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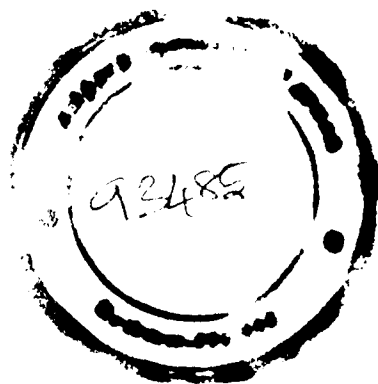
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Place-names Connected with Agastya in South India and their Significance

BY

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It is well known that a significant role is assigned to Agastya in the history of South India. In Hindu mythology he is regarded as the patron-saint of Southern India, where places sacred to him abound. It is remarkable that some of these places are even named after him, thus preserving the memories of the association of Agastya with these places. A study of such places and their significance would be quite interesting and would throw some light on the diffusion of Agastya traditions in South India. It is proposed to make an attempt at such a study in this paper.

Agastyāmpalli. This is a small village also known as *Agattiyānpalli* near Vēdāranyam in the Tirutturaippūṇḍi taluk of the Tanjore district. The Tamil suffix '*palli*' means a hamlet or village. In Tamil lexicon '*Pingala-nigaṇḍu*', the word '*palli*' is also explained as the abode of saints.² Significantly, Vēdāranyam is referred to as having a hermitage of Agastya.³

There seems to be a tradition that Agastya had been favoured to witness the marriage of Parvathi with Iśwara at this spot, in memory of which the village was called *Agastyāmpalli*.⁴ O. C. Gangoly has drawn our attention to the images of Agastya coming

1. The writer records his thanks to his guiding Professor Dr. L. B. Keny for the encouragement received from him in the course of the present study.

2. Cf. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras), 1926-27, para 12.

3. *Devi Bhāgavatam* VII, 38 cf. Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 28.

4. *Indian Architecture with numerous illustrations* Ed. M. A. Ananthwar and A. Rea. (Madras), II, p. 135.

from this place—one in stone and the other in metal, an Utsava-murti.⁵ The worship of Agastya is clearly indicated by the presence of these images.

A notable feature with regard to Agastyāmpalli is that it is situated near the seashore on the Coromandel coast. This has a significance in relation to the expansion of the cult of Agastya to the Far East. It is recognised that Agastya cult spread to Java and other places from South India.⁶ In fact, it has been stated by Dr. Vogel that, in all probability, it was through the agency of the seafaring population of South India that the cult of Agastya was carried to Java.⁷ T. N. Ramachandran also agrees with Dr. Vogel in this respect.⁸ Is it not very suggestive, therefore, that Agastyāmpalli (or to take the whole region Vēdāranyam) situated as it is in the extreme south-eastern coastal point of the Coromandel, should have played a significant part in the spread of Agastya traditions and cult to South-East Asia? We can derive support in this regard from T. N. Ramachandran when he points out that the name *Prambanan* in Central Java is probably *Brahma-Vanam* which seems to be a variant of the name Vēdāranyam.⁹ Vēdāranyam also marks the limit to Agastya's exploits in South India.

Dr. Arokiaswami has pointed out the importance of the association of the Vel chieftains of South India with Agastya and has stated that the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur in particular have paid many homages to the memory of that sage.¹⁰ It seems likely that the Vel chieftains popularised Agastya traditions and added sacredness to the personality of Agastya. Subsequently the Pāṇdyas also seemed to have followed the Vel chieftains in their reverence to Agastya. Taking the instance of the Agastyeśwara temple at

5. The Cult of Agastya: And the Origin of Indian Colonial Art, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XVII, January, 1927, No. 3, p. 174. (Fig. 3 and 4).

6. Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, (A chapter from the *Influences of Indian Art*) (1925), p. 20; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, TBG, 16, (1936), pp. 471-545; T. N. Ramachandran, *The Golden Age of Hindu Javanese Art*. (Triveni Office, Madras).

7. Vogel, *Ibid*, p. 20.

8. Ramachandran, *Ibid*, p. 8.

9. *Ibid*, p. 24.

10. *The Early History of the Vellar Basin*, Madras (1954), pp. 26-27.

Agattiyānpalli,¹¹ we note that the same is near about the boundaries of the ancient Irukkuvel kingdom.¹² Besides we have inscriptions of the Pāṇdyas on the walls of this shrine recording the gift of land and money to the temple.¹³ One of the inscriptions is that of Pāṇḍya Maṇavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasekhara Deva dated the 31st year of his reign recording a gift of land in order to celebrate a festival in the temple for the recovery of the king from some illness. This inscription, though belonging to the thirteenth century, is very striking inasmuch as it shows the continuity of the homage paid by the Pāṇdyas to the memory of Agastya at the above place in particular.¹⁴

Agastyamalai: This mountain peak popularly known in Tamil literature as 'Pothiyil' or 'Pothigai', is a conical isolated peak in the southern portion of the Western Ghats situated in 80° 37' N and 77° 15' E in the Neyyāttinkara taluk of the Kerala State.¹⁵ It is also known as Agastya-kūtam and is about 6,200 feet high. The boundary between Kerala and Tinnevely district runs over it. Two rivers rise from this hill—the Tāmbraparnī running east through Tinnevely district and the Neyyār flowing through the Neyyāttinkara taluk of Kerala.

'*Malayam*' is the poetical name of the Pothiyil hill and the generic term *Malai* or *Malayam* (mount) is restricted to Pothiyil by reason of its great celebrity.¹⁶ In Sanskrit literature, the term *Malaya* refers to the Western Ghats and the *Purāṇas* speak of Agastya as a resident of Mount Malaya.¹⁷

11. Refer ARE, 18th July, 1905, p. 18.

12. The settlement of the Vel families near about this region is attested by the existence of a place called Velanganni, south of Negapatam, Tanjore district.

13. Inscriptions No. 504, 506 and 507 of 1904, ARE, 18th July, 1905, p. 18.

14. The Pāṇdyas claimed Agastya as a preceptor as recorded in the Vēlvikudi grant, the Madras Museum plates and the larger Sinnamanūr plates of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Also in the Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Varatungarama Pāṇḍya, Agastya is referred to as the Kula-guru of the family of the Pāṇdyas. See Travancore Archaeological Series I, pp. 126-33.

15. Cf. *Madras District Gazetteers—Tinnevely* by H. R. Pate, Vol. I, (1917) p. 4, and *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, V, p. 71.

16. Cf. R. P. Sethu Pillai, 'Words and their Significance', University of Madras (1953) p. 31.

17. Cf. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Purāṇa Index I* (1951) p. 7.

Traditions speak of Agastya's association with the Pothiyil so much that the orthodox believe that he still lives on the peak as a yogi in pious seclusion. It has, however, been pointed out that there is no reference to Agastya wherever allusions to Pothiyil as such are found in the Sangam Literature¹⁸ excepting the eleventh *paripāḍal* which makes a reference to "*Pothiyil munivan*", the Sage of Pothiyil. Such a reference is made in respect of the Star Canopus. There is a controversy about the date of the eleventh *pāri-pāḍal*. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai gives the sixth or seventh century A.D. while Professor Nilakanta Sastri seems to favour an earlier date.¹⁹ Whatever be the acceptable date, one thing is certain that at the time when the eleventh *paripāḍal* was composed, Agastya traditions were known in the Tamil land. In the Tamil classic *Maṇi-mēkhalai* there is a reference to the Malaya Mountain as the abode of Agastya and Svaminatha Iyer while commenting has given the meaning *Pothiyil* for the word *Malaya*.²⁰

The west (direction) is signified in old Tamil by the word *Kuḍakku*—the termination 'ku' in the word is obviously a suffix denoting direction.²¹ From the root of this word, several significant terms have originated. *Kuḍaku*, the modern Coorg, literally means the western region. So also Agastya as the sage of the western hill, that is, Pothiyil, is styled *Kuḍamuni*.²² This derivation is quite understandable but the suggestion that the word *Kumbhamuni*—the name by which Agastya is referred to in Sanskrit literature—is a Sanskritised form of *Kuḍamuni* and that the story of the birth of Agastya from a jar was invented later because of the inability to appreciate the original Tamil meaning of the name

18. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *Agastya in the Tamil Land*, pp. 15-18.

19. Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, p. 491.

20. Canto I lines 1-4. Edited with notes by Svaminatha Iyer, 3rd edn., (1931). Pothiyil Hill is also referred to as the "southern" mountain in the Tamil literature. In the smaller Sinnamanūr plates, we have a reference to Agastya residing on the top of the southern mountain viz. Pothiyil. See *South Indian Inscriptions* ed. by Hultzsch and Krishna Sastri. (1929), III, pt. 4, No. 206.

21. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Kuḍamuni are not quite sound and tenable.²³ The term *Kuḍa deva* occurring in the inscriptions is also explained as denoting Agastya.²⁴

It is a point of interest to note that the Vel chieftains are associated with the Pothiyil hill as well and there are references in the Sangam poems to the particular devotion of the Vels to the Pothiyil hills.²⁵ Thus the poet Ollaiyūr-taṇḍa-Bhutappandiyan refers to Aye Titiyan, one of the Velir chieftains as "*Pothiyil Selvan*".²⁶ Also interesting is to note that the Pothiyil hill is described as the centre of his dominion. The Greek geographer Ptolemy says that "AIOI" was ruling in the country which included Cape Camorin and Mount Bettigo—the latter is identified as Pothigai or Pothiyil.²⁷ Aye seems to have been the dynastic name borne by all the kings of the line as a prefix to the personal names²⁸ and the Vel Aye is considered as the greatest family among the Vels. When the territory of the Vel chieftains was later on merged with the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the Pāṇḍyas came to be distinguished in literature as the "Lords of the Pothiyil".²⁹ Why is it that the Vels and the Pāṇḍyas are referred to as "Lords of the Pothiyil"? Evidently, they took pride in associating themselves with the Pothiyil and that was because of its being considered as the abode of Agastya. This shows the important relationship of the Vels and the Pāṇḍyas with Agastya.

Incidentally, we may now examine the evidence coming from Java in the matter of the spread of Agastya traditions and cult from the region under consideration. This evidence is in the form of an inscription from Changal, south Kedu in Central Java relating to king Sanjaya. The important point to be noted for

23. Cf. *Tamilian Antiquary*, VII, p. 89; Sethu Pillai's articles in the *Weekly Tamil Magazine Kalki*, dated 13-11-1955, pp. 35-36; Also cf. Devanesan, *Studies in Comparative Philology* (in Tamil), I, pt. 1.

The word 'kuḍam' in Tamil means a jar. The story that Agastya was born in a jar is, however, found in most of the Sanskrit literary accounts even including *Rg Veda*. (7, 33, 10-13).

24. *SII*, II, Pt. 5, p. 41.

25. Arokiaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

26. Agam 25 Cf. Arokiaswami, *ibid.*, p. 27. Also refer Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Tamils*, p. 163.

27. Sivaraja Pillai, *Agastya in the Tamil Land*, appendix, 1.

28. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, (1955) p. 116.

29. Sivaraja Pillai, *ibid.*, appendix 1.

our purpose is the reference to "*Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*". It is accepted by most scholars that this place *Kuñjarakuñja* is to be located in South India but as regards its precise identification opinions differ. According to O. C. Gangoly, *Kuñjarakuñja* is identical with *Kuñjara-kōna*, the Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese name "*Ānegandi*"—a place north of the modern Hampi on the opposite bank of the river Tungabhadra.³⁰ T. N. Ramachandran supports this identification.³¹ Professor Nilakanta Sastri, on the other hand, clearly demonstrates how it is more reasonable to locate *Kuñjarakuñja* in the mountain range dividing the modern districts of Tinnevely and Madura from the Kerala State as suggested by Dr. Krom.³² Prof. Sastri takes into account the Tamil legends regarding Agastya's abode in the Pothiyil hill and concludes the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* undoubtedly signifies the Pāṇḍya country. Dr. Chhabra also inclines to the latter view and concludes that "the modern peak Agastyamalai is the ancient *Kuñjaraparvata*, that the country on its slopes along the river *Tāmraparṇī* is identical with the *Kuñjaradarī* and the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* and that the people of that territory might have gone to Java by the 7th and 8th cent. A.D."³³ Considering the important relationship of the Vels and the Pāṇḍyas with Agastya and also the spread of Agastya cult from the Coromandel coast, it is very likely that *Kuñjarakuñja* denoted the regions round about the Pothiyil hill and *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* signified the Pāṇḍya country. We may add that Agastya is more prominently connected traditionally with the Pothiyil hill than with the Thungabhadra region.

Agastyeśvaram: Following the above discussion we may now refer to *Agastyeśvaram* which is situated in the southernmost tip of India near the seashore, 3½ miles from Cape Comorin.³⁴

30. *op. cit.*, p. 179. Also cf. *The Art of Java*, by the same author, pp. 4-5.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 17.

32. Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, pp. 501-502. Also cf. his work *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, (1949) p. 129.

33. Refer *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* of Chāṅgāla inscription, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, III, July 1936, No. 2, pp. 170-177. Also see Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule as evidenced by inscriptions Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters)* I, 1935, No. 1.

34. Cf. Robert Sewell, *Archaeological Survey of Southern India—Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras*. I. p. 256.

Significantly enough it is situated very near Agastyamalai which is to its north.

Sivaraja Pillai says that a temple was raised in honour of Agastya and it stands to this day.³⁵ Though this temple has now fallen into neglect, it must have at one time attracted a large concourse of votaries and been an important centre of pilgrimage. The very name of the taluk *Agastyeśvaram* preserves the memory of the importance this temple received once. It is very interesting to note that there are certain communities in this part of the country, the weaving class for instance, who consider Agastya as their own tribal deity and offer him regular daily worship.³⁶

While on this point, we may mention the suggestion of Professor Jouveau Dubreuil³⁷ that the reference to a temple of Augustus at Muziris in the "Pentingerin Tables" may have to be taken as denoting a temple of Agastya not necessarily at Muziris but in the country in which Muziris stands viz., South India. He takes into account the evidence of Sewell and points out that there existed a temple in honour of Agastya not far from the Pothiyil hill. The suggestion that a temple of Agastya existed in the first century A.D. is really interesting but is yet to be proved with substantial material evidence in its favour.

We have considered above some of the significant examples of place-names connected with Agastya. However, the list of places connected with Agastya is in no way complete. As further illustrations of the derivation of the names of places associated with Agastya, mention may be made of *Agastippattu*³⁸ in the Ārni Division of the North Arcot District and *Agastyarmūlai*³⁹ in the Tiruk-kōyilūr taluk of the South Arcot District. In line 73 of the Mitrā-nandapuram Copper Plate inscription, there is a reference to

35. *Agastya in the Tamil Land*, pp. 50-51.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

37. The Temple of Augustus in the South of India, *QJMS*, XIX, 180-181.

38. Refer *Alphabetical list of villages in the Taluks and Districts of the Madras Presidency* (1924) and also the *Alphabetical list of villages in the North Arcot District—Madras* (1933).

The suffix 'pattu' means a hamlet, small town or village according to Tamil Lexicon.

39. *Alphabetical list of villages in the Taluks and Districts of the Madras Presidency* (1924). The suffix 'mūlai' in Tamil means a corner of a place.

Agattikōdu and T. A. Gopinatha Rao⁴⁰ while commenting on this line has drawn our attention to the existence of a village named *Agastyakōd* in the Anchal-Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk. Also there is a reference to the Agastyeśwara temple on the *Agastya-konda* hill (North Arcot District).⁴¹

There are many other places also throughout South India which, though not named after Agastya, have been traditionally associated with him in one way or the other. We have also actually a number of temples dedicated to Agastyeśwara. Images of Agastya are found in almost every Saiva temple in South India and there are several Agastya temples along the banks of the Tāmraparṇī river in the Tinnevely district.

From the above study of place-names connected with Agastya, we can conclude as follows :

(i) The wide popularity of Agastya traditions in South India is attested by the existence of many places named after him and out of these places, Agastyāmpalli in south-easternmost point and Agastyeśvaram in the southernmost part testify to the extensive diffusion of Agastya traditions. Also these two places by their geographical locations, in other words by being very near to the seashore, could have considerably influenced parts of South-East Asia—Java in particular—in the matter of the spread of Agastya traditions and cult.

(ii) The association of the Vel chieftains and the Pāṇḍyas with Agastya as recorded in literature and traditions taken in conjunction with the fact that the places considered above fall within the confines of their respective kingdoms is very suggestive in that these people (viz., the Vels and the Pāṇḍyas) were in a way responsible for popularising Agastya traditions and cult.

40. Cf. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, III, p. 7.

41. *ARE*, (Madras), 27th June 1907, pp. 52-53.

Incidentally, we may mention that one of the islands of the Laccadive group is known as Agatti Island (cf. *The West Coast of India Pilot* (1926), p. 279.) A suggestion was made that the Tamil name Agattiyan means a native of Agatti (quoted by Purnalingam Pillai, *Tamil India*). This is very far-fetched and untenable.

The Forgotten Precursor of the Indian National Congress

BY

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It is a grievous mistake to assume as many have rather too hastily assumed that the Indian National Congress, the acknowledged fountain-head of India's freedom movement, was a sudden efflorescence of the blessed year of 1885. As a matter of fact, the Congress was a fundamental evolution of an era of political activity in this country. The period between the fifties and early eighties of the last century witnessed the stirrings of national consciousness which gathered momentum and took tangible shape in the year 1885 when the Congress was actually born. The activities of political bodies like the British Indian Association in Bengal, the Bombay Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in the Western Presidency, the Native Association as also the subsequent Mahajana Sabha in the Madras Presidency marked the dawn of constitutional agitation in Modern India. But, none of the aforesaid associations could claim to be the real harbinger of the Congress, for they were all of a purely local and provincial character and were usually mouthpieces of particular or sectional interests. The conception of a national movement and of national unity, the notion of political agitation as a means to national advancement rather than mere ephemeral amelioration, and, what is more important, the idea of self-government as the foundation of national greatness were far removed from, if not wholly unrelated to, the professed goal of these political entities.

There has yet been no end to the controversy with regard to the immediate forerunner of the Congress, and a number of theories have been advanced to explain the genesis of the Congress itself. According to one school of thought, the idea of the Congress may have been suggested by the Imperial Durbar held at Delhi in 1877. Some people, however, believed that it was the great International

Exhibition of 1884 held at Calcutta which might have inspired the foundation of the Congress. Again, the annual Convention of the Theosophical Society, which met at Adyar in 1884 is supposed by some authorities to have been the source of the necessary inspiration. Another plausible theory which has held the ground is that the Congress evolved out of the scheme of an All-India Association, mooted by Mr. A. O. Hume and said to have been blessed by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin.

These assumptions are, however, not quite adequate; and not one of them furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the inception of the Congress. The Delhi Durbar must have impressed many observers as the forum of an all-India assemblage. Mr. Surendranath Banerji who attended it as the representative of the Hindu Patriot of Calcutta was himself impressed, as would appear from his own statement made thereafter. But, that a ceremonial Durbar which met at the bidding of the British Viceroy could suggest the idea of a national assembly of India is hardly convincing. If anything, the Durbar excited widespread resentment among the educated classes on account of the thoughtless extravagance of the Government of India at the time of an impending famine. The Calcutta Exhibition was merely a display of an industrial and scientific character, and, as such, could not have supplied political inspiration. The annual Convention at Adyar was a gathering of devout Theosophists and their sympathisers; and, although seventeen among the delegates on their way back from Adyar met in Madras in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao to take counsel together on matters of general public interest, they cannot be presumed to have initiated any scheme of a national assembly. The part which Mr. A. O. Hume played in the formation of a National Union is well-known. But, we have it on the authority of an ex-Congress President, Mr. W. C. Banerji that Mr. Hume originally believed that it would be of great advantage to the country, if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss only social matters, and that he did not at first desire that politics should form part of their discussions. Besides, the Indian National Union which was formed in 1884 at his suggestion was itself patterned on the National Conference of the preceding year.

A close examination of the details of contemporary political activity in India reveals the now-forgotten fact that the true proto-

type of the Congress was the Calcutta Indian Association which was founded in July 1876 with the object of starting a country-wide propaganda on the political side and to form a responsible organisation through which the Government might be made aware of the advanced public opinion of the country. It differed from the existing British Indian Association in all fundamentals. It was not a feudal and aristocratic organisation of the zamindars, but was in fact the first representative body of the educated and enlightened middle class. Its aims were frankly political, and, unlike the British Indian Association, it propounded a definite programme of political propaganda and action, which like the Promethean spark made the dormant embers of national consciousness aglow with a new awakening. It is indeed the work of this Indian Association which prepared the ground for the National Conference in 1883, the National Union in 1884, and, last but not least, the Congress itself in 1885. It is a pity therefore that our historians have paid scant attention to the rise and development of a movement which anticipated the Congress by a decade.

The Indian Association came into existence through the efforts of a galaxy of popular leaders in Bengal, whose object was to inspire the people with a sense of national solidarity. The real mastermind of this movement was that illustrious orator-politician Mr. Surendranath Banerji, whose recent dismissal from the Indian Civil Service had made him a popular figure in the province. The first President of the Association was Mr. Shyama Charan Sarkar, a distinguished jurist, who was well-known as the author of the *Vyavastha Darpan*. His successor was the equally distinguished scholar and educationist, the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji. Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose who was the acknowledged leader of East Bengal, was the first Secretary to whose selfless labours the Association owed in no small measure its rapid growth and success. Among the other distinguished personalities who helped in the establishment of the Association were Mr. Dwarkanath Ganguly, Mr. Bamacharan Banerji, Mr. Bhairab Chandra Banerji, and Mr. Jogendra Chandra Vidyabhusan who were all well-known as indefatigable social workers.

The Association launched propaganda of a kind which was unprecedented in the country. The reduction of the age-limit for the I.C.S. Examination to nineteen years formed the occasion for the opening of the first political campaign in Modern India on a

country-wide basis. The Association organised a big public meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall to voice public opposition to that unjust measure. That was the starting point of an all-India movement of which Mr. Surendranath Banerji became appropriately the chief spokesman. He was called upon to undertake a country-wide tour for the purpose of rousing educated India to a sense of concerted political activity. He set out on his first political tour in 1877 when, undeterred by the heat of a North Indian summer, he travelled all the way from Calcutta to Rawalpindi, delivering popular lectures in all principal cities. He organised and addressed largely attended public meetings at Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, Meerut, Agra, Aligarh, Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, and Rawalpindi; and such was the magnetic effect of his orations that he was heard with rapt attention at all these meetings.

The lecture tour of Mr. Banerji was an unqualified success. Even educated Muslims were powerfully impressed by his speeches and no less than Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan himself, the greatest Muslim leader of Northern India, came forward to preside at the Aligarh meeting, and even lent his support to the country's demand for a simultaneous I.C.S. Examination in India. At the Lucknow meeting also which was held in the historic Kaiserbagh Baradari, the vast audience included a fairly large number of educated Muslims. On his way back to Calcutta, Mr. Banerji broke his journey at places like Patna where he aroused similar enthusiasm by reason of his impressive personality and forensic skill. The ridicule which the Anglo-Indian press poured on the leadership of the "Bengali Babu" made Mr. Banerji all the more popular in the country.

Inspired by the triumph of his North Indian tour, Mr. Banerji undertook his second hurricane tour in 1878 through South India; and, it is hardly necessary to add that he achieved the same resounding success which had attended him in the previous mission. He travelled in the Deccan from Guzerat to the Southern Presidency, and addressed meetings at such centres as Surat, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Poona and Madras. He made his third tour in 1884 when he specially visited Multan and other places in the Punjab. These tours proved to be a spectacular achievement; and they also unmistakably showed that the Indian intelligentsia could be politically organised on a national level, if there was requisite

leadership as well as planing. In other words, we discern the germination of the Indian National Congress in the country-wide political campaign launched by Mr. Banerji and his Indian Association.

The controversy with regard to the Ilbert Bill only further stimulated the activity of the Indian Association. The Bill itself was an innocuous measure which sought to remove the inequitable racial bar attaching to the Indian Magistracy in the trial of European offenders, but it raised a storm of opposition among the Europeans who did not like the abolition of one of their special privileges. The wild propaganda of the newly-formed Anglo-Indian Defence Association naturally provoked a counter-propaganda on the part of the Indian Association. A number of demonstrations and meetings were held in support of the Bill, and the Indian public opinion was roused to an extent which was truly unprecedented. It was this agitation which opened the eyes of the Indians to the utility of propaganda as an effective political weapon, and eventually provided the impulse to create a national organisation.

Under the auspices of the Indian Association, a National Conference was convened in Calcutta in 1883, which was the first effort of its kind in India. This Conference was a unique event in the history of Modern India. Its very name is significant, and is indicative of the pulsation of a new spirit in the political life of the country. It is worth noticing that the programme of this conference was almost the same as the one that was adopted by the first Congress two years later. As such, this Conference must be regarded as the true forerunner of the Congress of 1885. The Conference met in the historic Albert Hall in Calcutta, and was attended by prominent people—old and young—from all parts of Bengal. The event had more than a mere provincial appeal, and it evoked considerable interest in other parts of India, particularly in Bombay. It was altogether an unparalleled gathering, and the excitement it caused was truly unheard of. Distinguished foreigners were also present at the three-day session, prominent among whom were Mr. Wilfred Blunt and Mr. Seymour Keay, M.P. It is worthy of note that Mr. Keay was invited to address the Conference, and that when he rose to speak, he was given a patient and respectful hearing. The chance association of a member of the British Parliament with India's first National Conference is of more than passing interest.

The success of the National Conference made the Indian Association a powerful force in the country. But, a new development took place at this juncture, when that masterful figure, Mr. A. O. Hume, appeared on the political scene and applied himself to the task of directing the Indian agitation into constitutional channels. It was at his instance that the leaders of the Indian Association formed in 1884 the short-lived Indian National Union which invited representatives from all parts of India to meet in conference at Poona in 1885. This conference did not meet at Poona, and its place was taken by the Congress at Bombay.

The Indian Association, however, did not cease to work in its own way, and in 1885 it convened jointly with the British Indian Association and the National Mohamedan Association the Second National Conference which was attended this time by delegates not only from different districts of Bengal, but from other provinces as well. The Hon. Rao Saheb Viswanath Mandlik came from Bombay and His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga represented the Bihar land-holders Association. There were representatives from Assam, Allahabad, Banaras and Meerut. There were in all about 200 delegates. The Conference met on the 25th, 26th and 27th of December, 1885. It finished its labours on the 27th of December by passing amidst tumultuous applause a resolution welcoming the formation of the first Congress which was to meet at Bombay on the 28th of December. After this the leaders of the Indian Association rightly incorporated their movement in that of the Congress, for there remained no longer any need for two parallel bodies with an identical programme.

The Congress was thus the culmination of the same forces which had brought the Indian Association and its National Conference into being. The contribution of the Indian Association to the final consummation is manifold. It broke down the inertia of the educated middle class, and awakened its political consciousness by a country-wide propaganda. And, by organising a movement of concerted action through its National Conference and the National Union, it prepared the first concrete sub-structure on which the Congress movement was subsequently built.

Lord Ellenborough, Sir Charles Napier and the Annexation of Sind—the Role of Communications and Personality in Imperial Expansion in India

BY

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One of the major problems facing historians of the 19th century British Empire in India is why the Empire continued to expand at a period when the home authorities were largely opposed to the acquisition of additional territory. The question is multi-faceted. Sometimes areas were procured as commercial entrepôts. Often expansion was motivated by military and strategic considerations such as the defence of already secured possessions. But the difficulties caused by slow communications and the consequent power given to the "man on the spot" probably did more to frustrate the wishes of the East India Company and the Board of Control than any other factor. At the beginning of the 19th century it usually took two and a half years to receive a reply to a letter sent from India to England. The utilization of the Red Sea route cut this period to a year in the 1840's and occasionally to as little as three months, still an extremely long period in a time of crisis when new developments arose daily, if not hourly. The slowness of communications and the often sporadic and inaccurate nature of the information made the governance of India from England both a folly and a delusion, at least before the advent of the telegraph.

One of the clearest manifestations of this dilemma concerns itself with Lord Ellenborough, Sir Charles Napier and the annexation of Sind.

Ellenborough in three terms as chairman of the Board of Control¹ was uncompromisingly insistent on the control of Indian

1. Lord Ellenborough was Chairman of the Board of Control for India three times prior to becoming Governor-General—1828-1830, 1834 and 1840.

affairs from England. He seriously considered recalling Bentinck for disobedience² and felt "that nothing but a long continuance of strict rule could bring India into real subjugation."³ He was determined to cut expenditures in India and to speed up communications.

Lord Ellenborough took office as Governor-General of India on 8th October, 1841, still dedicated to the same principles which had motivated his policies as President of the Board. He declared British India a satiated state, "...Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its Empire, the Government of India will devote all of its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs, its allies and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects...."⁴ He instructed the political agents at native courts to "manifest the utmost personal consideration for the several native princes" to whom they were deputed and to "distinctly understand that the further extension of its dominions forms no part of the (policy) of the British Government...."⁵ In a foreign policy memorandum the Governor-General stated further conquest to be anathema as it would endanger those possessions already held and place an excessive strain on the finances of the state.⁶ The Secret Committee of the East India Company expressed its "entire and most cordial approbation."⁷

Within three years of his appointment as Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough had spoken of a British India stretching to "the chain of mountains beyond the Indus and the Himalayas as our

2. Edward Law (Lord Ellenborough), *A Political Diary 1828-1830*, (Richard Bentley, London, 1881) Vol. II, p. 32, 18 June, 1829.

3. *Ibid*, p. 32.

4. Lord Colechester, *The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, (Richard Bentley, London, 1874), p. 369.

5. Indian Secret Letters, No. 5, 30 April, 1842, Encl. No. 3, Governor-General to the political agents deputed to native courts, 22 April, 1842.

6. Sir Algernon Law, *India Under Lord Ellenborough*, (John Murray, London, 1926), p. 28, Memorandum by the Governor-General on Indian Foreign Policy, 27 April, 1842.

7. Board's Secret Drafts of Dispatches to India, No. 903, Secret Committee to the Governor-General, 3 December, 1842.

ultimate boundary."⁸ He had annexed Sind and had been recalled by the East India Company for disobedience and insubordination. The reasons for this reversal of orientation are not hard to assess.

Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, the newly appointed commander of British troops in Sind, had a great deal in common, a factor which did much to prompt the great trust Ellenborough reposed in the latter. Both men were highly unpopular. Ellenborough known by his contemporaries as the "Elephant"⁹ was one of the most disliked statesmen of his day. Napier had never succeeded in peacefully obeying any of his superiors. Both were frustrated in their ambitions. Ellenborough was foiled in his attempt to make the Board of Control the stepping stone to the foreign office, his real ambition.¹⁰ Napier, a highly egocentric megalomaniac, after achieving some distinction in the Peninsula Campaign spent the next forty years of his life in the obscurity of petty commands and half pay and only received his appointment in India through the political influence of his brother William. Both felt themselves to be humanitarians and were highly romantic in nature. Thus Ellenborough dreamed of himself leading an expedition to conquer Egypt¹¹ and Napier could see himself as the ruler of Asia.¹² When Napier landed in India he was sixty years of age. If his ambitions for military glory were to be satisfied time was short. "Charles, Charles Napier," he wrote in his diary, "Take heed of you ambition for military glory, you had scotched that snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigour again. Get thee behind me Satan."¹³

On the whole, Auckland¹⁴ admitted, the Amirs of Upper and Lower Sind had behaved in a remarkably temperate manner during the period of British reverses in Afghanistan¹⁵ especially as

8. Ellenborough Papers, No. 77, Ellenborough to Fitzgerald, 18 October, 1843.

9. The result of an indiscreet speech.

10. Edward Law, *op.cit.* Vol. I, pp. 207-8.

11. Edward Law, *op.cit.* Vol. II, 26 June, 1830.

12. Sir William Napier, *Life and Opinions of Sir Charles Napier*, (John Murray, London, 1874), Vol. III, 26 December, 1841.

13. Napier, *op.cit.* Vol. II, p. 187.

14. Lord Auckland, Ellenborough's Predecessor as Governor-General.

15. Indian Secret Letters, No. 114, 19 October, 1840, No. 115, 16 November, 1840.

intercourse between the British Government and Sind was governed at this time by treaties forced on the Amirs in 1839.¹⁶ Yet Major James Outram, the British Resident in Sind, did report to the Governor-General that Amir Nasir Khan of Hyderabad had been discovered in "treasonable" correspondence with Divan Sanwanmal, the Sikh governor of Multan. The letter was worded ambiguously, but vaguely implied some previous understanding for joint action against the British.¹⁷ Outram also intercepted a letter from Mir Rustam Khan, the principal Amir of Upper Sind, to Maharajah Sher Singh of Lahore, which again intimated a similarly undeveloped plan.¹⁸ Two other charges were levelled against the Amirs of Sind: Firstly, that Nasir Khan of Hyderabad had written to Bibarak Bugti, a semi-independent chief of Northern Sind, asking him for aid against the British,¹⁹ and secondly, that Fateh Mahomed Ghorī, Mir Rustam's chief minister, had aided a state prisoner, Mahomed Sharif, to escape to Baluchistan in order to raise an insurrection. Of these charges, only the first and the last were considered authentic by all the British officers serving in Sind. Outram had some doubts regarding the letter from Mir Rustam to Sher Singh, as the information leading to its seizure had been supplied by a source inimical to Rustam. Outram thought the letter to be the work of Fateh Mahomed Ghorī. George Clerk, the Resident at Lahore, shared Outram's doubts,²⁰ but Lt. T. Postans, a Persian scholar, who had seen much of Rustam's correspondence, considered it to be genuine. H. T. Lambrick points out that internal evidence indicated that the letter from Nasir Khan to Bibarak Bugti was a forgery. Lambrick feels that Nasir Khan would never have addressed a chief who had maintained his independence from his sovereign, the Khan of Kelat, as "an old and trusted servant of this Sarkar." Besides Bibarak had not extended hospitality to Syed Mahomed Sharif when the latter arrived in

16. C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, etc.*, (Govt. of India, Calcutta, 1931), Vol. VIII, p. 334.

17. Indian Secret Letters, No. 26, 22 March, 1842, Enclosure No. 68, Outram to Maddock, 21 February, 1842.

18. Indian Secret Letters, No. 62, 20 December, 1842, Enclosure No. 68, Clerk to Maddock, 12 November, 1842.

19. Indian Secret Letters, No. 52, 19 November, 1842, Enclosure No. 115, Outram to Napier, 17 October, 1842.

20. Indian Secret Letter of 8 June, 1842, Enclosure No. 129, Outram to Maddock, 24 May, 1842.

Baluchistan to foment his revolt in June 1842.²¹ Only two of the charges against the Amirs were then definitely true. On 11th September, 1842, Ellenborough decided to open the question of new treaties with the Amirs of Sind.²² The justification for this course of action was based on the assumption that the Amirs were guilty of the various accusations against them.²³ Ellenborough intended to punish any Amir who had "evinced hostile designs" during the late Afghan War, "but the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most ample and convincing evidence of the guilt of the person accused."²⁴ Ellenborough left Napier full discretion: "You are much more competent than I," he wrote, "to decide on the spot as to the authenticity of the letters.....than I am here and I am prepared to abide by, and support, your decision".²⁵ Despite the evidence Napier was convinced "that every letter was really written by the Ameers and that nothing is wanted but an opportunity to attack us....."²⁶ Ellenborough now decided to dispense with the services of the political officers in Sind. He dispatched to Napier orders closing down the Sind—Baluchistan political department as of 15 November, 1842²⁷ thus leaving himself entirely dependent on Napier for information. The closing down of the agency also cut off Napier's prime and most reliable source of intelligence. After this he was forced to rely on Major Clibborn—known to his contemporaries as "Moonshine Clibborn"—whom he made head of his intelligence department. Neither Ellenborough nor the Government Secretary, Maddock, knew much about Sind. Napier knew nothing about Sind, nor about India itself. He had experience in military and administrative posts, but his current problem was a political one and for this type of situation he would seem the worst of all possible

21. H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1952), pp. 82-3.

22. Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence Relative to Sind, 1838-1843*, (T. E. Harrison, London, 1843) No. 364, Ellenborough to Napier, September, 1842.

24. Sind Correspondence, *op.cit.*, No. 364, Ellenborough to Napier, 11 September, 1842.

25. Sind Correspondence, *op.cit.*, No. 413, Ellenborough to Napier, 24 November, 1842.

26. Indian Secret Letters, No. 62, 20 December, 1842.

27. Indian Secret Letters, No. 52, 19 November, 1842, Enclosure No. 111, Ellenborough to Napier, 25 October, 1842.

choices. "Mene! Mene! tekeli, upharsin!" he wrote in his diary, "How is it all to end? We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane, piece of rascality it will be".²⁸ The situation could only be reprieved by an astute choice of assistants but Napier chose Mr. Richardson a man of no ability or stature whatever and Lt. E. J. Brown who had long had charge of affairs in Khairpur. Lambrick says that Brown was not lacking in ability but tended to be abrupt and his administration of affairs in Upper Sind was constantly the subject of complaint. He spoke no Persian, Sindhi, or Baluchi.²⁹ E. B. Eastwick wrote of him, "No man who swallows from one to two dozens bottles of beer per diem can always scrutinize with sufficient exactness the infinitesimal limits of the expedient and the inexpedient".³⁰ It was on these two men along with his personal staff consisting of Major Macpherson and his nephew William Napier that the General had to depend for advice and assistance at this crucial phase of British relations with Sind. Napier, with the discontinuation of the political agency, had *carte blanche*.

