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CONTENTS

THE CULT OF VIOLENCE AND INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. .. 1	1543-1550—by Prof. H. K. Sher- wani .. 37
THE BUDDHA'S ACTIVITIES AT VAI- SALI—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S (Lond.) .. 7	AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM KALYANAPURA—by R. C. Agra- wala, M.A. .. 73
THE MEDIEVAL STATE OF TILANGANA —A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, .. 7	SOME FACTS OF EARLY ORISSAN HISTORY—by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. .. 75
	KALIDASA AND THE HUNAS—by Dr. Buddhaprakash, Ph.D. .. 91
	A HAND-WRITTEN INSCRIPTION .. 137
REVIEWS:—(1) Poona Akhbars, Vol. III, 1956; (2) My Search for Truth —by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; (3) The Mughal Empire (1526-1803 A.D.) —by Ashirbadilal Sri Vastava; (4) A Short History of Akbar the Great (1542-1605 A.D.)—by Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava; (5) Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, 1526-1707 A.D.— by Dr. Pran Nath Chopra; (6) A Study in Maratha Diplomacy (Anglo-Maratha Relations, 1772-1783 A.D.)—by Shanti Prasad Varma; (7) History and Administration of the North-Western Pro- vinces, 1803-1858—by Dr. Dharma Bhanu; (8) Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad: (A connected Account, Vol. I, (1800-1857) and Vol. II, (1857-1885)); (9) The Social Structure of Islam—by Reuben Levy; (10) The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers: Documents on British Colonial Policy in Ceylon, 1796-1833, selected and edited by G. C. Mendis, Vols. I and II; (11) The Personality of India—by Bendapudi Subba Rao; (12) Chaulukyas of Gujarat—by Asoke Kumar Majumdar. .. 139	
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS .. 163	
OUR EXCHANGES .. 165	



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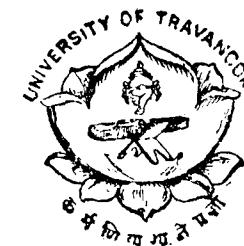
EDITOR

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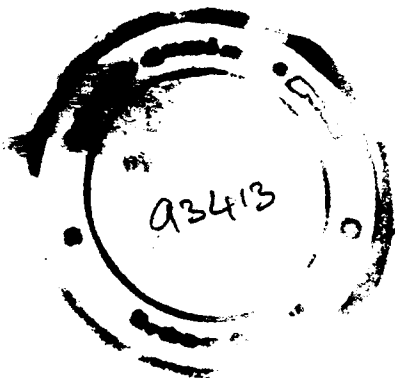
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CONTENTS

THE CULT OF VIOLENCE AND INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	1
THE BUDDHA'S ACTIVITIES AT VAISALI—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. (Lond.) ..	7
THE MEDIEVAL STATE OF TILANGANA—A PERIOD OF UNCER- TAINTY, 1543-1550—by Prof. H. K. Sherwani ..	37
AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM KALYANAPURA—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A. ..	73
SOME FACTS OF EARLY ORISSAN HISTORY—by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. ..	75
KALIDASA AND THE HUNAS—by Dr. Buddhaprakash, Ph.D. ..	91
A HAND-WRITTEN INSCRIPTION ..	137
REVIEWS:—(1) Poona Akhbars, Vol. III, 1956; (2) My Search for Truth—by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; (3) The Mughal Empire (1526-1803 A.D.)—by Ashirbadilal Sri Vastava; (4) A Short History of Akbar the Great (1542-1605 A.D.) —by Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava; (5) Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, 1526-1707 A.D.— by Dr. Pran Nath Chopra; (6) A Study in Maratha Diplomacy (Anglo-Maratha Relations, 1772-1783 A.D.) —by Shanti Prasad Varma; (7) History and Adminis- tration of the North-Western Provinces, 1803-1858—by Dr. Dharma Bhanu; (8) Freedom Struggle in Hydera- bad: (A connected Account, Vol. I, (1800-1857) and Vol. II, (1857-1885)); (9) The Social Structure of Islam— by Reuben Levy; (10) The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers: Documents on British Colonial Policy in Ceylon, 1796- 1833, selected and edited by G. C. Mendis, Vols. I and II; (11) The Personality of India—by Bendapudi Subba- Rao; (12) Chaulukyas of Gujarat—by Asoke Kumar Majumdar ..	139
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..	163
OUR EXCHANGES ..	165

The Cult of Violence and India's Freedom Movement

BY

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

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. Though the British Government apparently crushed the outbreak of violence, the inner spirit underlying the rebellion persisted and smouldered. But, it was in the last years of the nineteenth century that 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 terrorist movement in modern India.

It was, however, in Bengal as a result of the stormy agitation against Curzon's partition of this province that Indian revolutionary movement was initiated in right earnest. Nowhere did Tilak's extremist ideas and militant schemes create more respectful admiration than in Bengal. Tilak's bitter diatribes against foreign rule produced an immediate reaction in the minds of the Bengali youth. Extremist thoughts in Bengal itself accelerated the growth of the revolutionary movement. The consequence was that secret societies gradually became active in Bengal and elsewhere after 1905. The first outburst thereof continued unabated till 1922 when the rise of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement acted as a damper to revolutionary activity. Even then, the cult of violence did not totally die out and continued in a sporadic form in different parts of the country, particularly Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Maharashtra. Subsequently, during the First World War the revolutionary effort of the Indian political exiles in Europe, America and Asian countries gave revolutionary effort a new direction. Subhas Bose's Azad Hind Movement during World War II is the final transformation of what had

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1957- April - 35 - .103



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begun as a secret and underground movement in the early years of the twentieth century.

It is a pity that the history of the revolutionists who are still unfortunately mis-called terrorists has not received the attention it deserves from historians. The average citizen has a hazy or even erroneous notion with regard to their aims and objects and also their methods. There are, therefore, conflicting views about them even at the present day.

A number of reasons are responsible for this popular ignorance. Firstly, as the revolutionaries always observed strict secrecy with respect to their ideology and plans of action the ordinary public could have no means to find out the actual truth about them. The mystery which shrouded their secret activities only aggravated the ignorance of the public. Secondly, the British police could unearth a great deal of information about the revolutionaries, but it also kept the whole matter a top secret. Thirdly, the official accounts such as the report of the Rowlatt Commission, which form the main sources of information, are highly coloured, incomplete and unreliable. Fourthly, the Indian Moderate leaders who had no patience or sympathy for the revolutionists had no inclination to sift the truth and ascertain the facts. Fifthly, the advocates of non-violence also were very little inclined to assess the role of the revolutionaries with a measure of understanding and sympathy. Lastly, the premature death, imprisonment, or deportation of many revolutionary martyrs led to the disappearance of valuable sources of information.

A study of the history of the period shows that the cult of violence was a logical sequel to the fulfilment of British imperialism in India. The loyalist tone of the early Congress also created a deep dissatisfaction in the minds of the younger sections. The mendicant policy of Congress leaders only served to prove the futility of mere constitutional agitation. The opposition to anti-plague measures in the Bombay presidency and the unpopularity of the Partition of Bengal proved to be a promising background which favoured the demand for direct action. The method of the bomb and the bullet appealed to the emotional youth who was disillusioned and frustrated for various reasons, social, political, and economic. The charge of being "non-martial" particularly rankled in the minds of the youth in Bengal and Maharashtra. British arrogance and repressive policy also afforded sufficient

ground for incitement to violence. A natural desire for the country's freedom appeared among the educated classes and this aspiration was obvious and inescapable in the case of the patriotic youth.

It is well-known that the revolutionaries were powerfully attracted by the cult of violence as preached in contemporary Europe, Africa and Asia. The Russian masses were struggling against the Tsar for liberty. The Young Turk Revolution in Turkey was another stirring example. The career of the Fenians in Ireland had its own appeal. The Boers in South Africa too fought the British Government for freedom. The unexpected victory of Japan over Russia and the Chinese Revolution under Dr. Sun Yat-Sen thrilled and inspired the Indian patriots. Over and above, Indian discontent apart from the influence of contemporary movements in other countries, was bound to give rise to a cult of violence in India. Even though many of the revolutionaries knew that an underground movement could not bring a country political freedom they hoped that revolutionary activity was a serviceable means with which an alien government could be weakened. As such, revolutionary effort only reflected a new spirit of nationalism and self-confidence in the minds of the educated youth.

A dispassionate analysis of the revolutionary movement in India brings out the fact that it was a necessary and valuable phase in the history of the freedom movement in India. The subsequent success of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation movement has served to create a misleading view of the potency of the revolutionary movement. It is necessary to recognize the fact that the revolutionary movement undeniably helped India's fight for freedom in various ways. The revolutionists were indeed the sappers and miners of India's political advance and they accelerated the growth of the country's urge for independence. Secret societies like the "Anushilan Samiti" and the "Yugantar" party propagated an ideology which inspired and consolidated the extremist elements in India. In different centres of India it was the revolutionary leaders who created a passionate demand for freedom. What had only been vaguely visualised by the moderate leaders of Congress was given a concrete shape by the revolutionary school. A series of incidents starting from the Muzaffarpur Murders not only influenced the

youthful minds but had the immediate effect of weakening the illusion of British might in India. In any case, the political murders served to rouse the attention of the educated classes in an unprecedented manner.

Political dacoities formed another activity of the revolutionaries which went to enrich the coffers of the patriots and brought into being an effective organisation and systematization of the underground movement. The stirring exploits of the revolutionists gripped the attention of India's youth and thereby also created a new youth movement in India. The fact that young men and even immature boys in their teens joined secret societies is too significant to be lost sight of. Where the Congress movement had hitherto failed, the revolutionaries succeeded in organising the youth. And, who will deny that it is Young India which has fought for India's freedom? The revolutionary societies also gave a powerful impetus to the physical regeneration of the youth and encouraged training in the use of arms in secret gymnasiums. It is again the secret clubs run by the revolutionaries which for the first time seriously inculcated among the educated youth proficiency in lathi-play, sword-play and wrestling.

It was, however, in a totally new direction that the revolutionaries set a historic example. It is they who first started seriously in modern times a policy of enlisting the support of foreign and anti-British powers in the cause of India's independence. It is true that their efforts proved abortive in the end, and were even misdirected, yet their efforts marked the introduction of a new trend in India's international relations. Revolutionary schemes planned in Europe, America and Asia during World Wars I and II, are a proof of the patriotic spirit which inspired the soldiers of Indian freedom.

In various other directions also the revolutionaries contributed to the national struggle. They gave the much needed fillip to the "Swadeshi" or economic boycott movement. India's economic regeneration was considerably due to their self-sacrifice and national zeal. Being deeply attached to religion revolutionaries were instrumental in consolidating the religious revival among the Hindus. Sri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak were the illustrious top-men among those who gave a new and dynamic interpretation to Hindu philosophy of activism or "Karma Yoga". The revolutionaries also idealised the country as Mother

and thus evolved and exploited a new ideological weapon of patriotic propaganda. It was they who in reality popularised the *Bande Mataram* song of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and invested the anthem with a romantic appeal which is still growing day by day. It is in the fitness of things that this song is free India's national anthem today. The tragic martyrdom of innumerable revolutionaries who cheerfully courted prison and preferred the gallows for the sake of their cause stirred the popular imagination and powerfully strengthened the newly grown-up feeling of radical patriotism in the country.

The indirect influence of the revolutionaries on modern Indian History is equally 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 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. If the Bengal Partition was revoked in 1912, it was likewise a result of the indirect pressure of the revolutionary activity. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 were also in no small measure due to the situation created by the revolutionary extremists in India and abroad. If the Congress itself was transformed from a moderate and loyalist body into an extremist national front, it was also due to the unseen influence of the revolutionary propaganda. The final liberation of India has been the result of a multiplicity of factors and forces, yet the share of the revolutionaries is both historic and memorable.

India's revolutionary movement had its weaknesses to which the historian cannot be blind. Firstly, the association of Hindu religious ideology with the cult of violence was unfortunate, for it gave the revolutionary movement a religious colour and served to encourage a reactionary revivalist tendency which was repugnant to the Muslims. The worship of Ganapati, the Shivaji festival, the cult of Goddess Kali, and the glorification of the Gita made the whole revolutionary movement Hindu in tone and in outlook. Secondly, there was a woeful lack of unity, solidarity and centralisation among the revolutionaries. A multiplicity of secret societies, devoid of an all-India link-up, weakened them as a whole. Thirdly, the revolutionaries did not produce a convincing national plan which could be acceptable to the country as a whole. A fanatical hostility to the British government was the only link which bound dissimilar and conflicting elements and groups. This

ideological weakness was perhaps fatal to their strength and popularity. Fourthly, the indiscriminate enlistment of immature and inexperienced youth was another blunder which ultimately weakened the entire movement. It was realised too late that mere emotional romanticism could not be an enduring basis on which a revolutionary movement could grow. Fifthly, the inability of the revolutionaries to enlist the support of the masses was another mistake which kept their movement always underground and as such ineffective. Lastly, financially the secret societies were always poor and as such they could not command sufficient resources to build up a strong military force. Individual heroism could be no substitute for a trained army. And, dacoity alone could not supply the means with which to fight the British Empire.

Time has gone on and India has become free. It is necessary to realise now that to this consummation the revolutionaries have contributed not a little. The ideology of the revolutionary martyrs might have been a symptom of political immaturity yet it was their dreams and aspirations, no less than their sufferings and sacrifices, which supplied in an unpropitious age the much needed momentum to the freedom movement in India.

The Buddha's Activities at Vaiśālī

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HONV. F.R.A.S., (LOND.)

Vaiśālī (Pali Vesālī) was the capital of the Licchavis who were a great and powerful people of Eastern India in the 6th century B.C. This large city has been identified by Cunningham and Vivien de Saint Martin with the village of Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district in Tirhut as marking the spot where stood the ancient city of Vaiśālī.¹ Rhys Davids says that the site of Vesālī is still to be found somewhere in Tirhut.² Hoey tries to identify it with Cherand in the Chapra or Saran district.³ Vincent Smith has succeeded in proving beyond doubt its identification with the village of Basarh, as it has been done by Cunningham. This identity has been proved still more decisively by the archæological excavations carried out at the site by T. Bloch in 1903-1904.⁴

This opulent, prosperous, and populous city of Vaiśālī was visited by two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. respectively.

Vaiśālī is intimately associated with early history of Jainism and Buddhism. It carries with itself the sacred memories of the founders of two great faiths that evolved in north-eastern India 500 years before Christ. The connection of the Buddha with this city is no less close and intimate. This delightful spot was visited by the Buddha and many of his immortal discourses were delivered here either at the mango-grove of Ambapālī in the outskirts of the city or at the pinnacled hall (*Kūṭāgārasālā*) in Mahāvana, the great forest stretching out up to the Himalayas. At Vaiśālī the Buddha visited the shrines named the Udena, the Gotamaka, the Sattambaka, the Bahuputtaka, the Sārandada and the Cāpāla. He spoke to Ānanda that all these shrines at Vaiśālī were very charming and delightful.⁵

1. *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. I, pp. 55-56 and Vol. XVI, p. 6.

2. *Buddhist India*, p. 4.

3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1900, Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 78-80, 83.

4. *A.S.I., Annual Report*, 1903-04, p. 74.

5. *Dīgha*, II, pp. 102-118; cf. *Ang.* IV, 309.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a detailed account of the activities of the Buddha at Vaiśālī as a religious teacher and preacher.

Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī said to the Blessed One thus, "I make a gift of the Ambapālīvāna to the congregation of monks headed by the Buddha." The Blessed One accepted the gift.⁶ The Buddha said to Siha thus, "Gotama asserts annihilation of passion, hatred, delusion, manifold evil, and wrong state of mind. He hates misconduct in body, speech, and thought. He is not destined to another kind of becoming. He teaches a doctrine of no other kind of becoming."⁷ The Buddha while at Vesālī allowed the monks to have three robes.⁸

The Buddha said to the monks at Vesālī thus: "I allow you, Oh monks, a bag of medicine (*bhesajjattavikāṃ*). I also allow you a strap at the edge (*aṃsavaddhakāṃ*) and a thread for tying⁹ (*bandhanasuttakāṃ*). I allow you, monks, a place for walking up and down and a bathroom. I allow you, monks, to make it level (*samaṇ kātum*). I allow you a balustrade, a railing round the place for walking up and down. I allow you, monks, to make a bathroom high to the ground. I allow you a door, a door-post and a lintel, a small upper projection, etc."¹⁰

The Buddha dwelt at Vaiśālī in the great forest. Then many Brahmins from Kosala and Magadha lived there. They heard that the venerable Gotama was then staying at Vaiśālī. His reputation was thus noised abroad. He was an Arahāt, a fully enlightened one, possessed of wisdom and goodness, happy, knower of the world,¹¹ excellent, a teacher of gods and men, a Blessed One and a Buddha. The Brahmins from Kosala and Magadha came to the Buddha and exchanged greetings with him. The Master said thus: "Since a recluse has practised one-sided concentration (*ekamsa-bhāvitte samādhimhi*)¹² with one object in view, he sees only the sights and does not hear the sounds. If he has practised one-sided

6. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Vol. I, P.T.S. Ed. p. 233.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 238—*ticivarena yāpetum*.

9. *Ibid.*, PTS Vol. II, p. 118.

10. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 119-120; Vide also I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. V, pp. 164-165.

11. It is a common epithet of a Buddha (*lokaavidū*).

12. *Dīgha*, I, p. 154.

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INDEX OF ARTICLES

	PAGE
1. ASPECTS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF RAJASTHAN AS REVEALED FROM THE BYAVA BAHU OF DASTRI RECORDS, JODHPUR: By Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A. Ph.D.	67
2. BUDDHA'S ACTIVITIES IN KASI KOSALA: By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., L.L.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony, F.R.A.S.	139
3. DRAVIDIAN OR SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS: By Prof. D. B. Diskalkar	173
4. EARLY INDIAN ART EXPRESSION: By K. V. Soundara Rajan	75
5. FIRUZ TUGHLUQ AND ASOKAN PILLARS: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	33
6. GWALIOR SUCCESSION, 1836-1843: By Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A. D.Phil.	59
7. GWALIOR SUCCESSION, 1826-1827: By Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A. D.Phil.	249
8. INSCRIPTIONS OF FOREIGN SETTLERS IN INDIA: By Prof. D. B. Diskalkar	39
9. THE INSCRIPTIONAL TERM "MUVENDAVELAN": By M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D.	191
10. IMPORTANT LITERARY COLOPHONS AND THEIR BEARINGS ON THE HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF MITHILA: By Prof. Radhakrishna Chaudhary, M.A. (Pat)	321
11. JOHAN VAN TWIST'S MISSION TO BIJAPUR: By Dr. P. M. Joshi	111
12. KALABHRAS—A NOTE ON THE: By K. R. Venketa Raman	183
13. KERALA AND KARNATAKA PLACE NAMES: By T. K. Joseph	53
14. LAWLESS BRIGANDS AS SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM IN THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	209
15. THE LEGACY OF THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: By Sri Ram Sharma	231

	PAGE
16. EARLY ORISSAN HISTORY—SOME FACTS OF: By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. ..	263
17. PREROGATIVE TO CHITRADURGA TERRITORY—DURING 1779-1800: By G. N. Salvatore, M.A., Ph.D. ..	307
18. THE PRESIDENCY OF AGRA, 1834-1836: By Dr. Dharma Bhanu, M.A., Ph.D. ..	83
19. REVOLT, 1857 AT AZAMGARH: By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	241
20. SEA-DANGERS IN EARLY INDIAN SEA-FAIRING: By K. V. Hariharan, M.A. ..	313
21. SULTAN-QULI QUTBUL-MULK, THE FIRST RULER OF MEDIEVAL TILANGANA: By Prof. H. K. Sherwani ..	1
22. Do. Do. ..	195

BOOKS REVIEWED

1. Abdul Majeed Siddiqui,— <i>History of Golconda</i> ..	332
2. <i>Archaeological Society of South India—Transactions Vol. I, 1955</i> ..	334
3. Arokiaswami, M.,— <i>The Kongu Country</i> ..	346
4. Bisheshwar Prasad,— <i>The Foundations of India's Foreign Policy</i> ..	218
5. Brown L. W., Bishop,— <i>The Indian Christians of St. Thomas</i> ..	336
6. Director-General, Archaeology of India— <i>Ancient India Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 9</i> ..	162
7. Ganda Singh,— <i>Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars</i> ..	213
8. Ingham, K.,— <i>An account of the work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social Reform, 1793-1833</i> ..	211
9. Ivor Jennings, M.,— <i>The Approach to Self-Government</i> ..	229
10. Joseph Needham,— <i>Science and Civilization in China, Vol. II</i> ..	341
11. Purushotham Lal Bhargava,— <i>India in the Vedic Age</i> ..	339
12. Pakistan History Board (Edit.)— <i>A Short History of Hindu-Pakistan</i> ..	221
13. Taraporewala, Y. J., (Edit.) <i>Fort William—India House Correspondence, Vol. XVII</i> ..	215
14. Ramachandra Dikshitar V. R.,— <i>The Purāna Index, Vol. II.</i> ..	101
15. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan,— <i>Studies in the Literature of Assam</i> ..	218

concentration with the object of hearing the heavenly sounds, he hears the sounds but does not see the sights. Suppose he has practised self-concentration with the double object in view of seeing and hearing. Then as he has practised self-concentration with the double object in view, he both sees the sights and hears the sound. A monk by the complete destruction of the three bonds becomes a converted man, one who cannot be re-born in any state of woe, and is assured of attaining to the insight. A monk by the complete destruction of those three bonds¹³ and by reducing to a minimum lust, ill-will, and dullness, becomes a once-returner. He by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world becomes an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass away; thence never to return. A monk by the destruction of the deadly floods has, by himself, known and realised and continues to abide in this visible world, in that emancipation of mind, that emancipation of heart which is saintship." The Buddha referred to the noble eightfold path, that is to say, right view, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right ecstasy in self-concentration. He also pointed out that the conditions higher and sweeter than seeing heavenly sights and hearing heavenly sounds could be realised by this path.¹⁴

Regarding the Vajjians the Buddha said to Ānanda thus: "So long as the Vajjians meet together in concord, rise in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord, so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to listen to their words, so long as no women or girls belonging to their clan are detained by force or abduction, so long as they honour and support the Vajjian shrines in towns and countries and do not allow the proper offerings and rites to fall into desuetude, so long as the rightful protection shall be fully provided for the saints, so long the Vajjians are expected not to decline but to prosper." He preached to the Vajjians these indestructible conditions of welfare (*aparihāṇiye dhamme*).¹⁵

13. *tinṇam samyojanānam parikkhayā*—*Digha*, I, p. 156.

14. *Digha*, I, pp. 150-57.

15. *Digha*, II, pp. 73 ff; cf. *Ang*, IV., pp. 16-17, 20.

Regarding the monks the Buddha said "so long as the monks foregather often and frequent the formal meetings of their Order; so long as they meet together in concord, rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the Order; so long as the monks shall establish nothing not already prescribed, and abrogate nothing already established and act in accordance with the rules of the Order; so long as they honour and support the experienced elders, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and hold it a point of duty to listen to their words; so long as they do not fall under the influence of craving which would give rise to renewed existence; so long as they delight in solitary life; so long as they train their minds in self possession; so long they are expected not to decline but to prosper. So long as the monks shall not engage in any business, so long as they shall not be in the habit of holding idle talks; so long as they shall not be addicted to slothfulness; and so long they shall not fall under the influence of wrong desires; so long as they shall not become the friends of evil doers; so long as they shall not come to a stop on their way to *nirvāṇa* — so long they are expected not to decline but to prosper. So long as the monks shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of wrong doing, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom; so long as the monks shall exercise themselves in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind; so long as they shall exercise themselves in the realisation of the ideas of impermanency of all phenomena, so long as they shall persevere in kindness of action, speech and thought towards their fellow disciples; so long as they shall divide without partiality and share in common with their upright companions, so long as they shall live among the saints in the practice of those virtues which are productive of freedom and praised by the wise, which are untarnished by the desire of future life and which are conducive to the concentration of heart, so long they are expected not to decline but to prosper."¹⁶

The Magadhan minister Vassakāra went to the Buddha when he was staying at the pinnacled hall in the great wood of Vaiśālī and listened to his discourse on ecstasy (*jhānakathaṃ*) in various ways. The Buddha practised ecstasy or religious exercise pro-

16. *Dīgha*, II, pp. 76-81.

ductive of the highest spiritual advantage, and was engaged in it. He spoke all about ecstasy. The kind of ecstasy which the Buddha advocated was when, divested of lusts and wrong dispositions, a monk develops and dwells in the first and successively in the second, third and fourth ecstasy. This goes to show that the Buddha blamed the blameworthy ecstasy and praised the praiseworthy ecstasy.¹⁷

While the Master was here, there was a son of a Jaina woman and a great controversialist (*bhassappavādiko*) named Saccaka, who gave himself out as learned (*paṇḍitavādo*) and was held in high popular repute.¹⁸ The aim of Saccaka was to discredit the Buddha, the doctrine and the confraternity. There was a conversation between Saccaka and the Buddha. Saccaka asked the Buddha the following question: "how does the revered Gotama train his disciples and in what divisions does his teaching mostly run?" The Buddha said "Just as the growth, increase, and development of every seed and of all vegetation depends on the earth and is based on the earth; just as the accomplishment of all tasks involving strength depends always on the earth and is based on the earth; just the same is it with an individual's material self (*rūpattā*) which, because it is based on matter, produces merit or demerit; and the same applies to the individual self of feeling, of perception, of the plastic forces and of consciousness." Saccaka admitted thus, "I affirm that my material shape (*rūpaṃ*) is myself, that my feelings are my self, that my perceptions are my self, that my plastic forces are my self and that my consciousness is my self."¹⁹ The Buddha asked him thus, "What do you say? Would a noble, being an anointed king, like Pasenadi of Kosala, or Ajātasattu of Magadha, have power within his own kingdom to put to death or exile those of his own subjects who deserve punishment?" Saccaka's answer was in the affirmative. Buddha again asked him, "Why even confederations and federations such as the Vajjians or the Mallians possess this power within their own realms; and of course a monarch like Pasenadi of Kosala or Ajātasattu of Magadha possesses it, he would have this power

17. *Majjhima*, III, 13 ff.

18. *Sādhusaṃmato bahujaṇassa*.

19. "*rūpaṃ me attā ti, vattatī te tasmīṃ rūpe vāso: evaṃ me rūpaṃ hotu evaṃ me rūpaṃ mā ahoṣi*."—*Majjhima*, I, p. 231.

and ought to have it. What do you say Saccaka? When you say your material shape is your self, have you the power to make it become or not become, what you order?" On this Saccaka remained silent. The Buddha asked him for the second time and still he remained silent. The Buddha said "This is no time to be silent. If thrice a person is asked a doctrinal question by the truth-finder and he does not answer it, his skull is then and there cloven into seven pieces."²⁰ Saccaka in dread and dismay said, "Let the revered Gotama put his question to me and I will answer it." He answered in the negative as to the first point. He answered that the material self was impermanent. He further answered, "That which is impermanent is no doubt an ill." Thus Saccaka was defeated in his arguments. He served with his own hands the confraternity headed by the Buddha with an excellent meal.²¹

Once when the Buddha was dwelling in the pinnacled hall in the great wood of Vaiśālī, Saccaka met the Master and said to him thus, "There are some recluses and brahmins who are always schooling their bodies but not their minds, experiencing feelings of bodily pain which may paralyse the legs or burst the heart etc."²² Again there are some recluses or brahmins who are always schooling their minds but not their bodies, experiencing feelings of mental pain. My belief is that the revered disciples of Gotama are always schooling their minds but not their bodies." Saccaka did not succeed in answering the Lord's question regarding the schooling of the mind. The Buddha said to Saccaka thus, "The schooling of the body referred to is no schooling of the body according to doctrine in the Rule of the noble. You did not understand the schooling of the body; much less can you know the schooling of the mind. Listen how body and mind respectively either go unschooled or are schooled. First as regards the unschooled body and mind, take an ordinary uninstructed man who has a pleasant feeling, so that he gets a passion for things pleasant and is passionately attached to them. Later that pleasant feeling passes and unpleasant feeling arises, at the advent of which he

mourns, laments, beats his breast etc. The pleasant feeling takes possession of his mind, because his body is not schooled; it is because his mind is not schooled that the unpleasant feeling takes possession of it, and the man to whom both these things happen is neither schooled in body nor schooled in mind. As to the schooled body and mind, take an instructed disciple of the Noble who has a pleasant feeling but gets therefrom no passion for things pleasant nor is passionately attached to them. Later, that pleasant feeling passes and an unpleasant feeling arises but at its advent he does not grieve or mourn. It is because his body is schooled that the pleasant feeling does not take possession of his mind; it is because his mind is schooled that the unpleasant feeling does not take possession of it and the man to whom these two things happen is both schooled in body and mind". Saccaka agreed with Gotama regarding this point. He expressed his gratification and offered thanks for what he had heard from Gotama.²³

The Buddha once stayed at Vaiśālī in the great forest in the pinnacled hall. At the same time a wanderer named Vacchagotta was living in the wanderers' park. Early in the morning the Buddha came to Vaiśālī for alms. The Master then visited the park of the wanderers. Vacchagotta gave a seat to the Lord and himself took a low seat. He then said to the Lord thus, "I have heard it said that the recluse Gotama is all-knowing and all-seeing, with nothing outside his vision and that he claims that his vision stands ready whether he is walking or standing still, sleeping or wide awake." The Buddha said "It is not true; it imputes to me what is false and untrue. One would bear true witness, neither misrepresenting me nor misrepresenting the gist of my doctrine. He should say that the recluse Gotama has possessed the three-fold lore (*tevijjā*). He can call to mind his past existences; with the celestial eye he can see creatures in act to pass hence and re-appear elsewhere; by destroying evil desires, he has won that deliverance of heart and mind in which there are no evil desires." The wanderer asked the Lord thus, "Is there any layman who without shedding the trammels of house and home (*gihisaṃyojanaṃ appahāya*) has, at the dissolution of the body, made an end of evil?" The Buddha's answer was in the negative. The Buddha pointed out that there was none among

20. *ettheva assa sattadhā muddhā phalati*—*Majjhima*, I, p. 231.

21. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 227 ff.

22. *Eke samāna-brāhmaṇā cittabhāvanāyogam anuyuttā viharanti no kāyabhāvanāṃ phusantacetasikaṃ dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ hadayaṃ nāma phalissati*—*Majjhima*, I, p. 238.

23. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 238 ff.

the Ajivikas who after death made an end of suffering. (*dukkhassa antaṃkaro*). He further pointed out that he knew only one among them who had gone to heaven. The wanderer was satisfied with what the Lord had said.²⁴ Once the Buddha was staying at Vaiśālī outside the town in the forest. Sāriputta informed the Buddha that a Licchavi named Sunakkhatta who had left the order, spoke ill of him. At this the Buddha who was like a lion began to roar that his teachings were such that if one pondered over them, one would surely leave the world. The Buddha said thus, "Never will this foolish person attain to the doctrine's teaching about myself that the Buddha is the Lord, Arahat, all-enlightened, blessed, the matchless tamer of the human heart and the teacher of gods and men etc. Never will this foolish person attain to the doctrine's teaching about myself that he is the Lord in whom reside all psychic powers: from being one to become manifold, from being manifold to become one, to be visible or invisible. Never will this foolish person attain to the doctrine's teaching about myself that he is the Lord who with the ear celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human ear, hears both heavenly and human sounds. He is the Lord who with his own heart comprehends the heart of other creatures." The Buddha further spoke to Sāriputta thus, "A truth finder's powers are ten in number whereby he knows his precedence as leader of the herd, and sets a-rolling the excellent wheel of truth. A truth-finder knows precisely what is and what is not a specific cause; he knows the precise nature of the consequences that must result from everything done in the present, past, and future; he knows the precise nature of the future to which every course leads; he knows the precise nature of the manifold and diverse physical factors which make up the world; he knows the precise nature of each creature's particular bent; he knows the precise nature of all that is going on in the hearts of others; he knows the precise nature of imperfections, the specific stage, or the uprising of many achievements of ecstasy, deliverance, and rapt concentration; he calls to mind his diverse existences in the past; he sees with the eye celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, creatures in the act of passing hence and reappearing elsewhere, creatures, high and low; and by removing evil desires, he comprehends, realises, enters on and abides in the deliverance of heart

24. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 481-83.

and mind in which no evil desire exists." The Buddha further said to Sāriputta thus, "I have lived the fourfold higher life, I have been an ascetic of ascetics; loathly have I been, foremost in loathliness, scrupulous have I been, foremost in scrupulosity; solitary have I been, foremost in solitude." The Buddha mentioned some kinds of religious men who believed in purification by way of (*āhārena suddhi*) food, by way of successive transmigration (*saṃsārena suddhi*) and by fire ritual (*aggiparicariyāya suddhi*).²⁵

The Buddha stayed among the Vajjians at Ukkācelā on the banks of the Ganges. He addressed the monk thus: "The monks who are arahats in whom the Cankers are no more, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have cast off their burden, who have won their weal and who, fettered no more to existence, have by utter knowledge won deliverance, have crossed the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety.²⁶ The monks having destroyed the five fetters of the world will be translated hereafter to realms from which they will never be reborn to earth. They too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. The monks having destroyed the three fetters and having reduced passion, hatred and folly to a minimum, will return but once more to this world and will then make an end of suffering. They too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. The monks having destroyed the three fetters and entered the stream, will escape all future state of misery, possess an assured future and are destined to obtain enlightenment. They too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. The monks who live in accord with the doctrine and trust therein will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety.²⁷ Once the Lord dwelt at Vaiśālī. Many monks declared their progress in the presence of the Lord thus: "Rebirth is no more; we have lived the highest life; our task is done; for us there is now no more of what we have been. The Licchavi named Sunakkhatta heard these words and asked the Lord whether they had really won all they professed. The Buddha said to the Licchavi thus: There are five pleasures of sense²⁸—visible

25. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 68-83.

26. ... Ye te bhikkhū arahanto khīṇāsavā vusitavanto katarānāyā ohitabhārā anupattasadatthā parikkhīṇabhavasamyojanā sammad aññāvimuttā te pi tiriyaṃ Mārassa sotaṃ chetvā sotthinā pāramgatā.

27. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 225-27.

28. Pañca ime kāmaganā—*Majjhima*, II, p. 253.

shapes to be discerned by the eye, sounds to be discerned by the ear, odours to be discerned by the nostrils, tastes to be discerned by the tongue, and touch to be discerned by the body at large.²⁹ All of them are delightful, pleasant, agreeable, and attractive.³⁰ It may be that an individual's heart is set on material things. He is to be known as a worldling. It may be that an individual's heart is set on permanence. He is to be known as the man free from worldly bondage, whose heart is set on permanence. It may be that an individual's heart is set on the realm of naught. He is to be known as the man free from permanence, whose heart is set on the realm of naught. It may be that an individual's heart is set on neither perception nor non-perception. The man whose heart is set on neither perception nor non-perception has thrown away the bonds of the realm of naught and is to be known as the man free from the realm of naught, whose heart is set on neither perception nor non-perception. It may be that an individual's heart is set on supreme *nirvāṇa*. As he is, so is his conversation; to this pattern his thoughts and ideas conform. He looks up to a kindred soul and rejoices in him. He is to be known as the man free from neither perception nor non-perception whose heart is set on supreme *nirvāṇa*.³¹ The Buddha further said "The wound (*vaṇa*) signifies the six sense organs within, ignorance is the poison; craving is the arrow (*sallam*); the probe (*esanī*) is mindfulness; the surgeon's knife is noble understanding; the leech is the truth-finder, arahat, all-enlightened.³² A monk who is in such full control of his six sense-organs as to see the root of evil in attachments and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in uprooting attachments, cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments". The Licchavi Sunakkhatta was satisfied with what the Lord had said.³³

Once the Buddha was at Vesālī in the great forest. A daughter of Pajjunna named Cūla-kokanadā went to the Buddha, saluted him and stood on one side. She uttered the following verses in the

29. *Cakkhuvinnēyyā rūpa ... sotavinnēyyā saddā ... ghānavinnēyyā gandhā ... jivhavinneyyā rasā ... kāyavinneyyā phoṭṭhabbā*—*Ibid.*, II, p. 253.

30. ... *iṭṭhā kantāmanāpā*—*Ibid.*, II, p. 253.

31. *Visadoso ti kho avijjāy' etaṃ adhvācānaṃ*—*Majjhima*, II, p. 260.

32. *Bhisakko sallakatto ti kho Tathāgatassa etaṃ adhvācānaṃ arahato sammāsambuddhaṃ*—*Majjhima*, II, p. 260.

33. *Majjhima*, II, pp. 252-61.

presence of the Buddha, "Kokanadā, daughter of Pajjunna, bright like lightning, has come here; saluting the Buddha and the doctrine she uttered these verses full of meaning. Such doctrine should be divided in various ways. I shall tell its meaning in brief as far as I have learnt it by heart. One should not commit any sin in the whole world in speech, mind and body. One who is endowed with recollection and wisdom, giving up sensual pleasure, should not be subjected to pernicious suffering."³⁴ In the presence of the Buddha Kokanadā, daughter of Pajjunna, uttered the following verses while the Master was at Vesālī. "Kokanadā, daughter of Pajjunna, salutes the best of beings, the exalted Buddha, while staying in a forest at Vesālī. The doctrine was heard by me before. Now I bear witness to the Blessed One instructing the sages. Those wicked people move about abusing the excellent doctrine, reach the dreadful Rorūva hell and they feel suffering for a long time. Those who have realised the excellent doctrine through forbearance and tranquillity, giving up human body will complete the celestial body."³⁵ Once the Buddha while at Vesālī in the great forest instructed the monks by a religious discourse with reference to the six spheres of contact. Māra, the sinner, went to the Buddha and made a terrible sound not far from the Blessed One. The Buddha addressed the sinner Māra in verses: "Form, sound, taste, smell, contact, and the Norm—this worldly temptation is dreadful. Here the world is freed. A disciple of the Buddha, who is mindful, overcoming it, and overcoming the kingdom of Māra, shines like the sun." Hearing this Māra disappeared.³⁶

The Buddha while in the city of Vesālī met a Licchavi named Mahāli. Mahāli asked the Blessed One thus: "Is Sakka, the lord of gods, seen by the Blessed One?" The Buddha answered in the affirmative. The Buddha further said thus: "Oh Mahāli, Sakka, the lord of gods, was a young brahmin named Magha while he was a man before; hence he was called *Maghavā*. Sakka made charities in the cities while he was a man before; hence he was called *Purindada*. Sakka, the lord of gods, carefully offered charities, when he was a man before; hence he was called *Sakka*. Sakka, the lord of gods, made a gift of shelter while he was a man

34. *Samyutta*, I, pp. 30-31.

35. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 29-30.

36. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 112-13.

before; hence he was called *Vāsava*. Sakka, the lord of gods, used to think in a moment of thousand affairs; hence he was called thousand-eyed (*sahassakkho*). Sakka, the lord of gods, had Sujā, the daughter of a demon as his wife; hence he was called *Sujampati*. Sakka, the lord of gods, ruled over the dominion of the Tāvātimsa gods; hence he was called the lord of the gods. The seven vows (*satta vatapadāni*) were observed by Sakka, the lord of gods, when he was a man before. The seven vows are the following: He should take charge of parents as long as he lives. He should be respectful to the senior most member of the family as long as he lives. He should use gentle speech as long as he lives. He should not be a backbiter (*apisuno*) as long as he lives. He should lead a household life with a mind free from impurities as long as he lives. He should be truthful as long as he lives. He should be free from anger as long as he lives. If anger arises, it should be quickly brought under control.³⁷

The Buddha said thus to the monks while he was at Vesālī in the great forest: "The Licchavis live, being ardent and strenuous, and hence king Ajātasattu of Magadha will not find any fault and will not obtain any opportunity. In future the Licchavis will become delicate, soft and tender in hands and feet. They will lie down on soft bed and on cotton pillows till the rising of the sun. King Ajātasattu will then get access and find opportunity." The Master further said, "Oh monks, as long as the monks live being ardent and strenuous, King Ajātasattu will not get access and will not have any opportunity. In future the monks will become delicate, soft and tender in hands and feet, and will lie down on soft beds and cotton pillows till the rising of the sun. King Ajātasattu will then get access and find opportunity. Oh monks, this should be learnt—we will live, being ardent and strenuous."³⁸

The Buddha was at Vesālī in the great forest. At that time Visākha, son of Pāñcāla, instructed the monks with a religious discourse in the stateroom (*upaṭṭhānasālā*),³⁹ expounding the meaning, relevant and unworldly. In the evening the Buddha rose up from his meditation and went to the said hall. He sat on the seat

37. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 230-31.

38. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 267-68.

39. A state room in a monastery reserved for the Buddha—Childers' Pali Dictionary, p. 533.

prepared for him. He then addressed the monks thus: "who was instructing the monks in the state room with a religious discourse, expounding the meaning, etc.?" The Blessed One said to Visākha thus, "well-done, well-done, Visākha. You have instructed the monks with a religious discourse." The Buddha further said thus, "They while speaking do not know the wise mixing with the fools. While speaking they know the immortal path well-taught. Let him speak the doctrine and make it shine. Let him hold the banner of the sages. The doctrine is the banner of the sages, well-spoken banner of the sages."⁴⁰

A Licchavi named Mahāli came to the Buddha when he was at Vesālī in the great forest. He said to the Buddha thus: "Oh Lord, Puraṇa Kassapa said thus: 'There is neither the reason nor the cause of the impurity of beings. Without reason and without cause beings become impure. There is neither the reason nor the cause of the purity of the beings, and without reason and without cause beings are purified.' At this the Buddha said: 'Oh Mahāli, there is the reason and there is the cause of the impurity of beings; beings become impure with reason and with cause. There is the reason and there is the cause of the purity of beings, and the beings become pure with reason and cause. What is the reason and what is the cause of the impurity of beings? How will they become impure with reason and cause? Oh Mahāli, if the body is entirely subject to suffering, fallen upon suffering and beset with suffering, beings will not find delight in this body. If the body is pleasant, fallen upon pleasure, beings will find delight in the body. Likewise if sensation, confection (aggregation) or consciousness is subject to suffering, fallen upon suffering, beset with suffering, beings will not find delight in sensation, confection or consciousness. If sensation, perception or consciousness is pleasant, fallen upon pleasure, beings will find delight in each of them."⁴¹ At one time the Blessed One lived at Vesālī in the great forest. Then the revered Anurādha dwelt in a forest-hut, not far from the Blessed One. A number of wandering heretics came to Anurādha and said thus, "A Tathāgata, the best of men, the highest among men is proclaimed in four ways: a Tathāgata exists after death, or does not exist after death, or he does or does not exist after death or he neither exists nor does not exist after death." The Buddha

40. *Samyutta*, II, p. 280.

41. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 69-70.

was met by the revered Anurādha who informed him of what the heretical wanderers said to him. The Buddha asked Anurādha thus: "Is the body permanent or impermanent?" The answer given by Anurādha was, 'it is impermanent.' The Buddha further asked: "Do you regard a Tathagata's body as the Tathagata? Do you regard him as his feeling, perception, activities, or consciousness apart from them? Do you regard him as having no body, no feeling, no perception, no activities, no consciousness?" Anurādha answered in the negative. The Buddha said, "Then Oh Anurādha, since in this life Tathagata is not to be regarded as existing in truth, in reality, is it proper for you to say this concerning him? He who is a Tathagata, the best of men, the highest among men, is proclaimed in other than these four ways: The Tathagata exists after death, or does not exist after death, he exists and does not exist after death, he neither exists nor does not exist after death." Anurādha answered in the negative. The Buddha said, "Well said, well said, Anurādha; both formerly and now I proclaim suffering and the cessation of suffering."⁴²

The Buddha was once at Vesālī in the great forest. A householder named Ugga approached him and said to him thus: "What is the condition, what is the cause whereby some beings do not obtain *nibbāna* in this very existence while others obtain it?" The Buddha answered thus: "Oh householder, there are forms cognizable by the eye (*cakkhuvīññeyyā*). If a monk has attachment for them, he does not obtain *nibbāna*. Oh householder, this is the condition, this is the cause whereby some beings do not obtain *nibbāna* in this very existence. There are forms cognizable by the eye. Oh householder, if a monk has no attachment for them, he obtains *nibbāna*. This is the condition, this is the cause whereby some beings obtain *nibbāna* in this very existence."⁴³

Once the Buddha dwelt at Vesālī in the great forest. In the evening he rose up from meditation and went to the house for the sick (*gilānasālā*). He sat there on the prepared seat. He addressed the monks thus: "Oh monks, how does a monk become mindful? Here a monk dwells as regards body, contemplating body as

42. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 116-19; Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 380-84.

43. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 109.

transient, ardent, composed, and thoughtful, by removing the dejection arising from craving. How does a monk become conscious? Here a monk is conscious in going forward and coming back, in looking ahead and looking behind, in bending or spreading. He is conscious in wearing his robe and in holding outer garment and bowl. He is conscious in eating, drinking, chewing and tasting. He is conscious in easing himself, in going, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking and remaining silent. Oh monks, as a monk dwells being mindful, conscious, ardent and strenuous, there arises in him pleasant feeling. And he understands thus — pleasant feeling has arisen in me. Now this body is impermanent, compounded, arisen owing to something. It is owing to this impermanent body which has so arisen that pleasant feeling has arisen as a consequence and how can that be permanent? Painful feeling arises in a monk who is mindful, conscious, earnest and strenuous. He understands thus — painful feeling has arisen in me. When he feels a feeling that his bodily endurance has reached its limit, he knows that he so feels. He understands: after the dissolution of the body, after the end of life, all his experiences in this world will not give delight and will become tranquil. Just as depending on oil and on wick a lamp burns, but when oil and wick are used up, the lamp will not burn, as it does not get fuel. Even so with regard to a monk when he feels a feeling that his bodily endurance has reached its limit, that his life has reached its limit, and when he feels that after the dissolution of the body and after the end of life, all his experiences in this world will not give delight and will become tranquil.

Feeling is owing to something, not without cause. It is owing to contact. Now this contact is impermanent, compounded, arisen owing to something. A monk dwells contemplating impermanence in contact and pleasant feeling, contemplating their transient nature, their waning, and their ceasing. The desire for passion, contact, and pleasant feeling is destroyed in him.⁴⁴

The Buddha was at Vesālī in the mango-grove of Ambapālī. Here he addressed the monks thus: "Oh monks this is the only way for the purification of beings, for the overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, for the destruction of suffering and despair, for

44. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 210-14.

the attainment of truth, and for the realisation of *nibbāna*. It is the fourfold mindfulness. What are the four? Oh monks, a monk lives as regards body contemplating body as transient, being ardent, conscious, mindful, conquering avarice and despair in this world. Likewise he lives as regards sensation, as regards mind, as regards mind-state, being ardent, conscious, mindful, conquering avarice and despair. Oh monks, a monk in his going forward and coming back, acts consciously. He acts consciously in looking ahead and in looking behind, in bending or stretching forth, in wearing his robe and holding outer garment and alms-bowl, in eating, drinking, chewing and tasting, in easing himself, in going, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking, and remaining silent. A monk should dwell mindful and conscious. This is our instruction to you."⁴⁵

Once the Buddha dwelt at Vesālī in the Beluva village. The Buddha spent the rainy season there. A sore sickness (*kharo ābādho*) arose in him when spending the rainy season. He bore great pain, mindful and conscious, without complaint. The Blessed One rose up from that sickness and sat down in the shade behind his lodging. Ānanda came to him and said "I saw what the Master had to endure, I saw how he bore up." The Blessed One said, "Oh Ānanda, what the order of monks expects of me now? I have taught the Norm. There is no teacher's fist in the teachings of the Tathāgata. It never occurs to the Tathāgata thus, 'I will carry on the order of monks or the order of monks is under my direction.' Oh Ānanda, I am an old man, broken down, aged; I have reached the journey's end and life's limit. I am eighty years old. When, Oh Ānanda, without attending to all omens, putting an end to sensation, Tathāgata dwells depending on the concentration of mind without omen, then the Tathāgata lives at ease. Therefore you live having the self as the lamp, having the self as the refuge, having the Norm as the lamp, having the Norm as the refuge, and taking nothing as the refuge. Oh Ānanda, here a monk lives as regards body, thinking of body, as regards sensation, mind, mind-states, being ardent, conscious, mindful, conquering avarice and despair in this world. Oh Ānanda, after my death those who will live having self as the lamp, self as the refuge, having Norm as the lamp, Norm as the refuge, and having

45. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 141-42.

nothing else as the refuge, shall be my monks, who are anxious to learn" (*sikkhākāmi*).⁴⁶

The Buddha entered Vesālī for alms. He addressed Ānanda thus: "Oh Ānanda, take the seat, I shall go to the Cāpāla shrine to spend the day." Ānanda followed the Master taking the seat. The sinner Māra went to the Buddha and said: "Let the Blessed One pass away now". The Buddha replied, "Oh sinner, I shall not pass away till my monks are disciples, trained and disciplined, of wide knowledge, knowing the Norm by heart, learned, holders of the doctrine, realise the doctrine and lesser doctrine, and will preach the Norm defeating the views of others. I shall not pass away until this way of holy living is powerful and prosperous, is widespread and widely known, made popular, and proclaimed abroad by gods and men." The Buddha further said to Māra, "Oh sinner, do not trouble yourself. The Tathāgata will soon pass away. He will pass utterly away at the end of three months from now." The Buddha rejected his life's aggregate, being mindful and conscious, at the Cāpāla shrine. When the Blessed One was giving up his life's aggregate, a terrible and dreadful earthquake took place.⁴⁷

Once the Blessed one dwelt at Vesālī in the great forest. At that time the Buddha spoke on demerit to the monks in various ways. He also spoke in praise of demerit and of meditation on demerit to the monks. The Buddha went to the service hall⁴⁸ where the monks assembled. There he addressed the monks thus: "Oh monks, concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing, if cultivated, and made much of (*bahulikato*), is peaceful, excellent, and happy living. It allays the evil and makes the demeritorious states that have arisen to vanish in a moment. Oh monks, a monk who has gone to a forest, or to the root of a tree or to an empty house, sits cross-legged, meditating on renunciation, I shall breathe out."⁴⁹ The Buddha was at Vesālī in the great forest. Nandaka, who was a minister of the Licchavis, approached the Buddha, saluted him, and sat on one side. The Buddha said thus to Nandaka: "Oh Nandaka, a noble disciple endowed with

46. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 152-54.

47. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 258-63.

48. It means a state room in a monastery reserved for the Buddha.

49. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 320-22.

four qualities is a stream-winner, not doomed to the downfall, assured and destined to enlightenment. A noble disciple had great faith in the Buddha who was the teacher of gods and men, the Enlightened One, and the Blessed One. He had unbroken virtues and virtues dear to the noble and leading to concentration. A noble disciple endowed with four qualities is blessed with long life, celestial and human, is blessed with beauty, happiness, fame and sovereignty, celestial and human. Oh Nandaka, I have ascertained it for myself, seen it for myself and understood it for myself, therefore I tell this to you".⁵⁰

Once the Buddha was at Vesālī in the great forest. Ananda went to see the Buddha, saluted him and sat down on one side. Ananda said to the Buddha thus: "I saw a number of Licchavi youths in the gymnasium, making practice at archery, shooting even from a distance through a very small keyhole, and splitting an arrow, shot after shot, without missing". The Buddha asked Ananda thus: "To shoot like that or to split a hair into one hundred strands, which is harder? Oh Ananda, they who penetrate the meaning of: this is suffering, this is the path leading to suffering, pierce through something much harder to pierce. Oh Ananda, you must therefore make an effort to realize that this is suffering, this is the path leading to suffering."⁵¹

The three ways of purifying (*tisso nijjarāvisuddhiyo*) by wearing out are proclaimed by the Exalted Buddha who knows, who sees the Arahant who is a fully enlightened one, for the purification of beings, for their overcoming sorrow and lamentation, for the destruction of grief and woe, for the understanding of what is just, and for the realization of *nirvāṇa*. A monk is virtuous, restrained, takes up and trains himself in the rules of morality. He performs no fresh action, and he makes an end of former action which has affected him. A monk who is possessed of morality, and who is free from sensual desires, having entered on the fourth stage of meditation, abides therein. A monk who is possessed of morality, by the destruction of sins, being free from sins, realizing the heart's release, and release by wisdom, having attained ordination, abides therein.⁵² Once the Buddha was stay-

50. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 389-90.

51. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 453-54.

52. *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 220 ff.

ing in the Gotamaka shrine at Vesālī. The Master addressed the monks thus: "Oh monks, I proclaim the Norm knowing it fully, not without full knowledge. I proclaim the Norm with causal connection, not without causal connection. I proclaim the Norm accompanied by miracle, not without miracle. Since I do so, there is good reason why I should admonish and why I should instruct. The Norm is well explained by the Exalted Buddha. Well conducted is the Order." The monks were delighted with the words of the Buddha.⁵³ Once the Exalted Buddha stayed at Vesālī in the great wood in the pinnacled hall. A Licchavi named Bhaddiya came to the Blessed One and sat by his side after saluting him. He said thus to the Blessed One: "I have heard that the monk Gotama is a juggler, who knows a trick of glamour, by which he entices away the followers of those holding different views". The Buddha said "Oh Bhaddiya! do not be misled by report or tradition or hearsay. When greed arises in a man, does it arise to his profit or loss? When malice, delusion, and violence arise, do they arise to his profit or loss?" Bhaddiya said "They arise to his loss." The Buddha again asked him, "Does not this man, becoming violent, being overcome by violence, and losing control of his mind, kill a living creature, steal, go after another's wife, and tell lies? Are these things profitable or unprofitable, blameworthy or not, censured by the intelligent or not?" Bhaddiya answered, "These things are unprofitable, blameworthy, and conducive to loss and sorrow". The Buddha said, "Restrain your greed and keep on doing so. So with regard to malice, delusion, and violence. You should not do a deed of violence with regard to body, speech, and thought." Bhaddiya said to the Exalted Buddha, "It is wonderful. It is marvellous. May the Exalted Buddha accept me as his follower from this day forth till my death."⁵⁴

Two Licchavis named Sālha and Abhaya came to the Exalted Buddha when he was at Vesālī in the pinnacled hall in the great forest. The Licchavi named Sālha thus said to the Buddha: "There are some recluses and brahmins who proclaim a twofold crossing of the flood, namely, the way made by purity of morals (*sīlavisuddhihetu*) and that made by self-mortification (*tapojigucchāhetu*)." The Exalted Buddha said thus: "I do say that purity of morals is a factor of recluseship. Those recluses and

53. *Ibid.*, I, p. 276.

54. *Ibid.*, II, p. 190 ff.

brahmins who uphold self-mortification, who make self-mortification essential, who remain clinging to self-mortification, are incapable of crossing the flood. Those recluses and brahmins, who practise impurity of body, speech, and thought, who live in impurity are incapable of knowledge and insight and of the enlightenment which is unsurpassed. Those recluses and brahmins who live purely are capable of knowledge and insight, and of the enlightenment which is unsurpassed. Those recluses and brahmins who are not upholders of self-mortification, and who live not sticking to self-mortification, are capable of crossing the flood. Those recluses and brahmins who practise utter purity in body, speech, and thought, and who live in utter purity, are capable of knowledge and insight and of the enlightenment which is unsurpassed. An Ariyan disciple is possessed of the right view. He who possesses right view, understands as it really is: This is evil. This is the arising of evil. This is the ending of evil. This is the practice going to the ending of evil. An Ariyan disciple is possessed of right release. He who possesses right release pierces through the huge mass of nescience. An Ariyan disciple who possesses right concentration looks upon every object as it really is, with right wisdom thus: This is not of me. Not this am I. Not for me is this the self."⁵⁵

Once the Blessed One stayed at Vesālī in the great forest in the pinnacled hall. General Siha visited him and sat down by his side after salutation. Siha said to the Buddha, "Is it possible to make known the visible effect of gift (*sandīṭṭhikaṃ dānaphalaṃ*)."

The Buddha answered in the affirmative and said thus: "A giver becomes beloved to many and dear to many. This is the visible effect of gift. Good men praise the giver for the gift. A giver's fame spreads in all directions. This is the visible effect of gift. Whatever company he enters, he enters with confidence and being free from trouble. This is the visible effect of gift. A giver after the dissolution of the body, after death, is reborn in heaven. This is the visible effect of gift hereafter." Siha said thus, "O Lord I am a giver, a liberal man, and I am good and dear to many people, many good and wise men follow me, a good report concerning me goes about." The Buddha said thus, "The giver Siha is reborn in heaven after death."⁵⁶

55. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 200-202.

56. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 38-40; Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, 79 ff.

The Buddha when he was at Vesālī in the great forest went to the house of Ugga, the Vesalian householder, and sat down on the seat ready for him. Ugga said to the Buddha thus: "I have heard from the Master that the giver of good things obtains agreeable thing (*manāpaṃ*). The solid food from sāla-flower is good to eat. Let the Exalted Buddha accept it from me out of compassion." He further said thus: "I have heard from the mouth of the Buddha that good is a couch with a fleecy cover, woollen cloth etc. Good are muslins from Benares. Let the Buddha accept each gift out of compassion." The Buddha accepted each gift out of compassion and thanked Ugga. After giving thanks the Buddha rose from his seat and departed.⁵⁷

The Buddha while he was staying at Vesālī in the great forest in the pinnacled hall, some Licchavi youngmen approached him and stood with folded hands saluting him. A Licchavi named Mahānāma saw those young Licchavis saluting the Buddha. He went to the Buddha, saluted him and sat on one side. He said thus: "They will become Vajjians, they will become Vajjians." The Buddha asked Mahānāma why he was speaking thus. He answered, "Oh Lord, these Licchavi youngmen are quick-tempered, rough and greedy. They slap women and girls of the clan on their back. They go about plundering and eating." The Buddha said, "Where the five conditions are found, growth may be expected and not decline. Take the case of a clansman who with wealth gotten by work and zeal, gathered by the strength of the arm, earned by the sweat of the brow, justly earned in a lawful way, honours, venerates, reverences his parents who will at once say, 'Long life to you and may your long life be protected.' A clansman of this type reveres and venerates recluses and godly men who will say the same thing."⁵⁸

The Buddha visited the hall of the sick (*gīlānasālā*) while he was at Vesālī in the great forest in the pinnacled hall. He saw a weak and ailing monk and sat down on the seat prepared for him. He addressed the monks thus: "Oh monks, by destroying the evil desires one will enter and abide in the emancipation of mind, emancipation of wisdom, which is free from evil desires. A monk abides seeing nothing attractive in the body, is conscious

57. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 49-51.

58. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 75 ff.

of disagreeable food, of distaste as to the world; he perceives impermanence in all matters and is conscious of death. If these five conditions are not forsaken by anyone, weak and sick; very soon there will be destruction of sins in his case.⁵⁹

Once the Blessed One stayed at Vesālī in the pinnacled hall in the great forest. He entered Vesālī for alms, taking his bowl and robe. At that time five hundred Licchavis were met, seated at the Sārāṇadā shrine and the talk arose. They said, "Five treasures revealed in the world are rare, namely, elephant treasure, horse treasure, jewel treasure, woman treasure, and householder treasure." The five hundred Licchavis approached the Buddha and said, "Oh Lord it would be better if the Exalted Buddha were to visit the Sārāṇadā shrine out of compassion." The Buddha accepted in silence. The Master went to the Licchavis and said, "The five treasures revealed in the world are rare. What are those five? The *Tathāgata*, *Arahant* (elect), the fully enlightened One, is rarely revealed in the world; a person able to teach *dhmma* (doctrine) and *Vinaya* (discipline) declared by the *Tathāgata*, a person able to recognise the teaching, a person who has obtained the doctrine (*dhmma*) and lesser doctrine (*anudhmma*) recognising the teaching of *dhmma* and *vinaya* declared by the *Tathāgata*, and a person who is grateful and thankful, are rarely revealed in the world. Oh Licchavis, these are the five treasures rarely revealed in the world."⁶⁰

At Vesālī the Buddha lived in the great forest in the pinnacled hall. At that time a Brahmin named Kāraṇapālī built a building for the Licchavis. Kāraṇapālī asked another Brahmin named Piṅgiyāni as to where he had gone. He said, "I am coming from the monk Gotama." Kāraṇapālī asked Piṅgiyāni about Gotama's lucidity in wisdom (*paññāveyyattiya*). Piṅgiyāni had great faith in the monk Gotama. He said, "Whenever one hears Gotama's *dhmma* (doctrine), he becomes elated with joy and obtains serenity of mind. Whenever one hears Gotama's *dhmma*, he finds joy and happiness. Whenever one hears Gotama's *dhmma*, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair disappear. Whenever one hears Gotama's *dhmma*, woe, fatigue, and fret are wholly allayed. The Brahmin Kāraṇapālī after hearing this arose from

59. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 142-43.

60. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 167 ff.

his seat, arranged his upper robe on his shoulder, set his right knee on the ground, and bending forth his outstretched hands towards the Exalted Buddha, he thrice uttered thus: "Honour to the Exalted Buddha, *Arahant*, the fully enlightened One."⁶¹ Once the Buddha dwelt at Vesālī in the great forest in the pinnacled hall. Some five hundred Licchavis gathered round him. Some were blue, of blue colour, clad in blue clothes and decorated with blue ornaments; some were yellow, of yellow colour, clad in yellow clothes, having yellow ornaments; some were red, of red colour, clad in red clothes, having red ornaments; and some were white, of white colour, clad in white clothes, having white ornaments.⁶² The Buddha outshone them all in beauty and glory (*vaṇṇena c'eva yasasā ca*). These Licchavis covered the brahmin Piṅgiyāni with five hundred upper robes and the brahmin covered the Exalted Buddha with them. The Exalted Buddha said thus to the Licchavis, "Oh Licchavis, the five are the treasures rarely revealed in the world. What five? The *Tathāgata*, the *Arahant* (the elect), the fully enlightened one (*sammāsambuddha*), is rarely revealed in the world; one able to teach the doctrine and discipline preached by the *Tathāgata* is rare in the world; one who is able to recognise the teaching is rare in the world; rare is one who has obtained the doctrine and lesser doctrine, recognising the teaching of the doctrine and discipline preached by the *Tathāgata*; rare in the world is a person who is grateful and thankful. Oh Licchavis, these are the five treasures rarely revealed in the world."⁶³

The Blessed One said thus to the monks while he was at Vesālī in the mango-grove of Ambapālī: "The synthesizing factors of mind are impermanent. They are uncertain. They are not encouraging. Oh monks, enough to make them free from all synthesizing factors of mind. The sublime precept, the sublime meditation, the sublime wisdom, and the sublime emancipation should be understood and realised. The precept, meditation, wisdom, and emancipation are excellent. These are understood by the famous Gotama. The Enlightened One has explained the doctrine to the monks through his supernatural faculty. The

61. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 236 ff.

62. Cf. *Vinayapitaka*, P. T. S. Ed., Vol. I, p. 231.

63. *Ang.*, III, pp. 239-40.

Teacher who is the destroyer of suffering and who is endowed with insight has obtained perfect beatitude."⁶⁴

The general Siha approached the Buddha while he was at Vesāli and said thus to him "It is heard by me that the monk Gotama, who is the preacher of non-action, preaches his doctrine through non-action and instructs his disciples in that way." The Buddha said, "Oh Siha, there is the teaching and through teaching one should speak to me while speaking properly. The monk Gotama who holds the doctrine of action preaches the Norm through action. He holds the doctrine of annihilation and preaches the norm through disgust. Gotama who performs austerity, preaches the norm through austerity. Oh Siha, there is the teaching, one should speak to me through teaching while speaking properly. The monk Gotama who is comforted, preaches the norm through comfort. In that way he instructs his disciples. Oh Siha, I speak of the destruction of passion, hatred, delusion, and also of the destruction of sinful conditions." The Blessed One spoke in regular narration to the general Siha, for example, discourse on gift, precepts, heaven, disadvantage of sensual pleasures, and advantage of renunciation etc. Pure insight arose in the general Siha while seated. He realised, "What is subject to origination, is subject to destruction." The general Siha fed the assembly of monks headed by the Buddha with excellent food. The Blessed One instructed him while seated on one side by giving a religious discourse and then departed.⁶⁵

The Buddha while at Vesāli said thus to his disciple Vāsetṭha, "Oh Vāsetṭha, eightfold *uposatha* ceremony (sabbath) if observed, brings about great fruit." Vāsetṭha said thus to the Blessed one, "my beloved relatives and kinsmen should observe the eightfold *uposatha* ceremony, which is for the happiness and welfare of my beloved relatives and kinsmen for a long time. Oh Lord, if all the Khattiyas observe the eightfold *uposatha* ceremony, it will be for their happiness and welfare for a long time. So in the case of Brahmins, Vessas and Suddas," The Blessed one thus said, "So it is. Oh Vāsetṭha, if all the Khattiyas observe the eightfold *uposatha* ceremony (sabbath), it is for their happiness and welfare for a long time. So in the case of Brahmins, Vessas and

64. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 100 ff.

65. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 179-88.

Suddas. If the whole world together with gods, Māra, Brahmā, recluses and brahmins, with gods and men, observe the eightfold *uposatha* ceremony, it will be for their happiness and welfare for a long time. If men of wealth and position (*mahāsālā*) observe the eightfold *uposatha* (sabbath) ceremony, it will be for their happiness and welfare for a long time."⁶⁶

Again at Vesāli the Blessed One was asked by Ananda thus, "Endowed with how many good qualities a monk should be selected as an admonisher of monks. Oh Ananda, a monk becomes virtuous, is instructed in precepts, becomes learned, has thoroughly understood through insight both the *Pātimokkhas*, which are welcome in details, well-divided, well-preached and well-investigated so far as the discourse and exposition are concerned. He becomes good in speech and courteous in speech for the purpose of expounding the meaning. He becomes capable of instructing the congregation of nuns by a religious discourse. Gradually he becomes dear to and beloved of the nuns. It is not concerning the Buddha, so far as it relates to renouncing the household life and putting on yellow robe; he becomes guilty of the act towards his preceptor. He takes twenty years or more to live."⁶⁷

The Buddha entered Vesāli for alms. He addressed Ananda thus—"Oh Ananda, take the seat, we shall go to the Cāpāla shrine to spend the day." The Buddha sat on the prepared seat at the Cāpāla shrine. He then addressed Ananda thus, "Oh Ananda, Vesāli is delightful, delightful are Udena, Gotamaka, Bahuputtaka, Sattambaka, Sārandada and Cāpāla shrines.⁶⁸ The *Tathāgata* has thoroughly practised and developed the four bases of miracle." Māra, the evil one, approached the Exalted Buddha and stood by his side. He addressed the Master thus: "Let the Exalted Buddha pass away now." In reply to it the Buddha said: "I shall not die until the lay disciples, male and female, shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, learned, etc." The Buddha while at the Cāpāla shrine deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his natural term of life. On his so rejecting there arose a mighty earthquake. Ananda went to the Buddha, saluted him and said: "Dreadful and marvellous it is that this

66. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 258-59.

67. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 279-80.

68. Cf. *Dīgha*, II, p. 102.

mighty earthquake should arise and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth." The Buddha said, "Oh Ānanda, there are eight causes, remote and proximate (*aṭṭha hetu, aṭṭha paccayā*) for the occurrence of this mighty earthquake. Oh Ānanda, when the Bodhisatta deliberately and knowingly comes out of the mother's womb, at that time the earth quakes; when the Tathāgata obtains the enlightenment, then the earth quakes; when the Tathāgata revolves the wheel of law, then the earth quakes; when the Tathāgata deliberately and knowingly rejects the natural term of life (*sato sampajāno āyusañkhāraṃ ossajati*), then the earth quakes; and when the Tathāgata obtains *parinirvāṇa*, then the earth quakes."⁶⁹

The Buddha, while he was in the pinnacled hall in the great forest at Vesālī, was asked by a Licchavi named Mahāli thus: "What is the reason and cause of doing sinful act? What is the reason and cause of starting sinful act?" The Buddha said: "Oh Mahāli, avarice is the reason and cause of doing a sinful act and of starting a sinful act. Hatred and delusion should also be taken as reason and cause of sinful act and of starting a sinful act. Oh Mahāli, wrongly directed mind is the reason and cause of doing sinful act and of starting a sinful act. What is the reason and cause of doing good act and of starting a good act. Absence of avarice (*alobho*) is the reason and cause of doing good act and of starting a good act. Freedom from hatred and delusion (*adoso, amoho*) should also be taken as reason and cause of doing good act and of starting a good act. Rightly directed mind is the reason and cause of doing good act and of starting a good act. Misconduct is a vice. Good conduct is a virtue. Oh Mahāli, as the ten virtues exist in the world, therefore it is made known that misconduct is a vice and good conduct is a virtue."⁷⁰

While the Buddha was in the great forest at Vesālī many distinguished Licchavis came there to see the Blessed One. They then went to the Gosiṅgasālavana and lived there comfortably. Then the Blessed One addressed the monks thus: "Where is Cāla? Where is Upacāla? Where is Kakkaṭa? Where is Kaḷimbo? Where is Nikaṭo? Where is Kaṭissaho? Oh monks,

69. *Aṅguttara*, IV, pp. 308-13; Cf. *Dīgha*, II, pp. 108-109; some causes given.

70. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 86-87.

where are those elders who are disciples (*therā sāvakā*) gone? The Buddha further said: "Meditation on the thorns of sound has been uttered by me. There are ten thorns: Delight in association of delight in solitude is a thorn; applying one's self to good signs of one devoted to bad signs is a thorn; theatrical performance of one who is restrained in senses is a thorn; examination of woman-kind of one leading a religious life is a thorn; the sound of first trance is a thorn; reflection and examination of the second trance may be treated as a thorn; delight in the third trance is a thorn; inhalation and exhalation of the fourth trance may be considered as a thorn; consciousness and feeling leading to the cessation of consciousness and feeling may be taken as a thorn; passion, hatred and delusion are thorns (*kaṇṭakā*). Oh monks, you live making yourself free from thorns. Arahants (the elect) are free from thorns."⁷¹

Jentī, who was a Vesalian, attained saintship after listening to the Buddha teaching the Norm. She said thus: "I have developed these seven requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha and the path leading to *nibbāna*. All of them are instructed by the Buddha as they are. The Blessed One is seen by me; this body is the last, worldly existence is exhausted; there is no rebirth."⁷²

Sihā was also a Vesalian born at the time of the Buddha. She was the daughter of the general Sihā's sister (*bhaginiyādhātā*). She heard the Buddha preaching the Norm to the general. She became a believer and gained her parents' consent to enter the order. She strove hard for insight, but she was unable to control her mind. She wanted to commit suicide and at last insight grew within her and she attained saintship with analytical knowledge thoroughly grasping the Norm in form and in meaning. She said thus: "I am very much troubled by the passion for sensual pleasures. I have followed consciousness of happiness. I did not obtain tranquillity of mind being under the influence of passion. I did not obtain happiness day and night. I was full of suffering. Taking a rope I entered a forest with the object of committing suicide. Making the noose very strong it was flung round my neck. My heart was at last freed."⁷³

71. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 133-35.

72. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 21-22; *Therīgāthā Commy*, pp. 27-28.

73. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 77-81; *Therīgāthā Commy*, pp. 79-80.

The Buddha visited Vesālī. Mahāpajāpatigotamī asked the Master for admission into the order but she did not obtain it. She together with five hundred Sākya ladies went to Vesālī and asked for admission through Ānanda. This time she was successful.⁷⁴ She said thus: "The Buddha is a hero and the best of all beings. He has removed my suffering and that of many people. I have understood all suffering; craving, the cause, is dried up in me. The noble eightfold path, the cessation of suffering, have been touched by me. Formerly I had father, mother, son, brother, and grandparents. Not knowing the things as they really are, I have transmigrated not obtaining the footing of the ocean of existence on account of the origination of others through passion, etc."⁷⁵ "The Blessed One is seen by me. This body is the last. Worldly existence is exhausted. Now there is no rebirth. Behold all the disciples, steadfast in energy, resolute, and always exerting for the welfare of men. Māyā has given birth to Gotama who has removed the accumulation of suffering, overweighted with disease and death."⁷⁶

Ambapālī was born at Vesālī. She was very beautiful and graceful. She had great faith in the Buddha. She built a Vihāra in her own garden and handed it over to the Buddha and his Order. She worked for insight and discerned impermanence in all worldly phenomena. She attained saintship. The evanescence of her own body was noticed by her. She saw the influence of old age on human body. A human body due to old age becomes weak and unsightly, home of manifold sufferings (*bahudukkhānaṃ ālayo*). It is just like an old house wherefrom the mortar is dropping (*palepapatito jarāgharo*).⁷⁷

Rohinī was born at Vesālī in the house of a very wealthy brahmin. She went to the Buddha when the Master was at Vesālī and heard the doctrine. She entered the Order and soon attained saintship. She became a stream-winner with analytical knowledge. She said thus: "Monks are desirous of action (*kamma-kāmā*), they are not lazy (*analasā*) but they are doers of the best

74. Cf. *Vinayacullavagga*, PTS. 253-57.

75. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS. p. 142—*samādrasamuddapattitṭhaṃ avindanti alabhanti rāgādisu aparāparuppattivāsena samsari...*

76. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 157-62.

77. *Therīgāthā* vs. 252-70.

work (*kammasetṭhassa kārakā*). They give up passion and hatred (*ragam dosam pajahanti*). They do pure work and make an end of all evil. They are really pure (*suci*) in their mental and bodily work and in speech (*kāyakammaṃ, manokammaṃ, vacikammaṃ*). They are purified both inside and outside (*suddhāsantarabāhirā*) and free from impurities. They are learned and proficient in the Norm. They are noble and they live according to the Norm. They preach the Norm and its meaning. They have their mind well concentrated and mindful (*ekaggacittā, satimanto*). They wander far and near, well versed in the *mantras* (*mantabhāṇi*) and meek. They know the end of suffering. They move being indifferent (*anapekkhā*). They do not look at anything even from the village they are coming. They do not accept gold and silver and they live on what is ready. They have renounced their worldly life from different families and from different countries. They are mutually bound in love. Therefore the monks are dear to me." Rohinī had faith in the Buddha, the doctrine and the Order. She knew the excellent field of virtue (*puññakhettaṃ anuttaraṃ*). She further said, "I shall take refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and saṅgha. I shall practise precepts for my welfare." I was formally a brahmin and so am I now. I am well-versed in three branches of learning. I know the *vedas*. I am a *nahātaka* (one whose spiritual instruction is complete).⁷⁸

Vaḍḍhamāna belonged to the family of a Licchavi rājā at Vesālī at the time of the Buddha. Listening to the Buddha's discourse, he was ordained. But he was subject to sloth and torpor. He was aroused by the Buddha by the following instruction: "A monk being mindful and alert, should renounce the world, giving up all his passion for existence (*bhavarāgapahānāya*)."⁷⁹

Āñjanāvaniya belonged to the royal family of the Vajjians at Vesālī at the time of the Buddha. When he was grown up, a threefold panic arose in the Vajjian territory, namely, fear of drought, of sickness and of non-human foes. The Master quieted the panic at Vesālī. Āñjanāvaniya listened to the Buddha's discourse, won faith and then left the world. He attained saintship. He felt the bliss of emancipation. He roused himself and thinking

78. *Therīgāthā* vs. 271-90.

79. *Therīgāthā*, v. 40; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Brethren*, p. 44.

of his victory he said thus: "Three branches of learning I have mastered (*anupattā*) and the religion of the Buddha is learnt."⁸⁰

Piyañjaha belonging to the family of a Licchavi noble at Vesālī at the time of the Buddha, found faith in the Master when he visited him at Vesālī. He listened to his discourse, entered the order, dwelt in the forest, and attained saintship. As an Arahāt he thought thus, "How different is worldly success from Ariyan success?" Instructed by the Master he said thus: "One should remain low (one should be humble) where men are haughty; one should lift up the heart where they are low in mind; one should dwell where others care not to dwell; and one should not find delight in that in which others find delight."⁸¹

The Medieval State of Tilangana

A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, 1543-1550

BY

PROF. H. K. SHERWANI

Hyderabad, Deccan

General Survey

The period of seven years which elapsed between Sultān-Qulī's murder on 2-6-950/27-7-1550 and the accession of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh on 12-7-957/27-7-1550 was marked with a certain amount of uncertainty as whether the new State would endure at all. The founder of the State (who was affectionately called *Baṛē Malik* by his subjects, and as is evidenced by the epitaph on his grave, liked to be addressed as such)¹ had fallen to the dagger of an assassin. The new ruler, Jamshīd, did not succeed his father peacefully but began his reign by blinding one of his brothers and threatening to kill another,² and he was further accused by some as a parricide. The only Deccanī potentate who congratulated him on his accession was Burhān Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar who sent the venerable Shāh Tāhir as his personal

1. See Sherwani, *Sultān-Qulī Qutbu'l-mulk*, J.I.H., December 1955, n. 53.

2. Our authorities differ with regard to Sultān-Qulī's sons. Q.S. *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* Mss. Asafiyah, 402, 105, says that he had six sons, of whom (1) Haidar was already dead; (2) Quṭbu'd-dīn was blinded under Jamshīd's orders; (3) Yār-Qulī Jamshīd, who succeeded him; (4) 'Abdu'l-Karīm, who fled to Bijāpūr and was killed in battle; (5) Daulat, surnamed the Mad; and (6) Ibrāhīm, who later ascended the throne as Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. *Bur.* (*Burhān-i-Ma'ahir*), 314, makes Jamshīd the eldest, while it says that Haidar Khān and Ibrāhīm, both of whom were younger than him, fled from Dēwarkundā to Bidar, and T.Q. (*Tawārīkh-i Quṭb-Shāhī*) agrees with this view. Mānik Rāo Viṭthal Rāo, *Bustān-i-Aṣafiyāh*, I, 37, makes Yār-Qulī Jamshīd the eldest but quotes no authority for this, while Sewell, both in his *Sketches of the Dynasties of South India* (883), p. 28, and his later work, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 410, enumerates only four sons of Sultān-Qulī, viz., Quṭbu'd-dīn the eldest, Jamshīd, Haidar and Ibrāhīm.

Taz. (Muzaffar Khafi, *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, Asafiyah Mss., *Tārīkh*, 1101) 157b, says that Jamshīd had Quṭbu'd-dīn blinded after his father's death, and does not mention the presence of Haidar at Dēwarkundā. *Silsila* (*Tārīkh-i Dakan*, *Silsila-i Aṣafiyah*) III (i), 367 follows Q.S. in this as well

80. *Ibid.*, v. 55; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Brethren*, 56-57.

81. *Ibid.*, v. 76; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Brethren*, p. 75.

envoy to Golkonda,³ while, as will be seen later, not only the Rāya of Vijayanagar but the rulers of Bīdar and Bijāpūr were both at daggers drawn against him. They had as their pawn Jamshīd's younger brother Ibrāhīm who had fled to Vijayanagar, and it redounds to the strong foundations of the Tilangānā State laid by Sulṭān-Qulī that no attempt was made to put an end to the fabric but only to replace Jamshīd by Ibrāhīm. Even Jamshīd's ally Burhān took advantage of the uncertainty which he thought lurked in Jamshīd's mind, by offering the royal crown, but the strong-willed Jamshīd resolutely refused the offer.⁴ We should here remember that Jamshīd is not called a king by most of the contemporary chronicles, and at least one of them, the metrical *Tārīkh-i Quṭbshāhī*, calls him simply Jamshīd Khān almost right through the reign, reserving the royal title for Ibrāhīm from the very outset after his father's murder.⁵ We must also remember that Jamshīd's son Subhān-Qulī does not figure in any of the portraits of the rulers of Golkonda and that both Jamshīd's and Subhān's graves are without epitaphs. The very fact that the

in most other matters. I have a feeling that Q.S.'s version is correct and Haidar was the eldest, as is evidenced by his being a constant companion of his father in his campaigns. It is possible that after Haidar's death his father appointed his next son Quṭbu'd-dīn as his heir and that Jamshīd had him blinded on the first opportunity.

Munt. (Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, 373, says that Jamshīd ascended the throne "in the beginning of 951" but this is obviously incorrect.

3. For a short life of Shāh Tāhir see Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qulī*, Part II, J.I.H., April 1956, n. 102. Shāh Tāhir was received by Jamshīd 16 kroh or about 25 miles from the capital and brought there is a royal *singhāsān* or mobile throne; *Fer.* II, 116, 118, 168. I regret I do not agree with the view expressed by the late lamented father Heras in his scholarly work, *the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara (Aravidu)*, 77, that Shah Tāhir may have been appointed ambassador of Ahmadnagar to Golkonda in 1954. He probably argues from the words "the next year" as in *Briggs*, III, 230, which would, of course, mean the next Hijri year after 949. Now 949 H ended on 5.4.1543 and the "next year" would therefore commence on 6.4.1543. There seems no palpable reason why the mission should wait for 1544 to leave, especially as it was already many months since Sulṭān-Qulī's murder. Shāh Tāhir would therefore have been sent in any case within 1543.

Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar ruled, 1509-53.

4. Q.S., 103 etc. It may be mentioned that Burhān, 316 gives a parallel version as well, namely that Burhān Nizām Shāh actually invested Jamshīd with the robes and title of the King; but this story is not corroborated by any of our other chronicles.

5. T.Q., 25a.

crown was offered to Jamshīd and was refused by him shows that he had no pretensions to kingship, and the almost continuous battles which he had to fight for five years must have made him very uncertain of his own position. It may be noted here that the continuous wars in the Deccan were perhaps the result of the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom which had kept the balance between the elements inhabiting the tableland. The division of the kingdom into the predominantly Kannada 'Adilshāhī State, the predominantly Maharashtrian Nizāmshāhī Kingdom and the predominantly Telugu Tilangana, resulted in continuous clashes for the rectification of the frontiers. Jamshīd rightly considered the need of a state, however small, which should act as a buffer between Tilangana and the western kingdoms. It was for this reason that he insisted on the restitution of 'Alī Barīd to his state centered at Bīdar, which was, incidentally, the meeting place of practically all the different languages spoken in the Deccan.

Ibrāhīm

The court was in deep mourning for three days after the late ruler's murder,⁶ and it was only on the fourth day that Jamshīd held a darbar. He summoned all the military commanders and noblemen of the State and told them bluntly that he would not countenance even a murmur questioning his right to succeed his father as the ruler of Tilangānā, and would crush all the rebellious elements in the State. As if to anticipate a stray remark, he also told them that without doubt Ibrāhīm was his brother, but his was a recalcitrant nature and he was not at all happy with him,⁷ and he expected the fullest support from all those who were present. It seems that not merely Jamshīd's two brothers but two of his cousins ('*ammzādah*') also were at Dēwarkunḍa at the time, and now Jamshīd sent word to all of them to present themselves at the capital. Ibrāhīm knew what would be in store for him if he were to abide by the order, and before he took any step he consulted some of those who were with him, such as Ḥamīd Khān

6. *Ibid.*, 24a, The order for court mourning could not have been given if Jamshīd was directly involved in the murder or was present at the time of the murder. See also the opinion of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh regarding the matter under the heading "Jamshīd's supremacy" below, and T.Q., 37a.

7. T.Q., 25 calls Ibrāhīm 'King of Tilangānā' from the very beginning, while Jamshīd is mentioned simply as 'Jamshīd Khān' right through. *Taz.* 56b significantly says "Jamshīd-Qulī succeeded his father and was called Quṭbu'l-mulk."

