are grouped in four sections: Ancient Indian Historiography (5 chapters), Generalities (2 chapters), Ancient Indian Polity (6 chapters), and Ancient Indian Social, Religious and Political History (4 chapters). Generally the object of each essay is to discuss the current views on its topic, examine the nature of the evidence on which they rest, and furnish the necessary corrections to ensure a proper perspective. Younger students of the history of ancient Indian culture may well hope to profit much by a careful study of the essays which embody the considered thoughts and reasonings of a competent elder scholar on different topics of a rather controversial nature. Though the bulk of the book has thus a polemic trend, its tone is always restrained, dignified and strictly academic.

The opening essay in Part I discusses the historical value of the secular side of Vedic literature such as the *Vamśa* and *Gotrapravara* lists, and the *gāthās*; the conclusion is reached that in



TIPU SULTAN

spite of their neglect of chronology and their acceptance of supernatural influences in human affairs, these texts embodied a mass of genuine tradition afterwards utilized by the authors of systematic genealogies of royal dynasties and priestly families in the Epics and Purāṇas. We have here 'in solution, as it were', most of the types of historical workmanship found in later times. The next four chapters, all new ones, deal likewise with early Buddhist Historiography, The Historical Traditions in the Purāṇas, the *Harshacharita* of Baṇa and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Buddhist tradition is seldom matter of fact, but often legendary, though of much value as explaining Buddhist art of later times; the need for a critical attitude to the Purāṇic accounts is stressed. The *Harshacharita* is analysed at considerable length and its merits and defects clearly shown up; Baṇa was unable to distinguish legend from history. Much superior to him as historian was Kalhaṇa whose work forms the subject of an essay of nearly a hundred pages.

The two essays in Part II discuss the lines of division to be adopted between the different periods of Indian history and are perhaps the lightest studies in the collection. Part III covers the special field of Dr. Ghosal's researches—Ancient Indian Polity. Here the late Dr. Jayaswal put forward many venturesome and speculative theories on little evidence and advanced peculiar and far-fetched interpretations of texts; these are steadily tracked and and criticised, and the true position correctly explained in the six chapters of this part bearing the self-explanatory titles: viii. The Genius of Ancient Indian Polity, ix. The Vedic ceremonies of Royal and Imperial consecration and their political and constitutional significance, x. Vedic Political Institutions, xi. The ancient Indian Republican and Mixed constitutions from the sixth century B.C. to the third century A.C. xii. The Status and Functions of the King's Ministers in the Ancient Indian Polity (xi and xii are new additions) and xiii. The Ancient Indian Administrative Nomenclature.

The last part on Social, Religious and Political History comprises four essays on Slavery, Head-offering to the Deity, Durja and Bhima—two ancient Bengali heroes, and Factors of Downfall of ancient Indian Political civilisation. The last mentioned essay, also a new one, is fairly convincing in its criticism of the views of

other authors, but perhaps not equally so on the side of the positive contribution it seeks to make in explaining the decline. The problem still remains obscure after the fairly comprehensive discussion by Dr. Ghoshal; its complexity is seen from the different views taken of the period A.D. 1000-1300 in the recently published fifth volume (*The Struggle for Empire*) of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People reviewed elsewhere in this number of Journal of Indian History.

The corrections listed at xxiv are not complete. But the get-up of the book is quite good and we congratulate the learned author and the publisher on their notable achievement.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

BHĀRATIYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN'S HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE, Volume V—THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE, Foreword by K. M. Munshi; General Editor: R. C. Majumdar, Assistant Editor: A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan. May 1957. Pages lx and 940. Two maps, 62 plates, 57 Text illustrations. Rs. 35/-.

