

INDIAN
HISTORY
CONGRESS

1950

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
THIRTEENTH SESSION, NAGPUR

1950 - 12



1950

Published by
P. C. GUPTA
General Secretary, Indian History Congress Association
125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta 29

NOVEMBER 1952

NOVEMBER
1952
Price Rupees Fifteen only
Free to Members of the Nagpur Session

S. N. GUHA RAY

23963
25 JUL 1968

Printed by
S. N. GUHA RAY
Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd.
32, Upper Circular Road,
Calcutta-9

P R E F A C E

I regret that the publication of the proceedings of the Indian History Congress held at Nagpur in December 1950 has been delayed. This is mainly due to lack of funds. Attempts, however, are being made to expedite the publication of the next volume.

It has not been possible to include in the volume every paper submitted for the session. My thanks are due to the Sectional Presidents who have made the selections, to the members of the Indian History Congress who have helped me in seeing it through press and to Messrs Sree Saraswaty Press, Limited, Calcutta.

27th October 1952.

P. C. GUPTA,
General Secretary.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
WELCOME SPEECH	
Lt.-Col. Pandit K. L. Dubey	1
INAUGURAL ADDRESS	
Dr. Rajendra Prasad	2
THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT	
Dr. Tara Chand	7
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	
Professor Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhury	9

SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA UPTO 711 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	
Dr. A. D. Puslaker	19
KALIDASA AND SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE	
Dr. V. S. Agrawala	30
THE DATE OF NAHAPANA	
Professor A. S. Altekar	35
SANSKRIT ELEMENTS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE	
Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	43
THE AGE OF VISHNU PURANA	
Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar	46
THE NUMERALS IN INDIAN KHAROSTHI RECORDS	
Dr. C. C. Das Gupta	51
A NOTE ON VERSE 22 OF THE AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PULAKESIN II	
Dr. G. C. Ray Chaudhuri	62
ANCIENT HISTORY OF VENGI (200 TO 400 A.D.)	
R. Subba Rao	63
VINDICATION OF THE MATSYA PURANA LIST OF THE ĀNDHRA KINGS	
Professor Gurty Venkot Rao	70

SECTION II

ANCIENT INDIA, (712-1206)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	
Dr. B. C. Sen	77
THE BATTLE OF URATTI	
Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	93

	PAGE
THE DATE OF PALLAVA PARAMESVARA II N. Lakshminarayan Rao	96
SCULPTURES IN THE MAIN TEMPLE AT BAIJNATH Pandit M. S. Vats	100
THE PARTICLE <i>NI</i> IN SOME TWELFTH CENTURY COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BENGAL AND ASSAM Dr. Sukumar Sen	107
A THIRTEENTH CENTURY BENGALI POET IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON Prabhas Chandra Majumdar	108
LATER REFERENCES TO THE HUNS Miss Pushpa Neogi	111
LAKULISA-PASUPATAS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA B. P. Majumdar	115
SOME ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES AS ILLUSTRATED BY CONTEMPORARY KANNADA WORKS G. S. Dikshit	121
A NOTE ON THE KAYASTHAS OF EARLY-MEDIAEVAL KASMIRA Sunil Chandra Ray	124
UGRADITYA'S KALYANAKARAKA AND RAMAGIRI Jyoti Prasad Jain	127

SECTION III

EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD (1206-1526 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah	137
THEOCRATIC AND SECULAR ELEMENTS IN THE INDO-ISLAMIC STATE S. R. Sharma	142
A FIFTEENTH CENTURY SHUTTARI SUFI SAINT OF NORTH BIHAR Syed Hasan Askari	148
THE GAJAPATI BHANUDEVA IV Dr. N. Venkataramanayya	158
SAROOR-US-SADUR Khaliq Ahmad Nizami	167

SECTION IV

LATER MEDIAEVAL PERIOD (1526-1764 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan	173
SURAT IN 1663 AS DESCRIBED BY FR. MANUEL GODINHO G. M. Moraes	180

	PAGE
A QANDAHAR COIN OF MUHAMMAD SHAH, THE MUGHAL AND LATER INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS A. K. Bhattacharyya	188
MAHARAJA BHARMAL AND BHAGWANT DAS OF AMBER AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHAL COURT Satya Prakash	192
THE DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE AMIN Sh. Abdur Rashid	193
ABU'L FAZL'S PREFACE TO THE PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE MAHABHARAT Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi	197
SCOPE OF STATE ACTIVITY UNDER THE 18TH CENTURY MARATHA RULE R. V. Oturkar	202
PANIPAT AND THE NIZAM V. Raghavendra Rao	204
SEALS OF TITLES OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF JADHAW FAMILY OF SINDHAKHED IN BERAR D. B. Mahajan	207
NOTES ON BALASORE AND THE ENGLISH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar	209
TWO FORGOTTEN MUGHAL SUBADARS OF ORISSA P. Acharya	219
POLITICAL OFFENCES IN AURANGZEB'S INDIA S. P. Sangar	222
FRESH LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE GOND RAJAS OF DEOGARH Dr. Y. K. Deshpande	231
SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS P. N. Ojha	234
RAJA MANSINGH AND THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ORISSA BY THE MUGHALS B. C. Roy	243

SECTION V

MODERN INDIA (FROM 1765 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS Dr. Nandalal Chatterji	257
THE PENULTIMATE PHASE OF THE POLIGAR WAR OF 1799-1801 Professor C. S. Srinivasachari	264
WAZIR ALI'S FAMILY Professor K. K. Datta	272
THE PLUNDER OF BHARATPUR Dr. H. L. Gupta	277

	PAGE
A CONTROVERSY ON THE NATURE OF INDIAN DEBT Amallesh Tripathi	281
DIWAN PANDIT JIJAJI SHAMRAJ Dr. M. R. Majumdar	286
A LITTLE KNOWN EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE Dr. B. N. Mehta	288
A NOTE ON THE IMPOSTOR OF SADASHIVRAO BHAU Dr. V. S. Chitale	291
AN EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF SADOBA, A PRETENDER OF SADASHIVRAO BHAU M. S. Agaskar	294
THE OUDH TREATY OF 1837 Dr. Sri Nandan Prasad	297
RAMSHASTRI Dr. V. D. Rao	302
THREE LETTERS OF MAHARANI JIND KAUR Sardar Ganda Singh	304
SOME ASPECTS OF OUDH ADMINISTRATION UNDER WAJID ALI SHAH G. D. Bhatnagar	313
RESUMPTION OF RENT-FREE TENURES FOR ASSESSMENT BY THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT (1819-1850) H. R. Ghosal	
ANGLO-RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN 1812 A.D. R. N. Chowdhury	320
THE EDLABAD MEETING OF THE PESHWA AND THE NIZAM Dr. V. G. Dighe	325

APPENDICES

A. Annual Report for 1950	331
B. Statement of Audited Accounts 1st April 1949—31st March 1950 ...	333
C. Budget Estimate for the year 1951-52	334
D. Minutes of the Executive Committee	334
E. Minutes of the Business Meeting	337
F. Resolutions	339
G. List of Members 1950	340
H. Office-bearers for 1950	348

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

(Registered under Act XXI of 1860)

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, 1952

The Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association will be held on 30 December 1952 at Gwalior.

Members desiring to move any resolution at the meeting are requested to send it to the undersigned so that it may reach him on or before 15 December 1952.

125, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta 29
17 November 1952

P. C. GUPTA,
General Secretary.

AGENDA

1. To confirm the Minutes of the last meeting.
2. To consider the General Secretary's report for the year 1952.
3. To consider the income and expenditure statement for the period April-December 1951.
4. To consider the Budget estimates for 1953.
5. To record the election of office-bearers for 1953 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 16th Session.
6. To elect 14 members of the Executive Committee.
7. To consider the venue of the next session.
8. To consider recommendations of the Executive Committee at the Jaipur Session regarding the amendment of the Constitution.
9. To consider resolutions sent up by the Executive Committee.
10. Miscellaneous.