The problem of slow communications was a two edged sword and if intercourse between London and India was of such a nature as to fetter the home government, the Governor-General was similarly bound, for between the sending of a letter to Sind and a reply three weeks usually elapsed. Ellenborough wrote to Wellington concerning the validity of the charges against the Amirs: "I have left the matter in Sir C. Napier's hands. Even when I was at Ferozepore, it took twelve days to receive an answer from him, and no time was to be lost".³¹ Napier himself said, "My design and hope is to find excuses for acting on my own responsibility and going right before there is time to set me wrong it is yet to be proved how I command a large force or rather a small one in the face of the enemy".³² Wellington informed Ellenborough that the Cabinet was dissatisfied with his having left the conduct of affairs in Sind entirely in the hands of Sir

28. Napier, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 214.

29. Lambrick, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

30. J. B. Eastwick, *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, (Madden, London, 1844), p. 116.

31. Colchester, *op.cit.*, Ellenborough to Wellington, 22nd March, 1843.

32. Napier, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 181.

Charles Napier³³ but Ellenborough was charmed with the General and blind to his obvious weaknesses. "I can assure you", he wrote Sir George Arthur, "it is a comfort to me I cannot describe to have a man in whom I can so entirely trust at Sukkur".³⁴

When the drafts of the new treaties arrived at Sukkur,³⁵ they were shown to Outram who was on the point of departure. In his *Commentary* he stated that he had pointed out to Napier that there were great discrepancies in the proposed treaties. Among other things certain Amirs who had been guilty of no overt acts were mulcted of vast stretches of territory.³⁶ If he had investigated further, Outram would have found that Ellenborough had confused Nasir Khan of Hyderabad, the Prince charged with writing the treasonable letters to Divan Sanwanmul and Bibarak Bugti, with his namesake, Nasir Khan of Khairpur. There is no evidence that Napier ever made Ellenborough aware of this mistake nor did he rectify it himself as he was empowered to do by the Governor-General's instructions. The Amirs of course balked at the exactions of the proposed treaties and claimed that they were innocent of the charges levelled against them, and with Napier's army marching and counter-marching across Sind prepared to defend themselves. The replacement of Mir Rustam Khan by his son Ali Murad at Napier's hand brought events to the brink of war, but one last hope for a peaceful solution remained. Outram had been named by Napier as his Commissioner for the purpose of negotiating the treaties with the Amirs. Early in February, 1843 he arrived in Hyderabad where the Amirs of both Upper and Lower Sind were assembled. He held conferences with the Amirs on the 8th and 12th of February and pointed out to them that only their acceptance of the treaties would halt Napier's advance on Hyderabad. During the latter conference all the Amirs except Nasir Khan of Khairpur signed the treaties. Outram wrote to Napier on the 11th explaining that the Amirs were intending to sign the treaties on the 12th and that he should stop his

33. Colchester, *op.cit.*, p. 347.

34. Ellenborough Papers, No. 76, Ellenborough to Arthur, 17 November, 1842.

35. Aitchison, *op.cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 339-343.

36. Lt. Col. James Outram, *The Conquest of Scinde—A Commentary*, (M. Blackwood, London, 1846), p. 139.

advance.³⁷ He also sent his notes of the conferences to Napier for further transmission to the Governor-General. These notes contained the Amirs' denial of guilt and the petition of Mir Rustam Khan for reinstatement as Rais of Upper Sind.³⁸ Napier promised, "I will state to Lord Ellenborough all the Amirs say, because it is fair to them.....I will at once send Lord Ellenborough a copy of what passed".³⁹ Napier never sent the notes of the conferences nor Outram's letter to the Governor-General and the march of events towards war and annexation continued, unchecked. A copy of the notes of the conferences finally reached Lord Fitzgerald, then President of the Board of Control, through Sir George Arthur to whom Outram had sent a set. When the Secret Committee asked Ellenborough why he had never sent them the notes he could only reply, ".....I never heard of the existence of these notes till I read your letter today—I know absolutely nothing of what may have passed between Major Outram and the Ameers....."⁴⁰ To Ellenborough's letter asking for information on the missing documents,⁴¹ Napier could give no adequate reply.⁴² Ellenborough was soon faced with his error in confusing the two Nasir Khans. "I am unable to account satisfactorily for this error", he blandly wrote to the Secret Committee, ".....It is satisfactory however to know that Sir C. Napier was aware of the error, and that the letter inaccurately addressed to Meer Nuseer Khan of Khyrapur must have been delivered to Meer Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad to whom its contents applied".⁴³ The extent of Ellenborough's delusion, his lack of information and the mistake of having invested Sir Charles Napier with absolute power were now absolutely clear.

37. Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence Relative to Sind, Supplementary to be Papers Presented to Parliament in 1843*, (T. E. Harrison, London), 1844), No. 60, Outram to Napier, 11 February, 1843, 3 pm.

38. Indian Secret Letters, No. 31, 14 August, 1843, Enclosure No. 76, Napier to Ellenborough, 11 July, 1843.

39. Sind Correspondence, Supplementary, *op.cit.*, No. 57, Napier to Outram 11 February, 1843.

40. Indian Secret Letters, No. 48, 13 June, 1843.

41. Indian Secret Letters, No. 23, 20 July, 1843, Enclosure Ellenborough to Napier, 20 July, 1843.

42. Indian Secret Letter, No. 31, 14 August 1843, Enclosure No. 76, Napier to Ellenborough, 11 July, 1843.

43. Indian Secret Letters, No. 22, 19 July, 1843.

The degree to which Ellenborough had strayed from his instructions and from his own earlier declared policies was manifested by the tenor of communications from the Secret Committee. Fitzgerald advised the Governor-General to be extremely careful and to avoid hostilities in Sind.⁴⁴ While Ripon on 3rd June, 1843 (almost three months after the battle of Mian) wrote to Ellenborough that while he realized that views taken on the same matter might not always be the same when seen from two different hemispheres, the Board would earnestly press upon the Governor-General "to avoid as much as possible committing us to any course of policy affecting territorial possessions and extension". The Board, he continued, would prefer to be "left more at liberty to form a previous decision as to what should be done, than one after the judgment has been made".⁴⁵ It was of course much too late for such an admonition. Ellenborough on his part complained of the lack of instructions from home and of the consequent necessity of acting on his own initiative.⁴⁶ To which Peel replied that "If a Governor-General supposes that the Government at home has no responsibility for acts done in India—that in the absence of necessary information.....that they have nothing to do but to ratify and approve, he is under a great misapprehension of our duties and relations to him".⁴⁷ Gladstone later recalled that the entire cabinet has been against the annexation of Sind.⁴⁸ But as Peel wrote, "Time—Distance—the course of events may have so fettered our discretion that we (had) no alternative but to maintain (the) annexation".⁴⁹

44. Ellenborough Papers, No. 42, Fitzgerald to Ellenborough, 31 January, 1843.

45. Ripon Papers, No. 40865, Ripon to Ellenborough, 3, June, 1843.

46. Indian Secret Letters, 13 March, 1843.

47. Ripon Papers, No. 40866, Peel to Ripon, 9 December, 1843.

48. Algernon Law, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

49. Ripon Paper, No. 40866, Peel to Ripon, 9 December, 1843.

Revolt of 1857 in the Sagar and Narbada Territories

BY

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In the sordid history of British conquests, Indian degradation and all-round decay of the enslaved country, the great revolt of 1857, in spite of its failure, was a memorable event for a down-trodden country. It exhibited the surface-enslavement of an undying spirit which manifested itself in strange colours to the British mind which was gloating over its victories of war, triumphs of diplomacy and some of the apparently peaceful and bloodless operations of Dalhousie's time. The terrible scenes of the tenacious war of American independence which Cornwallis was instructed in 1786 to prevent from being enacted in India, presented themselves in no thinner lights in 1857, although success was not in their lot. Hence, in the long history of disunity and petty jealousies of India which betrayed the country into the hands of the crafty commercial lords of Great Britain and which could not be effectively checked by the sword of Haidar Ali, the ferocity of Tipu and the statesmanship of Nana Fadnavis, the armed revolt of 1857 constituted the great hope-inspiring chapter. It indicated that India had not completely succumbed to foreign domination and the traditional principle of vibrating unity in diversity had not become entirely extinct in India.

The powerful reaction against political domination, cultural conquest and economic ruin, which began to crystallise in northern India six weeks before the centenary of the melo-dramatic battle of Plassey and which assumed the character of a war of liberation by shaking the mighty fabric of the British Empire to its foundations, touched the tender chords of the people in the Sagar and Narbada territories towards the end of June 1857. Being a part of the North-West Provinces, from where Pax-Britannica had virtually disappeared, and the entire area on war-path, it was difficult for the tracts, south of the river Jamuna, to remain unaffected by the magnitude of the mighty movement in the contiguous areas.

The forces released by the acute discontent against four decades of oppressive British rule soon became revitalized.

The Sagar and Narbada territories had their own grievances. The people of these tracts had not reconciled themselves to foreign rule. The indiscriminate policy of empire-building in India by all sorts of questionable devices, unimaginative and unsympathetic revenue, judicial and police administration, injudicious administrative measures, fragmentation of large landed estates, scarcity of food continuing for three crop-seasons from 1854-1856, over-assessment of land revenue, loss of political power by the warlike Bundelas, Rajputs, Gonds, Lodhis and Muhammedans, legislations affecting the social life and concepts of the Hindus, proselytizing activities of the missionaries, advocacy of English education, age-old grievances of the Bengal army and the use of the notorious greased cartridges cumulatively created an atmosphere congenial for uprisings in the difficult tracts covered by thick forests, long hillocks and deep dales and intersected by fast flowing mountain streams.

Although British armies were stationed at almost all the district headquarters right from 1818, firm control over their interiors could not be established and the hostile spirit of the dispossessed could not be completely broken. The British rule in Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Central India and the Sagar and Narbada territories had not brought any appreciable benefits which could make people submit to it joyfully. Being alien to the soil and interested only in military, political and economic exploitation, the Englishmen, as substitutes of the Marathas, could not acquire confidence and affection of the bulk of population. Symptoms of this lack of confidence and of disaffection were occasionally visible. For long the Sagar and Narbada territories remained the chief centre of activities of the Thugs who were the products of maladministration and politico-economic maladjustment. The Bundela dissatisfaction found a terrible outlet in the form of the famous revolt of 1842-43.

Within the Sagar and Narbada territories and on their borders resided several aristocratic families which had behind them brilliant traditions of military valour and political power. Almost all of them were anxious to regain their former positions. The cultivators held the new regime responsible for hard times, high prices

and criminal practices. The Maratha population was highly critical of the new government on account of loss of power and escheat of the Maratha states. The landholders condemned the Board of Revenue and treated it as the author of their ruin. The Brahmins and the sepoys of the Bengal army were opposed to the attacks on their caste prejudices. In these circumstances, in January 1857, mysterious chapatis, the characteristic signals for the approaching rebellion, were passed from village to village. Captain Ternan, the Deputy Commissioner of Narsinghpur, regarded them as harbingers of the coming storm and means of unsettling people's minds and preparing them for the unforeseen. In April, excited news about the new greased cartridges came to several regiments, alleging the designs of the Government on the religion and caste prejudices of the high caste Bengal sepoys drawn from Oudh. In May, rumours spread that ghee, flour and sugar were being adulterated by orders of the Government with pig's fat and cow's bone-dust, with the intention of christianizing them. The martyrdom of Madhukar Shah of Narhut by public execution near the Sagar jail in 1843 worked as a source of inspiration to the people to wreck the British power.

On May 17, arrived the news of the rebellions and massacres from Meerut and Delhi. In June, the air became thick with similar news from various military stations in northern India. The heroic revolt at Jhansi under Rani Lakshmi Bai and its liberation from foreign yoke stirred up the enthusiasm of the discontented in the Sagar and Narbada territories. The exciting news of revolts at Banda, Karwi, Nawgaon, Jalaun, Gwalior, Indore, Nimuch and Nasirabad made matters worse for the British cause. They stimulated the rebellious passions of the disaffected and made them restless for action. Major Erskine, the Commissioner, apprehended trouble and became anxious for the safety of the Europeans, though no harm was done to any one of them. This fear generated panic and prompted the European officers to take all possible precautionary measures before armies could actually rebel.

The rebellion that occurred soon after and wrapped the entire tract, about half the size of England, in the arms of fire was a part of the general struggle of India to regain freedom. The convulsions made the majority of the people intransigent. The entire

area affected by the Bundela rebellion caught fire and all its leaders who were alive became leaders of revolt. A host of other talented Lodhi, Gond, Rajput and Muslim chieftains and landholders who had suffered under the British regime and had not reconciled themselves to a position of dependence under a foreign government came to the forefront of the freedom fight. Force of circumstances and promptings of self-interest kept some of them loyal. However, the entire area was ablaze with rebellions. The district of Sagar, in particular, became a burning cauldron. Attacks on jails, treasuries, thanas, tahsils and other government buildings and elimination of British rule were the general features of the revolt. This armed movement was a last ditch fight of the old feudal order and landowning aristocracy which had lost its position and was ambitious to regain it. It derived its strength from the wide-spread disaffection among the civil population all round. However, the Bengal sepoys took the lion's share in the contest because they alone had the modern arms and knew the fighting technique. They and the dissatisfied chiefs had to bear the whole brunt of war till the end. Like northern India, the revolt in the Sagar and Narbada territories is a big story of heroic deeds, great achievements and inevitable failure.

The first flames of rebellion which affected the temper of the Sagar and Narbada territories were lighted in the areas contiguous to Jhansi, the nerve centre of struggle, south of the river Jamuna. Although the rulers of most of the titular principalities of Bundelkhand remained loyal for fear of risking whatever little was left with them by the British bounty, the warlike Bundela chiefs of impoverished fortunes took the lead and displayed remarkable drive. The Raja of Banpur, named Mardan Singh, a man of courage and enterprise, realized that the hour had struck for recovering his ancestral domain of Chanderi. Under his influence the army rose in insurrection at Lalitpur and freed Chanderi in June. The Europeans were taken prisoners but were not subjected to any harassment. They were allowed to proceed to Sagar. Another Bundela chief, the Raja of Shahgarh, named Bakhat Bali, recruited soldiers and seized the neighbouring territory. He captured the Europeans who were proceeding from Lalitpur to Sagar and kept them prisoners for more than two months.

These two leaders were at the back of the rebellions in the Sagar and Narbada territories. They sent emissaries to all the

petty chiefs urging them to throw off their allegiance. Joined by the disaffected, dispossessed and dissatisfied people, they marched towards Sagar. Their unabated incursions became factors to be reckoned with by the British Government. When troops were on orders for march from Sagar to Lalitpur under Major Gaussen to quell the rebellion, four soldiers of the 42nd B.N. 1. tried to prevent them from marching ahead. They were, therefore, immediately seized and put into prison. This made excitement general and mutiny imminent. With great difficulty the danger could be ward off. The soldiers taken prisoners were sent to Hoshangabad and the cavalry paraded the streets of Sagar day and night. Persons of doubtful loyalty were rounded off. The detachment under Major Gaussen could not effect much beyond capturing the fort of Bala Bahat and taking a number of Bundelas as prisoners. The army soon became disaffected. The soldiers demanded the release of the captured Bundelas, which was effected as a tactical measure to subside tension. Later on, they revolted near Malhona, but allowed Major Gaussen to go back to Sagar unmolested.

June was the month of terrible anxiety all over the Sagar and Narbada territories. It was a period of the ripening of the volcano. The European population was thrown into much perplexity. Brigadier Sage, the officer commanding Sagar military station, lost confidence in the Indian soldiers, doubted their loyalty and apprehended a general uprising in the town at any moment. He, therefore, took effective security measures for the safety of his countrymen and decided to hold out until relief could reach Sagar. The Europeans and Eurasians were sent to the Parkota fort on 27th June and its fortifications were considerably strengthened. All necessary supplies were stored therein for a long period and the bulk of the treasure and the whole of the powder-magazine were also shifted to the fort for use in emergency. The Indian soldiers were relieved from the garrison and European artillery was posted to guard the fort.

In this tense atmosphere, the news of the advance of the Bundela chiefs towards Sagar worked as a signal for the army to revolt. On 1st July, the third irregular cavalry Regiment and the 42nd B.N. 1. broke into open rebellion. Under Subedar Sheikh Ramzan, who assumed the rank of General, they plundered the cantonment and captured some war material and treasure. The most redeeming feature for the British cause was that with a good

deal of skilful manoeuvring, the loyalty of the 31st B.N. 1. could be kept intact, and that it could be used against the rebels. This resulted in a good deal of open fighting between the two Indian regiments in which the Europeans helped the loyal 31st. Ultimately, despondent of any success, the 42nd B.N. 1. proceeded towards Damoh to extend the area of rebellion. 'Well done the 31st' was the applauding utterance of Major Erskine, the Commissioner of the Sagar and Narbada territories, when the news of its feats of loyalty reached him at Jabalpur.

Meanwhile, the Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh hurriedly proceeded towards Sagar. On 9th July, the former attacked and seized the tahsil and the thana of Khurai. Joined by a large number of men, he took possession of the north-western part of the district of Sagar in a couple of days and effectively garrisoned all places of strategic importance. He levied revenue on the villages freed by him and effaced the traces of British rule from that quarter. With Khurai as his advanced military base, he attacked and occupied Nariaoli, a place twelve miles west of Sagar, and strongly entrenched it. An attempt to dislodge him from there by an army under Col. Dalzell failed miserably. The commanding officer was killed and many were wounded. This important military action enhanced the prestige of the Raja of Banpur and lowered the morale of the British at Sagar.

Another Bundela chief of no less importance was Bakhat Bali of Shahgarh. He took possession of Binaika and was joined by policemen and others who renounced their allegiance to the British. A more notable feat of arms was displayed by him in capturing the important fortress of Garhakota, the tahsil of Rehli and all the territory that once belonged to him.

This brilliant success of the Bundela chiefs afforded great encouragement to the half-inclined minds to come out. Adil Muhammad and Fazil Muhammad, the two Nawabs of Amapani, the collaterals of the Bhopal royal family, immediately took advantage of the situation and captured their old fort of Rahatgarh. This induced many policemen and Pathans to come under their banner. With the limited means at their disposal, they strengthened the fortifications of the fort. In this way, most of the district of Sagar was occupied by two Bundela chiefs and the two Nawabs of Amapani from the western, north-eastern, northern

and eastern directions. Amongst the several landholders who joined them, Zalim Singh Rajput was the most prominent. He rendered valuable services to the Raja of Shahgarh. In the south, the Gond chiefs gave considerable trouble. The road to Narsinghpur was blocked. The despatch of dak was suspended. The friends of the British passed very unrestful nights. They were forced to assist the rebellion with military supplies under terrible threat of being plundered. Major Burton mentioned in his account of the rebellion in Central India that Raja Mardan Singh and Nawab Adil Muhammad went to the extent of cutting off the noses and hands of those suspected of being friendly with the British. The prisoners tried to escape from the Sagar jail by digging an underground tunnel, but they were caught before they could succeed. All attempts of Majors Gaussen and Hamilton to check the advance of the rebel liberators and to retake the lost positions ended in dismal failure. Thus, practically the entire district, with the exception of the town, went out of the British hands.

From July to October 1857, the fighters for freedom were so powerful and their success so quick and phenomenal that the terror-stricken Europeans,—173 men, 67 women and 130 children—remained confined entirely to the Sagar fort. Due to overcrowding and the difficulty to maintain normal conservancy and hygienic conditions, fever, diarrhoea, cholera and small-pox took a toll of 22 persons. The normal life stood at a stand-still. Terror, uncertainty and insecurity enveloped the atmosphere. Heavy guns and mortars were mounted on every side of the fort. The armed men of the Raja of Shahgarh reached the Sagar lake and attempted to cut its embankment in order to expose the fort to attack from its northern side. But their attempts were foiled by heavy fire opened from the fort. The Bundela followers of the Raja of Banpur came up to the outskirts of Sagar from the opposite side, but the town escaped molestation. Several times, the safety of the fort was threatened, but it was never attacked due to the loyalty of the 31st B.N. 1. Sagar remained completely cutoff from the outside world for several months. Supplies could not come from outside. The scarcity of grain was felt. The prices of articles went up. No revenue could be collected. At the end of August, British supremacy hung by a thread.

Insurrections at Sagar upset the equanimity of the Europeans at Damoh. Apprehending attack any moment and putting no reli-

ance on the two companies of the 42nd B.N. 1., stationed thereat, they hurriedly removed the treasury to a safer and well-fortified place inside the jail building, made all possible arrangements for its defence and left for Narsinghpur for shelter. Soon after, the rebel regiment of Sagar attacked Damoh and incited the garrison to rebel and capture the treasure. But to the utter surprise of the Europeans, who had left Damoh in great consternation, the garrison remained loyal and refused to surrender the treasure. Consequently, the attacking party left Damoh greatly dejected. Handicapped by the shortage of financial resources, they could not achieve much independently. They, therefore, joined the rebel Rajas.

In the interiors, almost all the Lodhi landholders, except the Raja of Hatri, made common cause with the Bundela chiefs. Many others responded to their call. Thakur Kishore Singh of Hindoria attacked Damoh with all his brothers and followers on 10th July. He took possession of the thana and destroyed the records of the tahsil and the Munsif's court. But at last, he was driven out by the loyal detachment. After some days he returned with reinforcements from the Raja of Shahgarh but was unable to capture Damoh due to military help having reached there from Sagar. While retiring, he took possession of many villages and held the thana of Kumar for several months. The Rani of the lapsed state of Jaitpur also threw off allegiance. Her troops freed Semaria. In this state of precarious existence, somehow a detachment of the 31st B.N. 1. under Captain Pinkay, which came from Sagar for the defence of Damoh, safeguarded the jail and the treasury, but suffered defeat at Hindoria, the citadel of Kishore Singh. Thus, by the middle of August, the entire district was in revolutionary flames. The police had deserted and hundreds of landholders had become rebel leaders in their respective regions.

On urgent requisitions a Kamptee column of the Madras troops arrived from Jabalpur on 24th August. With great difficulty, Balakote and Hindoria were recovered, but they could not be retained for long, as the column was recalled to Jabalpur, where the situation had become highly critical. The ground gained was thus lost. Kishore Singh and the rebel Rani of Jaitpur became masters of the situation. The British position became desperate. The treasure was, therefore, shifted to Sagar and the loyal troops, who had guarded it till then, were disarmed. An urgent request was

made to the loyal Raja Nirpat Singh of Panna to spare troops for the safety of Damoh. Accordingly, troops arrived from Panna under Kunwar Shyamle-ju-deva and held Damoh for the British for sometime till they were defeated and driven out by Kishore Singh, who made a furious attack on the town, broke open the jail, slaughtered the guards, released prisoners, collected treasure from the town, burnt the records, blew up the court building and sacked the Deputy Commissioner's house. He kept the town in his possession and devised further plans. Then came heavy reinforcements from Panna and the town was reoccupied. The remainder of the district remained liberated till an army under General Whitlock arrived in March 1858 for its rescue.

At Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Commissioner, where the 52nd B.N. 1. was stationed, the surface seemed calm for sometime. But the exciting news of rebellions in the districts of Sagar and Damoh and the uproarious scenes at Nagod, staged by the 50th B.N. 1. towards the end of August, could not confine the boiling tempers and political ferment within bounds. Even before that, on 16th June, one of the soldiers shouted 'death to the Feringees' and attempted to bayonet the Adjutant to death. But careful handling of the delicate situation prevented this incident from becoming a precursor to a general rebellion. He was arrested and declared insane and no more fuss was created about it. However, as a precautionary measure, most of the European ladies and children were sent to Kamptee for shelter and the defensive position was strengthened. The residency was converted into a fort and provisions were stored for six months for nearly seventy Europeans. The 52nd B.N. 1. was kept loyal by all sorts of promises and temptations, but it was treated as a broken reed, never to be relied upon. Notwithstanding these measures, the consternation among the Europeans was so great that the English ladies who stayed back at Jabalpur always preferred to remain close to their husbands and never removed their trousers even at night so as to keep themselves ready to flee at any warning. In this state of continual dread and suspense, the Madras troops were called from Kamptee for an emergency. Somehow, July was passed over with extreme uncertainty. Early in August, a relieving force arrived and the tension was eased temporarily.

After some days, when the Kamptee column was sent to Damoh to restore order, preparations for a successful revolution

at Jabalpur came to light. The old Raja of the Gond dynasty of Garhamandla, named Shankar Shah, his son Raghunath Shah and their adherents planned the overthrow of British power and the recovery of their former position. They invoked their deity to aid them in the destruction of Europeans and prepared for a revolt with the help of the 52nd B.N. 1. But the plan leaked out prematurely. Both father and son were surprised, arrested and blown from the cannon's mouth mercilessly on 18th September. On the following day, their adherents were also executed. Thus ended the last representative of the royal house of Garhamandla. These arrests created great unrest at Jabalpur and infuriated the soldiers of the 52nd B.N.1. They attempted to liberate the prisoners and showed their defiant attitude in diverse ways. The destruction of their lives in a brutal manner exasperated every discontented element.

Although Lt. Clark, the Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur, frustrated the plans of the Gond Raja, he could not prevent the mutiny of the 52nd B.N. 1. On the night of the fateful day of the martyrdom of Shankar Shah, the army revolted. It left the station at night with arms and ammunition and reached Patan and then Sleemanabad, where some of its companies were stationed. The conduct of these insurgents at three places encouraged the discontented to break out in open rebellion. Joined by a number of other rebels, the rebel 52nd proceeded towards Damoh and Sagar in order to make a common cause with the rebels there and then ultimately to march to Delhi.

Major Erskine, the Commissioner of Jabalpur division, who was then at Damoh, was terrified by the news of these incidents. Considering the danger to British interests too great to be overlooked, he summoned a council of war on 20th September to consider what was best to be done. Which of the two principal cities, Sagar or Jabalpur, was to be made the last bastion of defence, in the event of the British being overpowered all over the Sagar and Narbada territories, was the problem that engaged the council. Major Erskine regarded Jabalpur as the gateway to South India and favoured its claims. Brigadier Sage regarded Sagar as the key to Central India and urged for its defence. At last it was decided to retain both the towns. Therefore, leaving Damoh to its fate, Erskine proceeded post-haste to Jabalpur with the Kamptee column, and Brigadier Sage to Sagar with the detachment of the

31st B.N. 1. Later on troops came from Panna for the defence of Damoh. Thus a most perilous situation was created and wild confusion prevailed in the latter half of September. In October, the territories were held by a very slender tie. Beyond isolated triumphs nothing much could be gained. The Madras column was the only ray of hope for the declining British prestige in these frightful circumstances. But for it, the situation would have become extremely grave. Returning from Damoh, the Kamptee column intercepted the rebels of the 52nd B.N. 1. at Katangi, when they were attempting to cross the Hiran river. In the fiercely contested skirmish that took place on the river-side, the rebels killed captain Tottenham and Major Jenkins and murdered Mac Gregor, whom they had held captive at Patan, although they themselves suffered great losses. On reaching Damoh, they took possession of the town, released prisoners, assisted Kishore Singh and ultimately joined the Raja of Shahgarh at Garhakota. Somehow, Jabalpur could be retained, but in several parts of the district the rebels remained masters. As many as 179 leaders appeared in arms. Accounts continued to remain dismal. Erskine looked with gloomy apprehensions on the fate of the province under his charge. His urgent messages for help, repeatedly sent to Lord Canning, evoked only regretful response. Too busy to re-establish British power at Lucknow, the Governor General considered it imprudent to sacrifice British prestige in northern India in order to uphold it in the Sagar and Narbada territories.

One of the leaders, whose rebellion proved most troublesome for the British in the vicinity of Jabalpur, was the Raja of Bijai-raghogarh, named Surju Prasad Singh. He showed his resentment by plunging headlong into the conflict. He killed the tahsildar, captured the dak horses and closed the great highway to Mirzapur and the postal route from Bombay to Calcutta. The Nagod rebel regiments joined him in his military adventure. The Madras column, sent a number of times from Jabalpur to intercept and destroy them, could not improve the situation. The road to Mirzapur could not be opened till January 1858. The rebels of the Bargi pargana also gave considerable trouble and continued guerilla operations unabated for a long time.

The spark of rebellion once lighted at Sagar, and extended to Damoh and Jabalpur, affected all other parts of the Sagar and

Narbada territories. In all the districts the interiors became fully ablaze but the headquarters were affected only slightly. In the district of Mandla, the principal seats of rebellion were Shahpura, Ramgarh and Sohagpur. The malguzars refused to pay land revenue. The Thakurs collected men and arms. The Rajputs of Sohagpur attacked the thana and put policemen to flight. The Lodhi Thakurs of Shahpura displayed fury by similar feats of arms in their areas. Ramgarh enacted the same story. Attack on police stations became the general feature of the rebellion in the interiors of the district. The companies of the 52nd B.N. 1. stationed at Mandla, followed the footsteps of their compatriots at Jabalpur. They joined the local rebel leaders, occupied Ghurgi and collected treasure for further operations. The Deputy Commissioner, Captain Waddington, tried his best to nip the revolts in the bud, but failed to secure any success. By November, the district was out of his hands. He, therefore, concentrated his forces in the town, strengthened its fortifications and decided to hold out to the last. On 23rd November the rebels appeared in great force from several directions and converged upon the town. Some reached Khairi, one mile from Mandla, defeated and drove out the police force on reconnaissance duty and reached a distance about 400 yards from the town. Another rebel force came from the Jabalpur side and a third one from the south-east. This alarming news of a three-pronged drive created so great a terror in Waddington's mind that he fled towards Seoni for safety. On the way, at Dhumma, he met Lt. Thomson, the Deputy Commissioner of Seoni, and with his support he organized action against the insurgents headed by Bahadur Singh and Devi Singh.

The Mandla revolt is known for the heroism of the Rajput Rani of Ramgarh. She manifested her dissatisfaction against the British by removing the tahsildar who was administering her state and taking the reins of government in her own hands. She fortified Ramgarh, which enjoyed natural advantages for fortifications, and gathered round her a large number of anti-British elements. With the support of several neighbouring chieftains, she emulated the example of the famous Rani Durgavati. She led her men and retained her state till April 1858. Even when she was forced out of it, she continued desultory jungle warfare for a long time and at last committed suicide while fighting to save her honour and became immortal as a martyr for the noble cause.

At Seoni, the only notable rebel leaders were a few Lodhi landholders in the northern part of the district. They joined the Jabalpur and Narsinghpur rebels and intercepted communications between Nagpur and Jabalpur from their vantage positions.

In the Narsinghpur district, which is contiguous to Sagar, Jabalpur and Mandla, all the leaders of the last Bundela rebellion of 1842-43 utilized the new opportunity to accomplish what they failed to achieve before. Joined by the disaffected Muhammedans from Bhopal, they made a common cause with the rebel leaders of the contiguous districts. By the display of their revolutionary temper they provided inspiration for others to follow their example. Nawab Ali Khan, a collateral of the royal house of Bhopal, and a large number of Pathans of Rahatgarh attacked and captured Tendulkheda and Belkhari. The rebels of the Bargi pargana of Jabalpur made demonstrations on the south-eastern part of the district. The landholders of Chanwarpatha, Hirapur, Madanpur and Dhilwar took active part in their respective spheres.

In this mighty anti-British armed movement, which was fiercely raging in the northern regions, the Lodhi and Gond landholders were the principal figures. Meharban Singh was the most outstanding leader. He put up stiff resistance and harassed the British for a long time. The area of his exploits spread over the districts of Narsinghpur, Damoh and Jabalpur. He received the popular appellation of 'Raja Jungee'. Other important leaders were Ganjam Singh, a landholder of considerable consequence, and Dalganjan of Singhpur. In January 1858, about 4000 rebels from Rahatgarh and Bhopal with 250 Pathan horse and numerous matchlockmen created considerable anxiety for the British in conjunction with Dhilan Sha and Narwar Singh. Strangely enough the Gond Raja of Dilehri, who was adversely affected by the Thomasonian principles of settlement, Nizam Sha of Madanpur and Rao Surat Singh Lodhi of Imjhira remained loyal. Their staunch loyalty, coupled with the presence of the Madras troops and the zeal of Captain Ternan, prevented the revolt from engulfing the entire district.

The district of Hoshangabad, which touched the borders of Bhopal, Gwalior and Indore states, could not remain unaffected by the fire of rebellion. The entire pargana of Harda, which was acquired from Sindhia in 1844, was ablaze with insurrections. In the areas contiguous to the borders of Bhopal, the police broke out

into open revolt and attempted to raise the Muhammedan standard. In the Nimawar pargana, a Maratha Pundit and Thakur Daulat Singh drove out British influence altogether. The Mewatis of Satwas gave great trouble. Rebels from Indore and Sehore kept the borders of the district in flames for a long time. Charwa became centre of anti-British intrigues. The Rajas of Sandhia Ghat and Makral were suspected of active alliance with Tantia Tope. The Rajas of Fatehpur and Sohagpur were actually in league with him. With their support, Tantia Tope crossed the Nerbada in Betul district, about forty miles from Hoshangabad.

Towards the end of the revolt, the presence of Nawab Adil Muhammad Khan of Amapani in the district of Hoshangabad created great confusion. He was joined by Bhabhut Singh, jagirdar of Harakot, who was driven to open revolt by the oppression of the thanedar and tahsildar. However, the loyalty of the Madras troops posted in the town, the active co-operation of Maulvi Mazhar-ul-Jamil, an influential Deputy Magistrate, and the fidelity of the Rajas of Rajwara and of Nawab Sikandar Begum of Bhopal kept the British cause alive in that region.

The effect of the rebellion was fatal to British supremacy in the Sagar and Nerbada territories. Only in certain district headquarters, where Madras troops were posted or Bengal troops remained staunch in their loyalty, British position remained safe, but not altogether free from danger. After the fall of Lucknow, the tables began to turn quickly. The morale of revolt began to show hopeless depression. Despondency set in and demoralization was perceptible. The Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad troops were organized under renowned military officers imported from Great Britain to launch terrible counter-offensives and to destroy the rebellion altogether. The Central Indian Field Force, under Sir Hugh Rose, wrought terrible havoc to rehabilitate British power. In the merciless suppression that followed, mass hangings, terror-striking brutalities, execution of suspects, confiscation of estates and ruthless destruction of lives and properties became the general features of wreckless British vengeance. Although most of the leaders fought to their bitter end, their cause was lost. The edifice built up by the revolutionaries in isolated patches without any planned organization and coordinate military action began to crumble like a house of cards. By August 1858 the backbone of the revolt was broken.

One by one all the places lost in 1857 were reoccupied by the British troops and the rebel leaders met their doom. Rahatgarh was taken on 29th January. Fazil Muhammad Khan, the younger of the two Nawabs of Amapani, was captured and hanged over the gateway of the Rahatgarh fort. The elder Nawab Adil Muhammad escaped. He joined Tantia Tope, remained at large and passed into obscurity. The Raja of Banpur sustained heavy losses at Barodia. These reverses depressed the defenders of other fortresses so much that the strongly fortified positions of Khurai, Khimlasa and Nariaoli were abandoned. The fortress of Sanodha was occupied on 9th February as a prelude to an attack on the important fortress of Garhakota, which was abandoned by the Raja of Shahgarh on the 12th due to heavy pressure of siege operations. The strongly defensive positions at Malthone-Narhat and Madanpur passes were penetrated on 3rd March. The fall of the two fortresses of Sonrai and Maraura soon followed. But at Kuch, the Raja of Banpur showed his mettle. He defeated the British force and completely entrenched himself at Chanderi. After this last spasm of his political career he surrendered on 5th July, when he heard the proclamation for general amnesty. The other much-dreaded rebel leader, Bakhat Bali of Shahgarh, continued operations for sometime. But ultimately he also surrendered. They were sent as political prisoners to Meerut and Lahore respectively. Their states were confiscated. Tantia Tope's forces were defeated and dispersed at Khurai on 25th October. However, with his forces thinned down, he carried on swift, elusive and tireless guerilla warfare for a long time over a surprisingly large tract, engaging half the British army in the breath-breaking pursuit.

With the Madras columns supplied by Plowden from Nagpur, General Whitlock annihilated rebels in Jabalpur and Nagod and kept the highways safe. The properties of Raja Shankar Shah and his son were confiscated. The military forces sent from Sagar cleared Damoh, Rehli and other places of all the rebels. The Rewa troops, supplied by Osborne, captured Bijairagharh, but Thakur Surju Prasad escaped. After six years, when he was captured and sentenced to transportation for life, he ended his life by suicide. His principality was confiscated. By a two-pronged drive, Lt. Burton seized Ramgarh, but failed to capture the Rani alive. Bahadur Singh, Devi Singh and a host of other leaders were caught and hanged. Captains Ternan and Wooley defeated Meharban Singh, captured Dhilan Sha, slew Ganjam Singh and his

followers, and hanged Dalganjan. Thus by November 1858, military operations ended. The jungles of the Vindhya gave asylum to a number of rebels who escaped the British eye.

Participants in the revolt and all other disloyal persons were hunted down. They were either hanged publicly, shot dead, transported or punished with varying terms of imprisonment. Their properties were invariably confiscated. Rewards were announced for the capture of the escaped rebels, a sum of Rs. 1000/- for the apprehension of Kishore Singh of Hindoria and another one of Rs. 500/- for the capture of Meharban Singh. The sympathisers of revolt and the suspects also suffered. Neutrality was not given any consideration. The entire population was disarmed as a preventive measure. Their economic resources were crippled. Loyalty was as much honoured as disloyalty was punished. For rendering help to the British the self-seekers, opportunists and traitors received titles, medals, services, promotions, jagirs, certificates or some other kinds of rewards. The Raja of Panna received khilat of the value of Rs. 20,000/- and the pargana of Semaria as a reward. The lesser dignitaries received smaller rewards for betraying their country. Pt. Kanhaiya Lal Tiwari of Dhana received a jagir and a sanad.

The revolt failed in the Sagar and Narbada territories due to the cumulative working of a number of causes, like poor organization, lack of coordinated actions and sound planning, meagre financial resources, inferior and inadequate military equipments, inexperienced leadership and want of common strategy, singleness of direction and consolidated national sentiment. The sprinkling loyalty for the British inside the country, the staunch fidelity of the Madras troops, the active help from Panna, Rewa, Nagpur, Bhopal and Rajputana, and the arrival of veteran military leaders, and reinforcements from Great Britain, Persia, Crimea and China were no less important causes of failure. The Enfield rifles, the telegraph communications and the unlimited resources in British possession proved to be the decisive factors in an unequal fight. Geographically and topographically the Sagar and Narbada territories were specially suited for a successful rebellion and historically there was a good deal of anti-British political ferment but the paucity of financial and military resources and the lack of coordinated planning wrecked the uprisings in their isolated pockets.

The premature outbreak at Meerut had upset the organization which was just in the making. The inability of the rebel leaders to check the depredations of the anti-social and criminal elements and the necessity to collect money even by employment of force disgusted many people who joined the British to remove the new ill-organized set-up. A large number of rebel soldiers had left the Sagar and Narbada territories for Jhansi, Jalaun, Kalpi, Kanpur and Lucknow. They were intercepted at Kalpi and defeated near Kanpur by Havelock. The loyalty of Rani Baka Bai of Nagpur was entirely unexpected. The attachment of the 31st B.N. 1. at Sagar and the loyalty of the detachments of the 42nd B.N. 1. at Damoh were highly surprising. The help rendered to the British by the ruler of Panna became the main prop for the British rule in the Sagar and Damoh regions.