The publication of the fifth of the ten volumes of this History is a matter for gratification and the Vidyā Bhavan and its President Śrī K. M. Munshi deserve to be congratulated warmly for this. Some malign fate seems to dog the efforts at multi-volume histories of India. The Bhāratiya Itihās Parishad planned a New History of the Indian People in twenty volumes, published Vol. VI (*Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*) in 1946, and another volume (second) on *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* in 1951; but in the interval the scheme was amalgamated with another twelve-volume scheme for a *Comprehensive History of India* promoted by the Indian History Congress; the amalgamated scheme has not yet been able to publish any volume. Even the Cambridge University which has carried through a number of multi-volume Histories on several subjects including the magnificent Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Histories of Europe, has not been able to complete its six-volume *History of India*, the second volume having as yet not made its appearance. We wish and hope that the Vidyā Bhavan scheme will be carried to completion by the publication of the remaining five volumes at regular intervals.

The volume before us maintains the standard of those already published, and covers the period A.D. 1000 to 1300. It furnishes a fairly up-to-date and well documented account of the history of the period giving more attention to the cultural movements than to war and politics. Two chapters cover wider ground than the limits of the volume in general; the chapter on Art includes the whole period from the eighth century A.D. to the thirteenth and that on Colonial and Cultural Expansion carries the story to much later times than the end of the thirteenth century, apparently disposing of the subject once for all.

The title of the volume sounds original, but does not match the occurrences of the period. No power is known consciously to have aimed at an all-India hegemony, much less to have been anywhere near attaining it. Dr. Majumdar, however, seems to take another view and writes: 'The period covered by this volume is marked by the unsuccessful efforts of the early Turkish invaders in North India, of the Chālukyas in the Deccan, and of the Cholas in South India, as well of individual rulers in the north and in the south, to found an empire in India. Hence the title "Struggle for Empire" has been adopted for this volume'. His mention of the first All-India Muslim empire founded by the short lived dynasty of the Khaljis in the next sentence shows that he is thinking primarily of the contrast between the failure of the early Turkish rulers and the 'success' of the Khaljis, and extends the notion to cover the work of the Hindu dynasties of the period. But on any reasonable standard of judgment, the Chālukyas and the Cholas must be held to have founded empires in India, though not of India, and it is not easy to understand the title of the volume except on the assumption that all the three centuries covered by it was just a preparation for the advent of the Khalji empire, a proposition which has only to be stated for its absurdity to be patent.

The prevalent view of the period is that it is one of decadence in which Hindu civilisation clearly betrayed its bankruptcy in the face of new situations, and this is the view that Dr. Majumdar seems to accept. He says: 'The three centuries dealt with in this volume witnessed not only the gradual decay of the political authority of the Hindus, but also a definite set back in the progress of their culture. Except in the domain of art, particularly the temple

architecture, we find a steady process of decline and decadence, which had already set in in the preceding period, in almost all spheres of cultural activity. The process was perhaps accelerated by the intrusion of Islam as a new element'—(pp. xlvii-xlviii). Yet the matter is not so simple. Why is temple architecture an exception to the general decay? And is that the only exception? Do Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Kshemendra, Bhoja and Hemachandra count for nothing, or are they too to be regarded as manifestations of decay? Another striking feature of Dr. Majumdar's view of the period is what must be regarded as a total misapprehension of the role of the Deccan and South India in this period. He writes: 'It appears to us as passing strange that India, south of the Vindhya, seems to have lived in a world apart from the rest of the country. Undisturbed by the ominous tidings of Muslim aggression, the ruling powers in the Deccan and South India were as busy as before with their petty domestic quarrels and dissensions, and military campaigns of aggrandisement against one another. During the hundred years that kept the Muslims fully engaged in consolidating their power in the North, the South went on in fancied security, as if nothing had occurred to disturb its equanimity or threaten the continuity of its history and culture' (xlv), and he cites in illustration the attack on the Chaulukyas of Gujarat by the Yādavas of the Deccan at a time when the Chaulukyas were locked in a life and death struggle with the Muslim invaders from the North. As a matter of fact the South had come into fairly close contact with Muslims even from the days of Arab conquest of Sindh if not earlier; in fact the Arabs had carried on a busy trade with the Malabar coast from pre-Muslim days and these economic contacts continued after Islam had spread in Arabia; Arab merchants had settlements in all important port towns, and the Hindu rulers had defined their status and privileges in a way that was mutually advantageous to both parties. The Arab attempt to extend their political sway to the South was definitely checked early in the eighth century by a Chālukya ruler of the Lāṭa branch who earned the title *avanijanāśraya*, the refuge of the world's people, by the signal service he rendered to the Deccan. When the Khaljis and Tughlaks sought to extend their empire south of the Vindhya, strong resistance movements came up and ended in the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire which saved the Hindu culture in the South from going the way it did in the North. The