Habashī, Saiyidjī Silahdār and Dilāwar Khān as to what they thought he should do. All of them with one voice advised him that he would be incurring a great risk if he were to proceed to Golkonda but that he should proceed to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar instead and ask 'Alī Barīd to help him against the tyrant. Ibrahim agreed to this advice and he and the other princes left Dēwarkunḍa in the darkness of the night for Bīdar, taking with them a few hundred horsemen, some elephants and a certain number of foot-soldiers. All this must have taken place immediately after Sultān-Qulī's murder, as it was only after these princes had reached Bīdar that 'Alī Barīd came to know of the foul deed committed at the Jāmi' Masjid of Golkonda Fort.⁸

When 'Alī heard that Prince Ibrāhīm was approaching Bīdar he sent his son and many of his nobles to receive him at some distance from the capital. He was very kind and considerate to Ibrāhīm and requested him to take a few days' rest before proceeding to Golkonda to fight Jamshīd. He also offered to place a 'throne' on the back of an elephant so that Ibrāhīm might sit on it on the way to claim his patrimony, as, according to him, there was no one better fitted to sit on the throne of Tilangānā than Ibrāhīm. Acceding to the wish of his host he stayed at Bīdar for a couple of weeks. Young though he was, he did not take any part in the festivities provided for him by his host, as he was greatly overcome by his father's death, and it is related that he was bemoaning the calamity night and day and appeared in public only in black mourning dress. At the end of two weeks 'Alī and Ibrāhīm left Bīdar for Golkonda at the head of a large army.⁹ Their progress was not interrupted till they were within

8. Thus in T.Q., 26a. Princes and nobles receive Ibrāhīm, Q.S., 108. The fact that the first information of Sultān Qulī's murder was conveyed to 'Alī Barīd by the princes on their arrival at Bīdar shows that the whole episode must have taken place within very few days after the event. Our authorities differ in the number of troops which accompanied the princes, but in any case they could not have been more than a few hundred and formed merely a kind of bodyguard. Names of advisers, Q.S., 109.

9. It is only from T.Q., 26b that we learn that Ibrāhīm accompanied 'Alī to Golkonda; other chroniclers do not mention him in this connection at all. I am inclined to think that Ibrāhīm did go to Golkonda. It is most unlikely that a precocious youth like him should have allowed himself to be left behind.

Ibrāhīm was born on 1.10.936/29.5.1590 (Q.S., 91) and was thus barely 14 at the time of his father's death.

a stone's throw of the great fort, and were met by Jamshīd's army about two miles from the fort (somewhere near the village of Narsingī) where a hand to hand battle was fought resulting in numerous casualties on both sides. It was past noon when Jamshīd realised how unequal the struggle was, and, retreating to the fort, he shut himself within its walls. 'Alī Barīd and Ibrāhīm now laid seige to Golkonda. The siege protracted for more than three months, and "when the sun had just entered the constellation of Leo" and the whole countryside was green with new foliage, Jamshīd had recourse to the new strategem of demoralising the enemy. He sent a message to young Ibrāhīm reminding him that he was his elder brother and that it was not proper that Ibrāhīm should hanker after the throne which was his as of right. He also threw a kind of bribe to Ibrāhīm, saying that if he desisted from opposing him he would make him commander of the Tilangānā army. But Ibrāhīm was adamant and replied that it was not Jamshīd but himself who had been appointed heir by their father, and that those who had been in the late ruler's entourage, could vouchsafe for the truth of the statement. Moreover he wanted the blood of the murderer of his late father and demanded that Jamshīd should hand over the culprit to him, and further that he should show himself on the battlements of the Fort.¹⁰

All these demands were naturally rejected by Jamshīd. At the same time he felt that he was unequal to the task of carrying on the struggle with the besiegers single-handed, and now he sent word to Burhān Nizām Shāh to come to his help. When Shāh

10. Offer of army command to Ibrāhīm; T.Q., 27a. The line runs:

مرا حکم تحت ونگین وکلا - ترا کشور گنج وپیل وشیپا

Jamshīd's rule is a period of uncertainty in many ways, and one of these uncertainties is the chronological sequence. There are but scant references to dates in Ferishta, and Q.S., has not mentioned any dates at all between Jamshīd's accession and death. The only certain dates are the seige of Gulbarga by Burhān Nizām Shāh in 951 (Fer., II, 30), which date has been left out in Briggs, and date of Shāh Tāhir's death in 953 (Bur., 325). The two dates are important in the history of Tilangānā as much action in connection of the alliance between Tilangānā, Aḥmadnagar and Vijayanagar on the one hand and 'Alī Barīd and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah on the other takes place within the intervening period. There is a wealth of detail in the period immediately following Sultān-Qulī's murder in T.Q., but here the difficulty

Tāhir was at Golkonda to congratulate Jamshīd on his accession, he had persuaded him to swear to a close alliance with Aḥmadnagar. Burhān's main interest was the recovery of Shōlāpūr and the district of Panj Ṭappā or the Five Heights on the Bijāpūr border and further to have the upper hand in the politics of western Deccan as against Bijāpūr. It was for that purpose that he had entered into what may be called a quadruple alliance with

lies in the coordination of days and weeks given. There is no mention of months and there is a wide gap between the date of Jamshīd's message to Prince Ibrāhīm as computed according to the date supplied by T.Q., and the apparent entry of the sun in the constellation of Leo when it was supposed to have sent. The line is

چو شد ماه چارم نواند سپهر — ببرج اسد یانت آرام مهر

The time table as supplied by T.Q., beginning with Sulṭān-Qulī's murder would be more or less as follows:

Jamshīd's accession	..	2-6-950
Jamshīd's darbar	..	6-6-950
Ibrāhīm reaches Bīdar	..	about 10-6-950
Ibrāhīm at Bīdar	..	up to 25-6-950
Jamshīd's message to Ibrāhīm	about	25-10-950/21-1-1544

Now the sun was supposed to enter the constellation of Leo two thousand years ago on July 21, but by the process of precession it would apparently enter that constellation in 1544 on August 11. The period of precession has been calculated comparatively recently, and we will have to suppose that the writer of T.Q. regarded the date corresponding to July 21 as the one when the sun apparently entered the constellation of Leo. This fits in fairly well with the description of greenery in the country as mentioned in T.Q., 27b. These details and even some of the facts are not found in any other chronicle. (Here I must confess my indebtedness to Mr. Akbar 'Ali, Director of the Nizāmiyah Observatory of Hyderabad Dn. for having furnished me with astronomical observations).

Another difficulty which besets a student of this period is that while certain facts connected with Tilangānā are found in *Bur.* up to Shāh Tāhir's death in 953/1546 they are not found in any other authority, and in order to make history as objective as possible they have to be dovetailed with other facts with certain clues. Q.S. is very full, but the difficulty arises when some of the details given in it are not to be found elsewhere. I have tried my best to present the sequence as correctly as possible, but this has not been an easy matter.

Here it might be mentioned that the demand for surrender of Sulṭān-Qulī's murderer months after the foul deed had been committed runs counter

Darya 'Imād Shāh, Jamshīd and Rāmarāj.¹¹ He persuaded Rāmarāj to attack Rāichūr which was ultimately captured by his brother Venkaṭādrī, and while Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was thus busy with the defence of his southern border, he had occupied Panj Ṭappā, invested Shōlāpūr and laid waste much territory belonging to the Bijāpūr kingdom. Jamshīd on his part took advantage of the vacuum on the Tilangānā border to construct a strong fort at Kakni and occupy the whole territory right up to the very gates of Gulbarga, including Yadvīr, Alank and Mōrchal.¹²

It was obviously in Burhān's own interest to march to Jamshīd's help, and probably it did not require much persuasion on the part of Shāh Tāhir, who had negotiated the treaty of friendship between Tilangānā and Aḥmadnagar, that he left his capital for Golkonda. On the way he managed to take Kōhīr within the Barīdī territory, and thus a mass of "gold, silver and jewels" which had been stored there since the days of the Bahmani

to other accounts which tell us that the murderer was put to death almost immediately after Sulṭān-Qulī's death. For different versions of the murder and evaluation of the same see Sherwani's *Sulṭān-Qulī*, II, J.I.H., April, 1956.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, 1534-58.

Darya 'Imād Shāh, 1529-1562.

So far as 'Alī Barīd Shāh is concerned, the dates of his rule as given in Briggs, III, 497-499, have to be corrected. Briggs is supposed to have translated Ferishta's account, but his calculation is definitely wrong. Qāsim Barīd died in 910H; his successor, who is called in *Fer.*, II, 176 Amīr 'Alī Barīd and by Briggs Ameer Barīd, reigned for 40 years (not 45 years as in Briggs, III, 497), and this brings us to 950 H. He was succeeded by 'Alī Barīd Shāh whose epitaph says that he died in 987/1579 (*Yazdani, Antiquities of Bidar*, pp. 24-5). He therefore reigned from 950/1543 to 987/1579, not from 945/1549 to 990/1562 as in Briggs. Prof. Siddiqi, *Muqaddama-i Tārīkh-i Dakan*, p. 73, is generally correct in this respect, except that he makes Amīr Barīd reign up to 945 not 950; he has correctly put down 987/1579 as the date of 'Alī's death, which is, of course, different to that given by Ferishta, but he does not mention the epitaph and simply says that all the dates given in connection with the Barīdī dynasty are "according to those given by Ferishta".

11. See Sewell, 184; *Fer.* II, 29, 168.

12. *Fer.*, II, 29, 168. Kakni is not mentioned either in Q.S. or T.Q. Kakni and Nawanki have been mentioned as being two villages which were occupied by the Bijāpūr forces in Sulṭān-Qulī's time just before his death. It seems that they were retaken by Jamshīd.

kingdom, fell into his hands.¹³ When 'Alī Barīd came to know that Burhān was already within his territory he thought it more prudent to return home and save his own patrimony rather than support Ibrāhīm's cause with his communications entirely cut off by Burhān, and leaving Ibrāhīm in the lurch, he returned to Bīdar. Now that Ibrāhīm was left alone and helpless, he made up his mind to leave the field and fled to Vijayanagar accompanied by Saiyidjī Silahdār, Raihān Hamīd Khān Ḥabashī and a Brahman sardar named Kānōjī (or Kābājī) along with four hundred cavalry, twenty elephants and one hundred horses. It is noteworthy that the young prince preferred to go to Vijayanagar rather than to Bījāpūr or to some other Sultanate, especially as Rāmarāj, who had been forced to restore the jāgīr granted to him by Sulṭān-Qulī, was now the virtual ruler of the southern kingdom. When Ibrāhīm crossed the Krishna, which formed the border between Tilangānā and Vijayanagar, his way was barred by one Narāyana Mānē, who immediately conveyed the news to Jamshīd at Golkonda. Jamshīd rewarded the man for this exploit by the grant of a robe of honour, a couple of horses, an elephant and five thousand hons. When Rāmarāj heard that Ibrāhīm was coming to Vijayanagar in order to seek refuge from his elder brother he immediately ordered Narāyana to leave the road open, and on

13. Q.S., 108. Wealth, T.Q., 28b. This move on the part of Burhan is strangely enough not mentioned by Ferishta. It is interesting that hons are mentioned in this connection, and this brings us face to face with a problem which has not been solved so far, and that is with regard to Quṭb-Shāhī currency. As is well known, the *khutbah* and the *sikkah* or the right to have the name of the ruler mentioned in Friday prayers and the right to coin money, were regarded as emblems of sovereignty among independent Muslim Kings; for this see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 72. And as yet we have not come across a single coin of any metal struck in the name of Sulṭān-Qulī, Jamshīd or Subhān. In fact the first coin in the name of a ruler of medieval Tilangana was struck by Ibrāhīm, the one who definitely proclaimed himself Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Ibrāhīm's coinage as well as the coins struck by other kings of Golkonda will be discussed later. Here it may suffice to note that this is the first time the Vijayanagar coin, the *hon*, is mentioned after the fall of the Bahmanīs, and it may be presumed that it was current in Tilangana about this time. We have already noticed (Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qulī*, II, op. cit.) how the Friday *khutbah* contained the name of the Ṣafawī monarch after the introduction of Shi'ism into Tilangana, and this fact as well as the apparent lack of state coinage goes further to prove that the first ruler to proclaim his kingship was Ibrāhīm and not his father. See also n. 40 below.

Kōhīr, now in the Mēdak district, Andhra Pradesh; 18°41' N., 78°56'E.

his arrival at the capital treated him right royally and gave him a fairly big jāgīr in addition.¹⁴

Ibrāhīm's sojourn at Vijayanagar lasted fully seven years and was, incidentally, a turning point in the cultural history of Tilangānā. Although there was a considerable amount of co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims of the State even in the time of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk, who actually appointed Rāmarāj to the charge of a frontier district once belonging to Vijayanagar, and during the rule of Jamshīd who appointed another Hindu, Jagadēva Rao, to the command of another important outpost, Kaulās, we perceive little of a cultural cohesion before Ibrāhīm's reign. It was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah who was the harbinger of a new era of co-operation between the different sections of the population of Tilangānā which became like a beacon to the other states of the Deccan, and it was there that the peculiar culture, which is sometimes called the *dakhni* culture, was developed and nurtured.

Officer of Kingship to Jamshīd

Anyhow, the disappearance of the princes from the State was a great moral victory for Jamshīd. He was naturally grateful to Burhān for what he had done for him and requested him to stay on as his guest for a little time. Burhān consented and was at Golkonda for about a month. He was much impressed by the manner in which he was received. He expressed his wish that it was right and proper that Jamshīd should accept the royal umbrella and other diadems of royalty at his hands, and sent a

14. Q.S., 110-111. The statement in *Aravidu*, 61, that Ibrāhīm and Haidar Khān fled to Vijayanagar towards the end of Jamshīd's rule is obviously wrong. Rāmarāj, one of the most important figures in the later history of

Vijayanagar. He is called *حاکم و صاحب سیر* "a ruler and master of

the throne" and *Rāi A'zam* in Q.S., 110 (an epithet which has been translated by Briggs as "one who had ascended the throne of Vijayanagar", III, 389), and *Taz.*, 26, goes so far as to make him ascend the throne in 942/1536, while

Fer., II, 30 calls him *بادشاه عظیم الشان* or "King of great Spondour".

In point of fact, however, Rāmarāj never actually ascended the throne but was only the regent of Vijayanagar up to his death; Saletore, *Social and Politi-*

message to his host to accept this.¹⁵ But the self-willed potentate gave a categorical answer in the negative and said that his sole claim to authority and power rested not on any diadems but entirely on his own sword, that he was merely a pearl in the chain left by his father. Evidently he thought that if he were to accept the crown at Burhān's hands this might result in a kind of protectorate of Aḥmadnagar over Tilangānā. He considered it

cal Life of the Vijayanagara Empire (Saletore), I, 316. It seems that he was "discovered" by Sultān Qulī as one of the ablest of the royal family of Vijayanagar in his service. For his ancestry see Saletore, I, 264. When he subdued certain districts belonging to Vijayanagar (Aravidu, 25, Briggs, III, 380), Sultān-Qulī was so confident of his loyalty that he granted him the Jagir of Mat-Sonti (Silsila, III, 378) and actually put him in command of the conquered districts, a charge which he kept for three years. It was only when he was defeated at the hands of the Sultān of Bijāpūr in one of the numerous skirmishes which dot the annals of the Deccani Sultanates of the period, that he was dismissed (Q.S., 109). It is said that "during the short period of his service under Qulī Qutb Shah (sic), he gained a first hand knowledge of the internal conditions of the Qutb Shahi kingdom which enabled him later to wage war successfully against the Sultān. Moreover he was able to acquire the friendship of a number of Hindu and Mussulman nobles who played an important part in the wars with the Mussulman rulers of the Deccan later. Of these Raja Immadi Jagadēva Rāo was the most important." Nilkanta Sastri and Venkataramaiah, Further Sources of Vijayanagar History ("N & V"), I, 257-8. On his being dismissed from Qutbu'l-mulk's service he treaded his way to Vijayanagar where he married Krishna Dēva Rāya's daughter Tirumalamba, and on his death, after a sharp struggle with Salakam Timma Rāju he finally became "The Protector of the Vijayanagar Kingdom" (Aravidu, 3-10 quoting Ep. Ind., XIV, 353). Taz., 26 b, says that (perhaps following the tradition of Dēva Rāya II, for which see Bahmanis, pp. 296-97) Rāmarāj caused a copy of the Qur'ān to be placed in his court on a high pedestal so that the Muslim officers of Vijayanagar should have no objection to bow before him. A shrewd diplomat, he entered into treaty relations with the Portuguese accepting the cession of Salsettee and Bardez to the King of Portugal on 26.2.1546, and it is remarkable how, with Prince Ibrāhīm under his protection, he joined in a quadruple alliance against Bijāpūr, and caused the Portuguese to exclude Burhān Nizām Shāh in the treaty he signed with them "against all the kings and lords of India" (Aravidu, 61). The rest of the history of the southern kingdom is bound up with Rāmarāj, and its glory departs with his death at "the battle of Rakshasa-Tangadi" in 1565. For his pompous titles and an enumeration of his victories as given in Rāmarājyamu, see Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History ("Sources"), 183-84. See also n. 28 below.

15. T.Q., 28b, says that it was at Golkonda that the insignia of royalty was offered to Jamshīd by Burhān, Q.S. is not absolutely clear on this point.

advisable to refuse the offer and sent a message to his ally that he wished to be excused the honour. Burhān was naturally unhappy over this turn and returned to Aḥmadnagar.

Coalition between Tilangānā, Aḥmadnagar and Berār

Burhān now sent a message to Jamshīd to help him against Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah for the possession of Shōlāpūr which had been a bone of contention between the two states for many decades, and Jamshīd had no alternative but to join Burhān who had extricated him so recently from the grasp of his enemies. While the confederate forces were encircling Shōlāpūr, Ibrāhīm 'Adil and 'Alī Barīd were marching on Parenda, which was within Aḥmadnagar territory, by way of diversion. The two armies came face to face at the village of Khāspurī about three miles east of Parenda. The battle raged the whole day, and when Jamshīd was tired of the stalemate, he recklessly jumped into the thick of the fight and by sheer hardihood broke the enemy's array. It is related that when night fell both Ibrāhīm and 'Alī fled into the jungle leaving everything on the battlefield. Jamshīd pursued them as far as the gates of Bīdar and then returned home.

Briggs, III, 382, says: "Jamsheed Kootb Shah marched to meet his ally...". However that may be, it was now for the first time that Jamshīd was offered the royal umbrella and the crown; that he refused the offer is clear from the expressive distich quoted in Q.S., 113:

مرانیست با چتر شاهر نیاز — خطای نخواهم بگردان

The motive for the refusal to accept the royal title at the hands of an ally seems that Burhan perhaps wanted him to hold the sceptre as a feudatory of Aḥmadnagar. Bur. gives two versions of the incident. (1) that Burhān Nizām Shah actually invested 'Jamshid Khan' with kingship and gave him the title of Qutb Shah and (2) although the robe, title and the emblem of royalty were offered by Burhan, Jamshid "begged" him not to press the offer as he did not hanker after titles but "was content to act according to Burhān's guidance", and all he wanted was that the king of Aḥmadnagar should bring 'Alī Barīd to his senses. Here it might be mentioned that Taz., 56b is clear that the only title Jamshid bore was Qutbu'l-mulk.

It was now 'Ali Barīd's turn. After staying at his capital for a while, he thought it best to return Jamshīd's visit as he would now be entirely without any outside help. As a matter of fact Jamshīd was so sure of his position that he had disbanded his army on his return to Golkonda. 'Ali now set out from Bīdar with eight thousand horse and numerous foot-soldiers and carabineers. It seems that his march was undertaken so quietly and with so little of the beat of drums that Jamshīd did not know of it till he had reached the village of Chīlkūr on the outskirts of Golkonda itself. With just three thousand trained soldiers at his immediate command, Jamshīd thought it useless to face the invader, and leaving Golkonda in charge of some of his trusted officers, he quietly collected as many soldiers as possible and, acting on the old Deccani strategy, wheeled round to Bīdar. Bīdar is barely eighty-two miles from Golkonda, and it was only when he had reached the tank at Kamthānā near Bīdar that 'Ali came to know of the movement. Leaving the ramparts of Golkonda, he hurried back to his own capital. On his way he contacted Jamshīd's army at a place between Paṭancherū and Kalangūr. The fighting which ensued seems to have been indecisive and both the potentates repeated the oft-recurring scene of going back to their respective capitals.¹⁶

All these moves and counter-moves seem to have been a kind of reconnaissance for the final struggle between Tilangāna and Bīdar.¹⁷ After spending a few days in rejoicing and pleasure in celebration of his victory, Jamshīd called his Advisory Council and asked them their opinion regarding his resolve to take possession of the insignia of royalty which originally belonged to the Bahmanī

16. Q.S., 113-15; Bur., 316-19. The battle of Khāspurī is not mentioned in T.Q. or Fer. at all. Sewell, *A forgotten Empire* ("Sewell"), 184 ff. follows Briggs's translation of Q.S. but wrongly ascribes the narrative to Ferishta.

Parendā, for some time the capital of the Nizām Shāh kingdom, now a taluqa in the Osmānābād district, Bombay State; 18°16' N., 75°27' E.

Khāspurī or Khāsgdon, 3 miles east of Parendā, Osmanabad district, now in the Bombay State; 18°15' N., 75°29' E. Chīlkūr, about 8 miles to the west of Golkonda on the southernmost tip of what is now the Osmansāgar; 17°21' N., 78°18' E. Kamthānā, a small village, now in the Osmanabad district, Bombay State; 18°52' N., 77°27' E. Paṭancherū, in the Mēdak district Andhra Pradesh; 17°32' N., 78°18' E. Kulābgur, also in the Mēdak district 18°41' N., 78°4' E.

17. This is only a surmise which arises out of the facts of the case.

monarchs but which were now in the unworthy hands of the usurper 'Ali Barīd. Moreover, it was necessary to reoccupy the fort of Mēdak which was in the illegal possession of 'Ali, who had occupied it in return for forty elephants and sixty thousand hons passed to his brother Ibrāhīm as a bribe for conniving at the operation. The Council agreed and Jamshīd now marched north-west with a large army consisting of ten thousand archers, lancers and swordsmen and as many as eighty elephants. When 'Ali Barīd heard that Jamshīd was proceeding to attack his own capital, he immediately ordered the fortifications to be repaired, the moat filled and cannon mounted on the battlements. Then, in order to divert the attention of the invaders, he marched due north towards Kaulās, which was in Tilangānā territory, with eight thousand horsemen and numerous foot-soldiers.¹⁸ He was successful in his strategy and Jamshīd had to wheel round to Kaulās, instead of heading towards Bīdar. The two armies came face to face at Narāyankhēra a little over twenty miles south of Kaulās. Jamshīd now sent a message to 'Ali reminding him that the territory of Tilangānā belonged to him as of right and 'Ali should therefore desist from helping Ibrāhīm against him. He also added that if 'Ali desisted from helping his enemies, he would not merely leave Bīdar intact but perhaps hand over Kaulās to Barīd as well.¹⁹ But 'Ali was not the man to be cowed down like this, and he replied that the army of Bīdar was far stronger than the raw levies of Tilangānā. These communications could only result in one thing, and it was the great battle which was fought in the fairly level ground between Narāyankhēra and Kaulās.

18. Advisory Council; Q.S., 116. General description of the campaign; Q.S., 114-18. Council of War; Q.S., 116. Jagadēva Rāi is said to be

از جمله سرداران مقبوله i.e., in whom the ruler had the greatest confidence; T.Q., does not mention Narāyankhēra but only Kaulās. The protraction of the fighting shows that it must have been a series of skirmishes on the fairly level ground which is studded with low mounds, south of the fortress which was within Tilangānā territory. It was only when Jamshīd had been driven into the fortress that the final engagement must have taken place. The campaign is not mentioned in Fer. at all. See also Briggs, III, 385.

Narāyankhēra, about 21 miles south of Kaulās; Medak district, 18°21' N., 77°46' E.

19. T.Q., 31a.

The struggle between the two powers was protracted to many weeks²⁰ and consisted mainly of a continuous series of skirmishes with occasional pitched battles. The forces were so evenly balanced that neither party had the courage to launch a decisive offensive. This must have caused considerable hardship to the beleaguered garrison of Kaulās and led to demoralization of the Tilangānā army. Jamshīd now called a council of war and sought advice from his generals regarding the steps which might be taken to bring the prolonged struggle to a fruitful conclusion. One of these generals, Immadi Jagadēva Rāo Nāikwārī "who was full of wisdom and a man of quick decisions",²¹ offered that if he was given the command of the forces and a free hand he would bring his own feudal levies to the battlefield and turn the scales. He insisted that no time should be lost to strengthen the position of the Tilangānā army, otherwise "the sun would enter the constellation of Libra" and operations made doubly difficult owing to the rainy season. He also advised Jamshīd that Kaulās should be defended with the utmost vigour. At the same time he insisted that the fort should not be allowed to be encircled by the enemy who should be met on the level ground outside the fort.²²

'Alī Barīd, who was upset by this development, sent an express courier to Bījāpūr in which he begged Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh for immediate help. Ibrāhīm decided to accede to his request and forthwith ordered Khudāwand Khān Ḥabashī to go and help Barīd in his distress. Jamshīd now divided his army into three parts, ordering that the right and left wings should be manned by twenty elephants each and the centre by a serried rank of swordsmen and archers. Unscrupulous as he was, he jumped into the battle while fighting was going on saying that he would personally trample the Barīdī standard under his feet.²³ He first flung himself on the right flank of the enemy and then on the left, but the opposition was very stiff, and in spite of Jamshīd's nonchalance, the stalemate continued. It was only when the son of

20. "Three weeks"; T.Q., 32a.

21. For Jagadēva Rāo, see N. & V., I, 258, where the learned authors say that he occupied "a most exalted position in the affairs of the kingdom." Also see Q.S., 115 ff.

22. Constellation of Libra; T.Q., 32 a. The sun's elliptic was supposed to cross the autumnal equinox about September 21.

23. T.Q., 35a ff. Khudāwand Khān; T.Q., 33a.

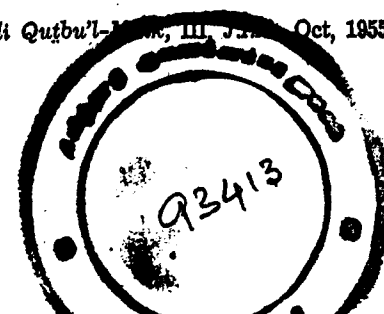
'Ainu'lmuḥ, one of the premier Barīdī noblemen, defalcated and went over to the Tilangānā army that the Barīdīs experienced the first great shock. 'Alī, however, continued to fight what probably turned out to be a kind of guerilla warfare. In the meantime Jagadēva, who had fully repaired the Kaulās fort, now marched out. In the fighting which ensued, however, it was 'Alī who was successful in forcing Jagadēva to shut himself in the fort, and this was precisely what he did not want. Strange as it might seem, 'Alī did not follow up his gain and allowed Jamshīd to annex the whole territory round Kaulās, taking possession of Narāyankhēra, Ḥusnābād and other places. Jamshīd now appointed the hero of the campaign Jagadēva Rāo, governor of the conquered district and himself returned to Golkonda.²⁴

Thus ended the great battle between Tilangānā and Bidar which had been going on for nearly two months. There were two courses open to the victor, either to pursue the enemy further or else to return home to Golkonda. Victory had no doubt been achieved, but it must have cost Jamshīd a tremendous amount of money and energy, and he was advised not to pursue 'Alī just then. It was on his return to Golkonda that he is said to have been struck by remorse for his father's murder, and there is the whole story of how he sought out the murderer and had him executed.²⁵ Although Jamshīd had no intention of meeting 'Alī on the battlefield in the immediate future, the latter was suspicious of his intentions, and taking advantage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's antagonism to Burhān Nizām Shāh on the question of the ownership of Shōlāpūr, he actually went to Bījāpūr and related to Ibrāhīm what had happened and how he was forced to retreat from Golkonda as a result of the help which Burhān had given to Jamshīd.

Jamshīd evidently took full advantage of these circumstances. He had been fighting with 'Alī Barīd for many months and had finally driven him out of Narāyankhēra and the country round. He parried 'Alī by writing to Burhān that it was time that they joined hands and put an end to that "cheat and fraud" that 'Alī Barīd was. Burhān immediately wrote back to Jamshīd that both 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imad Shāh and himself were marching into Barīdī

24. Q.S., 118.

25. T.Q., 35a. Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qutb al-Qutb*, III, Jan. Oct, 1955, n. 111.



territory and that he should also co-operate with them and lose no time. Jamshīd now began to envelop the Baridī country, but when he reached AUSA he found that the fort had already been besieged by his two allies of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. Mēdak was still in Barid's possession, and it was decided that Jamshīd should first take this fort. The fort was immediately encircled, but the garrison put up a very stiff resistance, and it was only by assault and escalade that it was actually taken. When it was being occupied by Tilangānā forces, the defenders begged the conqueror's pardon, and Jamshīd was magnanimous enough to forgive them. Most of the vast amount of gold and silver found in the fort was distributed among the soldiers of the Tilangānā army.

News was now brought that both AUSA and Udgīr had been taken by Burhān and 'Alāu'd-dīn.²⁶

'Alī Barid was now at his wit's ends. He appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh for help. Ibrāhīm realised the straits to which 'Alī was reduced and immediately sent Ikhlas Khān Ḥabashi with five thousand fully armed cavalry in response to the appeal. With this help 'Alī marched towards Kaulās, and while on his way, spent the night at Narāyankhēra, which was in Jamshīd's territory. The battle could not be delayed long, and the two armies came face to face the next day. Jamshīd put his right flank in charge of Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk and the right in the charge of "Rai A'zam" Jagādēva Rāo, while he kept full charge of the centre himself. Jagādēva was faced by the 'Adilshāhi commander Ikhlas Khān Ḥabashi and his troops, while 'Ainu'l-mulk was faced by 'Alī Barid's brother Khan-i Jahān and the centre was commanded by 'Alī in person. Jamshīd followed his father's strategy and kept a posse of soldiers in reserve. Just when the two armies were in close grips this reserve was called in and, when the tide had begun to turn 'Ainu'l-mulk and Jagādēva also fell upon the enemy in full force with the result that the defeat became a rout. As was usual in the Deccani wars of the period, the victor did not attempt to put an end to "the cheat and fraud" which 'Alī Barid appeared to him, but each of the combatants returned to his own capital.

26. Q.S., 119-122.

AUSA, headquarters of a taluqa in Osmānābād district, Bombay State. 18° 15' N., 77° 30' E.

The End of the Coalition

All this was naturally very disconcerting to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, who now called Asad Khān Lārī, one of the most sagacious of the Bijāpūr officials, from Belgām and sought his advice as to what should be done. Asad Khān advised him that it was impossible to fight the powerful coalition which was hemming in the Bijāpūr territories on all sides and suggested that the two most potent members of the coalition, i.e., Burhān Nizām Shāh and Rāmarāj of Vijayanagar, should be neutralised. He said that the king should forthwith cede the district of Panj Ṭappā which was the immediate home of contention between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar, while at the same time he should try and propitiate Rāmarāj, who was a great potentate, by a suitable letter extending a hand of friendship to him and by rich presents. Being stationed on the borders of Vijayanagar, Asad Khān Lārī knew that "small concessions would suffice to ensure his forbearance," as his own country was as yet by no means in a settled state,²⁷ "and also, because he had in his capital Prince Ibrāhīm of Golkonda as a pawn in the game against Jamshīd. The king of Bijāpūr did as he was advised, and this move completely isolated Jamshīd.²⁸

27. Briggs, III, 93-94. *Aravidu*, 78. Rāmarāj had helped the allies by ordering an attack on Rāichūr and by actually defeating the Bijāpūr army on the Bhīma; *Narasabu Palaiyamu, Sources*, 224 referred to in *Aravidu*, above.

28. *Fer.*, II, 30. Cession of Panj Ṭappā to Burhān, *Fer.*, II, 117.

There is much confusion with regard to dates. *Silsila*, I, 381, says that the treaty between Burhān and Ibrāhīm was signed in 951/1544 but I have not been able to find any authority for the statement. Apart from the details of the early part of Jamshīd's rule as given in *T.Q.*, there is no mention of any date in our Persian authorities until we come to the attack on Gulbarga by Burhan in 951/1544 as given in *Fer.*, II, 30 and the death of Shah Tahir in 951/1546 as given in *Bur.*, 326. There are, however, two further dates which have a certain bearing on the history of Tilangānā, and these occur in the history of the Portuguese colony of Goa, viz., the treaty signed on 26-2-1546 under which Rāmarāj confirmed the cession of Bardez and Salsette (which should be distinguished from the island of the same name situated south of Bombay) to the King of Portugal, entailing a new offensive and defensive alliance between Portugal and Vijayanagar "to help each other with all the forces against all the kings, lords of India", with the exception of Burhān Nizām Shāh; *Aravidu*, 61, 62. The cession of Bardez and Salsette was significantly confirmed by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh on 22-8-1546; (*Ibid.*, 61, n. 2), which meant that both the Portuguese colony and Vijayanagar were neutralised so far as Bijāpūr was concerned. This last date may

On hearing of the break-up of the coalition which had worked so well, Jamshīd wrote to Burhān protesting against his conduct in making peace with Ibrāhīm 'Adil when he himself was in the field according to an agreed strategy, and his failure in even informing him (Jamshīd) of his intentions. To this Burhān quietly replied that it was mainly because the rainy season had set in that he had been forced to withdraw and to make peace with Bijāpūr which was really only a truce. He promised to come back and join the fray when the weather was more hospitable. He also tried to console Jamshīd that after Ibrāhīm had been defeated he himself would be content with the cession of Shōlāpūr and Naldurg to Aḥmadnagar dominions, while he would gladly allow the annexation of Gulbarga, Yādگیر and Sāgar to Tilangānā.²⁹

Jamshīd was perhaps aware of the ruse which had been prepared for him by Ibrāhīm 'Adil, and intrepid and daring as he was, prepared to face the struggle single-handed. Ibrāhīm put his army under the sole command of Asad Khān and ordered it to march into Jamshīd's territory forthwith. Asad soon forced him to raise the siege of Yādگیر which had been invested, and to quit Kākni, the fort of which was destroyed. Asad Khān now pursued him right up to the walls of Golkonda fort itself, and it was in the battle which ensued that Jamshīd received a sword cut on his face which disfigured him for the rest of his life. It was, however, impossible for Asad Khān to force the impregnable defences of Golkonda, and he now retreated to Bijāpūr territory.³⁰

well determine the period of the negotiations of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah with Rāmarāj.

Thus the series of dates of certain events given in Prof. A. M. Siddiqi's *Tarikh-i Golkonda* ("Tar. Gol.") seem to be wrong. He says on p. 79 that the attack on Shōlāpūr took place "probably in 951/1544 and on p. 40 that Mēdak was "probably occupied in 953/1546; as a matter of fact both these event took place before the attack on Gulbarga by Burhān in 951/1544 (*Fer.*, II, 29).

29. *Fer.*, 169; *Briggs*, III, 26.

Gulbarga, once the capital of the Bahmani kingdom, headquarters of a district now in the Mysore State; 17° 21' N., 76° 51' E. Yādگیر, sometimes called Eṭگیر in our chronicles; headquarters of a taluqa in the Gulbarga district; 16° 46' N., 77° 9' E. Sāgar, in the Shāhpūr taluqa of the Gulbarga district; 16° 37' N., 76° 48' E.

30. "Eleven parries in the hand to hand fight with Asad Khan"; *Fer.*, II, 169; "a tip of his nose and cheek and a part of his upper lip", *Briggs*, III, 326; "from nose to the lip", *Munt.*, 375., "the wound was such as to

Jamshīd's Supremacy

We have now 'definitely reached the end of the very crowded year, 951/1544, and some more time seems to have elapsed. Evidently there was peace all round and not one of the Deccan potentates felt himself strong enough to break it. Although that stormy petrel of the Deccan, 'Ali Barīd, had been defeated time and again, he was so restless that he would not accept defeat either at the hands of Jamshīd or of Burhān, who had incidentally occupied the great fort of Qandhār at the instance of Ibrāhīm himself.³¹ But 'Alī was so sanguine regarding Ibrāhīm's ultimate attitude that he actually went to Bijāpūr himself to make a personal appeal to the Sultān against Jamshīd. On his arrival at Bijāpūr he told Ibrāhīm that when Jamshīd could plot against his own father and have him murdered, there should not be any hope of his being loyal to his undertakings. To this Ibrāhīm replied that there was no one who had broken his promises as much as 'Ali had, and whatever he was saying about Jamshīd being a parricide was entirely false. He was fully aware that Jamshīd was not implicated in the murder at all, and "the whole world knew" that the actual murderer had some personal complaint against Sultān-Qulī which had led him to commit the foul deed.³² Seeing that this

cause Jamshīd's great difficulty in eating and drinking for the rest of his life", *Basatin*, 60. *Tar. Gol.* says that Ferishta has 'exaggerated the whole episode' which "is not found in the histories of Golkonda", and seems to come to the conclusion that the story of Asad Khān's attack of Golkonda is false. It may be noted, however, that the break-up of the coalition between Rāmarāj, Burhān Nizām Shāh and Jamshīd is fully corroborated by treaties between Rāmarāj and the Portuguese on the one hand and between Ibrāhīm and the Portuguese on the other, referred to in note 28 above. Moreover the kaleidesopic changes in the politics of the medieval Deccan are matters of common occurrence owing primarily to the partition of the Deccan after the fall of the Bahmanīs. A further evidence of the campaign is furnished by *Basatin*, 59, 60 and by *Munt.*, 375. It is not stated in *Tar. Gol.*, 44, what the learned author means by "histories written at Golkunda". Incidentally, Kākni is not "a fort in Konkan territory", but the name of a fort on the Tilangānā-Bijāpūr border; it has been referred to as early as the reign of Sultān-Qulī, the first ruler of Tilangānā; *Q.S.*, 104.

31. *Q. S.*, 123. Qāndhār, in the Nandēṛ district, now in the Bombay State; 18° 23' N., 77° 12' E.

32. For this clear testimony of Jamshīd's innocence see *T.Q.*, 37a. The testimony is the more remarkable as it comes from the pen of an author who is by no means favourably inclined towards Jamshīd. See also Sherwani, *Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk*, Part II, *J.I.H.*, April, 1956.

was a good opportunity to annex Bidar, he quietly put 'Ali in prison and himself marched into Vijayanagar territory "where he succeeded in adding many forts and provinces to his own dominions".³³

But he had not counted on the old antagonism of Burhān Nizām Shāh who had always considered the coveted district of Shōlāpūr as his patrimony.³⁴ Apart from this, Burhān did not like any great increase in the power of Ibrāhīm, and the victories of the latter in the southern sector seem to have opened his eyes to the dangerous situation. In 954/1547 he advanced towards Shōlāpūr with a large army. Ibrāhīm had no recourse but to return post haste to Bijāpūr and to try and relieve Sholāpūr which had been invested by Burhān.³⁵ There seems to have been a stalemate in the respective positions of the two combatants, and such was the position which Jamshīd had acquired "among the Sultāns of the Deccan"³⁶ that both Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh sent messages to him to come to their help. Jamshīd now proceeded to Shōlāpūr with sixty thousand men, and on arrival there pitched his camp between the camps of the two combatants. He also received a secret message from 'Ali Barīd informing him of the sorry plight, and begging him to forgive his past misdeeds and to exert his great influence to have him released.³⁷ Jamshīd is known in history for his vehemence of character.³⁸ But he was now magnanimous to a fault and forgave all that 'Ali had done

33. Q.S., 123; Briggs, iii, 387. It may be noted here that this expedition is not mentioned either in *N. and V.* or in *Aravidu*. It is possible that Q.S., gives an exaggerated view of Ibrāhīm's march towards the south which was probably cut short when he heard that Burhān was actually investing Sholapur.

Shōlāpūr, headquarters of a district in the Bombay State; 18°40'N., 75°55' E.

34. A number of battles had been fought for Shōlāpūr between the rulers of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr, and the fort had evidently been in Ibrāhīm's possession from about the beginning of Jamshīd's rule at Golkonda; *Bur.*, 327-28

35. Thus in Q.S., T.Q., 37b, however, says that Shōlāpūr was in Burhān's possession about this time, but his is not correct; see previous note. Also on C.H.I. III, 441 where it is rightly stated that in 1547 Burhān allied himself with Sadāsiva Rāya of Vijayanagar and besieged Shōlāpūr.

36. Q.S., 124.

37. Thus in T.Q., 39b; Q.S., 124 says that the message was conveyed Jamshīd before he had left Bijapur, but this seems unlikely.

38. Thus in *Munt.*, 375.

against him. He called Ibrāhīm's chamberlain to his camp³⁹ and told him how surprised he was that 'Ali Barīd had been confined, and warned the king of Bijāpūr that in any case he should not set his eyes on Muḥammadabād-Bidar. As Ibrāhīm wanted Jamshīd's goodwill, he forthwith released 'Ali Barīd who seems to have moved on into Jamshīd's camp. As a token of sincerity, Ibrāhīm, sent Jamshīd costly presents including a horse named Ṣabāḥu'l-Khair, perhaps the best in the royal stables of Bijāpūr.⁴⁰ On hearing this, Burhān on his part sent "one lac of dirhams" to Jamshīd with the request that he should not throw in his weight on any side in the battle. Jamshīd now called his Council of Advisers and asked them what he should do. They said that the best policy under the circumstances would be to remain neutral and not to help either of the two combatants, but at the same time he should reinstate 'Ali Barīd on the masnad at Bidar.⁴¹ Jamshīd

39. Ibrāhīm's chamberlain (*hājib*); Q.S., 125. The rest of the details are from T.Q., 39a ff.

40. Thus in Q.S., 125. T.Q., 39a however says that these presents, amounting to one lac *dinārs*, as well as the horse, were extracted from Ibrāhīm as the result of an ultimatum which Jamshīd sent to him.

Dirhams and *dinārs*. As has been mentioned elsewhere we have not come across any coins struck by Sultān-Qulī, Jamshīd or Subhān, and the first Quṭb-Shāhī coins that we have known of are of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Then what is the significance of these dirhams and *dinārs*? It is interesting to note that Mada, Rūka, Minuku, Ṭankānu and *Dinār* are mentioned as current coins "during the Vijayanagar and Bahmanī periods" of which Tankānu and *Dinār* were "the most costly coins"; Pratap Reddi, *Andhra Sanghika Charitra*, Hyderabad Dn., 1955, p. 360. Ṭankānu or *tanka* was, of course the silver coin which was of nearly the same weight as that of the modern rupee and perhaps corresponded with the *dirham* of T.Q., while the *dinār* was no doubt the gold *tankā*. There is little doubt that the coins which were sent to Jamshīd by Ibrāhīm, Burhān and 'Ali were Bahmanī coins struck during the later period of the Bahmanī rule. See Sherwani, *Bahmanī coinage as the source of Deccan History*, Pōtdār Commemoration Volume, pp. 204-18.