The suppression of revolt cost a good deal to the poor territories. The names of the rebel regiments were removed from the army list. European troops were posted at places of strategic importance. The Sagar and Narbada territories were detached from the turbulent North-Western Provinces and were joined with the peaceful Nagpur and a separate unit of administration, called the Central Provinces, was created in 1861.

Materials on which Indian Epigraphical Records were Incised

BY

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(Continued from Page 308, Vol. XXXV, No. 105, 1957)

B.—METAL

(1) Gold:

References to gold plates inscribed with important family records of wealthy merchants, royal edicts, poetic verses and moral maxims are found in the Jātakas like the Rurujātaka and the Kurudhammajātaka (Buhler, *Ind. Studies* III. 10; A.S.I.R. 1902. 16; Ojha *Ind. Paleo.* p. 5). A thin gold plate kept inside a hollow crystal figure of a Hansa which was kept inside a circular stone box was found at the Gangu stupa near Taxila. The Kharoshthi inscription on it records the deposit of a relic of Lord Buddha by Sira (C.I.I. II. i. 31). Two gold plates in the form of a palm leaf manuscript of the fourth or fifth cent. A.D. are inscribed with the well known Buddhist formula followed by a Pali passage. They weigh 110 grains and 148 grains respectively. The inscriptions are in the Brahmi script of the South Indian type and the language is Pali. (*E.I.* 5.101 and 12.27). A rare manuscript 6½" x 1¼", of twenty leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript was found within a relic chamber unearthed at Huawza in Prome District of lower Burma. The writing is in S.I. script of the sixth or seventh cent. A.D. in common use in Burma and the language is Pali. The manuscript contains among other extracts from the Piṭakas, the text of Paṭi-chchha—Samuppāda Sutta (*A.R.A.S.I.* 1926-27, p. 200 and *E.I.* 21-195). Burnell in his *South Indian Paleography* (p. 90) mentions a letter on a plate of gold sent by the King of Vijayanagar to the Portuguese Chief in 1514 A.D. In the Bādashāhānāmā of Abdul Hamir Lahiri mention is made of an inscribed gold plate (Elliot and Dowsen Vol. VII).

An inscribed gold ring and a gold hoop finger ring were found in Taxila. According to the poet Bāna the state seal of king

Harsha was made of gold. Some gold seals of the rulers of the Muslim and Maratha periods containing Persian and Marathi inscriptions are found.

(2) *Silver:*

A silver vase containing a Brahmi inscription of the second cent. B.C. was found in the Bhattiprolu stupa in the Krishna District (A.S.R. 15.13; A.S.S.I. 6.13). Similarly a silver vase was found at Sirkap near Taxila which contains in Kharoshthi characters the name of Khol Chukhsa, son of Manigula and is dated in the year 191 of the reign of Jihonik (C.I. I.II. (i.) No. 30).

A silver scroll inscription (now placed in the Taxila Museum), contained in a silver vase inside a steatite vessel was found in the Dharmarājika Stupa at Taxila. The Kharoshthi inscription on it dated in the year 36 records the deposit of relics of the Buddha by Urasaka in the reign of the Kushan King Kadaphisis (J.R.A.S. 1914. 975 and 1915. 192 E.I. 14.295 and C.I.I. II. (i) No. 27).

A small inscribed silver disc 9' in diameter was found in a stupa at Manikiyala in the Rawalpindi District (A.S.I.R. 2.160). It contains in Kharoshthi characters the name of Gomanasa, Karuvakasa. The inscription is now preserved in the British Museum, London.

Inscribed silver cups, a silver plate with three legs, a silver plate meant for keeping grain and flowers, a silver sieve made of plated silver wire were found in N. W. region. (C.I.I. II.i. No. 37).

Silver plates inscribed with Jain sacred verses and Mantras are preserved in Jain Bhandaras. A Telugu charter granted by Vijayarāghav Nāyaka of Tanjore to the Dutch in 1658 and a Tamil charter granted by the Maratha Chief Ekoji of Tanjore to the same power in 1676 are engraved on silver plates now in the Batavia Museum.

Silver seals of rulers, state officers and business persons of the Muslim and Maratha periods containing Persian and Marathi inscriptions are found. Some of them are preserved in the Asiatic Society, Bombay.

(3) *Brass:*

The largest number of brass and bronze objects on which inscriptions are found inscribed consists of images of gods and goddesses. Though the art of metal casting is of great antiquity in India as shown by the metal statues of a dancing girl discovered in the Indus Valley excavations, we do not come across any metal images until the first cent. A.D. when small metal images begin to appear in Taxila in the North and in Amaravati in the South. It is worth noting that though Mathura produced in the early centuries of the Christian era numerous stone images of various types and of fine workmanship it did not produce metal images at the time. Metal images of gods do not seem to have attained popularity until the late period. Brass images seem to have been more popular with the Jainas and the bronze images with the Buddhists and the Brahmanical Hindus. With the Jainas metal images became more common than the stone images in the later period and consequently thousands of Jain images made of brass, big and small, but generally of a miniature size and of a stereotyped type are found worshipped almost in every Jain temple in India like the Achalgadh temple at Abu. Most of them bear votive inscriptions on the pedestal or on the back or on the *prabhāvala*. The inscriptions which are naturally short are generally dated from the 10th cent. onwards though a few images of an earlier date are found. Metal images of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Gods though not so common are sometimes inscribed. A metal image of Sūrya of the time of Ballalasena was found at Sanokhera in Bhagalpur District of Bihar. A metallic image in the Dacca Museum contains an inscription from which an account of the Khadga family of Bengal is obtained. A brass image of the Buddha found near Gaya contains an inscription in nail-headed alphabet on its pedestal which marks the image as a votive gift. (I.A. 1977). Some Brahmanical brass images bearing inscriptions are found in the Chamba State. They record names of kings and of the craftsmen who made them. (A.S.I.R. 1902-3, p. 242; A.S.I. 14.28).

(b) A brass relic vase with an inscription dated in the second cent. A.D. was found in a stupa at Wardak in Afganistan. (J.R.A.S. 1863.255). An inscribed brass image apparently of the Gupta period, i.e., of the fifth cent. A.D. was found at Kosam near

Allahabad (A.S.J. 10, pl. 2, No. 4). Brass plates inscribed with religious formulas are found in some Jain temples.

(c) Among miscellaneous brass objects may be mentioned a brass chariot found in Bengal bearing an inscription dated 1242 of the Bengal Sain (1835 A.C.) (I. I.S.O. Art. 1941, p. 5).

(4) *Bronze:*

(a) A bronze Buddha head bearing round the base an illegible inscription was found at Peshawar (J.A.S.B. 5.1836.484 pl. 28). A lifesize bronze image of the Buddha found at Sultanganj in Bihar which is now preserved in the Birmingham Art Gallery (History of Indian and Indonesian Art by Cumaraswami fig. 160; Classical age fig. 58) and a huge bronze of the Buddha found at Nalanda, are very interesting. But they bear no inscription. Some more bronze images of the Buddha are found in India and even outside it, e.g., in Malaya (J.R.A.S. 1947), but very few of them are inscribed. Very beautiful and important Jain bronze began to appear in Gujarat and Rajasthan from the sixth or seventh cent. A.D. as the finds at Ankottaka in Gujarat and Vasant-Godha in Rajasthan show. (*Lalitakālā*, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 55). Of these an image of Jivitasvāmi and an image dated in V.S. 744 are most interesting. A bronze image of Balarāma found at Nālandā bears an inscription of the ninth century A.D. recording the dedication of the image in the Devpāladevahatta at Nalanda (E.I. 25.334). Another inscribed bronze image of the time of the same king Devapāla of Bengal is found at Kumrihar (ibid. p. 336). The bronzes of the Pāla period, of 9-12 cent. A.D. are important for history and art. Some of the Buddhist bronzes recovered at Negāpaṭṭanam near Madras are inscribed. They are dated from the 10th to 13th centuries (Bull. Madras Museum; See also Indian Bronzes by T. N. Ramachandran I.O.R. Madras 1950 p. 183). Beautiful bronze images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses which in point of divine grace, contemplative excellence and supple modelling are superior to the Buddhist or Jain images with their set patterns were made in the early mediaeval period, some of which are preserved in many South Indian temples but few of them contain inscriptions.

A metal image of queen Prabhavati of the seventh cent. found from Sarvani in Bengal may be included in this class (Hist. Bengal by R. C. Muzumdar, fig. 147).

(b) Among other objects of bronze bearing inscriptions may be mentioned the Buddhist caskets. An old inscribed bronze casket is found which is of great paleographical value because its legend appears in three classes of characters Brāhmi, Kharoshthi and Greek (J.R.A.S. 1905.814). A bronze casket from Manikyala in Ravalpindi District bears in Kharoshthi script the name of Satrap, son of Satrap Savosa, son of Satrap Ganavaka (E.I. 12. 299). The Taxila vase inscription (C.I.I. II. i. No. 32) records that the stupa was built in honour of all the Buddhists in Taxila by Sihila and Sinha-Rakshita. Another bronze casket found at Kuram contains a relic of Śākyamuni deposited by Svedavarma, son of Yasha (No. 80). A bronze vase from Wardak near Kabul inscribed in Kharoshthi characters bears the year 57 (No. 86).

(c) Metal seals and stamps for seals were generally made of bronze. Hundreds of bronze seals of rulers and State officials, corporate bodies and private persons are found. The custom of attaching the Royal authentication to donative charters has given us a very large and highly interesting series of ancient Indian seals. They offer an interesting study of the royal emblems of ancient kings. Some of them present the devices only; others only legends containing the name of the granter king or the founder of the dynasty, of the genealogy of the dynasty and effigies of animals, birds and deities, while others contain both legends and devices. (*Imp. Gaz. Vol. II, Epigraphy*, p. 33: R. B. Pande. *Indian Paleo.*, p. 112). As an example the metal seal of Tiruppuvanam plates of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I dated 1190 A.D. may be noted. It has the tiger and the fish placed upright opposite each other in the middle of the field with the bow transversely below them; around it a legend of the Pandya King Narendravarma (E. I. 27.124).

Bronze seals of a non-official nature are also found. A bronze seal discovered at Sirkop, Taxila bearing the legend Sivarakhita in Brahmi and Kharosthi characters of first cent. A.D., may be of the same person who along with Sihila built a Buddhist stupa at Taxila as stated above. Two bronze seals inscribed with the names of Chaturvedi Brahmanas and assignable to the fifth cent A.D. were found in Cutch (I.H.Q. 1924 p. 158). The inscriptions or emblems on the seals are raised on a counter surface. The Saraswati collection at Calcutta contains a couple of copper seal matrices both from Rajghat, one containing the inscribed (Sri Jayavarma) representation of a bull and the other that of a sedent lion,

also inscribed (Śrī Bhadrasya). On paleographical and stylistic grounds they can be assigned to the fourth and fifth cent. A.D. respectively (*The Classical Age* p. 553). Indian kings, princes, and high ministers sometimes used signet rings with which they could make their seals. One signet ring of the Mahārāja Maheśvaranāga, son of Nāgabhatta obtained at Lahore and assignable to the fourth cent. A.D. seems to be of bronze.

(d) A bronze bell found at Pātan in North Gujarat and now preserved in Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi contains an inscription of V. S. 1318. This shows that the art of casting bronze bells was known to Indians before the Muhammadan times. An inscribed bell with a Telugu inscription dated Ś. 1342 was found near Yerrampalam in Andhra. (*I.A.H.R.S.* Vol. 21 p. 156). A large bell weighing 19 seers, one foot in diameter at the bottom and eighteen inches in height with figures of Śivalingas on the outside was found in Assam. (*I. Ass. Res. Soc.* 1935 p. 39). Bronze bells containing Devanagari and Roman inscriptions are found in Brahmanical and Jain temples. Alaungpaya's clock tower bell in Burma is inscribed with cabalistic squares both inside and outside and with numerous mantras in Burmese. Another inscribed bell in Burmese is dated 1599 A.D.

(e) Guns. Inscribed guns are found in a number of forts in India. A gun of the Farukhi Sultan Adilkhan of Khandesh is lying near the temple of Tryambakesvar in Nasik District. Guns of Sherashah dated 938 A.H. and of Rājā Mānsing of Jayapur dated 1556 A.D. are found. A few guns bearing Devanagari inscriptions are on the Chitor Fort. Some of the guns manufactured by the Rajput kings of Zabuvā in Madhya Bharat and by the Maratha King Yashwantrao Holkar are preserved in the Indore Museum. A gun dated V. S. 1753 of Maharaja Jayasingh bearing the name Tōp Fattesingh is preserved in the Narvar Fort (*Arch. Rep. Gwalior* 1924). A number of guns bearing Portuguese and Dutch inscriptions dated in the seventeenth cent. are found in different places. A few of them are preserved in the Indore Museum and in Hyderabad City and Museum.

(5) Copper:

Copper has been the most commonly used metal as a writing material in India.

(a) Copper plates—

(i) Copper plates were used for engraving various kinds of documents especially donative charters and title deeds. During Mauryan times official decrees were committed to copper (Buhler *Indian Paleography*, p. 31). According to Fa-Hien the Buddhist monasteries possessed copper plate grants donated from the time of the Buddha, but donatory copper plate inscriptions drawn up in the form enjoined by the law-givers like Kautalya, Yajnavalkya and Sukra became common from the fourth or fifth cent. A.D. The earliest copper plate inscription so far found is from Sohagaura of the fourth cent. B.C. (E.I. 22.) and the next one found at Taxila is of the beginning of the Christian era (A.S.R. II. 129). Hiuen Tsing tells us that Kanishka had caused the Buddhist texts to be inscribed on sheets of copper (Burnell, *S.I. Paleography* p. 26). But no such plates have been found. Copper plate grants of a peculiar type which may be regarded as combined deeds of purchase and gift and dated in the fifth cen. were found at Damodarpura in Bengal.

The great historical importance of the copper plate inscriptions lies in the fact that they contain not only the name of the granter but a more or less complete lists of his predecessors. A majority of the copper plate inscriptions were issued to Brahmanas numbering in the following order—Yajurvedi, R̥gvedi, Sāmavedi and Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas. Copper plate grants issued in favour of the Brahmin caste which have no parallel in any other country are a special feature of Indian Epigraphy. In rare instances copper plate grants were issued in favour of holy Kshatriyas. Copper plate grants issued to the Buddhists and Jainas are very few. The Jain copper plate grants are generally found in South India. Among the Buddhist copper plate grants those found in Valabhi and Kam-pel in Gujarat and those of the Pāla rulers in Bengal may be noted. The early copper plates written in the Kharoshthi script and in the Prakrit language found at Taxila and Suivihara in the Gandhara region and dated in the first two centuries of the Christian era deserve special mention. The Brahmanical copper plate grants found in all parts of India from the fourth century to the modern times are too many to be mentioned even briefly. Except for the invocatory portion containing salutations to Gods of the respective faiths and a few minor details the grants of all the three religious communities are similar. The imprecatory verses attri-

buted to Vyāsa are just the same. In a Buddhist grant invocations of Vishnu and Śiva are found along with those of the Buddha. Among the Buddhist copper plate grants may be mentioned those from Pahādpur, Valabhi, Nālandā, Goa, Kāmpilya and Dambhal. Copper plate grants which were kept in abeyance for some reason or other or were lost or damaged were sometimes renewed and were called *pratiśāsana*. Sometimes spurious copper plate grants are found. The plates vary in size in different periods in different parts of the country and with different dynasties. The plates generally number one, two or three, but sometimes many plates were used. The smallest plate from Taxila weighs only 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. and the biggest copper plate grant so far found is the Karandai grant of the Chola king Rājarāja. The plates measure 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' and are fifty-five in number and weigh together with the ring 216 lbs. It contains 2,500 lines of writing and records names of 1,073 donees. The Tiruvalangadu plates of the same king weigh 199 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The copper sheets range in size from about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription on the copper plate was first written down with ink or some kind of paint and then engraved by the mason as seen from the Kasia plate a part of the written portion on which was engraved. (A.S.I. 1910 p. 76).

While copper plates were generally used for registering donatory charters terracotta plaques were at times used for such purpose. (Auc. Ind. 193. See under clay seals).

(ii) The second kind of copper plate inscriptions are those which contain copies of religious and literary texts. Hiuen-Tsing as stated above states that Kanishka had convened a Buddhist council under inspiration of Pārśva which prepared commentaries on three Buddhist Texts and got them engraved on copper plates which were kept in stone boxes in stupas. (Burnell, Elements of S.I. Paleo. p. 86). Unfortunately no such plates have so far been discovered. Jain and Brahmanical yantras were at times inscribed on plates of copper generally triangular in size.

Some copper plate inscriptions consist of copies of literary works. About 3,000 plates preserved in the Tirupati Museum are inscribed with sankirtanas composed by Tirumalacharya and Annamacharya of the Tallapaka family. Books inscribed on copper plates from Burma and Ceylon are preserved in the British Museum. These plates are like the tablets of bronze fixed in the walls of Greek temples.

(iii) The third kind of copper plate inscriptions were of the kind of votive offerings peculiar to the Buddhists. The records consisted of the well-known Buddhist formula *Ye Dharma* etc. or an abstract from Buddhist scriptures or a Dhāraṇi. Like clay tablets these plates were buried inside the Buddhist stupas. The best example of a copper plate of this kind is the Kasia plate inscribed with the text of the *Nidānasūtra*. (M.A.S. No. 7).

(iv) The fourth kind of copper plate inscriptions are those which are of practical importance. The Sohgaoura copper plate inscription of the fourth cent. B.C. which records provision of corn by the State to the people in famine days is of this kind. The Damodarpur (E.I. 15.113) Dhanaidaha (17.345), Paharpur (20.59) and Ghugrāhate (18.74) copper plate inscriptions register purchase of lands by private individuals for charity. A sale deed (*krayaśāsana*) of the time of the Bhanja King Narendradhavalā dated in the tenth cent. is engraved on copper plates now preserved in the Madras Museum (E.I. 28.46). A deed of adoption with reliefs engraved on yellow metal plate and dated Śaka 1217 was found at Golkonda (J.I.S. Ori Art. 1945, p. 199). Modern copper plates inscribed with lists of goods in Gurumukhi and Nagari scripts are noticed by Buhler (*Ind. Paleo.* p. 95). Out of the innumerable copper plates found in India the Sohgaoura plate is the only one which was cast in a mould of sand and contains letters in relieve. All other plates were beaten and fashioned with the hammer.

(b) Copper caskets and votive offerings: Metal caskets generally of copper but sometimes of silver and gold containing Buddhist relics are found in Buddhist stupas. A copper casket in the form of a stupa together with Hernica and Umbreala was found at Kurram. The Kharoshthi inscription dated in the year 20 records that Śvetavarman established a relic of Lord Śākya Muni in a stupa (C.I.I. No. 80, p. 155). A vase inscription found at Taxila records that the stupa was established in honour of all the Buddhas in Takshasila by Sihila and Siharakshita (*ibid.*, No. 32). Copper caskets containing Kharoshthi inscriptions of Kanishka are found in the Shahaji-ki-dheri near Peshawar (C.I.I. II. 1. No. 72 p. 25). A number of household objects of copper donated as votive offerings and bearing Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions are also found in ruins of Buddhist stupas. An inscribed copper ladle was found at Mahal near Sirkap, Taxila. The Kharoshthi inscription on it records it as a gift by certain Isvaraka to the Bud-

dhist congregation in Uttaram at Taxila (C.I.I. II (i) No. 33). Another copper ladle found at Bedadi near Mansehra contains a Kharoshthi inscription recording it as a gift by Sangharakshit (*ibid.*, p. 89).

(c) Inscriptions on miscellaneous objects of copper are the following. Inscribed copper celts of the earliest period are found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley. (Marshall, Mackay and Vats—Volumes on the Excavations). An ornamented copper cover was probably meant for sheltering a bronze image of the sun-god and found in the bed of a tank at Sanokhar in the Bhagalpur District in Bihar contains an inscription dated in the ninth regnal year of the King Ballalsena of Bengal, i.e., 1166 A.D. (*E.I.* 30.78).

A number of inscribed copper pots sometimes of a very big size and inscribed with beautiful mythological scenes of the *Daśāvatāras* or from the life of Krishna etc. used for ceremonial and everyday use of the medieval and modern period are found in Hindu temples and Hindu houses. (Bull. Baroda Museum 1954-55).

Among miscellaneous inscribed copper objects mention may be made of a huge inscribed kettle-drum, *dunduvi*, found in Assam, which is dated Śaka 1692 and belongs to the time of the Koch King Śiva Singh and his wife Pramathesvarī. It weighs more than 620 seers or 15 maunds and 20 seers. (Journ. Ass. Res. Soc. 1935 p. 102). Similarly the Balasore copper axe head inscription of the Orissa King Purushottama in Oriya language and script may also be noted in this connection. (*I.B.O.R.S.* 1918 p. 368).

For copper seals see under 'Bronze seals'.

(6) Iron :

Among the iron inscriptions the most important is the well-known Mehrauli (Delhi) pillar recording the victory of a great ruler named Chandra, probably Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty and set up in about A.D. 400. The column measures 23' in height and is estimated to weigh more than 6 tons. The pillar is a welded mass of pure malleable iron and is a triumph of the blacksmith's art which few modern foundries could emulate.

Three fragments of an iron pillar with the total height of 43'-4"—twice the height of the Mehrauli pillar—and an average

width of 10" are found at Dhār in Central India. As it is popularly called *lāṭā* of Gaṅgā Tejā it seems that it was raised by the great Paramara king Bhoja to commemorate his victory over Gāṅgeya-deva, king of Telangana in the eleventh cent. A.D. It bears no original inscription of that time but in subsequent times a Persian inscription of Akbar in his forty-fourth year (1590 A.D.) was incised on it. A few names and letters in Devanagari and Persian of goldsmiths and ordinary persons are also incised on it.

A huge trishul made of iron is set up in front of the Achalesvar temple on Abu which bears an inscription of V. S. 1468 Falgun Sudhi 15.

(7) Steel :

Two of the daggers and two of the chisels found in the Indus Valley bear Hieroglyphic inscriptions similar to those found on the Indus Valley seals.

Swords, daggers and such other arms are found in a large number in India with all the royal families and persons who led a military profession upto recent times. Some of this armoury have been preserved in most of the museums in India. These arms are sometimes embossed or painted in golden letters with names of great warriors, makers of the arms, mottos, verses from scriptures, and the date of their making which enables us to know much of the weapon. Since no arms of the pre-Muslim days are found and since they were begun to be made by the Muslim rulers the common script and language used in the inscription is Persian. But on some of the arms manufactured by Hindu rulers the Devanāgarī script and an Indian language are used in the inscription. The blades of swords and hilts and sabres exhibited in the loan collection of antiquities at the Coronation Darbar of 1911 (p. 6) give many such interesting inscriptions.

(8) Tin :

There is only one specimen of writing on tin found so far. The British Museum, London, is said to possess a Buddhist manuscript inscribed on tin. (J. Pali. T. S. 1883.134).

(9) and (10) Potin and Lead :

Some coins of the Sātavahan rulers and of Kashtrapa Bhuma are of potin and lead. Such coins are found of many other

rulers. Plates of lead are not found in India. But Greek inscriptions on small thin plates of lead rolled up have survived. They contain imprecations to enemies.

(11) *Metallic pieces used as coins :*

Coins of gold, silver, copper, lead and potin form a useful epigraphical material specially when they supply information about the rulers of whom or of the times for which no inscriptions or other records exist. For some obscure periods of ancient Indian history, our knowledge is derived almost exclusively from these tiny records on metal which are the only contemporary documents now surviving of the period. The earliest Indian coins are the *Puranas* or the Punchmarked coins which bear various symbols but no characters. They are, therefore, not of much epigraphical value. These coins are said to have begun to be issued from the tenth or ninth cent. B.C. They continued to be used in N. India upto the second cent. A.D. but in S. India for a century or two later. Whether the absence of any characters on them is due to the absence of any regular script in the days cannot be said. A piece of silver discovered at Mohenjodaro (Regd. No. D. C. 1341), which seems to bear on both sides the punches in cuneiform characters is very much earlier but as it is the only object of its kind found in the Indus Valley and as the punches are different from the peculiar Indus Valley symbols found on the large number of the steatite seals, nothing definite can be said about this coin. (D. D. Kosambi, *Origin and Development of Silver Coinage in India*, Current Science, 1941-42). A coin discovered in the ancient site at Eran in Central India bears a legend in Brahmi characters which look older than those in the inscription of Aśoka (*Allan, Cat. XCI. 140*). Curiously enough the letters are written from right to left. The coin was issued by a man named Dhanapāla. The epigraphical importance of this coin is seen from the fact that it supplies the oldest specimen of the Brahmi script and is in this way useful for the history of the script. A similar corroded Bronze coin found in a cist grave at Sulur in the Coimbatore District in South India and which can be similarly dated to the third century B.C. proves the antiquity of the megalithic tombs. Similarly a silver coin of Antiochus of second cent. B.C. discovered in association with a hoard of punchmarked coins in a megalithic tomb gives another definite date to this mode of burial. (*Anc. Ind. No. 9 p. 112*).

The copper coins of the various tribal rulers named by Numismatists as Eran, Mathurā, Pāñchāl, Almorā, Śibi, Yaudheya, Kauśāmbi, Ayodhyā, Arjunēyana, Audumbara, Kuninda, Kulūta, Mālava, Achyuta etc. are undoubtedly of epigraphical importance as no other records of the rulers are found. These coins can be dated from the 3rd cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D. and are generally written in Brahmi but sometimes in Greek and Kharoshthi scripts. The coins of the Audumbaras, Kunindas and Kulūtas use Kharoshthi scripts. Coins of the Indo-Greek, Bactrian and Scythic rulers written in Greek, Kharoshthi and Brahmi scripts and in Greek and in Prakrit languages are equally important as most of these rulers are not known from epigraphical or other sources. The lead coins of the Andhra dynasty (A.D. 90-220) even if they lack aesthetic value are interesting. The first gold coins in India were issued by the Kushan rulers Kadphises II (85-125 A.D.) exactly agreeing with their Roman prototypes in weight. The coins of the Kshatrapa, Kushan and Gupta rulers besides being of great artistic importance add to the knowledge of the history and art of the respective rulers and periods. They are important for religious history also. Some stray coins of a few Hindu rulers of the mediaeval period are sometimes useful as an epigraphical material. The Chola coins of the 11th century A.D. are interesting for their peculiar motifs. Muslim coins are as important as the Muslim inscriptions for the history, art and culture of the Muslim period.

C. Clay

(1) *Seals or Tablets :*

Inscriptions on clay seals or tablets which were either baked in fire or left to harden naturally have been found in all ancient countries as this kind of writing material is the most convenient, durable and artistic of all. In fact clay is a first rate medium for modelling much better and more economical than lime plaster. Thousands of clay seals and tablets bearing inscriptions in cuneiform, hieroglyphic and pictographic scripts have been found in excavations in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Crete, etc. Those documents seem to be intermediate between the inscriptions and manuscripts.

Clay was very extensively used in India for terracotta art and for inscriptions. Terracotta art in India is as old as the Indus valley civilization. In the alluvial plains of the Indus, Ganges

and other big rivers where fine clay is easily available it is but natural that clay has been freely used for toys and as a writing material. The clay seal inscriptions, therefore, provide quite a distinct category of Indian epigraphical records.

Innumerable clay seals and tablets have been found in India from ancient Archaeological sites like Bhītā, Ruper, Hastinapur, Kasia, Saheth-Maheth, Sunat, Kauśāmbi, Sankiri, Gayā, Bhita, Basarah, Rajghat, Vaiśali, Paharpur, Nalanda, etc. (See *Ancient India*, No. 9, Exploration). They are naturally of a small size, round in shape but sometimes oval and rectangular. The Basārḥ and Bhītā sealings show considerable influence of W. Kshatrpa coin type. The script used in the inscriptions on the seals is almost always Brāhmi but terracotta sealings in Kharoshthi characters are also found at Kurukshetra in U. P. and Tor-deheri in Baluchistan. (See *Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, pp. 130 and 136.) The characters on the clay seals are so small that it is very difficult to decipher them with a naked eye (*ibid.*, p. 222).

The seals are both of a religious or secular nature. Both kinds of seals are mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The religious seals which are generally of religious organisations are both Buddhist and Brahmanical. The Jain seals are very rare. They are of gods, monasteries, temples and of places of religious worship and contain religious legends on them. The secular seals are of a political, economic or private nature. The tiny records thus are a mine of information on various topics of cultural interest.

Buddhist seals are very numerous. They are used as votive tablets. The practice of inscribing clay seals or tablets containing the well-known Buddhist formula — *ye dharmā ete*, or some Buddhist sacred text like the Nidāna Sūtra, Pratyosamutpāda Sūtra or a *dhāraṇī* sometimes accompanied by the figure of the Buddha in the act of preaching or meditating or a Buddhist deity or the representation of one or more miniature stupas (*gandhakuṭi*) or of a number of bells and enshrining them in the stupas as votive offerings or simply with the name of the offerer seems to have been prevailing on a large scale in different parts of India in ancient times. (*E.I.*, 21.194; 24.20). The pilgrims when visiting holy places usually dedicated there objects of various kinds. They present sometimes devices only, sometimes only legends, and sometimes

both legends and devices. The numerous clay seals of the Gupta and subsequent periods found buried inside the stupas at Kasia or Kuśinagara contain legends relating to the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa*. Numerous seals and sealings of Buddhist monasteries are found. A clay sealing found at Patana mentions a monastic establishment known as Arogya vihāra. (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 147).

About the Brahmanical seals the following may be stated. Basārḥ has given many Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sealings (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1903.4, p. 110; *I.H.Q.*, June and Dec., 1955). An inscribed terracotta seal from Bhītā of the third or fourth cent. A.D. of the king Gautamiputra Vṛshadhvaṇa tells us that the king had made over his kingdom to god Kārtikeya. From Suneha in the Ludhiyana Dist., Punjab, a collection of 28 terracotta seals was found which seem to be Brahmanical in nature. Most of them contain the proper names like Śaṅkara, Nārāyaṇa, Vishnudāsa, Sūryamitra in the Gupta script of the fifth cent. One of the tablets exhibits a horse standing towards a sacrificial post with the legend *parākrama*. Another exhibits a lion seated with a staff and a third exhibits a horse with the legend *Dharmasena*. A terracotta plaque from Soneput in U.P., now preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (*Cat. Delhi Mus.*, p. 2) contains the figure Sūrya with the word *Āditya* inscribed in characters of the 7th cent. A.D.

Among the seals of a political nature may be mentioned a clay seal from Gayā bearing in Mauryan Brāhmi characters the name *Mokhalinām*. A clay seal of Kanishka was found at Kauśāmbi. A clay seal found in the excavations at Itwā near Junagadh contains the name of Kshatrpa ruler Rudrasena (*E.I.*, 28.174). Another clay tablet found at Valā in Saurashtra contains the name of Senāpati Pushyaṇa, son of Ahivarman. A seal found at Bulandshahr in U.P. contains the name of Mattila. A seal of Vishnugupta found at Nalanda records the genealogy of a succession of the Imperial Guptas ending with Vishnugupta. (*E.I.*, 26.235). Lastly may be mentioned a counterstruck seal of Toramāna, found at Kauśāmbi. The official seals were sealed with a piece of cloth, thread and clay.

Some seals were used as passports issued by rulers or merchants.

Donatory inscriptions are generally inscribed on copperplate and stone slabs but a terracotta plaque found in the village Begu-

sarai in the Monghir Dist., in Bihar Dist., contains an inscription dated in the year 67 of the Lakshmasena era and records the donation by three persons of a gold lotus at the feet of Keśavā in Nagal-dānaka. On the reverse is the seal impression of a person named Suhmaka (*Ind. Archl. Rev.*, 1953-54, p. 14, *E.I.*, 30.86).

Some clay seals are purely of secular interest. One of the seals found at Kausāmbi is very artistic and depicts a scene of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. (*I.U.P.H.S.*, 1945, p. 82).

The seal inscriptions are direct impressions from negative matrix and hence the legends stand out in relief. The Nalanda seals are the most interesting calligraphically so much so that we cannot help admiring the professional engraver for his mastery on the chisel flawlessly bringing out the minute forms of letters as delicately and beautifully as a painter or a calligrapher would write on paper. (*E.I.*, 28.172; *M.A.S.*, No. 66).

(2) *Potsherds or Earthenware Receptacles :*

Another class of clay inscriptions consists of inscribed clay pots. They are of two kinds: One of them consists of earthenware relic receptacles found in Cairn and in Buddhist stupas and other consist of household pots. The Megalithic mounds and the Buddhist stupas, when they were excavated, yielded innumerable pottery pieces which are so many that with a few exceptions they defy all attempts to form a complete object. Some of the pieces bear inscriptions which also can rarely be connected. The script of the Cairn inscriptions is not known, and that of the Buddhist inscriptions is generally Brahmi but sometimes Kharoshthi. The language of the Buddhist inscriptions is Prakrit.

The Cairn inscriptions from Rajgir and Dornekal in Andhra State and from Madura and Tinneveli in Madras State consist of marks or symbols of an alphabet which may be an earlier form of Brahmi (*Journ. Hyderabad Archl. Soc.*, II.200). The Cairn inscription from Arikamedu near Pondichery also seems to be in Brahmi.

The Buddhist potsherds were found in a number of Buddhist sites like those mentioned above from which clay seals were obtained. The inscriptions are short and contain only one single word or expression, being the proper name of the person connected with the Buddhist establishment either as an inmate or a pilgrim

or of the place from which the pilgrim had come and made offering of the pot on which his name was inscribed. The inscription on the potsherd is sometimes accompanied by an ornamental impressed design like the Swastik, a leaf, flower, fish, cock, pendant ornament or some geometrical design with creeper, and flowers, etc. The pots were sometimes painted before firing. Some of the symbols resemble those on the punchmarked silver coins. The enigmatic symbol resembling the Mauryan Brāhmi letter *m* is found on potsherds discovered in a number of places. The inscription found on the inner side of the lid of the relic vessel from Stupa No. 3 at Andher near Sanchi in Central India assignable to the second Cent. B.C. is in ink, and is the earliest of the kind. A pot from Bhojpur and another from Sanchi contain an inscription written on the lid in ink (*C.B.*, No. 331). A number of potsherds containing Kharoshthi inscriptions are found in the Gandhar region in the Peshawar District. (*E.I.*, 28.125; *C.I.I.*, II.i. No. 56). Three jars found in the Pālātudheri mound near Chārsad in N.W.F. Provinces contain Kharoshthi inscriptions in Kushan characters written in ink and recording the gift of the jars to the local community of the Buddhist monks (*ibid.*, No. 55 & 59). Fifty-five potsherds, five of which are in Brahmi while the remaining are in Kharoshthi of the third cent. A.D., were discovered at Tordheri in the Lorlai District in North Baluchistan. Some of them bear inscriptions in ink. (*Mem. A. S.*, No. 37 and *C.I.I.*, II.i. Nos. 92 & 173). Ink inscriptions are also found from Hidda in Afghanistan. A well-preserved pot from Nanduru in Guntur District, Andhra contains a one line inscription in characters of the third cent. A.D. recording the name of Āryamani, probably the Buddhist divine Āryadeva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna where relics were preserved in it. (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, Pl. CXII, 2; *I.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. 19, p. 204). Another from Valabhi in Saurashtra, a very important potsherd bearing a Brahmi inscription of king Guhasena dated in G.S., 247 (566 A.D.) was discovered. The pot (ghaṭa) itself is alluded to in the inscription.

(3) *Bricks :*

Bricks form one more class of clay as a writing material. Both the Buddhists and the Brahmanical Hindus used bricks for religious and secular purposes, though very rarely the Jainas also used them as a writing material.

(a) By the Buddhist pilgrims they were used as votive offerings and deposited in the stupas with a view to attain fulfilment of their prayers. The inscriptions contain the well-known Buddhist formula or a *dhāraṇī* or a portion from the Buddhist text. An inscribed brick from Sankesā in Mauryan characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, records dedication of the building in which it was used by one Bhagaviputra for the welfare of all sentient beings. About thirty pieces of bricks inscribed with Brahmi characters of the first cent. B.C. found from the Mora and Ganessa mounds at Mathura are preserved in Mathura Museum. Bricks with Kharoshthi inscriptions of the first cent. A.D. measuring $9" \times 6" \times \frac{1}{2}"$ were found at Shahji-ki-dheri at Peshawar and are preserved in the Peshawar Museum. (C.I.I., II.i. 73). Some bricks of the third or fourth cent. A.D. inscribed on both sides in ten or 12 lines on one side and nine to twelve lines on the other side with Buddhist scriptures like the *Nidānasūtra*, one of which is a version in Sanskrit of a short sermon preached by the Buddha were found well preserved at Gopalpur in Gorakhpur Dist., U.P. They measure $11\frac{1}{2}" \times 9\frac{1}{2}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$ and are preserved in the Indian Institute, Oxford. (M.A.S., No. 75). Probably the most important bricks of different sizes inscribed with the Buddhist text, etc., were found at Nalanda in votive stupas attached to the main stupa where they were deposited by pious devotees. One of them is dated in Gupta coin 197 (516-17 A.D.) and contains fifteen lines of writing and another contains twenty-three lines of writing. The Buddhist text inscribed on them is the Sanskrit version. (E.I., 21.199; 24.241; 24.20). The Buddhist Sūtra is found inscribed also on the Kāsia plate (A.R.A.S.I., 1910, p. 76) and on the Kurram casket (E.I., 18.17; C.I.I., II.i. 153). Bricks inscribed with the Buddhist *dhāraṇīs* in Sanskrit and in characters of the seventh cent. A.D., are found in several monasteries in China. (*Monumente Serica*, 1947).

(b) By the Brahmanical Hindus the inscribed bricks were used for recording the performance of a horse sacrifice. At Musnagar in U.P. a brick inscription was found recording the performance of a horse sacrifice by Devamitra most probably a king of Kauśāmbi ruling in the beginning of the Christian era, and where coins were found at Kauśāmbi. The inscribed brick probably formed part of the *chiti* constructed in connection with the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. Similarly a large number of brick inscriptions

in Sanskrit language and *anuṣṭubh* metre commemorating performance of four *Asvamedha* sacrifice by the (Yaudheya) king Śālavarman in the third cent. A.D. were found in 1853 at Jagat-rām in the vicinity of Kalsi in Dehradun Dist. Some of the bricks are well designed with presentation of the *Syene* or hawk with spread wings. One of the inscriptions on them informs us that the king had left there the *chiti* or the architectural remains of his fourth horse sacrifice (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, Pl. LIX, A, B, C and Pl. CXII.4).