military tyranny of the Bahmani Kingdom was subject to constant protests from its subjects within and unceasing war with Vijayanagar. To say that the South did not realise the nature of the Muslim threat or was indifferent to it is radically to misread South Indian History. As for the Yādavas and their behaviour towards the Chālukyas, they were hardly a Deccani power, belonged more to the North Indian State system, and their policy was often governed by exigencies of North Indian politics; the defects attributed by Dr. Majumdar to the South are typical of the North at a time when culture and civilization attained their high water mark in the South under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the Chōlas of Tanjore. The chapters on political history fail altogether to convey an adequate idea of the greatest age of South Indian culture, and lay stress on the wars and conflicts which ever marked the mutual relations of Indian states which generally accepted the ideal of the *viṣigīshu*, but seem to have been none very much the worse for it, as agencies of social and cultural betterment. The cultural chapters, however, do provide a glimpse into reality for the discerning reader.

On these large questions the line taken by Dr. K. M. Munshi appears to be much nearer the truth though one detects sometimes a tendency to overstatement perhaps natural to an imaginative litterateur. He does not subscribe to the theory of total decadence of Hindu society and does not concede that the Muslims carried everything before them or established themselves as unquestioned rulers even over the whole of North India. We may agree with him that the history of this period has not yet been studied from India's point of view (vii) and that this is partly due to the nature of our sources—chiefly Persian chronicles of court occurrences and wars, and practically nothing on the broad sector of the real life of the people; but one may doubt the validity of his suggestion that the glory of Akbar has cast retrospective glow on the Sultanate (viii). He seems haltingly to adopt the view of the editor of the volume in a rather confused paragraph at p. xiii which reads: 'The storm that blew in the wake of Mahmud's armies was sudden and overwhelming. It came before any of the feudatories of Imperial Kanauj could win the race for an unchallenged hegemony; when it blew over none was left strong enough to win it. The kings of South India, where the political aspect of "Āryāvarta-consciousness" had been (sic.) so much as penetrated, also pre-

sented too persistent a menace to enable them to combine against a foreign enemy from the North-West. In the result, loyalties came to be confined to one's own region, accelerating the trend to social and political particularism.' The sentence about the kings of South India is unintelligible as it stands, and if it is meant that the South Indian kings had no consciousness of their forming part of the State system of Bhāratavarsha, the implication is totally mistaken and can be disproved by evidence from the literature and epigraphy of the South.

Dr. Munshi, however, does justice to the role of the South Indian kings, particularly the Cholas of Tanjore (A. D. 985-1250), in Section VII of his Foreword which gives a more balanced view of the socio-political framework of the whole of India in this period than all the rest of this fairly bulky volume. His estimate of the period is seen in statements like the following: During this age, therefore, in spite of the ravages of the Turks, India was still the land of great achievements; 'In spite of the destruction of some great shrines and universities in North India, literature in Sanskrit flourished in most parts of India.....It was the age of Polymaths; of Kshemendra, Bhoja and Hemachandra.' 'After the classical Age, this Age was the most glorious epoch of Indian art, particularly in the sphere of architecture and sculpture, though their traditions had grown up in the earlier period. This was India's great age of temple-building'. Dr. Munshi does not omit to note that Hindu civilisation was soon to enter upon a long night after a gorgeous evening. 'At the close of the Age, or perhaps a decade or two later' he says, 'when the armies of the Turkish and Khalji Sultans overran the country, the creative vitality in terms of plastic art came to an end.'