41. Jamshīd's policy of neutrality between the interests of Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar and of reinstating 'Ali Barīd at Bidar marks him as a statesman of the highest order and as one who had reclaimed the position of Golkonda which had become so critical on the death of his father. Ibrāhīm had been no friend of Tilangānā while Burhān had played false with him in entering into treaty relations with Ibrāhīm behind his back. Jamshīd first made his position strong by marching with a large army to Shōlāpūr, and there he entered into parleys not merely with the combatants but with the state prisoner 'Ali Barīd as well. His neutrality as well as his insistence on 'Ali's release, without any thought of how the latter had behaved, shows that what

thereupon left Shōlāpūr in 'Alī's company for Bīdār. When the cavalcade reached the city, the first thing Jamshīd did was to reinstate 'Alī Barīd on the throne, and it is said that the latter was so grateful for what Jamshīd had done for him that he presented him with a lac of dinārs, one thousand rubies and much treasure, including certain precious articles which had remained in the possession of the Barīdīs since the time of the Bahmanīs. There was much dancing and merry-making for three days, and it was only on the fourth day that Jamshīd was allowed by his host to proceed to Golkonda.⁴²

Jamshīd's Last Days and some Aspects of his Rule

All this must have happened early in the year 955/1548, for it is related that Jamshīd began to suffer from cancer in the back and was ailing from that wasting disease for two years. He died on 3-1-957/22-1-1550.⁴³

(i) *Political Aspects*

Jamshīd had raised the prestige of the state over which he ruled manifold by his courage, his diplomacy and tact and his

he wanted was a balance of power in the Deccan as well as a buffer between the growing power of Tilangānā on the one hand and Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar on the other. A short time before this Ibrāhīm had been involved in a dynastic quarrel when his brother 'Abdu'llāh claimed the Bijāpūr throne and fled to Goa to seek the protection of the Portuguese there. This was in 952/1545 according to *Fer.* II 30. (*Silsila*, III, 387 is wrong in placing the event in 954/1547). 'Abdu'llāh had written both to Burhān and Jamshīd to help him in gaining the Bijāpūr throne. Jamshīd must have had the episode in view in dealing with Ibrāhīm. See *Briggs*, III, 96-100.

It may be mentioned here that the armed neutrality of Jamshīd in his dealings with two strong neighbouring states, which must have greatly raised the prestige of Tilangānā, is not mentioned either in *Bur.* or in *Basū-tin*. *Fer.*, II 169 simply says that Jamshīd "concluded a peace with the Bijāpūr monarch" after Asad Khan's campaign.

42. Thus in *T.Q.*, 39b and 40a, *Q.S.*, however, says that 'Alī accompanied Ibrāhīm to Golkonda and the presents were sent only on 'Alī's return to his capital.

43. "Cancer"; *Fer.*, II, 169; *Q.S.*, 128. "Deadly disease"; *T.Q.*, 47b.

Date of Jamshīd's death: Ibrāhīm definitely assumed the crown on 12.7.957/27.7.1550. It is related in *T.Q.*, 47b that Subhān ruled for 7 months and 9 days, and calculating backwards we come to 3.1.957/22.1.1550 as the date of his accession which as we know, coincided with the date of Jamshīd's death. Jamshīd therefore ruled from 2.6.950/4.9.1553 to 3.1.957/22.1.1550.

great foresight. When he came to the throne there was hardly any Deccani monarch who was really friendly to him. His brother had fled to Bīdār and had been received right royally by 'Alī Barīd who virtually proclaimed him king of Tilangānā there. Ibrāhīm 'Adil was no friend of Jamshīd's, and Rāmarāj had given refuge to Prince Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar. So far as Burhān was concerned, he pretended to be friendly to Jamshīd in the beginning, mainly because he wanted an ally against his inveterate enemy, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh; but when 'Adil Shāh successfully broke up the coalition formed against him by dealing separately with Vijayanagar and Aḥmadnagar, Burhān, in a way, hit Jamshīd in the back and entered into a treaty with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh without so much as informing him of it. An ordinary ruler or statesman would have become despondent on being thus left alone in the field and would probably have given way. But Jamshīd was a man of entirely different calibre, and by his masterly stroke in the beginning of 955/1548, he demonstrated the supremacy of Tilangānā over his opponents and managed to reinstate his old antagonist 'Alī Barīd on the throne as a kind of buffer between himself and the powerful states in the west. He may not have been a good strategist like his father, but he certainly showed his mettle as a statesman, and it is remarkable that during the last two years of his life when he lay struck by a deadly disease, there was no one in the Deccan or at Vijayanagar who had the courage to attack his dominions. He could well have annexed Bīdār and the territories dependent on it almost at any time during the later part of his reign, but he preferred to be content with a buffer, and this may be regarded as a master stroke on his part as a statesman.

(ii) *Literary Aspects*

In Jamshīd's reign began a distinct literary trend which had its fullest development in later times, and this was the patronage given to Persian literature which blossomed forth later into the patronage of Telugu and Dakhni Urdu by the Court at Golkonda in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and his successors. We have quite a few poetic compositions from the facile pen of Jamshīd in the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, full of romantic ideas

dealing with love, the beloved, wine and women.⁴⁴ They seem to be just conventional lines though they certainly show the way later development was to take shape and the general propensities of the Court and the people of those days. Some of the characteristic lines may be quoted here:—

اے بتو ختم ملک زینبائی — کا۔ عشق اتر تو یانت مالائی
 کا کل و چین زلف و خال بخت — هر کی در کمال مرعندائی
 دسہرہ عشق هر کہ پانچواں — آخر او سر کشد بر سوائی
 آفتاب از رخ تو شرمندہ — ابر کرد است پردہ آرائی
 من بند لوانگی تندم مشهور — تو بخونی و عالم آرائی
 خاکپائے ترا من مسکین — سرمہ سازم بہ عین سیائی
 تو همان آفتاب ہے ہما — من همان عاشق تماشاائی

44. There are 17 lines of an ode and 18 lines of bits of *ghazals* by Jamshīd included in Q.S., 128-30. One of these lines has been quoted in Tafazzul Husain's *Tuhfa-i Mukhtariyah*, Salar Jang Library, 143, *Tārikh Fārsī*, and 16 have been quoted by Prof. A. M. Siddiqi in his informative article entitled *Advancement of Learning under the Qutub Shahi Kings*, *Journal of Deccan History and Culture*, January, 1956, pp. 48 and 49; the source given in print is "Tārikh Qutub Shahi" by which is no doubt meant *Tārikh-i Muḥammad Qutubshāh*.

The lines which have been quoted in the text may be freely rendered thus:

"Beloved! the realm of beauty shows its completeness in thee and love attained its highest perfection through thee.

"The lock and curl of thy hair and the mole on thy lip are all the very quintessence of loveliness.

"Everyone who sets his pace on the path of love is bound to lead ultimately to disgrace in others' eyes.

"The sun is ashamed of the splendence of thy face, and it is meet, that clouds have drawn a veil over it.

"I am well known for my madness, and thou for thy beauty and thy poise.

"I the downtrodden, prepare powder for the cure of my eyes out of the dust of thy feet.

"Thou art like the sun which has no equal, and I the lover who has always feasted his eyes on thee."

(iii) Administrative Aspects

The last part of Jamshīd's reign, perhaps the period of his illness, must have seen the early development of the administration machinery into *sarkārs* or districts, which numbered twenty-two towards the end of the Qutb-Shāhī period and of which the five Northern Sarkārs have left a permanent impress on the economy of the country.⁴⁵ As has been noted elsewhere, Sulṭān-Qulī succeeded to a *taraf* or province of Golkonda, which soon came to be called Tilangānā, and the incessant wars he had to wage would not have left him much time to put the administration of the land on permanent foundations. Jamshīd had to fight

بے لب و لعل تان بادہ حرام است مرا — لب بیگون بنما چون سر جام است مرا
 بہ سر کا کل تو مرغ دل بند شد است — خال تو دانہ آن زلف چو دام است مرا
 ترک این کار خواجہ من بیدار کرن — من کہ جشیدم و این کار تمام است مرا
 نرنگائی بے تو حرام است غمی خواجہ عمر — گر چنین می گذرد باقی عمر گذران
 سر از درد نداشتند بتان اے جشید — آہ ازین بے خبران کو ازین بے خبران

بار جفائے جز تو نگارے غمی کشم — غیر از حصار و جہر تو بارے غمی کشم

"Wine is forbidden to me without the sight of the red lips of the beautiful; so uncover thy wine-like lips as it is time to take a sip.

"The bird of my heart has been imprisoned in the cage of thy locks; and thy mole acts like the grain which draws a bird to the snare set for it.

"I the inveterate lover, cannot possibly give up this habit of mine, for, Jamshīd as I am, I have excelled in the art."

"Life does not seem of any use for me now, and if the rest of my days pass like this then I do not desire to prolong the agony any more.

"O Jamshīd! the beloved have no patience for pangs of love! my heart goes to those who do not know; my heart goes to those who do not know."

"I would not bear the harshness of anyone's treatment except thee, my well-beloved, nor of any burden but that of the pangs of thy love."

45. Full list in Ratanlal's *Tuhfa-i Dakan*, MSS., Salar Jang Library No.

41. The list of the 22 *sarkārs* is of the period of Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh. The five Northern Sarkārs have played a notable part in the later history of the Deccan, and even now form a distinct part of the modern Andhra State.

almost for the life of the State during the first five years of his rule, and it must have been during the last two years, when there was no fighting within or on the borders of Tilangānā, that some kind of administration developed. Of course, the State had not reached its fullest growth yet, but the vast expanse of territory from the confines of Aḥmadnagar and Bījāpūr right up to the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna must have required some definite organization.

Of one thing we are certain, and that is the increasing part which Hindus begin to play in the affairs of the State. We have already seen how Rāmarāj was appointed to the important charge of a newly conquered frontier district by the founder of the dynasty, and how "he gained first-hand knowledge of internal conditions of the Qutbshahi Kingdom which enabled him later to wage a successful war against Golkonda".⁴⁶ Then we have the power of the Nāikwārīs, who were evidently small Hindu nobles, which was seen as early as the reign of Sulṭān-Qulī Qutbu'l-mulk and which was again to be seen to its best advantage during the small but crucial rule of Jamshīd's son, Subhān. Jagadēva Rāo, "the most trustworthy of all the sardars",⁴⁷ still continues to pull the strings, and we further hear of Jagapat Rāo and others who are second to none in the power that they wield.⁴⁸

Apart from this increasing control of government by all sections of the nobles, we have an embryonic form of governmental organization at the centre which must have been necessitated by the continuous danger which beset the State and the dynasty. There seems to have been a regent in the person of Syed Kamālu'd-dīn Ardistāni, entitled Mustafā Khān, "a young man of great ability", who carried on governmental functions during the last days of Jamshīd's reign when he was on his sickbed.⁴⁹ We also hear of the offices of the *Vakīl*, *Pēshwā* and *Mīr Jumlā* for the first time during the short but momentous reign of Subhān-Qulī. So far as local affairs are concerned, the *thānēddār* or the Police Commissioner of Golkonda, is so strong that he is put in complete control of the capital when it is denuded of practically all its fighting forces. Then we have a list of certain

46. *N. and V.*, I, 257.

47. For this see *Q.S.*, 116.

48. *Q.S.*, 130-32.

49. *Taz.*, 56b.

local officers like *Kārkuns* and *Nāikwārīs* in the remarkable stone inscription in the Telugu language affixed by the side of the gateway on the first landing of the fort at Kovilkundā. The inscription also records the interest which the common people of the locality, such as bandsmen, load-bearers, well-diggers and tenants had begun to take in the State and the need for efficiency at the centre which they had come to regard as the *sine qua non* for the welfare of the people.

Apart from all this, there is mentioned in clear phraseology a Council consisting of "commanders and nobles" who advised Jamshīd during the crucial days at Shōlāpūr to remain neutral as between Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh.⁵⁰ We already find an advisory Council being consulted a good many times in cases of emergency. Thus it is a Council of Advisers which is called just before the battle of Narāyankhēra and it was after it had given its advice that Jamshīd made up his mind to engage 'Alī Barīd's army and take into his possession the old emblems of royalty and treasure "which the Barīdīs had no business to keep", as well as the fort of Mēdak to which 'Alī was not legally entitled. It may be that the membership of this Council was not fixed, still its frequent mention by our authorities leads us to suppose that there was a body which Jamshīd used to consult whenever occasion arose, and that this Council consisted both of Muslim and non-Muslim nobles.

Subhān-Qulī, Daulat-Qulī and Ibrāhīm

On Jamshīd's death the nobles of Golkonda headed by Mustafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān placed the late ruler's infant son Subhān-Qulī on the throne. But it seems that the Dowager Queen did not repose her confidence in these two officers, as she sent word to Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk, who had fled to Aḥmadnagar during the later part of Jamshīd's rule, to come and act as the *Vakīl* and *Pēshwā* of the State.⁵¹ But there were elements which

50. Advisory Council at Shōlāpūr, *Q.S.*, 126; at Narāyanahēra, *Ibid.*, 116. For the Kovilkundā inscription see n. 66 below.

51. *Q.S.*, 130, years; *Fer.*, II, 170, 2 years; *T.Q.*, 47b, 3 years; not "10 years" as in *Aravīdu*, 83; see also *Briggs*, III, 329.

I am inclined to accept *T.Q.*'s statement as the book is full of plausible details regarding the period of Subhān's reign. *Mustafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān*; *Fer.*, II, 170.

(Contd. on p. 64).

did not like a boy on the throne, perhaps because they thought that the uncertainty of the very existence of an independent Tilangānā might again have to be faced if the ruler was a mere infant. Jagadēva Rāo, Nāikwārī, the hero of Kaulās, was still in charge of the fort and the treasury which was deposited in that important stronghold, and he was in favour of calling the late king's younger brother Daulat-Qulī who had been confined in the Bhongīr fort, while some of nobles and even many common people wanted to recall Prince Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar. Although Ibrāhīm was younger than Daulat, the latter was reputed to be of a weak mind, and as will be seen later, he was himself in favour of the throne passing to Ibrāhīm. There was thus every possibility of a long and protracted civil war, and had it not been for the popularity and ability of Ibrāhīm, it is possible that the civil war might have meant the death-knell of the State.

We have already traced the story of Prince Ibrāhīm till his arrival at Vijayanagar. It is related that when he reached the outskirts of the southern capital, he was met by Rāmarāj, who descended from his elephant and met the prince on foot. Rāmarāj assured him that it was Ibrāhīm whom he considered to be the rightful heir of his father and that his astrologers had already predicted that it was Ibrāhīm's and not Jamshīd's descendants who would sit on the throne at Golkonda. The host and the guest proceeded to the palace on a road flanked by thousands of the citizens of Vijayanagar, and Ibrāhīm was the guest of the Rāya for three weeks; at the beginning of the fourth week he moved to a house which had been lavishly furnished at state expense and was also granted a jāgīr.⁵²

The honorific titles given in Q.S., 130, to Jamshīd's widow, i.e., *Bilqīs Zamānī* and *Khadija-i-Daurān*, were probably not official titles, otherwise there would have been no conjunction between the two epithets. We do not hear of the lady after this at all.

Taz., 137b says that 'Ainu'l-mulk was appointed "Muhām-i Saṭṭanat" but we find no corroboration for this.

52. Full details in T.Q., 46a-47a. It must be remembered that the poem was composed in the reign of Ibrāhīm's son Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and the description of the reception of Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar may well have been exaggerated by the poet. There is, however, no doubt that Ibrāhīm has honourably received, although the motives might have been mixed. N. and V., I, 258, says: "Rāmarāja's relations with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were at first friendly. When Ibrāhīm fled from the wrath of his brother to the court of Vijayanagara, Rāmarāja treated him kindly and

It however seems that the jāgīr which was now granted to Ibrāhīm had already been granted to one 'Ambar Khān Ḥabashī, who was no doubt one of the many Muslim refugees who had made Vijayanagar their home. The tenancy of the jāgīr seems to have been at will, and Ibrāhīm contended that it was within the power of the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar, Rāmarāj, to withdraw the tenancy and give it to whomever he liked. But while Ibrāhīm was dignified and reserved, 'Ambar would have none of it and he even began to use abusive language for him. A duel was fought and 'Ambar was killed in a fair fight. It is related that Ibrāhīm captured the ensign which 'Ambar carried on the occasion and made its sky-blue colour the emblem of State when time came for him to ascend the throne of Tilangānā.⁵³

Apart from Subhān-Qulī's infancy one of the reasons why there was discontent in the State almost from the time Saif Khān 'Ainul-mulk took over charge as Vakīl and Pēshwa was his overbearing demeanour which was perhaps caused by the feeling that he was indispensable to the State. It is stated that he was a

showed him the honour that was due to his rank. When on the death of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm started for Gōlkoṇḍa to seize the throne Rāmarāja offered to send an army under his brother, Venkaṭādri, to assist him. They continued to cherish feelings of friendship towards each other for some years after Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne of Golkonda; but owing to conflicting interests of their foreign policy they gradually drifted apart." *Aravida*, 82, however, has the following: "Rama Raya, whose power had at this time considerably increased by reason of the imprisonment of Sadasiva, realised at once that his friendship with the brother of the Sultan of Golkonda, could be employed as a valuable means for attaining his political ends."

53. Thus in *Fer.*, II, 170. Q.S., 111, gives a different, though similar story, in which Ibrāhīm's opponent is one 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'ānī, "a nobleman of Bījāpūr", who would not give way to Ibrāhīm while he was on the way to the Rāya's palace. Ibrāhīm is not shown alone but in the company of two of his associates, Saiyadji and Ḥāmīd Khān. It is not of any great significance who Ibrāhīm's opponent was; but two things are perfectly clear: (i) that quite a number of nobles and other refugees from neighbouring states were given an asylum at Vijayanagar by Rāmarāj, who no doubt entertained them not from just altruistic motives but to know the inner politics of these states first-hand and to use this information when time permitted; (ii) although Ibrāhīm was received with much éclat in the beginning he did not have such an easy time at Vijayanagar as is sometimes imagined, and it is possible that this caused certain psychological reactions in him which might have led him to join hands with other Sultāns in the overthrow of the southern kingdom. See also note 2 above.

young man "full of wisdom and intellect" and the fact that he was recalled from Ahmadnagar by the Dowager Queen must have puffed up his pride.⁵⁴ Moreover the only disputants to the throne were far away. Daulat-Qulī, reputed to be of unsound mind, was confined in the strong and almost inaccessible fort of Bhongir, while Ibrāhīm, then a young man of twenty-one, had made Vijayanagar his home. But 'Ainu'l-mulk had not realised the power of Jagadēva Rāo and other high officers of state nor the value of Ibrāhīm's reputation in Tilangānā. It seems that the Hindu element centered mainly in the Nāikwārīs, was not in favour of maintaining Subhān as the *roi fainéant* with 'Ainul-mulk as the virtual ruler of the country, and this element was supported by such influential persons as Bahri Khān, Jagapat Rāo and Jumlatul-mulk. Unsettled as the conditions had suddenly become after Jamshīd's death, Jagadēva Rāo, with the help of his Nāikwārīs, proceeded to Bhongir, released Daulat and "took possession of most of forts in the neighbourhood".⁵⁵ He also paid homage to Daulat as king and asked him to accompany him to Golkonda and place himself on his ancestral throne. But Daulat replied that there was no one who deserved to sit on the *masnad* more than his brother Ibrāhīm. To this Jagadēva Rāo retorted that Ibrāhīm was at Vijayanagar, and by the time he returned to Golkonda there would be left neither a throne to sit on nor a royal cap (*kulāh*) to wear, for even a period of three weeks in which Ibrāhīm might be expected to arrive at Golkonda, would be

54. There is no evidence that he belonged to the royal family as surmised in *Tar-Gol.*, 55. His "youth and wisdom", *T.Q.*, 55a. *Bhongir*, headquarters of a teluqa in Nalgundā district, Hyderabad State; 17°31' N., 78°53' E. The fort is built on "an isolated rock, 2,000 feet above the sea level, the eastern and southern sides of which are quite inaccessible"; *Imperial Gazetteer*, Hyderabad State, 1909, pp. 159-60.

56. The episode in *T.Q.*, 48b. It must be confessed that the conversation is a little too novelesque, but it is interesting in showing Daulat's inferiority complex and the reputation which Ibrāhīm must have acquired in the Deccan. The episode may well be compared to another which occurred 210 years previously. In 1347, when it became apparent that it would be impossible for Nāsiru'd-dīn Ismā'il, the first king of an independent medieval Deccan, to remain on the throne much longer in the face of Zafar Khān's popularity, he called the amīrs in council and told them that he had really kept the kingdom in trust for Zafar Khān for two years, and proclaimed his abdication; see *Bahmanis*, 36. Tufāl Khān, prime Minister of Daryā 'Imād Shāh (1529-62); he usurped the throne on Daryā's death and proved to be the last ruler of independent Berar.

enough to destroy the whole edifice of the State. Daulat thereupon said that he was willing to accompany Jagadēva to Golkonda, but would hold the State only in trust for Ibrāhīm, and would hand over charge when he arrived back from his exile at Vijayanagar.⁵⁶

Jagadēva Rao knew that Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk would oppose this move tooth and nail, and he immediately sent a message to Tufāl Khān, the Chief Minister of Berar, for help. It was the policy of the rulers of the Deccan after the fall of the Bahmanī dynasty not to allow their neighbours to increase their power inordinately, and it was no doubt in pursuance of this policy that Tufāl Khān immediately sent three thousand Berarī troops for Jagadēva's help.⁵⁷ 'Ainu'l-mulk fully realised that this move was meant not so much against Subhān-Qulī as against the authority which he himself wielded in the State. Jagadēva considered him as a parvenu, and it is possible that if he and not Saif had been asked to act as the Chief Minister by the Dowager Queen he would not have created any commotion in the State and would not have staked his all on Daulat-Qulī. He rightly thought that Daulat's release meant a stroke of the poniard in his own back and advanced to the north-west to bar the way of Tufāl Khān's army from reaching Bhongir. It is very probable that when Jagadēva heard of 'Ainu'l-mulk's move he also advanced northwards in order to put up a united front to the enemy. The two armies became interlocked at the village of Sunigrām, which is situated about ninety miles from Bhongir.⁵⁸ In the fight which ensued 'Ainu'l-mulk was victorious and the defeated army had to retreat and shut itself up in the Bhongir fort.

'Ainu'l-mulk now besieged Bhongir fort itself. For three days there does not seem to have been any action, but on the fourth day 'Ainu'l-mulk sent an ultimatum to Jagadēva Rao to lay down

57. *Q.S.*, 131; *T.Q.*, 49a.

58. *Q.S.*, 131. *Sunigrām*, in the Karīmānagar district, Andhra Pradesh; 18°11' N., 79°1' E. It is not mentioned in *Q.S.*, that Jagadēva Rāi's forces also took part in the battle; but the event is said to be "unequalled in its ferocity in the annals of Sultāns and Kings", and even allowing for the exaggeration this could hardly be the description of the battle if there were just three thousand soldiers taking part in it on one side. Moreover it is mentioned that Jagadēva Rāi and Daulat-Qulī shut themselves up in Bhongir Fort as the result of the battle, and there was no reason why they should have done this without fighting. *T.Q.*, 49a is clear that Jagadēva Rāo took part in the battle and there was great bloodshed on both sides.

his arms.⁵⁹ Jagadēva promptly replied that he was not in a position to do so as he was holding his ground only in trust for Prince Ibrāhīm. The cordon round the fort was thereupon tightened and 'Ainu'l-mulk was able to starve the garrison to surrender. He now ordered that Daulat-Qulī should again be confined in the fort while Jagadēva Rāo was sent to Golkonda under escort and imprisoned "on the top" of the great fortress.⁶⁰

'Ainu'l-mulk had evidently got all that he wanted. He had broken the back of the powerful element in the State which was out to oust him from office, and by replacing Subhān by the weak-minded Daulat-Qulī to put an end to the authority which his patroness, the Dowager Queen, exercised. But he had not counted upon the increasing feeling of hostility which his overbearing behaviour had created not merely in the minds of such nobles as Mustafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān who had put the child Subhān on the throne, but also of lesser officials headed by the Naikwārīs, who had been further alienated by the treatment accorded to their leader Jagadēva Rao. The tradition of loyalty which people had bequeathed to the founder of the State, Baṛē Malik, had not died down in spite of the uncertainties of the last reign, but they were not in a mood to accept orders from persons in whom they had no confidence. It is significant that the summons which were sent to Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar were in the name of the very persons who had put Subhān on the throne only a few weeks before, and they were backed, so it seems, by practically all who counted in the land.⁶¹

On receiving these summons Ibrāhīm took leave of his host, Rāmarāj, and proceeded northwards. Rāmarāj was very con-

59. Thus in T.Q., 49b; battle rages "for three days". But Q.S., 132, says that the siege went on till conditions of famine appeared. Bhongīr Fort is such that an escalade would not be possible and the probability is that the garrison was starved to surrender.

Here it is interesting to note that Jagadēva Rāo was now transferring his loyalty from Daulat-Qulī to Prince Ibrāhīm.

60. Q.S., 132.

61. T.Q., 49b; *Fer.*, II, 170; *Briggs*, III, 329. *Fer.* says that Mustafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān wrote to Rāmarāj "to send Ibrāhīm"; but this seems improbable as Ibrāhīm had gone to Vijayanagar on his own account, and surely he was at liberty to leave that city whenever he liked. Moreover his life at Vijayanagar shows that he was too dignified to be under anyone's orders.

siderate and even offered to send an army under his brother Venkaṭādrī to assist him,⁶² but Ibrāhīm evidently refused the offer with thanks. Rāmarāj, however, insisted that he should accompany his guest at least up to the second halting station, i.e., about twenty-five miles. It was probably after Rāmarāj had left him that he was waylaid by one Nānappā, who may well have been an agent of 'Ainu'l-mulk sent in purpose to oppose him; but Nānappa was killed in a hand to hand scuffle with Ibrāhīm.⁶³ Ibrāhīm was met on the Tilangānā frontier by Mustafā Khān who was immediately appointed Mīr Jumla of the Kingdom,⁶⁴ and was soon joined by Ṣalābat Khān as well with a possée of two or three thousand troops. The cavalcade marched first to Kōvilkonḍā which was reached about 7-7-957/22-7-1550.⁶⁵ Kōvilkonḍā was the stronghold of Ibrāhīm's partisans. Even when Ibrāhīm had not yet left Vijayanagar the army stationed at Kōvilkonḍā, including retinue and bandsmen, went in a body to the house of two local civil officers, named Pīrū Miyān and Syed 'Alī Miyān, and promised that they would support Ibrāhīm in the civil war which was going on. When Ibrāhīm reached Kōvilkonḍā, he was met by "the kārkins, officers, Nāikwārīs, the army stationed there, blacksmiths, 'oḍḍas', well-diggers, guards, loadbearers, bandsmen, tenants" and many Hindus and Muslims of the place, who waited on him and swore on their honour and their wives' honour that they would have nothing to do with "Daulat Qulī, Subhān Qulī, Syed 'Ainu'l-mulk or any person other than Hazrat Khwājābandā Musnad-i 'Alī Maṣṣab-i Ma'alī Malik Ibrāhīm Shāh Quṭbu'l-mulk Vodeyā."⁶⁶

62. N. and V, I, 258.

63. Nanappa's episode; T.Q., 51a.

64. This is the first time we read of the office of a Mīr Jumla at Golkunda, an office which became the most important office in the kingdom later on.

65. T.Q., 53a, says that Ibrāhīm was at Kōvilkonḍā before he left for the capital. As he definitely entered Golkonda in triumph on 12.7.957/27.7.1550, and one or two days may well be allotted for the triumphal journey to the capital sixty miles away, it may be surmised that he arrived at Kōvilkonḍā on or about 8.7.957/23.7.1550.

66. This remarkable Telugu inscription is on a pillar on the first landing of the lofty fort at Kōilkundā in the Mahbūbnagar district, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription was first deciphered and translated by Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao and is copied and translated on pp. 21-24 of R.H.A.D., 1928-29, while the fort itself is fully described on pp. 1-4. It is evident that the movement for recalling Ibrāhīm to Tilangana started when people had lost all hope of any good coming out of 'Ainu'l-mulk's

There was much commotion in Golkonda when news reached there that Ibrāhīm had already crossed the Tungabhadra. While a growing element of the population of the capital was siding with Ibrāhīm, 'Ainu'l-mulk and his group averred that Subhān was the rightful heir to the masnad and that Ibrāhīm had no claim to the throne whatever. This group supported the legitimists' plea with the fact that it was 'Ainu'l-mulk who had charge of the treasury as well as of the army, and that with so many resources at his disposal death would be preferable to surrender. When 'Ainu'l-mulk got the information that Ibrāhīm's partisans had made Kōvilkonḍā their headquarters he called Khudāwand Khān *thānēdār* of the capital and said that he was leaving for the south with the army and wished to leave him in charge of the city. The *thānēdār* was definitely against such a move and warned 'Ainu'l-mulk of the danger to the peace of the city if it were depleted of the military forces altogether. But 'Ainu'l-mulk would not hear of the plea and left for Kōvilkonḍā with the army.

There was turmoil in Golkonda almost the moment 'Ainu'l-mulk's back was turned. Jagadēva Rao, who was confined at Bālāhisār, somehow managed to show himself to the people from one of the battlements. There was great enthusiasm and hundreds declared that they wanted Ibrāhīm to come and ascend the throne. While all this was happening Khudāwand Khān was lying dead drunk, and it was too late when he came to his senses. There was free fight within the capital and the *thānēdār* was killed in the fray. Jagadēva Rāi immediately proclaimed Ibrāhīm as king of Tilangānā.

When 'Ainu'l-mulk was informed what had happened, he knew that the dice had been cast, and instead of returning to Golkonda, he took the road to Aḥmadnagar after conveying his respects and homage to Ibrāhīm through a messenger. Ibrāhīm was

regime. The inscription was no doubt put up by way of the commemoration of the event, and is dated 12.1.1551 exactly one lunar year after Ibrāhīm's accession. What is very remarkable is that all classes of the people, even the lowest on the social ladder, joined hands in this great political event against the interests of the powers that be.

Kōvilkonḍa, a little over a mile east of the Ponda Vagu stream, a tributary of the Krishna, on the straight road from Vijayanagar to Golkonda, almost exactly half way between the Krishna and the capital; 17°47'N., 78°48'E. Its half way position no doubt enhanced its importance.

just three days at Kōvilkonḍā, and when he approached the capital, the entire population came out as one man to receive their new king and the people burst into song and dance. They had decorated the whole city to their heart's content and thousands crowded the main road on which the new King was to pass to welcome him.⁶⁷

And a new vista dawned on the horizon of Golkonda-Tilangānā.

67. Most interesting details of the entry of the new king, in T.Q., 52 b-53 b. Two of the beautiful lines which people might have sung on the occasion of the royal entry have been incorporated on fol. 55 b of T.Q.:

مہراج شرف آفتاب آمدہ — بخشیدہ چون باز آب آمدہ
 رہبر مہ سرشبان آمدہ — نہ بھرہ پاسبان ۶ مدہ

An Unpublished Inscription from Kalyanapura

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums,
Udaipur (Rajasthan)

The Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur also contains an unpublished inscription from Kalyānapura,¹ situated about 48 miles from Udaipur and about 8 miles from Dhuleva²-Rikhabdeva. This small epigraph has been engraved on a rectangular stone-slab measuring about 11½" × 8½" in size and has been entered in the Museum-Register under No. M. 42. It is interesting to find that the *whole text consists of a single verse of 5 lines in the Sanskrit language, the script being the Kuṭīla-lipi as prevalent in the 7-8th century A.D.*

The inscription, under reference, records the construction of a Śiva temple by a certain devotee of the deity and this edifice is said to have been constructed in the reign-period of *Mahārāja Paddra*³ (line 5). It appears that he was some local ruler like Mahārāja Bhatti of the Dhuleva Plate. The inscription from Kalyānapura runs as follows :—

1. Om⁴ svasti praṇamya śaṅkaram kara-carana-manah
2. śśirobhiḥ | Amnāyena yathāmnāyaṃ vi-

1. For Śaiva antiquities from this site, consult my paper in the *Śodha-patrikā*, Udaipur, Hindī, VII (2-3), pp. 1-5 and the plates. A lengthy inscription from this site too can be seen in the collection of the Udaipur Museum and has been briefly noticed by G. H. Ojha in *The Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March 1929*, pp. 1-2.

2. A seventh century copper-plate grant from Kalyānapura too has been published by V. V. Mirashi in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXX, No. 1, pp. 1-4; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 5-7 too. This plate too is said to have been found at Kalyānapura.

3. Cf. the phrase *Bhartripaddra* in line 7 of the Dhuleva Copper Plate cited above.

4. Represented by a symbol here. I am thankful to my office-assistant, Pt. S. L. Kauśika for some suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

3. *ttamādāya dharmmataḥ⁵ kāritam śūlino⁶*
4. *veśma Śiva-sāyujya-siddhaye*
5. *Śrī Mahārāja Paddra-rājye.*

The person, who made strenuous efforts for the erection of this temple, appears to have been of a pious temperament because he did not like even a slight reference to his personal glory and achievements. The phrase *āmnāyena yathāmnāyaṃ* of course indicates that he belonged to a religious family and that he was extremely proud of this association. In fact he had spent the amount for this religious edifice (cf. *vittamādāya⁷ dharmmataḥ kāritam*, line 3) in accordance with his family traditions. Still more, this devotee of Śiva was eager to attain absolute identity with Śiva [cf. *śiva-sāyujya-siddhaye*].⁸

The inscription also presents various names of Śiva such as *Śiva*, *Śaṅkara* and *Śūlim*. It is equally interesting to note the utter paucity of any statement about the installation of any image or *liṅga* in the temple as referred to in the existing⁹ record. The inscription is really very important for the political, religious and literary history of Mewar during the early-mediaeval period.

5. *Dharma* here instead of the phrase *dharmataḥ*.

6. This phrase has been engraved with great skill, the *i* sign here being quite artistic and that is the case with *śa*. Both these forms are attractive here.

7. Does it indicate that he belonged to a wealthy community?

8. His devotion to Śaṅkara is also evident from the introductory phrases in line 1.

9. This epigraph is the first record to bring to light the name (i.e., *Mahārāja Paddra*) of the contemporary ruler of the place.

Some Facts of Early Orissan History

BY

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund

(Continued from J.I.H., December 1956, p. 305)

IV. Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III

Recent study of a number of inscriptions belonging to the time of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1211-38 A.D.) have thrown interesting light on his life and religious policy. That the Gaṅgas were originally speakers of a Dravidian language, apparently Telugu, but were gradually adopting an Aryan speech is indicated by the name of this king. His real name was *Aniyaṅka-Bhīma* in which *ani* is a Telugu word meaning battle or war. The name therefore essentially means 'Bhīma distinguished in many battles.' But *Aniyaṅka* was first modified to *Anaṅka* and then to *Anaṅga* which, in Sanskrit, would be quite different from the original in meaning.

The *Mādalā Pāñjī* or the chronicle of the temple of the god Jagannātha-Purushottama at Puri (ed. A. B. Mahanti, pp. 26-27) contains certain interesting traditions about a king named Anaṅgabhīma and his younger brother and successor also called Bhīma or Anaṅgabhīma. About the first of these it is said that, while residing at the city of Kaṭaka, he dedicated all his possessions, apparently including his kingdom, in favour of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha and became a ruler of the *Rāuta* class. Cf. *e negara kaṭake thāi śrī-Purushottama-śrī-Jagannātha-devaṅku samasta samarpi Rāuta-paṇe thāānti*. The word *rāuta* is the same as Prakrit *rāa-utta* or *rāutta* and all these forms are derived from Sanskrit *rāja-putra*, 'a prince'. In the inscriptions of the Orissa region, we find the forms *rāutta*, *rāhutta*, *rāvuta*, *rāvatu*, *rāvutu*, etc. *Rāvat*, the West Indian title of nobility, is just another form of the same word.

It is further stated in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* that the said Anaṅgabhīma's successor did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of his accession as the god Purushottama-Jagannātha was considered

to be the real lord of the country. Cf. *rājā aṅka abdhisheka na hele*; *Oḍishā-rājya-rajā śrī-Jagannātha-mahāprabhu emanta kahi abhisheka nohile*.

The following passage of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* contains a tradition about the successor of the said monarch: *e uttāre Anaṅgabhīma-devaṅka sāna-bhāi Bhīmaparirāeṅku Bhīmanagaradaṇḍapāṭuṁ āni rajā kale*; *e dutī Anaṅgabhīmadeva hoile*; *e rajā nagara-Chaudvāre kaṭake vije kari thānti*; *emantare eka-dinare rajāe vijekari āsi Mahānadī pāra hoi e-nadīru dakshīna-tīre dekhile Kōḍṇā-daṇḍapāṭara Vāravāṭi-grāmāre Viśveśvaradevaṅkara sannidhe Sāmala-pakshiki vaga māri vasi achhi*; *ehā dekhi rajāe vaḍa āścharya pāi śubha-yoga-dinare e Vāravāṭi-grāmāre śubha dei naara tolāi kaṭaka kari e-kaṭaka nāma Vāṇarāśi-kaṭaka voli nāma dei nagara-Chaudvāra-kaṭaka chhāḍi āsi kaṭaka kari rahile*. It is stated here that king Anaṅgabhīma's younger brother and successor, also called Bhīma or Anaṅgabhīma, transferred his capital from Chaudvāra-kaṭaka to Vāṇarāśi-kaṭaka (correctly *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka*) built by himself at the site of a village called Vāravāṭi in the district called Kōḍṇā-daṇḍapāṭa on the other bank, called the right or southern bank, of the river Mahānadī.

The passages quoted above from the *Mādalā Pāñjī* offer us no less than three interesting traditions: (1) that a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma was succeeded by his younger brother also called Bhīma or Anaṅgabhīma, (2) that the first Anaṅgabhīma dedicated his kingdom to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri and began to rule his kingdom as a feudatory or viceroy of the god and, as a result of this, his successors did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of their accession; and (3) that his successor, the second Anaṅgabhīma, built the city of Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka at the site of Vāravāṭi on the right or southern bank of the Mahānadī and made it his capital. Of these three traditions recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, the first regarding a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma being succeeded by his younger brother of the same name is clearly wrong. We know definitely from the inscriptions of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa that, among the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), there was no case of two brothers, both bearing the name Anaṅgabhīma, having ruled one after the other. But the other two traditions are remarkably supported by epigraphic evidence which, however, definitely indicates that the achievements of a single Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma

have been wrongly ascribed in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* to two different rulers of the same name. Recent study of Gaṅga inscriptions has shown that it was the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III who dedicated his kingdom to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha and called himself a *Rāuta* or subordinate ruler and that he had his capital at the city of Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. It has also been proved that the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III also claimed to be *Rāutas* or feudatories. The fact that the present *Mahārājās* of Puri, who are modern representatives of the medieval imperial rulers of Orissa, claim to be servants of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, shows the continuity of the fiction created by the dedication of the Gaṅga kingdom by Anaṅgabhīma III in the first quarter of the 13th century. It is interesting to note that Anaṅgabhīma III is the first of the Imperial Gaṅga monarchs to be mentioned as a *Rāuta*, there being no instance in which any of his ancestors is mentioned with that title. An inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1329) at Draksharama in the Godavari District, dated in the 8th Aṅka or 6th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III, Mesha-śudi 5, applies the title *Rāvuta* to the Gaṅga monarch and shows that the dedication of the Gaṅga empire in favour of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha occurred fairly early in his reign. A Srikurmam inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. V., No. 1282) of Śaka 1139 (1217 A.D.), equated with the 9th Aṅka or 7th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III, calls him *Rāvuta* which title is also applied to the king in another Srikurmam inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1318) dated in Śaka 1147 (1225 A.D.) equated with his 17th Aṅka or 14th regnal year. Similarly the Nagari plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.) bearing dates in 1230 and 1231 A.D. describe Anaṅgabhīma III as *Rāutta*. He is again called *Rāvuta* in a Srikurmam inscription (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1284), dated Śaka 1157 (1235 A.D.), and another epigraph from the same place (*ibid.*, No. 1267) dated Śaka 1176 (1254 A.D.).

Among the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III, his son Narasimha I (1238-64 A.D.) is called *Rāvuta* or *Rāuta* in two of the Srikurmam inscriptions (*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1294 and 1264) of his time. The first of these is dated in Śaka 1167 (1245 A.D.) equated with the king's 10th Aṅka or 8th regnal year. The second inscription bears a date in Śaka 1178 (1256 A.D.) which is equated with the 23rd Aṅka or 19th year of the reign of Narasimha I. The same is the case with Narasimha II (1278-1305 A.D.), grandson of Narasimha I. He is called *Rāvuta* in a Simhachalam inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1118) dated in Śaka 1203 (1281 A.D.) as well as in

the king's 3rd Añka or 2nd regnal year. There are some inscriptions of the time of Bhānu II (1305-27 A.D.) which apply similar subordinate titles to him. His Puri plates (JASL, Vol. XVII, pp. 19 ff.), dated in Śaka 1234 (1312 A.D.), apply the title *Rāutta* to Bhānu II while a Srikurmam inscription (SII, Vol. V, No. 1214) calls him *Jīyyana* which is the same as Oriya *Jenā* having the same meaning as *Rāuta*.

There are several inscriptions referring to the special attachment of Anaṅgabhīma III to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri. Thus he is described as *śrīmat-Purushottama-charaṇa-kamja-kimjaka-matta-madhukarāyamāna* in an inscription (ibid., No. 1284) from Srikurmam. The Nagari plates show that, owing to a desire to live constantly near the god of his heart, Anaṅgabhīma III installed a deity of the same name as the god of Puri at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka which was his capital.

That Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his kingdom to the god and considered himself a feudatory or viceroy of the latter is also clear from the fact that a Bhubaneswar inscription (Ind. Cult., Vol. VI, pp. 71 ff.), dated in his 34th Añka or 28th regnal year, describes his kingdom or sovereignty as *pravardhamāna-Purushottama-sām-rājya* indicating that it belonged to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha. Another interesting fact is that, since he considered the god as the lord of the land and himself as a *Rāutta* or *Rājaputra*, i.e., prince, he declared himself to be a son of the said god. In an inscription from Bhubaneswar and another from Kanchipuram near Madras, both of which are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Anaṅgabhīma III is described as *Purushottama-putra*. For this reason and apparently also for the fact that the king was a saintly Vaishṇava, he was often endowed with the title *Bhagavat* as in a Bhubaneswar inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff.) dated in his 34th Añka or 28th year of reign.

It is, however, very interesting to note that, in spite of his staunch devotion to the god Viṣṇu in the form of Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, Anaṅgabhīma III was not a fanatic and often offered his respects to other gods as well. Thus a Draksharama inscription (SII, Vol. IV, No. 1329), dated in his 8th Añka or 6th regnal year, records certain gifts that he made in favour of the god Bhīmeśvara Śiva worshipped at the place. In this epigraph, Anaṅgabhīma III is not only called *Śrī-Purushottama-putra* but also described as *Rudra-putra* and *Durga(rgā)-putra*. The in-

scription represents the king both as a *Paramavaishṇava* and *Paramamāheśvara*. This no doubt points to the catholicity of the religious policy of Anaṅgabhīma III. In this connection we may also refer to an inscription in the Śikhareśvara temple on the Kapilasa hill, which represents Gaṅga Narasiṃha (probably Narasiṃha I) as the son of both Durgā and Purushottama (OHRJ, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 195).

Another interesting fact is that, among the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III, some accepted the fiction of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha being the ruler of the kingdom and themselves being the god's deputies with considerable zeal while others were rather lukewarm in this respect. Thus Bhānu II seems to have been at least as devoted to the fiction as Anaṅgabhīma III himself. In his Puri plates of Śaka 1234 (1312 A.D.), Bhānu II not only mentions himself as a *Rāutta* but refers to his own Añka year as *Śrī-Purushottama-devasya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye saptame=ñke*. Scholars like R. D. Banerji and R. Subba Rao failed to realise the real implication of the passage and arrived at altogether absurd conclusions. Banerji believed that, during the early years of the reign of Bhānu II, the Gaṅga throne was actually in the possession of one of his rivals named Purushottama while Subba Rao took Purushottama to be just another name of Bhānu II. There was another group of earlier writers who believed, on the strength of a similar inscription from Srikurmam, that one of the feudatories of Bhānu II bore the name Jagannātha (cf. JKHS, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.). The hollowness of such suggestions is clearly demonstrated by several inscriptions. A Simhachalam inscription (SII, Vol. VI, No. 714) of Śaka 1241 (1319 A.D.) records a gift of queen Lakshmīdevī, wife of Bhānu II; but the Añka date is given as *Śrī-devādidēva-śrī-Jagannāthadevarala vijayarājya-samvatsarambulu 13*. A Srikurmam inscription (ibid., Vol. V, No. 1214; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 35-36) of Śaka 1231 (1309 A.D.) not only gives the Añka date as *śrī-Jagannāthadevara vijayarājya-samvatsarambulu 3* but refers to the rule of Bhānu II as *Śrī-vīra-Bāṇudeva-jīyyanamgāri vehorānamunānddu*. Thus Bhānu Jenā or Bhānu II just claims to have been conducting the administration of the kingdom during his reign-period which is ascribed to *Devādidēva* (the supreme god) Jagannātha who can only be the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri. The word *vehorāṇa* stands for Sanskrit *vyavaharāṇa*, 'administration', and is not a *tadbhava* of *viharāṇa*, 'roaming', as suggested by Hultzsch.

Among the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III, who did not like the fiction of ruling as a viceroy of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha, mention may be made of Narasiṁha II. We know that a feudatory, when he grew powerful, assumed epithets of equivocal meaning which could be applied both to a feudatory and a suzerain (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 284; Vol. XXIX, p. 186). Thus the Daspalla plate applies to king Devānanda II the epithet *mahā-sāmantādhipativanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka* which can be interpreted both as 'a paramount ruler worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates' or as 'a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his overlord'. Similarly the Mahada plates apply the epithets *Mahāmahimaṇḍalēśvara* and *Mahābhūpati* to Someśvara III and these are certainly deliberate modifications respectively of the feudatory titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Mahāvvyūha-pati* enjoyed by his predecessors and found in their records. The same tendency is sometimes noticed in the records of Gaṅga Narasiṁha II in respect of his subordinate status, although, as we have seen, he is actually called *Rāvuta* in an inscription of his time and certainly did not openly violate the fiction created by Anaṅgabhīma III. In many of his copper-plate grants, Narasiṁha II is endowed with the epithet *chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipatīty-ādi-virud-avalī-virājamāna* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 190, etc.) as if he claimed to be the lord of the 14 worlds. Actually, however, the epithet *chaturdaśa-bhuvana-ādhipati* suits only a god and it is known to be applied to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha in one of the Kanchipuram inscriptions referred to above. The original epithet applied to Anaṅgabhīma III and his successors therefore seems to have been so phrased as to indicate that they were worshippers or viceroys of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha; but it was abbreviated to make it rather ambiguous by some rulers like Narasiṁha II.

More than 20 years ago, the Epigraphic Branch of the Department of Archaeology copied the inscriptions in the Jagannātha temple at Puri. On examination it was recently found that the earliest four of these records belong to the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III. Some special importance attaches to these epigraphs as, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādilā Pāñjī*, it was a Gaṅga king named Anangabhīma, identified by scholars with the third Imperial Gaṅga monarch of that name, who was responsible for the construction of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, although the inscriptions of the family attribute it to his great-grandfather

Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. It is, however, interesting to note that the records are engraved on the walls of the second entrance of the Pātāleśvara shrine within the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple. All the four inscriptions record donations in favour of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha. But one of them additionally mentions Halin (Balarāma), Chakrin (Kṛṣṇa) and Subhadra. This inscription gives its date as *śrī-Purushottamasya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare Rāutta-śrīmad-Anaṅkabhīma-devasya śrāhī* referring to the subordinate status of the Gaṅga king in respect of the god of Puri. The problem is now whether the god Purushottama-Jagannātha or the deities Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadra could have been originally housed in the small shrine now assigned to Pātāleśvara Śiva.

The dates of the Puri inscriptions offer another interesting problem. They record donations made on the following dates: (1) Śaka 1147 and the 15th Aṅka or 13th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III, Āshāḍha-sudi 5, Thursday, corresponding to the 26th June 1225 A.D.; (2) Śaka 1158 and the 29th Aṅka or 24th regnal year, Makara-badi 7, Monday, corresponding to the 5th January 1237 A.D.; (3) Śaka 1158 and 29th Aṅka or 24th regnal year, Kumbha-badi 7, Sunday, corresponding to the 3rd February 1237 A.D., although the week day was Tuesday and not Sunday as stated in the inscription; and (4) Śaka 1158 and the 31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year, Phālguna-badi 1, Friday, corresponding to the 12th February 1237 A.D., although the week-day was Thursday, and not Friday as given in the record.

The late Mr. M. Chakravarti tried to show that Anaṅgabhīma III began to reign in Śaka 1133, i.e., 1211-12 A.D., and this suggestion has been generally accepted by scholars. The Puri inscriptions, however, show that his 13th regnal year or 15th Aṅka fell in Śaka 1147 (1225-26 A.D.) while the end of his 24th and the beginning of the 25th regnal years, i.e., the end and commencement respectively of his 29th and 31st Aṅka, fell in the month of Kumbha or Phālguna in Śaka 1158 (1236-37 A.D.). This would suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III began to reign not in Śaka 1133 but in the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1134, i.e., about the beginning of 1213 A.D. Since the end of his 24th regnal year and the beginning of the 25th fell between the 3rd and 12th February 1237 A.D., the accession of the king would fall in the corresponding period of 1213 A.D. It has, however, to be admitted that, among other

known records of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, some would support the evidence of these inscriptions while some others would suggest a slightly earlier date for his accession. Similarly there is no uniformity in the epigraphic evidence relating to the date of the accession of his son Narasimha I. Much of this discrepancy is no doubt due to the mistakes committed by the scribes responsible for the epigraphs and the astrologers on whose calculations they relied. It is difficult to determine how far this discrepancy was due to the calculation of the year as current or expired.

The characteristics of the Aṅka reckoning determined by Chakravarti are: (1) 1 and all figures ending in 6 and 0 (except 10) are omitted; (2) the last Aṅka of a king and Aṅka 2 (i.e., regnal year 1) of his immediate successor fall in the same year, and (3) the year begins on Bhādra-sudi 12. The Puri inscriptions show that the 29th Aṅka of Anaṅgabhīma III was immediately followed not by the 30th but by the 31st Aṅka. The omission of the 30th Aṅka thus supports Chakravarti's rule No. 1. But his rule No. 3 prescribing Bhādra-sudi 12 as the beginning of the Aṅka year is not supported by the Puri inscriptions as the 31st Aṅka of Anaṅgabhīma III is found to have begun in the month of the Phālguna. The conventional beginning of the Aṅka year indicated by Chakravarti therefore seems to have been stereotyped some time after the age of Anaṅgabhīma III.

A controversy has recently sprung up as regards the interpretation of the evidence of two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions on the west wall of the Arulāla-Perumāl temple at Kanchipuram near Madras. Both the records were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20, p. 22 (Nos. 444-45 of 1919); but the notices contain some errors. The inscriptions are now being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. These two records are engraved one in continuation of the other. The first of them is dated in the year 19 of the reign of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Rāhuttadeva, Wednesday, Mīna-sudi 5, Revatī-nakshatra, and records the grant of the village of Uḍaiyakāmaṁ in the *vishaya* or district of Antarudra by Somaladevī-mahādevī for the daily worship of and offering to the god installed in the temple in question. It also describes king Anantavarman-Rāhuttadeva (probably Somaladevī's husband) as an extremely pious man and as the son of the god Purushottama. There can be no doubt that the Gaṅga king

referred to is Anaṅgabhīma III. We know that most, if not all, of the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name. At least there is evidence to show that Kāmārṇava (1147-56 A.D.), Rāghava (1156-70 A.D.), Rājarāja II (1170-90 A.D.), Rājarāja III (1198-1211 A.D.), Anaṅgabhīma III (1111-38 A.D.), Narasimha I (1238-64 A.D.), Narasimha II (1278-1305 A.D.) and Bhānu II (1305-27 A.D.), enjoyed the said secondary name (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 3). While making the grant recorded in the Kanchipuram inscription referred to above, queen Somaladevī is stated to have been staying at Abhinava-Vāraṇavāsī, i.e., Abhinava-Vārāṇasī. The date of the inscription is irregular, although it has been taken to have fallen in 1230 A.D.

The second epigraph at the same place, which is incised in continuation of the first, is dated in the 20th regnal year of the Chola king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.), Monday, Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati (Aśvinī-nakshatra), and records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by *Kaliṅgeśvara* Aniyāṅkabhīmadeva Rāhutta, i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III Rāuta, for 4 perpetual lamps in the temple. The details of the date correspond to the 8th July 1235 A.D.; but the week-day was Sunday and not Monday as given in the inscription. The two inscriptions were incised at the same time by the same person sometime after the grants, recorded in them, had been made. We have other instances of this type among the donatory inscriptions at places of pilgrimage.

On the basis of these two records and also on the evidence of a Srirangam inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 500) dated in the 9th regnal year of Māṇavarman Sundara-pāṇḍya (who ascended the throne in 1216 A.D.), some weighty conclusions were drawn first by N. Venkataramanayya (*Bhārati*, 1945, February, pp. 161 ff; June, pp. 541 ff.; July, pp. 57 ff.), and afterwards by T. V. Mahalingam (*PIHC*, Gwalior, 1952, pp. 165 ff.). The Srirangam inscription is stated to say that the temple managers colluded with the Oṭṭar to the detriment of the income of the temple of Raṅganāthasvāmin.

It has been suggested that the Srirangam inscription points to the conquest of the Tamil country as far south as the Tanjore-Tiruchirappalli region by the Oṭṭas, who are taken to be no other than the Oḍras or Oriyas, about 1224 A.D., and to the consequent dislocation of worship in the Srirangam temple. The Kanchipuram

inscriptions are believed to prove the presence of the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III Rāhuttadēva *alias* Anantavarman and his queen Somaladevī at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī which is taken to be Kanchipuram itself.

The said interpretation of the Srirangam and Kanchipuram inscriptions is open to some serious objections. In the first place, if the dominions of the Gaṅga king comprised the Kanchipuram region, the Kanchipuram inscription dated in the 20th year of the Chola king's reign must have been dated in his own reign and not in that of the Chola king Rājarāja III. Both Venkataramanayya and Mahalingam appear to be conscious of this difficulty. That is why the former speaks in this connection only about the inscription dated in the 19th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and totally ignores the other record dated in the reign of Rājarāja III, while the latter tries to explain away the difficulty by saying, "Probably this visit of the Gaṅga king with his wife to Kanchi had no political significance. Obviously they undertook only a pilgrimage tour to the city." This view is, however, impossible to be reconciled with the suggestion regarding 'a Gaṅga invasion of the Tamil country... in the early years of the Chola king Rājarāja III.'

The second point is that Anaṅgabhīma III, as already indicated above, was a saintly Vaishṇava so much so that one of his Śaiva officers describes him in a Bhubanesvar inscription as a *Bhagavat*. It is thus impossible to believe that, when he was himself present in the Tamil country, he would have allowed disturbance in the religious service at the great Vaishṇava temple at Srirangam, which is famous throughout India.

Thirdly, many eminent South Indian scholars do not think that there is any reference to the Oriyas in the Srirangam inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 193, note 4). In their opinion, the word *Oṭṭar* occurring in the Srirangam inscription means 'those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement to the temple'.

Fourthly, if Anaṅgabhīma III conquered the Tamil country by 1224 A.D. and was in possession of Kanchipuram about 1230 A.D. in spite of his loss of the Srirangam area to the Pāṇḍya king five years earlier, he must have been holding parts of the country for a fairly long period of time. It then becomes quite inexplicable why his court poet was absolutely silent on such brilliant achieve-

ments of his patron while composing the stanzas in his eulogy in the Nagari plates of 1231 A.D. Moreover the Nagari plates show that Anaṅgabhīma III passed practically the whole of the year 1230 A.D. at his capital city. It is thus impossible to believe that he could have been staying in the Tamil land about a thousand miles away near about the said year.

Fifthly, the identification of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, where the Gaṅga queen Somaladevī is stated to have been staying at the time of making the grant in favour of the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāl temple at Kanchipuram, with the present Kanchi is absolutely unsupported by any evidence. On the other hand, there is definite evidence to show that Abhinava-Vārāṇasī was really the name of the capital of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III and that it was built by himself in the Vāravaṭi region near modern Cuttack. The Nagari plates record a number of grants made by the Gaṅga king in the years 1230 and 1231 A.D. when he was staying at his capital called Vārāṇasī, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. It should be remembered that there are numerous Vārāṇasīs in different parts of India; but the Gaṅga capital seems to be the only Vārāṇasī with the word *abhinava* prefixed to it.

The correct interpretation of the Kanchipuram inscriptions seems to be that the Gaṅga queen Somaladevī made a grant in favour of the Vaishṇava shrine at Kanchi while staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī which was her husband's capital. Giving grants *in absentia* to distant religious establishments is not unknown in Indian history. Thus an epigraph (*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1067) in the temple at Simhachalam in the Visakhapatnam District records a grant made in its favour by Tallamādevī, queen of Gaṅga Bhānu IV, when she was herself staying at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka which is the same as Abhinava-Vārāṇasī of Somaladevī's record. There is an inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 192 ff.) registering the gift of a village in the Dharwar District made by Kadamba Jayakeśin II of Goa at the time of his marriage in favour of the Somanātha temple in Saurāshṭra or Kathiawar far away from his own dominions.

The village of Uḍaiyakāmam, granted by Somaladevī in favour of the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāl temple at Kanchipuram seems to have been situated in her own Jāgīr in her husband's dominions. The Antarudra district, in which the said village is stated to have been situated, is also known from other early inscriptions of Orissa and has

been identified with the present Antarodha Pargana in the Puri District. The mention of the Gaṅga king's regnal reckoning in Somaladevi's inscription at Kanchipuram appears to be due to the fact that it was drafted at the Gaṅga capital. The grant of Anaṅgabhīma III in favour of the Kanchi temple was very probably made likewise *in absentia*. But the partiality of the Gaṅga queen and her husband to a Vaishṇava shrine in the Tamil country seems to suggest that she was related to the Chola royal house. It may be conjectured that Somaladevi was a sister or daughter of the Chola king Rājarāja III, although the Kannaḍa influence in her name probably suggests that her mother was a princess of the Karṇāṭa country.

While editing the Kanchipuram inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Mahalingam has made another attempt to defend his earlier suggestion although he seems to have given up most of his earlier arguments in its favour. Our attention is now drawn to an inscription of Hoysala Narasiṃha II (c. 1220-35 A.D.) in which that king is stated to have come into conflict, among others, with the Trikaṇṇa forces which Mahalingam identifies with the Eastern Gaṅga army supposed to be elsewhere referred to as a *dusṭa* element at Kanchipuram, uprooted by the Hoysala army. It is suggested that Anaṅgabhīma III took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chola territory for a short period in 1230 A.D. as a result of the temporary imprisonment of Rājarāja III in the hands of Kāḍava Kopperuṅṅa I and that exactly at the same time the Eastern Gaṅga army entered Kanchipuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chola king's father-in-law, Hoysala Narasiṃha II. But the conclusion seems to be opposed to certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question.

In the first place, the whole case depends on the belief that the 19th year of Anaṅgabhīma III, mentioned in the Kanchipuram inscription, is his regnal year and corresponds to 1230 A.D. But the simple regnal reckoning is not known to be used in any of the numerous inscriptions of that king's time, which speak only of the Aṅka besides the Śaka years. It is therefore very probable that the Kanchipuram inscription really refers to the 19th Aṅka or 16th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and has to be referred to about 1227 A.D. and not to 1230 A.D.

Secondly, nearly a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Kurnool, Cuddapa and Nellore Districts (Rangachari's List, Nos. Gd. 72, etc.; Kt. 31, etc., Gt. 86, etc.; Kl. 262, etc.; Cd. 540, etc.; Nl. 85, etc.) prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chola dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatīya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.) about the time in question. That the Kākatīyas were extending their power towards the south is proved also by two of Gaṇapati's own records of 1250 A.D. at Kanchipuram itself (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff.; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 814). It should also be noted that Kāḍava Kopperuṅṅa II, son of Kopperuṅṅa I, declares himself to be a feudatory of Gaṇapati in an inscription of 1261-62 A.D. at Draksharama in the Godavari District (cf. *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1341, 1342, 1342-B). The Eastern Gaṅga army therefore could not have penetrated as far as Kanchipuram in the south without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatīya territory and there is no proof to show that Anaṅgabhīma III was engaged in a deadly war with the Kākatīyās and annexed a big part of the Kākatīya empire.

Thirdly, although Kopperuṅṅa I captured Rājarāja III in 1231 A.D., or 'a little earlier', all the military achievements of Hoysala Narasiṃha II cannot be assigned to 1230 A.D., as Mahalingam is inclined to do. Some scholars have shown that the Hoysala king assumed the titles 'establisher of the Chola country' and 'destroyer of the demon Kāḍavarāya' and claimed to have subdued the whole of South India as far as the Setubandha before 1225 A.D. (*SII*, Vol. XII, p. x), that is to say, about five years before the date to which Mahalingam ascribes these achievements.

Fourthly, Hoysala Narasiṃha II is known to have been ruling on the 10th March, 1229 A.D., from Kanchipuram itself (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 42) which was the eastern limit of his possessions (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22), while a number of his generals are mentioned in the Kanchipuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Rājarāja III, i.e., between 1230 and 1240 A.D. (cf. *SII*, Vol. XII, pp. x-xi). Inscription No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammaṇṇa at Kanchi on the 25th February 1230 A.D., while No. 404 of that year shows that another Hoysala general named Goppayya was at the place in 1230-31 A.D. It has to be noticed that it was these two Hoysala generals who were responsible for the defeat of Kopperuṅṅa I.

Kālidāsa and the Hūnas

BY

DR. BUDDHAPRAKASH, PH.D.

I. The Reference to the Hūnas in the *Raghuvamśa*

Kālidāsa has referred to the Hūnas in his account of the North-Western campaign of Raghu given in the fourth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*: "The horses, who removed the exhaustion of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Vankśu (Sindhu), shook their manes that were smeared with saffron filaments. There the exploits of Raghu, whose valour expressed itself among the husbands of the Hūna women, became manifest in the rosy colour of their cheeks."¹ In this passage it is controversial whether the reading *Vankśu* should be accepted or *Sindhu* should be preferred. Mallinātha has accepted the reading *Sindhu* and D. R. Bhandarkar² and Hodiwala³ have agreed with him. On the other hand K. B. Pāṭhak⁴ has taken the variant *Vankśu* as correct and identified it with the Oxus. S. K. Aiyangar⁵ has followed this view but equated *Vankśu* with a tributary of the Oxus named Wakshah rather than the Oxus itself. B. C. Law has also endorsed this view and identified *Vankśu* with the Oxus and its tributaries.^{5a} For the determination of the correct reading of this word the Nāgpur stone inscription of Naravarmadeva dated 1161 Vikrama era or 1104-1105 A.D. is very important. Verses 35-54 of this inscription

1 *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 67-68.

vinitādhvaśramāstasya vaṅkṣu (sindu) tīraviceṣṭanāṁ |
dudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhāṇṇagnakuṅkumakesarān ||
tatra hūnāvarodhānām bhartriṣu vyaktavikramah |
kapalapāṭalādeśi babhūva raghuceṣṭitam ||

2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters)* Vol. XII, No. 1, (1947), pp. 36-37.

3. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1930), pp. 282-83.

4. *Indian Antiquary* (1912), p. 266.

5. *Indian Antiquary* (1919), pp. 65-74.

5a. B. C. Law, *Geographical Aspect of Kālidāsa's Works*, (Calcutta, 1954), p. 2.

jñga I and the consequent release of Rājarāja III from captivity (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, G. 45). Between 1229 and 1231 A.D., therefore, it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kanchipuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anaṅgabhīma III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Mahalingam's identification of the *dushta* element at Kanchipuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

Fifthly, at a place of pilgrimage like Kanchipuram, it is possible to get inscriptions not only recording grants of foreign rulers usually made *in absentia* but also epigraphs mentioning foreign rulers and without reference to the king in whose dominions the place was situated because the pilgrims responsible for the inscriptions may have been subordinates or subjects of the latter. An inscription (No. 201 of 1905) at Tripurantakam in the Kurnool District records a grant made in 1260-61 A.D., during the 16th regnal year of the Chola king Rājendra III, although there are numerous inscriptions in the area showing that it formed a part of the Kākatīya dominions. A Draksharama inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1194) records a donation of Jayaṅkoṇḍachōḍi, queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, on the *vyātīpāta* day (full-moon falling on a Monday) of the month of Simha in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.), without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, he may conclude that the Draksharama region formed a part of the empire of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. But we have several other inscriptions at Draksharama bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of king Viṣṇuvardhana. Three of such inscriptions (*ibid.*, Nos. 1191, 1195, 1196) record the grants of Choḍagaṅga's queens, Śriyādēvī, Lālāvatī and Rājālā respectively.

The real significance of Hoysala Narasiṃha's claim of success against the Trikaṅga forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, although it looks like an empty boast similar to another claiming the conquest of the Vindhyan region. But the existence of the inscriptions of king Anaṅgabhīma III and queen Somaladevī at Kanchipuram seems to be most satisfactorily explained if it is supposed that the queen was born in the Chola royal family. The Imperial Gaṅgas rose to power as subordinate allies of the Cholas, the alliance being cemented by matrimonial relations

about the middle of the 11th century when Rājarāja, I, son of Vajrahasta III, married Rājasundarī, daughter of the Chola king Rājendra (probably Virarājendra). The importance attached by the Gaṅgas to their connection with the Cholas is clearly demonstrated by the name of Choḍagaṅga or Cholagaṅga. Matrimonial relations with the Cholas were no doubt continued by the Gaṅgas of later generations. The name of Jayaṅkoṇḍachōḍi, who as we have seen was one of the many queens of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, shows that she was a Chola princess.

As regards the Kannaḍa influence in the name of Somaladevī, it may be pointed out that Hoysala Narasiṃha II, who is believed to have given one of his daughters in marriage to Chola Rājarāja III, had a queen named Somaladevī. It is not impossible to believe that the Gaṅga queen Somaladevī was a daughter of Rājarāja III from Hoysala Narasiṃha's daughter born of his queen Somaladevī. The naming of grandchildren after their grandparents is a well-known Indian custom. We know that Kundavā was the name of both the mother (who was the daughter of Chola Rājarāja I, 985-1016 A.D.), and daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I (1022-61 A.D.). See also Geiger, *Chālavamsa trans.*, Part I, p. 211.

allude to the victorious campaign of his brother Lakṣmadeva who is represented like Raghu as going from East to West and North to South conquering all the countries. Verse 54 refers to the encampment of Lakṣmadeva on the banks of the Vankṣu in connection with his encounter with the king of the Kīras. Kielhorn has translated this verse as follows:

"Being encamped on the banks of the Vankṣu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turuṣka, whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage."⁶

The first line of this verse paraphrases verse 67 of the IV canto of the *Raghuvamśa* cited above. In it the reference to the withering of saffron filaments as a result of the rolling of horses recalls the description of the smearing of the manes of the horses of Raghu with saffron by reason of their rolling down. A glance at the imagery and phraseology of these verses leaves no room for doubt that the author of the Nāgpur praśasti, who was probably Naravarmadeva himself, had in mind the conception of Kālidāsa and recapitulated it in almost the same style. This identity of idea and diction is a guarantee of the reading *Vankṣu* in the verse of the *Raghuvamśa*. Had the reading in this verse been *Sindhū*, it is hard to comprehend how the author of the Nāgpur praśasti contemplated the campaign of Lakṣmadeva on the banks of the Vankṣu, where horses rolled freely in saffron fields. The use of the words and thought of Kālidāsa in a context foreign to his composition is quite unthinkable. The obvious inference it suggests is that Kālidāsa referred to the rolling of horses in the saffron fields of the Vankṣu regions in connection with the conquest of the Northern quarter by Raghu and that Naravarmadeva attributed this exploit to his brother Lakṣmadeva following the model set by the great poet.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 188.

khelotkhāta - turuṣka - datta - vilasat - vāhāvalī - vellana - klāmyat -
kuṇkuma - kesarādhika - mṛdau vaṅkṣūpakānṭhasthī |
yenāvāpya sārāsvatī - savidhatā - sādhiḥkya - vākpāṭavaścātūn - utkaṭa -
patra - pañjara - gataḥ kīrādhīpo'dhyāpyata ||

The problem of the reading of the word in dispute has to be tackled from another point of view also. Kālidāsa associates the saffron-producing regions with the river he has in mind. It is a well-known fact that saffron was cultivated in Bactria and the adjoining territories in ancient times. Berthold Laufer⁷ has shown that saffron (*crocus sativus* of the family of *Irideae*) has been cultivated in Western Asia from remote ages so much so that it is unknown in a wild stage. In China Chang K'ien is stated to have obtained the seeds of the *hūn-lan* (carthamus) in the Western countries (Si Yü). But the knowledge of saffron of the Chinese people up to the T'ang period was extremely confused and they did not easily distinguish between saffron (*crocus sativus*) and safflower (carthamus tinctorius). It was during the period of the Mongol domination under the Yuan dynasty that saffron began to be regularly imported into China through Arabic merchants⁸ as is manifest from its names *Ki-fu-lan* (Tsa-fu-lan) and *sa-fa-tsi* (sa-fa-lan) which are akin to Japanese *safuran* and Siamese *farān* (sa-fa-lan) and are the transcriptions of Arabic *zā'firan* or *za'faran* that, on its part, has resulted in Spanish *azafran*, Portuguese *açafrão* or *azafrão*, Indo-Portuguese *safrão*, Italian *zafferano*, French *safran*, English *saffron*, Rumanian *sofrán*, Russian *safran*, old Armenian *zavhran*, New Armenian *zafran* and üighur *sakparan*. This wide prevalence of the Arabic word *za'firan* or *za'faran* from the Pacific to the Atlantic proves that the trade of this commodity was mostly in the hands of the Arabs in medieval times and that it was an important product of Western Asia where they had come to predominate. Generally the product of memecylon which was a cheap colouring substance was substituted for saffron in trade. The Chinese term *Yü-kin* denotes this product as well as saffron. Li Chi-chen states that *Yü-kin* was produced in Hellenistic Orient (Ta T'sin). Hiuen-T'sang observes that to the North-West of the wall of the Bodhi tree at Buddhagayā was a stūpa called *Yü-kin-hiang* (Kunkuma) that was built by a merchant—chief of the country of *Tsao-kiu-ch'u* (Arachosia or Zabulistan) who had

7. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), p. 309.

8. W. Watters holds that saffron was first imported into China from Persia direct or at least obtained immediately from Persian traders [*Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 348]. But the word *za'faran* is an Arabic loan-word in Persian and may have been brought to China by Arabic traders as held by Berthold Laufer [*Sino-Iranica*, p. 311, f.n. 3].

been rescued from a shipwreck by *Kwan-tsz'-tsai* (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva).⁹ The name of this stūpa, Kunkuma stūpa, suggests that the merchant who built it dealt mainly in saffron which he used to bring from Arachosia to Eastern India for purposes of trade. The Tang Annals confirm this fact by mentioning saffron as a product of Uddiyāna, Jāguda and Baltistan besides India. It is on record that in 719 A.D. the king of Nang (Bukhāra) presented thirty pounds of saffron to the Chinese emperor.

Saffron was also known in Ancient Persia. The Chinese texts *Chou-shu* and *Sin Shu* count *Yü-kin* among the products of *Po-se* (Persia) Aeschyles refers to the saffron yellow footgear of King Darius.¹¹ In the works of Istakhri and Idrisi saffron is mentioned among the products of Derbend, Ispahan and Transoxiana.¹² Yāqūt mentions saffron as the principal product of Rud-Derawer in the province of Jebal in ancient Media.¹³ The Armenian customers esteemed most highly the saffron of Khurassan, which, however, was marketed in such small quantities that the Persians had to meet the demand with exportations from caucasus. The share of the Persians in the distribution of saffron is vividly demonstrated by the Tibetan word for it, *gur-kum*, *gur-kum*, *gur-gum*, which is directly traceable to Persian *kurkum* or *karkam*. According to Friedrich Hirth the Chinese word *Yü-kin* is also derived from this source.¹⁴ It is also noteworthy that the Sogdian word for this product *kurhumba* and the Tukharian word *kurkama* belong to the same family. Besides *kurkum*, there are Persian *kākhān* and *kāfīsa* which denote saffron in the flower. It is likely that the latter word *kāfīsa* denotes some special variety of it which was grown in *kāpīśi* (Kāsmīra or Gandhāra). Thus it is clear that the Oxus regions, Persia, Arachosia, Uddiyāna, Baltistān and Kāsmīra were the main saffron-producing lands in ancient times.

9. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 126-127, 283-284, Vol. I, p. 62.

10. Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 203.

11. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 264.

12. A. Jaubert, *Géographie de al-Idrisi*, pp. 168-192.

13. B. de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse*, p. 267.

14. *Journal of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, p. 221.

Indian sources are also conversant with the saffron of Bactria. In the *Amarakośa*¹⁵ one of the synonyms of *Kunkuma* is *Vālhika* which suggests its Bactrian origin.¹⁶ The *Amarakośa* has been assigned to the fourth century A.D. by K. G. Oak.¹⁷ Hence it is clear that in the early Gupta period, which is generally taken to be the age of Kālidāsa, the saffron of Bactria was fairly well-known and popular in India. In his gloss on the *Amarakośa* known as *Amara-*

15. *Amarakośa*, Nṛvarga, verses 123-124 (ed. Sharma and Sardesai), p. 159.

Tamāla-patra-tilaka-citrakāpi viśeṣakam |

Dvitiyam ca tūriyam ca na striyam-atha kuṅkumam ||

Kāsmīrajanmāgnīśikham varam vāhlikapītane |

Rakta-sankoca-pīśunam dhīram lohita-candanam ||

16. According to Berthold Laufer it was from Persia that the saffron plant was propagated to Kāsmīra. He states that "reminiscence of this event is preserved in the Sanskrit term *vālhika*, a synonym of saffron, which means 'origination from Pahlava'." [*Sino-Iranica*, p. 320]. Laufer errs in treating *vālhika* as signifying *Pahlava*. The two terms are in fact distinct. *Vāhli* unmistakably represents Balkh or Bactria. Hence *Vālhika* signifies the saffron of Bactria, which was far-famed in ancient times, as seen above. That saffron was an introduction in Kāsmīra is manifest from the Buddhist legend that Madhyāntika, the first apostle of Buddhism in Kāsmīra, planted the saffron plant. [Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 13, Jean Przyluski, *Journal Asiatique* (1914), p. 357].

The saffron of Kāsmīra also became famous in ancient time. Reference has been made to the Persian word for saffron *kāfīsa*, which is derived from *kāpīśi*. The Chinese writer Li Chi-Chen has given *Cha-kü-mo* [**dza-gu-ma*] as a synonym of *Yü-kin*. This term is also given with the translation *Yü-kin* in the Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*. This word is equated by Laufer with Sanskrit *Jaguda* through the medium of a vernacular form *jaguma*. [*Sino-Iranica*, p. 318]. In the *Annals* of the Leang dynasty it is stated that *Yü-kin* is produced in Kāsmīra. In 647 A.D. the country *Kia-pi* in India is said to have offered it to the Chinese court. From India saffron was exported to Fu-nan (Cambodia) whose king Jayavarman offered it with storax and other aromatics to the Chinese Court in 519 [Paul Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême Orient* II, p. 270]. The saffron of Kāsmīra is also noted in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 84) and the *Memoirs of Jahāngir* [H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, VI, p. 375].

17. K. G. Oak, *Amarakośa with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin, introduction*, p. 8; Pandit Rāmavatāra Śarmā holds that its author Amarasīṅha must have flourished before the sixth century A.D., when it was translated into *rasvāmin* implies that Amara was prior to the Buddhist grammarian Chan-Chinese by Guparāta [*Kalpādrumakośa* of Keśava, *introduction*, p. 17]. Kṣīdragomin. Hence he should be taken to have lived before 450 A.D. [H. D. Śarmā and R. N. Sardesai, *Amarakośa, introduction*, p. 1].

kośodghāṭana, Kśīraswāmin¹⁸ (latter half of the eleventh century) explains *Vālhika* as a product of *Vālhi-deśa* or Bactria and adds that in the Northern campaign of Raghu it is referred to as besmearing the manes of his horses. Here Kśīraswāmin quotes the actual verse of the *Raghuvamśa*¹⁹ (IV, 67) which proves that he had the reading *Vankśu* in this verse before him. Otherwise it passes comprehension as to how he could have cited this verse while commenting on the word *Vālhika* as a synonym of saffron.

It is thus settled that Kālidāsa located the Hūṇas conquered by Raghu on the bank of the *Vankśu* or the Oxus²⁰ rather than the Sindhu or the Indus. We have now to ascertain as to when the Hūṇas lived in the Oxus regions and played a part in their history.

II. A Flying Survey of the History of the Hiung-nu

In the second half of the third century B.C. we find a confederation of tribes organising itself in the whole of Mongolia, which the Chinese have called Hiung-nu. It is now almost established that the Hiung-nu were the Turks,²¹ although the latter name, which was originally an epithet, was then unknown.²² But

18. Rāmāvatāra Śarma, *Kalpadrūmakōśa* of Keśava, introduction, p. 18.

19. *Amarakośa* (ed. Śarma & Sardesai), p. 159.

vāhlikadeśajam vāhlikam. Yadrāghoruttaradigvijayedudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhānīlagnakūṇikūmakasārān.

20. The river Oxus or Āmu-daryā is called *Vankśu*, *Vakśu*, *Chakśu* in Indian literature, *Po-tsu* (formerly written as *Poh-ch'a*) in Chinese [S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 12] and *Wakhsh-ab* by al-Idrisi [Bretschneider, *Medieval Geography*, p. 166]. It issues from the Western end of the Sarik-Kul lake and after a course of upwards of a thousand miles, in a direction generally North-West, falls into the Southern end of the lake Aral [Wood, *Oxus*, pp. 232-233; *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. X, pp. 122-123; Vol. xlii, p. 507; Vol. xlviii, p. 221].

21. The word *türk* is a Mongol word meaning 'strong', 'brave'. Its plural *türküt* underlies the Chinese word *t'u-kiue*, which was used to designate the people of Altai, who revolted against the Juan-juan in 551 A.D. and set up an empire of their own with its capital near the Orkhon in Outer Mongolia. It is for the first time in that year that we come across the word *türk* [Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, p. 12].

22. Kurakichi Shiratori has, on the other hand, held that the Hiung-nu were Mongols. He bases his view on linguistic grounds. [K. Shiratori, *Sur l'origine des Hiong-nou*, *Journal Asiatique* (1923), p. 71]. But earlier Shiratori himself has emphasized the Turkish origin of these people on other linguistic grounds. [*Über die sprachen der Hiong-nu und der Tung-hu Stämme*, *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences* (1902), p. 2].

though the leading clan of this group was of Turkish stock, it does not follow that the confederation did not include Iranian elements. In fact, the costume and armaments—pantaloon, coat, belt, boots, long swords etc.—which the Chinese copied from the Hiung-nu in the beginning of the third century B.C. were Iranian *par excellence* as shown by Berthold Laufer²³ and M. I. Rostovtzeff²⁴ and the Hiung-nu owed them to the Iranians who were their close neighbours in ancient times.²⁵

In the second half of the third century B.C. the confederacy of the Hiung-nu was headed by a *shan-yu* whose title is transcribed in Chinese as *Ch'eng-li kou-t'ou shan-yu*, in which the echo of the Turco-Mongol word *tängri* (sky) is discernible.²⁶ Below the *shan-yu*, whose capital was on the Orkhon, two great dignitaries called *T'u-k'i* (Turk, *doghri* meaning 'faithful' 'right') resided on the Kerulen and Mount Khangai respectively. Below these personages ranged the official heirarchy of the *ku-li* of right and left wings and corresponding to them in descending order were, the generals, governors, great *tang-hu*, great *ku-tu* and chiefs of thousands, hundreds and tens.²⁷

After an initial rebuff under Ts'in She Huang-ti (221-210 B.C.) whose general Mung T'ien completed the Great Wall and expelled the Hiung-nu from the Ordos in 214 B.C., the Hiung-nu commenced their expansion in the West by attacking the Yue-che under their *shan-yu* T'eu-man (210-209 B.C.). Mao-tuen (209-174 B.C.) the son and successor of T'eu-man inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yue-che in Western Kan-su and his son Leo-shang (174-161 B.C.) killed their chief and made a drinking bowl of his skull and compelled them to migrate towards the West across the Northern Gobi. Leaving a fraction of their kith and kin to settle to the south of Nan-shan among the K'iang, where they came to be known as Siao Yue-che, their main body reached the Valley of the Ili and

23. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese clay figures, Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Chicago, 1914), pp. 218 ff.

24. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pl. XXII.

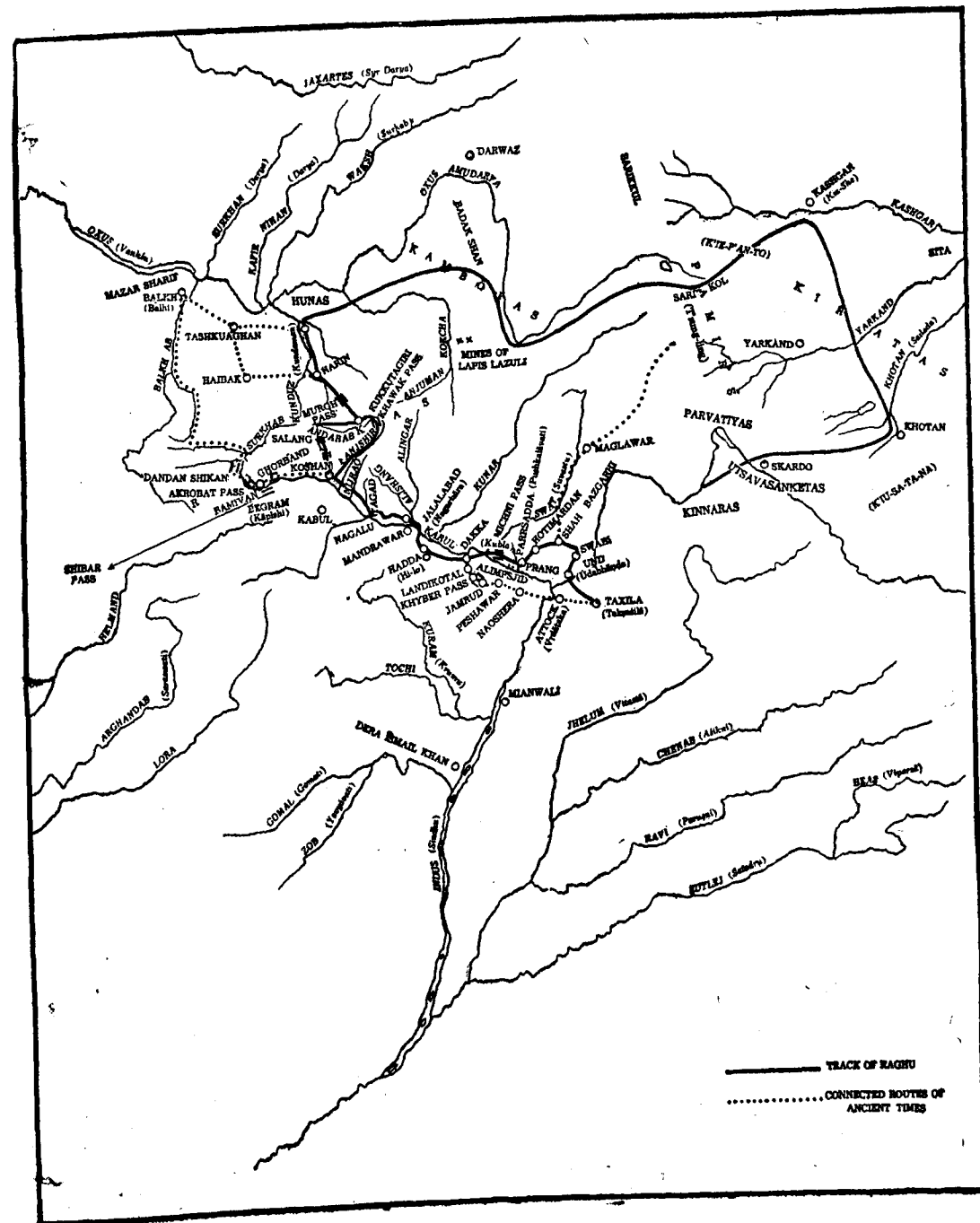
25. Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, p. 7.