WELCOME SPEECH

LT.-COL. PANDIT K. L. DUBEY,
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University,
and Chairman of the Local Reception Committee

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the University of Nagpur as well as the city of Nagpur—situate on the oldest of soils, inhabited by the oldest of tribes and with the territory covered by the ancient kingdom of Vidarbha on one side and that of the Mahakoshal on the other—I offer the warmest welcome to the guests of the Indian History Congress assembled here today.

Our pleasure is all the greater because this is the first occasion when this Congress of historians is visiting Nagpur. The Province of Madhya Pradesh is rich in historic material, but it deserves much more attention at the hands of historians than it has received in the past. As one may see as he walks in the streets of Nagpur even today, this area has for millenniums been a meeting ground for the diverse cultures that have built up India into what it is today. It is my hope that under the inspiration of the senior historians gathered here, our younger men will devote themselves to the mining of the historic wealth lying buried in abundance in the Madhya Pradesh and thus contribute to the completion of the picture of Indian history, unfortunately still very incomplete.

This is also the first session of the Indian History Congress in the Republic of India. Our new Constitution has, in its implications, enormously increased the moral responsibilities of all its citizens—and historians, even though their main pre-occupation is with the past, are no exception. While it will be their task to continue to deal with individual events, documents, institutions, regions and periods of the past, they also owe a special obligation to the nation today. We require their help in presenting the present in its historic perspective and thus enabling us to understand its true place and direction in the specific historical rhythm of India. The development of a historic sense among the masses is among the greatest contributions that scholars can make to the progress of India today. As on its spiritual side, so on the political, the rhythm of Indian history seems to consist of a free play of plurality and diversity, alternating with increasingly stronger and stronger efforts to consolidate them into a real unity. It is for historians to trace through ages the vigour and balance and delicacy of this movement. I feel, however, that despite our diversities and weaknesses, even as we emerge from three centuries of subjection, India has not had for thousands of years the unity of command in defence, of voice in foreign counsel and of constitution in governance such that we witness under the presidency of our chief guest today.

It is our singular good fortune that we have in our midst the first President of India to inaugurate the Nagpur Session of our Congress. We are all keenly conscious of the fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad,—unlike most of us present here,—is not merely a student of history but also a maker of history. On behalf of you all, I welcome him in our midst with joy and pride and now request him to inaugurate the Thirteenth Session of the Indian History Congress.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD
President of India.

We are meeting under the shadow of a great national calamity. One of the great architects of our current history, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, has been taken away leaving a void in our political life which will remain unfilled but also leaving for us practical lessons of sacrifice, indomitable will, unflinching devotion to duty and great powers of organisation and administration.

It has given me genuine pleasure to accept the invitation so kindly extended to me on behalf of this Congress to attend this session. I have no pretensions to scholarship but have a genuine interest in History and particularly in the history of my own country which with all the ups and downs that it has seen during the millenniums that have passed can furnish material for constructing what may be called a philosophy of history. There is a peculiar fitness in your meeting in this part of the country which is not only its centre and core geographically speaking but has also played an important part in its history not only in the far or near distant past but also in the present. For not far away from where we are meeting today is situated that world famous village, Sevagram in the District of Wardha which was the hub round which the wheel of the great movement for the freedom of the country revolved during the last twelve or thirteen years of its most momentous career and which ended with the attainment of complete independence by us and our country. It will not be out of place, therefore, if in inaugurating this session I take the liberty of emphasising what may appear to many to be the most obvious thing that India needs a true and exhaustive history of its distant and glorious past no less than of its unique and unprecedented struggle which has succeeded in placing it once again on the map of the world.

It is often said that our ancestors and forbears have not left any authentic history of our country or even material from which such history can be reconstructed. It is not for me to point out the unending stream of material that is coming out from archæological excavations and discoveries in the form of inscriptions, coins, stone sculptures, clay figurines pottery, beads, etc., found in India and outside from Central Asia to Indonesia and beyond right down to Central America and northern part of South America. Apart from such material evidence there is a vast literature which can be made to throw a flood of light on our past. Not only the poetical works and works of art but also works on medicine, mathematics, grammar, law, music and sciences can be made to give matter of great value regarding our life and culture, if properly studied. Of historical documents there is a considerable number and more are being discovered from day to day. Wherever a book of history is found, it contains references to a large number of works as sources from which the author drew his material and most of which are no longer available. Coming to more recent times we may mention the Buranjis of Assam, the Kulapanjikas of Bengal, the Vansavalis of Mithila, Khyats of Rajasthan and Dafters of Maharashtra and a host of other literature. The memoirs of Muslim kings

and their courtiers and histories of their wars and conquests and descriptions and accounts of their administration as also accounts of travels in this country by foreigners from earliest times to the present are a storehouse of information. There is a plethora of material in many European languages and particularly in English of the period since we have had trade and political relations with Europe. Modern Indian languages no less than Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit can give us information about and throw a flood of light on many an unexplored or unexplained incident or corner of the march of our history in this land. You all are more familiar with these and have in fact been busy utilising them to good purpose.

The urge for presenting to our country not only a connected and correct account of events as they have happened and of the wars and conquests of kings and emperors, their heroic deeds and miserable misrule and political upheavals but also of how our life has been lived and shaped, how great religious and cultural and literary movements have arisen and influenced not only Indians but hundreds of millions of people outside the natural boundaries of India, how art and science, industry and commerce have developed and fructified, has been felt not only by historians but also by the layman. Efforts have been and are being made to meet this urge. The Bharatiya Itihas Parishad' planned some years ago to bring out a history of India in twenty volumes which it was for various reasons unable to complete. Your Congress has also undertaken a similar task and it is a matter of congratulation that the two schemes have been amalgamated and it is to be hoped that within a reasonable period we shall have a complete history written by competent authors who will utilise the material available at present and give us a reliable account of our achievements and our failures and, if history is teaching by examples, also of lessons for our future guidance.

This naturally brings me to the question as to what a good history should be. History has been looked upon in different ways by different people and at different times. The commonest view of history is that it is a record of the past and that its main concern is to disinter from the graveyards of time the facts and figures that once were but are not today. This is obviously a most inadequate appreciation of history. If it is the study of philosophy, teaching by precedents, a mere record of the past would not be able to do that, for the simple reason that the man of the present would find his problems and situations having complexities and a character which those of the past did not possess. Such a concept of history, therefore, seems to me to derogate from its value to man. This fact was recognised as early as the period of Polybius, the great Greek historian, who writing in the second century B.C., observed, "If you take from history all explanations of cause, principle and motive, and of the adaptation of the means to the end, what is left is a mere panorama without being instructive and though it may please for the moment, it has no abiding value". History as a mere chronicle of events is not adequate. It would be even less adequate if it is only an account of the kings and nobles, their follies and foibles, their wars and their conquests, taking no account of the common man and of the great movements—religious, linguistic, cultural,

artistic—which have convulsed humanity from time to time. I will quote Polybius once again. Writing about the Punic war he said, “I record these things in the hope of benefiting my readers. There are two roads to reformation for mankind, one through the misfortunes of their own, the other through those of others; the former is the most unmistakable, the latter the less harmful. One should never, therefore, voluntarily choose the former for it makes reformation a matter of great danger and difficulty but we should look always for the latter, for thereby we can without hurt to ourselves gain a clear view of the best course to pursue. It is this which forces us to consider that the knowledge gained from such a study of true history is the best of all educations for practical life. For it is history and history alone which without involving us in actual danger would mature our judgment and prepare us to take right views, whatever may be the crises or the fortune of affairs.” The Roman view of history was not any different from that of the Greeks. Cicero has well stated the principle of historiography in the following words, “The first law in writing history,” says he, “is that the historian must not dare to say anything that is false, and the next that he must dare to tell the truth. Also that there must be no suspicion of partiality and animosity. The superstructure depends on facts and style. The course of facts requires attention to order of time and description of countries and in great affairs such as are worthy of remembrance, we look first for the designs and then the actions and afterwards the results. It should also show what design the writer approves; and with regard to actions not only what was done or said but in what manner, and when the result is stated, all the causes contributing to it whether arising from accident, wisdom or temerity. As to the characters concerned, not only their acts should be set forth but the life and manners of at least those eminent in reputation and dignity”. The great Roman historian Livy believed that the great events in human life are determined by fate. Referring to the rise of Rome he said, “In my opinion the origin of so great a city and the establishment of an empire, next in power to that of the Gods was due to the fate”. He included, “the supernatural as an intrinsic part of the human story and specially in the handling of crises when by miracle or portent the gods reveal themselves.....and when gods are not on the scene, they are just behind it”. The subjects to which Livy drew the attention of his readers were the life and morals of the community, the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war dominion was won and extended. Speaking of the past he says, “You see in the clear light of historical truth examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and for your country what to imitate and what.....to avoid”. History has thus been looked upon not only as a mere lifeless chronicle but as giving us an insight into the genesis and development of human societies and their institutions.