(c) A brick inscription from the Ratnagiri hills in the Cuttack Dist. of Orissa contains a record of four lines in east Indian characters of the seventh cent. A.D. of the installation of a Jain image. (*Ind. Arch. Review*, 1955).

(d) From Kashipur in the Nainital District two bricks inscribed with the words king Pritvi-mitra and matra-mitta-putta in characters of the third cent. A.D. were found. (*Ojht, Ind. Paleo.*, p. 151). Numerous bricks inscribed with the names of Kumara-gupta (5th cent. A.D.) were found at Bhitari in the Gazipur Dist., U.P. (A.S.I., I.94, Pl. 30). Inscribed bricks of a later date were found at Shorkot in Punjab (A.S.I., 5, Pl. 30).

(e) A large brick found in a field in the Jaunpur Dist. and measuring $1'3" \times 1' \times 3"$ bears an inscription of V.S. 1273 (A.D. 1217) which registers a mortgage of some lands or securing for a loan of 2250 drammās (*I.A.S.B.*, 19.454; *I.U.P.H.S.*, 1945, p. 196; *E.I.*, 25.3). The document copied in the inscription is like those selected in the *Lekhapoddhati*, and which are contemporaneous with the present inscription.

(f) Tiles discovered in the Buddhist stupa at Harwam in Kashmir bear numbers in the Kharoshthi characters to enable the mason and arrange them in order. (*Anc. Monument of Kashmir*, p. 109, Pl. 29).

The letters on the bricks were engraved with a stylus when the brick was still wet so that the clay thus displaced adhered to the surface of the brick and hardened when the brick was baked. The documents are thus more in nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and naturally the writing is more cursive than in ordinary cases.

(4) An inscribed terracotta image of the Buddha of the fifth cent. A.D. was found at Kasia (P.R.A.S., Punjab & U.P., 1904-5, p. 51).

Terracotta plaques with beautiful art and containing images of Brahmanical gods are found at Mainmali (in the Tippera Dist., E. Bengal) like those found at Paharpur and Mahasthana in North Bengal (B. C. Law Com. Vol.). A terracotta plaque found at Kumrahar near Patna (C.I.I., II.i. No. 93, p. 173) may be included in this class.

D. Miscellaneous materials.

(1) Crystal:

A hexagonal piece of crystal measuring 2½" in breadth and inscribed on six sides was found in the Bhattiprolu stupa in Andhra. (E.I., 2.328). The inscription which can be dated in 2nd cent. B.C. registers a votive offering by a lady of Nandapur in recognition of recovery from a serious illness. The Prakrit word 'Phalika' occurs in the inscription for the Sanskrit word 'Sphatika'. Two crystal phials and one crystal casket were also found in the Bhattiprolu deposit, but they are not inscribed. Similarly crystal reliquaries shaped like stupas with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers were found in the Mahāchaitya on the Śālihundan hill in the Vizagapattam District in Andhra. (E.I., 28.134). Crystal relic caskets were found in Buddhist stupas at Sonāri near Sanchi and at Kolhapur but they are not inscribed. Some more crystal articles are found in Buddhist remains (Imp. Gaz., Vol. II, p. 36). Inscribed objects of crystal of the Muslim period are not uncommon.

(2) Gem:

Intaglio gems bearing legends in Greek and early Brahmi and Kharoshthi characters are found (Age of Impl. Unity., p. 536). Jade seals of the Mughal emperors inscribed in Persian are preserved in the Calcutta Museum. Similarly, many jade pieces inscribed in Persian are preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.

(3) Glass:

Two inscribed glass seals were found in Bulandibāg at Patna (J.B.O.R.S., 10.180) (I.H.Q., 1936, p. 140). The 'Paris' Cornelian

showing a standing figure facing to the right bears a Kharoshthi inscription (C.I.I., II. i. No. 4).

A Cornelian seal engraved in Pallava characters of the fifth cent. A.D. with the name of a Hindu prince Śri Vishnuvarman was found at Kaula Selinsing Perak in Malaya (India and Malaya Through the Ages by S. Durai Raj Singam, 1954, p. 41).

(4) Ivory:

Although Indian *dantakaras* have been well-known from the early times for their finest workmanship in ivory-carving, ivory was rarely used as a material for inscriptions. A small ivory seal inscribed in Mauryan Brahmi characters found at Rupal, sixty miles north of Ambala in the Punjab, is, however, of great importance. (Anc. Ind., No. 9, p. 123, Pl. XLVIII A). A carved ivory plaque representing a soldier which can be assigned to the Maurya period was found in excavations at Pataliputra. (J.I.S.O. Arc., 1936, p. 75). One more ivory seal inscribed in characters of the 4-5th cent. A.D. was found at Maheth in U.P., (ibid., p. 45). It is not impossible that the ivory carvers of Vidisa who imparted their fine skill to the reliefs of the Sanchi gates had incised some of the inscriptions there, but they did not show their skill in incising inscriptions on ivory pieces. (See I. Ind. Soc. Ori. Art, 1948 to 35 t.n.). The beautiful ivory panel in low relief copied from a Rajput painting of the Kangra Valley preserved in the Boston Museum (Bull. Fine Arts, Boston, June 1939, p. 51) and an ivory *lota* (kalasha) engraved with scenes from the early British History preserved in the Indore Museum and Ivory playing cards with symbols of the different suits in the form of various animals like lion, bull, etc. preserved in the Baroda Museum prove that the art of ivory-carving was continued up to very late times, though no ivory inscription has been found of the period, in India. In Burma, however, ivory plaques or manuscripts on thin plates of ivory are found and the British Museum, London, possesses two specimens (Journ. Pali Text Society, 1883, p. 135; Buhler, Ind. Paleog., p. 95).

(5) Conchshells:

Two inscribed conchshells were found at Śālihundan in Andhra containing Brahmi characters of the second cent. A. D. and recording the names of the donees of the conches. (Anc. Ind., No. 9, Pl. CXII. 3).

Tortoise shells—Two inscribed tortoise shells were found at Vikrampur in E. Bengal (now kept in the Dacca Museum), which contain Buddhist *mantras* written in characters of the tenth cent. A.D. (I.A.S.B. 1949 p. 101).

(6) **Wood :**

That wooden boards formed a writing material in India from the earliest times is seen from the discovery of inscribed wooden tablets in the Indus Valley as in Egypt, and from a number of references to them in the Buddhist literature like the *Vinaya-pitaka* and the *Lalitavistār*. Wooden boards or *phalakas* used by school boys are referred to in the *Jātaka* stories of the Buddhists. Bamboo chips (*Śalākas*) with some marks of letters serving as passports for the Buddhist monks are also mentioned in the *Jātakas*. The use of the word *Śilāphalaka* in an inscription of *Aśoka* also shows that stone slabs meant for inscriptions were fashioned after wooden boards. A wooden board is mentioned in one of the *Nasik* inscriptions of *Nahapāna* (No. 7) for recording a loan agreement. Some of the Sanskrit works like the *Kātyāyanasmṛti* and *Daśakumāracharita* mention wooden boards as a writing material even for literary purposes.

Before the invention of paper by the Chinese *To-ai-Lum* about 105 A.D. the material for writing upon most commonly used in Central Asia was wood and in China bamboo. Even after paper had been made the use of bamboo continued in China. Sir A. Stein's discoveries in Chinese Turkistan and specially at *Niya*, *Lonlan* and *Endere*, show that wood remained the official writing material down to 3rd cent. A. D. (Descriptive Catl. of Antiquities recovered by Sir A. Stein in C. Asia p. 24). The same scholar has given photographs showing the peculiar method of sealing the *Kharoshthi* documents written on wood (p. 25).

Up to very late times before slates were introduced in India wooden boards were used as writing material in schools, shops, etc. and in temples. The Sanskrit poet *Śriharsha*, who lived in the latter half of the twelfth cent. A. D., speaks of the use of *pattikā* and blackboard in his *Naishadhiyacharita*, for writing upon by *Kathini* or *Khatika* or chalk-stick (7.63, 10.83, 14.66). The astronomers have still been using this material for their *Kuṇḍalis*. In *Burma*, Buddhist manuscripts were written on chips of wood. In

the same country wooden boards have been frequently used for inscriptions. A manuscript from *Assam* on varnished wooden board is preserved in the *Bodleian Library*, London. (Buhler, Ind. Paleog. p. 94). Wooden boards on which ancient *Nagari* characters are written are erected in Japanese cemeteries for the spiritual beatitude of the deceased.

Wood was sometimes used in ancient times also for inscriptions of general interest. One of the wooden ribs in the ceiling of the *Chaitya* cave at *Bhaja* contains *Brahmi* inscriptions of the second cent. B.C. in *Prakrit* recording the names of Buddhist devotees. One of them contains the following words—*Dhamabhagasa pasads*, meaning the "hall of *Dharmabhaga*". A wooden *yūpa* pillar inscribed with a *Brāhmi* inscription of the first cent. A.D. was found in a village named *Kirari* in M.P. and is now preserved in the *Nagpur Museum* (E.I. 18-152).

Lackeri boards and ivory boards from *Siam* inscribed with *Brahmi* inscriptions in ornamental script and in *Pali* language are preserved in the *Prince of Wales Museum*, *Bombay*.

A wooden inscription in *Persian* recording construction of a *Darga* at *Surat* and referring to the reign of *Muhammed Shah*, originally found at *Surat* is now preserved in the *Prince of Wales Museum*, *Bombay*. The inscription makes a mention of a mint at *Surat*.

(7) **Arrows :**

A very old custom of inscribing arrows is mentioned from early times in *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and in *Bhāsa's* dramas, to the modern time of the *Maratha* ruler *Sarphoji* of *Tanjore* (New Ind. Ant. 1940 p. 414).

E. **Manuscripts or Archives**

The earliest mention of an Indian manuscript is found in the *Atharvaveda*. The concluding verse constituting the *Sūtra* No. 72 of the 19th *Kāṇḍa* contains the following expression.

"I now keep down the *Veda* (or I now keep it) in the box from which I had taken it out". The *Sūtra* means that the *Vedic* manuscript which was taken out for recitation or for copying a new manuscript was placed back in the box or bundle carefully.

The fact shows that manuscripts of the Vedas did exist in the Vedic times and were carefully preserved (*J.I.H.*, Vol. 32, p. 294). It is, however, not known on what writing material the Vedic manuscripts were written. They might have been written on the birch-bark or a palm-leaf, which was so common and popular in ancient India.

(1) *Birch-bark* :

The birch-bark or *bhūrjapatra* produced in abundance in the Himalayan regions and the palm leaves or *tāḍpatras* produced in the Southern India must have formed the common material for writing in ancient India. Although birch-bark as a writing material used in India at the time of Alexander's invasion in the fourth cent. B. C. is referred to by the Greek writer Q. Curtius of the 1st cent. A.D. in his history of Alexander (*Ancient India* by M'crindle p. 186), the oldest birch-bark manuscript found is of the Dhammapada written in the Kharoshthi script. It was discovered in Khotan and belongs to the second or third century A.D. No birch-bark manuscript of such an early period is found in India proper. Curiously enough, some other early manuscripts, nothing of which was known in India before, were found from remains of Buddhist monasteries outside India. In Central Asia and Gilgit they were preserved in stone chambers built under the stupas or monasteries. Inscribed twists tied up with threads as described by Masson found in stupas in Afghanistan are of the same material and of the same time. A long strip of a birch-bark Buddhist manuscript written in characters of the early fourth cent. A.D. was found in a copper vessel discovered among the remains of Nandangadh near the Lauriya Nandangadh Aśoka pillar. The manuscript excavated from the Jaulian stupa consists of a number of loose half-burnt birch-bark fragments of a Sanskrit Buddhist text. It is neatly and carefully written on both sides in uniform Brāhmi characters of the third quarter of the fifth cent. A. D. resembling those in the Kasia copperplate which is written in black ink and was found in the Nirvāna stupa at Kuśinagara. (*A.S.R.* 1710; *M.A.S.* No. 7, p. 66, pl. 29 and No. 32). The Bower and Godfrey manuscripts and fragments of the *Prajñāpāramitā* dated in the fifth or sixth cent. A.D. and the Bakshālī manuscript of Arithmetic dated in the 8th cent. A. D. were also discovered in Central Asia (*I.A.S.B.* 59.22; *I.A.* 21.37; *M.A.S.* Nos. 32 & 69). Most of the Sogdian mss.

also found in the same region contain Buddhist texts (W. B. Henning, *Bul. School. Orient Studies*, London, 1946).

The birch-bark as a writing material is mentioned in some places in Sanskrit literature. The *Amarakosha* and *Kumarsambhava* mention it. Bāna in his *Harshacharita* refers to the use of the *Valkala paṭṭikā* for writing purposes. As Hiuen-Tsiang refers to the cotton cloth also as a writing material in the same period as mentioned above it seems that both *Valkala paṭṭikā* and *Kārpāsa paṭṭikā* were used as writing material at the time. The Sanskrit poet Śriharsha who lived in the latter half of the twelfth cent. A.D. speaks of *patra* and *pāṭṭikā* as a writing material. The former was probably the birch-bark or palm leaf and the latter was a wooden slate rather than a piece of cloth. His mention of the use of the golden *Ketaki* leaf for writing love letters by aristocratic ladies inscribing them by nails may be considered more as a poetic fancy. (*I.O.I.*, Vol. 3). In the *mahimna stotra* composed about the same time and inscribed in the Amareśvar temple on the bank of the Narmadā *patra* is mentioned along with ink and pen. This *patra* also might have been a birch bark or a palm leaf. A birch bark manuscript of the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* written in the Śarada characters was discovered by D. Buhler in Kashmir. A number of birch-bark Mss. of the 15th and subsequent centuries are found in Kashmir. A manuscript of the ninth *skanda* of the *Bhagavatha* written on Sachi bark in characters of the 16th cent. A.D. in the handwriting of Rāma Sarasvatī, an Assamese poet at the court of the Koch King Naranārāyaṇa shows how this kind of material continued to be used to a very late age specially for writing matter of religious importance. (*I. Ass. Res. Soc.* 1934, p. 51).

The birch bark oiled and polished was written on with a reed pen in specially made ink, which had been known to Indians from the earliest times since ink pots were discovered in the Indus Valley excavations. It is mentioned as *māshi* in ancient Indian literature. The middle portion of the leaf is kept blank which is punched and a string is passed through them. The leaves were fastened to two wooden boards slightly larger than the size of the birch leaves, which were also bored in the middle. The discovery of the birch bark Mss. at Kashghar in Central Asia shows that under favourable conditions a document written on a frail material can survive for centuries together. Alberuni (*I.* 171) gives a detailed

account of the manner of preparing the birch bark into writing material and its use in India in the 12th cent. A.D.

The birch bark is still sometimes used specially for writing amulets.

(2) *Palm leaf*:

Palm leaf as a writing material had been quite common in ancient India specially in the South. The numerous palm-leaf manuscripts found throughout India testify to the popularity of the material for writing before paper was introduced on a large scale. The fact that not only the birch bark manuscripts but the copper-plates were fashioned after the palm leaf proves its use and popularity from very early times. Hiuen-Tsiang records a tradition that the Buddhist texts of the Tripiṭakas were written on palm leaves in the first Buddhist Council held soon after the Buddha's death. But the earliest palm leaf manuscript discovered is a fragment of a drama of the second cent. A.D. Some palm leaf Mss. dated in the fourth or fifth cent. A.D. were found in Kashghar on the north of Kashmir (*I.B.O.R.S.* 1945). A fragment of the Sanskrit version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra was discovered in Central Asia. It was deciphered and published by Prof. E. Waldachmidt in 1950. Fragments of palm leaf manuscripts written in Indian alphabet of the fourth cent. A.D. have been found in some monasteries in Japan (*I.A.* 1885 p. 228). The fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts of Ashtādaśa-sāhasri and Prajñāpāramitā which were originally found at Khadalik in Central Asia went to Japan in 609 A.D. and are now preserved in the Horiuzie monastery in that country. These Mss. according to the Japanese tradition cannot be later than the sixth cent. A.D. (*M.A.S.* No. 69). Some of the Buddhist copperplate inscriptions found in Valabhi and dated in the sixth and seventh cent. A.D. (see *I.A.* 7.66) refer to the provision of (Buddhist) manuscripts in the monasteries. They might have been written on palm leaves since palm leaves as a writing material are referred to by Hinen Tsiang in the same period as stated above. A palm leaf manuscript of the Śkandapurāṇa dated in the seventh cent. A.D. was found in Nepal. A manuscript of the Parameśvaratantra dated in 858 A.D. (Harsha era 252) is preserved in the Cambridge University Library. A manuscript of the Lankāvatāra of 906 A.D. (Newar era 28) is also preserved there. A palm leaf manuscript

of the Mahābhārata dated Nepali Samvat 767 in the reign of Jayapratapamalladeva is important for various reasons.

Palm leaf manuscripts begin to appear in Western India from the 9th—10th cent. and agree with the inscriptions of the period in point of script. A number of palm leaf mss. of the Jainas dated from the 9th to the 15th cent. are preserved in the Jaina Bhandaras. The earliest illustrated palm leaf manuscript is of the Nisītha-churṇi dated V. S. 1157 preserved in Broach (*J.I.S.O. Art.* 1942, p. 4). A palm leaf ms. illustrated with the figures of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra and dated V. S. 1234 is preserved in the Khambhat Bhandar.

A number of palm leaf manuscripts written in Sanskrit and belonging to the 11th—12th cent. are found in Nepal and Tibet. A rare manuscript of Asanga's Abhiḍharmasamuccaya written in the 11th cent. is preserved in a Tibetan monastery. (*Harward, Journ., Asiatic Studies*, June 1948). A palm leaf manuscript containing the whole text of the Kalyani inscription in modern Talaing is discovered in Burma.

Palm leaves were prepared for writing in a particular way (See R. B. Pande, *Ind. Paleo* p. 69). The art of writing on palm leaves, the letters being incised on the leaves with a sharp stylus is still found in Southern India and Orissa and the method of protecting the manuscript under two thin wooden boards is the same as shown above in the case of birch-bark mss.

(3) *Cotton and Silk Cloth* :

Cotton cloth as a material for writing upon was in use in India from very early times and its use was continued to very late times. Nearchus, a Greek writer, who had accompanied Alexander in his Indian expedition in 327 B.C., mentions the use of well-beaten cotton cloth for purposes of writing in India. (*Strabo, Geography* 15.1.67). The Smṛities like Yājñavalkya (1.139) refer to writings on cotton cloth named *paṭa* or *kārpasika paṭa*. The earliest epigraphical mention of the term *paṭa* is found in a Sātavāhana inscription at Nasik of the first century A.D. In the Sanskrit Buddhist work *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which belongs to the second century A. D. the use of *paṭa* for writing and painting pur-

poses is clearly mentioned. (G.O.S. No. 19). Hiuen-Tsiang (629.645 A.D.) refers to the use of fine white cotton stuff for writing letters in the court of King Harsha. Similarly the Sanskrit poet Bāṇa refers in his Harshacharita (V. Uch.) to the cotton cloth as a writing material in his statement that a letter brought to King Harsha by a messenger was written on *Chīrikā* and inserted in his turban. (Gode, Hirianna Comm. Vol.). Since the same poet in his other work Kadambari refers to Valkala *paṭṭikā* or strip of bark garments as a writing material there is no doubt that both the cotton cloth strips and the birchbark were used for records and public documents in the same period. Cotton cloth as a writing material is also mentioned in the Patna Museum inscription dated in the year 17 of the reign of Vishnugupta (700 A.D.) which suggests that the deed of purchase before it was inscribed on a stone slab was written on a short piece of cloth. (I.A. 23). From the early times merchants and shopkeepers in Mysore universally employed long strips of cotton cloth from 8 to 12 inches wide and 12 to 18 feet long as writing material. Similarly long pieces of cotton cloth had been regularly used for writing mystic mantras sometimes accompanied by pictorial representation of gods and goddesses, and religious and astronomical notes, particularly in Rajaputana and Mysore. The Ayāgapatas of thin slabs of stone used in early times by both the Buddhists and the Jainas seem to be the prototypes of these cloth plates. A Jain *chitrapaṭa* found at Bikaner is inscribed with the name of the teacher Taruṇaprabhasuri who lived between V. S. 1360 and 1440. It is the oldest Jain cloth painting so far known. A manuscript written on cloth and dated in V. S. 1418 was found at Anahilapāṭan. A beautiful Vardhamana Vidyapaṭa of the fifteenth century is with a gentleman in Gujarath. Cloth manuscripts not more than 300 or 400 years old are preserved in the Shringeri matha at Mysore and in the Jain Bhandaras at Pātan, North Gujrat. Cloth was prepared for writing in a particular way.

Manuscript on silk strips written in the Kharoshthi and Brāhmī scripts and associated with the rule of the Kushans were discovered at Niya in Central Asia. (Descriptive catl. of Antiquities by Stein pages 26 to 708). A silk cloth manuscript containing a list of Jain Sūtras has been preserved in the Jain Bhandar at Jaiselmer (Buhler, Ind. Paleo. p. 93).

(4) Paper :

Although Indians had a good contact with the Chinese who are said to have invented paper in about 105 A.D. Indians do not appear to have adopted the use of paper for writing purposes before the eleventh century A.D. probably because palm leaves were easily available on a large scale. Itsing—when he was travelling in India (A. D. 671) is said to have ordered paper and cakes of ink for writing Sanskrit manuscripts from China. But this does not conclusively prove that paper was not available in India. In Sanskrit—Chinese Lexicons of the eighth century the Sanskrit word *Sayaḥ* is given as equivalent for paper. It is not known why Indians have not used it in their literature. The oldest manuscripts of paper discovered at Kashgar and Kusier in Central Asia are written in the Gupta script of the fifth century A.D. (J.A.S. B. 66.215). It is a fragmentary manuscript of the Sanskrit Buddhist work *Prajñāpāramita* consisting of 48 leaves of dim-coloured paper. (M.A.S. No. 32). It is doubtful if this ms. written on a peculiar paper covered with a layer of gypsum is of Indian origin. The earliest Jain manuscript on paper seems to be of the *Kathākosha* by Jineśvara dated V. S. 1234 and preserved in the Khambat Bhandar. All the paper manuscripts preserved in the Jain Bhandaras are later than thirteenth century A.D. Paper manuscripts fashioned after the palm leaf manuscripts were punched in the middle and fastened together by passing a string through the holes and were protected by two pieces of thin wooden boards.

In this connection see Hoernle's manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in E. Turkistan (Oxford 1916).

When paper became easily available it formed the most popular writing material not only for books or economic transactions but at times for recording grants of land, money etc., for which copper plates had been formerly the most common material. In the Muslim and Maratha period such donatory grants written on paper were usually named as *sanads*. Numerous such *sanads* have been discovered.

(5) Leather :

Leather manuscripts are rarely found in India owing to its impurity. It was, however, not considered as an objec-

tionable writing material according to some Buddhist works. (Buhler, *Ind. Paleo.* p. 95). In Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* leather as a writing material is mentioned. More than two dozen documents written on leather with Indian characters and secured by clay seals were found at Kashghar and Niyā in Chinese Turkistan. (See Kharoshthi inscriptions discovered at Niyā by A. M. Boyer, E. I. Rapson and E. Senarb, 1920—Nos. 272, 291, 292, 341, 349, and 351). According to Strabo an Indian official document on parchment was sent to Augustus Caesar who died in 14 A.D.

Tilangana Under Ibrahim Qutb Shah DIPLOMACY AND MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Part II, 1565-1580

BY

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Vijayanagar after 1565

The general effect of the Battle of the Krishna on the fortunes of the Empire of Vijayanagar was without doubt disastrous; but Ferishta's dictum that when "the advance troops had penetrated to Beejanuggur they rased the chief buildings to the ground" and that "the efforts of the conquerors were directed to the plunder of the country and the destruction of the stone temples" is an instance of the usual exaggeration on the part of the author whenever he finds the Sultāns gaining ground. Apart from the fact that many temples of renown are still standing and that a number of royal palaces and bazaars are still show-places of Hampī, modern researches on the subject have belied this statement. Caesar Frederick, who visited Vijayanagar a few months after the great battle and who was there for seven months, says that the allied Sultāns, meaning, of course the officers appointed by them, spent the period of their stay at the capital "searching under houses in all places for money and other things that were hidden". He is quite clear that "the city of Bezenagar is not altogether destroyed....yet the houses are empty and none but the tigers and beasts live there." He visited the city after the return of the court and found that the Palace was still standing in all its glory; and its five great gates guarded by soldiers. It seems that when Tirumala, who now controlled the destinies of the Empire, attempted to repopulate the city, the first phase of plunder by robbers and dacoits was already over and that "the Portuguese merchants slept in the city and in the porches of houses" in perfect safety. But even this was a passing

phase, and the great city was reduced to a mere provincial town when the capital was finally removed to Penugonda a couple of years after the Battle of the Krishna.¹

So much for the capital city. There is no doubt that the Vijayanagar State continued to exist in some form or other for a few more decades till it finally faded away. But the power and glory of the Empire vanished on the battlefield near the Krishna. A modern protagonist of the continued existence of the might of Vijayanagar at least till the first decade of the seventeenth century has to accept the fact that "some of the results of Talikota could not be undone. The capital was irretrievably lost and the door open to Muslim penetration further south."² The precipitate downfall of the Empire was aggravated by dynastic quarrels among the members of the ruling classes and by the very policy of Rāmarāj. There is no doubt that Rāmarāj has earned a niche for himself in the history of the Southern Empire, but it must be accepted that he was a self-centred ruler and an autocrat, and his government was marked by "destruction of civil service and the inordinate exaltation of his relations and his dependents."³ As is the case with all such rulers the sheer incapacity of those whom he had promoted spelt the doom of governmental organization and the gradual disintegration of the Empire. The battle of the Krishna was followed by the return of the Raichūr doāb to the Sultānate of Bijapur and the restitution of all forts taken from Tilangana by Rāmarāj such as Pānagal, Kōvilkonḍa and Ghanpurā to Tilingana. Civil commotion inevitably led to anarchy in the northern sector, and the chiefs of Adoni, Bēlgām and Dhār-wār became virtually independent of the central authority and soon fell a prey to the Sultāns. In the south the Nāyaka fief-holders also became restive and there was almost a continuous civil war there till the lord of Madura became the claimant of

1. First set of quotations from Briggs, III, 131, 414. Caesar Frederick; *Purchas*, X, 93, 98. For description of existing temples, bazars and other monuments see Longhurst, *Humpt Ruins*, 1933, Part 2.

2. Sathyahatha Aiyar, *The Climacteric of Talikota*, J.I.H., April, 1927, p. 78. It is plain that the Battle of the Krishna did not mean the end of the Vijayanagar Empire as Prof. Siddiqi would have it; see his *History of Golconda*, 85, 86.

3. N. & V., I, 294.

political power over the whole area south of the Kāvērī.⁴ The flower of the Vijayanagar army had ceased to exist and the duality of government at Pēnugonḍa, centred in both the rightful monarch Sadāsiva, and Rāmarāj's brother Tirumala, further weakened authority. Even the murder of Sadāsiva and the accession of Tirumala as the sole monarch did not end the squabbles for power, and the State had fallen so low that the factions which fought for ascendancy at Pēnugonḍa were not averse to seek help from the very Sultāns who had so lately destroyed its military might.

The Break up of the League

This process was facilitated by the break up of the League of the Four Sultāns immediately after the Battle of the Krishna. The League was formed for the attainment of a certain objective, namely, the elimination of the power of the Southern Empire which had proved such a great danger to the Sultānates, and that objective had now been achieved. It would have been a great blessing to the Deccan if a permanent *modus vivendi* had been agreed to and the wound of the disintegration of the table-land healed; but it was not to be, and the rift came earlier than was expected. It has been mentioned above that it was agreed that the Krishna-Tungabhadra doāb should be restored by the Southern Empire to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and, perhaps in order to demonstrate the unity of purpose, the Sultāns sent Mustafā Khān of Tilangana, Maulāna 'Ināyatu'llāh of Aḥmadnagar and Kishwar Khān of Bijapur to take possession of Raichūr and Mudgal, the key towns of the doāb. It was only natural that once the two towns had been occupied they should be handed over to the representatives of Bijapur. But in taking this step Mustafā Khān did not take the trouble of informing Ibrāhīm and Ḥusain, and he did so either unintentionally or, as is quite possible, in response to a hint thrown by 'Alī himself. Ḥusain Nizām Shāh was touched to the quick. He was perhaps reminded of the havoc caused in his kingdom not so long ago under the very eyes of the Sultān of Bijapur. It is not known

4. *Ibid.*, I, 294-96; *Aravīdu*, 245-47. The incapacity of some of those whom Rāmarāj had promoted is evidenced by the rule of his brother Tirumala first as Regent, then as Rāya after Sadāsiva's murder. He could not keep even the truncated Empire intact.

whether he wanted to take possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal himself, but he certainly did send a strongly worded message to Ibrāhīm that it was against all etiquette that Mustafā Khān should hand over the territory to the representatives of Bijapur without their knowledge, and that he was not fit to continue to have the Sultān's confidence. Ibrāhīm thereupon called Mustafā Khān and reprimanded him that although he had committed an act of treason he would be pardoned his life and limb and be permitted to proceed to Mecca. It is possible that Ibrāhīm realised his helplessness in the face of Husain's insistence, and he did an act of kindness to his minister by allowing him to carry property worth lacs with him. And when Mustafā Khān treaded to Bijapur instead of towards Mecca Ibrāhīm kept quiet over it and contented himself by razing his house to the ground.⁵

This episode, which had important repercussions, was soon followed by Husain Nizām Shāh's death and the accession of his sixteen-year old son Murtaḍā on the throne.⁶

5. Thus in Q.S., 182, 183. *Basatin*, 109, 110, has a different story. It says that after the Battle Husain and Ibrāhīm sent a secret message to Tirumala not to restore the doāb forts to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, and Tirumala on his part sent his excuses to Bijapur saying that it was impossible to restore the forts immediately as the rainy season had set in. 'Alī had therefore to besiege them and take them by force. This story does not seem probable as Tirumala knew that it was not possible to face 'Alī's might single-handed, and evidently he did not have the active backing either of Ibrāhīm or Alī.

Bashirū'd-dīn Ahmad gives the life story of Mustafā Khān Ardīstāni in his *Waqi 'āt Mamlukat Bijāpūr*, I, 156-58, where he says that Ibrāhīm allowed him to carry with him 80,000 hons worth of moveables, 20,000 hons worth of jewels and 12,000 hons in cash. Although it is said that he ordered Mustafā's house at Golkonda to be razed to the ground he could not but have thought that he was taking all his property on the backs of 700 porters and 5,000 camels to Mecca!

6. *Husain's death*: 11 days after his return to Ahmadnagar (*Fer.*, II, 130) on 7.11.972/6.6.1565 (*Bur.*, 428); Murtaḍā assumed power on 5.7.973. (not 993 as in the printed edition of *Bur.*) which corresponds to 26.1.1566. *Fer.*, II, 130, says that Murtaḍā's mother, Khunzā Humayūn, was the regent of Ahmadnagar for six years, so he could not have "assumed power" in 973. But *Fer.* has it on the same page that he was 16 at the time of his accession, while Q.S., 188, is clear that he had attained the age of twelve only when he came to the throne, and this fits in well with six years' Regency. Briggs's calculation (III, 416) that 7.11.972 fell on 7.6.1565 is wrong by one day.

Probably the first campaign which was led after the Battle of the Krishna was in 974/1566 against Tufāl Khān, the virtual ruler of Berar, who had failed to join the alliance against Rāmarāj. The attack on Berar was made by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh. Tufāl did not feel equal to the task of joining battle with the army of the two Sultāns and thought it more prudent to buy them off by sending valuable presents to them.⁷ As will be seen later this policy did not ensure peace for very long and Tufāl had soon to surrender all that he had to the invaders. The remarkable thing about the short campaign is that from the accounts that have been handed over to us, Ibrāhīm was not a party to it. He had proved his loyalty to the League and the cause of the independence of the Deccan by joining even those who had not been friendly to Tilangana; but once the objective had been reached he reiterated his policy of not taking an offensive against any of his brother Sultāns as far as possible.

But rifts soon appeared among the allies. 'Alī thought that the accession of the young Murtaḍā to the throne of Ahmadnagar was a good opportunity to avenge the slight he had experienced in the matter of Rāichūr and Mudgal, especially as Murtaḍā was reputed to be of a weak mind and there was already an apparent rift between him and his mother, the Dowager Queen Khunzā Humayūn. In this scheme of an attack on Ahmadnagar 'Alī was abetted by his Peshwa, Kishwar Khān. When news was brought to Ahmadnagar in 975/1568 that 'Alī was going to launch an attack, Murtaḍā sought the advice of his Council, which reminded him that there had been bonds of friendship between Ahmadnagar and Tilangana and the best way to get out of the impasse would be to appeal to Ibrāhīm for help. At the same time the Dowager Queen, who was acting as the Regent ever since her husband's death, sent word to Tufāl Khān to render help against the common enemy, and when no reply was received for some time she herself proceeded to Ellichpūr with her son. Tufāl, Murtaḍā and the Queen now moved to a place between Qandahār and Kaulās on the frontier where they were joined by Ibrāhīm who had marched from Golkonda in response to the appeal from Murtaḍā. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was taken aback by this development and retreated to Bijapur. The allies now advanced into Bijapur

7. *Fer.*, II, 130.

territory itself, forcing 'Alī to take refuge in the plains of the Konkan. He then sent messages to Ibrāhīm to desist from doing further harm to his territory, and Ibrāhīm, pursuing his old policy of not allowing any of the sultāns to upset the balance in the Deccan, persuaded Murtaḍā to cease fire, and realising that enough punishment had been meted out to 'Alī, both retraced their steps homewards.⁸

But peace was not to last very long and 'Alī was again in the field in 977/1569, i.e., two years of the last campaign. Things were not very happy at Aḥmadnagar, and the entourage of the weak-minded young Murtaḍā had incensed him against his mother the Dowager Queen for having promoted her two brothers Amīnu'l-mulk and Tāj Khān against his wishes. Both these uncles of the King saw that Aḥmadnagar was not a safe place for them, and while Amīnu'l-mulk fled to Gujarat, Tāj Khān betook himself to his kinsman Ibrāhīm Kuṭb Shāh. A surprising thing happened now. While Tāj Khān was still at Golkonda a messenger arrived from Murtaḍā himself seeking Ibrāhīm's help against the army of 'Aḥ 'Adil Shāh which had crossed the frontier and occupied Dhārūr. Such was the accepted position which Ibrāhīm had created for himself in the Deccan that both the antagonistic parties were seeking his help, one against the royal entourage and the other against the invading foreigner. But it so happened that before help could arrive from Tilangana Dhārūr had been reoccupied by Aḥmadnagar troops and Kishwar Khān the Peshwa of Bijapur had been killed in a skirmish at Gulbarga. Ibrāhīm and Murtaḍā now marched right into Bijāpūr territory once more. The crafty 'Alī now had recourse to a ruse. He sent his new Mir Jumla, Shah Abu'l-Ḥasan, who happened to be the son of Murtaḍā's religious preceptor, to him and conveyed to him that that it was the alliance between Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar which had borne so much fruit in the time of His Majesty's father, and it is not well that His Majesty should now side with the ruler of Tilangana to destroy Bijāpūr. At the same time 'Alī was in correspondence with Ibrāhīm himself whose letter was 'intercepted' by Murtaḍā's men and brought before him. On seeing this Murtaḍā was so upset that he ordered some of his commanders to make short work of Ibrā-

8. Q.S., 184, 185; *Fer.*, II, 130; date in *Fer.*, II, 41.

hīm's army which had come all the way in response to his appeal. Ibrāhīm had now to fly to Golkonda, and in the fighting which ensued it is said that Murtaḍā's captains captured one hundred and fifty elephants belonging to the army of Tilangana.⁹

Further Decline of Vijayanagar

We have noticed time and again how Ibrāhīm was inclined towards the maintenance of Vijayanagar, and now that the capital had been shifted to Pēnugondā it had lost its sting and seemed to be a valuable buffer between Bijapur and Tilangana much in the same way as Bīdar was a buffer between Tilangana and Aḥmad-

9. *Fer.* II, 131-32; date in *Fer.*, II, 132. See also *Bur.* 447. This campaign is not mentioned in Q.S. Kishwar Khān's death at the battle of Gulbarga, *Basatin*, 117. 'Alī's message to Murtaḍā, *Fer.*, II, 133; "interception" of Ibrāhīm's letter, *Fer.*, II, 171, *Briggs*, III, 417, has a footnote that the account (i.e. of 'the anonymous historian' meaning that of Q.S.) "differs widely from that given by Ferishta". Briggs thinks that the two accounts refer to the same campaign, and this mistake is also found in *Hadiqatu'l-Ālam*, pp. 154, 155. As will be evident from the dates of the two campaigns, which follow each other by two years, there cannot be any doubt with regard to their being separate. The two dates are found in *Fer.*, although it gives only a brief reference to the first campaign which is described in detail in Q.S.

Ferishta winds off the account of the campaign of 977/1568 with an account of the wanton poisoning of Ibrāhīm's eldest son, Prince 'Abdu'l-Qādir on a mere suspicion, simply because he had offered to fight the invading army of Aḥmadnagar and bring it to book. (*Fer.* II, 133). Apart from its sheer improbability in the absence of any charge against the Prince, we have it from Q.S. (as well as from *Tārīkh-i Dakan Hālāt-i Quṭbiyah*, MSS, Asafiyah, *Tārīkh Fārsī*, 178) that he died a natural death. It is there related that when he fell ill in the fort of Dēwarkondā his father sent to him Amīn Khān with the court physician to treat him; but this was of no avail and he did not get over the disease. We are aware that Ferishta is always calumnising Ibrāhīm and does not fail to charge him with treachery and faithlessness wherever possible and this may be one of the instances in which he has tried to throw Ibrāhīm's reputation into the gutter. There is no doubt that Ibrāhīm was bent on keeping the peace in his kingdom; but to order that his eldest son be poisoned simply because he had offered to fight the enemy which had probably penetrated into the kingdom, is beyond comprehension.