26. Kurakichi Shiratori, *A Study on the titles of Khagan and Khatum, Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, I, p. 11; *On the Territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hsiu-t'u Wang and his metal statues for Heaven Worship*, *ibid.*, V, p. 71.

27. Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires de See-ma Ts'ien*, I, p. 65.

the Issik-kul but were pushed out from there by the Wu-suen with the assistance of the Hiung-nu. This movement of the Yue-che was fraught with great consequences for the history of Southern and Western Asia, to which we shall revert later. Here it is sufficient to note that the expulsion of the Yue-che enhanced the power and prestige of the Hiung-nu. In 167 B.C. they penetrated into Shen-si up to Huei-chong and burnt the royal palace and in 158 appeared near Ch'ang-ngan and again in 142 attacked the Great Wall in the Yen-men area. Thus the menace of the Hiung-nu hovered over the whole of the Chinese frontier and was forestalled only by the advent of emperor Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), whose ambassador Chang-K'ien tried to instigate the Yue-che against them (129 B.C.) and whose general Wei T'sing routed them from the march of Shao-fang in 124 B.C. Wei T'sing's nephew Ho K'iu-ping chased them away from Kan-su in 121 B.C. and with his uncle pierced into the heart of the Hiung-nu empire in Outer Mongolia up to the lower course of the Ongkin and surprised the shan-yu Yi-che-sie killing or capturing 19000 soldiers. Ho K'iu-ping penetrated deeper up to the Upper Tula and the Orkhon and celebrated a solemn sacrifice of 80 Hiung-nu chiefs on the mountain-tops of their country.²⁸ But towards the end of his reign Wu-ti saw his disaster of Varus, when the young Chinese captain Li Ling rushed into Mongolia with 5000 soldiers and was overwhelmed and annihilated by the Hiung-nu hordes. But the Hiung-nu could not make any impression on the Han empire and diverted their attention to the oases of the Tarim basin where at last the Chinese succeeded in establishing their hegemony by 60 B.C. After 60 B.C. schism, secession and conflict tore the organisation of the Hiung-nu. Two rival claimants Hu-han-ye and Che-che disputed the title of Shan-yu. In 51 B.C. the former submitted himself in the court of Siuan-ti at Ch'ang-ngan and solicited his assistance against his rival. With the aid of Chinese forces he defeated his antagonist and installed himself on the Orkhon. In 33 he returned to the imperial court to offer his allegiance and receive as a recompense the hand of a Chinese princess. The vanquished horde quitted Mongolia and sought fortune in the territory of Russian Turkistan—forcing their way through the Wu-suen of the Ili, confederating with the Ku-kie of the Imil and the K'ien-k'u of the Aral Steppes, encroaching on the land of the K'ang-kiu (Sogdiana)

28. Edouard Chavannes, *ibid.*, I, pp. 67, 68.



and laying their camp in the Steppes of Chu and Talas. But the Chinese hardly gave them the time to consolidate and their general Ch'eng T'ang pounced on Che-che in the Steppes of Chu and decapitated him in 36-35 B.C. Thereafter the Hiung-nu disappear from the Western scene till in the fourth century A.D. we find another horde swarming in that direction that has been wrongly identified with these people and with which we shall deal later on.

While the Western Hiung-nu were thus worsted, the Eastern horde, cowed down for the time being, raised its head in the time of troubles and conflicts that marked the end of the Han dynasty (8-25 A.D.). In 10 A.D. their shan-yu siezed the kingdom of Turfan and plundered up to the frontier of the Chinese empire. But in 25 A.D. the establishment of the Later Han dynasty synchronized with the scission of the Hiung-nu hordes. The eight hordes of the South led by Pi rose against the shan-yu, P'u-nu and offered allegiance to the Chinese court. The emperor Kuang Wu-ti rehabilitated them along the *limes* of Kan-su and Shan-si as clients of the empire. As for the Northern Hiung-nu, they were beaten by the Sien-pei and the Wu-huan who were set against them by Tsi Yong, the Chinese governor of Leao-tong.

In the first century A.D. dawned the golden age of Chinese expansion in the West. The reign of Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) Chang-ti (76-88 A.D.) and Ho-ti (89-105 A.D.) saw the subjugation of the states of the Tarim basin by the armies of Pan Ch'ao. In the course of these operations Chinese generals often repelled the Hiung-nu. In 91, for instance, Keng K'uei marched up to the Orkhon and inflicted a bloody defeat on the Hiung-nu capturing the house-hold of the shan-yu and nominating in his place his brother Yu-ch'u-kien. The new ruler raised his head again in 93 but was crushed and killed by the Sien-pei. These Northern Hiung-nu were finally engulfed in the empire set up by this Mongol horde of Sien-pi (Sārbi, Sirbi or Sirvi)²⁹ in 155 A.D.

As for the Southern Hiung-nu, they moved to the South under the pressure of the Sien-pei and settled inside the great bend of the Yellow River in the Steppe of Ordos and the regions adjoining

29. Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, *Journal Asiatique*, (1934), p. 35 ff. Torii, *Études archéologiques et ethnologiques des populations primitives de la Mongolie Orientale*, *Journal of the College of Science*, Imperial University of Tokyo, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 9-19.

A-la-shan. Their shan-yu, Hu-ch'u-ts'iuian (195-216 A.D.) began to live at P'ing-yang in the heart of Shan-si.³⁰ In the fourth century the fall of the Hans unleashed a turmoil of civil wars in which the Hiung-nu of P'ing-yang put forth their claim to the Imperial throne under the cloak of legitimacy and in 304 A.D. their chief Lieu Yuan obtained from the court of the T'sing emperor the title of Shan-yu of the five hordes. In 308 he was proclaimed emperor at T'ai-yuan as the legitimate heir of the Hans and founded a dynasty known as Pei-han or T'sien Chao. In 329 She Lei supplanted the line of Pei-han and inaugurated the dynasty called Hen Chao which remained in power upto 350 A.D., when the Mu-jung of the Sien-pei race seized the whole of Ho-pei, Shan-si and Shan-tung and their chief Mu-jung Tsiun set up his capital at Yen or Ki (Peking). This empire known as Hen Yen lasted up to 407 and that of Si Yen founded by another member of the Mu-jung family maintained itself up to 417. Ultimately the Mu-jung empire passed into the hands of the T'o-pa or Tabgach Turks whose energetic leader T'o-pa Kuei (386-409 A.D.) established his régime under the dynastic name of Wei.³¹

This brief *résumé* of the history of the Hiung-nu up to the fourth century of the Christian era conclusively proves that they had nothing to do with the regions of the Oxus Valley^{31a} and could not be referred to as occupying them by any author prior to that century. Let us now outline the events of the Oxus Valley from the first century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. in order to find out whether they fit in with the reference to the Hūnas on the Oxus in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa.

30. Peter A. Boodberg, *Two notes on the history of the Chinese Frontier*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1936), pp. 292-298.

31. René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1948), pp. 96-.

31a. Recently K. Enoki has expressed his agreement with the view that the Hiung-nu never entered Bactriana. In an article entitled *Sogdiana and the Hsiung-nu* published in the *Central Asiatic Journal*, (1955) Vol. I, Part I, pp. 43-62 Enoki has discussed the remark of the Wei-shu (book 102) that the Hiung-nu killed the king of Su-t'ê, which was called Yen-ts'ai in ancient times and was also known as Wên-na-sha, and conquered it and that Hu-i was the third ruler of this line of Hiung-nu. Enoki has shown that the identification of Su-t'ê and Yen-t'sai is baseless and that the aforesaid remark does not prove the identity of the Huns and the Hiung-nu. In fact the theory of the oneness of the Huns and the Hiung-nu is quite unfounded. Here a historical tradition of the Han period has been wrongly engrafted on the events of Sogdiana.

III. A Thumb-nail Sketch of the History of the Oxus Valley

It has been observed above that the Ta Yue-che migrated towards the West as a result of the pressure of the Hiung-nu and the Wu-suen. In 129-8 B.C. Chang K'ien found them in Sogdiana to the North of the Oxus.³² At that time they were also occupying the country to the South of this river, called *Ta-hia*³³ in Chinese works. They put an end to the Greek Kingdom of Bactria and possibly Sogdiana³⁴ and divided the country into five principalities ruled by the five Hi-heu (Yaghbu) of Hieu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tuen and Kao-fu or Tu-mi.³⁵ The advent of these

32. Haneda Toru, *À propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Houei-chouang*, *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* (1933), p. 13-14. Friedrich Hirth, *The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1917), p. 96.

33. Ta Hia signifies Tukharistan, the Eastern part of Bactria [Sylvain Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"*, *Journal Asiatique* (1933), p. 5] Bactria was, in fact, divided into two parts, Balkh and Tukharistan. This division was known up to the time of the Arab Geographer Ibn Khurdadbeh. [J. Marquart, *Erānshahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, p. 70]. That the Ta Yue-che occupied this Eastern part of Bactria rather than Balkh at that time is clear from the fact that this capital is located at Lan-she Ch'eng which has been identified by Marquart with Ishkamish in Badakshan. [J. Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 86].

34. The Chinese name of Sogdiana or Ferghana *Ta-yuan* has been equated with the Indo-Iranian name of the Greeks *Yavana*. [René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 75 F.n.]. Should this view be correct we would be entitled to hold that the Graeco-Bactrian empire extended beyond the Oxus.

35. J. J. De Groot (*Die Westländer Chinas in der Vorchristlichen Zeit*, p. 97), has proposed the following identification of these names: Hieu-mi = Wakhan, Shuang-mi = Chitral, Kuei-shuang = Kafiristan, Hi-tuen = Badakshan. J. Marquart (*Erānshahr*, p. 242), has, on the other hand, given the following equations: Hieu-mi = Wakhan, Shuang-mi = Chitral, Kuei-shuang = Parwan, Hi-tuen = Kunar-Panjshir. Kao-fu (Kabul) is evidently a mistake for Tu-mi, which remains obscure.

These five hi-heu were the Ta-hia. The *Heu Hau-shu* states that the Yue-che divided the country among five hi-heu. From this remark it follows that the five hi-heu were the Yue-che themselves. But the *Ts'ien Han-shu* gives a different version from which it has been inferred that these hi-heu were different from the Yue-che and represented the indigeous population of Ta-hia over which the latter had come to rule. The Japanese scholars Kuwahara Jitzuzo and Haneda Toru have advanced this view and Sten Konow [*Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*, *Journal of Indian History*, (1933), p. 1 ff] and Paul Pelliot [*Tokharien et Koutchéen*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 38] have stood by it. Gustav Haloun has discussed this point in detail

people is referred to in the remark of Strabo (XI, 511), based on the information of Apollodoros, who wrote between the fall of Bactria and the death of Mithradates II in 87 B.C., that between 140 and 130 B.C. the Asioi, Pasianoï, Tokharoi and Sakarauai seized the province of Bactria from the Greeks. In place of these four tribes Trogus, whose source is dated shortly after 87 B.C., notes only two, Asiani and Sacaraucae.³⁶ Haloun has proposed to correct *asiani* as *cusani*.³⁷ This shows that the Kuṣāṇas (Kuei-shuang) joined the Śakas in the invasion of the Greek Kingdom. Ludwig Bachhofer has held that the Greek realm was invaded by two waves of peoples: about 141-39 B.C. the Sacaraucae³⁸ and Asiani attacked Bactria more at the instigation of the Parthian monarch Mithradates than as a result of the pressure from the North and a decade later the Tokharians came and drove out the Sacaraucae but let stay the Asiani who acknowledged their suzerainty.³⁹ Otto

but reserved his judgment. [G. Haloun, *Zur ūe-tsi Frage*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1937), p. 257, F. N. 1]. Likewise Sir Aurel Stein leaves the question open [*Serindia*, p. 287]. W. W. Tarn, however, subscribed to the old theory that the Hi-heu including the Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) were the Yue-che themselves. [*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 287, F. N. 4]. Recently Otto Maenchen-Helfen has endorsed the older view and stated that the "five hi-heu, among them the Kuṣāṇas, were great feudatories "dependent on their king," the Yue-che chief and were of his nationality." [*The Yüeh-chih Problem Re-examined*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, (1945), pp. 72-73]. He has further held that the Kusha of Kushanas were settled in the Northern Tarim long before the Kushana empire was founded as is clear from various place names, e.g. Kutsi, Ku-shih, Kao-ch'ang, etc. It is noteworthy that Kuca was known as Kūṣā or Kūsān in Uighur texts and Kosan in the history of Rashiduddin [Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Kontchéen*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 59 f.n.]. O. Maenchen-Helfen thinks that Yüeh-chih is a transcription of the word kusha [ibid., pp. 77-80].

36. For an up-to-date and complete compilation of the passages in the classical sources referring to the conquest of Bactria see J. Junge, *Saka Studien* (Leipzig 1939) pp. 96-97.

37. Gustav Haloun, *zur ūe-tsi Frage*, op.cit., p. 253. F.N. 4.

38. R. Ghirshman identifies the Sacaraucae with the *sakarav* or *sakarau* of coin legends, [*Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historique sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946) p. 114]. O. G. Von Wesendonk sees in them the *Sakaravaka* [*Kuṣan Chioniten und Hephthaliten*, *Klio* (1933) p. 337] while according to J. Marquart they represent the *śaka-haumavarka*. [*Das erste Kapitel des Gatha Ustavati* (Rome 1930) p. 43].

39. Ludwig Bachhofer, *On the Greeks and Śakas in India*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1941) pp. 246-247.

Maenchen-Helfen rejects this view and states that Bactria was invaded only once by the Yue-che. He relies on the *T'sien Han-shu* 96 B where it is expressly stated that when the śakas in the Northern T'ien-shan were driven out by the Yue-che they went not to Bactria but to Ki-pin.⁴⁰ The Sacaraucae and Yue-che invaded the Valley of Oxus at one and the same time, the former occupying Bukhara to the North of the Oxus and Western Bactriana and Margiana to its South and the latter settling in the Eastern parts of the Valley in a North to South direction.⁴¹ It appears that Greek rule and authority continued to exist in the Kunduz area after the débâcle of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom. The discovery of a hoard of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms at a spot half-way between the towns of Kunduz and Khanabad in the Afghan province of Kataghan in 1948, in which the Graeco-Bactrian coins of Lysias Theophilus, Antialcidas, Amyntas, Archebius, Philoxenus and Hermaes have also been found, has thrown new light on this point. The fact that these rulers struck these Graeco-Bactrian coins shows that they exercised some authority in the Kunduz region. In the opinion of A. D. H. Bivar while the nomads were advancing in the South-West, the remnants of Greek rule concentrated in the Kunduz area and the rulers continued to issue the traditional unilingual Graeco-Bactrian coinage. It was about 100 B.C. that the Greek merchant or official incharge of the said hoard buried it on the eve of the final nomadic invasion of the Kunduz enclave.^{41a} That Harmaes was not the last Graeco-Bactrian ruler, that his reign was not disturbed by nomadic invasions and that his coins continued to be minted and imitated long after his death have been shown by G. K. Jenkins. He holds that Kāpsī continued to be under Greek rule even after the advent of the Śākas in India. According to him Azes and Azilises had nothing to do with the Upper Kabul Valley.^{41b} The Sacaraucae began to play an important part in the politics of Persia. Their part in the death of Phraates II and Artabān was significant. With their aid Sinatroces became the King of Persia

40. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The Yüih-Chih Problem Re-examined*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1945) pp. 71-72 F.N. 7].

41. R. Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo 1946) p. 114.

41a. A. D. H. Bivar, *The Bactrian treasure of Kunduz*, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1955) Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 45-46.

41b. G. K. Jenkins, *Indo-Scythic mints*, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1955), Vol. XVII part II pp. 20-22.

in 77 B.C. and they were a decisive factor in the struggle of Phraates IV with his adversary Tiridates in 27-26 B.C.⁴² From coins we know the names of their Kings Artadr and his son Hyrcodes.⁴³ The legends on these coins are sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Sogdian or in both and their reverse is copied from the coins of Azilises, the successor of Azes I, whose reign falls in the second half of the first century B.C. This shows that these kings ruled over the parts of Sogdiana and Bactriana mentioned above. Contemporaneous with them was the Kuṣāṇa King Hērāūs whose coin-design also resembles that of Azilises.⁴⁴ Ghirshman interprets the remark of Pompeius 'Trogus—*additae bis res Scythicae. Reges Tocarorum. Asiani interitusque Saraucum*'—to mean that Hērāūs overthrew Hyrcodes about 20 B.C.⁴⁵ and conquered the realm of Sacaraucae and staged a *coup d'état* in his own country by supplanting the ruling families. These changes had their repercussions in the lands to the North of the Oxus occupied by the K'ang-kiu (*Kāṅkas* of Indian works). The fall of the old ruling house of the Yue-che and the overthrow of the Sacaraucae gave an occasion to the K'ang-kiu to swoop upon Bukhāra. It was at that time that the independent Sogdian kingdom was formed to which the coins bearing on the obverse the bust of the king with face turned to the left and a legend in Sogdian and on the reverse an archer facing the right, that have been found at Tali Barzu near Samarqand, can be ascribed.⁴⁶ It was also then that the people of Choresmia (Khwarazm) felt the impact of the rising

42. Albert Herrmann, *Sacaraucae* in Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Vol. I, pp. 1161-1620.

43. A. Gardiner, *The coins of the Greek and Scythian kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XXXIV, 8. On these coins F. W. Thomas [Parthian and Indo-Sassanian coins, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: (1883) p. 74-76] and A. Cunningham [*Numismatic Chronicle* (1883) pp. 48-5, *ibid.*, (1890) p. 114] read the title *Tsanyu* or *chanyu* which may correspond to *shan-yu* the title of the Hiung-nu. Should this reading be correct, it would show that these śakas had imbibed some features of the culture of the Hiung-nu. But this reading is disputed and almost rejected now. [W. W. Taru, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 505-507].

44. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9; R. B. Whitehead, *Notes on the Indo-Greeks*, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1940), p. 120. Whitehead has referred to the researches of the Russian Numismatist A. N. Zograf.

45. R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, p. 116.

46. J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale* figs. 536, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43.

power of the Kuṣāṇas. The Russian archaeologist S. P. Tolstov, to whom the credit of excavating the ancient sites of Toprak Kala and Janbas Kala in Choresmia goes, has shown that the most ancient coins found there are exact copies of the tetradrachms of Heraeus. Thereafter the currency of the Choresmian kings ceases and in its place we find a large number of Kuṣāṇa coins. These coins suggest that they were made in this region rather than in India. This is a very important point for the problem of Indian chronology.^{46a} Side by side an Indo-Buddhist strain becomes manifest in Choresmian art, which suggests the domination of the Kuṣāṇas. In the Western part of Koikrylgan-Kala's central building a statuette of a sitting woman was found whose clothes are not typical of Khorezm. In one of the outbuildings of the same monument a miniature statuette of a monkey with a baby has been unearthed. In their stylistic peculiarities, both these statuettes, especially the monkey, are close to the works of art produced in India. Of special significance is the "hall of the dark-skinned guardsmen" in the ruins of the royal palace at Toprak Kala. The physical features of these dark-skinned warriors are very near to the ancient Indian population of South India. It is also interesting to note that several skulls of the same type were discovered in one of the sepulchres of the fortress. In the opinion of Tolstov "it is more probable to regard these dark-skinned warriors as the Kushan empire's military contingents recruited in South or Central India and stationed, as was widely practised in those days, on the empire's opposite border. The Indian warriors that remained in Khorezm after the collapse of the empire formed the core of the guard contingents kept by the rulers of independent Khorezm."^{46b} Tolstov is inclined to see in certain fortresses to the East of the Oxus like Ayaz Kala the advance posts of the Kuṣāṇa empire. The tide of Kuṣāṇa expansion reached further West and engulfed the town of Urartu in Transcaucasia whose ruins at the site of Arin-Berd (Gauli-Tapa) in Erivan have been excavated by the Russian archaeologist B. B. Piotrovsky. Advancing further West the Kuṣāṇas occupied Crimea and fortified the Greek town

46a. R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 113, New York, American Numismatic Society 1949) p. 9.

46b. S. P. Tolstov, *Ancient Khorezm and its ties with India*, *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, March 3, 1957, p. 2.

of Neapolis, which has been unearthed and explored by the Russian archaeologists P. N. Schulz and V. A. Golovkina. The similarity of the frescoes at Toprak Kala and in Crimea suggest that they were made by the same population group which invaded both territories at about the same time.^{46c} Thus we observe that the Scythian movement which spread along the Oxus Valley spread up to Crimea on one hand and penetrated into India on the other. In the third century A.D. the far-flung Kuṣāṇa empire having its bases in Central Asia in the Oxus Valley and the North-Western regions of India suffered a set-back. It is only in the third century A.D., the period of the decline of the Kuṣāṇa empire, that the local coins of Choresmia based on their own models begin to reappear.⁴⁷

About the beginning of the Christian era the North to South division of the Oxus Valley was replaced by a new West to East demarcation with the Oxus as the natural frontier. To the South of this river lay the Kuṣāṇa empire and to its North the Sogdian kingdom. While the Kuṣāṇa empire expanded towards the South, Ngan-si (Parthia) Kao-fu (Kabul) P'u-ta and Ki-pin under K'ien-t sien-k'io (Kuzula Kadphises),⁴⁸ the Sogdian kingdom took a hand in the politics of the Tarim Valley and aided the states of the Kashghar regions in their struggle with China. When the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao invaded the king of Kashghar, namely, Chong, the king of Sogdiana sent armies for his help. At that time the king of Sogdiana was matrimonially related to the Yue-che. Hence Pan-Ch'ao sent an embassy to the Yue-Che asking their king to remonstrate with the Sogdian king and prevent him from aiding the king of Kashghar. At the instance of the Yue-Che that king suspended hostilities and returned to his country with Chong. But soon afterwards Chong reappeared at the head of the Sogdian army and pretended to surrender. Pan Ch'ao discovered the intrigue and got him beheaded.⁴⁹ This shows that in spite of the mediation of the Yue-Che the Sogdians continued to follow their own independent policy.

46c. B. B. Piotrovsky and others, *Ourartau, Néapolis des Scythes, Khorezm* [L'Orient Ancien Illustré 8, Paris, 1954] pp. 56, 96, 132.

47. S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnyj Khorezm* (Djanbaskala); *Po sledam drevnekho-rezmyskoj civilizacii* (Toprak Kala).

48. Edouard Chavannes, *Les Pays d'occident d'après le Heu Han-shou*, T'oung pao (1907), p. 190.

49. Edouard Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* (1906), p. 230.

The political geography of the Oxus Valley remained the same under Wima Kadphises. The *Heu Han-shu* indicates that the kingdom of Sogdiana spread its tentacles to the North of the Aral Sea where the Northern-most route connected Eastern and Central Asia with the Greek settlements on the shore of the Black Sea and the centres of the Sarmatians. The kingdom of Yen situated in the neighbourhood of the Yen-tsai or Alains was dependent on Sogdiana. This control of the commercial route raised the position of Sogdian traders in the ancient world.

The said balance of power on the banks of the Oxus came to an end with the conquest of Sogdiana by Kanishka, on which recent archaeological excavations have thrown a flood of light. At Airam near Termez on the Northern bank of the Oxus some sculptures have come to light which bear a deep imprint of the Mathurā school.⁵⁰ The coins found there range up to the time of Vāsudeva and a fragment of stone vase bears an inscription in Kharoṣṭhi. These facts together with the notice of Transoxiana as an integral part of the Kuṣāṇa empire and the mention of Bukhara, Samarqand and Tashqand as its Northern limits in the Ka'ba Zardusht inscription of Shāhpur I⁵¹ prove that Sogdiana was annexed by Kanishka to his kingdom.

The advent of the Sassanid empire meant the doom of the Kuṣāṇa empire of Kanishka. We learn from Ṭabari⁵² and the *Res Gestae divi Saporis*⁵³ that Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty invaded the Kuṣāṇa empire. But the Ka'ba Zardusht inscription of Shāhpur I shows that the empire of Ardashīr did not cross the line going from Merv via Herat to Seistan. His work was taken up by his son Shāhpuhr I who carried his arms upto the confines of the Kuṣāṇa empire and conquered *Puškabur* (Peshawar) *Kaś* (the South-Western part of Transoxiana with Bukhara as centre) *Sughd* (the North-Western part of Transoxiana including Samarqand or, according to Arab geographers, the lower

50. M. E. Masson, *Brief Communications, Academy of the Sciences of the U.S.S.R.* (1940), pp. 113-114 (in Russian).

51. M. Sprengling, *Shāhpuhr I the Great, on the Kaabah of Zoroaster, American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literatures* (1940), pp. 354-357.

52. T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Aus der Arabtscher Chronik des Ṭabari*, p. 17.

53. E. Honigsmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les res gestae* (Bruxelles, 1953), pp. 106-107.

valley of the Zarafshan⁵⁴) and *Sasāstan* (the region of Tashkand⁵⁵). The burnt and deserted remains of the second city at Begram and the temples at Surkh Kotal⁵⁶ and the abandoned sites of Termez and the fourth city at Tali-Barzu⁵⁷ are evidence of these vicissitudes. Similarly the coins bearing royal effigies with crowns resembling those of the Sassanid kings from Ardashir I and Shāhpur I to Hormizd IV (574-590) found at the Choresmian sites and the new ceramic decorated in Sassanian style and having forms approaching Persian silver-ware discovered in stratum V at Tali Barzu in Sogdiana as well as in stratum III at Begram prove that these regions came within the sphere of influence of the Sassanids in III-IV centuries A.D. The later Kuṣāṇas became, in fact, subservient to the Sassanids.⁵⁸

54. R. Frye, *Sughd and the Sogdians, Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1943), pp. 14-16.

55. M. Sprengling, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-356.

56. Daniel Schlumberger, *Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, Journal Asiatique* (1954), p. 178.

57. G. Grigorieff, *Tali-Burzu, Gossaudarstveniy Ermitage Troudi ot dela istorii Koultouri i iskoustva II* (1940) p. 95-97 (in Russian).

58. The chronology of this period mostly depends on the date of Kanishka which is a puzzling problem of ancient history. Fleet held that Kanishka started the era of 58 B.C., known as Vikrama era. Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson etc., think that he founded the era of 78 A.D. Sten know fixed 128-29 A.D., as the starting point of his reign while R. Ghirshman favours the date 144 A.D. R. C. Mazumdar believes that the era in question was the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-chedi era of 248 A.D. [for references see H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* 5th edition pp. 465-472]. Recently Mrs. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw in her book *The Scythian Period* and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in his *Presidential address* to the Ahmedabad session of the Indian History Congress (27 Dec. 1954) have pleaded for the date 78 A.D. It is not necessary to express any final opinion on this point here. Yet some facts may be referred to which tend to throw light on this point. The Chinese text *San-Kuo Che* (III, 3a) has a notice of a king Po-tiao, which has been rendered by Pelliot as follows: "la troisième année t'ai-houo.....la 12^e lune.....(le jour) Kouei-wei (5 Janvier 230) le roi des Grands Yue-tche, Po-tiao (*Puā-d'ieu, lire P'o-tiao *Būā-d'ieu, = Vasudeva?) euvoya an ambassadeur offrir des présents; on donna à (P'o)-tiao le titre de roi des Grands Yue-tche apparanté aux Wei" [Tokharien et Koutcheén, *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 40]. This king P'o-tiao has been identified with Vasudeva of the dynasty of Kanishka. He seems to be the same as the Kuṣāṇa king Vehsadjan, who aided the Armenian king Khusrōe I against Ardashir in 227 A.D., (vehsa = vāsu) [M. K. Patkanian, *Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides, Journal Asiatique* (1866) p. 133-134]. This Vasudeva is the last Kuṣāṇa King whose coins are found

This flying survey of the history of the Oxus-valley from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. clearly shows that the Hūṇas never lived on the Oxus during this period and the reference to them in the *Raghuvamśa* can by no stretch of imagination be dated before the 3rd-4th century A.D. Even Indian works, which advert to the geographical conditions of earlier period, mention the Śakas, Tuṣāras (Tukhāras) (the stock of Yue-Che) Lampakas (a people akin to the Śakas according to the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra *lampakāstu muruṇḍāḥ syuḥ* Kankas (K'ang-Kiu) etc., as the inhabitant of the Oxus regions.⁵⁹ In

in the second city at Begram and at Termez. His coins are conspicuous by absence at Surkh Kotal though coins of Huviṣka are abundant there. [Daniel Schlumberger, *Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactrine*, *Journal Asiatique* pp. 177-179]. These coins of Vāsudeva are different in form, execution, design and legends from the coins of other kings bearing this name. On the coins of another Vāsudeva the form of the altar is shorter and less large and has no trace of fire. A striped trident is placed behind the altar and the legend commences on the top to the right of the head of the king. [Ludwig Bachhofer, *Herrscher und Münzen der späten Kushanas*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1936), pp. 429-439, Nos. 11, 13]. From this pronounced difference it is manifest that the latter belong to a different Vāsudeva, who copied the coins of Wima Kadphises. There is also a third group of coins which purport to be issued by another Vāsudeva. From the artistic point of view they represent a marked decline. The disproportion between the head and the body of the king is striking. The cutting and arrangement of the characters and symbols are confused and uneven. The letters a, o and Δ take the form of o. The pieces are larger and less thick. These peculiarities mark out the king of these coins as a third Vāsudeva.

In the second stratum at Begram it is the coins of the first Vāsudeva rather than the second or third that are available. This Vāsudeva belonged to the line of Kaṇiṣka I. It is thus clear that the dynasty of Kaṇiṣka came to an end in the reign of Shāhpuhr I between 241-250 A.D. [Vide Buddha-prakash, *The Kuṣāṇa Invasion of India under Kumāragupta*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1954), p. 219, F. N. 1]. Since the latest known date on the coins of the Kuṣāṇas belonging to the line of Kaṇiṣka is 98, it is plausible that the initial year of this reckoning was about 144 A.D. But there is nothing conclusive about this date of Kaṇiṣka and it is an open question whether he came to the throne in 144 A.D. or 78 A.D. For the purpose of the present enquiry it is sufficient to note that in the first century B.C. the Yue-che were predominant in Transoxiana and the Hūṇas did not appear on the scene.

59. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 47, 44.

sāndhrānstuṣārān lampakānpahlavāndaradānchakān |

Etānjanapadāncakṣuḥ plāvayantī gatodadhīm ||

Tuṣārān-barbarkān-pahlvān-pāradān-chakān |

Etānjanapadāncakṣuḥ plāvayitvodadhīm gatā ||

Matsya Purāṇa, 121, 45.

the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, where Arjuna is stated to have led an expedition in the North-West just as Raghu is said to have done in the *Raghuvamśa*, the Bāhlikas (Bactrians) Daradas, Kāmbhojas (Lampakas) Param-Kāmbhojas and Ṛṣikas and Paramaṛṣikas rather than the Hūṇas are mentioned as his main antagonists.⁶⁰ Again in the same *parvan* the Śakas, Tuṣāras and Kankas are said to have presented horses to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his sacrifice.⁶¹ The juxtaposition of these peoples agrees with the settlement of the Sacaraucae, Yue-Che and K'ang-Kia in the Oxus Valley in the first century B.C. Thus it is crystal clear that the Hūṇas are not associated with the Oxus regions in early Indian literature. Hence the theory that Kālidāsa lived in the first century B.C. is quite baseless. We had better desist from reiterating it in view of his reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus and the absence of the conditions prevailing in the North-West in the first century B.C. from his account of the campaign of Raghu.

The above enquiry led us to conclude that Kālidāsa could not have flourished before the fourth century A.D. and certainly did not live in the first century B.C. In order to specify the year in which the mention of the Hūṇas on the Oxus by him can be dated, it is necessary to study the history of these people in the fourth century A.D. But before undertaking this enquiry it would be better to tackle the thorny question of the race and culture of the Hūṇas.

For references from other Purāṇas see D. C. Sircar, *Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1951), Vol. XXII, p. 233.

60. *Mahābhārata* II, 27, 22-26.

Tataḥ paramavikrānto bāhlikān Pākāsāsaniḥ |
Mahatāparimardena vāse cakre durāsadān ||
Grihitvā tu balam saram phalgucotsṛijya pāṇḍavaḥ |
Daradān saha kāmbojairajayat-pākāsāsaniḥ ||
Prāguttarām diśam ye ca vasantyāśritya dasyavaḥ |
Nivasanti vane ye ca tānsarvān-ajayat-prabhūḥ ||
Lohān¹ paramakāmbojān-ṛṣikān-2 uttarān-api |
Sahitānsthān mahārāja vyajayatpākāsāsaniḥ ||
1. Variant Campakān. 2. Variant iṣi or iṣi.

61. *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 26.

Śakāstukhārāḥ (tukārāḥ) kankāśca romaśāḥ śringiṇo narā |
Mahāgamān-dūragamān-gaṇitān-arbudam hayān ||

IV. A Brief Outline of the History of the Hephthalite-Hūnas

The Hūnas are known as *Hyaōna* in Iranian works. Vištāspa demands divine favour to repel the *hyaōn* bandit Arejatāspa and prays to be able to liberate the people from the thralldom of *Hyaōna* and kill them in multitudes.⁶² The *Bahman Yasht* speaks of the *Xyōn ut Turk ut Xazar ut Tupit* [the *Khyon* (*Hyaōna*), the Turks, the *Khazars* and the Tibetans] as non-Iranian peoples.⁶³ The *Bundahishn* contains a passage of great historical interest which reads as follows: *anōšakrawan x-usraw ē kavaḍān ōyšān hiyōnān kēsān aspatāk ō ērānsāhr hame kirt spōkht vitarg hast ērānsāhr apēbim kirt*⁶⁴ (Anosharwan Khusrau, son of Kawadha drove the Hiyon who made repeated attacks on *Ērānsāhr*, closed the passes and made *Ērānsāhr* free from fear). In this passage the Hiyon or *Hyaōna* are identical with the same people who invaded the Sassanid empire under Kawadh in the fifth century A.D.

The King who invaded Iran under Peroz (459-484 A.D.) and killed him as called Akhshunwar by Ṭabari, Khushnuwaz by Firdausi, Akhshuvān by Dinawari and Khshunvāz in the *Bundahishn*.⁶⁵ F. W. K. Müller holds that all these variant readings are based on the Sogdian word "*khshevan*" meaning 'a king'.⁶⁶ On the other hand, R. Ghirshman thinks that these words represent *khevan* the name of the Khionites.⁶⁷ It is not unlikely that the very name Khevan or Khion or Hion or *Hyaōn* or *Hūna* is akin to the Sogdian word *khshevan*, noted above, which means a king.

Western chroniclers know these people as *kiyōnāye* or khionite. Joshua counts them among the enemies of Peroz and Ammianus Marcellinus refers to them and their king Grumbates as fighting on the side of Shāhpūhr II under the walls of Amida.⁶⁸ Chinese annals call these people *Hoa* or *Hua* which was written as *Hoa-tun*

62. *Yasht* IX, 30; IX, 31; XVII, 50-51 in J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* II, p. 439, 607-68.

63. H. W. Bailey, *Iranica, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London (1943), pp. 1-2).

64. *Bundahishn* ed. Anklesaria, p. 215.

65. J. Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, p. 60; Anklesaria, *Bundahishn*, p. 215.

66. *Sogdische Texte* I, p. 108.

67. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (Cairo 1948) p. 19.

68. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 235-236.

under the latter Wei. The *Leangshu* refers to the king Ye-ta-i-li-to of the people Hoa. According to Albert Hermann it is clear from this passage that the name of the people was Hoa and that of the dynasty of kings which ruled over them was Ye-ta-i-li-to or Hephthal.⁶⁹ In the Sui Shu also mention is made of a people *Un*, which is based on Hoa-tun.

Curiously enough two coins found in the stupa of Hadda have a legend reading as KTVΛAAΦ HIONO (Katulph Hion).⁷⁰ Likewise a large number of coins which are attributed to the adversaries of the Sassanids, namely the Khionites, bear the name of *Hion*. This word *Hion* is the same as Avestan *Hyāōna*, Pehlvi *Khiyon*, Syriac *Kiyōnāyē*, Chinese *Hoa*, *Hoa-tun* and *Un* and Sanskrit *Hūna*. Thus it is clear that the Hūnas of Sanskrit works are the Khionites who appeared on the horizon of the Sassanid empire in the fourth century A.D. and played a leading part in its history so as to pass into the realm of mythology in Iranian scriptures. There is no evidence to connect the Hūnas known in Indian works with the Hiung-nu.

There is also a people called Hephthalites. They are called *I-ta*, *Ye-ta* by Sung Yun, *Ye-ta-i-li-to* in the *Leang Shu*, *Yōp-tal* in Korean, *ep-dat* in Annamite, *Yen tatz* in Japanese, *Eftal* in Pehlvi, *Hep'tāl* in Armenian, *Abdel* in Syrian, *Hēptāl* in the *Bundahishn*, *Hayathel* in the history of Mirkhund, *Hētāl* in Persian, *Haiṭal* in Arabic and *Hephthalites* by the Byzantine historians. From coins we know of several kings bearing the name Hephthal H□TΛA. The legend on one coin is H□TΛA SAHO HIO[NO] "of Hephthal King Khionite". This king is shown as wearing a crown having three crenellations and surmounted by a globe. This crown-design is found on the coins of Shāhpūhr II. Hence this king Hephthal or Hephtal appears to be a contemporary of Shāhpūhr II.⁷¹ There are coins of another king named Hephthal, who is shown as wearing a crown of a different design. At the front of it is a crescent, from a calotte rises a shaft having a small

69. Albert Hermann, *Die Hephthaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China, Asia Major* (1924), pp. 571-572.

70. Alexander Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians, Numismatic Chronicle* (1894), p. 276, Plate VII; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (Cairo, 1948), p. 10.

71. F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, p. 350, Plate XI.

crescent at the root and a bigger one above it, which encloses a pear-shaped globe. Behind the bigger crescent float the pearl-strung ribbons. Paruck attributes this design to Yazdegird I and Ghirshman to Yazdegird II.^{71a} Coins reveal the existence of a third king Hephthal whose crown differs from those of the two kings of this name mentioned above. The calotte encases a globe the front of which has a crescent. Behind it hang two long and large ribbons. This head-dress is in the likeness of a fez-cap with a dangling tassel which some Mohemmadans wear now-a-days. This simpler design shows some independence in the choice of coiffure. The legend is H□T/A HIONO (Hephthal Hiono). There are also some bilingual coins bearing the name Hephthal. On the obverse of one piece studied by Paruck⁷² the bust of the Sassanid king Kawadh with the crown of his current issues is accompanied by a legend in Pehlvi *kawadh afzūni* while on the margin is superimposed in two lines a legend in Tukharian characters reading HA□/ATA/ (A) "Hephtal". Similarly there are coins of Khusrāu I restruck with the name of Hephthal. These coins were paid in tribute by the Sassanid emperors to the Khionite kings.

These coins reveal that Hephtal was the name of at least three kings and Hion was their surname. Thus it is clear that Hephthal was a dynastic name and Hion was an ethnic designation and Ghirshman is perfectly right in holding that the Hephthalites and the Khionites were one and the same people.⁷³

The remarks of ancient writers leave no room for doubt that the Khionite-Hephthalites were distinct from the Hiung-nu. In fact, in a letter of the Sogdian merchant Nanai-Vandak to his colleague Nanai-dvar in Samarkand, the Hiung-nu, who in 313 conquered Lo-yang are called Xun, a name which, according to Henning, is indistinguishable from Hūna.^{73a} But as shown by Otto

71a. F. D. J. Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 361, R. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

72. F. D. J. Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 376, Plate XVII.

73. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (introduction), p. XII.

According to Tabari (tr. Zotenberg II, p. 128) the word Hephthal means 'brave', 'strong', in the language of Bukhara. J. Marquart [*Erānshahr*, p. 57] distinguishes these peoples. See also T. Nöldeke, *Études historiques sur la Perse ancienne*, p. 161-163; Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 284. But this view is not sound as seen above.

73a. W. B. Henning, *The date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1948), pp. 601-615.