As against the concept of fate, we have also the concept of environmental determinism and determinism by heredity. All these lay exclusive emphasis on one aspect or another of human life and experience and put all

that has happened as proceeding from that particular aspect. It can hardly be denied that man is very largely influenced by his environment, by the operation and action and inter-action of material objects with which he comes into contact and also by the biological laws according to which his own organism is the result partly, if not exclusively, of similar organisms of his ancestors. But this concept of determinism whether it is by fate, by environment or by heredity, reduces all human phenomena to a position in which they are supposed to be the result of the operation of only one or some of those forces and denies any kind of influence of the human personality itself. This is running in the face of facts. True history must be found in a reconciliation and synthesis of these and various other forces and factors which operate on and through human beings. Kautilya in his Arthashastra has mentioned as sources of history Purana (Myths and legends), Itivritta (Events), Akhyayika (Tales), Udaharan (biographical quotations), Dharma-shastra (Cultural life), Arthashastra (Material life). These according to him constitute history. He has thus introduced the cultural and material factors as essential constituents of historical concept. This view is not only comprehensive but is extremely original, in that it defines a conception of history which is ultra-modern and takes its place in comparison with the latest views and theories of history propounded by western scholars. His singular merit is that he thought of a synthesis of what later came to be two rival philosophies of history which have been at conflict and struggling to establish their exclusive claims during a century and more, namely, the idealist and metaphysical theory of history in its various aspects of which the most powerful exponent is Hegel opposed by the materialist theory of history as propounded by Engels and Marx. In writing any history, of our country particularly, we must recognise that the influence of material factors on the shape of man's destiny which has been certainly ignored earlier is at least as important a factor as human personality and its superphysical motives. A synthesis of both factors is necessary for the progress of history and a correct interpretation of the laws of history.

The historians of India of the present generation have a great responsibility and a great opportunity. Many of them have seen with their own eyes great events, the like of which perhaps were never seen before by any other historian. We have record of conquests and of empires through the use of weapons of destruction. From the earliest times mankind has been trying to improve upon these weapons and today we have reached a stage when a war forebodes destruction of human beings on a tremendous scale and of objects that have been built up with great labour and skill during centuries in the twinkling of an eye. There is no lack of material and no lack of historians who have utilised the material so provided in making out histories of wars and conquests. During my short sojourn in some European countries which took place between the two great world wars, I was struck by one thing which has remained imprinted on my memory. Wherever I went I saw memorials of warriors and conquerors, of wars and of those who waged them. Somehow or other it will be found that there are no such

memorials in this country, at any rate in any appreciable numbers, except those relating to the period of our history connected with Europe. Our great architectural monuments of the Hindu and Buddhistic periods are mostly religious in their character and motive, conception and execution. Similarly the great architectural monuments of the period of Muslim rule in this country are also religious and semi-religious except that we have a number of forts here and there which are indicative of the accidents of a period of conflict and turmoil, but no apotheosization of warriors and heroes of wars as we see in Europe. Our history naturally, therefore, has to take note of the significant fact that it is not a matter of surprise that this country should have seen within the last thirty years or so the emergence of a new technique of struggle for freedom, the emergence of the programme of non-violence and its actual implementation. I am not aware if any historian of note has in his own writings given to this new technique its due importance. My feeling is that that history remains to be written. Strange as it may seem, source material which can enable the historian to reconstruct this which I consider to be the most glorious chapter not only in our history but in the world's history is not collected and preserved as it ought to be and is gradually but nonetheless surely being destroyed and is disappearing. Those who have been engaged in this struggle have had neither the training nor the time and opportunity to keep record of what was happening from day to day and much less of the inner thoughts and motives which were influencing their conduct and shaping the events as they were happening. Whatever is available is spread over such a vast area and in so many diverse forms and languages that it would require really trained persons to sift the grain from the chaff. The other day I paid a visit to Simla where I saw very admirable work being done for preparing a history of the part played by India in the last great war under the guidance of your Secretary, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad. Not only are many able persons engaged in studying and sifting the material which has been made available but the work of writing out a connected history in an interesting and instructive form has made considerable progress. The Government has spent and is spending a considerable amount on this enterprise. We know that modern war does not leave anything to chance and while some are engaged in actual fighting, others are keeping accurate records not only in words but also in pictures of what is happening and there is not much danger of this material being irretrievably lost. It is not only now but it has been for a pretty long time that great importance has been given by Governments and specially by the military authorities to history of wars, especially to enable the soldiers to derive lessons in strategy of warfare and there is no doubt that these histories have proved to be of great value to them. Cannot a history written with understanding and sympathy and having full record of the events as they occurred from day to day in our non-violent struggle be of equal value to us as well as to others in the future? It was an experiment, as Mahatma Gandhi would have called it, but it proved an experiment which was successful. Who knows that the world will not some day accept that principle and

adopt that strategy which Mahatma Gandhi taught and applied and with the help of which we won our freedom? To one who believes in the efficacy of that principle and who has faith in its strength and universality this history is of tremendous value not only for this country but for the world at large which in these days of frustration and helplessness despite the great advances of science is, I fancy, looking for some such guidance. May I ask this Congress of historians to take up this work as of equal, if not of greater importance, than the history of the distant past or even of the recent World War II? Those who participated in the struggle have done their work. Many of them who could have given very valuable information from their personal knowledge but have not put their knowledge on record, are one after another passing away and within a very short time the historian who has simply seen the events and more so the historian who will come later will have to depend more and more on accounts which were actually published from time to time in various forms like newspapers, brochures, reports and so forth. The living material is, alas! disappearing fast and will soon have become extinct. If, therefore, anyone is interested in this, he has to be vigilant and take up this work without delay so that future generations may not say that great deeds were done but not recorded by historians and their lessons therefore lost. I hope no one here will retort that it is not only for the historians but also for the Government which comprises men who have taken part in the struggle and have thus been instrumental in making history to provide the information and means to get it properly recorded. I can only say that even if the Government with its other preoccupations is unable to do so and fails in its duty it is no justification for others doing the same. I believe, however, that something is being attempted under Government auspices and can only express the hope that it will be done in a way worthy of the great events, for non-violence has its victories more glorious than war.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT

DR. TARA CHAND,

Vice-President of Indian History Congress

On behalf of the Indian History Congress it is my privilege to convey our feelings of deep gratitude to you, Sir, for accepting our request to inaugurate this Thirteenth Session of the Congress. For us it is a matter of great pride and joy that we find the President of our Indian Republic amidst us today. It is a rare honour to any institution and we wholeheartedly appreciate your kindness and courtesy in showing to us this favour. But if you will permit me, may I say that we welcome you here not only as the respected head of our State, the elected holder of the most exalted office in the realm, but more so, as a scholar, a votary of the muse which we in our diverse and humble ways endeavour to serve, and even more so, as one of those beloved leaders of the people whose steadfastness, courage and patriotism have enabled India to break the shackles of foreign rule and whose heroic deeds will

reverberate through the corridors of time and will be sung in verse and enshrined in the pages of our history? For truth to tell, you combine in you both the story and the storyteller and what an exciting story and how interesting the teller! Nearly four decades ago you resolved to turn your back on a career which followed a brilliant record at the University and promised a future filled with worldly success ; you voluntarily adopted the life of sacrifice and suffering to walk in the footsteps of the Master who led India to victory through Satya and Ahimsa, and throughout these long and weary years you were in the forefront of the battle, and never wavered nor gave way to despair. Pure of heart, selfless, gentle and unassuming, patient in times of trouble, wise in counsel, firm in devotion to ideals, you have made a contribution to the cause of freedom which the historians of India will not allow to be forgotten.