It should be noted that the Amīnu'l-mulk episode as well as the facts relating to the imprisonment of the Dowager Queen of Aḥmadnagar have been placed after the Orissa campaign of Rafat Khān Lārī by the author of Q.S., pp. 198-201. Obviously this cannot be correct as *Fer.*, II, 132 definitely says that these events took place in 977/1570 while the Orissa campaign was undertaken two years later.

nagar. It was therefore with a certain amount of trepidation that Ibrāhīm was viewing the increase in the area controlled by Bijapur. The Rāichūr doāb had been annexed by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh after the Battle of the Krishna; now, fortified by this great gain which exposed the city of Vijayanagar itself to its guns, he had invaded Adonī, which was held by Rāmarāj's nephew Koneṣi Konḍamarājū, in 478/1568 and taken it after a siege lasting more than two years.¹⁰ This was followed by the capture of Torgul in 981/1573 and of Dhārwar, while Bankāpūr was also annexed after a certain amount of struggle. The siege of Bankāpūr is remarkable for the evidence of the utter helplessness of the Pēnūgondā authorities, for when its chief Vēlūpa Rāo appealed to them for help their reply was very disappointing and he had no alternative except to lay down his arms.¹¹

Turning to the internal history of the Vijayanagar Empire so far as it affected the history of Tilangana, we find that decay had set in all round. Not only the Nāyaks of the far south assumed virtual independence but the Empire had lost its unitary strength by its division into the three viceroalties centred at Pēnūgondā, Seringāpatam and Chandragiri, each ruled by three sons of Tirumala. Although Sadāsiva was still alive till 1576 Tirumala was formally crowned Rāya in 1570, but he retired from public life the very next year at the advanced age of ninety and was succeeded by his son Srī Ranga I, the Viceroy of Pēnūgondā.¹²

It was the apparent revival of the Empire as well as the inordinate increase in the power of Bijapur which made Ibrāhīm join hands with Husain Nizām Shāh and the Rāya of Vijayanagar

10. Fall of Adonī: *Fer.*, II, 42; *Briggs*, III, 134; *N. & V.*, I, 296, III, 248, No. 190, (m); *Basatin*, 211. After 1565 most of the feudatories of the Empire became independent while the government at Pēnūgondā was powerless to assist them against the might of Bijapur. *Torgul*, in the Kolhāpūr district, Bombay State; 15° 57' N., 75° 15' E. *Dhārwar*, headquarters of a district in the Mysore State; 15° 27' N., 75° 1' E. *Bankāpūr*, headquarters of a taluqa in the *Dhārwar* district; 14° 55' N., 75° 16' E.

11. *Briggs*, III, 136.

12. *N. & V.*, I, 298; *Aravidu*, 259. *Seringāpatam*, headquarters of a taluqa in Mysore district, once the capital of Haidar 'Alī and Tipu Sultān; 12° 25' N., 76° 42' E. *Chandragiri*, headquarters of taluqa is North Arcot district, Madras State; 13° 35' N., 79° 19' E.

against 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. Ibrāhīm suggested that Murtaḍā and himself should move towards the Krishna where they should meet Tirumala. On reaching the *rendez-vous* the three potentates decided that they should advance into Bijāpūr territory forthwith. But it so happened that before any action could be taken a demand was made by Murtaḍā that the Rāya should pay two lacs of hons to him for help to be given by Aḥmadnagar against the pretensions of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. Although Ibrāhīm had made a promise on behalf of Vijayanagar to Murtaḍā for a much larger sum of money he considered it highly impolitic on Murtaḍā's part to demand a sum of money when no action had yet been taken, especially when 'Alī was a common enemy of all the three. When attempts at conciliation proved futile all he could do was to persuade the ruler of Vijayanagar to return home and to do likewise himself. Naturally this was not to the liking of the Sultān of Aḥmadnagar, and while going back he ravaged the part of Tilangana through which he marched especially Kōvilkonḍā and Ghanpurā. When news of these depredations was brought to Ibrāhīm he ordered Šalābat Khān, Muqarrab Khān and others with twenty thousand horses, to chase the Aḥmadnagar forces across the border and sent urgent orders to village officials to do everything to keep the life and property of the people safe. In the struggle which followed, the Nizāmshāhī forces suffered defeat and had to retire across the Bidar border.¹³

We have seen that before the Battle of the Krishna Raḥ'at Khān Lārī, had subjugated the forts round about Rājahmundrī, and had it not been for the formation of the League of the Four Sultāns which overthrew the power of Rāmarāj, that city would have been annexed to Tilangana even before 1565. The authority of Vijayanagar had long ceased to be effective in this part of the country and the area had been parcelled out among a number of petty rājahs and chiefs the most prominent of whom were Sītāpatī *alias*

13. The source of this account is Q.S. 187-190, and this is practically reproduced in *Briggs*, III, 419-20. *Fer.*, II, 135, says that the attack on Berar took place in 980/1572, but it does not mention the episode of Murtaḍā ravaging Tilangana in this connection.

For "Yeltemraj" see *Aravidu*, 258, 259, where he is identified by Tirumala. Murtaḍā reigned, 7.11.972/26.6.1565 to 18.7.996/3.6.1583; see *Bur.*, 431, 565.

Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhara. Moreover the once powerful kingdom of Orissa, which might have stopped the onrush of the invader had become impotent by its division into two parts which were independent of each other. It was about 875/1572 that Ibrāhīm sent Malik Nā'ib again towards the north-east with three thousand horse commanded by distinguished generals like 'Ainu'l-mulk, Ṣalābat Khān and others.¹⁴ The Tilangana army marched straight on Dowleshwar without encountering any opposition, but was blocked there by Sītāpatī who was in possession of the forts of Patnāpūr and Rājapūṇḍī, and "was in constant communication with the defenders of Rājahmundrī". Malik Nā'ib rightly thought that it was Sītāpatī who was the stormy petrel of the district and who wanted to increase his hold to the detriment of ultimate peace. He therefore gave battle to Sītāpatī who was forced to shut himself up within the fort of Patnāpūr, and when this fort was taken by escalade he fled into the stronghold of Rājapūṇḍī. Malik Nā'ib now left Patnāpūr in charge of a commander and hurried towards Rājapūṇḍī. This fort was surrounded by extremely thick jungle and it was only at the rate of three or four miles per day that the army of Tilangana could penetrate into the jungle. But Rājapūṇḍī could not hold out long and it was also captured.¹⁵

The conquest of the forts lying in the vicinity of the great city of Rājahmundrī caused the chiefs and rajas of the neighbourhood to join hands against the common enemy, and they collected as many as three thousand horse, thirty thousand foot lancers and a vast amount of musketeers. In the fighting which ensued the

14. Division of Orissa into two parts: see Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 348. Northern Orissa, with its capital at Khārda, became a vassal of Akbar's Empire, while Southern Orissa, which had been a province of Vijayanagar, was split up into a number of principalities which naturally made the country a target for the Qutbshāhī kings. It may be noted that Rājahmundrī and its environs were Telugu speaking regions and were therefore akin to the Qutbshāhī dominions in language and culture.

Khārda, town in the Barrackpur taluqa of the district of 24 Parganas, W. Bengal; 22° 44' N., 88° 22' E.

15. The Orissan campaigns: Q.S. 192-94 Briggs, III, 421-27. Rājapūṇḍī; perhaps the same as Pūṇḍī situated at the mouth of Mahendratanya river, Ganjam district, Orissa State; 22° 44' N., 88° 22' E.; Maltby and Leman, *Ganjam District Manual*, reprinted in 1918, p. 34. Patnāpur or Pithāpuram, headquarters of a taluqa of the same name, East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh; 17° 7' N., 82° 15' E.

initial success lay with the confederates who forced the right wing of the Tilangana lines to fall back. Just then Syed Mahmūd and Syed Mubārak fell on the centre led by Sītāpatī *alias* Shitāb Khān and Vidyadhar forcing them to leave the open field of battle and fly to the main citadel. Rājahmundrī was now invested. The fort was well defended and it was nearly four months before the defences gave way through bombardment of the battlements which caused a breach of forty yards in the walls. The beleaguered garrison was hard pressed and saw the end of all resistance. They therefore sent envoys to Malik Nā'ib and Mullah Khīyālī, and sued for peace. It is remarkable that it was a Brahman, Yālū Pandit who was sent as the Tilangana envoy to hold parleys with the garrison inside the fort. Shitāb Khān begged him that he should be allowed safe conduct for himself as well as for his family, which was granted. He now sent the keys of the fort to Malik Nā'ib and himself proceeded to Penūgondā, the capital of Vijayanagar.

Subjugation of Southern Orissa

Shitāb Khān had left with a proper passport for safe conduct; but Vidyādhara had fled to Qāsimkōṭā which was within easy reach of Rājahmundrī, and Ibrāhīm now ordered Malik Nā'ib that he should be pursued. The Malik could easily have marched along the Bay littoral, but he wisely took the risk of marching inland, a step which was strategically sounder as it precluded any possibility of being surrounded by the enemy or perhaps being cut off from the base. His earliest encounter was with a chief named Venkaṭarāj who had come to help the local chiefs with twenty thousand troops, but who had under his command a rabble "as numerous as ants and locusts", and it was with a certain amount of difficulty that Venkaṭa had been put to flight. Malik Nā'ib now followed the strategy in which he had been so eminently successful before Rājahmundrī, and instead of quietly encircling Qāsimkōṭā he first of all invested the forts like Gopālapalli and Virāghaṭṭam, and after subduing them proceeded to invest Qāsimkōṭā. On reaching the place he met the emissaries of two chiefs, Sarvarājā and Bāhubalendra who thought further struggle futile and offered their submission. It was agreed that Sarvarājā should proceed to Golkonda and remain there as a member of the royal court, while Bāhubalendra, who was the older of the two, should remain in full possession of his territory as a feudatory of the

Sultān. After taking possession of Qāsimkōṭā, the army marched right into Orissa to a place called Chandrabār where two brothers named Narasing and Sūrsing had entrenched themselves between two hills. Malik Nā'ib subjected their battlements to intense bombardment which resulted in the subjugation of the stronghold and the imprisonment of the two brothers.¹⁶ Malik Nā'ib's progress must have been rather slow, as we are told that the campaign took fully two years to close, and it was only in 1574 that Chandrabār was conquered.

16. It is rather strange that while the progress of Malik Nā'ib Raf'at Khān is given almost step by step in Q.S. and in an epitomised form in Briggs, it is not even mentioned in Banerji's rather detailed *History of Orissa*. Banerji refers at the end of his first volume, p. 348-51, to an article of the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri that "the Gajapati kingdom was from 1559 in the hands of a Telugu family of usurpers of which Mukandadēva and Bāhubalendra were members...". He also refers to an inscription on a rock situated four miles from Boirāni which mentions Narasimha as the Gajapati and a chief named Bāhubalendra as his subordinate. This inscription is dated 1590 A.C. and "proves that there was an independent line of the Gajapatis in the Ganjam district who were ruling as subordinates of the Sultān of Golkonda". It is difficult here to reconcile the independence of these Gajapatis with the statement, which is definitely backed by internal evidence, that they were subordinate to the Sultān. The fact seems to be, as is vouchsafed by Q.S., that the country was left in the possession of Bāhubalendra as the feudatory to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Banerji also doubts the testimony of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar that "the Golkonda troops advanced conquering to the Bay of Bengal and conquered the country from the Chilka lake to the Pennar river. Their raiding bands penetrated as far north as Kharda, the seat of the faineant Rajah of Orissa. The Gajapati Rajah of Ganjam was ousted by the Golkonda Sultan in 1571". It may not be in 1571 but in 1574 that this took place, but what is certain is that the country was subdued, and that one of the scions of the ruling Telugu family, Bāhubalendra, was made the feudatory chief of the locality, and further that he ruled at least up to 1590. This takes up right on to the reign of Ibrāhīm's successor, Sultān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

So far as the name Bāhubalendra is concerned (Palendra in Q.S., 194, Bhaibulendar in Briggs, III, 424) Banerji says that persons of that name were the hereditary rulers "whose names always appear to have been Mukundadēva", as they recur in a number of inscriptions. This is all we gather from local history, and only proves the utter helplessness of the once powerful Gajapatis and their officers.

Gopālapalli: in the Vizianagaram Taluqa of Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh, about 35 miles north Qāsimkōṭa; 18° 8' N. 82° 18' E.

Vērāghattam: in the Palkonda taluqa of the Visakhapatnam district; 18° 28' N., 83° 36' E.

But this was not all; for there was still the great chief Vasnadeo to be reckoned with. His territory must have been situated right on the Bengal border, and he was well known for his vast riches as well as for the elephants at his command. One of his most prominent forts was Poṭnūr, but this was occupied without much difficulty and this was followed by the fall of the fort of Dewanapalli where the chief was defeated after a pitched battle. Vasnadeo now sent his son as an envoy to Malik Nā'ib with costly presents, and conveyed to him that he was willing to send to the Sultān an annual tribute of thirty thousand hons and forty elephants and the promise that he would always remain loyal to the Sultān provided his state was restored to him. As the Malik had plenipotentiary powers on behalf of the Sultān he agreed to these terms and left for Golkonda after appointing a royal commissioner to supervise the arrangements. This was the furthest limit to the hegemony of Tilangana in the north-east.¹⁷

Elimination of the Kingdom of Berar

While the territory under the rule of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was being enlarged in the north-east, Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh was extending his hold beyond his northern border. He was so much elated by his success against Ibrāhīm that he only awaited some excuse to annex the kingdom of Berar. There the sole monarch now was the minister Tufāl Khān who had imprisoned the rightful sovereign Burhān 'Imād Shāh, incidentally Murtaḍā's cousin, and seized the reins of government himself. It was in 980/1572 that Murtaḍā sent Ḥaidar Khān with an ultimatum to Tufāl Khān to release Burhān and hand over the authority to him. No doubt it was against all international conduct for Murtaḍā to interfere in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state, but the past conduct of Tufāl Khān in saving Berar by means of costly presents to the invader had made the state the virtual protectorate of Aḥmadnagar. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, who had proved time and again how much he was jealous of the balance of power in the Deccan, and

17. Q.S., 197. For Vasnadeo see Sherwani, *Quṭbu'l-mulk's Military Campaigns* J.I.H., April, 1956, p. 16, n. 19. In Ibrāhīm's context also Briggs, III, 25, calls Vasnadeo Veij Nath Dew. *Dewanapalli* probably *Dēvapalli*, about 10 miles north-east of Gopālapalli, in the Gajapatipuram taluqa of Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh; 18° 15' N., 82° 23' E. See Francis, *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, pp. 294, 307.

to what extent he was against the policy of the expansion of one Sultānate at the expense of another, now wished to join hands with 'Alī 'Adil Shāh to stop Murtaḍā from further aggression. He sent a special emissary to Tufāl Khān promising him help, to which Tufāl reciprocated by sending his own son Shamshīru'l-mulk to Golkonda. Ibrāhīm met him at some distance from the capital at a place between Kaulās and Bidar. In the same way 'Alī Barīd also sent his envoy to Ibrāhīm and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh requesting an alliance as he felt he was not equal to the task of repelling an attack from Aḥmadnagar singlehanded. But the dream of a tripartite alliance between Bidār, Bijapur and Tilangana was never realised. For Murtaḍā proved to be more alert than 'Alī Barīd. He sent his capable minister Changīz Khān to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, who was then camping at Naldrug to keep him from joining the coalition. This was followed by a meeting between Murtaḍā and 'Alī at Kalā Chabutra and a treaty between the two powers. They agreed that the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur should conquer Berar in unison, and while Murtaḍā should lead his troops into Berar and Tilangana, 'Alī should be at liberty to carve as much of Vijayanagar territory as would yield a revenue equal to the revenue of the districts annexed by Aḥmadnagar.¹⁸

This was a great set-back to Ibrāhīm's policy and the scheme he had nurtured fell to the ground. He now sent an emissary to Bidar advising 'Alī Barīd to strengthen the defences of the citadel. But against all calculations the enemy forces began by attacking Tilangana first, and the army which was commanded by Murtaḍā

18. The story on the conquest of Berar by Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh is given in great detail in *Bur.*, pp. 456ff. *Burhan*, being a chronicle mainly of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty, relates the story with a certain amount of verbosity, interspersed with many laudatory lines both in prose and poetry. Although there are notices of the campaign in *Fer.*, II, 135-37 and 175-76, the only reference to the part Ibrāhīm played in the affair is that he sent a contingent to help Tufāl Khān. We are, however, thankful to *Fer.*, for giving us the date of the commencement of the campaign, i.e., 980/1572. There is a full description of the part played by Tilangana in *Q.S.*, 209-216.

It might be mentioned here that Murtaḍā's father, Ḥussain Nizām Shāh had married Darya 'Imād Shāh's daughter, Daulat Shāh, and thus Burhān 'Imād Shāh was Murtaḍā's own cousin.

Naldrug, on the Borī river, in the Tuljāpūr taluqa of Osmanābād district, now in the Bombay State. The fortifications were strengthened by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh in 1558; position, 17°49'N., 76°29'E.

and 'Alī in person reached as far as Kamthānā tank without much opposition. In spite of this sudden onslaught Ibrāhīm was so sure of his ultimate success that he ordered that the battlements of the Golkonda fort should be spread over with the richest brocade and shamianas set up made of "European velvet and Khoṭan silks" and ordered the dance and song parties should be held in them. At the same time he dispatched Ṣalābat Khān and Ḥabash Khān with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot soldiers to oppose the enemy. The Tilangana army was successful in pushing back the enemy, and as the two kings who were leading their forces into Tilangana feared that this might be followed by an advance of the army from Golkonda into their territories they retreated to their respective capitals. A picked army of thirty thousand was, however, left behind under the Bijapūrī generals Kāmil Khān and Yār-Qulī Beg and the Aḥmadnagar generals Yāgār and Ḥaidar Sultān to guard the frontiers of the two kingdoms.¹⁹

These troops began to create havoc round the Tilangana stronghold of Kaulās. Ibrāhīm appointed Shāh Muḥammad Injū, his own cousin Ḥusain Bēg and Amīr Shāh Muḥammad with eight thousand horse to drive the enemy out. They immediately marched to a point between Kaulās and Deglūr which was occupied by the Nizāmshāhī troops. It was not with much difficulty that the Nizāmshāhī commander was defeated and Deglūr occupied. The Tilangana army now marched towards another Nizāmshāhī stronghold of Qandhār which was defended by Balwant Rao, Vishwās Rao and Gōpī Rao on behalf of Murtaḍā with a garrison of six thousand which was augmented by another eight thousand from Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar. Fighting for the citadel went on for three days, and it was only on the third day that the enemy was subdued. This was, however, not the end, as the Tilangana army had to face guerilla warfare which went on for a whole month, at the end of which the Tilangana forces seem to have returned home.

19. The unsuccessful campaign of Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar against Tilangana is mentioned both in *Bur.*, 461 and in *Q.S.*, 209, 210. In *Bur.* it is expressly related that the invaders reached the outskirts of Golkonda when they had to retreat owing to the rainy season.

Deglūr, headquarters of a taluqa in the *Nandār* district, now in the Bombay State; 18°33'N., 77°35'E.

While Ibrāhīm was concentrating on the defence of Tilangana, Murtaḍā was leading a direct attack on Berar. As the Aḥmadnagar army penetrated into Berar the inhabitants of some of the towns took to flight for fear of their lives; but the sagacious Changīz, produced a royal firman that the lives, honour and property of the Beraris would be safe in any case, and this timely announcement eased the whole situation. While the invaders were marching into Berar, the Berari army under Tufāl's son Shamshirū'l-mulk was wheeling round to the Nizāmshāhi fort, Qandhār, but he proved unequal to the task and Tufāl had to retreat to Māhūr which was also captured by the Nizamshahis.²⁰

In the meantime news arrived that Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had defeated the Nizāmshāhi forces which were originally sent to relieve Qandhār. Murtaḍā thereupon ordered Baḥrī Khān, to hurry back and dislodge Ibrāhīm. The Tilangana army was then encamped at the village of Tamarnī, but when they heard that Baḥrī Khān was approaching the place it retreated to Kaulās. It was followed by the Nizāmshāhis and the two came to grips at Kaulās on 9-1-981/11-5-1573. In the battle that ensued the Qutbshāhi army was defeated and the invaders burnt out Kaulās and then retreated.²¹ Ibrāhīm had thus suffered a diplomatic defeat as well as a military set-back, and had it not been for the inclemency of the weather even the capital would have been endangered. In Berar also Tufāl Khān had a bad time. He had to give up his capital Ellichpūr after a hard fight with the invaders, and the vacuum was naturally filled by Murtaḍā who distributed robes of honour as well as valuable presents to Berari jagirdars and other highly placed persons.

But Tufāl was not to take his defeat lying down, and in his adversity he appealed to the Emperor Akbar for help against Aḥmadnagar. But time had not yet arrived for the Mughals to interfere effectively in the affairs of the Deccan, and before any reply was received from the Imperial Camp the final act in the drama of Berar had already begun. Pressed on all sides by Murtaḍā's army Tufāl had to shut himself up at Narnālā while his son Shamshirū'l-mulk had to take refuge in the stronghold of

20. Royal farman; *Bur.*, 462.

21. Date in *Bur.*, 469.

Gāwil. Murtaḍā sent Asad Khān to Narnālā, and when the siege was protracted beyond expectation he sent more troops which arrived on the scene on 4-1-982/26-4-1574. It is related that the defence of Narnālā was so stiff that Changīz had recourse to underhand methods and bribe the commanders, with the result that a very large part of the garrison actually changed sides and went over to the invading army. At last the garrisons of both the forts laid down their arms, and Tufāl, his son and his family as well as Burhan 'Imād Shāh, for whom the war had been waged, fell into Murtaḍā's hands and were imprisoned. The whole country was now annexed to Nizāmshāhi dominions.²²

The conquest of Berar was a great blow to Ibrāhīm's policy and prestige. Apart from this it dawned upon him what a great power the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar had become, for when "a forlorn kingdom like Berar with twenty thousand well-trained horsemen could be subdued outright without much effort, and if, according to programme even Bidar was to be annexed" it would be a mere question of days before Murtaḍā marched into Tilangana. Ibrāhīm therefore sent a secret message to Mirān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndēsh impressing upon him the necessity to preserve Bidar intact otherwise the situation would become very dangerous. He also sent word to him that if he were to invade Berar and oust the Nizāmshāhis from there he would not come in the way of the annexation of Berar to the kingdom of Khāndēsh. But Changīz again proved to be a more astute diplomat, and the message which was being sent to Burhānpūr was intercepted on the way and made known to Murtaḍā. Ibrāhīm was now forced to deal with Murtaḍā direct and sent his envoy, Mīr Zainal to enter into pourparlers with him. In the meantime Mirān Muḥammad Shāh had already invaded Berar. Now also Murtaḍā was victorious and he not only managed to oust the ruler of Khāndēsh from Berar

22. Asad Khān at Narnālā; *Bur.*, 472. Bribe offered; *Fer.*, II, 175-76. Tufāl's capture; *Bur.*, 476, *Fer.*, II, 136-37 says that Tufāl was not captured at Narnālā but succeeded in flying to the jungle, and it was later that his relatives were captured and confined in a fortress where they died.

Narnālā, hill fort in the Akot taluqa of the Akola district, now in the Bombay State, on the southernmost spurs of the Satpurās; 21°15'N. 77°42'E. Gāwil or Gāwilgarh, hill-fort in the Satpurās, built by Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmani between 1425 and 1428, in the Mēlghāt taluqa of the Amravati district, now in the Bombay State; 21°22'N., 77°23'E.

but actually chased him right up to his own capital and made him agree to the payment of a large indemnity.²³ Ibrāhīm had to bow to the inevitable and he now sent Shāh Mīr Ṭabāṭabā with costly presents to Murtaḍā with the message that if the latter led a campaign against 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, who was making considerable progress in the Karnatak, he would pay him a sum of five thousand hons per day while the campaign lasted and that the Rāyā himself was willing to pay him seven lacs of hons for defraying the cost of his march into 'Adilshāhī territory.²⁴

Ibrahim's Last Days

We have dealt elsewhere with the administrative developments and general cultural trends in Tilangana during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh which must have reached their high water mark during the last days of Ibrāhīm's life. So far as diplomatic and military affairs are concerned these were taken up to a large extent with the relations of Tilangana with the effete government of Penūgonḍa, and with a certain amount of interstatal conflict. Srī Ranga had succeeded Tirūmala in 1572, but it was an uncomfortable patrimony which he had inherited. As has been noted above, the Vijayanagar Empire had been divided into three great Viceroyalties centered at Penugonḍa, Chandragiri and Seringāpatam, and although the Viceroy of the last two centres accepted Srī Ranga as their overlord he had really no power to exercise any authority over any part of the Empire except over his own immediate charge. The pālaigārs of the south were also restive, and the provinces of the Empire adjacent to Tilangana in the north-east and to Bijapur in the north-west were in the process of disintegration. The north-eastern portion, with we are directly concerned, was split up into a number of chieftainships each of which had become virtually independent of the authority which the central government exercised over them.²⁵

23. *Bur.*, 475-76. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh's campaign and defeat; *Ibid.*, 476-82. He ruled Khāndēsh from 1567 to 1576.

24. Embassy to Murtaḍā; *Bur.*, 482.

25. See Sherwani, *Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, April and July, 1957. For the general condition of Vijayanagar on the accession of Srī Ranga; *N. & V.*, I, 301; *Aravidu*, 264ff; for an illustration of the civil war which went on during the period see *Velugot*, *Intr.*, 51.

So when 'Alī 'Adil Shāh made a sweep over the western districts of the Empire according to the arrangement agreed to with Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh he was able to take one fort after another including the great forts of Torgul and Adōnī in 981/1573 and was able to invade the capital, Penūgonḍa itself five years later. He had the active help of one of the powerful chiefs, Handē Timma Nāyaka. The government of Penūgonḍa was so hard pressed that it actually offered a large bribe to the Nāyaka and won him over to its side. In the meantime Srī Ranga explored the soft corner Ibrāhīm had in his heart for the southern Empire, and when he was approached by the ruler he not only gave him a moral backing but actually sent him material help. He was aware that this move on his part would enrage his brother Sulṭāns specially 'Alī, but Ibrāhīm asserted that the invasion of the Vijayanagar territory by 'Alī was against the accepted usage and tradition that no action should be taken by any Sulṭān against Vijayanagar without first informing the others. This was, of course an enunciation of a doctrine which would hardly hold water, and Ibrāhīm helped Srī Ranga not because 'Alī was guilty of any *fauz pas* against an ancient usage but because he did not want any inordinate expansion in the power of an individual Deccan State. He sent Shāh Muḥammad Injū with an army across the Bijapur border in order to weaken 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's rear guard and at the same time he sent Faḍl Khān son of Amīn Khān to Penūgonḍa to ask the Rāyā to meet him on the Tilangana border. The news of the meeting of the two monarchs seems to have unnerved 'Alī who had been besieging Penūgonḍa for three long months and he thought it advisable to raise the siege and return home. This was on 21-12-1567.²⁶

The hollowness of Ibrāhīm's appeal to the so-called ancient tradition of a unison in the matter of dealing with Vijayanagar was

26. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's invasion of Vijayanagar territory; *Fer.*, II, 45. Ibrāhīm's interference, *Q.S.*, 217, where the siege of Vijayanagar obviously means the siege of Pēnugonḍā. Faḍl Khān's mission is mentioned in ponniganti Talanganārya's *Yāyaticharitra*, where he says that the Khān went with an army to Penugonḍa and persuaded Srī Ranga to meet Ibrāhīm on the frontier; *Sources*, 236-37. For a general discussion of the value of this book see Sherwani, *Culture and Administrative Set-up*, as above, April 1957, p. 131. Date of 'Alī's retreat from Pēnugonḍā, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vii, 563, referred to in *N. & V.*, I, 304n.

soon evidenced by his own action. The first expedition led by him was to the town of Ahobalam in S.S. 1500/1578-79 perhaps at the instance of Haṇḍē Malakappā Nayudu who had no love lost for Sṛī Ranga, and who accompanied the Sultān in the campaign. It was not with much difficulty that the town was occupied and the religious teacher, Satgopalaswami complained to Sṛī Ranga later that the shrine of Ahobalēswara was also despoiled. The district was given over by the Sultān to Malakappā Nayudu, but he could not keep it for long. At the instance of Satgopalaswami Sṛī Ranga sent Konḍrāju Venkaṭarāju with an army to retake Ahobalam, which he did. Two years later, in 1502 S.S./1579-80 Ibrāhīm proceeded to Udayagiri, the capital of the Vijayanagar province of that name, drove out Venkaṭapati, who was Sṛī Ranga's younger brother and was destined to be his successor, and occupied the citadel.²⁷

These two moves were, however, strategically wrong as the large district with Konḍaviḍu as capital was left behind. This district was studded with a number of forts which served as a guard for Konḍaviḍu. Ibrāhīm had a personal interest in the venture as it was his father, Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk, who had annexed it to the Tilangana State. Ibrāhīm had already the experience of reducing the smaller forts first in the case of the conquest of Rājahmundrī, and he now repeated it. He commissioned the Tilangana general Amīr 'Imādu-dīn Shīrāzī, entitled Ḥaidaru'l-mulk and Rāya Rao to cross the Krishna and invade the petty states which only nominally acknowledged the sway of Penugonḍā. Ḥaidaru'l-mulk started from Golkonda on 29-3-1579, reduced Vinukonḍa, Kacharlakota and Kambam with little difficulty. It was only when the great fort of Konḍaviḍu had been completely encircled by the occupation of outlying forts that he laid siege to it. Konḍaviḍu was under the command of Rāmarāj's nephew Timmarao, and he had an army of thirty thousand. It was strongly defended and it seemed very difficult to take it by purely military means.

27. The Ahobalam expedition is mentioned neither in *Fer.* nor in *Q.S.* It is the subject of an inscription at Ahobalam dated S.S. 1506/1584 which falls during the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. See *Sources*, 233; also *N. & V.*, I, 305-6; *Aravidu*, 272-73. The expedition is also mentioned in the *Kaifiyat* of Pedda Pasupula, for which see *N. & V.*, III, 255.

Ahobalam; Ahobilam in the Imperial Gazetteer of India; village in the Sirvel taluqa of the Karnūl district; 15°8'N., 78°45'E.

So a ruse was employed and a royal *farmān* produced ordering the raising of the siege. On receiving the news the garrison made a sortie resulting in a terrible hand to hand fight; but all that the royal army could do was to subdue some adjacent forts including the fort of Gurum. It was now plain to Ibrāhīm that the conquest of Konḍaviḍu was a difficult matter, and he now replaced Ḥaidaru'l-mulk by Syed Shāh Taqī entitled Mīr Shāh Mīr and ordered him to proceed to the front with troops picked from the royal bodyguard and the silahdārs. When Shāh Mīr arrived before Konḍaviḍu he saw that the defenders were ready to oppose him, and the fighting which ensued went on for a number of days. The Tilangana commander had now to order intense bombardment of the ramparts. This also went on for a number of days before the wall was at last breached and royal army was able to make its entry on the month of Šafar 987/April, 1579. The fall of Konḍaviḍu is significant as it once more brought practically the whole of the Telugu speaking country under one aegis.²⁸

28. Konḍaviḍu expedition; *Q.S.*, 217-21; *N. & V.*, I, 306 and III 255-56, where the *Kaifiyat* of Konḍaviḍu is quoted which fully corroborates *Q.S.* The campaign started on 29-3-1579; 1589 is no doubt a typographical error on page 306 of *N. & V.* To my knowledge there is no evidence that Ḥaidaru'l-Mulk served under Murahari Rao. Date of the occupation of Konḍaviḍu as given in *Q.S.* 220, corresponding to *Briggs*, III, 257, is Šafar 987/April, 1579. *N. & V.*, I, 307, have however, placed the event on April 29, 1580, which makes a difference of exactly a year. They have relied on the *Kaifiyat* of Cud-dapah, *N. & V.*, III, where the date given is Vaisakha, su. 15, 1502/28-4-1580.

The offer of a bribe of "brass bags of varāhas" by the Tilangana officer, Rāya Rao to the commandant of the garrison, Velugōṭi Timma is mentioned only in the *Kaifiyat* of Konḍaviḍu, for while see *N. & V.*, III, 256. There is, however, no mention of Murahari Rao in this *Kaifiyat*, and I feel that there is no valid reason why Rāya Rao should be identified with Murahari as in *N. & V.*, I, 307. Murahari Rao's name is mentioned only towards the end of Ibrāhīm's reign when he was appointed virtual regent of the kingdom; for this see *Briggs*, III, 444.

Bēlamkonda; hill fort in the Sattanapalli taluqa of the Gunṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 16°3'N., 79°44'E.

Kambam, headquarters of a taluqa in the Karnūl district; 15°35'N., 79°6'E.

Gurum, perhaps the same as Gurrumkonḍa, fortress in the Vayalpad taluqa of the Kadapa district, Andhra Pradesh; 13°47'N., 78°35'E.

The few months still left for Ibrāhīm were taken up by the renewal of the alliance with Aḥmadnagar and the recrudescence of the struggle with Bijapur. This was motivated to a large extent by the murder of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh on 23-2-987/21-4-1579, i.e., just after the surrender of Konḍāviḍu to Quṭbshāhī arms. As 'Alī had no issue he had nominated his nephew Ibrāhīm, then a boy of nine, to succeed him. The removal of the strong hand of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was a calamity to the Bijapur government, for it was followed by a recurring series of most unseemly feuds among the nobles for the highest office in the State, who took advantage of the extreme youth of the new ruler and the inexperience of the Dowager Queen, Chānd Bībī Sultān. It was Kāmil Khān Dakhnī who siezed the reins of government but he could keep them in his hands for barely four months and twelve days. He was followed by Kishwar Khān who managed to put an end to that able minister Mustafā Khān Ardīstānī during his short term of four months and twelve days, and he was followed by a series of ministers who held office one after another, and this went on for a number of years till the accession of Ikhlās Khān to power.²⁹

On 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's death Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh was launching an attack on Bīdar and had appointed a number of Hindu and Muslim commanders to undertake the campaign. The commotion at Bijapur was a natural incentive on the part of Aḥmadnagar to attack its territory. Murtaḍā Nizām Shah simply acted on the notorious tradition of the Deccani Sultāns, and appointed his *sar-nau-bat*, Malik Bihzād, entitled Bihzādu'l-mulk, to proceed to Sholāpūr and invest that bone of contention between Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar which had been so recently allotted to 'Alī as a dowry of Princess Chānd Bībī. Bijapur replied by sending a strong army against

29. 'Alī's death and Ibrāhīm II's accession; *Basatin*, 152; *Fer.*, II, 47. Quick changes in the ministry at Bijapur; *Basatin*, 153-188. There is an interesting episode recorded in *Basatin*, 154; Chānd Bībī got thoroughly disgusted with mismanagement, corruption and high-handedness of Kāmil Khān Dakhnī but felt powerless to remove him from office. She knew that there was a party in the capital headed by Kishwar Khān which hated Kāmil. She thereupon sent some women's garments, a *charkhā* and some cotton-wool to Kishwar Khān with a message that the country was already sick with what Kāmil Khān was doing, and unless Kishwar Khān was able to remove Kāmil from the scene and assure better government he should put on women's dress and take to spinning on the *charkhā*!

the intruders, and this managed to penetrate into Aḥmadnagar territory and join hands with the army of Bīdar which consisted of thirty thousand well-trained soldiers. It was probably now that Murtaḍā sent an envoy to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh appealing to him to renew the old alliance. Evidently Bihzād could not reach Sholāpūr but was defeated at Darasun which is situated between Naldrug and Sholāpūr. Thus Murtaḍā's calculations were all upset and he tried to save the situation by replacing Bihzād with his adversary, Amīru'l-Umarā Syed Murtaḍā of Berar.

In the meantime help arrived from Golkonda in the shape of a large army under Mīr Shāh Mīr of Konḍāviḍu fame. The allies now marched to the stronghold of Naldrug which was well defended by the 'Adilshāhī troops. There was an engagement in the open country lasting a whole day, at the end of which the 'Adilshāhī forces had to shut themselves up within the fort. The fort was invested, but it was of not much avail; so the allied commanders decided to move on immediately to Bijapur itself and invest it. The allied calculations were correct to the extent that there was no opposition offered till they had reached Shāhpūr, which is a suburb of Bijapur. But on reaching there they found to their great concern that the 'Adilshāhī troops had stolen a march on them and practically the whole of the Naldrug garrison was already on the defensive in Bijāpūr itself! The result was a battle outside the ramparts, in which, it is specially related, the Quṭshāhī troops fought with rare vigour, and the 'Adilshāhī army was forced to betake themselves within the citadel much in the same way as they had done at Naldrug.³⁰

Probably elated at the series of victories and with the desire of putting an end to Bijapur once for all, Ibrāhīm sent another

30. Attack on Bīdar and names of Hindu and Muslim commanders; *Bur.*, 507-10; further course of the struggle; *Ibid.*, 510-21. *Basatin*, 180, says that the Bijapur commander Afzal Khān first proceeded to the Quṭbshāhī border where the two armies sat facing each other for a number of days. Afzal was, however, faced not only by the Quṭbshāhī army but also by his own intriguing colleagues. It was only by his personal vigour and statemanship that he was able to defeat the Quṭbshāhī troops. It is a pity that neither any battlefields are mentioned in this connection nor any dates. Bihzād is alleged to be Circassian by *Fer.*, II, 143 and Turk in *Bur.*, 510. One of the causes of the defeat of the Nizāmshāhī forces seems to have been the antagonism between Bihzād and Syed Murtaḍā.

army under Mir Zainal to open a second front. The excuse was the continued occupation of the district of Kakni and Navalki which were a part of Tilangana in the time of Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l mulk but which had been occupied by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh since,³¹ and now the Sultān ordered that Zainal should proceed westward along with 'Alam Khān, Kishwar Khān and Haidar Khān. It was without much opposition that the second Tilangana army was able to occupy the coveted district, and Zainal was so confident of his success that he appointed civil *thānēdars* in all the towns recovered by him. He then besieged Kilgūr which was also occupied. He was now intercepted by the Bijapurī officer Ashraf and his three thousand Maratha cavalry, but he was driven back with great loss. This was a signal for the subjugation of a number of Bijapurī forts including Sagar and Yādgīr. A pitched battle was now fought at the village of Ulmila as the result of which the 'Adilshāhī army left the field and hurriedly retreated to the capital.