Maenchen-Helfen it is not the decisive proof of the identity of the Huns and the Hiung-nu. He draws attention to many "Pseudo-Huns", for instance, the Phruni, Chonai, Uenni, Hugni etc. of classical writers. In his view the word 'Hun' in East Germanic names Hunirix, Hunila, Hunwulf etc. has nothing to do with the Huns of Attila and rather stands for the Old Nordic word *hūnu* meaning "a cub of bear or a young man" or the Proto-Germanic adjective *hun* signifying 'high'.^{73b} In another paper Maenchen-Helfen has held that the Hūnas of Sanskrit works were the Hephthalites.^{73c} K. Enoki has also shown that the Hephthalites were wholly different from the Hiung-nu.^{73d} Quoting the view of Karlgren Robert Shafer has tried to prove that the ancient pronunciation of Hiung-nu was *Khiong-nu* or *χu-nu* which resembles the word *Hūna*. Shafer holds that Hūna has affinity with the Tibetan word *Hor*. To the East of lake Mānasarovara in Nari Khorsum (Māna-ris bskar gsum) is the district of Hundes which means 'the country of wool' according to Tucci. In Tibet the word *Hor* is used for the Turks. Shafer is inclined to equate this word with the word *Hūna*.^{73e} But in this case also we can ill afford to ignore the warning of Maenchen Helfen that the mere similarity of names is not a guarantee of the identity of the Hūnas, Hsiung-nu or the peoples bearing analogous names. The former are called White Huns, *Spēt Khyon* or *svetahūna* evidently in contradistinction to the generality of the Huns. Procopius states about them as follows: "the Hephthalites are not nomads but are settled since long on agricultural land. They have never attacked the Romans but with the armies of the Medes. Among the Huns only they have white skins and do not have short eyes. They do not lead a kind of life resembling that of the Huns. They do not live like animals like them, but are governed by a sole king. They have a government with laws and live with each other and with their neighbours in a right and just manner little inferior to that of the Romans."⁷⁴ According to Chinese sources these people belonged to the family of the Yue-che. The author of the gloss

73b. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Pseudo-Huns*, *Central Asiatic Journal* (1955), Vol. I, Part II, pp. 101-106.

73c. Otto Maenchen Helfen, *Huns and the Hsiungnu*, *Byzantion* (1944-1945), Vol. XVII, pp. 230-231.

73d. K. Enoki, *The Origin of the Hephthalites*, *East and West* (Rome, 1955), Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 231-232.

73e. Robert Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 160-163.

74. *De bello Persico* I, 3.

fragmentary manuscripts in this script in Berlin.⁸³ This is the Greek script of Bactriana of 24 letters with a special letter for *ś* which form the script of 25 letters prevalent in T'u-ho-lo or Tukharistan at the time of Hiuen Tsang.⁸⁴ This script was in use from Bactriana and the Western Pamirs up to the frontiers of Seistan. In the North it met the Sogdian beyond the Oxus and in the South the Kharoṣṭhi script was its neighbour. This script was known as Tōkhri or Tukharian and was known as such in the colophons of üighur works.⁸⁵

The religion of the Hephthalites consisted of the worship of sky and fire as noted by Chinese writers. Hiuen Tsang describes the temple of their god Sun or Kshun in Zabulistan which was highly venerated in neighbouring areas. The details show that it was a shrine of Sūrya.⁸⁶ Toramāṇa and Mihirkula are known to have worshipped Brahmanical dieties, while Tarkhan Nizak was a zealous follower of Buddhism and reprimanded and beheaded the Buddhist chief priest of the Navavihāra (Nowbahar) monastery of Balkh, named Barmak, when he embraced Islam. In fact, the religion of the Buddha mixed with the cult of Mithra in Afghanistan. In the art of Bamiyan Buddha has been dressed in the garb of Mithra and the representation of eight Buddhas recalls the eight Magas or Bhojakar, Mihira, Nikṣubhā, Rājñi, Daṇḍanāyaka, Pingala, Rājña, Strauṣa and Īsa Garumtat, who are the eight divine forces emanating from the body of the Sun-god.⁸⁷ This rapprochement is symbolic of the cultural synthesis that marked the domination of foreign tribes including the Hephthalites in the North-West.

Kālidāsa refers to a peculiar funerary custom of the Hūṇas when he states that the valour of Raghu expressed itself in the

83. O. Hansen, *Die Berliner Hephthaliten-Fragmente*, Klio, (new series) (1951), pp. 41-69.

84. H. W. Bailey, "Taugara," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1935), p. 892; Paul Pelliot, *A propos du "Tokharien"*, T'oung pao (1936), p. 260 changing his former opinion expressed in *Tokharien et Koutcheén*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 34 ff.

85. Paul Pelliot *Tokharien et Koutcheén*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 53; Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens*, pp. 5-7.

86. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 284-285.

87. A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan* (1928), Plate XXII ff.

scarlet cheeks of their ladies.⁸⁸ The correct import of this remark is missed by ancient commentators. Mallinātha, for instance, observes that the cheeks of the Hūṇa women were made red by beating on account of the sorrow caused by the death of their husbands.⁸⁹ But this is nothing better than a guess. We learn from Chinese sources that the T'u-kiue of Mongolia used to slash their faces with knives so that blood could be seen flowing with tears whenever a man died.⁹⁰ This funerary custom is also noted among the Scythians by Herodotus (IV, 71). He observes that the people wounded their arms, faces and noses in honour of the dead. In fact the nomads of Central Asia including the Scythians and Hūṇas had this custom of mourning the dead by wounding the faces with knives and letting blood flow with tears. The Hūṇas or Hephthalites having passed through the nomadic stage and living in close proximity with the Scythians shared this custom and Kālidāsa referred to it when he made a pointed remark on the red cheeks of the Hūṇa women on the occasion of the death of their husbands.

The aforesaid study of the physical features, language, script religion and customs of the Hephthalites clearly substantiates the view of R. Ghirshman that the Hephthalites or Khionites were Indo-Europeans⁹¹ rather than Turks or Mongols as held by other

88. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 68: Kapalapāṭalādeśi babbhūva Raghuceṣṭitam.

89. Mallinātha observes: tatrodīcyām diśi bhartṛiṣu vyaktavikramam. Bhatṛivadhena sphuṭaparākramamityarthaḥ. Raghuceṣṭitam raghuvyāpāraḥ hūṇajanapadākhyāḥ kṣatriyāḥ teṣāmavarodhā antahpurastriyāḥ tāsām Kapoleṣu pāṭalasya pāṭalimnastādanādikṛitārūnyasyādeśyupadeśaka babbhūva. Athavā pāṭala ādeśyādeṣṭa yasya tadbabbhūva. Svayam lekhyāyata ityarthaḥ.

90. Stanislas Julien, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue*, *Journal Asiatique* (1864), p. 332. "Ils se tailladent le visage avec un couteau, de sorte qu'on voit le sang couler avec les larmes."

91. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, pp. 113 ff. K. Enoki, *The Origin of the White Huns or Hephthalites, East and West*, Vol. VI, Part III, (Oct. 1955, pp. 231-237).

Enoki has shown that the Hephthalites were the indigenous people of Tukharistan. Their Northern centre lay in that region to the West of Badakshan which Hiuen Tsang has called Hi-ma-to-lo or Himatala. This Hi-mo-to-lo is held to have been a corrupt form of the word Hephthal. There Sung-Yun paid a visit to the Hephthalite King in 519 A.D. There Southern capital was to the South of the present-day Kunduz at Ghur, which Procopius has called Gorgo and the Chinese writers have termed Hua (ancient pronunciation *hua*, *Khua*). Enoki has refuted the view that the Hephthalites came into Tokharistan from the Altai regions. Had this been the case the Heph-

scholars.⁹² In the first half of the fourth century A.D. they spread West-wards along the Oxus and in the Steppes separating the Aral sea from the Caspian sea. One of their tribes, the *Chöl* settled to the East of the Caspian sea, another called *Kasidi* reached the region of Herat and a third known as the *Zabuls* occupied the area of Gazni. They pushed further West. From the time of the emperor Arcadius they were the neighbours of the Ibers and aided a certain Farsman to get their throne. Between 350 and 358 they forced the emperor Constance to make friends with the Sassanids. In 363 emperor Jovian entered into a treaty with Shāhpuhr II, an important clause of which bound the Romans and Persians to defend together the passes of the Caucasus against the barbarians. From that year up to the reign of Leon I (468) Rome paid the

thalites like the Western Tou-K'iue would have established their capital near the Altai regions.

Enoki has observed that from the fourth to the eighth centuries of the Christian era many tribes of Central Asia began to assume the names of Hiung-nu, Hun, Khion, etc. The reason of this nomenclature was a desire of the peoples of Central Asia to connect themselves with Hiung-nu, since their name and fame had spread throughout the whole of Central Asia in ancient times. As a matter of fact the Hephthalites had no connection with the Hiung-nu. On this subject the views of Maenchen-helfen have been quoted above. Enoki, however, distinguishes the Hephthalites from the Khionites. But the reasoning of Ghishman on this point is more convincing.

Recently the Russian archaeologist S. P. Tolstov held that the barbarians consisting of the Khionites-Hephthalites, who destroyed the Choresmian sites in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. were of Turkic origin. He bases his conclusion on the fact that the bones of the people found in the top layers of these sites have Mongoloid traits. But in the absence of any other cogent or convincing evidence this mere fact does not suffice to establish the Turkic origin of the Hephthalites. What certainty is there that the bones in question are definitely of the Hephthalites? How can it be ruled out as impossible that the Indo-European Hephthalites were not accompanied or followed by some Mongoloid peoples? In the history of Central Asia the phenomenon of the displacement of one tribe resulting in the movement of others is frequently met with. Thus the view of Tolstov is not supported by any strong evidence. [S. P. Tolstov, *Ancient Khoresm and its Ties with India*, The Hindustan Times Weekly, March 3, 1957 p. 2].

92. Paul Pelliot wrote, "Les noms de Hiong-nou, de Hun et de Hüna seraient-ils trois appellations absolument indépendantes l'une de l'autre? Ce n'est pas à priori très vraisemblable." [*A propos des Comans*, *Journal Asiatique* (1920), p. 141.]. At another place he writes: "Mongols également ont été, selon moi, leur cousins les Huns blancs ou Hephthalites qui, vers l'an 500 vinrent s'abattre sur L'Afghanistan et exercèrent de terribles ravages dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde". [*La Haute Asie*, p. 12]. According to the

contribution for the defence of these passes and the maintenance of garrisons and fortifications.⁹³

The beginning of the reign of Shāhpuhr II in 309 A.D. was marked by the revolt of the Turks, of Rome and of India according to the Persian version of the annals of Ṭabari.⁹⁴ Marquart is right in suggesting that there is a reference to the rising of the Kušānas in this remark.⁹⁵ After putting his house in order Shāhpuhr turned his attention towards Armenia and in 336 sent an ambassador to the court of emperor Constantine to demand the provinces ceded by his grand-father Narse in 297. On the latter's reluctance war flared up which lasted with varying results up to the sixties of that century. In the forties there was a lull in it and Shāhpuhr found time to liquidate the Kušānas. It was perhaps in token of his triumph over the Kušānas that he struck coins bearing his name in Tukharian characters. The weakening of the Kušānas resulted in the irruption of other nomadic tribes in the Oxus Valley. Among these tribes the Khionites or Hūnas figured prominently. Hence in 356 Shāhpuhr had to contend with them and two years later made an alliance with them and the Gelanes. The campaign of Shāhpuhr cowed down the Khionites into joining his forces in the battle of Amida against the Romans in 359. Ammianus Marcellinus states that the Khionites who fought on the side of Shāhpuhr were led by their king Grumbates. The

latter position the Hephthalites were different from the Hiung-nu, who according to Pelliot were Turks. J. Marquart also holds the same view. [*Über das Volkstum der Komanen in Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Göttingen 1920]. René Grousset calls the Hephthalites "horde mongole descendue de l'Asie Centrale" [*Histoire de l'Asie* (Paris 1950), p. 55]. On the basis of these views P. C. Bagchi has tried to prove that the Hephthalites were Turks. [P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* p. 9]. On the Huns two important papers have recently appeared in German. [O. Pritsak, *Kultur und sprache der Hunnen*, *Cyževskij-Festschrift* (1954); Pavel Poucha, *Mongolische Miscellen (zum Hunnenproblem)*, *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. I, Part IV (1955 pp. 287-291)]. These studies relate to the Hiung-nu but some interesting observations have also been made in them about the Hephthalites. The most significant fact to which Poucha has drawn our attention is that the name of the famous conqueror of Europe Attila bears affinity to the Tukharian word *atir* and the old German word *adal* meaning 'hero' or a 'man'.

93. Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken welt*, band IV, p. 275 et seq.

94. Zotenberg, *Annales de Ṭabari* Vol. II, p. 91.

95. J. Marquart, *Erdenšahr*, p. 50.

status of the Khionites was that of nomadic mercenaries who were impressed by severe campaigns and allured by handsome emoluments to enter the lists against the Romans. The successor of Grumbates was most probably Kutulphe whose bust is dressed in a crown resembling that of Shāhpuhr II on his coins. Kutulphe was followed by Hephtal or Hephthal whose headdress is also similar to that of Shāhpuhr II and who, as such, flourished under him. These kings acknowledged the suzerainty of Shāhpuhr and settled along the *limes* of his empire as his vassals like the Germanic tribes on the frontiers of the Roman empire. We learn from the *T'ung-t'ien* of the Chinese writer Tu-Yu that the empire of the Hephthalites was established eighty or ninety years prior to the reign of emperor Wen-Ch'eng (457-465 A.D.) of the Toba Wei dynasty. This shows that the foundation of the Hephthalite Kingdom was laid in 366-376 A.D. under Kutulphe or Hephtal during the lifetime of Shāhpuhr I.

Shāhpuhr II was succeeded by Ardashir II (379-383) who was perhaps his brother. He was followed by the son of Shāhpuhr II Shāhpuhr III under whom the Khionite-Hephthalites continued to send reinforcements to the Imperial armies in times of war. Just before 384 A.D. they invaded Mesopotamia under Shāhpuhr III and pushed up to Edessa following which the emperor sent an embassy led by Stilicon to the Persian court for discussing the question of the partition of Armenia. The *Acts of the Martyrs of Edessa* describe these invaders as *Hunni quidam Ephtalitae, Parsarum finitimi et qui ad solem habitabant Orientem*. It is for the first time that the Hephthalites are mentioned in western sources. The name of the reigning King Hephtal gave them this name, as seen above.

In the eighties of the fourth century a great commotion was caused by the irruption of nomadic tribes on the Caucasian frontiers. In the South-East also the Kuṣāṇas raised their heads and tried to expand their realm. Their invasion of India under Rāmagupta shows that they had developed their power in this period. In these disturbances the Hephthalites also got an opportunity to strengthen their position and extend their domination over the neighbouring regions. While the effort and attention of Bahram IV who ascended the Sassanid throne in 388 were riveted on the Western provinces, the Hephthalites entrenched their hold in Bactriana and the South at the cost of the Kuṣāṇas. Towards the

end of the reign of Bahram IV the Hephthalites had grown in power and prestige in Bactriana and the Kuṣāṇas were eclipsed. But they did not break away from the Sassanid empire and kept a semblance of vassalage to it while enjoying undisputed supremacy in the Oxus—Valley. This rise of the Hephthalites was due to the energetic leadership of Hephtal I.

With the accession of Yazdegird I in 399 the situation seems to have undergone a change. In the first two decades of the fifth century we do not hear anything about the Hephthalites. There is a break in their coinage from the accession of Yazdegird I (cir. 400) to the end of the reign of Yazdegird II (cir. 450). The rise of the Mongol horde of the Ju-juan, disparagingly called by the Chinese Juan-juan, in the steppes of Central Asia gave a rude shock to the nascent power of the Hephthalites. In 402 A.D. the Juan-juān chief Shō-luen subjugated the rival horde of Kao-kiu, who were the ancestors of the Tölash and Ūighur Turks and inhabited the region of Kobdo and Urungu. In a very short time they came to dominate the whole of Northern Gobi from Leao-ho on the Korean frontier in the East to Irtysh and the approaches of Qarashahr in the West. The Hephthalites were hard-hit by the pressure of the Juan-juan. It is also likely that Yazdegird I tried to stem their advance in the South-West. His assassination at Gurgān, where the Sassanids had established their military base for fighting with the Hephthalites, shows that he was campaigning against them. It is also not unlikely that his assassination was encompassed by the Hephthalites who tried to throw the thralldom of the Sassanids soon afterwards. But the next Sassanid monarch Bahram V known as Bahram God (421-438) was equal to the occasion and nipped the insurrection in the bud by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hephthalites at Kušmehan near Merv.⁹⁶ After sweeping off the Hephthalites from Bactriana Bahram Gor appointed his brother Narse as the governor of that country with the title of *Marzban-i-Kūšān* and established his headquarters at Balkh. Not content with this victory, the Sassanid monarch crossed the Oxus and conquered the country beyond the river and forced its people to pay tribute.

In 438 Yazdegird II came to the throne of Iran. He kept the Khionite tribes in check during the earlier part of his reign and led a sweeping expedition against the Chöls to the north of Gurgan

in the steppes of Dahistan.⁹⁷ From the fourth year of his reign to the eleventh he fought against those people and was obliged to found a city named Šahristān-i-Yazdegird to serve as the base of operations. After the victory over the Chōls he turned against the Hephthalites in the twelfth year of his reign in 449-450 and their king gave way enabling the Sassanid forces to penetrate into their country, storm the towns, pillage the land and return with a rich booty. But just on the morrow of his triumph the raids and razzias of the Hephthalites began to occur in the Eastern provinces of the empire. Hence Yazdegird II was compelled to renew the campaign in 453-454. Simultaneously trouble broke out in the Western provinces of the empire adjoining Caucasia and a rebellion flared up in a large number of the imperial troops that were composed of the Armenians and the Alains due to the Sassanid policy of persecuting the Christians. Just after quelling this revolt Yazdegird II marched against the Hephthalites but due to the treachery of a counsellor, who hailed from the family of Hailandurk, he suffered a heavy defeat, the first that the Hephthalites inflicted on the Sassanids. Soon after this triumph the Hephthalites moved southwards and crossing the Indus swooped upon the Gupta empire in 455 A.D. But Skandagupta beat them back as we gather from the Bhitari inscription.⁹⁸ The chief under whom the Hephthalites scored these successes was most probably Hephthal II whose coins show him wearing a headdress resembling that of Yazdegird II. His headquarter was at Balkh as the reverse of his coins bear the legend BAX Λ O (Balkh) in Tukharian at the right and the letter *ph* in Pehlvi on the left, which stands for the name of that city.⁹⁹ In 456 we find Yazdegird continuing the struggle against the Hephthalites. In that year the first embassy of the Hephthalites reached the court of the Wei in China. This was the first sign of the independence of the Hephthalites. The result of these movements of the

96. T. Nöldeke [*Tabari*, p. 99], held that the adversaries of Bahram Gor were the Hephthalites while J. Marquart [*Ērānšahr*, p. 52] thought that they were the Khionites. But as the Hephthalites and Khionites were one and the same people this controversy cuts no ice.

97. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 56.

98. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, No. 13, verse 8. Hūnairasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyām dharā kampitā.

99. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, pp. 11-12.

Hephthalites was that one of their branches called Tšavla or Jaula or Zabul occupied the regions of Gazni beyond the Indus.

The death of Yazdegird II in 457 gave a signal to the civil war between Peroz and Hormizd. The former took shelter among the Hephthalites and with their assistance dethroned his brother and became emperor. The contemporary Hephthalite King of Peroz was Akun. Some time later hostilities broke out between these two kings. The Sassanid monarch sustained a defeat, undertook to pay tribute to his rival and sent his son Kawadh as a hostage to him. The coins paid in tribute by Peroz to Akun have the name of the latter restruct on them. Henceforth the kingdom of the Hephthalites became independent of the Sassanids as the novelties on his coins indicate. This period was marked by an unprecedented rise of the power and prestige of the Hephthalites. In 477 A.D. they conquered Gāndhāra, in 479 A.D. occupied Sogdiana and in the closing years of that century took possession of Turfan and Qarashahr. In 484 again Peroz attacked the Hephthalites but was defeated and killed. The conqueror of Peroz was Hephthal III (the Ye-ta-i-li-to of Leang-šhu) who succeeded Akun and whose name figures on the restruct coins of Balash, Kawadh and Khusrau I.

Menaced by an anti-Hephthalite group of nobles led by Nakhver Gushnaspdādh Kawadh took refuge among the Hephthalites, married the daughter of their king and dethroned his brother Zāmāsp with their assistance and recovered the throne. During the rest of his reign he was on friendly terms with the Hephthalites who constantly helped him against the Romans in the West and the nomads of the North.

After Kawadh, Khusrau I Anusharwan (531-578) kept good relations with the Hephthalites in the beginning of his reign. In 551 he is said to have employed the White Huns, the Chōls, according to Christensen,¹⁰⁰ as mercenaries against the Romans. But in 549 he refused to pay tribute to the Hephthalites and between 563 and 567 their empire crumbled under this attacks in the West and those of the Western T'u-kiue in the East. Their territories on the Western bank of the Oxus were seized by the Sassanids and those along its Eastern bank were occupied by the Turks so that the

100. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 364.

Oxus formed the boundary between the Sassanid and the T'u-Kiue empires. According to Tabari the empire of Khusran extended over the provinces of Sind, Bost, ar-Rukhāj (Arachosia), Zabulistan, Tukharistan, Dardistan and Kabulistan which were ceded by the Hephthalite king who is called Ghatfar by Firdausi and Katulphe by Theophanus of Byzantium.¹⁰¹

After the conquest of the Hephthalite empire some of their princes were allowed to rule as the vassals of the Turks over small principalities. Sometimes these princes asserted themselves but were soon crushed. In 588-589, for instance, they occupied Bādghis and Herat at the instigation of the Turks but were repelled by the Spahbād of Khurassan Bahram Čōbin who wrested Balkh and crossed the Oxus and got a victory over the king Mazk'it'k who is identified by Marquart with the qaghan Sho-lo-hu.¹⁰² Among these later Hephthalite princes the name of Tarkhan Nizak deserves special attention. He played an important part in the events of the age of the Arab conquest of Bactriana. But after him the rule of the Hephthalites came to an end and they merged in the population of Bukhara and Samarqand according to al-Mas'ūdi.¹⁰³

We have seen that in 455-456 the Hephthalites appeared on the Indus and crossed into India. Though driven away by Skandagupta and defeated by the Jartas, the Jartikas or Jats of the Sialkot region, as we learn from a remark of Chandragomin *ajayat-jarto Hūnām*, they settled in Zabulistan. Their kingdom lay along the river of Gazni and the lake Āb-i-Istādā. To the North this kingdom extended up to the valley of the Kabul, in the East it reached the mountain range of Sulaiman, in the West it touched the basin of the Helmund and in the South it met the mountainous regions which have been regarded as the cradle of the Afghans. Hiuen Tsang states that the king of Hi-ma-to-lo in the country of To-ho-lo (Tukharistan) marched against the Kritiyas of Kaśmīra, who had banished Buddhism, and occupied their country.¹⁰⁴ Marquart is right in identifying this king with Hephthal and holding that he conquered

101. E. Drouin, *Mémoire sur les Huns Hephthalites*, p. 285.

102. J. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 65.

103. Abu'l Hasan 'Alī bin Al Husain al Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb Muruj adh-Dhahab wa M'adin al-Fauhar*, Vol. II, p. 195.

104. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 156-157

Kaśmīra at the same time as Gandhāra. Sung-Yün, who visited Gandhāra in 520 A.D. writes as follows: "It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo. This is the country which the Ye-thās destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed."¹⁰⁵ Chavannes renders this passage as follows: "Le Gandhare était appelé primitivement Che-po-lo, quand'il eut été vaincu par les ye-ta, on y plaça comme roi un Tch'e-le; depuis que (cette dynastie) gouverne le royaume deux generations se sont déjà écoulées."¹⁰⁶ The account of Sung Yun is reproduced in the *Pei-she*: "(Le Gandhare) était appelé primitivement che-po-, il fut détruit par les Hephthalites, et c'est alors qu'il changea de nom. Le roi était à l'origine un Tch'e-le; il gouverne ce pays depuis déjà deux generations."¹⁰⁷ Thus we observe that the reading tch'e-le rather than lae-lih is correct. It signifies Tsavla, Tsaula or Jauvla, a name by which Toramāṇa designated himself in the Kura inscription, (*rājādhirāja-mahārāja-toramāṇa-sāhijaiū[bla]*). From the remark of Sung Yun it is clear that the Jauvla kingdom had been founded on the other side of the Indus in Gāndhāra and Gaṇnā two generations ago. We know that the father of Mihirkula was Toramāṇa. Coins, however, reveal the existence of another king Rāmānīlā who calls himself Ramanila, king of Zabul and whose bust faces the left instead of right on his coins in token of his independent status. Ghirshman¹⁰⁸ identifies this king with Toramāṇa but gives no reason in support of his view. It is likely that Rāmānīlā was a predecessor of Toramāṇa and founded the Jauvla empire in the years 455-456 while the Hephthalites scored victories over the Sassanids and swept into India under Hephthal II. It is also not unlikely that Rāmānīlā belonged to a family that was different from that of Toramāṇa.

Thus we observe that after their defeat in India the Jauvlas settled in Kabul and Gazni and founded an empire¹⁰⁹ on the other

105. *ibid.*, Vol. I. P. C.

106. E. Chavannes, *Voyage de Song-Yun*, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

107. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue Occidentaux*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

108. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, p. 35.

109. R. Ghirshman, [*ibid.*, p. 32], holds that the Hephthalites conquered the state of Zabul in the fourth century A.D. during the reign of Shāhpūhr II. He bases his argument on the fact that a coin bearing the legend SAHO ZAB "of the king of Zab" and showing the king wearing a crown like that of

side of the Indus which reached its zenith under Toramāṇa (cir. 490-515 A.D.) and Mihirkula (cir. 515-544). The activities of these kings are fairly well-known to the students of Indian history. The *Kuvalayamālā* (cir. 778 A.D.) refers to the camp of Torarāya (Toramāṇa) on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā and the Jaina writer Somadeva (10th cent. A.D.) mentions a tradition that a Hūṇa king conquered Chitrakūṭa. In an inscription found at Eran in Malwa a chief named Dhanyaviṣṇu is stated to be owing allegiance to Toramāṇa and in a seal discovered at Kauśambi near Allahabad there is a reference to the coming of the Hūṇas to the middle country. The *Rājataranginī* gives details of the campaign of Mihirakula in the South upto Ceylon and Hiuen T'sang and the Buddhist text *Ārya-mañjūsri-mūla-kalpa* describe his invasion in Eastern India. We learn from the *Caturbhāṇī*, a work of the later Gupta period, that the Hūṇas had become very prominent in Eastern places like Pāṭaliputra. In the *Pādatāḍitakam* of Śyamilaka, included in this collection, the Viṭa finding Bhaṭṭi Maghavarman, the son of the commander Senaka, opening the door and entering the house of somebody, addresses him as follows:

aye kasya khalvayam-ahūṇo hūṇa-maṇḍana-maṇḍitaḥ āryagho-
ṭakaḥ Pāṭaliputrakāyāḥ puspādāsyā bhavanadvāram-āviṣkaroti.

(Nirvarṇya) Ā jñātam ebhīrīhābaddha-śvetakāṣṭha-karṇikā-
prahasita - kapola - deśaiḥ - baddha - karair - asajjamapyasakṛit-
sajjamiti-sānjali-prativādighir-lāṭa-dīṇḍibhiḥ sūcitāḥ senāpateḥ
senakasya-apatyartna-bhaṭṭimāghavarmanā bhaviṣyati. Tanna śakya-
menamanabhībhāṣyātikramitum. [*Caturbhāṇī*, ed. Rāmakaṣṇa
Kavi, p. 15.]

It is clear from this quotation that at Pāṭaliputra the Hūṇas had become so powerful and predominant that they could break open the house of anybody and enter it. Not only this, but the local people could also take the law into their hands in the garb of the Hūṇas. In this connection it is very interesting that white wooden tassels were hanging on the cheeks of the followers and retainers of Bhaṭṭimāghavarman. It appears that these tassels

Bahram IV (338-399) has been found at Setq-ābad. But this coin does not bear the name of the king which shows that he was not a ruler of eminence but was some ordinary satrap or officer. The remark of Sung Yun is too explicit to admit of any other view.

were the peculiar objects of Hūṇas. In order to ape the Hūṇas the servants of Bhaṭṭimāghavarman had worn them on their cheeks.^{109a} But these far-reaching conquests of the Hūṇas were short-lived and Bālāditya in the East and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana in the West inflicted crushing defeats on him and expelled him from the interior of India.

The defeat and death of Mihirakula marked the end of the palmy days of the Jauvla kingdom. The Turks pressed into Gandhāra and drove the Hephthalites from there. One of the vassals of the Turks was a king named Napki whose coins have been found by J. Hackin in the sanctuary of Khair Khān near Kabul.¹¹⁰ At the time of Hiuen Tsang a Turkish prince was ruling at Kabul. But it appears that in Zabolistan the Jauvla dynasty continued to reign. The Chinese pilgrim noted that the king of that country had succeeded to a long line of kings and was a follower of the cult of Sun or Ksun.¹¹¹ To that dynasty can be assigned the coins of King Vakhsha, the legends of which reveal a comprehensive Indianisation,¹¹² and side by side prove that the old Khionite titles were still in use. It is significant that the Arabs who declared war on Zabulistan under 'Abdur-Rahmān ibn Muhammad ibn al Ashas in 33 Hijri (654-655 A.D.), ten years after the visit of Hiuen T'sang, mention only Zunbīl or Zambīl as the title of the king and do not associate any Turkish title with him.¹¹³ In spite of the repeated attacks of the Arabs the dynasty of Zambīl (the name by which the Arabs designated the Jauvlas) continued to conserve their independence. It was with the object of soliciting the assistance of China against the Arabs that they sent repeated embassies to the Chinese court

109a. For detailed references see, Buddhaprakash, *The Last Days of the Gupta Empire*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, (1946), pp. 124-141.

110. J. Hackin, *Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan*, *Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 289; see also M. F. C. Martin, *Some Coins of the Napki Mulka class restruck by Shahi Tigin*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *Numismatic Supplement*, Vol. 46, p. 6.

111. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 285-286.

112. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, p. 45.

113. J. Marquart and J. J. De Groot, *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn Vom 6 bis 9 Jahrhundert*, *Festschrift Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), p. 267 ff. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (5th ed.) p. 208.

up to the year 755. In 870-871, however, Y'aqūb-bin-Laith, the Saffarid, overthrew the Khionite state and captured its last ruler Peroz bin Kabk. In the Persian work *Jām'a al-hikāyāt wa lawām'a al-rawāyāt* composed by Sadīruddin Mohammad Aufi at Bukhāra in 1232 A.D., a manuscript of which is available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is an interesting episode of the encounter of Yakub-bin Laith with Zambil. When Yāqub found that his army was no match for that of Zambil and could not vanquish him on the field of battle, he invited the latter to meet him as a friend. At the meeting he resorted to *taqīa* and treacherously worsted Zambil. [I saw this manuscript in the said library on 3-1-56]. Thereafter a governor was appointed to rule over Zabulistan. Thus ended the Jauvla dynasty of Gazni but in other forms it continued to play an important part in Indian history. An inscription of king Mahendrapāla I (893-907) refers to the Tomar chiefs among whom figured a Jauvla (Jāula), a name reminding us of the title of Toramāṇa.¹¹⁴ In this way the links of the Tomars, Gurjaras and Hūṇas continued to exist.^{114a}

V. Considerations about the date of Kālidāsa.

This brief outline of the history of the Khionite-Hephthalites provides the background of the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa. In order to determine the date to which this reference can be precisely assigned it is necessary to bear in mind the standpoint of Kālidāsa. The poet begins his account of the North-Western campaign of Raghu by stating that he set out to conquer the Persians (Pārasikas).¹¹⁵

114. Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniska jusqu'aux invasions Mussulmans*, p. 123.

114a. P. C. Bagchi has recently expressed the view that *Gurjara* is a transcription of *Wu-sun*. According to him the ancient pronunciation of *Wu-sun* was *gu-sur* or *gu-zur* [*India and Central Asia* p. 139]. Quoting de Groot Maenchen-Helfen has observed that *wu-sun* means the 'grandson of a raven.' Among some tribes of Central Asia there is a popular tradition that once when their ancestor was in distress a raven had brought meat to him and saved his life. [Otto Maenchen Helfen, *The Yueh-Chih Problem Reexamined*, JAOS. op.cit. p. 74] F.N. 22].

115. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 61.

Pārasikānstato jetum pratasthe sthalavartmanā |
Indriyākhyāniva ripūnstatvajñānena saṅyamī ||

This shows that the primary object of Raghu was to crush the Pārasikas. But after defeating them somewhere near Begram and conquering the adjoining regions it became imperative for the conqueror to proceed right North¹¹⁶ and pounce upon the Hūṇas on the Oxus.¹¹⁷ This proves that the association of the Hūṇas with the Pārasikas was so close that without conquering them the victory over the latter was quite meaningless. But though the Hūṇas were allied to the Pārasikas they were a people of some political standing and strategic importance which merited the pointed mention of them by a poet like Kālidāsa in the account of the campaign of a conqueror like Raghu. An insignificant tribe could not have been mentioned by Kālidāsa as the trend of his description shows. Thus we have to specify the period in which the Hūṇas grew in political and military importance on the Oxus and side by side maintained their association and subservience to the Sassanids.

It is manifest that the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus could not have been made in or after 455-456 A.D. since in that years the Hūṇas appeared on the Indus and established their kingdom in Zabulistan. A writer of that period should have mentioned the Hūṇas on the Indus rather than the Oxus. Similarly it is unlikely that this reference could have been made in the first half of the fifth century for in that period the Hūṇas were worsted and vanquished by the Juan-juan and the Sassanids and their relation to the Persian empire was that of war and hostility. We have seen that in the first two decades of the fifth century the Hephthalites suffered a serious setback as the absence of their

116. *ibid.*, IV, 66.

ṭataḥ pratasthe kauberīm bhāsvāniva raghurdiśam |
śarairusrairivo-dīcyān-uddhariṣyan-rasān-iva ||

For a detailed discussion of the geography of the North-West as described by Kālidāsa, see Buddhaprakash, *The Geographical and Cultural Aspects of the Northern Itinerary of Raghu as described by Kālidāsa*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, (Calcutta, 1956), Vol. XXII, No. 2.

117. An indication of the site of the battle of Raghu with the Pārasikas is given in the following verse of the *Raghuvamśa*:

Vinayante sma tadyodhā madhubhīrvijayaśramam |
Āstīrṇājīnaratnāsu drākṣāvalayabhūmiṣu ||

(*Raghu*, IV, 65)

coins in this period shows. In about 420 A.D. they were invaded by Yazdegird and soon afterwards liquidated by Bahram Gor. Bahram's successor Yazdegird II defeated them in 449-450 and renewed the war against them in 453-454. Thus we observe that in the first half of the fifth century the Hūnas were not an important power in the Oxus Valley and could not deserve the notice of Kālidāsa. Besides this, their relations with the Sassanids were not good and their association with them had broken down. Hence Kālidāsa's account which implies that association cannot belong to this period.

We are thus driven to place Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūnas between 356 when they first appear on the threshold of the Sassanid empire and 399 the date of the accession of Yazdegird I. During the reign of Shahpuhr II the Khionite-Hephthalites were a floating mass of mercenaries reinforcing the ranks of the Sassanids rather than a strongly settled power of the Oxus. Though under Kutulphe and Hephthal the Hūnas had begun to rise they were no better than mercenary nomads in this period. The reference to the founding of the Hephthalite kingdom about 366-376 A.D. means no more than the growth of their importance in association with the Sassanids.

Under Ardashir II and Shāhpuhr III also the Khionite-Hephthalites were mercenaries serving in the Sassanid army and participated as such in the invasion of Mesopotamia in 384 A.D. It was towards the closing years of his reign and the beginning of that of his successor Babram IV that the Hephthalites firmly settled in Bactriana and their power considerably increased. It has been noted above that the *Acts of the Martyrs of Edessa* notes them under the name Hephthalite in 384 for the first time. The opportunity of the Hephthalites arose from the preoccupation of Bahram IV with the disturbances of the Caucasian frontiers. But they could not flout the Sassanids and continued to owe allegiance to them. Thus the political and military importance of the Hephthalites and their close association with the Sassanids were the dominant features of the history of Bactriana in the last decade of the fourth century A.D. It is, therefore, precisely in this decade that the reference to the Hūnas on the Oxus in the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa can be dated.

I have proposed elsewhere¹¹⁸ to equate the account of the North-Western conquest of Raghu given by Kālidāsa with the reference to the conquest of the Bactrians (Vālhikas) after crossing the seven tributaries of the Indus—Kabul, Swat, Sindh, Jhelum,

The warriors are stated to have shaken off the exhaustion of the victorious war with the Pārasīkas by drinking wine in vineyards covered with choice skins. The best grapes were produced in Kāpīsi in ancient times and the wine distilled from them was far-famed. The grapes of Kāpīsi were known as *Kāpīśāyanī drākṣā* and its wine *kāpīśāyanam madhu*. Kauṭilya refers to two varieties of it: *Kāpīśāyana* produced in the region around Kāpīsi in North Afghanistan from green grapes and *hārahūrika*, manufactured in the valley of Harahvaiti or Arghandah from black grapes which are called *hārahūrd* [*Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya II, 25, ed. R. Shamshastri, p. 120. *mṛdivikāraso madhu*. Tasya svadēso Vyākṣānam Kāpīśāyanam hārahūrakamiti. Pāṇini also refers to the wine of Kāpīsi in his sūtra IV, 2, 29 *Kāpīsyāḥ śphak*. Curiously enough, the ceramic found in the third stratum at Begram reveals a motif relating to the manufacture of wine. This motif shows a jar encased in two branches of vine from the ends of which bunches of grapes hang and on which two birds are perched. From the mouth of the jar emerges a stalk surmounted by a triangular object. This motif represents the equipment of manufacturing wine—jar, presser and filter. The triangular object placed on the presser is a conical filtering basket which the Romans called *colum*. The scene depicted here recalls the paintings found at Pompeii [R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 69-70, Plate XIX]. This motif proves that Begram was the home of grapes and the centre of the manufacture of its wine in ancient times. Besides this, a unique plaster medallion depicts the leaves and bunches of grapes [*Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques en Bégram, Études Comparatives* (Paris, 1954), Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, figures 201]. It is likely that the wine of Kāpīsi—Bégram was exported and stored in large quantities in the ancient period. Recently a Russian archaeological expedition led by M. E. Masson has discovered a large wine cellar in the remains of the Parthian capital at Nisa eleven miles North-West of Ashkhabad, the modern capital of Turkmenia. In that wine cellar nearly 200,000 litres of wine were once kept in clay pitchers. The writings in ink on pieces of broken pitchers have revealed that they were mainly connected with the delivery of wine to the big slave-owning palace and temple economy of Nisa. [M. E. Masson, *New Light on an Ancient Civilization, Soviet Union* (December, 1954), pp. 28-29].

The reference to the wine of grapes in the Raghuvamśa proves that the poet had the regions of Begram-Kāpīsi in mind while describing the war of Raghu with the Pārasīkas. For a detailed discussion of this and allied problems see Buddhaprakash, *The Geographical and Cultural Aspects of the Northern Itinerary of Raghu as described by Kālidāsa, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (Letters) Vol. XXII (1956) No. 2*.

118. Buddhaprakash, *The Central Asiatic Expedition of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters, 1947, pp. 31-39*.

A Hand-written Inscription

At the back of a framed portrait of Tipu Sultan, probably dating back to Tipu Sultan's time, there is a hand-written inscription stuck to the frame. There is no date to this nor is the name of the writer given but it is evidently by an Englishman of that day who was in India. The inscription is as follows :—

“Tippoo Sultaun, Sovereign of Mysore.
During the War, of Lord Cornwallis,
against this Sovereign, it was the delusive
Revel of the day, in Londonhall street,
and in both houses of Parliaments to call
him *The Tyrant*. But, what said Lord Cornwallis, in his
public dispatches ?

“I found his country a Garden from one end to the
other; and had not a deserter from Him during the
whole of the long and arduous contest.”

“And, what has the Historian, an eye witness, recorded
since Tippoo's fall and death in 1799 ?

“His remains were found under the Gateway which
He personally defened covered by upwards of seventy
of his faithful nobility; and, his Subjects, throout the
Empire, deplored the lop of their common Parent.” —

“The Government of Mysore, under the House of Hyder,
was really patriarchal: a vigilant Eye, and strong arm,
over his own officers in Station and Power. His code of
laws was found at Serringapatam. Simple and concise
in theory, summary in practice, breathing and afercising
the pure spirit of justice and mercy. To quarrell with
our subjects, said this liberal Sovereign “is to war with
ourself. They are our Shield and our Buckler: and it
is They who furnish us with all things. Reserve the hostile
strength of our Empire, exclusively, for its *foreign
Enemies*.” What splendid Proofs of tyranny.” !!

Reviews

POONA AKHBARS, Vol. III (Published by The Central Records Office, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1956).

The Marathas were the last great empire-builders in India prior to the establishment of the British supremacy. In fact, it was only when the British in India ultimately triumphed over the Marathas that the supreme power passed on to their hands. The history of the Marathas therefore, is of absorbing interest to the student of Indian history. Fortunately, there are valuable source materials for the reconstruction of the Maratha history, both indigenous and foreign. Many of these original sources of information have been systematically studied and utilized in the reconstruction of the history of the Marathas by famous scholars like Rajwade, Parasnis, Khare, and above all by the doyen of Maratha historians, Dr. G. S. Sardesai. Learned institutions like the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona and the Rajawade Samshodhak Mandal of Dhulia have also devoted their attention to this fascinating subject of study, and thanks to the earnest efforts of the scholars and institutions, a fairly full and critical knowledge of the Maratha history is now available.

But still there are other sources which provide interesting materials, some of which serve to correct and others to corroborate the conclusions reached earlier. One of these unexplored bodies of documents is called the Akhbars, which form the Hyderabad collection consisting of chronicles of the Maratha court. They are in the shape of letters faithfully despatched by loyal Maratha sardars to the Asaf Jahi ruler.

The third volume of the series of Maratha source books now published under the caption, the *Poona Akhbars* by the Marathi Research Branch of the Central Records Office, consists of sixty documents pertaining to a period of over twelve years, commencing from 1st January, 1782 and ending with 5th July, 1794. Unfortunately, there are several gaps in the period covered by them, and a few years are entirely unrepresented. It is not possible to account for the gaps in the continuity of the records.