It is seldom that we find together in one person a life so rich in stormy incident and dramatic action with a mind so attached to learning and scholarship.

It is fortunate that history occupies a prominent place amidst your intellectual interests and we are happy that the Indian History Congress enjoys your patronage. We hope that under your guidance and with your powerful support the tasks that we have undertaken will bear fruit and that we will soon be able to fulfil one of your most dearly cherished wishes. For I have no doubt that your presence here will be an incentive to our historians to redouble their efforts to produce a work which though begun in times of uncertainty and depression now has the stimulus of freedom and hope.

May I again on my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues assembled here offer you our sincere thanks for finding time amidst your heavy and multifarious duties to come here to give your benediction to our proceedings and to encourage us in the fulfilment of our tasks?

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROFESSOR HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

FRIENDS AND CO-WORKERS,

I need not tell you how sincerely thankful I am to the organisers of the Indian History Congress for allowing me an opportunity to offer my services as President of its Thirteenth Session. It is impossible not to feel proud of this great distinction. But if the office carries with it great honour, it also does entail very heavy responsibilities. I have been the victim of a fell disease for several years, and I have been unable, under medical advice, to leave Calcutta where I ordinarily reside. Under the circumstances the news of my election to the Presidentship came as a great surprise to me, and when at the beginning of this year I was asked to accept it, I had some hesitation in giving assent to the request. Nevertheless, impelled by my great regard for this notable organisation, and my long association with it, I finally decided to place myself at your disposal, knowing at the same time that it would be hardly possible for me to come up to your expectations by my personal presence in your beautiful city, and the performance of those onerous duties that are associated with responsible office of President of an organisation. It is a matter of great regret that I have to deny myself the privilege of meeting my *confreres* in the city of Nagpur. I am sending these few words to you embodying my views regarding certain matters of moment, and I can only crave your indulgence for any shortcomings that may be detected.

At the very outset I should refer with gratitude to the unique honour that has been done to this Congress by the very first President of the Republic of India, who, in the midst of his many arduous duties, has signified his consent to open its proceedings. A gallant fighter for his country's freedom and one of the makers of republican India, he has made debtors of us all by an important work on the current history of our land. We may therefore justly claim him as one of us, and I extend to him a hearty welcome on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues and co-workers.

It also gives me great pleasure to welcome the distinguished historians who have assembled here from every part of India to stimulate thought by personal contact and to exchange ideas with kindred spirits for the common purpose of resuscitating the lost history of our ancestors. But before I proceed further it is my melancholy duty to refer to the great loss sustained by us in the passing away of a great orientalist in the person of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who was also one of our ex-presidents. You all know what a high place he held in the estimation of Indologists for his contributions in the various fields of Ancient Indian History including Epigraphy, Numismatics, Asokan Studies, Polity and Ethnology. I understand that a few days before his death he completed his great work on the second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume III, and handed it over to proper authorities for its publication. It would certainly be doing a great honour to the illustrious scholar and a distinct service to Indian history if the volume in question be published without delay. We also express our grief

at the sudden death of Sri V. Prabhakara Sastri, a great scholar in the Telugu language and literature, and Andhra History and Culture.

We once more meet in the Deccan—in a city through which glides the Naganadi. It owes its foundation to the noble zeal of a mediaeval chief to civilise his own people, and which subsequently became the headquarters of a line of rulers who claimed kinship with the great maker of the Maratha nation. The place cannot claim the same antiquity as the historic city on the banks of the Mula in the very heart of the Maratha country where this Congress originated. But even so it is not an unworthy place of meeting of the historians of India. The royal city of Bakht Buland the Gond and of Raghuji Bhonsle lay possibly within the eastern limits of the classic land of Vidarbha, already mentioned in several Brahmana texts, and still remembered as the Wardatat in the time of the great Akbar. It is associated with such illustrious ruling clans of ancient India as the Bhojas of Vedic, Epic and Puranic fame, and the Satavahanas and the Vakatakas. Nor did its lustre become dim in the post-Vakataka age. Vidarbha, it may be remembered, was the home of the famous Bhavabhuti whose celebrity as a dramatist almost equals that of Kalidasa himself. In the last quarter of the eleventh century a governor of the imperial Chalukyas of Kalyani, belonging to the Maharashtrakuta lineage, held his court in the western environment of the city laved by the river Naga, while within twenty miles of it stands the sacred spot of Ramatek hallowed, in the opinion of many antiquarians, by the memory of the hero of the Ramayana and his noble spouse. We should not also forget that in our own times this city is the metropolis of a province which by reason of its history and geographical position, has been acclaimed as one of the most complex cultural areas of India, where the culture of the Madhyadesa intermingles with that of the Maharashtra country over a pre-Aryan foundation; and ethnologists, linguists and historians—all find in this region abundant food for reflection and study.

Here it may not be quite out of place to say a few words about the organisation which has deemed fit to hold its Thirteenth Session in the aforesaid meeting place of races and cultures. It has already held its annual sessions twelve times, and has widened the scope of its activities which are no longer confined to modern history, but embrace the whole history of India, and as an ex-secretary claimed, ‘has virtually achieved the position of the national council of historians in India’. The Proceedings published so far give some idea of the range of its interest. Under the guidance of your past Presidents and Section Presidents the entire field of Indian History, stretching from the pre-historic times to the present day, has been sought to be surveyed. Pointed attention has sometimes been drawn to the gaps that still exist in our knowledge regarding the past history of our land and the problems that still await solution even with regard to periods the salient facts of which are more or less known. As is well known this Congress undertook the preparation of a comprehensive History of India planned on the same model as the encyclopædic surveys of Ancient, Mediæval and Modern History of Europe prepared under the auspices of the University of Cambridge. Besides,

it also took upon itself the important task of coordination of research work in different parts of India, and the compilation of a periodical Bulletin of Bibliography of Indology on the lines of the Kern Institute scheme of Leyden. As early as 1945 the then secretary reported that some progress had been made in the preparation of the proposed History, and the work for the co-ordination of research work was also taken up. But I regret to note in the last year's Report that lack of response from contributors to the different volumes of the proposed History is delaying their publication, and due to want of funds it has not been possible to implement either the publication of the lists of subjects on which research students in various parts of our country are engaged, or to publish a journal of the Congress itself.

Friends, I need not remind you that if the present schemes before us come to a fruition, they would not only be a fitting monument to Indian scholarship in the domain of Indology, but would also justify the very purpose for which this Congress exists. I can do no better than to make an earnest appeal to you to lend your kind cooperation in fulfilling the task that lies before us. I may also draw attention in this connection that there is no lack of young enthusiastic talent amongst us, and that sufficient opportunity should be given to it to lend its help in the preparation of the work before us under the guidance of our ripe and experienced men.

I take this opportunity to refer to two other schemes for the publication of a series of volumes on Indian History that have been sponsored under the auspices of the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad of Banaras, and of Sri K. M. Munshi of Bombay. The Parishad has already come out with a volume on the "Gupta-Vakataka Period", while another volume on the "Nanda-Maurya Period" was sent to the press. Unfortunately nothing has been heard of the latter volume for a long time, and the present intention of the Parishad regarding it is not very clearly known. May I hope that the Parishad would expedite its publication at an early date, and thus help the cause of Indian historical studies? The Munshi scheme, I understand, has made sufficient progress under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar who is making an all-out effort to release some of the volumes at a no distant date. About seven years ago the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam undertook to remove a long-felt want by the preparation and publication of a comprehensive history of the Deccan, using the term in a special sense. Response from some of the contributors was also not lacking. But here again, I regret to say, no signs are visible that it would be published in the near future. If this be the attitude of well-known authorities, I am afraid, no similar undertaking of a big scheme would find a ready response from those whose ungrudging cooperation is essential for its success.