The divergent assessments of the period, each perhaps valid in its own way from the particular standpoint of the assessor, show how difficult it is to generalize on the broad trends of the history of a vast sub-continent. The authors of individual chapters have therefore written their assigned sections more or less as independent monographs; but the fact that several chapters of the political history of the North are contributed by one writer, Dr. D. C. Ganguly, goes far to mitigate the shortcomings of the plan. The reconstructions offered are not always convincing, and in spite of the size of the book, room could not be found for dis-

cussions of alternative hypotheses which may be sustained by the evidence at hand. Sometimes meaningless *praśastis* have been mistaken for genuine history.

The strength of the volume is chiefly in the cultural chapters which review in a systematic manner the different sectors of national activity and assemble data from widely scattered sources, and thus prepare the ground for further advance in the knowledge of the subjects dealt with. The chapters on Language and Literature (XV) and on Religion and Philosophy (XVI) are particularly valuable in this respect. It is, however, surprising that Mr. U. C. Bhattacharjee should have echoed the rather cheap criticism of Indian thought fashionable among Christian missionaries, and said: 'It is a limitation of Indian thought that it never paid equal attention to social and political problems and had no social and political philosophy of a high order. This is accounted for by its presupposition that life is not worth living' (p. 466). If ancient Indians really presumed that life was not worth living they could never have achieved the great things they did. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's chapters, relatively short ones, on Political Theory and Administrative Organisation (XIII), Law and Legal Institutions (XIV), Social condition (XVII), Education (XVIII) and Economic Condition (XIX) succinctly sum up the epigraphic and literary evidence on these topics. Alberuni's estimate of contemporary Indians (p. 496) was by no means as favourable as Dr. Ghoshal seems to think. The long chapter on Art which, as already noticed, covers a longer period than the rest of the volume, does not offer much that is fresh or original, and the adoption in the architectural section of an obscure jargon of local terms from Orissa cannot be said to aid the easy understanding of the points made; while the sections on Sculpture and Painting teem with vague and verbose dithyrambs, also not free from jargon. The attempt (p. 534) to prove that the Drāviḍa style of architecture developed from the Gupta temple is novel but flimsy. We read on p. 614: 'The Vaishṇava temple, known as the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl at Kāñcīpuram is also attributed to Rājasimha Pallava and might have been begun not long after the Kailāsanātha.' No one attributes the temple to Rājasimha; though the temple is built in the style usually associated with the name of that king, i.e., Nara-simhavarman II, it is well known that it was a construction of Nandivarman II who had a long reign (731-96) and whose per-

sonal name Paramēśvara is associated with the temple called Paramēccura-Viṇṇagaram by the contemporary ālvār Tirumaṅgai in his celebrated hymn on the shrine.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

MADHURAVIJAYAM OF GANGADEVI—Edited with an historical introduction by S. Thiruvengkatachari, Professor, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, Karaikkudi. Published by Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. Price Rs. 6/- net.

It is accepted on all hands that professedly historical works are conspicuous by their absence in early India. This circumstance makes it all the more necessary that the few semi-historical compositions which are available ought to be systematically edited, translated and critically studied. The *Madhuravijayam*, besides being an admirable piece of literary art, throws much welcome light on certain details pertaining to the history of Vijayanagar. The special interest of this biographical poem lies in the circumstance that its author, Ganga Devi, was the wife of the Vijayanagar hero, whom the poem celebrates. It is probable that she accompanied her husband in his sojourns in the south; therefore, in all likelihood, the account has been produced on the basis of intimate local knowledge of Kumara Kampana's expeditions. But Sri Thiruvengkatachari registers too tall a claim for Ganga Devi when he states that that she may be considered the first 'scientific' historian of India, (p. 7). She has introduced into the poem faith in the supernatural element as found in the reference to the episode of the goddess and her exhortation to the hero.