The great danger which loomed on the Bijapur horizon was the possibility of Mir Zainal reaching the allied army outside the ramparts of Bijapur. It was probably felt that when Shāh Mir's army and Mir Zainal's army could individually inflict such a series of defeats on the armies of Bijapur, how much more powerful would the enemy become if both his armies were to join hands. The Bijapurī generals now detached a strong army from their main forces and this made a night attack on the enemy, but this was also repulsed with great loss. There was nothing to keep back the two armies of the allies from joining hands now, and a union of the two was effected just outside the ramparts of the citadel of Bijapur.

As has been related above one of the causes of the weakness of the Bijapurī position was the civil strife which was going on in the capital ever since the death of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. Just then it was the Abyssinian party which was in the ascendant, and it was known that they would brook no opposition. The Abyssinians

31. For Kakni and Nawalgī see Sherwani, *Quṭbu'l-mulk's Military Campaigns*, J.I.H., April, 1956, p. 23. Mir Zainal's campaign is described in great detail both in Q.S., 224-227 and in Bur., 521-28. His name is variously spelt as Zainal in Q.S., Zanil in Bur., and Zabnil in *Basatin*. I have preferred Zainal as it is a name still in use in certain parts of Arabia.

went so far as to imprison the Dowager Queen Chānd Bibī at Satāra. This alienated two high dignitaries of Bijapur, Kishwar Khān and 'Ainu'l-mulk who crossed the line and joined the invaders.³² This defection must have greatly heartened the invading armies. The party in power in the beleaguered city now had recourse to underhand dealings. They sent an envoy to the Aḥmadnagar commander, Syed Murtaḍā with a message that they were willing to make his friend Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan son of Shāh Ṭāhir the Peshwa of the Kingdom provided Syed Murtaḍā was to attack the Quṭbshāhī forces. But the matter could not be kept secret, and Syed Murtaḍā had to bow low before Mir Shāh Mir and offer his apologies for what he had promised the enemy.³³

It was now the month of Muḥarram, 988/February, 1580, and the Bijapurīs, who had been hoodwinked, had recourse to guerilla warfare by means of ten-thousand light Maratha cavalry which successfully cut off the supplies of the allies and almost put them to the wall by continuous engagements on open ground. The Golkonda and Aḥmadnagar armies had no alternative left except to raise the siege of Bijapur and spread out in the Bijapur country ravaging everything they came in their way. After playing havoc on Miraj, Rāibāgh, Satāra, Gulbarga and a number of other places they advanced to besiege Naldrug once again. As there was a likelihood of the collapse of the military structure of Bijapur the allied commanders decided on petitioning Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh to come to Naldrug himself and direct the attack. But this was not to be, for news arrived from Golkonda that Ibrahim had expired on 21-4-968/5-6-1580.³⁴

32. For the ascendancy of the Abyssinians in Bijapur see *Basatin*, 168-176. Bur., 521, says that Kishwar Khān first went to Aḥmadnagar and was there directed by the Sultān to approach Syed Murtaḍā. On the next page Bur. says that 'Ainu'l-mulk was persuaded to return to Bijapur after having been assured of his safety by the ruling clique.

33. Bur., 524, says that Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan himself was sent to Syed Murtaḍā as he was an old friend of his. Date of the battle between the allied and 'Adilshāhī troops, Muḥarram, 988, in Bur., 526. The use of the Maratha cavalry was a prelude to their extensive training by Malik 'Ambar a few years later.

34. This is the date given in Q.S., 228, and it tallies with the date on Ibrāhīm's tombstone, for which see *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 20, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 123; Briggs, III, 445; *Waqi'at-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur*, II, 546. Fer., II, 171 and Bur., are wrong when they say that Ibrāhīm died in 989/1581. It

The circumstances of Ibrahim's sudden death, as reported to us are rather significant. It seems that simultaneously with the appointment of Mir Shāh Mir as the supreme commander of the first Tilangana army Ibrāhīm had delegated practically all civil authority to Muraharī Rao, a Brahman, "who was unsurpassed in an abundance of commonsense and was also handsome of face", and ordered that 'Azīzu'l-mulk, Sharīfu'l-mulk, Barlās Khān and Afzal Khān should act under him. He also ordered that the Rao should be attended by one-thousand foot-soldiers and followers, and that "half a seer of musk, amber and frankincense and two maunds of sandalwood should be provided him every day". He was "in every respect the second person in the Kingdom, not excepting the princes of the blood royal." With such a vast increase in his power the Rao became high-handed and tyrannical in his behaviour, and even took upon himself to sack the famous temple at Adōnī and remove the idol which was made of gold and silver and studded with rubies. It is said that when he brought the idol before Ibrāhīm the Sultān was seized by a violent type of typhoid and never recovered.³⁵

Ibrahim the Ruler: A Retrospect

Ibrāhīm was born on 1-10-936/29-5-1530 and ascended the throne on 12-7-957/27-7-1550; he had therefore reigned just under thirty-one lunar years when he died. He was essentially a man of peace, a quality which was rare among the potentates of the Deccan of his epoch, and it is perhaps only on two occasions when he may be said to look beyond the natural border of the Telugu speaking area, namely on the occasion of the advance of Malik Nā'ib into Orissa and the war on Bijapur towards the end of his life. The attack on Orissa was stimulated mainly because the conditions there were extremely disturbed causing the division of the state into a number of warring factions, while chiefs like

is strange that the chronogram quoted in *Landmarks*, p. 126 and in *Wāqī'at*, 546 does not tally with the date given there. Dr. Yazdani is perfectly correct in his note in *E.I.M.*, p. 20, that 21-4-988 was a Sunday not a Thursday; see *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 372.

Rāibāgh: Headquarters of the division of the same name in the Kōlhāpūr district, Bombay State; 16°30'N., 74°52'W.

Satara: Headquarters of the district of that name; in the Bombay State; 17°41'N., 74°E.

35. Muraharī Rao; *Briggs*, 444; *Q.S.*, 228.

Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhār had become a danger to the peace and security of Tilangana itself. It may be noted that when Orissa was occupied by Malik Nā'ib it was not annexed to Tilangana but was restored to Vasnādeo and the stormy petrel of the eastern coast, Shitāb Khān, was given a passport with the liberty to cross into the Vijayanagar territory. In the case of the march on Bijapur as an ally of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh there is no evidence to show that Ibrāhīm wanted to annex any part of Bijapur kingdom except Kakni and Nawalki which he considered his patrimony. In any case these two campaigns were undertaken during the last months on his life and may be regarded as exceptions to his general policy of peace.

We may contrast Ibrāhīm's policy with that of his father, Sultān-Qulī, for while the long reign of the latter was taken up with the attempted extension of the area of the State to cover the totality of the Telugu speaking parts of the land, Ibrāhīm was for the consolidation of these gains into a loyal and prosperous State. He had such an inclination for peace that he would carry on negotiations with the enemy even when the actual fighting was going on. He is variously dubbed a turncoat, a traitor to his friends and even a coward, but a close analysis of his foreign policy would lead us to the conclusion that it was his craving for peace that made him act even at the risk of his international reputation.

But when it came to actual fighting he was a strict disciplinarian and did not swerve an inch from what he regarded as his duty as a soldier. We see him join hands with his brother Sultāns in order to eliminate the power of Vijayanagar as a disturbing element in the Deccan; and yet not one act of wanton cruelty in the campaign ending in the Battle of the Krishna can be attributed to him with any sense of justice. This campaign was one of the few in which he fought in person, for in other cases when it was necessary to support his allies and friends it was his generals who fought his battles.

On the other hand he was extremely strict in the internal pacification of Tilangana. It is stated that when he came to the throne the kingdom was full of highway robbers and thieves, and there was no security of life and property. This state of affairs was probably the consequence of the unsettled conditions which followed Jamshīd's death. Ibrāhīm was hard on marauders and

ordered the severest punishments for the most trivial offences. However barbarous the amputation of limbs and the cutting off of ears and noses of offenders might seem, the fact remains that his reign saw complete peace and security reign over Tilangana, for "an old woman might pass with a tray of gold on her head from Golconda to Bengal, to Beejapoor and to Ahmudnuggur without fear of molestation."³⁶ He adopted two methods to achieve this object. Firstly he instituted an organisation of informers, and it is said with a certain amount of exaggeration that even the most private and intimate conversation which was carried on between two persons was reported to him provided that it concerned the safety of the State. He also established schools not only at the headquarters of each administrative unit but in almost all villages and made instructions compulsory at least for the Muslim children of the locality. He was a student all his life and always liked to have learned men by his elbow even when he left the capital on a military campaign or for pleasure.³⁷ While on the one hand he patronised the Telugu language such as few other Sultāns have done he attracted learned men from beyond the sea, and the capital, Golconda, became so crowded that an outlet had to be provided for the growing population of the city by providing a suburb on the other side of the Mūsī river and constructing a wide bridge over it.³⁸ So far as literature and art are concerned it may be said that it was Ibrāhīm who laid the foundation of that great cultural edifice which attained such towering heights during the reign of his successor, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

36. For a description of Ibrahīm's policy see Bur., 528; Q.S., 230-31; *Qutbiyah*, MSS. Aṣafiyah, *Tārīkh Farsi*, 178, pp. 99, 100; *Tabaqat-i Akbar-shahi*, 443. Trays of Gold; Briggs, III, 446; *Tazkiratu'l-Mulūk* fol., 59b, 60a.

37. Schools; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, 60a; company of learned men; *Ibid.*, 61a. Q.S., 231; *Qutbiyah*, 99.

38. For patronage of Telugu see Sherwani, *Culture and Administrative Set-up*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, April, 1957, pp. 129 ff.

The Ancestors of the Parsi Community in Iran

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To understand a community of today it is necessary to know what it was yesterday, and in any study of a community, or group, or even race, the historical background must be elucidated. No community displays any feature that has not its roots in some previous action, and when the past ancestry of a group has been surveyed, the present structure becomes more clear.

The past is all the more important in the case of the Parsi community of India, for its being a distant and disconnected one, for until the 7th century A.D. the Parsis were heard of in India only as foreigners, though today they form an important minority in the nation. This small community is a remnant of the great empires of the Achaemenids which boasted of absolute sovereignty from Bactria (i.e. the region comprising Afghanistan and Baluchistan of today) in the East, to the Mediterranean in the West, and from the confines of the Caspian Sea in the North to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and the Gulf of Oman in the South. Today all that remains of the might of Darius and the renowned wisdom of Cyrus the Great, is represented by a handful of men, living in a distant land. For when the Mohommaden hordes swarmed over the Iranian plateau in the 7th century A.D. the glory of the Persian Empire was on the wane and the crumbling powers easily fell a prey to the religiously fanatical conquerors. A few escaped death or conversion and fled to India, where they formed a small community in Gujerat.

Knowing the fact that the Parsis came to India from ancient Iran, their ancestry should be sought for in that region. This whole region from the Mediterranean Sea to the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, and on to the rugged plateau of Iran, has time and again been washed by diverse waves of peoples. The people who lived in, or migrated across this region, of plain, plateau, and mountain, were of a variety of physical types and represented many types of

cultural groups. Some of the most common groups were warriors, aggregated together for an invasion, or bands of wandering nomads seeking better pastures; or even smaller groups travelling far afield in the interests of trade and commerce. Another factor which adds to the confusion in an already bewildering state of affairs is the fact that the names of the peoples changed from time to time; a conquered group would lose its name, and become subservient to its conquerors, or a small group would become absorbed into a larger one, and lose its identity, making it difficult to trace in future historical records.

Man has inhabited this area from earliest times and, near Shiraz, only a short distance from the sites of Persipolis and Pasargadae, flint implements have been unearthed which in their typology belong to the Mid-Palaeolithic. This indicates that even in those dim ages man was present here, and later in Mousterian times it would not be very wrong to say that Mousterian man must have traversed the plateau locked between the Zagros and the Elburz ranges, for his tools have been discovered near Sulaimaniyah, Rowandiz and in the gorges leading to Kurdistan. The fact that remains of Aurignacian man have also been found in other parts of the Middle East can give support to the statement that he must have existed here too. All these men so far were dolicocephalic with prominent supraorbital crests, prognathous to a greater or lesser degree, medium to above medium in stature, but it is more or less certain that none of these individuals had any lasting physical effect on the peoples to come.

The Neolithic age is singularly dim, and in our search for ancestors this age has still managed to keep its secrets, (if any, at all, exist), but sufficient evidence has been unearthed as far as the Chalcolithic age is concerned. A site has been discovered by Herzfeld, near Persipolis, where the Copper artifacts, though crude, were nevertheless definite proof that by this time the inhabitants knew the use of Copper.

The Solutrean age of Iran is of much later date than its counterpart in Europe, and we have an example of this time in the settlement discovered at Susa; a settlement nearly 5000 years old. It can be attributed to the Scythians, or the Sacae, coming from the north, from Asia. They worked finely flaked tools, which look amazingly similar to the famous laurel-leaf blades of Europe. These men, dolicocephalic with wavy hair, of considerable stature,

and light brown skin colour, went even further than Persia, as can be seen by the site at Badari in Egypt, where an almost contemporary culture is revealed.

The Solutrean hunters spread over this area, and long after the site at Susa was abandoned,* continued to live at Tepeh-Musyan, Abu-Sharain, and Tell el-Obaid.

It was between 4000 and 3500 B.C. that the people, from scattered groups wandering in search of food, or practising a desultory form of agriculture, began to settle down, form communities, and establish city states, that were to see their last days only in the future city states of the Greeks, centuries later. It is about now that the Sumerians set up their city states at the head of the Persian Gulf. They, as their remains found in a palace at Kish show, were mainly dolicocephals, and some of their skulls present a distinct 'keel'. Among their remains a brachycephalic skull was also found, with its orbits set obliquely, and though it is certainly not Mongoloid, it shows affinities with the brachycephals of Asia minor. The Sumerians are responsible for the cities of Kish, Ur, Erech, Nippur, Susa, Lagash, and Babylon. Upto 3097 B.C. when Kish, Ur and Erech were still strong, there were three main types of people in this area, viz., the people responsible for the civilization of Susa II, occupying the land east of the lower Tigris upto the foothills of the Zagros range, then the people between the twin rivers, and especially in the area at the termination of the Euphrates, where were the Sumerian city states, populated by the Sumerians, and then those further north at Kish, and may be also at Akshak and Sippar, who were a mixed people.

While the royalty of this area boasts of Sumerian names, other names are decidedly Semitic. To the northwest near the desert were a number of people of the southern steppe, mixed with hillmen from the north, and though the rich cities near the Persian Gulf were Sumerian, further north, in spite of the strong Sumerian element, the population was heterogeneous—being diluted by the people from the Anatolian highlands and some southern steppe folk.

* The sudden destruction of the site at Susa is most likely due to the devastating spring floods, around 4500 B.C. due to the rise of the land, therefore excess snow, and hence swollen rivers in the Spring. The other sites were on elevated ground and therefore survived till later.

About 3295 B.C. the Elamites made futile attempts to conquer the Sumerians. The Elamites expanded from the regions lying immediately to the west of the River Tigris about 3575 B.C. and they made their influence felt not only in the region of the Shatt-el-Arab, but also as far as Egypt, where they are strongly suspected of having gone, via the Persian Gulf.

But by far the most important group of people at this time were the Semites, who of all the early groups have done the most to shape the present day Parsi. The earlier groups usually were swamped, and their characteristics washed away by succeeding generations, but the Semites were too strong, even to be obliterated by the later Medes and Persians. They came from the regions of Arabia where the grassland was rapidly becoming desert due to the changing position of the climatic belts. They came into the lush grasslands of Mesopotamia in successive waves, each stronger than the last, and succeeded in imposing their language on the Sumerians. The famed 'Canaanite' invasion which occurred in the second half of the third millenium B.C., and affected the Syrian coastal areas, and Northern Babylonia, was a Semitic inroad. It is of interest to note that some of the Semites went to the middle valley of the Tigris, to the north, and interbred with the local Kurdish peoples there, forming the basis of the later Assyrian empire. Besides the Semites with their distinctive features, their famed prominent noses, still easily traceable in the modern Parsi of India, there were other groups who left their brand on the populations succeeding them. The Assyrians were one of these people, and are of special interest, as it is through them that some of the earliest records of the Medes and Persians, the real ancestors of the Parsis, are available. The Assyrian records of King Shalmanassar III mention for the first time, these new people, the Iranians, when his people came into contact with two of their tribes, between the low-lying Lake Urmia and the high region of Hamadan. These new people were dolicocephalic, and were a pastoral people. Their domesticated animals were the horse, sheep, cow, goat, and the dog. They did not know how to write, and it is paradoxical that they learnt most of the arts of civilization from the people whom they conquered. These Iranians came in from Southern Russia in two closely related groups, and in fact Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon who were famed Assyrians, made no dis-

inction between them. They were collectively termed the Madai-Medes.

The Medes, (2000 B.C.), the earlier and weaker branch occupied the western Iranian plateau, whereas the Persians entered from the north of Khorasan, crossed Kerman, and occupied Fars. There are also indications of a third migration in a southeasterly direction, across the Hindukush to the Panjab. This movement most probably explains the common origin of the Avestic and Sanskrit languages. The Persians continued to trickle into this melting pot, of races until they formed the majority, and from now on until the seventh century A.D. the tale is nothing but a story of internal movements, and contacts, miscegenating all the various elements.

Herodotus that great historian and scholar, without whom many a page of history would have remained blank, writes of the various tribes of Persians,

"The principal tribes . . . are the Pasargadae, the Maraphians, and the Maspians, of whom the Pasargadae are the noblest. The Achaemenidae, from which spring all the Persian Kings, is one of their clans." (H. i. 125).

All these nomadic tribes coming into Iran, Fars in particular, and settling down, did not unite, and even after settling down as agriculturists they preserved their individuality and lived as an independant conglomerate. They were welded into a nation by Achaemenes, the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty. His son Chispish, or Teispes, occupied Anshan when Elam was overthrown by Assurbanipal. Teispes' grandson was Cyrus the Great, who as ruler of Anshan conquered Ecbatana, and then became the Emperor of the whole of Persia. How he managed to do so is not clear, for no records have been so far found telling us the method of his rise. All that we know is that he has been recorded as the King of Anshan in 549 B.C. and another inscription in 546 B.C. styles him as King of Persia.

Some great moves were made in the reign of Cyrus the Great that are interesting inasmuch as they illustrate the intensity of diversity in the population of these lands. Time and again vast armies marched across the area, moving slowly as all ancient armies did, leaving ethnological characteristics behind. Cyrus the

Great marched 1000 miles to Cappadocia, and there defeated the troublesome Lydians at Pteria. He also conquered Sardis in 546 B.C. The Phrygians, Mysians, and other Asiatic tribes submitted to Cyrus, thus increasing the complexity of his Empire. The Greek cities in Asia minor were subdued, and Cyrus the Great's conquests went as far East as Afghanistan. Babylon succumbed to him in 538 B.C. Cambyses succeeded Cyrus in 529 B.C. and continued the exploits of his forbearer by conquering Egypt in 525 B.C. Now the empire extended from the Nile to the Jaxartes, from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, and included countries like Lydia and Bactria which had never been approached before.

Darius the Great became King in 521 B.C. A significant development in this period is the rise of the religion of Zarathushtra, which, with modifications which are only to be expected with the passage of time, is the faith of the Parsi community of India, today. Darius was proud of the fact that he was a follower of the prophet Zarathushtra, and a devout worshipper of the one and only God,—*Ahura Mazda*. This religion has survived the vicissitudes of centuries, and is still dynamic among a people of the 20th century, and of all the legacies that the Parsis of today have received from their forefathers of Ancient Iran, the most valued is this faith.

Darius as a monarch was most active. He undertook two great expeditions which could be considered tantamount to migrations; for this mighty King moved slowly across the land with a colossal army which left its impact on the local people. The *Scythian* Expedition took place in 512 B.C. Crossing the Bosphorus on a bridge of boats built by the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and looked after by the Greek cities of the neighbourhood, the army skirted the coast of the Black Sea and accepted the submission of the Thracians, of whom only one tribe offered resistance. This huge force reached the mouth of the Danube, where the Ionian cities constructed the second bridge of boats, at the mouth of the delta, and the huge force went over into the unknown steppe-lands where they were completely unsuccessful in catching the highly mobile Scythians. On the way back to Sardis, 80,000 men were sent to capture Thrace. Darius himself remained in Sardis for two years before returning to his capital.

It is known that he gained control of a major portion of *Sind* and the *Panjab*, but much is not known of his Indian campaign. His

empire was colossal. Its eastern and western frontiers were nearly three thousand miles apart, and its northern and southern borders were nearly so. It extended from the Indus to the Danube, and from the steppes of Central Asia to the deserts of North Africa. It was a motley collection of tribes and peoples, possessing different languages, customs and physical characteristics, but Darius did not try to reduce their heterogeneity and as long as they were subservient, no attempt was made to force the people to mix.

The diversity of the people of Persia is further illustrated by the description that Herodotus gives of the army of Xeres, who succeeded Darius in 485 B.C., crushed a revolt in 484 B.C., and subdued Babylonia in 483 B.C.

The Persians and the Medes begin the list, armed with lance, bow, and sword; the Kissians and Hyrcanians are mentioned next, as being armed like the Persians; the Assyrians with bronze helmets to follow, the Bactrians, Arians, Parthians, and the neighbouring tribes with javelin and spear; the Sakae, noted warriors with curious pointed caps, and battleaxes; the *Indians* with their long cotton coats, the Ethiopians with painted bodies from Africa, armed with long bows, and stone-tipped arrows, the Ethiopian of Asia,—probably the aborigines of Southern Persia and Makran,—with extraordinary helmets made of horses heads; and others, down to the remote islanders of the Persian Gulf. Over each levy was set a Persian, and the army was divided roughly into divisions, regiments, companies, and sections. The supreme command was given to Marduniya, or Mardonius.

The mounted troops, including in this category the tribes which fought from chariots, consisted mainly of Persians, and Medes, and included some 8,000 Sagartians from N. Persia, armed with lassoes. There were also Kissians and *Indians*, the latter with chariots drawn by wild asses, which could hardly have been of much military value; Bactrians, Caspians, and Sibyans, who fought from chariots; and there was besides a force of Arabs mounted on dromedaries.

The 1207 warships with crews averaging 200 men, were supplied by the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and subject Greeks, and each vessel carried a few Persians or Sakae, who acted as Marines, and supported the Persian commanders. One cannot but be impressed by the multitude of diverse elements brought together here.

Later in 456 B.C. we hear of three million men marching from Persia to suppress a revolt in Egypt, and this campaign must have had considerable effect, ethnologically in the Upper Delta at least, even though the number of men in the army must have been grossly exaggerated.

In 334 B.C. the Greeks led by Alexander the Great, swept into Asia Minor, and overran the Persian conglomerate of tribes. The conquest of the empire of Persia took Alexander nearly 10 years. His ambition was to remove all distinctions between Europeans and Asiatics, and he encouraged intermarriage by giving large dowries. He himself married the daughter of the last Persian monarch. However before his attempts at miscegenation could achieve a large scale, he died prematurely in 323 B.C. at Babylon. The campaigns of Alexander in Iran, Turkestan, and India (330-326 B.C.) were politically of little consequence but economically and culturally they established permanent contacts between the Mediterranean Basin and Central Asia, and India. For 300 years after the Mediterranean conquest the Zarathustrian priesthood preserved the Iranian culture, and it revived under the Parthians, and later under the Sassanian kings.

The Parthians—Parnae—a nomadic people from Central Asia, gained power over a part of Iran, and their empire was at its zenith in the first and second centuries B.C. The Persian empire was revived under the Sassanian dynasty which lasted from 226-651 A.D. Iranian commerce in this period flowed over the routes of Southwestern Asia. Nisibis was the centre of intercourse for the West. From Ctesiphon roads led to the Persian Gulf and India, and to Susa and southern Iran, and Central Asia and China.

Between 455 and 513 A.D. ten missions passed between N. China and Persia. The Chinese records confirm the glory of the restored Persian empire, but though commercially there was contact, physically the contact was insignificant, and a few, rare groups of traders were hardly likely to leave any permanent mark on an already heterogeneous population.

When the Arabs swarmed over the plateau in the 7th century A.D. a handful of people fled to India, and took refuge in Surat. But there are two opinions as to how they did so. Some say that they stayed on for nearly a hundred years more in the mountain fastnesses of Iran, before sailing for India, and some say that they

did not tarry in Iran at all. It is most likely that some came to India immediately after the Muslim invasion and another group fled to the mountainous north where their descendants still survive in the 'guebres.'

Today, the handful that came to India, has grown into 50,000, and though quite prominent in the city of Bombay, and in the State of Bhopal, is not to be found in significant numbers anywhere else in the world.

Reviewing the past ancestry of the Parsis before the 7th century A.D. we see that the land from which they migrated in the seventh century, was occupied from prehistoric times, but those populations had a very little effect on populations to follow. Neolithic evidence is lacking though a Chalcolithic period is evident. Before the Medes and the Persians come on to the scene the Sumerians were present with the Elamites and later on the Semitic hordes from Arabia, who came in because they were driven out from their old home by the inclement weather. The empire of Assyria also arose, but everyone of these people fell when the Persians marched on to the scene and controlled a vast empire right upto 7 A.D. The descendants of the people of this vast empire are the Parsis of today—a small though significant community in the vast population of India.

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Kuruksetra as Known to Foreign Writers and Travellers

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I

Indian literature¹ is undoubtedly replete with numerous references to the region of Kurukṣetra, its geographical conditions and holy places, importance as a sacred place ... etc. It is really interesting to note that it attracted the attention of several foreign travellers and writers including the Greek, the Chinese, and the Muslims.

A. Greek Historians

Ostobalassara (*Stobolosara*) of Ptolemy has been identified by Martin St. with Thānesar² (also called Kurukṣetra) while Cunningham³ thinks that Thānesar is Ptolemy's *Batang-kaisara* and suggests to read *Satanaisara* to make the name approach to Sanskrit Sthānviśwara, the *Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo* of H. Tsang — the Chinese pilgrim visiting India in the 7th century A.D. (i.e., in the time of Harṣa Vardhana — the mighty ruler of Kannauj).

B. Chinese Pilgrims

(a) Fahien, the Chinese traveller who toured India in the 4th century A.D., reached Muttra⁴ (i.e., Skt. Mathurā) direct after

1. Beginning from the Vedic literature down to that compiled in the mediaeval and later mediaeval periods.

2. *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, Calcutta edition, p. 128; Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 1921, p. 261 and f.n. 2 of p. 261.

3. As cited in *McCrindle's*....., *op.cit.*, p. 128.

4. Consult H. A. Giles, *The Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, 1923, Cambridge, pp. 19-20. Fahien's reference to the existence of *saṅghārāmas* on

starting from Bhida country. But he did not get any opportunity of visiting Kurukṣetra. That is why an important site like this escaped reference in his travel notes.

(b) H. Tsang's detailed account of his visit to Thānesar has been embodied in the famous work, *The Record of the Buddhist World*, Vol. I, Book IV, pp. 183-6 as edited and annotated by S. Beal. Travelling about 500 li N. E. from Mathurā,⁵ he came to the country of *Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo*, a Chinese form of *Sthāṇviswara*.

He records the religion, history, social life, topography and ancient sites of the region in the following language (pp. 183-4) :—

(i) *Kingdom* :—

"The kingdom is about 7000 li⁶ in a circuit, the capital 20 li or so."

(ii) *Sand* :—

"The soil is rich and productive and abounds with grains (cereals). The climate is genial though hot."

(iii) *Manners of the people* :—

"The manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts and greatly honour those of distinguished ability in other way. Most of the people follow after worldly gain; a few give them to agricultural pursuits."

(iv) *Economic Conditions* :—

"There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter."

both the sides of the river Yamunā suggests that the region to the South East of Kurukṣetra was influenced by the Buddhist creed in the Gupta period. Cf. *Buddhist Records of Western World*, introduction, p. XXXVIII.

5. S. Beal (*Op.cit.*, p. 183 f.n.) states that "the pilgrim probably left Mathurā and travelled back by his former route till he came to Hānsī where he struck off in a north-west direction for about 100 miles to Thāneśwar or Sthāneśwar. This is one of the oldest and most celebrated places in India on account of its connection with Pāṇḍus."

6. Cunningham (*The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, London, pp. 328-9) does not like to agree with H. Tsang here. On the other hand he opines that the measurements of H. Tsang "must be exaggerated". The distance of 7000 li is about 1167 miles.

(v) *Religious atmosphere* :—

There are three *Saṅghārāmas* in this country with about 700 priests. They all study (practise or use) the *Little Vehicle*.⁷ There are some hundred *Deva temples*⁸ and sectaries of various kinds in great number.

(vi) *Capital* :—

"On every side of the capital, within a precinct of 200 li in circuit, is an area called by the men of this place as *the land of religious merit*.⁹ This is what tradition says about it :—In olden times there were two kings of the Five Indies between whom the government was divided. They attacked one another's frontiers and never ceased fighting. At length the two kings came to agreement that they should select on each side a certain number of soldiers to decide the question by combat and so give the people rest. But the multitude rejected this plan and would have none of it. Then the king (of this country) reflected that the people are difficult to please (to deal with). A miraculous power (a spirit) may perhaps move them (to action); some project (out of the way plan) may perhaps settle (establish) them in some right course of action."¹⁰

(vii)

"At the same time, there was a Brahmana of great wisdom and high talent. To him the king sent secretly a present of some rolls of silk and requested him to retire within his after hall (private apartment) and there compose a religious book which he might conceal in a mountain cavern. After sometime, when the trees had grown over (the mouth of the cavern), the king summoned his ministers before him as he sat on the royal throne and said "ashamed of my little virtues in the high estate I occupy, the ruler of heaven (or of *deva's*) has been pleased to reveal to me in a dream and to confer on me a divine book which is now concealed in such and such mountain fastness and in such and such a rocky corner. On this edict was issued to search for the book

7. i.e. the *Hīnayāna* sect as opposed to the *Mahāyāna*. These were different sects of Buddhist creed. The latter sprang quite late in India.

8. Perhaps Śaiva temples.

9. Cf. *Dharma-kṣetre Kurukṣetre* of the Skt. texts.

10. This is a strange version of the story indeed.

and it was found underneath the mountain brushes" (*ibid.*, pp. 184-5).

(viii) *Religion and Piety*:—

"Around this royal city, for the space of 200 li, in circuit, was the land of religious merit for men, apportioned by the king of old... Let every man stir himself to the utmost to prepare good works."

(ix) *Site of the Dead-bodies*:—

"The two countries engaged in conflict and the dead bodies were heaped together¹¹ as sticks and from that time till now, the plains are everywhere covered with the bones. As this relates to a very remote period of time, the bones are very large ones" (*ibid.*, p. 186).

(x) *Aśoka's Stūpa*:—

"To the north-west of the city, 4 or 5 li, is a Stūpa about 300 feet high, which was built by Aśoka—rāja. The bricks are all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining; within is a peck—measure of the relics of Buddha. From the Stūpa is frequently emitted a brilliant light and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves" (*ibid.*, p. 186).

It is also interesting to note the further visit of H. Tsang after leaving Sthāṇviśwara "Going south of the city about 100 li, we come to a convent called *Ku-hwan-cha'-a* (Gokaṇṭha)"¹² where there were "a succession of towers with overlapping storeys with intervals between them for walking, while the priests were virtuous, well mannered and possessed of quite piety" (*ibid.*, p. 186). Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 395 ff.) tries to identify Gokaṇṭha with modern Gunāna between Vyāsasthali and Nisāṅga, 17 miles to the S.S.W. of Thānesar. It was from Gokaṇṭha that H. Tsang travelled a distance of 400 li in N. E. direction and reached the "country of *Sulo-kin-na* (*Srughna*)"—*ibid.*, p. 186. The latter can be iden-

11. This marks the ancient site of *Asthipure*; Cf. Cunningham's *The Geography of Ancient India*, 1871, London, p. 336. S. Beal (*Op. cit.*, p. 186 note) adds that "there is a Vedic legend about Indra who slew 90 times nine *vritras* near this spot. Site of *Asthipura* is still pointed out in the plain to the west of the city". For Vedic legend see *Rig-Veda*, I. 84. 13.

12. Beal (*Op. cit.*, p. 186 note) also suggests the reading *Govinda* in place of Gokaṇṭha. Distance between Thānesar and Gokaṇṭha was about 16 ½ miles.

tified with *Srughna* or *Sugha*, about 38 miles from Thānesar and very near to Jagādharī¹³ in Ambala district of East Panjab. *Sugha* was a very ancient place indeed¹⁴ while Jagādharī was the gate of the region of Kurukṣetra (Cf. the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, Sukth. ed., 129.8-11).

C. *Muslim Writers*

I. *Abū Rihān*

The account of Abū Rihān (Reinaud, *Memoir Sur l'Inde*, p. 287 cited in Cunningham's *Geog. op. cit.*, pp. 334-5), too records on the authority of Varāhamihira that during the eclipses of the Moon, the waters of all other tanks visit the tank of Thānesar so that the bather in the tank at the moment of the eclipse obtains the additional merit of bathing in all other tanks at the same time."

II. *Alberuni*

Alberuni's account furnishes information about the idol of *Cakraswāmī*, location of Kurukṣetra, eclipse at that place, naming of the place, etc.

(a) *Name*:—"Another place of this kind (i.e., holy) is Taneshar, also called Kurukṣetra, i.e., land of the Kuru, who was a peasant, a pious holy man who worked miracles by divine powers. Therefore the country was called after him and venerated for his sake".¹⁵ (Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 147).

(b) *Location*:—"Tānēshar lies between the two rivers to the north of both of Kanoj and Mathurā, a distance of about 80 *farsakh* from Kanoj and nearly 50 *farsakh* from Mathurā" (Sachau, Vol. I, p. 199).

"Balabhadra, the commentator gives the latitude of Thaneshar 30° 12'. The learned Abu-Ahmad, son of Chatlaghtagin, calculated the latitude of Tāneshar as 27'; and both places (Karī and

13. The same as *Yugandhara* or *Yugandhari* of the *Mahābhārata*

14. For the antiquity and archaeological finds from *Sugha*, consult Cunningham, *Op. cit.*, pp. 397-8; C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of Archaeological Survey of India for year 1888-9*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 24. Even punch marked coins have been found here.

15. As embodied in the *Alberuni's India*, 1910, London, as edited by E. C. Sachau, Vols. I & II.

Tāneshar) to be distant from each other by 3 days marches". (Sachau, I, p. 317).

(c) *Image of Cakraswāmī*:—"The city of Tāneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called *Cakraswāmī*, i.e., owner of the *cakra* (a weapon). It is made of bronze and nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the hippodrome in Ghazna, together with the lord of Somnāth. This *Cakraswāmī* is said to have been made in the time of Bhārata as a memorial of wars connected with this name". (Sachau, I, p. 117).

"Part of it (image of Somnāth) has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town, together with the *Cakraswāmī*—an idol of bronze that had been brought from Taneshar" (Sachau, II, p. 103).

(d) *Kṛṣṇa as hero of Kurukṣetra*:—"Besides, Tāneshar is the theatre of exploits of Vāsudeva in the wars of Bhārat of the destruction of the evil heroes. It is for this reason that people visit the place". (Sachau, II, p. 147).

(e) *Bath at the time of the Eclipse of Sun and Moon*:—"The *Samhitā* of Varāhamihir relates that at Tāneshar, there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom they relate the following story:—The waters of all the other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of an eclipse. Therefore if a man washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every one of all of them. Then Varāhamihir continues—"people say that if it were not the head which causes the eclipse of the sun and moon, the other ponds would not visit this pond". (Sachau, II, p. 145).

III. *Firishta*¹⁶

(a) *Religion*:—"In the year¹⁷ 402 Mahmud resolved on the conquest of Thānesar,¹⁸ in the kingdom of Hindūstan. It had

16. Cf. H. M. Elliot *The History of India*, London, Vol. II, 1869, pp. 452 and ff; Criticism of Muslim writers is alluded to on p. 454. Cf. C. V. Vaidya, *Downfall of Hindu India*, 1938, Bombay, pp. 68-9.

17. A. H.

18. Elliot, II, p. 452, f.n. referring to Briggs and Hammer—Purgstall who represent the place wrongly as 30 miles west from Delhi. Cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. India*, II, 1936, Calcutta, p. 1088 f.n. 3.

reached the ears of king that Thānesar was held in same reverence by idolators as Mecca by faithful; that there was an old temple there, in which they had set up a number of idols, the principal of which was called *Jagsom* and was believed to have existed ever since the creation of the world" (Elliot, II, p. 452). *Jagsom* here is the same as *cakraswāmī* already cited above. The image was so named after god Viṣṇu who holds a discus (*cakra*) in one of his hands; the other weapons being the mace, the lotus and the conch.

Firishta's account further adds (Elliot, II, p. 453) that "An embassy was accordingly sent to inform the Rājā Ānandapāla of his (Mahmud) design against Thānesar and desiring him to depute his officers to remain with the army.... The Rāja's brother, with two thousand horses, was also sent to meet the army and to deliver the following messages:—*The temple of Thānesar is the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of the country.....* Mahmūd replied: It behoved him with the assistance of God, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India. How then should we spare Thānesar."

(b) *Attack on Thānesar*:—"Mahmūd, having reached Thānesar before the Hindus, had time to assemble for its defence; the city was plundered, the idols broken, and the idol *Jagsom* was sent to Ghazni to be trodden under foot in the street and decapitated" (Elliot, II, p. 454).

"Immense wealth was found in the temples. According to Hājī Muhammad Kandhart, a ruby was found in one of them, weighing 450 *miskāls*, the equal of which no one had ever seen or heard of" (*ibid.*).

IV. *Al'19 Utbi*

(a) *Land and Religion*:—Referring to the conquest of Mahmud of Ghazni, Utbi hints at the religious conditions of the country of Kurukṣetra too. In his words "Sultān learnt that in the country of Tānesar there were large elephants of Sāilamān (Ceylon) breed,

19. He was the secretary to Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni. His account of Thāneswar has been embodied in the *Tārikha Yamīnī* or *Kitābul Yamīnī*, cited by Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 40-1.

celebrated for military purpose. The chief of Thānesar was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God. So the Sultan marched against him with his valiant warriors for purposes of planting the standards of Islam and extirpating idolatry. He passed through a desert which no one yet had crossed except birds and wild beasts, for the foot of a man and shoe of the horse had not traversed it. There was no water in it, much less any other kind of food. The Sultan was first to whom God had granted a passage over this desert, in order that he might arrive at the accomplishment of his wishes." (Elliot, II, p. 40).