I now turn to the efforts of the Government of India to come to the help of investigators in the field of Indian History. I am happy to say that the Archaeological Department is continuing enthusiastically its fruitful work in extending our bounds of knowledge relating to India's remote past. Recent excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in the Mysore State, and Sisupalgarh near Bhuvaneshvara have thrown a flood

of light on the ancient period of the history of the Deccan, and what is more important, have revealed data for determining the antiquity and cultural history of early times. Preliminary excavations have also been undertaken on certain old sites near Delhi and its neighbourhood, the results of which are eagerly awaited by historians in general, and students of the Heroic Age of our country in particular. The publication of a Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India under the name "Ancient India" shows that the Department is alive to the necessity of constructive work by its own officers. But it is a matter of deep regret that the Department has discontinued its own Annual Report as well as the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy from which so much material is drawn by private individuals for their own work. The partition of India has deprived the Department of its control over the historic sites in the valley of the Indus and of the lower reaches of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. But I hope that it would not relax its interest in these sites, and would see that the results of their exploration are made available in India.

The work of the Archæological Department in the domain of Ancient Indian History is being ably supplemented in those of Mediæval and Modern History by the Historical Records Commission which for several years past is holding its sessions annually with those of the present organisation. The Government of India also deserves our commendation for helping the Commission to publish its own journal, happily named the "Indian Archives", and also for reviving the Indian Records Series under its own aegis, and finally for making arrangements for Regional Surveys of Records in the provinces, and writing a History of the Indian Armed Forces in World War II under the auspices of the Ministry of Defence. Two volumes in the Indian Record Series have already come out—one on Indian Travels of Thevenet and Careri edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, and the other on the India House—Fort William Correspondence edited by Dr. N. K. Sinha, and I expect that other volumes would follow soon. I also hope that the proposed History of the Indian Armed Forces would not adorn the shelves of the Defence Ministry only, but would be published for the benefit of the people interested in the subject as well as for future generations.

The Provincial Governments are not also lagging behind. The Government of the Province whose hospitality we enjoy today has given a lead by bringing out a volume embodying Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records edited by Prof. H. N. Sinha. I need not tax your patience in this connection by giving you a detailed analysis of the work that is being done by some State Governments, Museums, the Numismatic Society, and various other societies, associations and individuals.

Detailed surveys of the research work done in recent times in the different fields of Indian History, I expect, would be attempted by the Section Presidents. I however feel tempted to bring to your notice the following publications which have added to our store of knowledge. Professor Stuart Piggott has given us a survey of the archæology of prehistoric India based on much hitherto unpublished evidence in his little book *Prehistoric India*, while a

new approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Paleography of North India from the First Century B.C. to the Third Century A.D. has been attempted by Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw in her work entitled *The "Scythian Period"*. The history of the monarchical and non-monarchical states of a minor character of the period 325 B.C. to 300 A.D. together with the social and economic conditions of this country from the earliest times to the days of the Nandas has claimed the attention of Dr. B. C. Law in his *Indological Studies*, Volume I. A somewhat bold attempt to elucidate the history of the Bengali people in the pre-Muhammadan period has been made by Dr. Nihar-ranjan Ray in his *Bangalir Itihasa*. Interesting information regarding ancient Indian Geography may be obtained from L. Petech's little book, *Northern India according to Shui-Ching-Chu*. Workers in the field of numismatic study would welcome the *Bibliography on Indian Coins* by Singhal, edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar. M. Coedes has rendered a distinct service to the study of Greater Indian History by publishing a volume entitled *Les E'tats Hindousés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, which gives a complete survey of the history of Further India in the light of modern research up to the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese. Professor Nilakanta Sastri seeks to throw light on a part of this region in his *History of Srivijaya*. As regards the Mediæval Period *Humayun in Persia* by Sri Sukumar Ray forms an interesting study. Noteworthy research, in respect of the modern period, is represented, in addition to some of the works cited above, by R. H. Phillimore's *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Volume II, and Dr. S. K. Bhuyan's *Anglo-Assamese Relations*. The publication of the *Burunjis* relating to the Company Period by the latter scholar is a right move on the part of a private individual to make available the important records that lie buried in the provincial libraries and archives of our country. Finally Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Volume IV, has brought to a close the life-long study of the fortunes of a mighty empire in the east by an eminent scholar whose eighty-first birthday has just been celebrated in Calcutta.

Having made this rapid survey of the work that has been done in recent times to elucidate the history of our country I may be permitted to offer a few suggestions regarding the great epochs of our country's story. In dealing with the first of these due note should be taken of the changes in economic condition the influence of which is clearly discernible in the political and cultural ferment that cannot be missed by an assiduous student. I shall try to illustrate my point with an example taken from the history of the Kuru people. You are no doubt aware of the famous Atharvan laud which represents the land of the Kurus as flowing with milk and honey in the spacious days of Parikshit. The next king and some of his descendants performed costly sacrifices and the people were happy and contented. But then came mighty economic changes in the wake of natural calamities which befell the Kuru land in succession. Their royal city was destroyed by the erosive action of the Ganges, and the *Chhandogya Upanishad* refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country caused by *matachi*, i.e., hail stones or locusts. Now what were the results? Princes of the family moved to new places in

search of other seats of power, and one branch, it appears, settled in the historic city of Kausambi, not very far from the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. Large sections of the Brahmins moved towards the east and thronged in the courts of Janaka of Videha and Ajatasatru of Kasi. There they gave a great impetus to the study of philosophy. The fate of the Parikshitas was still green at the time when the great Janaka ruled. It became a general subject of curiosity in the royal court of Mithila, and evoked popular concern comparable to Subandhu's famous lament over the passing away of Vikramaditya. It is certainly worthwhile to enquire about the real causes of the numerous instances of tribal migrations which Indian history affords us, and their effects on the cultural condition in the lands of their adoption. A thorough and critical study of the Jaina works, the texts of the South Indian Inscriptions, and systematic reconstruction of social, economic and political institutions of ancient India from epigraphic sources are also a desideratum.

In regard to the mediæval epoch, while great diligence has been shown in coordinating and interpreting the literary data which are invaluable to the historian, sufficient attention has not, except in rare cases, been paid to the numismatic material which throws welcome light on the relation between the different elements of the population and survival of old cultural tradition. The silver *tankah* of Sultan Mahmud minted at Lahore with the Sanskrit translation of the Kalima (*अव्यक्तमेकं मुहम्मद अबतार*), the retention of the figure of Lakshmi, and of the bull with or without a trident on the coins of Muhammad bin Sam, of the bull only on the coins of some of the later Ghaznavids and several early Sultans of Delhi, the Asavari (i.e., Asapurna, the patron goddess of the Chauhans of Ajmir) coins of the time of Iltutmish, the use of Sanskrit legends by some of the early Muhammadan kings, clearly show that the rulers coming from outside India were not unmindful of continuing the tradition of their vanquished subjects without any violent breach. Mention may also be made in this connection of the Rama-Sita coins of Akbar and the Siva-Parvati coins of Haidar Ali. The remarkable legend "If there were no sultan, verily the people would devour one another" found on the copper or bronze coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq was almost certainly inspired by the well-known Matsyanyaya theory of the Hindu political thinkers, and testify to the fact that he was not impervious to the influence of his Hindu environment. It is also interesting to note that some of the symbols that appear on the coins of the Sultanate Period bear close resemblance to those found on the punch marked coins of ancient India. These are some of the instances that I have come across in my study of Muslim numismatics. The subject certainly deserves to be explored in detail. Muslim epigraphs should also be thoroughly scrutinised in order to see whether they can be made to yield any new information.