The *Madhuravijayam* provides a graphic description of the extension of the Vijayanagar power into the Tamil country, as well as the position of the contemporary Sambuvarayas.

Sri Thiruvengkatachari writes an Introduction of about seventy pages in which he examines the historical value of the poem. Though he yields to the temptation of overestimating the historical value of the work, he has on the whole provided a useful preface to the text. He examines the history of the Muslim contact with South India, and incidentally contests, with ample justification, the reliability of the oft-repeated story of Sundara Pan-

dya's invitation to 'Alauddin Khilji'. He proceeds to describe the nature of the Muslim rule in Madurai and provides a lurid picture of the atrocities perpetrated by the Muslim Sultans and their followers. But it is not too easy to draw the line between poetic imagination and historical truth in the description furnished by the poet. There would have been a natural temptation for the poet to overdraw the picture of the atrocities of the Muslims in order to provide an effective background to the glorification of Kampana's achievements. A very useful part of the Introduction consists of the geographical notes in which the author attempts to locate the places mentioned in the poem.

The translation of the Text is on the whole good, although there are several lines which admit of simpler rendering. The common defect of making the translations too literal is frequently noticeable. Canto I, V. 66, Canto II, V. 10, Canto V. V. 19, 20 and 59, Canto VII. V. 13, Canto IX. V. 2 are examples. A free translation conveys the sense more effectively.

There is no doubt that the book is a useful publication; it is a valuable accessory to the sources of South Indian History. It is desirable that scholars should come forward to undertake similar attempts in respect of other works which contain materials useful for the reconstruction of history.

K. K. PILLAY.

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MOUNTAIN ARTILLERY—
by Brigadier-General C. A. L. Graham, D.S.O., O.B.E., D.L.,
p.s.c. With a Foreword by Field-Marshal The Viscount Alan-
brooke. Published by Aldershot, Gale & Polden Ltd. Price
30/ net.

The history of the fighting forces in India under the British rule provides an interesting study. The book under review traces the history of the Mountain Artillery down to 1947, covering a period of nearly a hundred years. The organization of the Artillery force, its equipment, means of transport, mode of operation, discipline and other allied features are treated with scrupulous attention even to the minute details.

It is found that during the entire period, hardly a single year passed without the Indian Mountain Artillery participating in some form of war, punitive expeditions or Frontier engagements. Operations in the North-West Frontier were almost continually necessary. Besides these, the Mountain Artillery has been extensively employed during the present century in operations in far off lands like Malaya, Java, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, Gallipoli, Africa and Abyssinia. Campaigns during the last century are insignificant compared with the World War operations; but even during the earlier days, the energy and fighting spirit evinced by all ranks in maintaining discipline, efficiency and 'fire effect' were admirable.

The transport of heavy gunnery has always been a difficult problem, and various devices were tried from time to time. The aid of coolies, elephants, camels and ponies was tried on different occasions. Finally the solution came from Spain, the country famous for mules. The efficiency and endurance of the mule, combined with his intelligent and often endearing nature, provide the Mountain Artillery with a faithful and tireless servant. The mule is sure-footed, and no other animal can compare with him for carrying a load in the rough and precipitous country of the Frontier hills. Other means of transport like sledges, boats, mechanical transport and aeroplanes have all been used on occasions when circumstances demanded them.

During the Mutiny of 1857 the Mountain Artillery played a decisive part in the suppression of the risings in Delhi, Lucknow and the Punjab. But by far the most imperative need of the Artillery was felt in combating the turbulent frontier tribes like the Afridis, the Orakzais, the Waziris and the Mahsuds who, frequently looted the neighbouring British territory and kidnapped rich Hindus. Improvements in the gun ranges were introduced from time to time, making the artillery increasingly effective.