Chinab, Ravi and Beas¹¹⁹—by a king named Chandra in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription.¹²⁰ The consensus of scholarly opinion is now in favour of identifying this Chandra with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. Hence it follows that Chandragupta II led an expedition in Bactriana in order to remove the menace of the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and Pārasikas root and branch. Recent archaeological researches have established that the third city at Begram was deserted by its inhabitants in the closing decades of the fourth century A.D. The people fled from the city under the pressure of invaders leaving their hearth and home intact. Thereafter life never returned to the city and time covered its empty remains with the sheet of sand and dust.¹²¹ About the same time were abandoned the cities of Hopian near Charikār, Eskandria near Sarai-i-Khwaja and Tir-Andaz on the Kabul-Qandhar route. It is certain that the desertion of these cities was the result of some great invasion. Most probably this invasion was that of Chandragupta Vikramāditya mentioned in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription. We do not know of any campaign of any other king in these regions in this period. Ardashir II, Shāhpuhr III and Bahram IV were weak monarchs and the latter two were too busy in the West to divert their attention to these regions. Moreover, there was no necessity for them to campaign in these countries for they were already subordinate to them. There is also no evidence of any invasion of nomadic peoples from Central Asia in this period. Likewise there is nothing to suggest that the Khionite-Hephthalites conquered them at that time. On the contrary we have the definite remark of Sung Yun that they occupied Gandhāra two generations before his time i.e., about 455 A.D. In that period these people were entrenching their hold over the Bactrian regions as seen above. Hence the conclusion becomes irresistible that the ruin and desertion of these cities resulted from the invasion of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. It is the details of this invasion that are given by Kālidāsa in the account of the campaign of Raghu in the North-

119. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 81.

120. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 32, lines 1-2.

Yasyodvarttayataḥ pratipamurasā śatrūnsametyāgatān |
Vangeṣvāhavavartino'bhilikhitā Khaḍgena Kirtirbhujē ||
Tīrtvā saptamukhāni yena samare sindhorjitāvāhlikā |
yasyādyāpyadhivāsyate jalaṇidhirviryanīlāir daksīṇaḥ ||

121. This is in keeping with the fact that the encounter of Raghu with the Pārasikas took place in the land of wine and vineyards, i.e., Begram-Kāpiśi, as seen above.

West for both Chandragupta Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa flourished in the last decade of the fourth century, A.D., as stated above.

In the beginning of his reign Chandragupta was busy restoring peace in his empire. Under Rāmagupta when the invasion of the Śakas took place there was trouble in all parts of the empire. Hence Chandragupta had to work hard to put his house in order. An echo of his campaign in the South-Western parts of his empire is preserved in the Udayagiri cave inscription near Bhilsa, which states that he passed through these regions while out on his expedition to conquer the earth.¹²² It is also likely that Chandragupta annexed the Eastern provinces of Samatāṭa and Dāvāka after quelling the rebellion that appears to have flared up there.¹²³ His military activities in the South are also noteworthy. About 388 A.D. he conquered the kingdom of the Western Kśatrapas as their long series of coins testifying to their almost unbroken rule for more than 300 years come to an end between 388 and 397. Thus it is clear that in the first ten years of his reign Chandragupta was busy in the wars in his empire. It was after 388, the date of the accession of Bahram IV, that he was in a position to undertake the expedition in the North-West.

The aforesaid considerations lead us to hold that the invasion of the North-West which served as the basis of the account of the conquests of Raghu up to the Oxus took place between 390 and 399 A.D. and that Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūnas on the Oxus belongs to that period.

The above enquiry has led us to determine the exact period in which the great poet Kālidāsa lived and wrote. It was held by a large number of scholars that Kālidāsa belonged to the Gupta period.¹²⁴ But now we are on *terra firma* and have got a definite date for the poet and can confidently assert that he flourished in cir. 390-395 A.D.

122. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, No. 6, line 5.
kṛitsnaprithvī jayārthena rājñāiveha sahāgata

123. Buddhaprakash, *The Central Asiatic Expedition of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya*, op. cit., p. 32.

124. A. B. Keith, *Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1909), p. 433; B. C. Mazumdar, *The Date of Kālidāsa*, *ibid.*, p. 731; J. Bloch, *Die Zeit Kalidasas*, *Z.D.M.G.*, (LXII), p. 671-6. Recently V. S. Agrawala has adduced literary and art evidence to establish that Kālidāsa was a poet of the Gupta period, vide V. S. Agrawala, *Kālidāsa and Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society* (1950), pp. 189-195; *Art Evidence in Kālidāsa*, *ibid.*, (1949), pp. 81-93.

But the available documents are of considerable importance as sources of Maratha history of this epoch. Besides, they throw much welcome light on the history of the Nizam, Haidar Ali and Tippu as well as on that of the British power in South India during this period. Unquestionably, the most important value of the records is that they provide a vivid picture of the politics of the Poona court and of the great personalities who played a dominant role in shaping the Maratha destinies at the time.

The documents quoted in the third volume of the *Poona Akhbars* contain the despatches sent by Haibat Rao Gopal from Poona to the Nizam. Haibat Rao Gopal was holding a very responsible position at Poona, for he was then the *Akhbar-navis*, who performed the duties of a political envoy and agent. It is evident that he shouldered his responsibilities with fidelity and diplomatic skill. Haibat Rao Gopal was the nominee of the Rai Rayan brothers, Dhondajee Shankar (1728-83) and Nanajee Shankar (1730-85) who held respectable and trusted offices in the Durbar of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan.

Shri R. M. Joshi, the editor of the volume rightly points out 'Poona was the focussing point of all the political transformations in India during this period and that is why reports from Haibat Rao Gopal are crowded with political events relating to the whole of India.' The activities of the redoubtable Mahadajee Sindhia are clearly seen from the despatches. He was endeavouring to gain influence and authority over the Mughal Emperors. The *Akhbars* indisputably show how he had given protection to Raja Chait Singh and was contemplating to camp at Ujjain. The jealousy between Mahadajee Sindhia and Nana Phadnis, the astute diplomat, is vividly brought to light by several records. *Akhbar*, dated the 7th of May, 1793, is of extraordinary interest, for it shows how the two leaders met at Mahadajee's tent and agreeing to cast away mutual suspicions decided to place the welfare of the state above everything else. The active life led by Nana Phadnis, the eagle-eyed minister, is vividly portrayed by more than one *Akhbar*. He interviewed several officers every day, kept up form and decorum, attended to social calls, religious functions, fasted on *Ekadashi* days and performed special rites on occasions of eclipses. Nana's vigilant attention to the education of Madhav Rao II is described at very great length. Thanks to certain *Akhbars*, the relations between Haidar Ali and the Marathas in

1782 receive an interpretation, different from what was earlier given by Dr. Sardesai. Finally a full picture of the life at Poona towards the end of the 19th century is provided. 'Marriages, sacred thread ceremonies, feasts and banquets, *Harikirtans*, and dancing parties, arrivals and departures of Europeans and diplomats, presentation of robes of honour, parcels of fruits and the home-comings of pilgrims and soldiers constituted the routine events of every day life at Poona'. On all counts the *Akhbars* form valuable sources of information and the Record Office of the Andhra Pradesh deserve to be congratulated on the edition of the *Akhbars* contained in this volume. An Index could have been provided in English also, with advantage to scholars who may depend exclusively on the English translation. It is gathered that there is a large collection of historical records generously given as a free gift by Rani Sitabi Saheba, the last distinguished lady from the Gangakhed Jagirdar family of Halibat Rao Gopal. Students of Maratha history look forward to the speedy publication of these sources as well.

K. K. PILLAY

MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH, By Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Second Indian Edition, 1956, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., (Private) Ltd., Pages 49. Price Rs. 1-8.

First contributed in 1937 to the volume on *Religion in Transition*, edited by Vergilius Fern, and reprinted separately as the first Indian edition by the same firm in 1946 and now as second edition, this essay still remains the only autobiographical writing from the pen of our great philosopher, diplomat and statesman. Two short sections on Early years and Home Life are followed by two longer sections on Philosophy and Religion and Life's Problems. In these we hear of the books, persons and situations that influenced him, and his penetrating reflections on ethical and metaphysical questions are set forth in an easy and charming manner. It is the record, though only partial, of the sane and noble life of a deeply religious optimist; it whets the appetite of the reader for a more complete and up-to-date story of his wonderful experiences. The seed of the later development of his thought in one important respect is found in the sentence: 'If the lost "soul" is to be restor-

ed to human life, a new vital religion which does not require us to surrender the rights of reason, which even wholly free and disillusioned spirits can adopt, must be developed'. His attempts have even been to reconcile Science and Religion, Reason and Faith, and interpret the East to the West in an intelligible manner. We see even in this brief essay some of the sources of the great measure of success that has attended his efforts.

K. A. N.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526-1803 A.D.) By Ashirbadilal Sri Vastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Agra College Agra. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., (Private) Ltd., Agra. Second Edition revised and enlarged, 1957. Price Rs. 8/- pages x, 588.

A SHORT HISTORY OF AKBAR THE GREAT (1542-1605 A.D.) By Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (Private) Ltd., Agra. 1957. Price Rs. 3/8, pages vi and 175.

Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava is well known as a scholar and teacher of repute. The first edition of his history of the Mughal Empire published in 1952 went out of print within two years, and the present edition 'has been thoroughly revised and in places rewritten. The results of the latest researches on the subject during the past two years have been incorporated in the book'. The book is full and clear on all important aspects, and controversial topics are adequately discussed from rival points of view, often with citations from leading authorities, primary and secondary. The book is a good workmanlike text-book and may be expected to maintain its popularity for long. The price is quite reasonable, but the quality of the production leaves much to be desired. There are many misprints. There is a generous supply of maps, but no index. Sources and books for further study are indicated at the end of each chapter.

Akbar the Great is a reprint with minor alterations and additions of the chapter on Akbar from the second edition of the Mughal Empire. It is better produced in larger type and on better paper, though not altogether free from printing mistakes. In the preface the learned author says that he 'has undertaken the difficult task of writing an authoritative history of Akbar's reign in

three volumes, a work likely to take ten years to complete it. This small book may be considered to be a summary of the author's views on the subject.' We wish the author success in his project.

K. A. N.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE, DURING THE MUGHAL AGE, 1526-1707 A.D. By Dr. Pran Nath Chopra, M.A., J.D., Ph.D., with a foreword by Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., (Private) Ltd., Agra. 1935.

This book formed a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Punjab in 1951. The author has addressed himself to the relatively neglected field of social history, and the modest title of his work is more than amply vindicated by the contents of the six chapters on Dress, Diet, Games, Festivals and Fairs, Position of Women in Society, and Education. Unlike in the Sultanate period when there was a general tendency to aloofness, Hindus and Muslims developed closer contacts under the Mughals, and this produced a more or less composite culture to which both sections contributed in perceptible measure, and not the least interesting part of this book is the attempt to track such contributions and document them in a convincing manner. The study is only half through, and we are promised a second volume which we hope will appear early and complete the picture. In his foreword Dr. Sri Vastava rightly says: 'This book is a scientific history on some aspects of the society and culture during the Mughal Age and is based on a careful and critical examination of original sources in Persian and English, Hindi and Urdu'. There is a good bibliography (172-97) and a serviceable index.

K. A. N.

A STUDY IN MARATHA DIPLOMACY (ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS, 1772-1783 A.D.) By Shanti Prasad Varma, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of History and Political Science, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur. Shiv Lal Agarwala & Co., (Private) Ltd., Agra. 1956. Price Rs. 15/-, pages vi, 432, xii.

This book is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Literature of the Agra University in 1954. It constitutes a minute and well documented study of the motives and policies of the different powers engaged in the contest for supremacy in India in the most critical period of modern Indian History. The English, the Marathas, the Nizam and Hyder Ali of Mysore are the main parties, each trying to overreach the others. With superior political skill and greater unity of direction than was possible for the loosely knit Maratha confederacy, and with the aid of a more advanced military technique, the English got the best of it in the end, though actually in the period of study they did experience some military disasters. The Bibliography (pp. 408-32) gives a good idea of the sources printed and manuscript, English and Marathi, availed of by the author, and the narrative in the book quotes extensively from them both in text and notes. The shifty politics of the time devoid of any standard of rectitude and intently devoted to the pursuit of interests, the roles of Nana Phadnis and Mahadaji Scindhia with their different appreciations of men and situations in the North and the South, the remarkable resourcefulness of Warren Hastings in the midst of his many difficulties and the patience and perseverance of his agents in working for the treaty of Salbai with the aid of Scindhia, and the timeliness of the death of Haidar Ali (Dec. 1782) which made possible the rectification of the treaty, are clearly brought out. There is no major or revolutionary change in the story resulting from the study of its details, but often a notable shift in emphasis on the relative forces and motives of the parties. The book is on the whole a balanced account of the diplomacy of the time viewed from the Maratha side.

The quality of the writing is not always clear and there are some needless repetitions, and rather a large number of misprints, omissions of words, etc., what is one to make of the sentence 'Moroba was *informed* (italics in the original) to have told Tukoji Holkar that he did not intend bringing Raghoba before Dashera'?

Diplomacy even in the eighteenth century was in no way very different from what it is now — witness Warren Hastings declaring: 'War is not my object. My object is peace, which is most likely to be obtained by being prepared for war'.

K. A. N.

HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES, 1803-1858. By Dr. Dharma Bhanu, M.A., Ph.D. (With a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar).

This book is largely the outcome of the author's researches, originally embodied in a Thesis, which was approved for the Doctor of Philosophy by the Agra University. As an attempt at a study of regional history, which is an important branch of historical investigation, this book is commendable, though the claims made in the Foreword, that it is an 'uncommonly competent and valuable piece of work' (p. v), and 'that the book is a study of absorbing interest and a manual of abiding interest to students of administration', (p. vi) seem to be overstatements.

The book opens with a survey of the historical background, where emphasis is laid on Sikandar Lodi's foundation of Agra as his capital and on the later embellishment of the city with excellent buildings by the Mughal Emperors. He proceeds then to trace the relations of the Marathas with Agra and their conflicts with the British until the treaty of Surji Arjungaon (1803) during the time of the Marquess of Wellesley. This chapter, purporting to provide the historical background could have been fuller and more critical, particularly in the matter of assessing the factors which led to the collapse of the Maratha resistance and the ultimate establishment of the British supremacy.

How the North-Western Provinces came to be formed, partly through conquest and partly through acquisition by negotiation are described. Territories were conquered from rulers like the Nawab of Oudh, the Sindhia, the Bhonsle, the Peshwa and the Sikhs. Jalaun, Lalitpur, Jaitpur and Jhansi were acquired through the application of the Doctrine of Lapse, and finally Oudh was annexed in 1856 on account of mis-government. Obviously a map illustrating the acquisition of the territories at the various stages is a desideratum. In addition, a treatment of the principal geographical factors of the entire region ultimately brought under the North West Provinces would have been by no means inappropriate.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the description of the administrative organization at the various stages beginning from the time when a Board of Commissioners under Henry Wellesley was appointed in 1801. The activities undertaken by the Govern-

J. 19

ment from time to time for suppressing the Thugs and the dacoits, the frequent revisions made in the revenue settlements and the organization of a sound system of judicial and police administration are all described at great length. The North-western Provinces, sometimes known as the Province of Agra were renamed by Lord Curzon in 1901 as the United Provinces. In 1950 the Government of India altered the name into Uttar Pradesh.

Attention has been paid to the description of the progress of Public Welfare Activities, Education, Social Reforms and the Economic life of the people. This is doubtless a commendable feature of the book. There is, however, frequently a tendency to hug the sources to the bosom and that is one reason why often the account is not lucid and readable. In particular, the history of the various Governors given in Chapter V makes a dull reading. There are numerous misprints, but no Errata has been provided. There is no Index; an analytical Index would be of help to readers. An exhaustive and well-classified Bibliography is furnished.

K. K. PILLAY

THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN HYDERABAD: (A connected account) Vol. I (1800-1857) published by the Hyderabad State Committee appointed for the compilation of History of the Freedom Movement in Hyderabad (1956, pages xvii, 217, Rs. 6/-) Vol. II (1857-1885) 1956, pages 332, Rs. 8/-.

A board of editors for the compilation of the History of the Freedom Movement in India was constituted by the Government of India in December, 1952. Separate Committees were also set up to work under the directions of the Central board to collect materials relating to the struggle for freedom in the various states. It is a matter of credit to the Hyderabad State Committee that it has already published the first two volumes on the History of the Freedom Movement. Each of these volumes is published with a Foreward by Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao, the Chief Minister of Hyderabad, a proem by Sri K. S. Vaidya the President of the State Committee, a preface by Sri Gopal Rao Ekbote, Vice-President and an introduction by Sri Setu Madhav Rao, I.A.S., the Convener. The first volume deals with the period 1800 to 1857, and the second, the period from 1857 to 1885.

Vol. I begins with the year 1800 when Hyderabad lost its political independence as a result of the treaty of subsidiary alliance between the Nizam and the East India Company. The documents included in these volumes relate mainly to the attempts made by 'men who resented British rule to disrupt the power of the East India Company'. The most outstanding of the names were Raja Mahipat Ram and Mubarez-ud-Doula. The committee has done a real service in bringing to light the activities of these leaders who wanted to drive out the British, not only from Hyderabad but from the rest of India. It is, however, surprising that a number of local rebellions and riots without any connection with the freedom movement have been included in the first volume. These rebellions were directed mainly against the Hyderabad State and not at the East India Company and were of a feudal rather than a national character.

The second volume deals with the period from 1857 to the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Sri Ramakrishna Rao, in the preface to the first volume, says that "it is the general belief of the people of India that it was Hyderabad and its Ruler, the Nizam, who were the bulwark of strength to the British Empire and that the first war of Indian Independence by the people in 1857 failed because of the invaluable help rendered by the late Sir Salar Jung representing Hyderabad State. While there can be no doubt that the ruler of Hyderabad at the time rendered yeoman service by helping the British during that period, it will, I think be an eye-opener to many who will read this volume that this part of the Deccan was not free from the flames of freedom which were raging elsewhere in the country". The second volume throws invaluable light on the role of the people of Hyderabad in the struggle of 1857. Among the prominent people who played a leading part in the struggle in Hyderabad were Maulvi Allauddin, Raja Venkatappa Naik of Shorapur and Bhim Rao Desai of Munderg. The activities of the famous Maratha revolutionary Wasudev Balwant Phadke are also given in detail. The first glimmerings of political awakening could be seen from 1880 onwards. A number of interesting materials relating to the suspension and deportation of Dr. Aghoranath Chattopadhyaya, Principal of the Hyderabad College, for the part he played in opposing the Chanda railway scheme has been included. The last two chapters give details of the Muslim University Scheme put

forward by W. S. Blunt, an Englishman, and the growth of the Urdu Press in Hyderabad.

Hyderabad was a meeting point of two political currents the Mughal and the Maratha Imperialisms. The fall of Delhi roused the enthusiasm of the local Muslim leaders, particularly some leading Maulvies. But it could be seen from the records that the Muslim aristocracy did not play any important part in the insurrections that started with the Mutiny. Thus the struggle of 1857, in the case of Hyderabad was more a movement of the people than a feudal movement led by the aristocracy and the army. The learned editors of the two volumes would have rendered a great service if they had made a study of the nature of the struggle of 1857 as it affected Hyderabad.

The industry and enthusiasm of the members of the committee and their research assistants in gathering a mass of materials covering the period 1800 to 1885 deserve appreciation. At the same time it must be pointed out that the relevance of some of these materials to the freedom struggle is open to question. The authors of the proem, introduction, preface etc., have given summaries of the events narrated in the volume, but we do not find much evidence of historical analysis or interpretation in them. It would have contributed to the usefulness of the volumes if they had contained critical introductions by a trained historian.

V. K. SUKUMARAN NAYAR

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM: By Reuben Levy, Professor of Persian in the University of Cambridge, University Press, Cambridge, pages vii, 536, Price 50 S. Net.

The study provides an interesting investigation "of the effects of the religious system of Islam on the life and organization of the societies which acknowledge it". It is stated in the preface that as the Muslim communities of the world possess "certain common characteristics traceable to their religion they are suited for treatment as a unity". The cardinal principles of Islam are examined, and an attempt is made to ascertain how Muslims of different periods and countries have adopted a way of life forming an ethos (or characteristic spirit of system or community). It is mainly a study based not on ethnic but on religious influence.

The book is the second edition of "The Sociology of Islam" originally published in two volumes in 1931 and 1933 respectively, but "the materials have now been revised in the light of changed conditions and collected into one volume for the sake of convenience and economy".

The author opens the book with a fairly long introduction (pp. 1-52) giving an account of the life of the Prophet, the cardinal principles and the gradual expansion of Islam. He traces the expansion of Islam to the west, through North Africa to Spain, to the east through Persia, to Khurasan and to the borders of China. The rise and decline of Islam in the Mediterranean Islands, the establishment of Islam in India, and the spread of Islam from India to Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Borneo are also discussed. The author states that Islam is at a stand-still in the western world or is actually retreating, that "the creed of the Prophet is not suited to peoples reared in the Greek and Roman traditions and codes". Elsewhere, in Asia and Africa where vast numbers submit themselves to the voice of religious authority the case is different. The strong hold of Islam must be sought amongst peoples either not given to speculation or else content to regard fulfilment of ritual as an end in itself".

In the U.S.S.R. the Muslim territory has been divided into five republics Since the apparent aim of Soviet Policy is to make the state the sole object of loyalty and its laws the sole guide to living, there is inevitably some conflict with Islam. The four maps included in the introduction showing the extent of Islam in A.D. 750, in A.D. 1050, in A.D. 1650 and in A.D. 1955 are very useful to the general reader.

It is not possible to appraise the importance of a fundamental work of this nature in a short review; only reference can be made in a casual way to the various topics dealt with in the book.

Chapter I, (pp. 53-90) describes the grades of Society in Islam by indicating "the principal changes wrought by Islam in the various strata of society amongst the peoples who accepted that faith, and the social legislation introduced by Muhammed together with the modifications made in it by his interpreters."

Chapter II is devoted to the study of the status of women in Islam (pp. 91-110). Muhammad was able to introduce profound

changes in the position held by women and children in the community.

In the early Muslim era the woman of Arabia was in subjection either to her male kinsmen or to her husband. The following topics—laws of inheritance, duties of women, legal qualifications for marriage, marriage ceremony, divorce, the veiling and seclusion of women, the question of women attending service in the mosques, and of women scholars and saints are discussed in detail.

In chapter III there is a description of the status of the child in Islam with special reference to paternity, maintenance and guardianship. The Koranic regulations on the inheritance by daughters and sons, and the principle of succession to the throne are also mentioned; but it is clearly stated that "adoption gives no right to inheritance".

In the next chapter dealing with Islamic Jurisprudence, it is stated that the Koran is the basis or source of law. Jurisprudence is defined "as knowledge of the practical rules of religion". The regulations regarded by every believer as the most important of his religious duties are worship, payment of the poor-tax, fasting and pilgrimage. In the Appendix to this chapter there are sections relating to duties to the dead, civil and criminal law, testimony, marriage, divorce and inheritance.

Chapter V is concerned with Moral sentiments in Islam, and it is stated that the moral teaching of Islam "is an integral part of a practical code designed to instruct the true believer concerning the path he must follow to win the approval of Allah and the reward of paradise". The expressions of moral sentiment culled from the Koran and the 'hadith' propound the ethical principles upon which the associations of Muslims with one another should be based (202).

The question discussed in Chapter VI is how far the theory relating to usage, custom, and secular law under Islam is in practice different in the various states under Muslim rulers. Between the "shar" or Regulations of Muhammad and the tribal law relating to the following subjects—marriage, divorce, inheritance, payment of zakat, the hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca) the rite of circumcision, regulations concerning images and paintings, the Jihad, the treatment accorded to dhimmis (protected peoples), trade and commerce, interest on loans, veneration shown to local

saints etc.—there are serious differences in theory and practice in the various countries. But it may be possible to trace some unity in this diversity, and hence the author endeavours to investigate the effects of the religious system underlying Islamic unity.

An account of the Caliphate and of the central government is given in the next chapter. After mentioning the early tribal system and the duties of the tribal chieftain the author examines the charter drawn up by Muhammed (p. 273). The charter contains the germ of the Islamic state—"a theocracy, a state in which the political power was held by Allah and his prophet, Muhammad". The office of Khalifah, the duties of the ruler, the system of land revenue, the sources of income and the various items of expenditure are described in detail. The functions of the Vizier, of the governors of provinces, of the police, the magistracy and of the other officers, as well as statutory penalties for offences against the law such as apostasy, homicide, mutilation and theft are also mentioned.

The next chapter deals with the government in the Provinces of the Caliphate and the succession state. Mention is also made of the functions of the Amir and the Amil who carried on the administration with the assistance of tribal chieftains and village head men.

In the last two chapters the author describes the military organization, Islamic cosmology and other sciences.

The Bibliography (pp. 506-21) indicating a list of books for reference is useful. Professor Reuben Levy's "Social Structure of Islam" will be valuable to sociologists, ethnologists, and students of comparative religion.

K. MAMMEN

THE COLEBROOKE-CAMERON PAPERS: Documents on British Colonial Policy in Ceylon, 1796-1833, selected and edited by G. C. Mendis, Ph.D., (London), Reader in History, University of Ceylon in 2 volumes. Vol. I. pp. lxiv and 393. Vol. II, page 406, Index pp. 407-416, Oxford University Press, 1956, Price Rs. 70/-.

The central theme of these two volumes is the Colebrooke Reforms in Ceylon. These reforms which made radical changes

in the administrative, judicial and financial systems of Ceylon between 1832 and 1834 were based on the recommendations of a commission of enquiry consisting of W. M. G. Colebrooke and C. H. Cameron. The enquiry was dominated by Colebrooke and therefore the reforms recommended by the Commission are known as the Colebrooke Reforms.

Dr. Mendis who has selected and edited the documents has prefaced the first volume with a note on the sources followed by a fairly long and valuable introduction. There is nothing new in it, but it affords a useful and reliable guide to readers who are not acquainted with developments in the island after its annexation by the British. In the course of this historical survey, Dr. Mendis refers to radical changes in British colonial policy and their effects on Ceylon. Incidentally he indicates the connection between developments in India and in Ceylon. It has, however, to be mentioned that constitutional developments in the two countries did not invariably follow the same course or pattern. His attitude to British rule in Ceylon is unduly sympathetic and a little uncritical. He is inclined to think that the attainment of fully responsible status by the island is the logical outcome of British rule. This view may not be universally accepted. The chief motive of the British authorities in introducing reforms in the early period both in India and in Ceylon was to make the administration more efficient rather than train the people in the art of self-government. "It cannot be said," says Ivor Jennings, "that there was any deliberate attempt to educate the Ceylonese for self-government". In 1859 Governor Sir Henry Ward wrote that in Ceylon "you cannot introduce the principle of self-government as it is applied in Canada".

In order to appreciate the recommendations of the Commission, the author glances at the Colonial history of Britain from the close of the War of American Independence up to the arrival of the Commission in 1829 as well as the history of British rule in the island up to the same year. In the course of this survey the author deals with the changes that occurred in British Colonial policy in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the annexation of Ceylon by the British, its incorporation in the Madras Presidency, and the later arrangements by which the island was accorded a position similar to that of Bombay in the Indian system.

These arrangements which came into force with the arrival of Governor North, did not work satisfactorily and in consequence the island was placed directly under the Crown by the beginning of 1802. It would be interesting to speculate what would have been the course of Indian and Ceylonese history if the connection of the island with India had continued. Most probably Ceylon too would have been detached from India later like Burma.

The Secretary of State Dundas decided to establish in Ceylon as in India a strong and efficient system of government which could remove abuses and maintain just rule. The legislative and executive powers were vested in the Governor, but they were to be exercised with the assistance of an advisory Council. Nevertheless, the Governor was all-powerful, and he governed the island with the help of a civil service purely British in personnel. According to the author, the welfare of the Government became a definite objective of Government. Soon there occurred a change in British colonial policy. This was due to the Industrial Revolution and the sudden emergence of imperial evangelism. There were also changes in ideas, sentiments and values which found expression in the works of writers like Adam Smith, Bentham, James Mill and other radical and religious leaders like William Welberforce. There was keen opposition to slavery, monopolies and privileges. Further the interest in backward peoples was intensified and British institutions came to be regarded as universally valid and applicable to the colonies. From about 1820 British politics and Colonial policy began to be influenced by them. It was when these new ideas were on the ascendent that the Colebrooke enquiry was set afoot.

Although the chief purpose of the enquiry was to examine the problem of slavery in the Cape Colony and the political and racial troubles of Mauritius it was extended to Ceylon to satisfy the public with regard to the manner in which the resources of the island were administered. But the commission examined the entire administration of Ceylon from the angle of the new Colonial ideas that were in vogue in England. No one in Ceylon demanded this enquiry but the recommendations of the Commission and the subsequent reforms were far-reaching in character and consequence. The author has showered glittering encomiums on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission. They are

no doubt progressive in nature but to observe that they do not suffer by comparison within the final Charter of the United Nations the declaration relevant to the colonies is wide of the mark. The proposals of the Commission were comprehensive in nature and each set of recommendations was complimentary to the others and formed an integrated part of the whole. The establishment of an Executive and of a Legislative Council was related to their reduction of the Governor's powers. The development of a common system of law and the introduction of a common system of law courts could not be considered apart from the proposals to abolish *Rajakariya* and the system of monopolies. The abolition of these was in turn essential for the creation of the new economy which the new institutions envisaged. Further the spread of English education was indispensable for the carrying out of the reforms successfully." The major proposals were concerned with the reorganisation of government. The author says that both Colebrooke and Cameron believed that the bond between Britain and Ceylon could be maintained not by retaining British ascendancy in government but by sharing power with the people, by giving them offices of trust, maintaining good relations between Europeans and Ceylonese and imparting justice equally to all both rich and poor. The system of government in the island should be unified and liberalized. The arbitrary powers of the Governor should be withdrawn. The government of Ceylon should be vested not in the Governor alone but in the Governor and Council.

Even these moderate proposals which were mainly designed to make the administration more efficient aroused strong criticism from the Governors, Barnes and Horton. Barnes was strongly opposed to the economic reforms and the reduction of the powers of the Governor. He was against any form of government by discussion, nor was he in favour of a common system of courts as recommended by the Commission. Horton, though more liberal in his outlook, did not want the commission's proposals to be carried out. He was not opposed to the inclusion of the Ceylonese in the Legislative Council or of their admission to the public service, but he claimed that none who could hold such responsible positions was available in Ceylon.

Viscount Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies not only rejected the objections of Barnes and Horton but approved

fully the principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission. He accepted generally the proposals to liberalise the government by the establishment of Executive and Legislative Councils, but was against weakening the authority of the Governor. The Secretary of State carried out most of the proposal recommended by Colebrooke and Cameron.

In addition to the recommendations concerning the reorganisation of Government, there were others of equal importance like the abolition of *Rajakariya* and the monopolies, reform of the Civil Service, and the Courts of law with a view to make justice uniform and impartial, and the encouragement of English education.

Although the proposals of the Commission were not novel since similar measures had been adopted in India and even anticipated much earlier in the island itself to some extent, they were regarded as visionary and impractical. The main criticism was that the adoption of the reform would impair the efficiency of the Civil service. After the introduction of the reforms, there was no doubt some deterioration in the Civil service, but the blame for that should not be laid exclusively on the Commission.

There is no doubt that some proposals of Colebrooke and Cameron were ill-advised because in the Benthamite tradition they ignored the influence of local opinion and experience. The Commission paid scant attention to the civilization and culture of the island population. They believed in the superiority of the British way of life and considered it their duty to spread their civilization among other peoples. It was a shortsighted step to neglect the vernacular. Again the principle of neutrality in religious matters was not respected when the new schools were proposed to be handed over to the Christian clergy. There were some defects in the administrative scheme recommended by the Commission but the constitutional scheme stood the test of time.

The rest of the first volume consists of two parts. The first part contains the text of the reports of Colebrooke upon the administration of the Government of Ceylon, the revenues, compulsory services and the establishment and expenditure of Ceylon. There is also a report of Cameron on judicial establishment and procedure.

In the second part are included the despatches of the Secretary of State and the King's Supplementary Commission and Additional instructions to Governor Horton on the reports of the commission. There is also the correspondence on the Charter of Justice.

The second volume falls into two parts. The first section in the first part contains ninety five questions addressed by the Commission to the District Collectors and to the agents of the Kandiyar provinces, twenty one questions addressed to the Arch Deacon of Ceylon, one hundred and forty-one questions addressed to the provincial judges, forty-seven questions addressed to the judges of the several minor courts of appeal and eleven questions addressed to the several proctors in the supreme court and the provincial courts.

The questions are such as to elicit information on all matters relating to government, administration of justice, education and the economic life of the people. They reveal the elaborate character and wide scope of the enquiry conducted by the Commission.

The second section is devoted to Governor Barnes' objections and answers to the Commissioner of enquiry. It has already been observed that he was hostile to the Commission from the very beginning and strongly opposed its recommendations. The third section consists of two letters, one written by Horton to the Secretary of State and the other sent by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in reply to the circular issued by the Governor. In both the letters the basic recommendations of the Commission are severely criticized.

Section four contains a number of important documents relating to the maintenance of personal freedom.

There are nineteen documents in part two and these are concerned with political and administrative developments from 1796-1818. The documents included in part three are those bearing on economic and social developments. In part four are included, eight documents relating to judicial and legal developments. Most of the documents included in the second volume are highly significant and they are intended to throw more light on matters which are referred to in the five reports submitted by the Commission.

Although some of the views expressed by the author in the Introduction may be controversial, there is no doubt that the work as a whole will be of very great assistance to students of the modern history of Ceylon. Great industry has gone into the assembling of the materials. He has, by bringing together in two volumes a body of source materials, some of them hitherto unpublished, supplied a tool for the study of modern developments in Ceylon which is of the first importance. There are a few minor errors like the reference in footnote two on page thirteen, Vol. I. The map referred to is on page sixty-four and not on page seventy-six. Among the valuable features of these two volumes are the copious and useful footnotes. Both the volumes are well printed and attractive.

K. P. PILLAY

THE PERSONALITY OF INDIA By Bendapudi Subba Rao, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Reader and Head of the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda, with a Foreword by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. M. S. University Archaeology Series No. 3 Faculty of Arts. Maharaja Sayaji Rao University of Baroda, 1956. Price Rs. 15/-.

Referring to the classic work of Sir Cyril Fox 'Personality of Britain', Sir Mortimer Wheeler asked in 1946 'Where is the personality of India?' Exactly ten years later Dr. B. Subba Rao has placed before us this book, 'Personality of India', in which, in the words of Mortimer Wheeler, who has contributed a foreword to it, he has made 'a brave and constructive attempt to set pre-historic and proto-historic India upon the map'. It is largely based on the evidence collected in India during the last ten years of intensive archaeological activity which has unearthed a large wealth of material and enabled us to form a faint outline of the vertical development of the early cultures in different parts of India and Pakistan.

The book contains eight chapters under the headings (i) Introduction—The Problem and Approach, (2) Geographic Factors in Indian Archaeology, (3) Terminology, (4) Chronology, (5) Pre-history, (6) Proto-history, (7) Tribal India and (8) Conclusion—Retrospect and Prospects, besides an appendix devoted to a discus-

sion of the problem of the Red and Black wares in the Proto-historic archaeology of India.

Dr. Subba Rao emphasises the great influence of geography and environment on the evolution of the material culture of the country and shows how its development is definable 'as one of horizontal expansion of the higher cultures and a displacement, contraction and isolation of lower cultures in different parts of the country at different periods'. (p. 6). The author thinks that the terms used in Indian Pre-history are largely based on the typology followed in other countries and urges that in this respect the classic tradition either of Europe or Africa should not intrude into India, since the Indian sequence does not fit into any mould, either European or African and so there is need to discover our own pattern by intensive stratigraphic studies of more localities and rely less on typology. (p. 14). Our chronology is still in an absolutely fluid stage and requires revision from time to time as fresh work proceeds.

In chapter V, Dr. Subba Rao discusses the main succession of *Early, Middle and Late* stone industries and examines their stratigraphic and typological relation. A general picture of them is provided by Commiade and Burkitt for South East Asia, by Todd for Western India and Dr. Sankalia's recent finds from the Pravara basin. The three district groups of stone industries are (1) the hand-axe, cleaver and pebble industries mostly of quartzite, (2) blade, scraper, and burin industries of quartzite and (3) microlithic industries both of geometric and non-geometric type. The author thinks that the microlithic industry of India has a technological tradition different from that of many other countries. The neolithic culture of the Deccan has received greater attention when compared with that of Northern India and linked with later cultures by stratigraphic evidence. One sees here some South East Asian influence too.

The material culture of India during the proto-historic and early historic periods in the light of some 40 stratigraphic excavations is then described. The chronology of the Indus valley urban civilization is determined with the help of a number of associated finds of known terminal date. In spite of its apparent affinities to the Iranian cultures it has distinct Indian features. Its origin still offers a great challenge to the archaeologist and can be

answered only by his spade discriminately used. The gulf between the Harappan and the early historic cultures is tried to be bridged to some extent by the excavations at Rupar, Hastinapur and a few other places. For the early historic period, evidence is supplied by different types of pottery, such as greywares, red and black ware, Northern Black Pottery ware etc., a careful study of all of which is necessary. Dr. Subba Rao stresses the need for a comparative study of ceramics of the North and South before any thing definite can be said about the much discussed question of the megaliths and his view that "a slight downward revision of the Brahmagiri chronology seems to be essential to reconcile the evidence from the north and south which would result in placing the megaliths in the Pre-Mauryan period without upsetting the Roman datum" seems to have much in its favour and requires serious consideration. The use of Red and Black Pottery with which the megaliths are closely associated goes back to about 1000 B.C. in North India when iron also emerged. There need be no two opinions about the suggestion of Dr. Subba Rao that the question of megaliths therefore 'must be left open pending more detailed investigations'. The author also draws our attention to the main lacunae in our knowledge of the Pre-history and Proto-history of our country and stresses the need for reconciling the literary and archaeological data relating to them.

— Dr. Subba Rao deserves our congratulations on this publication in which he has traced the development of the material cultures in different parts of the country by analysing and correlating the excavated material. The value of the work is enhanced by a number of useful illustrations, maps, charts and a good bibliography.

T. V. MAHALENGAM

CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT By Asoke Kumar Majumdar, M.A., D.Phil., Professor, Ancient Indian Culture, Bharatiya Vidya Bavan,, Bharatiya Vidya Studies, IV. 1956: Bharatiya Vidya Bavan, Bombay, Price Rs. 30/-.

The Chaulukyas of Gujarat are one of the important dynasties of rulers that ruled over India from 10th to 13th centuries. In the hey-day of their prosperity, their kingdom included the terri-

tory now called Southern Rajputana, western part of Malwa up to Bhilsa in the east and the whole of Lata in the south, while in the west it was bounded by the Arabian Sea and included the coasts of Saurashtra. Though the history of this dynasty was written many years ago and published in the *Bombay Gazetteer* and later by H. C. Ray in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* a large volume of fresh material in the shape of inscriptions and literary works have become available in recent years necessitating a rewriting of the history of this dynasty. Dr. Majumdar has done a distinct service to the mediaeval history of India by giving us this sumptuous volume on the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.

The book is divided into eighteen chapters dealing respectively with political history, administration, revenue and economic conditions, religious and social life, and art and architecture. The origin of the Chaulukyas is shrouded in mystery but the first important ruler of the dynasty was Mularaja (V.S. 998-1053). During his reign the foundations of the new kingdom were strongly laid and before his death his kingdom comprised a large part of Gujarat. One of the notable rulers of the dynasty was Bhima (V.S. 1088-1128) who was followed by Karna. During their rule the empire expanded on all sides and came into contact with those of the Kalachuris, Paramaras and other contemporary powers. Siddha Raja (V.S. 1150-1200) was probably the greatest ruler in the early years of the history of the dynasty. His successor and grand-nephew, Kumarapala, has the unique distinction of being one about whom the largest number of chronicles have been written. His fame rests not so much upon the great power he wielded over the extensive territory that formed his kingdom, but on his propagation of the Jaina faith which he adopted. He had close connection with Hemachandra. Bhima II (V.S. 1235-1298) had many a trouble to face during his reign. The internal disorganisation in his empire invited foreign invasion on account of which the kingdom became weak. He had very often to fight against the Hoysalas, Yadavas, the Chahamanas and the Paramaras. During his reign the Muslims also invaded his kingdom. During his time his ministers, Lavana, Prasada and Veeradavala held the strings of administration in their hands and later the Vaghalas usurped all royal authority and began to rule over Gujarat. During this period the Muslims again invaded Gujarat. All original sources dealing with the history of Gujarat have been

pressed into service by the author and we have a good and readable account of the Chaulukyas in the first part of the book.

The administration of the Chaulukya kingdom had all the features of a mediaeval kingdom in India. The kingdom was divided into a large number of *mandalas*, *pathakas*, and *vishayas*. There was a number of departments of administration according to the *Lekha Paddhadi*, probably a contemporary work. The author thinks that the *Ghatika* was some sort of an educational institution or Department in charge of educational institutions. The *Mahamandalesvara* was a civilian officer while the *Dandanayaka* was an army officer. City administration was in the hands of a local body. It was probably called *Panchamukha Nagara* which discharged many of the duties associated with local administrative institutions. Different organizations were represented on the *Panchamukha Nagara*.

There was much religious toleration in the country. The two main religious communities during the period were the Hindus and the Jains. Among the Saiva sects the Lakulisas were in a flourishing condition. Vaishnavism was also in a prosperous condition. Worship of Vishnu in the Krishna aspect, particularly the Kaliyamardhana and Govardhadarana aspects was popular. The *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva was popular and had its followers in Gujarat. It is however strange that, though Gujarat included both Somanatha and Dwaraka, not one single Saiva or Vaishnava teacher was born in that country since Lakulin's time. The Sun Temple of Modhera had attained great fame. It was built during the reign of Bhima I. Jainism was very popular in Gujarat. The Svetambara doctrine became practically the Jaina doctrine of Gujarat. As a result of a debate held in the court of Siddha Raja the Digambaras had to acknowledge defeat. Kumarapala favoured and promoted Jainism. Jaina temples were constructed in large numbers during his reign. The interesting work ends with a long chapter on Art and Architecture in Gujarat during the period.

The book contains a good bibliography, index and select plates illustrative of Art and Architecture of Gujarat under the Chaulukyas and it is a very welcome publication on a less known period in the history of Gujarat. The author and the publishers deserve congratulations.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

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