Finally in regard to the most recent period it will be interesting to find out to what extent our present fits into our past, and is not a mere digression from the main narrative of our country's annals. Three of the most salient features of the present age are (i) the political unification of India ending

however in a partition of the country ; (iii) the way our people reacted to the impact from the west ; and (iii) introduction of a popular element in the constitution of our country. As to (i) it is not difficult to bring out the fact that Indian history throughout ages has witnessed the interplay of two opposing forces, one centrifugal, the other centripetal, i.e., the love of local autonomy and the aspiration for imperial unity. The two forces operated in successive epochs almost with the regularity of the swing of the pendulum. As to (ii) we should note that India never shrank from contact with the west even in the earlier epochs in her history. One is reminded in this connection of the phil-Hellenic policy of the Maurya kings, particularly the correspondence of Bindusara with his Hellenistic contemporary Antiochos I Soter, and the testimony of our astrologers regarding the great honour in which Greek savants were held. As to (iii) we may recall the observations of Rhys Davids regarding the existence of a certain type of republics in ancient India and the clear testimony of the classical writers as well as the Kautiliya *Arthashastra* regarding the existence of self-governing institutions and Parishads of Ministers in ancient times. The village community and the Council of Pradhanas had not entirely fallen into desuetude in certain areas even in the mediaeval period.

Friends, I again offer my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown to me, and I once more deplore my unavoidable absence today. May our Congress succeed in throwing welcome light on the obscure spaces in the spectrum of the history of our motherland.

23963

15 JUL 1968



SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA UP TO 711 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. A. D. PUSLAKER

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS,

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for having elected me the President of Ancient India I Section at the Nagpur Session of the Congress. Fully conscious of my limitations, I have accepted the invitation as I regard it more as the appreciation and recognition of the excellent work being done by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, with which I have the proud privilege of being associated almost since its inception, rather than as a personal honour.

Since we met last, death has removed from our midst several distinguished scholars and historians whose loss has created a veritable void. D. R. Bhandarkar, late Carmichael Professor at the Calcutta University and General President of the Second Session of our Congress, was a versatile scholar, well versed in archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, ancient Indian history and culture, Sanskrit and other branches. He was engaged in revising the edition of Gupta Inscriptions. He has initiated many young scholars in historical research, and was actively associated with the Indian Antiquary, Indian Culture and Epigraphia Indica. Another well-known Professor of the Calcutta University and Bhandarkar's co-editor of the Indian Culture, B. K. Ghosh, though primarily a Vedist and a linguist, has made some very brilliant contributions to the cultural history of ancient India. His chapter on the "Aryan Problem" contributed to the Vedic Age is a masterly exposition of the subject.

Ancient India I Section covers an extensive period from the earliest times to A.D. 711, and I shall deal with a few problems of ancient Indian history.

Dr. Wheeler's spectacular discovery of an exceptionally well-preserved granary at Mohenjo-daro has awakened fresh interest in the Indus Valley Civilisation. Despite nearly thirty years that have elapsed since the discovery of the civilisation, and during which period much material has been collected and a flood of light thrown on several aspects of the civilisation, there are still many dark corners that require further elucidation. The intensive excavation enables us to get a fairly good idea of the civilisation. Before turning to some interesting problems for study, let us deal briefly with the recent discoveries of Dr. Wheeler during the last season after his assuming charge as Archaeological Adviser to the Pakistan Government.

On the western fringe of the citadel adjoining the Great Tank at Mohenjo-daro stands the imposing granary recently unearthed. Originally rising to a height of 30 feet, it is a large burnt-brick platform on a podium of mud-brick, 150 ft. by 75 ft., and still standing 25 ft. high, pierced by ventilation passages, above which the actual store-house had been built of timber. The massive loading platform at one end, from which was conducted the actual storage of grain in the superstructure had a sloping external wall with a brick-paved alcove near its western end. It contained a recessed bay into which the

laden wagons brought their grain for unloading. The granary presents some interesting structural features. At its summit the mass is intersected by a number of air ducts. Wood was used not only in the superstructure but also, curiously, to reinforce or 'bond' the brick work in a number of places. Timber-bonding is an interesting and peculiar feature of this period of architecture in the Harappa culture.

The Great Granary was earlier than the Great Tank, but its extension synchronised with the Tank and the Citadel, probably indicating the period of maximum civic development. Along with the smaller granary buildings at Harappa, with an approximately equal capacity, the Great Granary throws interesting light on the intensely centralised organisation of the people at the time. It implies a regulated system of grain supply under close state control—something in the nature of modern State Bank and Revenue Authority—and sustained by a regulated scale of tribute.

The south-eastern corner of the Citadel revealed a number of defensive brick bastions, still rising to a height of over 10 ft. and showing signs of timber-bonding like the Granary. The presence of 98 six oz. sling balls of burnt clay on a parapet wall linking two of these bastions as also of many others round the perimeter of the Citadel is of some significance.

During the last digging, conducted by Wheeler, the excavators reached, for the first time, a depth of 10 ft. below the present water level. But the evidence of occupation at that level renders the problem of the city's occupation still shrouded in mystery.

In *Ancient India* (No. 3), Wheeler has passed severe strictures on the excavators in the Indus Valley for their failure to appreciate the importance of stratification. He and Piggott point out that the real significance of stratigraphy on archaeological sites as demonstrated by Dörpfeld, Schmidt, Petrie and Pitt Rivers does not seem to have been understood in India, and the so called stratification of the Indus Valley sites depended, not on the recognition of occupation levels, but by levelling every object and trying it at long range with the sea-level at Karachi,—a system which Wheeler describes, with commendable restraint, as 'incredible'. In the recent number of *Antiquity* (September 1950), Wheeler has again turned to the wrong methods followed by the excavators. He observes: "Everything that we had checked had been found wrong—wrong in detail, often wrong even in general sense . . . the excavation was almost completely unanalytical. Stratification simply was not understood. . . . The excavators found a culture and left a civilisation. They did many stupid things, many criminally unscientific things; their records are often child-like to a degree, and even with their own limitations they did not fully appreciate what they were finding." Wheeler ascribes the apparent uncanny uniformity as also the almost complete ignorance of the development of the Indus Valley pottery or seals or any other equipment to the unscientific system of the excavators.

One would like to know the effect of the wrong stratification on the Indus Valley Civilisation in general and whether the wrong methods affect any major conclusions of the excavators. I have not come across any work or article

specifically dealing with this problem, and Wheeler, in his recent work on Mohenjo-daro, is silent on this point. It is, however, reassuring to read from Dr. Piggott that during the millennium the Harappa civilisation flourished "there was little appreciable change in the fabric and pattern of this enigmatic civilisation . . . therefore we are less hampered than we might be by methods of excavation which were stratigraphically uncritical, and we can use the whole body of evidence to build up a picture of the Harappa people and their environments."

In this connection, it may be recalled that doubts were expressed by scholars with regard to the antiquity of some of the finds, and in almost all cases these have been confirmed by taking into consideration the stratigraphical associations of the objects and the locus of the find-spots in relation to the contours of the plan. Gordon, Frankfort and others refused to assign the well known Harappa statuettes to the Harappa culture ; but the use of metal and shell attachments and inlays which are found in other objects of the definitely Harappa period and also the technical and artistic excellence similar to the figure of the bronze dancing girl found in an unexceptionable archaeological context at Mohenjo-daro, are convincing arguments in favour of a Harappan date for the statuettes. Piggott found that Chanhu-daro bronze pins and hoard of bronze objects, ascribed both to the Harappa and Jhukar occupations, really belong to the Jhukar culture. Similarly other later objects such as adze axe, swords, etc., as has been pointed out by Gordon and others have been mixed up with Harappan ones and ascribed to that culture. Stone has recently corrected the date assigned in 1935 to segmented faience beads, viz. c. 2750 B.C., which he has found to be about 1,000 years too early, and stated the correct date to be c. 1600 B.C.