It was World War I that saw the extensive utilization of the Indian Mountain Artillery which fought in different theatres including Gallipoli, E. Africa, Mesopotamia, Persia and Iraq. Often the theatres of war proved very arduous and perilous. For instance, "to march day by day, and week by week, through the African jungle of high grass, in which vision is limited to a few yards, in which danger always lurks near but seldom becomes

visible even when experienced, supplies a test to human nature often in the long run beyond the limits of human experience", (p. 147. Quoted from the Despatch of General Smuts). Despite the difficulties the Indian Artillery acquitted itself creditably.

After the 1st World War an intensification of training was effected in order to improve the intellectual and physical standards of the Indian soldier and to enable the Indian artillery men to keep pace with the many changes due to the War, and in particular to enable Indian officers and N.C.Os to make the most of the scientific forms of gunnery which had come into use. In order to maintain the training of the artillery in India on the level of the units in Britain, the School of Artillery, India, was opened in April 1923 and has been improved from time to time.

During the 2nd World War the service rendered by the Indian Artillery force in Burma, Malaya, Java, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other places was creditable. In Burma, in particular, great difficulties were experienced, but the gunners developed new techniques of cooperation with the infantry, tanks and air. Little wonder that the Indian Mountain Artillery won the admiration of all by their gallantry, efficiency and unselfish devotion.

Though at times the operations of the Mountain Artillery did not yield the expected results by reason of insurmountable difficulties, on the whole, during its long life, it has built up an admirable reputation, thanks to the exceptional standard of efficiency maintained by highly qualified officers backed by a loyal and soldierly body of Indian officers and other ranks.

The grant of Indian independence and the creation of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan led to certain inevitable changes in the organisation and personnel of the mountain Artillery. Even prior to the actual grant of independence many of the British officers had been replaced by Indians. Some mountain batteries had been put "in suspense", others had been or were about to be converted into field units or disbanded. Pakistan decided to keep up one Mountain regiment of 4 batteries and India two regiments of three batteries each.

Thus ended a period of nearly a hundred years in the history of the Royal Artillery during which officers seconded for short periods, fought, worked and played with men of other races bound

to them by loyalties of friendship, mutual respect and duty. The parting occasioned the greatest regret on both sides.

The book provides a systematic account of the history of a little known subject, and the author, who is competent by virtue of his knowledge and experience, has done an excellent job of the work. Eight maps are provided indicating the theatres of the campaigns in which the Indian Artillery participated and illustrations of the different types of guns employed add to the value of the book. Appendix I furnishes details covering the creation of artillery forces in the Indian States like Kashmir, Bikanir, Gwalior and Patiala, while other appendices, numbering half a dozen, provide information about the Garrison Battery, Survey units of the Indian Artillery, the Training Centre and the Mountain Artillery stations. The Index and Glossary are useful. Though the inevitable technical terms have been employed, they have been properly explained and, therefore, they have not by any means marred the readability of the account.

K. K. PILLAY.

SIAM UNDER RAMA III (1824-1851)—by Walter F. Vella, Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, IV. Published for the Association for Asian Studies by J. J. Augustin, Incorporated publisher, Locust Valley, New York, 1957, pp. X+180.

The nineteenth century history of the countries of South-East Asia is generally very interesting. It is marked by general change from the 'old' to the 'new' spirit in different branches of human and political activity. The history of Siam is an example. The book under review by Walter F. Vella, an American scholar, deals with a relatively short period in the history of Siam during the reign of Rama III (1824-51). It contains ten chapters which are devoted to a critical study of Siamese history during the period under topics like the king and court, relations between the Government and the people, progress of religion and arts and relations with vassal and neighbouring states, as also with the West. The period is by and large typical of traditional Siam and the author furnishes valuable insights not only into developments during these twenty-seven years but also into many aspects of 'old Siam'.