(b) *Battle*:—"Beneath it (Thānesar) flowed a pure stream, the bottom was covered with large stones and its banks were precipitous and sharp as the point of arrows. The Sultan had reached this river where it takes its course through a hill pass behind which the infidels had posted themselves; in the rear their elephants with a large number of infantry and cavalry. The Sultan adopted the stratagem of ordering some of his troops to cross the river by two different fords and to attack the enemy on both the sides; and when they were all engaged in close conflict, he ordered another body of men to go up the bank of stream which was flowing through the pass with fearful impetuosity and attack the enemy amongst the ravines where they were posted in the greatest number. The battle raged fiercely and about evening, after a vigorous attack on the part of the Musalmans, the enemy fled leaving their elephants which were all driven into the camp of Sultan except one which ran off and could not be found. The largest were reserved for the Sultan" (Elliot, II, p. 40).

"The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously that the stream was discoloured notwithstanding its purity and the people were unable to drink it. Had not the night come on and concealed the traces of their flight, many more of the enemy would have been slain. The victory was gained by God's grace who has established Islam for ever as the best of religions, notwithstanding that idolators revolt against it."

(c) *Plunder*:—"The Sultan returned with plunder which it is impossible to recount. Praise be to God, the protection of the world, for the honour he bestows upon Islam and Musalmans" (Elliot, II, p. 40-1).

Referring to the 10th expedition of Mahmūd of Ghazni in A. H. 405, it is further remarked (Elliot, II, Appendix D, p. 452) that "The *Habi-bu-s-Siyar* makes this expedition occur in the same year as one of Bālnāt. Yamīnī makes it occur subsequent to the Bālnāt campaign but says nothing about Mahmud's returning immediately to Ghaznī. The season was so late as not to admit of his proceeding to Thānesar direct from Bālnāt, unless he passed the season of rains in India which is not probable. *Tārīkhi Alfī* omits all notice of this expedition."

"Supposing Thānesar to have been the place he visited, it is difficult to reconcile Utbi's narrative with the geographical features of the country. If Mahmūd had reached Thānesar by crossing the upper part of the desert of Rajputana, he could not have come to a stream with large stones or precipitous banks, or one flowing through a hill pass. If he had come to any stream with such characteristics, he would nowhere have anything like desert to pass. Chandioli or the Chināb would alone answer the description but the whole would be only half way to Thānesar" (*ibid*).

It was perhaps the Tomara king of Delhi who tried to prevent Mahmūd of Ghazni's sack of Thānesar in A. D. 1014. Later on too, the Tomaras appear to have come into conflict with the Yamīnīs at the time when Majdūd, the brother of Maudūd (1040-49 A.D.) captured Thānesar and was waiting about 1041-2 A.D. at Hānsī for an opportunity to attack Delhi (H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of N. India*, II, Calcutta, 1936, p. 1149).

V. Pre-Lodi Age

It was during the reign of the ruler of Delhi in 1043 A.D., that Thānesar was recovered from the clutches of the Mohammedan invaders. But Thānesar could not be kept free (from the inroads of Muslim invasions) for a long time. "After the final battle that ensued between Mohammed-in-Sām and Prithvī Rāj, the "forts of Sarsuti, Hānsī, Samāna and Kohrām submitted to conquerors in A. H. 588 (= 1192 A.D.). From that date down to the time of Sikandar Lodi I have not been able to find any notice of Thānesar or Kurukṣetra. It was no doubt completely ruined by the early Mohammedan kings and it remained desolate for centuries. It must have been restored before the time of Sikandar Lodi as that bigoted prince proposed, during his father's lifetime, to make a

raid on Thānesar for the purpose of putting to death all pilgrims who had assembled to bathe at Kurukhet".²⁰

Wolsely Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, III, 1928, Cambridge, p. 1928) states that "Hajdūd²¹ (1040-9 A.D.) captured Thānesar and was now at Hānsī awaiting an opportunity to attack Delhi. Two years later (i.e. 1042 A.D.) Mahīpāla, the rājā of Delhi, recaptured without difficulty Hānsī, Thānesar—Kāngrā, inflaming the zeal of his troops by exhibiting to them at the temple in the last named fortress, a replica of the famous idol carved off by Mahmud, now believed to have returned by a miracle to its former shrine".

VI. *Tārīkhi Dāūdī*

The story of the attack on Kurukṣetra, during the regime of Sikandar Lodi has been embodied in the *Tārīkhi Dāūdī* (Elliot, 1872, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 439-40). In the words of Cunningham (CASR, XIV, p. 96), here we have Mohammedan doctrines of the propagation of religion and plunder of infidels, or God and Mammon joined together in the most naked and unblushing way". The account runs thus: —

Before his accession when a crowd of Hindus had assembled in immense numbers at Kurukhet, he wished to go to Thānesar for the purpose of putting them all to death. One of his courtiers represented to him that it would be better to consult the learned before doing this. Sultan Sikandar caused the doctors to assemble and questioned the chief of them whose name was Mīān Abdullah of Ajodhana. This Malikul-Ulamā asked the king what there was in that place (Thānesar). He replied "there is a tank in which all the infidels are accustomed to bathe". The Malikul-Ulma said, "Since when have they been in the habit of doing so"? Nizam Khan replied that it was an ancient custom. Mian Abdullah asked "what the Mohammadan sovereigns who had preceded him had been in the habit of doing"? The Sultan answered that up to this time they had left the Hindus unmolested. The Malikul

Ulamā then assured the king that it would be very improper for him to destroy an ancient idol temple and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed rite of performing their ablutions in the tank. When this conversation had lasted for a short time, the Sultan placed his hand on his dagger and exclaimed—You side with infidels! I will first put an end to you, and then massacre the infidels at Kurukshet.

From the time of Sikandar Lodi down to the reign period of Akbar, Thānesar revived its old glory and thousands of pilgrims went on taking a dip in the sacred waters at Kurukṣetra. According to Abul Fazal the place then possessed a brick fort (CASR, XIV, p. 96).

VII. *Tabqāti Akbarī*

The *Tabqāti-Akbari* presents a vivid account of the assemblage of pilgrims (on the bank of the famous lake of Kurukṣetra) in A. H. 974 (1567 A.D.).

"When the emperor arrived at Thānesar, there was an assemblage of *jogīs* and *sannyāsīs* on the banks of a lake called Kurukheta. This is a sacred place of the Brahmans and on the occasion of eclipses, the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion and people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, jewels and stuffs, upon the Brahmans. Many of them threw themselves into the water and the *jogīs* and *sannyāsīs* were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the emperor seeking permission to settle it by fighting. *Sannyāsīs* were between 200 and 300 in number and *jogīs*, who wear only rags, were over 500. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by emperor's orders, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes and went to support the *sannyāsīs* who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed. Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *jogīs* were defeated and the *sannyāsīs* were victors" (Elliot, *op. cit.*, V, 1873, London p. 318).

Cunningham (CASR, XIV, p. 96) further relates that the shrines of Kurukṣetra, at a later date, are said to have been razed to the ground by the orders of Aurangzeb "who built a castle on

20. Cunningham's views in CASR, XIV, pp. 94-5. (CASR=Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Calcutta).

21. Cf. Modud as cited in CASR, XIV, p. 94.

the island in the lake called *Mughalpār* from which soldiers could fire upon any venturesome pilgrims who came to bathe there".

This is in nutshell a short account of the region of Kurukṣetra as presented by the foreign writers and the travellers in their respective reports.

Note:—Please refer to my papers as below:—

1. Kurukṣetra in Early Sanskrit Literature, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, XXXIII (i), April 1955, pp. 85-90.
2. Kurukṣetra in Later Sanskrit Literature, *I.H.Q.*, Calcutta, XXXI (i), March 1955, pp. 1-31.
3. Early Archaeology of Kurukṣetra, *I.H.Q.*, XXXI (4), Dec. 1955, pp. 194-222.
4. *Ibid.*, XXXII (i), March 1956, pp. 16-35.

Nepāl and the Karnāṭas of Mithilā (1097-1500 A.D.)

(A STUDY IN POLITICAL HISTORY)

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Mithilā and Nepāl have been intimately connected since time immemorial. Since the days of Janaka and the Vaiśālī republic, there has been a regular flow of culture from both sides. Mithilā lay on the route to Nepāl. Stamp of Maithili literature and culture on the life of the people of Nepāl is not far to seek and an attempt will be made, in a separate paper, in that respect. Here we are giving in outline the political relationship that existed between the two states since the establishment of the Karnāṭa dynasty in Mithilā. During the last quarter of the 11th century, eastern India was passing through a critical period and ravages, in the shape of foreign invasions, were taking place almost regularly, from different corners of India.*

The decline of the Pāla authority in Bengāl and Bihār was followed by a period of which we have definite information. The situation must have been fluid as we find the Chālukyas invading eastern India more than once. Someśwara I extended his arms into North India. His son Vikramāditya VI describes himself as having placed his feet upon the heads of the kings of Āndhra, Draviḍa and Nepāl.¹ The *Pattadakal inscription* of 1162 mentions Nepāl among the vassals of the Chālukya emperor Someśwara² III. Even the Kālāchuri Bijjal is praised for having destroyed the stability of Nepāl in an inscription³ of 1200. The

*For details—See my "*Bihar and Nepal*" (600 B.C.—1514 A.D.) to be published shortly in G. D. College Bulletin, No. 4.

1. *JBBRAS*, XI, 268; *IHQ*, VII, 683.
2. *IHQ*, VII, 682; *QJMS*, XLV, p. 1ff. *IHQ*, XXX, 208-9; Upendra Thakur, "*History of Mithila*" (abbreviated, TM), 233.
3. TM, 233.

Mangali inscription represents Yādava Jaituṅgi (1191-1210) as having defeated the leaders of the armies of Nepāl. All these are evident to show that all was not well in Nepāl, which was passing through a very critical stage of her history. While the foreign invasions were looming large, there was some sort of disturbances between the Thākuris of Nāyakota and Pātan. It has been held that the disturbances leading to the restoration of the Thākuris of Nāyakota originated in Tirhut, where the Karnāṭas had already established their power.⁴

According to Thakur, the forefathers of Nānya had established themselves as feudatory chiefs in Tirhut, on the borders of Nepal, as a result of the great successive raids by the great Chālukya prince to the foothills of the Himalayan range. After the withdrawal of the strong Chālukyan arm, they rose to pre-eminence and established themselves as rulers of Tirhut.⁵ Taking advantage of the chaotic situation of Nepāl, the Karnāṭas of Mithilā entered the valley during the time of Nānyadeva. He captured the whole of the country, dethroned the ruling princes and established his court at Bhatgaon. If the Nepalese tradition is to be relied upon, Nānyadeva captured two Nepalese princes—Jagdevamalla of Pātan and Khātmandu and Anandamalla of Bhatgaon. According to Levi, the chroniclers have fallen into a blunder by introducing Malla kings into Nepāl at this period.⁶ The Mallas of Nepāl traced their descent to Nānyadeva.⁷ The other view is that he did not destroy the local princes in the Nepāl valley who continued to rule under the hegemony of the Karnāṭas of Mithilā.

Perhaps the Karnāṭas replaced the Pālas in Nepāl. Bendall has not mentioned Nānyadeva, while D.W. Wright and Bhagwānlāl push him to a later date.⁸ There is absolutely no ground for any doubt that Nānyadeva made himself the master of the entire

4. Cf. My article. "The Karnatas of Mithila" in the ABORI of 1954 (Annals).

5. TM, 233ff. For Nānya and the origin of the Karnāṭas. Cf. my article in the PIHC of 1951 (Jaipur Session).

6. Levi, Nepāl, II, 199ff. Cf. DHNI (Ray), 203-4.

7. Annals (Silver Jubilee Volume), p. 299. Cf. Pratapmalla's inscription in the Annals, XXXV.

8. EI I 305, JASB, V, 407, Ibid, XI, 411; R. D. Banerji, Bāṇqlār Itihās, I, 318, DHNI, II, 358, JBORS, IX 302; XXII 256, I.A., IX 188, XIII 418, Annals (1942) 299, Levi, II, 199, TM, 233.

valley. Wright refers to a conflict between the Mallas of Nepāl and Nānyadeva. Nānya did not have a peaceful time there as he had to face the opposition of Thākuri prince, Sihadeva who adopted a high sounding title 'Rājādhirāj Parmeśwara'. Nānya's invasion of Nepāl took place between 1119-20 A.D. Even after that the local ruling princes continued to assume imperial titles in spite of their subservient position.⁹ Mr. Regmi thinks that Nānya occupied the Nepāl valley in 1141 A.D.¹⁰ Between 1118 and 1141 A.D., there might have arisen some difficulties for Nānya in Tirhut which called for his immediate attention and hence probably a reconquest of the valley in 1141. The apparent nature of his sovereignty in Nepāl is not clear.

The very fact, that Nānya reconquered Nepāl in 1141, is evident to show that his rule over Nepāl continued unabated till 1147 A.D. Whether his successors had any hold or not, we do not know in definite terms. There is a tradition in Mithilā that one of Nānya's son ruled in Nepāl.¹¹ We are further told that Narsiṅghadeva, the third Karnāṭa ruler of Mithilā had some differences with his kinsmen in Nepāl, the upshot of which was that Mithilā and Nepāl were separated. The possibility of division of Nānya's kingdom cannot be dismissed outright. Probably Malladeva ruled over Nepal and the eastern portion of Tirhut with his headquarters at Bheet-Bhagwānpur where his inscription has been discovered.¹² He was not on good terms with his brother, Gaṅgadeva, the ruler of Tirhut. Probably during the time of Narsiṅghadeva (1188-1227), the kingdom of Nepāl became separate.¹³ The authority of the Karnāṭas might have been slender in Nepāl after Nānya. From the five manuscripts,¹⁴ it appears that the Thākuri king threw off the yoke of the Karnāṭa domination in Nepāl. Manuscript is the only source of information for Nepal history during the period under review. They acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Karnāṭas of Mithilā.

9. Annals, XXXV, 98.

10. D. R. Regmi, Ancient and medieval Nepāl, 145.

11. S. N. Singh, History of Tirhut, p. 62.

12. Annals, XXXV, 98ff, Om Śri Malladevasaya.

13. Ibid.

14. Nepāl Catalogue (Bendall's Introduction), p. 23. Cf. Regmi, Op.cit., 145-47.

While the Karpāṭas were ruling over Tirhut and Nepāl, the Mallas made their appearance in Nepāl and stabilised their position in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The chronicle speaks of a Malla family ruling in Tirhut before and after Nānya-deva. Levi considers the existence of such a dynasty in Tirhut not wholly impossible.¹⁵ The new dynasty of the Mallas came to power with Aridevamalla who began a new line.¹⁶ We learn from the *Nilgriva Pillar Inscription* that Dharmalla and Rupamalla were the ancestors of the Mallas of Nepāl.¹⁷ The most important ruler of this dynasty was Arimalladeva, whose known dates range from 1201 to 1216. He is not known to have ruled in Mithilā and most probably he belonged to a local Malla dynasty of Nepāl.¹⁸

While the Mallas were ruling in Nepāl, there was some sort of invasion against Nepāl by a minister of the king of Mithilā. Chandeśwara boasts in the *Dānratnākara* that he won victories over all kings of Nepāl.¹⁹ From his introduction to the *Krtyaratnākara*, we learn that Harisiṅghdeva was dead. No mention of any living king is made and the glories described there seem to be past history.²⁰ The enumeration of the Kirāṭas, Chinas, etc., amongst his conquests point to the second expedition into Nepāl after the flight of 1324. The *Krtyaratnākara* preserves the episode

15. Levi, II. 210-13.

16. *Ibid.*, 313.

17. *Archaeological Report of the Terai Excavation* (P. C. Mukherji), 1901, p. 634.

18. Vide Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's reply to my letter, dated 22nd April, 1950, relating to the identification of Arimalladeva, mentioned in the *History of Bengal* (Vol. II, p. 22-23) where he has been described as the Karpāṭa king of Mithilā by Dr. K. R. Kanungo. It must be said definitely that Arimalladeva was not a Karpāṭa but a Nepālī king without any authority over Tirhut.

19. Eggelling, *India Office Catalogue*, p. 412.

20. K. P. Jayaswal, *Rajñiti-Ratnakara*. He has suggested the following reading of the text—

(a) *Nepālākhila Bhūmipāla Jayitā...Dugdhābdhinā*

(b) *Raṅgā (? Vaṅgā) Sañjāta bhṛṅgāḥ virupāḥ Chakita Karighatāḥ Kāmrapāḥ virupāḥ chindāḥ Kuñjādilināḥ pramudita vilasatkin-kārah (Kin) Kīrtitāḥ Nepālā Bhūmipālā Chujabaladalitāstech Nāpī chanāyāḥ. Karpāṭakena dr̥ṣṭāḥ prasaratī samare māntri ratnakarasya.*

of Nepāl conquest. It is believed that during this expedition, Khātmandu was stormed.²¹ Harisiṅghdeva had to re-establish Karpāṭa authority in Nepāl after 1324 A.D., as we find that a Thākuri prince was ruling there in 1318 (Vide a *Mss.* of that date discovered from Nepāl).

The political condition of Nepāl in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., was in a state of flux. Harisiṅghdeva, the last greatest Karpāṭa ruler of Mithilā, is said to have performed the sacrificial ceremony on the bank of the river, Bāgmati. His authority in the early years of the 14th century seems to have been shaken by the repeated Muslim incursion and the stiff resistance put up by the Mallas. Even the invasion of Nepāl in 1314 by Mithilā did not give Harisiṅghdeva a preponderant position there as we find one Thākuri prince ruling there in 1318. In spite of his willingness to strengthen his authority there, Harisiṅghdeva could not do so in 1314, because of the presence of the external danger. The pressure of Tugluq arms on Tirhut compelled him to make a fresh bid for power in Nepāl. When he was defeated by the Tugluq arm (1324-26), he retired to the hills and devoted his energy solely to consolidate his position.²² There was no other alternative but to seek compensation in the valley of Nepāl.

The ruling king of Nepāl was Jayrudramalla. He submitted without any resistance. Harisiṅghdeva is said to have founded a line of Suryavaṁśī dynasty at Bhatgaon.²³ He consolidated his position in Nepāl and thereby the Karpāṭa supremacy. He ruled for a long period at Bhatgaon where the temple of Tuljādevi is attributed to him.²⁴ His invasion of Nepāl eclipsed the Thākuri power for the time being. He received a number of scholars from Mithilā. The Karpāṭa invasion of Nepāl in 1324 is noted in Nepāl probably because the contemporary chroniclers regarded him as foreigner.

21. *JASB.*, XI. 410.

22. Levi, II. 220, *JBORS.*, XXII. 86; Briggs, I. 406 my book, *History of Muslim rule in Tirhut* (unpublished).

23. *I.A.*, XIII. 414.

24. Cf. *JASB.*, LXII 250, *JASB.*, (1903), p. 12. Bendall disbelieves the story of this invasion, *JBORS.*, (1936), p. 615. The Thākuri prince Jairājdeva was ruling in 1346. Wright narrates the story of Tuljādevi.

His sovereignty in Nepāl is evident from an inscription.²⁵ The fact that his successors ruled till 1765, directly or indirectly, is confirmed by various sources. Besides the well attested invasion of Harisīnghdeva, several other foreign powers made themselves felt at this time in Nepāl and one of them was the invasion of Adityamalla from western Nepāl.²⁶ "Tirhutiyā Jagatsīngh" is said to have enjoyed special sovereignty in Nepāl for a few days.²⁷

Harisīnghdeva's family had a continued rule in Nepāl.²⁸ According to Wright, his successors were:—

- (a) Matisīngh—ruled for 15 years.
- (b) Śaktisīngh—22, 27, or 33 years—He abdicated the throne in favour of his son.
- (c) Śyāmasīnghdeva—had no male issue. His daughter was married to a prince of the Malla dynasty.

25. I.A., (1880), p. 189. Inscription No. 19, Verse 10.

Jātaḥ śrī Harisīnghadeva nṛpāli prauḍh pratāpodayaḥ.

Tadvaṁśe vimalamahāripuhare gāmbhīryaratnākaraḥ.

Karttāyaḥ Sarsāmupetya Mithilāṁ Saṁlakṣyalakṣapriyo.

Nepāle punarādya vaibhavayute sthairyam vidhattechiram.

The Nepal Chronicles give 28 years' reign to Harisīngh as against 20 years in Mithilā tradition (I.A. 1884, 414). Buddhist chronicle of Nepāl says that in 1328 (448 N.S.) Adityasena Khāsiya entered Nepāl. Probably this Harisīngh of Nepāl chronicles was a Khāsiya. Mathisīngh Khāsiya minted clay coins (JBORS, XXII 257). Harisīngh was driven out of Nepāl by the army of Nepāl on account of his having taken the temple property. (Ibid., XXII, 913).

26. Bendall, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

27. Ibid., p. 11. At one place Bendall observes (p. 9). "In the reign of Anantamalla (N.S., 408/V.S., 1344/1280 A.D.), a considerable number of Tirhut families also planted themselves there." (Cf. Kirpatrick, p. 264). There are evidences to show that during the Karṇāṭa period, there was regular intercourse between Mithilā and Nepāl. The family of Harisīnghdeva had a preponderant role in the contemporary history of Nepāl. He not only established political supremacy but also cultural supremacy as well. A detailed account of the cultural relationship between these two countries is yet a desideratum. Since there is likelihood of the continuation of the important problems of political history, it is desirable that a comprehensive account of cultural relationship be studied. No work is complete on this subject. A short account of Nepal is also available from the description of a Tibetan monk, *Dharmaśrōmī*, who lived at Nālandā in the 13th century. The text of that Tibetan pilgrim is being published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

28. D. W. Wright, *op.cit.*, 180.

We learn that the Chinese Emperor, Hang-Wu, sent two emissaries to the king of Nepal, whose name was Ma-ta-na (Matisīngh).²⁹ The Chinese envoy brought an official seal confirming Matisīngh in his kingly office. In return, the Nepālese king sent to Peking a gift containing gold shrine and sacred books. Śaktisīngh received a letter from the Emperor of China with a seal bearing the inscription "Śaktisinhārāma" in the Chinese year³⁰ 535. The exchange of missions between China and the Karṇāṭa rulers of Nepāl took place in 1390, 1399, 1414, and 1418 and so on. Śyāmasīngh received a seal confirming his accession. From these facts it is evident that the Chinese Emperors regarded the Karṇāṭas of Nepāl as the legal sovereigns of that country.

A coup d'état was staged by Jayathitmalla, in the reign of Jayārjuna, the husband of Rajjalādevi. Jayasthiti is said to be a descendant of Harisīnghdeva of Simraon.³¹ He was married to Rajjalādevi (daughter of Nāyakdevi and Jagatsīngh). By this matrimonial relationship, the three warring houses of rulers, the Thākuris, the Karṇāṭas, and the Mallas were united together in common bond.³² Bendall holds that Jayasthiti defeated Jayārjuna and became the king of Nepāl. He claimed to be the legitimate representative of the Mallas and the Suryavaṁśī Karṇāṭas. His descendants continued to rule the country till they were displaced by Prthvinārāyaṇa.³³

Jayasthiti was a powerful ruler. He was succeeded by Yakṣamalla, who extended his authority. He crushed his rivals in the valley and divided his kingdoms into four parts: 1. Bhatgaon, to his eldest son, Rājyamalla, 2. Banepā to Ranamalla, 3. Khātmandu to Ratnamalla, and 4. Pātan to his daughter. This fatal mistake ultimately³⁴ led to the ruin of central authority in Nepāl. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nepāl was divided into a number of petty feudal states.³⁵ Far east of the valley there was a Kirāta state comprising the basin of the river

29. Perceval Landon, *Nepāl*, I. 37-39.

30. I.A., XIII. 414, TM., 285ff. *Annals*, XXXV. 118-19.

31. Bendall, p. 12-14, Mitra-Mazumdar-Vidyapati, p. 38.

32. Regmi, p. 156.

33. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepāl*, I.

34. Landon, p. 39.

35. Oldfield, I, 23-25.

Dudhakośi and its tributaries and a portion of the Terai east of the river Sunkośi.

We have seen above that the three warring houses were united together in the fourteenth century. The Karpāṭas were ruling from Bhatgaon. We learn from the *Pātan Inscription* of 1413 that the sons of Jayasthitimalla were partners with the Karpāṭas at Bhatgaon.³⁶ Jayasthiti gave stability to Nepāl and was succeeded by Jagjyotirmalla, followed by Jyotirmalla and the latter by Yakṣamalla (1427-1470). Yakṣamalla extended his authority into the plains. He was the most powerful monarch of his time and after his death, Nepāl was again divided into a number of smaller principalities. Yakṣamalla's third son, Ratnamalla was followed by Amaramalla and the latter by Mahendramalla. He brought into use the silver coins. He received silver from Tirhut.³⁷

36. I.A., IX, 183, No. 16.

37. Mithilā influenced Nepāl through various means. There was a close collaboration between the two states during the period under review. We know that after the flight of Śivasīṅgh, Vidyāpati went to the Dronwāra king, Purāditya, of Saptari (Nepāl) for protection. He composed his *Likha-nāvali* there and also copied the Bhāgwata. We further learn that Jagjyotirmalla, in collaboration with one Maithil Vaṅgamani, composed a Treatise called *Saṅgeeta Bhāskara*. For Vaṅgamani or Vaṅsamani, see my forthcoming paper—“*Sanskrit Dramas in Mithilā*”. We shall discuss this cultural relationship in separate paper.

The Nolamba Pallavas : Their Origin

BY

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The Nolambas who figure largely in the inscriptions of South India of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. played, like the Bāṇas, a very important, though subordinate role in the history of the period. They claim descent from the Pallavas of Kāñcī; but the area over which they ruled does not lie in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam or the Pallava dominion proper in the Tamil country. They ruled over the Kannaḍa region near the border-land where the three languages of Kannaḍa, Tamil and Telugu meet. This area known later on variously as Noḷambapāḍi, Noḷambarāṣṭra, Nuḷambavāḍi, etc., a Thirty-two thousand country, comprised portions of the Anantapur District of the Andhra Pradesh and of the Chitaldrug and Tumkur Districts of the Mysore State. This area gradually expanded so as to include a major portion of the Bellary, Bangalore and Kolar Districts also. Portions of the Salem and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State also appear to have been for some time under the rule of the Noḷambas. But originally the Noḷambas appear to have started with a small tract of land known as Noḷambālge, a Thousand country, situated in the modern Challakere taluk of the Chitaldrug District, on the borders of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga territories. Like the other names, Gangavāḍi, Raṭṭapāḍi etc., this area also appears to have got its name Noḷambālge and Noḷambapāḍi later on, as the country ruled over by the Noḷambas. But how the rulers who claimed descent from the Pallavas came to be known as the Noḷambas is not clear. The origin of the name itself, which was variously written as Noḷamba, Noṇamba, Nuḷamba, etc. is still a matter of conjecture and speculation.

One of the inscriptions¹ recovered from Hēmāvati in the Sira taluk of the Tumkur District in the Mysore State dated in Śaka 864 (A.D. 942) in the reign of the Noḷamba ruler Dilīparasa contains

1. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. XII., Si. 28.

the genealogy of the rulers of his family. They are described therein as belonging to the Īśvara Vamśa and as descended from Trinayana from whom was born Pallava, the king of Kāñci.²

The first king of this family who is named therein as Mangala or Noḷambādhiraḷa is said to be a worshipper of the Goddess Chaṇḍikā and to have conquered a Kirāta king, thus earning the praise of the Karnāṭas. No other details are known about him. He was the sixth ancestor (great-grand-father's great-grand-father) of Dilīparasa to whose time the inscription belongs. Working backwards from the known date of Dilīpa, the first king Mangala may be assigned to the second half of the eighth century A.D. No record has so far been recovered either on stone or copper which can definitely be attributed to king Mangala. But records of his son and grandson who figure in the inscriptions of the Western Gangas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas are available.

The Hēmāvatī inscription referred to above mentions Simhapota as the son and successor of Mangala Noḷambādhiraḷa. A herostone³ from Doḍḍa Uḷvarte in the Challakere taluk of the Chitaldrug District records that when Permmāṇaḍigaḷ was ruling a new kingdom (*navarāḷyam*) Duggamāra rose up and suddenly established himself by force, on which Permmāṇaḍigaḷ ordered Śingapōta Kali Noḷambādhiraḷa to fight with him (Duggamāra), and that in the battle which ensued a hero in the army of Śingapōta fell. Apparently Śingapōta Kali Noḷambādhiraḷa of the record is the same Śingapōta mentioned as the son of Mangala in the Hēmāvatī record, and Duggamāra is the same as Duggamāra Eṇeyappa, one of the sons of the Western Ganga ruler Śrīpuruṣa. Even during his father's time Duggamāra was ruling as governor under his father over Kuvalāla nāḍ Three hundred, Gangarusasira (Ganga six Thousand), Beḷattūr nāḍ, Pulavākināḍ Thousand etc. in the eastern part of the Ganga territory.⁴

2. Trinayana (lit. he with three eyes) is synonymous with Trilocana or Mukkaṇṭi, the mythical Pallava king, figuring in many Telugu inscriptions. But the Īśvara-vamśa to which Trinayana Pallava belonged is not mentioned elsewhere. One record from Nandalur (No. 580 of 1907) actually traces Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi to the third eye of Śiva (Īśvara). The Pallavas of Kāñci traced their descent from Viṣṇu, through Brahmā and other puranic sages and personages like Bharadvāja, Drōṇa, the Mahābhārata hero Āśvatthāman etc.

3. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Ck. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, VI, Kadur 145; Srinivasapur, 65, 57 etc.

The identity of Perumāṇaḍigaḷ on whose behalf and under whose orders Śingapōta fought with Duggamāra has not been satisfactorily settled. He is generally taken as Śivamāra II, surnamed Saigoṭṭa, another son of Śrīpuruṣa, who seems to have succeeded his father on the Ganga throne as may be inferred on the authority of a stone record⁵ from Humcha, which states that Śrīpuruṣa slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñci and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title *Permmāṇaḍi*. It is generally considered that this title was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Ganga kings and that the use of this title after the time of Śrīpuruṣa invariably denoted the Ganga kings.⁶

The term *Perumāṇaḍigaḷ* is an honorific title applied to the Divine Being especially to Śiva both in literature⁷ and epigraphy⁸ (*Tiruvāḍigaḷ* being a similar title applied to Viṣṇu). In inscriptions the term is also used to denote kings. This term was used by the Pallavas;⁹ and the Cōḷas also were referred to in their inscriptions as *Śōḷap-perumāṇaḍigaḷ*.¹⁰ The Humcha stone record stating that the Western Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa snatched this title from the Pallavas is a very late one, nearly three centuries later than the date of that ruler and contains many wrong statements. While many other statements made in it are not accepted as correct for want of reliable evidence in support of them, the statement regarding the appropriation of this title by him has, however, been accepted without such evidence to support it. On the other hand there is sufficient evidence to show that the title continued to be borne by the Pallavas even after the days of Śrīpuruṣa. The Paṭṭattālmangalam Plates¹¹ dated in the sixty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (circa A.D. 794-5) bear clear evidence of the title having been used by him then.

There is also one other valid objection to identify the Perumāṇaḍigaḷ of the Doḍḍa Uḷvarte record, the suzerain of the

5. *Ibid.*, VIII, Nagar 35.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 110 and n. 3, and p. 112.

7. *Tēvāram*, Sambandha, *Tirukkāḍāvūr Mayānam* (II-80-1). *Periya vidaimēl varuvāravarem Perumāṇaḍigaḷē*. See also commentary on the *Takkayāga-parani*, verse 323.

8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 44: *Vallattu-t-tiruttikkāli-p-Perumāṇaḍigaḷukku*.

9. 17 of 1899, *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 453.

10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 96.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 121, ll. 27-8.

Nolamba chief Śingapōta, with the Western Ganga king Śivamāra Saigoṭṭa. The Manne¹² and Alūr¹³ Plates of Mārasimha I, the son of Śivamāra Saigoṭṭa issued while he was Yuvarāja, state that his father Śivamāra was invested with the crown by the two crowned kings, Pallava Nandivarman and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda. The Pallava king was Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was Govinda II, the latter of whom ascended the throne after his father Kṛṣṇa I, immediately after 772 A.D. and was reigning till he was set aside and superseded by his younger brother Dhruva about 780 A.D. Thus the coronation of the Western Ganga Śivamāra II by the Pallava and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings should have been performed between 772 and 780 A.D. This event would show that the Ganga ruler owed some sort of allegiance to both of them. It has been seen earlier that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was using the title even after such coronation. It is very doubtful if he would have allowed one who was his subordinate to use the title, said to have been exclusively used by him earlier and was snatched from him in the meantime by the father of the present subordinate. The Doḍḍa-Uḷvarte record mentions the ruler merely by the title *Permmānaḍigaḷ* which may be taken as signifying simply His Majesty, without the addition of his name.¹⁴

A record from Hemmige¹⁵ in the T. Narasipur Taluk of the Mysore District registers a grant made during the period when Konguṇi-Mārājar (who has been identified with Śrīpuruṣa) was ruling the world (*prthuvīrājyam keye*) and *Permmānaḍigaḷ* was governing at Pemoge (i.e. Pemoge or Hemmige). This would show that *Permmānaḍigaḷ* was different from Śrīpuruṣa and that he was his (Śrīpuruṣa's) subordinate. Another fragmentary record¹⁶ found in the Pāṭaleśvara temple at Talakad in the same taluk ins-

12. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60.

13. *My Arch. Rep.*, 1924: "By the ornaments of the Pallava and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the crowned kings named Govindarāja and Nandivarman was his head wound round with a white piece of cloth (a symbol of coronation) with their own hands".

14. Some later rulers of the Ganga family are known to have borne the title along with their official names like Satyavākya *Permmānaḍi*. This title corrupted as *Permaḍi* and even as *Paramaḍi* was also borne by some later rulers of the Kannaḍa country, like Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāna etc.

15. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XIV., Tn. 234; also *M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 36.

16. *Ibid.*, Tn. 202.

cribed in old Kannaḍa characters makes one think that *Permmānaḍi* was the name or title of Nolambādhirāja. Since the Nolambas also claimed Pallava descent it is possible that they also were entitled to the use of the title *Permmānaḍigaḷ*.

Further the Doḍḍa Uḷvarte inscription states that *Permmānaḍigaḷ* in whose time it was issued was ruling the *navarājyam*. The term *navarājyam* would ordinarily mean a new kingdom. It would not be appropriate if the ruler is identified with Śivamāra Saigoṭṭa who is said to have succeeded his father on the Ganga throne. It may also be that the term can only mean the rule of a person over an area which originally did not form part of his kingdom or the rule of one who was not entitled to such a distinction, but got it by force of circumstances.

One other instance of the use of this expression in inscriptions is known. A short Kannaḍa record¹⁷ of four lines, of which the first three lines are highly damaged found engraved in the temple locally known as the Rāvapa temple near the Brahmanical cave at Aihole in the Bijapur district contains in the fourth line the expression *Śrī Amoghavarṣam navarājyam geye*. This was originally translated by Fleet as "when the illustrious Amoghavarṣa was ruling again". The concluding verse of the work *Praśnottararatnamālā* or *Ratnamālikā*, the authorship¹⁸ of which has been ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I says "that he laid aside the sovereignty through discrimination" (i.e.) abdicated the throne and kingdom. It is well known that Amoghavarṣa, who succeeded his father, when he was only a boy, had a very hard time in the early part of his reign in which he lost both his crown and country, and that he was able to regain his throne only after the lapse of some time.¹⁹ The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records say that he reconquered his kingdom which had fallen off or tottered.²⁰

These historical events would show that Fleet's rendering of the expression *nava-rājyam geye* as 'ruling again' (after reconquest) suits the context.²¹

17. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 113-14.

18. On the authorship of the book see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80ff.

19. R. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 72-73.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 53-4.

21. But subsequently on reconsideration he gave it up and revised his interpretation (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 403, n. 3). He thought that

Under the circumstances the expression *nava-rājyaṃ geyē* occurring in the Doḍḍa-Uḷvarte record would mean "ruling over the new kingdom" or "ruling over the kingdom again". Either way it is appropriate only to the contemporary Pallava ruler Nandivarman II and not to the Western Ganga Śivamāra II.²² This is further proved by the Udayēndiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla which give a graphic account of his long and difficult campaign against his enemies and the services rendered to him by his general Udayacandra, the lord of Vilvalapura. The plates say that Udayacandra slew with his sharp sword the Pallava king Citaramāya and others, defeated the hostile army on the battle fields and "thus bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava", proving thereby that the rule of Nandivarman II was eclipsed for a time in the early part of his reign. But after he was firmly established on the throne, he seems to have taken revenge on his erstwhile enemies and expanded his kingdom and thus increased his reputation. The Tanḍantōṭṭam Plates²³ dated in his fifty-eighth regnal year state that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ganga king and took from him a neck ornament which contained in it a gem called *ugrodaya*. It has been seen earlier that Śivamāra II was a protege. of the Pallava. As such the Ganga king conquered by Nandivarman II could only be Śrīpuruṣa, father of Śivamāra. Śrīpuruṣa, who came to the Ganga throne earlier than Nandivarman II and also had a very long reign, is known to have fought with the Pallavas and gained victory in the early part of the reign of Nandivarman. But the incident

the term *navarājyaṃ* might be the same as *nava-khaṇḍa-prithivī* i.e. the earth as composed of nine parts. But he was not sure what the nine parts were. He was doubtful whether they could be 'the eight principal points of the compass and the *madhyama khaṇḍa* or central division, but was more inclined to take it as "referring to some nine kingdoms, which it was customary to group together, even though he was not able to determine what those nine kingdoms were. Anyway he was inclined to take the expression *navarājyaṃ geyē* as simply equivalent to the ordinary expression *prithivīrājyaṃ geyē* though he realised at the same time that the expression in this meaning would be an exceptional one. B. V. Krishna Rao equates *navakhaṇḍa-rājya* or simply *navarājya* with the Konkan (*Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 171).

22. S.I.I., Vol. II, pt. III, No. 74.

23. Ibid., Vol. II, pt. V. No. 99.

mentioned in the Tanḍantōṭṭam Plates should have taken place later. It is very likely that at the end of the battle Śrīpuruṣa had, in addition to acknowledging the suzerainty of the Pallavas, also to cede to the Pallava king a portion of his territory in the eastern province and contiguous to the western part of the Pallava dominion. This was probably how the Pallava might have come to rule over a portion of the Ganga country.