In view of the new material that has come to light during recent years, I propose to deal briefly with the relation of the Harappa culture with the Rigveda, especially with reference to the Pūrs or Puras destroyed by the Vedic Aryas, resulting in winning Purandara (sacker of cities) as an epithet for Indra. Let me begin by stating that the word Aryan can no longer be used as designating a racial type, nor were the Aryan-speaking people of one homogeneous racial type. So far as the Vedic people are concerned, the Rigveda does not supply any anthropological or ethnic particulars. They were divided into tribes and had no common name, but were known by their tribal names like the Tritsus, Bharatas, Pūrus, etc. The names Hindu and Indian are given by foreigners. The word 'Arya' in Vedic literature, except in a very few cases, has no racial or anthropological connotation, but has a cultural significance. Similarly, Dāsa and Dasyu generally denote people who were non-sacrificers, worshippers of different deities, etc.—people of a different and inferior culture. *

Latest developments in Mesopotamian chronology would bring the end of the Harappan cities to well within the 16th century B.C., so that even those who bring down the date of the so-called entry of the Aryans into India and of the Rigveda to 1500 B.C. now admit the possibility of the Vedic Āryas having formed part of the Harappa populace, and credit them with the destruction of the cities of the Harappa culture.

Till recently great capital was made of the horse-argument in ruling out the Vedic Āryas from the prehistoric Indus Valley. On the evidence of the Indus Valley finds I had stated that the people of the ~~Harappa~~ culture knew the horse. Now Rana Ghundai evidence clearly attests to the presence of the horse in prehistoric Indus Valley.

It need not be taken that the age of the *Rigveda* does not go beyond 1500 B.C. as is generally maintained by scholars in the West and also in India. I need not enter here into the details of the date of the *Rigveda*, but may briefly state that the acceptance of the arbitrary chronology fixed by Max Müller, which has been extended by some to go back to 1500 B.C., hardly accounts for the development of the vast Vedic literature. The similarity with *Avesta* is no valid argument for bringing down the age of the *Rigveda*. To compress the different literary epochs in Vedic literature in 200 years is completely arbitrary as stated by Winternitz, and unjustified. The large number of repetitions show that the old poets had predecessors who, even then, were regarded as of a remote antiquity. Thus the period of the *Rigveda* can well be carried back to the 4th or 5th millennium or even beyond, and it ran to the 2nd millennium B.C., later followed by subsequent Vedic literature. In connection with the early dating of the *Rigveda* especially based on astronomical grounds, it is well to bear in mind the remarks of Dr. E. J. Thomas, who has recently stated: "At present we are told that the consensus of opinion is against it. But what does 'consensus of opinion' mean? It usually means that one or two thinkers have done all the thinking, and that the rest merely take for granted that their authority must be right. Here is still a subject for Indian scholars who really know Indian astronomy to take up again, and to set before us the real evidence." Harappa culture, as I have indicated elsewhere on a consideration of social life, religious beliefs, etc., is but a phase in the composite Indian culture inaugurated by the Rigvedic people.

Reserving the discussion about the 'Pūrs' or citadels destroyed by the Vedic people for the next point, I wish to emphasise here that the Rigvedic people were autochthonous in India. There is no tradition in the Vedas and later literature which points to an original outside home of the Vedic Āryas. People who colonise in foreign countries carry some reminiscences of their original home, and some extra-territorial influences persist in their religious and social life. We cannot say anything of the kind in the case of the Vedic people. It is to India that they refer as the divine land, and from here they spread in all directions. The spread of Buddhism outside in historical times and the colonial and cultural expansion of later days indicate repetition of the history in prehistoric times.

It is not correct to say that the Indian Home Theory of the Āryas runs counter to the results of the science of linguistics. Comparative philology has shown the origin and groups of languages, but it does not say anything about the original home of the Indo-Europeans. We can as well carry on with the findings of linguistics on the basis that India was the original home, and proto-Vedic was the original language. As

different bands of people migrated outside India, they originated various languages.

Sponsors of the extra-Indian habitat for the Aryan maintain that the Aryans were a primitive nomadic people, who conquered the older and more civilised nations. But the European warrior-tradition of a comparatively uncivilised people conquering and then absorbing the higher culture of the conquered finds no support in Vedic tradition. Vedic culture has very slight resemblance to the Nordic European cultures. Indeed, as Dr. E. J. Thomas has indicated, no one has seriously considered which of the distinct and varied races and cultures of Europe was the Indo-European.

Despite the so-called 'consensus of opinion' with regard to some points connected with the "Aryan Problem", I think the entire problem requires a fresh study in all its aspects by scholars without preconceived notions and free from any bias. There are also other problems in Indian history that call for further study. I may here refer to the problem of the invasion of India by Alexander. Whatever we know about the invasion comes from the records left by the Greek writers. It is naturally a partisan account, a picture of the lion painted by man. Of course, we do not want to go to the other extreme, and present the portrait of man by lion. What I suggest is that proper search should be made for the other side of the medal, and our judgement should be based on a proper evaluation of diverse accounts. It has been hinted that the retreat of Alexander was in fact occasioned by severe defeat he sustained at the hands of the Indian army, and the matter needs further investigation.

Now I shall deal with the 'pūrs' mentioned in the *Rigveda*.

Identifying these 'pūrs' with the fortified cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and associating Vedic Aryans with the sacking of the cities and the destruction and extinction of the Indus Valley Civilisation. Wheeler has accused Indra, the Purandara, on circumstantial evidence. I find that Indra has nothing to do with the destruction of the Indus cities. What do we know from the *Rigveda* about the forts that Indra destroyed and the enemies he overcame? Though there are references to the 'pūrs' of the Āryas, the *Rigveda* mostly connects them with the enemies of the Āryas. The forts were made of stone, mud-brick or metal, probably bronze. From the fact that Agni is asked to burn them and they are said to be of wood, we can say that timber was used in their construction, suggesting that the interpretation of Pischel and Geldner, rejected by the authors of the *Vedic Index*, that the 'pūrs' were towns with wooden walls and ditches, was correct. They were wide, extensive, with hundred walls, at times moveable, but mostly mountain forts. Autumnal forts were possibly "forts in that season being occupied against Aryan attacks or against inundations caused by the overflowing rivers." Howsoever we stretch the above description to be applicable to the Indus Valley citadels, it is impossible to see in the *Rigvedic* description of the contemptible barbarians the picture of the highly developed civilisation of the Indus Valley. It is significant that there is no reference in the *Rigveda* to the civic life nor to the pictographic script. If the Aryans destroyed these cities after entering India from the north-west, we legitimately expect references to some prominent features of

the civilisation which they witnessed. From the absence of any such reference and from the particulars of the 'pūrs', the inference is that large commercial cities had not yet sprung into existence in the time of the *Rigveda*, and that the 'pūrs' are quite distinct from the Indus cities. I think the 'pūrs' destroyed by the Vedic Āryas lie embedded in the still unexplored levels of the Indus cities, or at other sites in Sind. Narmada valley also promises ample returns for the excavators in this connection.

With regard to the enemies of the Āryas, we learn that they were of dark complexion, of indistinct speech, non-sacrificers, lovers of darkness as contrasted with the Āryas who were lovers of light. Can these epithets be applied to the civilised city-dwellers of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro? From a careful study of the Vedic and the Indus Valley Civilisations, I have come to the conclusion that the latter represents a later phase of the Rigvedic civilisation in India. However, as aptly remarked by Wheeler, "digging and more digging will ultimately solve the problem".

Ever since western scholars turned their attention to the *Rigveda*, it has been subjected to a critical and comprehensive study, so that we know practically everything about the life and culture of the Vedic people. It is, however, not correct to say that the *Rigveda* is only an Ārya record. The tendency to assimilate, incorporate and embody alien, non-Ārya elements in the religious and social life of the people and present a composite culture had already begun in the days of the *Rigveda*. It catered for all. Vedic studies have not yet touched the subject of the information supplied by the *Rigveda* about the non-Āryas, their life and manners, etc. A critical, comprehensive and comparative study of the Rigvedic data in these matters as correlated with archaeological remains will provide sufficient material for a good monograph.