Though European sources usually state that Rama III was a usurper, really he was selected as the ruler of Siam by the leading men of the country since they believed that "he was the person best able to continue the young dynasty, control internal affairs, and protect the country from external dangers". The choice was justified by the results, for Rama III, who had been dominant in government affairs long before his accession to the throne, brought to bear on the administration of the country not only much vigour and energy but also deep understanding of the problems facing the country. The domestic policies of the government were carried out energetically and successfully, though the pattern of administration of government was not altered. The central government continued, however, to be a bureaucracy with many complexities arising from feudal carry-overs into the bureaucratic system. Revenues were expanded to make up for the shortages during the previous reign, (p. 19). In the field of religion, two important developments occurred during the period, permanent Christian missions were established and a reform movement was started by the priests of Buddhism, the national faith of the country, (p. 28). Besides, the people had great belief in Hindu deities and Indian magical-religious practices. Arts also developed during the period; and there was considerable activity in drama and dance though Rama III was not a patron of secular literature, (p. 54).

Siam expanded its influence over its tributary states to a very large extent. The method of its management of the tributary vassals was imperial in nature, and was similar in some ways to the Chinese model. Siam consolidated its control over the Malay Sultans, absorbed some territories and expanded its authority over other territories in Eastern Laos and got back the dominant position it had lost in Cambodia. Its relations with Burma and Annam were influenced by war threats with them. The British conquest of Burma ended the threat to Siam from that country. Siam achieved success on its eastern borders by the success of its military efforts against the Annamese in Laos and Cambodia and maintained good trade relations with China.

The government of Rama III was able to successfully meet the external threat from the West. Though it made commercial treaties with the westerners and satisfied them to their letter, it

was able to preserve the country's economy and culture from western influences. But, after Rama III, many things that were traditional in Siam became drastically transformed, though much of 'old Siam' may still be seen in the Thailand of today.

The book has an appendix mentioning important events in the history of Siam, a good bibliography, a detailed index and four maps, and must be found useful to those interested in the history of South-East Asia.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

EASTERN CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA—by Cardinal Eugene Tisserant. Orient Longmans, 1957, pp. xx and 266.

This is an authorised adaptation in English by E. R. Hambye, S.J., of a Section of Vol. XIV, pt. ii, entitled "Syro-Malabare (Eglise)" of the *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique* (Vacant et Mangenot) written by his Eminence Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Bishop of Ostia, Porto and Santa Rufiana, Dean of Sacred College and Secretary of S. congregation for the Oriental Church. It presents the history of the Syro-Malabar Church from the earliest times to the present day, with necessary corrections, alterations and additions to the original translated text. The main lines of the struggles of the Syrian Christians, their successes and failures, as well as their share in the general development of Christianity and the cultural history of India are traced in the book in seven chapters under such headings as The Origins, The Syro-Malabar Church from 450 A.D. till the advent of the Portuguese, The Syrian Christians under Portuguese rule and the Synod of Diamper, the St. Thomas Christians under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits and the Carmelites, Relations with Mesopotamia and Schisms, The Indian Catholic Hierarchy, the Jacobites in India, etc. These are followed by four appendices dealing with Canon law and customs of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar, their Liturgy, a list of Bishops in Malabar and of Eastern Patriarchs and a chronology of events. The book contains an exhaustive bibliography and a good index.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it serves as a general and accurate review of all the problems connected with the long and chequered history of the Syro-Malabar Church, which has

the distinction of being the most ancient Christian community in India and the Far East. The publication is a welcome addition to the existing literature on the history of Christianity in India and will be helpful to those interested in the subject.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

NAPOLÉON ET L'ORIENT. (Napoleon and the East)—General Aryana, pages 152, Tehran, 1957.

Napoleon had always a great fascination for the East and especially for India. He felt he belonged to the race of the conquerors of Asia and nurtured the idea of becoming another Alexander. But, actually, when he did turn his attention towards the East, it was done more with a view to achieving political objectives in Europe than with the sole intention of conquering India.

This book deals mainly with the Franco-Iranian alliance of Napoleonic times and with the activities of General Gardane's mission in Iran. Since this alliance forms only a part of Napoleon's great plans in the East, the entire first part of the book is devoted to those plans and comes as a long introduction to the main subject. Thus the title given to the book justifies itself.