This would show that Śingapōta Kali Nōlambādhirāja was a subordinate of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. This surmise is strengthened and corroborated by some other pieces of epigraphical evidence. Śingapōta is mentioned in an inscription²⁴ found on a stone pillar at Chikkamadhure in the Challakere taluk dated in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarṣa Jagattunga Pratāpavāloka. Both Govinda II and Govinda III had the title Prabhūtavarṣa; but since another inscription²⁵ mentions the Rāṣṭrakūṭa as the son of Akāla (varṣa) Prithivīvallabha (i.e.) Kṛṣṇa I we have to identify the Prabhūtavarṣa Jagattunga of these records with Govinda II as we know that Govinda III was the son of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruva. This is quite in keeping with the known information that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II and Pallava Nandivarman II were friends and both of them joined together and crowned Ganga Śivamāra II Saigōṭṭa. The two Chikkamadhure records register gifts to a Śiva temple constructed by the queen of Śingapōta, one by Parameśvara Pallavādhirāja, the son of Śingapōta and the other by Pallavamalla, the son of the above Parameśvara Pallavādhirāja and grandson of Śingapōta. The records mention the prince as ruling over some provinces or districts as governor. Nōlambālige Thousand and Nirguṇḍa Three Hundred were under the rule of Pallavādhirāja.

The historical inscription²⁶ explaining the sculptured panels in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple at Kāñcīpuram depicting the coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla mentions Parameśvara as the personal name of Nandivarman II who had also the distinguishing epithet of Pallavamalla. The son and grandson of Śin-

24. Ep. Car., Vol. XI, Ck. 33.

25. Ibid. Cl. 34. The actual words used are: *Anāla.....prithivīvallabha.....śvarasya putreṇa*.

26. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 135; (*Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuntaperumal temple, Kanchi*, (M.A.S.I. No. 63), by C. Minakshi, Ap. I, pp. 54-5.

gapōta bearing the names of Paramēśvara and Pallavamalla respectively testify that they owed allegiance to the Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. Again the undated Ganjam Plates²⁷ of the time of Śrī Mārasimha-ereyappa-Lokatrinetra, son of Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa which has been assigned to circa 800 A.D. registers the grant of the village of Tippērūr to a Brāhmaṇa by the Nolamba ruler Kali Nolambādhirāja Kolliarāsa along with his son who is named therein as a true Rāma and a Nayadhira. It is well-known that *Nayadhira* was one of the titles of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Kaśākkudi Plates²⁸ dated in his twenty-second regnal year mentions *nayadhira* as one of his titles and the Pullūr Plates²⁹ dated in his thirty-third regnal year register the grant to one hundred and eight Brāhmaṇas of four villages clubbed together and renamed *Nayadhīramangalam* after his own name. It will be evident that the son of the Nolamba ruler Kali Nolamba Kolliarāsa was named *Nayadhira* after the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II.

The Chikkamadhure inscriptions referred to above show that Śingapōta had then a grandson old enough to be in administrative charge and was ruling over a portion of the territory as governor, and also a daughter who was the mother of the queen of Permmānaḍigaḷ (i.e., one of his daughter's daughter, grand-daughter). So Śingapōta should have been an aged man by that time. It may therefore be presumed that Mangala Nolambādhirāja, the father of Śingapōta and the first ruler of the Nolamba Pallava line should have begun his rule round about 750 A.D.

These Pallava princes of the Nolamba line bearing the name and titles of Pallavamalla of the main line could not be regarded as due to mere family connection between them but due to their subordination to, and acknowledgement of, the suzerainty of Pallavamalla also.

When we hear of the Nolamba Pallavas for the first time, the ruler of the main line of the Pallavas at Kāñcīpuram was Nandivarman II. He was not the direct heir to his immediate prede-

27. Ep. Car., Vol. IV, Sr. 160.

28. S.I.I., Vol. II, No. 73.

29. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, C. P. No. 9 of 1939-40; Rep., 1939-40 to 1942-43 para 50. The copper plate is being edited by me for the Epigraphia Indica.

cessor Paramēśvaravarman II but belonged to a collateral branch and was six generations removed from him. He was chosen king by an influential section of the people and at that time he was only twelve years of age. According to the label inscriptions in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple mentioned above he was then living in a place far away from Kāñcī and came to the capital for his installation as king, passing through on the way many mountains, rivers and thick forests. It is not even known whether the place where this junior branch of the Pallava line was residing was within the Pallava kingdom itself or outside it. Anyway it could not have been the Nolamba country, as the Nolambas appear to have come into existence and begun the rule over the territory only in the reign of Nandivarman II.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla was the youngest of the four sons Hiranyavarman, the three brothers elder to him being Śrīmalla, Raṇamalla and Sangrāmamalla. According to the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple inscriptions each of the three brothers excused himself when the father offered to them the Pallava crown on behalf of the visiting representatives of the kingdom and when the youngest of them Paramēśvaravarman was crowned Pallava king as Nandivarman. It is not known what happened to the father and the brothers though it is possible that the father also could have followed his son and ruled over it obviously as regent during his minority as may be surmised from the tenor of the Pattattālmangalam Plates. Anyway the Nolambas do not appear to have been in any manner directly related to them by blood, for in such a case they would not have traced their genealogy from Mangala, or their first ruler, but would have carried it back by at least a few more generations and would have tried to link it up with Nandivarman Pallavamalla or his father Hiranyavarman. Nor can it be taken that Mangala was a son or grandson of one of the three brothers of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. If that be so, Pallavamalla figuring in the Chikkamadhure inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II referred to earlier as the grandson of Śingapōta would have to be taken as the grandson's grandson of a brother of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. This cannot be possible, for in that case, it would create chronological difficulties. The other statement contained in those inscriptions that the daughter's daughter of Śingapōta was a queen of Permmānaḍigaḷ has been referred to above. This also would be impossible in such a case.

Besides, the position of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the early years of his reign has also to be taken into account. He had much difficulty in maintaining his position against heavy odds, being opposed both within his kingdom as also from outside; and he seems to have lost his hold on the kingdom for some time. The Western Cālukyas of Vātāpi were the inveterate enemies of Nandivarman and opposed him from the very beginning of his reign. Kirttivarman II who, even as Yuvarāja conducted an expedition against Kāñcī and drove out Pallavamalla was on the Cālukya throne. Under such circumstances the Pallava king would not have made aggressions on the neighbouring kingdoms, appropriated a portion of their territory and appointed a protege of his to rule over the area.

On the other hand, Mangala the first Nolamba king is said to have conquered a Kirāta king and earned the praise of the Karnāṭas. This would show that he was a subordinate of the Karnāṭas, who were obviously the Western Cālukyas of Vātāpi, and was made ruler of the area by them. This establishment of a small principality under a branch of the Pallavas on the outskirts of the Pallava kingdom by the Karnāṭakas was apparently made only as a countermove and in rivalry to the accession and rule of Nandivarman Pallavamalla at Kāñcī.

One of the label inscriptions in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple states that a Pallavadi Araiyan opposed with a large army Pallavamalla while on his way to Kāñcīpuram for his coronation, and in the course of the fight on the outskirts of the capital he died, after killing many elephants.³⁰ Evidently he was already in the occupation of a portion, if not the whole of the Pallava kingdom and possibly also of its capital. On hearing of the victory and coronation of Pallavamalla the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya II, who had just then succeeded his father on the throne, immediately invaded Kāñcī to avenge the death of his protege, captured it and forced Pallavamalla to flee the capital. Citramāya, another Pallava prince became king, probably installed on the throne by the Western Cālukya king; but later while besieging Pallavamalla in the fort of Nandipura was killed by the Pallava general Udayacandra. These two Pallava princes who apparently belonged

to the main line of Simhaviṣṇu, were probably grandsons of Rājasimha II and thus natural claimants to the throne. The existence of some princes of the Pallava lineage is evident from the Helleger grant dated Śaka 635 (713—14 A.D.) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga King Śivamāra I which mentions two Princes Jaya Pallavādhirāja and Vṛddhi Pallavādhirāja, the two dear sons of Pallava Yuvarāja.³¹ The Pallava king of the time was Narasimha, and the Yuvarāja mentioned in the inscription was obviously one of his two sons, Mahendravarman III and Paramēśvaravarman II.

Again the Devarahalli Plates dated in Śaka 698 (A.D. 766) and in the fiftieth year of Śrīpuruṣa registers a grant for a Jaina temple erected by a Kandācci, grand-daughter of Pallavādhirāja and wife of Paramagūla, the Nirguṇḍarāja who appears to have belonged to a junior branch of the Gangas.³² From these it becomes evident that there were a few Pallava princes outside the Pallava kingdom itself and were designated Pallavādhirājas. They were friendly with the Western Gangas, and through them with the Western Cālukyas. They appear to have had the sympathy and support of the Western Cālukyas as against the Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Foiled in their attempt to prevent the accession of Nandivarman they apparently retired to the Karnāṭaka area to bide their time.

Mention has been made earlier that according to the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates Nandivarman Pallavamalla defeated the Ganga king who was obviously Śrīpuruṣa and took from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrodaya*. Śrīpuruṣa would then, besides acknowledging the supremacy of the Pallava king have ceded to him a portion of the eastern part of his empire which was probably ruled over by the Nolambas; and the Nolamba ruler became a subordinate of the Pallava king. Śingapota the Nolamba feudatory of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, began to owe allegiance to his new master and in proof of that named his son and grandson after his master. It was probably under such conditions that the Nolamba Pallavas in whose vein was running Pallava blood originated as a dynasty of rulers.

31. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

32. *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 85.

30. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV. No. 135.

Reviews

1857 A PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. New Delhi, 1957. Price Rs. 4.

This Album which contains forty-nine illustrations presenting a pictorial account of the Indian struggle of 1857 was published by the Government of India on the occasion of its centenary celebrations. It contains portraits of the Indian leaders of the revolt and sketches and pictures of important places and significant incidents connected with the great rising, and they are said to be authentic sketches. Contemporary sketches or portraits made by Indians not being available, illustrative material on the subject has been based on pictures and sketches made by British artists who were in the thick of the fighting. Hence the pictorial records portray rather the feelings of the British residents in the country and cannot be expected to be in keeping with Indian sentiments. One cannot be sure if all the portraits in the album can be taken to be authentic, for example the portrait of the Rani of Jhansi which is based on the works of modern artists. The illustrations are all well arranged, with notes calculated to help proper appreciation of the pictures. Some of the illustrations are really good. Among them may be mentioned those showing the disarming of the sepoys at Barrackpore (No. 5), view of Delhi from the palace gate (No. 9) the principal street of Delhi as seen before 1857 (No. 13), surrender of Bahadur Shah (No. 21) and Nana Saheb with his escort leaving Lucknow (No. 33).

The album which is well got up contains a short introduction and an account of the struggle.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

EIGHTEENFIFTY-SEVEN by Surendra Nath Sen with a Foreword by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India 1957. Pages XXVIII and 466. Three maps and eight illustrations. Rs. 7/50, 15sh. \$2 (Library Edition) Rs. 5/50, 10sh. 6d. \$1/50. Popular Edition.

Though there are a number of studies on the great uprising of 1857 the nature and scope of the struggle is for long time a subject of keen controversy both within and outside India. In the new atmosphere of a decade in our country created by the establishment of her independence, a fresh and dispassionate study of all the events connected with the uprising and an objective assessment of its real nature have been a hard felt need. And during the past few months a few publications on the subject have come out. The Government of India itself felt that "the time had now come to write a new and objective history of the movement of 1857". The result is the present book written at the instance of the Government by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, one of our foremost historians, whose researches in the modern history of our country are very well-known. Left free by the Government to reach his own conclusions in an objective manner Dr. Sen has given in this book a lucid 'review' of the great rising in the light of his study and interpretation of all available material—old, new, primary and secondary—bearing on the subject, resisting every kind of emotionalism in dealing with the difficult subject. There is much truth in what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Minister for Education, Government of India) has said in his valuable foreword to the book: "I may not agree with all the statements he (Dr. S. N. Sen) has made, but I would like to place on record my appreciation of the objectivity with which he has carried out a difficult task".

The main body of the book is divided into ten chapters of unequal length, the first two dealing respectively with the causes and the prelude to the great rebellion, the next seven dealing with its course in Delhi, Kanpur, Oudh, Bihar, Jhansi, Rajputana and Central India, the Punjab and the tenth with its last phase. The last one is followed by a 'review' of the events.

Analysing the different causes of the rising Dr. Sen sums up that apart from Lord Dalhousie, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Amherst, Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough had each by some act of omission or commission either alienated orthodox opinion in the country or interfered with ancient rights and privileges dearly cherished by the people. The revolt had been long brewing, the greased cartridge only hastened it" (pp 39—40). Here Dr. Sen by reviewing all the available materials on the matter has reaffirmed the generally accepted view of the genesis of the rebellion.

An important question connected with the rising relates to its real nature, whether it was a war of independence or merely a military rising Dr. Sen says. The movement of 1857—had its origin in sepoys discontent and derived its strength from the widespread disaffection among the civil population" and again "The movement began as a military mutiny but it was not everywhere confined to the army. It should be noted that the army as a whole did not join the revolt, but a considerable section actively fought on the side of the Government....The rebels came from every section of the population....It was fashionable to treat the Mutiny as a Muslim movement at one time and a Hindu movement at another, but at all stages both the communities were well represented in the rebel army...." (pp. 405-6). The author however says that though there is no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the Mutiny with the dignity of a national war outside Oudh and Shahabad, it would be wrong to dismiss it as a mere military rising. The Mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the King of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in his favour. What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative (p. 411). Again he says: In Oudh, however, the revolt assumed a national dimension, though the term must be used in a limited sense, for the conception of Indian nationality was yet in embryo.....The patriots of Oudh fought for their King and country but they were not champions of freedom, for they had no conception of individual liberty. (pp. 411-12). These statements show that the answer to the question is not so easy or simple as the question itself, and that one should not be carried away by emotionalism in trying to answer it.

There is evidence to show that the Hindus and Muslims worked together in the rising. Bahadur Shah's anxiety to avoid conflicts between the two communities may be seen by the fact that he issued an order against the killing of cows during the Id festival and himself set an example by sacrificing a sheep instead. (93). The new ruler of Oudh set up by the rebels in 1857 agreed that the principal offices of the state should be distributed among the Hindus and Muslims alike. (210). Though some

British officers tried to weaken the Indian camp by stressing differences there is nothing to show that there was any clash or conflict among them on a religious basis. Irrespective of their religious and racial differences the Hindus and Muslims worked together in common as against the Englishmen though it cannot be asserted that there was no such thing as Hindu—Muslim problem in India at that time. The war was not really one between the white and the black but it was only "a war between the black insurgents and the white rulers supported by other blacks". Though from one point of view it was 'a war of fanatic religionists against christians' moral principles underlying the respective religions of the combatants had little influence on them. "No moral issues were involved in the war of 1857. As in other wars truth became the first casualty and both sides were guilty of false propaganda". Nor was it a conflict between barbarianism and civilization. It was an inhuman fight between people driven insane by hatred and fear. Even the non-combatants suffered badly. Age and sex offered scanty protection against primitive cruelty. Though our knowledge of the Kanpur mutiny and the subsequent events is still meagre, it has to be recognised that the Hindus had also a part in the cruel massacres at the place. (159-60) Probably the rebellion could have been put down in the early stages if the British had shown a better sense of realism and statesmanship at the beginning. The British general Henwit could have stopped the trouble even in the beginning if he had pursued the rebel sepoys to Delhi on 11th May of the year. (p. 65). Likewise the British authorities refused to listen to the overtures of peace made by the Emperor Bahadur Shah (95). Even Rani Lakshmi Bai herself is said to have accepted temporary charge of the administration of her husband's principality and joined sides with Tatya Topi and Nana Sahab only after the British had turned down her appeals for help against Datia and Orchha (277-95).

Whether it was a war of independence or a military revolt it failed; and it is probably good that it failed for the men who were responsible for the rising merely wanted to restore the old order of things not conducive to much progress. The failure resulted in bringing into existence a new set of conditions and attitudes which paved the way for the country's achievement of "more than the independence for which the heroes of 1857 fought".

The three appendices, bibliography, glossary and index at the end, and the illustrations and maps add to the value of the publication.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

BOLETIN BIBLIOGRAFICO DE ANTROPOLOGIA AMERICANA (B.B.A.A.): Vol. XVIII Pt. I & II 1955 (Instituto Panamericano De Geografía E. Historia, Ex-Arzobispado 29, Tacubaya, México 18, D. F. México).

Revista De Historia De América (RHA): Numero 42 Diciembre de 1956) (-Do-).

The B.B.A.A. and the RHA, the above-mentioned volumes of which have been received, are the important periodical publications in Spanish by the 'Comisión De Historia' of the 'Instituto Panamericano De Geografía E Historia' at Mexico. The B.B.A.A., which was founded in 1937, and the RHA, which was founded in the next year i.e. in 1938, have enjoyed a continued and respected existence up till now. Of course, the RHA had some period of serious trouble. Fortunately, however, it succeeded in seeing the light of day again and has been proudly functioning today, along with the B.B.A.A., as an important organ of an important learned body like the 'Comisión De Historia', which was founded in 1946, of the 'Instituto Panamericano De Geografía E Historia' (IPGH), which began functioning in 1929. The 'Comisión De Historia' consists of the learned 'Americanists' drawn from not only the various countries of Latin America but also from outside, and is devoted to the promotion of the 'Americanistic' studies.

The B.B.A.A. Pt. I opens with the information about the activities of the 'Instituto Panamericano De Geografía E Historia' (IPGH) and its 'Comisión De Historia', and this is followed by the information about the activities of the various institutions and organizations—American, European, and International—bearing on American Anthropology. This occupies 152 pp. in a volume of 260 pp.. Then follows a letter of Dr. Gordon R. Willey telling about his own activities concerning American Anthropology and a homage to the illustrious anthropologist of Cuba Dr. Fernando Ortiz' after which we have a bibliography on the Afro-Uruguayan Anthropology and a bibliography on the Afro-Para-

guayan Anthropology. Then we have two studies, one in the form of a detailed review (by Angel Palerm) of "New Views on the Anthropology of Latin America", the special number of the "American Anthropologist" (Vol. 57 No. 3, Part 1, June 1955), devoted entirely to the exposition and the examination of the modern points of view of the anthropologists of the U.S.A. on the Anthropology of Latin America, and another in the form of a critical discussion (by Dick Edgar Ibarra Grasso) starting with the criticism of the views of F. Ottensooser expressed in his 'Grupos Sanguíneos e Raça' in the "Revista De Antropología" (Vol. 3, No. 1, São Paulo, June 1955). Finally it ends with listing the contents (Articles) bearing on American Anthropology from the various periodical publications in the various countries of South America, the U.S.A., Canada, and Europe. The B.B.A.A. Pt. II begins with the listing of recent publications classified as follows: 1. General and Theoretical, 2. Archaeology, Art, and Pre-history, 3. Anthropology Social and Applied, 4. Ethnography, 5. Folklore, 6. Linguistics, 7. Human Morphology and Palaeontology, 8. Miscellaneous. This is followed by the Reviews of Books and Articles classified as follows: 1. General, 2. Archaeology and Pre-history, 3. Ethnography and Social Anthropology, 4. Folklore, 5. Linguistics, 6. Human Morphology and Palaeontology. This constitutes the major part of the volume as it extends from page 34 to page 294 in a volume of pp. 327. This is also the more valuable part because the Reviews have very often assumed the form of a good critical discussion or a full-length article raising important points for serious consideration. Finally it ends with three Bibliographies listing the works of three noted American Anthropologists viz. 1. Nicolas Leon (1859-1929) 2. Stephano F. Borhegyi 20, 3. Eusebio Davalos Huertado, and an obituary note on the German 'Americanist' Theodor—Wilhelm Danzel (1886-1954), which contains a Bibliography listing his books and articles. These contents of the two volumes of the Bibliographical Bulletin are revealing as to the sort and the value of the publication that the B.B.A.A. is.

The RHA No. 42 Dec. 1956 is a stocky volume consisting of 355 pp. Its first 202pp., which are occupied by 'Sumarios' and 'Ensayos', contain the contributions of J. Friede, R. V. Ugarte, R. S. Castro, A. Morales, D. Valcárcel, and a reprint of the important essay of that celebrated German 'Americanist' K. F. Von

Martius with a Preface by J. H. Rodrigues. This is followed by obituary notes on the noted scholars J. E. Uriburu and P. R. Beaumont. Then we have notices giving varied and valued information interesting to the 'Americanists', which is followed by Book Reviews occupying 600pp. The volume ends with a valuable bibliography on the History of America listing the literature during the period 1953-1957 with comments on the contents of the books and the articles listed. J. Friede in 'Nicolás Federman en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada' maintains the view that Federman, one of the three chiefs (who conducted their expeditions separately and independently) the other two being Ganzalo Jiménez de Quesada and Sebastián de Belalcázar, should be considered as the real co-founder of the 'Nuevo Reino' and not as merely an indifferent spectator observing dispassionately the activities of the other two chiefs viz. Jiménez and Belalcázar, and that it is inaccurate to consider that his pact with Jiménez was a capitulation or, worse still, a treachery against the Welser. According to Friede, Federman did not betray the Welser and no other pact is more correct and more honourable than the one concluded between these two chiefs viz. Federman and Jiménez. R. V. Ugarte in 'Participación del Perú En La Libertad De América' writes about the part played by Peru in the liberation of America from the Spanish domination and concludes with pointing out that the respect for democracy and the opposition to aggression and territorial conquest as the salient features of the spirit dominating the politics of Peru. R. S. Castro in 'Los Primeros Años de La Biblioteca Nacional De Chile' narrates the story of the early days of the National Library of Chile and ends his article with a bibliography on the history of this important national institution in Chile. A. Morales in 'Una rebelión libertaria en Chuquisaca en 1601' writes on the Rebellion of the Bolivian patriot Antonio de Urteaga in 1601 at Chuquisaca (present La Plata), one of the five rebellions regarded as the precursors of the independence of Bolivia. He deals with the antecedents, the Rebellion, and the judgment leading to the thrilling and tragic end of the hero Antonio de Urteaga, which is followed by some documents about the death sentence passed on this patriot by "el Presidente Oidores de la Real Audiencia de La Plata (i.e. Chuquisaca)". D. Valcárcel in 'Tupac Amaru, precursor de la emancipación social' writes on the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, treating the rebellion as the precursor of the social emancipation of Peru. The essential significance of

this rebellion, according to Valcárcel, lies not merely in the political emancipation, which is a goal already realized, but also and more fundamentally in the social emancipation of Peru, which is a goal yet to be realised. His conclusion is "Tupac Amaru es un precursor, pero no solamente de la emancipación política—en forma implícita—suceso ya realizado que la agortaría en el tiempo, sino de la emancipación social del Perú—acontecimiento por realizar" (p. 432). The essay in Portuguese of Karl Friedrich von Martius 'Como se deve escrever a Historia do Brasil', which is reprinted here, was first presented to the 'Instituto Historico E Geografico Do Brasil' by Dr. Martius with a 'Bibliotec a Brasileira, ou Lista Das Obras Pertencentes a Historia Do Brasil' and then was printed in the Revista Trimensal de História e Geografia ou Journal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, No. 24, Janeiro de 1845, tomo 6, págs. 381-403. The essay is here reprinted with a preface in Portuguese by J. H. Rodrigues, wherein Rodrigues has pointed out how this essay, along with Martius's other three-volume work "Reise In Brasilien", Müuchen, 1823-1831, (which has a three-volume Brazilian translation (in Portuguese) done in commemoration of the centenary of Dr. Martius, its revised edition (with Atlas and Illustrations) being published in 1938), constitutes a work of fundamental importance for writing the History of Brazil. This essay is not a work, which to be precise, deals with a programme of historical methodology as of primary interest. It is a work, which primarily consists of Dr. Martius's historico-philosophical ideas on the History of Brazil, which were the result of his valuable penetrating observations made and his deep and intimate familiarity with the Brazilian world acquired during his travels in Brazil. Dr. Martius, however, is the first to call attention to the importance of the contribution of all the three races—the Indian, the Portuguese, and the African—to the History of Brazil. He was the first to point out as a serious historiographical error to concentrate only on the European element and to neglect the indigenous Indian element and the imported African element in the study of "o desenvolvimento físico, moral e civil da totalidade da população" in Brazil. As regards the historical importance of also the other three-volume work "Reise In Brasilien" by Dr. Martius, this work, which was primarily meant for the naturalists, has a very great historiographical significance, because it is an important contribution to the psychologico-social study of the people of Brâzil and because it is a living description of Brazil between

1817 and 1820. It occupies a distinguished and incomparable place among the books produced on Brazil by foreign authors. This great German 'Americanist' has won a place of great respect and admiration in the heart of the Brazilian scholars. "Martius é nosso pela ciência e pelo amor", said Joaquim Manuel de Macedo on 15 Dec. 1869. Well, even today in Brazil the same respect and admiration are being expressed by devoting a whole uninterrupted series of publications to his life and his works.

The contents of this volume of the RHA reveal that the RHA has all the valued features that are usually found in such learned periodical publications. It can certainly be said that the RHA is an admirable and high-grade periodical publication, which is very valuable for those seriously interested in the studies of the Latin American History.

R. B. JOSHI

UNREST AGAINST BRITISH RULE IN BIHAR 1831-1859.

Edited by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, Patna University.

This booklet traces the growth of popular discontent and the consequent risings against the British in Bihar from about 1831. It was this unrest which really prepared the ground for the notable role played by Bihar in the great upheaval of 1857. Indeed the history of Bihar from 1831 reveals that the great rising of 1857 was not provoked merely by military causes but by something deeper. The fundamental causes were political, religious and social. A petition of the inhabitants of Bihar dated 8th October 1855 (pp. 31-36), shows how the people, or at any rate the chief men of the place, feared that their religion was in danger. Moreover, such social changes like calling upon women to appear in the open court to answer charges against them or attaching excessive importance to English in the scheme of education were all viewed with disfavour. The discontent showed itself in several risings and conspiracies. As early as 1798, Saadat Ali of Oudh, who had been sent to live as a pensioner in Bihar organised a conspiracy against the British. In 1831-32 there occurred a rising of the Kols in Chotanagpur. In 1845-46 there appeared another conspiracy and ultimately there came the formidable rising of 1857 when the district of Shahbad formed a storm centre of revolt

organised by the Rajput chief, Kunwar Singh. The able lead given by this octogenarian hero was followed by his brother, Amar Singh and others. There were risings at places like Porhat, where Raja Arjun Singh, after some vacillation, threw in his weight with the rebels. Though all these revolts were ultimately suppressed, there is little doubt that the British encountered desperate situations during the critical period 1857 to 1859. Moreover, it was during this epoch that Bihar became closely associated with the Wahabi movement. This movement was started by Syed Ahmed Khan of Barielly with the object of introducing certain religious reforms among the Mussalmans of India, but in the political circumstances of the time it assumed a politico-religious character aiming at the destruction of the British power in India. Maulvi Wilayat Ali of Patna and his relatives joined Syed Ahmad Khan as his enthusiastic disciples. The Wahabi agitation soon gained strength in Bihar and elsewhere in various parts of India. During the tumultuous years of 1857 to 1859 the Wahabi leaders of Patna were arrested and detained by the British authorities as a precautionary measure. After the conflagration subsided, the Wahabis resumed their activity in 1861 under Maulavi Abdulla of Patna. But a rigorous policy of repression followed and the power of the Patna Wahabis was crushed by 1870.

This booklet under review narrates the incidents with commendable lucidity. In particular it shows clearly how the rising of 1857 was not an isolated or chance occurrence. However, no index is provided and there is no separate Bibliography, though the sources of information are quoted in the appropriate places. A map of Bihar indicating the various places where the risings occurred is a desideratum. The adoption of different spellings for the same proper names is an unfortunate defect. For example, Kols is spelt as Coles on p. 1; and Kunwar Singh, as we find in the author's other book, 'Biography of Kunwar Singh and Anwar Singh', is spelt in this book as Kuwar Singh.

K. K. PILLAY.

SHORT HISTORY OF DENMARK. (Published by the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen 1957).

Within the short compass of sixty pages, this book, prepared by the scientific assistant in the Institute of Modern History, Uni-

versity of Aarhus, under the supervision of Professor Troels Fink, provides a broad survey of Denmark's history through the ages. From the New Stone Age, which is reckoned to have begun about 1000 B.C., Denmark has all along been a distinctively agricultural country. Passing through the Bronze and Iron Ages, Denmark emerged into history about A.D. 800 when the dominion was consolidated under a strong monarchy. Piracy became an avowed occupation on account of the geographical position of the country. However, piracy led to constant intercourse with other countries of Europe and to the ultimate adoption of Christianity by the Danes.

Under a line of able kings of the Valdemar period (1157-1241) Denmark attained a remarkable economic prosperity. But between 1241 and 1340 kingship was challenged both by the Church and the nobility. Though the king triumphed eventually by the close of the 15th century, the Danish urban middle class emerged into strength and played an important role in spreading the Protestant doctrine.

Still the common men were not in a position to shoulder political responsibilities. Hence the advent of Protestantism really helped the entrenchment of absolute monarchy which continued to hold sway from 1660 to 1848. But some of the kings were able statesmen. In particular, the services of the enlightened monarch, Frederick VI, contributed a great deal to the making of modern Denmark. Nationalism made headway in the 19th century and it led to the establishment of the Liberal Constitution of 1848, according to which Denmark was placed under a limited monarchy.

Sleswig Holstein, with a predominantly German population, was always a thorn on the flesh of Denmark. Bismarck, the man of 'blood and iron' astutely decided upon an attack and in the short and sharp war of 1864 won victory as a result of which Denmark was forced to cede Sleswig Holstein to Germany.

From 1860 onwards there appeared another spurt of economic development, and Denmark soon emerged as a model Welfare State. The neutrality which Denmark maintained during the first World War gave her an additional opportunity for strengthening her economic position. A rude check to this development was received at the hands of Hitler and the country underwent an unprecedented ordeal during the German occupation between 1940

and 1945. After the liberation, Denmark has marvellously recovered and is now one of the virile though small powers of Europe.

In 1953 Denmark established a new constitution which introduced a single-chamber system. In respect of foreign policy, on account of her insecure position Denmark explored the possibilities of a Scandinavian alliance. But the attempt failed and Denmark followed Norway into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. This was an important step, and since then the national defence policy has aimed at fulfilling the obligations attendant on the membership of NATO.

There is always a place for handy and comprehensive books of this type on the history of various countries. Without cumbersome footnotes and elaborate discussions, the peaks of history are lucidly presented. Though primarily intended for the general reader, the specialist, too, is bound to see the main factors of history in their true proportions. The illustrations are splendid. A select bibliography for the benefit of those who wish to go deeper into the subject could have been added with advantage.

K. K. PILLAY.

**BIOGRAPHY OF KUNWAR SINGH AND AMAR SINGH, by
Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.**

This book which furnishes the biographical accounts of Kunwar Singh and his younger brother, Amar Singh, forms the first of the historical series contemplated by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute. This institute, founded by the Government of Bihar in 1951 for the purpose of promoting historical and cultural researches, has already edited certain rare manuscripts, like the *Pramanavartika Bashya* of Prajnakaragupta and *Dharmottara-pradipa* of Durveka, both of which were not traceable in India.

Though the salient facts about the lives of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh are known through popular ballads and contemporary literature, this book provides the first systematic account based upon all the available records. It has been undertaken by the well-known historian Dr. K. K. Datta, with the help of two research fellows, Shri Q. Ahmed and Shri J. S. Jha, who were spe-

cially entrusted with the collection and arrangement of the vast amount of material lying buried in Government archives and Record Offices of Bihar, Delhi, Allahabad, Gwalior, Calcutta and other places.

The book is of more than local interest; it is an important addition to the literature on the 1857-59 movement, in which Bihar played a prominent role under the inspiring leadership of Kunwar Singh, ably assisted by his worthy brother Amar Singh and other leaders belonging to different parts of Bihar. The account opens with a survey of the advent of the Paramara Rajputs into Bihar in the 14th century and the establishment of the Jagadispur chieftaincy under Udwant Singh. His successors continued to rule as local chieftains even after Bihar had fallen into British hands. But frequent family disputes and protracted litigation weakened their position. Sahab Zada Singh, the father of Kunwar Singh, though a powerful chieftain, was involved in expensive litigation and ran into heavy debts in consequence.

The accession of Kunwar Singh, the high spirited Rajput, marked the beginning of a new era of prosperity in the state. Wells and tanks, markets and festivals were introduced. However, he too was involved in a prolonged litigation with his relatives over the question of his succession to the estate. Though he finally won his case, the enormous expenses connected with it left a heavy strain on the finances of the estate.

Nevertheless, Kunwar Singh made generous grants for charitable purposes to many individuals as well as institutions. Naturally his debts mounted up and Kunwar tried to induce the British Government to undertake the management of his estate. But since there occurred delay in the settlement Kunwar arranged for a loan with some bankers of Banaras. Meanwhile, after an inordinate delay, the Government appointed an officer for collecting the rents as a trust for the benefit of the proprietor and his creditors. But beyond this the Government did not assume any responsibility. What was worse, the Government threatened suddenly in June 1857 to withdraw the arrangement regarding his estates unless he procured within one month, the promised loan of Rs. 13 lakhs from the Peshwa. Distressed by this adverse turn of events, Kunwar submitted to the Government a petition requesting them to assume control over his estate. His appeals to the Government proved

fruitless. Meanwhile the great rising of 1857 had appeared and soon Kunwar became the rebel leader in his locality. It is not unlikely that the dilatoriness of the Government prompted him to take advantage of the deep-seated unrest of the people.

Defeating the British troops he became supreme over Shahabad and established his own administration. Attempts at capturing him proved fruitless. Then he proceeded to organise opposition in different parts of Central India and Uttar Pradesh. Eventually he marched to Kalpi and joined the Gwalior troops and won several victories. But unfortunately he was wounded at the battle of Maniar. Though he won yet another victory he was worn out by fatigue and he died in 1858 three days after the battle. A generous patron of arts and crafts, a kind and popular overlord, he was a beloved hero of his people. His valiant role in the movement of 1857 made his name a source of inspiration in the fight for national freedom.

While Kunwar Singh had been busy outside Bihar, Amar Singh had established himself in the Kaimur Hills and he embarked himself on a long guerilla warfare against the Company's forces. On Kunwar's death Amar Singh became the leader of the movement in Bihar, aided by his able compatriot, Hare Krishna Singh. Amar Singh caused great panic to the British, but was ultimately captured in December 1859. Attacked by dysentery, he died in February 1860.

The entire account is scholarly and readable. The author has not yielded to sentimentalism, and throughout an objective and impartial attitude has been maintained. The book contains eleven Appendices which constitute original documents of considerable interest relevant to the study on hand. The Bibliography is impressive; several unpublished records, besides the published ones and secondary authorities, are included in it. Among these, the Trial Proceedings of Hare Krishna Singh are remarkably interesting. The map provided is of help in illustrating the march of Kunwar Singh. The analytical Index is prepared with care. The author, his collaborators and the K.P.J.R. Institute deserve to be congratulated on the production of a valuable addition to the modern history of India.

K. K. PILLAY.

BIHAR: The Homeland of Buddhism by Professor R. K. Choudhary, 1956. Published by Sri Siddhartha Press, Patna-3. Price Rs. 4.

This little book written mainly to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha deals with the importance of Bihar as the homeland of Buddhism. The author says that "this is not a piece of research work but only a handy volume for those who are keen on having an offhand knowledge of the subject." Really it is so. The book is divided into five chapters. After dealing in the first chapter with the centres of civilisation and culture in Bihar, namely, Mithila, Vaisali, Anga and Magadha, prior to and after the rise of Buddhism the author shows in the second chapter how Bihar may be considered as the homeland of that religion. Among the centres of Buddhism in Bihar, were Bodh-gaya, Rajagriha, Vaisali, Nalanda and Vikramasia to mention a few. Scholars like Nagarjuna, Matricheta, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti and Santirakshita were also associated with Bihar. The other chapters give an outline account of the rise and fall of Buddhism, its Philosophy and Thought as also Buddhist Art in India. The book on the whole gives a connected idea of many important aspects of the religion. There are too many printing mistakes in the book which with some care could have been avoided by the author.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

CIVIL REBELLION IN THE INDIAN MUTINIES (1857-1859) by Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., with a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by the World Press Private Limited, Calcutta (1957). Price Rs. 15 or 25sh. net.

During last year a number of books have been published in India on the Great Revolt of 1857. There are still some who look upon the event as a mere military insurrection; and most of the books that have been written on the subject do not deal with the part played by the general masses of the Indian people in the great upsurge. Dr. Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri who is well-known as the author of *Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India* tries to supply that want in this book under review. He

says "the purpose of the book is to provide a compendious and systematic account of the civil rebellion which accompanied the military insurrection of 1857." The author attempts to present in the book the history of the civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies in a connected and readable form, its scope and character, the class of people participating in it and the effect produced in the direction and dimension of this vast conflagration.' The author's approach to the subject is objective and his treatment is full, factual and well documented. Dr. Chaudhuri has eminently succeeded in showing in its true proportion and colour 'the relative share that the civil communities had in the conflict generally . . . and the part played and the influence exercised by the people of the countryside and other men of consequence in changing the course of the revolt from mutiny to rebellion'.

The book is divided into six chapters. While the first chapter gives the historical background the next four deal with the course of the rebellion respectively in Upper India, Eastern India, Central and Western India and Shahabad. In all of them the Great Revolt of 1857 is treated in its two distinct aspects namely the military mutiny and the civil rebellion; and it has the merit of a new approach and offers the most intelligible clue to a proper understanding and a rational evaluation of the main character of the revolution.

In the last chapter Dr. Chaudhuri shows how it was a great and formidable rebellion, and the outbreak gradually approached the character of a rising of the people. The most immediate factor that worked out this change was the religious element. This religious feeling was mingled with the racial issue—the universal hatred of the English aliens which gave the revolt a national colouring. The mutiny and the rebellion had an internal consistency, though apparently enough the upsurge appears to have been erratic, isolated from large regions and even sporadic. It may be said that the inception of the Indian nationalist movement was contained in the rising of 1857 and the new era that it marked ended in the transfer of power in 1947.

The book has seven useful appendices, a general index, a list of place names, a synoptic table showing the incidents of the Indian rebellion and a map.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

Select Contents of Periodicals

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