The entire political life of Napoleon boils down to a long fight with England, his eternal enemy, and to knock her down was his main concern. How was this to be achieved? There were only two alternatives: either by direct landing on the island and seizing it or by attacking her in India where an empire was in the making and from where an inexhaustible source of wealth had just started to flow towards England. After Acra, after Abukir and especially after Trafalgar a direct landing in England was out of question. Hence Napoleon had to think of the second alternative. If the flow of raw material towards her ports and her export trade could be affected there would be no difficulty to bring her to her knees. The Continental Blockade was proclaimed with that end in view and the idea of an expedition to India was part of that system. By occupying that country, Napoleon could cut off almost completely England's life blood. Though the idea of reaching India was vaguely in Napoleon's mind even when he was mere General Bonaparte, it began to take concrete shape only after the battle of Marengo 1801. When he

became the first Consul he cultivated the friendship of Tzar Paul I and the two friends realized that England was vulnerable in India and that their minutely studied scheme for sending there, in June 1801, a Franco-Russian army through southern Russia and eastern Persia is too well known to historians and only the assassination of Paul I made the plan fall through. However that unexpected turn of events could not make Napoleon abandon that idea. Trafalgar compelled him to direct his attention again towards the East. Moreover Turkey was longing for the friendship of the Emperor. This was to be exploited to make sure of a strategic base for his expedition to India by getting control over the Mediterranean and ousting the English navy from that area. Iran also has come to the attention of the Emperor through Frenchmen living in the East. Iran by its situation between the Euphrates and India opened towards the latter country a natural and direct land-route. Emperor Fath Ali Shah wanted a powerful ally to help him to beat off the attacks of his mighty northern neighbour, Russia and to get back Georgia which she had occupied. The conditions imposed by England being too onerous, the Shah turned towards Napoleon and contracted with him a treaty at Falkenstein according to which Iran was to oust all Englishmen from its territories, close its ports to their ships and give to Napoleon every facility for a future expedition to India. It is then that General Gardane comes to Tehran as the head of the French diplomatic mission. Nearly two-thirds of this book are devoted to the activities and the delicate negotiation of General Gardane. This mission was actually more military in character than diplomatic, for, the personnel composing it, were most by military officers, meant for the reorganization of the Persian army, and military engineers assigned for the preparation of topographic maps of the route to India. Everything in the East was moving favourably towards Napoleon's objective, but unfortunately it was not so in Europe. The protracted war in Spain was undermining his forces. Austria was arming herself. Russia was creating new troubles. Everywhere, behind every enemy, the hand of England was visible. Napoleon could not give Iran the promised help; his cabinet was callously indifferent to the request of General Gardane whose mission had been doing such a fine job. So, Iran turned again towards England who was only too glad to help her and the Gardane mission turned out to be a complete failure.

The idea of using Iran as a stepping stone to India was a vast and audacious plan. Napoleon ought not to have abandoned it as soon as it was conceived, and he sacrificed it for the sake of other plans. This abandonment was the result of the freedom given to a dangerous power such as Russia and also of the scattering and weakening of his forces in Spain in the face of an intelligent and relentless enemy as England.

When writing about Napoleon, one easily falls a prey to emotional history because of his legendary figure which draws admiration from every one. The author of this book avoids this pitfall, firstly because he deals here with one of the failures of Napoleon and secondly, because this work, being a thesis that got him a Doctorate degree from Paris University, is based on cold and uninspiring facts which he has gone in search of in the maze of diplomatic correspondence of Napoleonic times. The trouble he has taken to avail himself of first-hand information from this correspondence and the vast number of books on this subject he has gone through, show that General Aryana has spared no pains to get at true facts. By going through this thesis written in a lucid and simple style a clear picture of Napoleon's plans regarding the East emerges in our mind; at the same time his failure to carry out these wonderful plans cast a shadow on our admiration for this superman. In a flight of imagination one cannot help thinking about the changes that would have taken place on the Indian political scene of the last 150 years had Napoleon taken the trouble of carrying out his original plans.

N. K. PATMANABHIN.



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