Before turning to the next point, let me make some observations on the Indus script which has eluded determined efforts of scholars so long. The script has not yet been read or transliterated, nor is the language it represents known. De Hevesy was the first to point out striking similarities between the Indus script and the Easter Island pictographs, and Langdon, de la Vallée Poussin, Fabri and others were convinced about the relationship. It has, however, been found that the latter is but a nineteenth century script. In this connection, I am reminded of a similar instance from the literary field where a passage from the *Mahābhārata* which Oldenberg regarded as a survival from the oldest form of the epic, has been proved to belong to the latest interpolations in the epic by Sukthankar on unimpeachable manuscript evidence. With regard to the Easter Island pictographs, however, I think a study of their origin, development and contacts will not fail to provide some clue.

While reviewing Sir John Marshall's volumes on the Indus Civilisation in 1932, Dr. F. W. Thomas remarked that the oldest Chinese writing may supply some hints concerning the substantial meaning of some of the Indus signs. Chinese writing is of considerable antiquity and its contacts with Central Asia in prehistoric times invest it with peculiar importance in connection with the Indus script. Col. Gordon also has suggested comparison with the Lolo script of Szechwan in S. W. China. If some Sinologist with a

thorough knowledge of Chinese and allied scripts probes into the problem with the aid of an expert from this side, the attempt may lead to some tangible result.

Another direction in which fresh light may come may be indicated here. It is found on a close study of the Indian punch-marked coins that whereas a number of marks on them resemble the figures and signs of the Indus script, some other marks bear similarities to the letters of the Brāhmī. Further hoards of punch-marked coins pertaining to the period of interval between the close of the Harappa culture and the later historical times about which we know, and co-ordination of their signs with the Indus script on the one hand and the Brāhmī on the other, may illumine the dark corner of our history which is a blank, and may provide some clue for deciphering the baffling Indus script. Piggott definitely rules out any of the Indo-European languages as being represented by the script and affirms Semitic origin for the Brāhmī. I have my own doubts on the points, and further digging alone will provide definite solutions.

The Stūpa mound at Mohenjo-daro, which was the first to respond to the twang of the spade of the archaeologist, undoubtedly stands over important prehistoric antiquities. It is a third rate architectural monument, and Woolley had recommended dismantling and excavation of the Stūpa. It is high time the Pakistan Archaeological Department started digging the Stūpa, which would enable scholars to get an idea of the still unexplored and unexplained facets of the Harappa, or even pre-Harappa, culture.

It has been suggested that there is a hiatus, a blank, of over a thousand years in Indian history between the desertion of the Harappa sites and the early historic period of the 4th century B.C. of which we get archaeological remains. Though survivals of the Harappa culture have been attested by stray finds, there is nothing to show the continuity of the culture. Efforts are being made by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India to bridge the gulf by finding out a site in continuous occupation illustrating the development of the culture. Fortunately, recent excavations at Tilpat near Delhi conducted by Dr. B. B. Lal, Superintendent, Excavation Branch, has exposed antiquities which can be assigned to the 6th century B.C., and the unexplored strata promise to take us back some centuries more.

Only about half a mile long and a quarter mile wide at present, the ancient town of Tilpat appears to have covered more than a square mile as evidenced by ancient pottery and other antiquities in the surrounding fields. The mound stands 60 ft. high, but ancient habitation deposits go more than 20 ft. below the level of its base. The lowest levels yielded well-baked, fine-grained grey ware with designs executed in black, red or creamy colour. Sherds of shiny black ware (archaeologically known as the Northern Black Polished Ware) came from levels a few feet higher, while from levels about 10 ft. above the lowest levels was obtained a seal bearing letters in the script of c. 3rd century B.C. and a terracotta female figurine ascribable to the same period. Similar painted grey wares were found also at Hastinapur

and Ahichchhatra, indicating that the three townships were at one time contemporary. As several feet of occupational levels still lie unexplored below subsoil water which has risen up since ancient times, the beginnings of Tilpat go back to centuries before c. 6th-5th centuries B.C.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Hastināpura was the capital of the Kurus and Ahichchhatra, that of the North Pañchālas. Though Tilpat does not occur in the Great Epic, local tradition believes it to have been one of the five villages (unnamed in the epic) demanded by the Pāṇḍavas from the Kauravas in the pre-war negotiations. Further excavations at this site and others of the Mahābhārata fame are sure to throw interesting light on the dark corner of Indian history.

Dr. Lal is engaged at present in conducting excavations at Hastināpur, and similar grey painted ware has been found here. He has surveyed about 15 ancient Mahābhārata sites in the upper Gangetic valley in search of this grey ware with equally successful results. Shri Amalananda Ghosh, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Exploration Branch, is now touring the Bikaner area in search of sites allied to the Indus Valley cultures. The results of his excavation are awaited with great interest. In the Narmadā and Chambal valleys, Drs. Dikshit and Subba Rao of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, discovered three painted pottery sites, viz. Nagda, Maheshwar and Navda Toli. At Jorwe, near Sangamner, on the left bank of the Pravara, Drs. Sankalia and Dikshit of the same Institute found a new type of funerary pottery, a red-on-black ware associated with pot burials. This is for the first time that such burials and red-on-black pottery have been found in the Deccan. Other antiquities found on the site included a spouted beaker. Drs. Sankalia and Dikshit are excavating at Nasik in the hope of getting pre-Sātavāhana antiquities.

Now let us turn to the *Purānas*.

In the first volume of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* entitled the *Vedic Age*, just published, I have exhaustively dealt with traditional history from the earliest times to the Śiśunāgas on the basis of the *Purānas*. It is a good sign that after a great deal of scepticism the historical importance of the *Purānas* has been recognised. I fully agree with the following remarks of Jayaswal in his Presidential Address at the Baroda Oriental Conference: "I may tell you of my personal conviction that the solution of race origins and of the identification of this ancient civilisation (i.e. Indus Valley Civilisation) will be found in the *Purānas*." The help that Col. Speke received from the *Purānas* in discovering the source of the Nile convinced him "that the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of communication with both the northern and southern ends of the Victoria Nyanza" in Egypt. Here I desire to place before you the chronological scheme that I have evolved from a study of the *Purānas*. The Bhārata war is an important historical event in the annals of India and its date may well serve as a starting point for our chronology. The date of the Bhārata war has been a major controversial point in ancient Indian history, and it has been variously put between 3400 B.C. and 600 B.C. I need not go into the details of the problem here, but I may

briefly indicate how I arrive at the date from the *Purānas*, which may be supported on the basis of other evidence also.

According to one tradition, recorded in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin, the Bhārata war was fought in 3102 B.C., which is the starting point of the Kaliyuga era according to Āryabhata. Fleet has, however, shown that this hypothetical reckoning for purposes of astronomical calculations first started about 3,500 years after the time, and was not known to astronomers before Āryabhata. Another tradition is represented by Vṛiddhagarga, Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa, who place the Bhārata war 653 years after the Kaliyuga, i.e. in 2449 B.C. Working from the dynastic lists in the *Purānas*, Pargiter arrives at 950 B.C. as the date for the Bhārata war; but this is contradicted by a definite statement in the *Purānas* that 1015 (or 1050) years intervened between the birth of Parīkshit and the coronation of Mahāpadma. Mahāpadma's coronation took place in 382 B.C., so that the date of the Bhārata war, which synchronised with the birth of Parīkshit, comes to about 1400 B.C. This date is also confirmed by the Vamśāvali lists and the genealogical lists of the contemporary dynasties of Ayodhyā, Māgadha, etc.

Now, with the Bhārata war as the starting point, we find that the Purānic genealogies give 95 generations up to the period of Manu, the first ruler of the earth. Taking 18 years per generation on a very modest scale to err on the safe side as we have to deal with very long genealogies, the period of Manu comes to about $(95 \times 18 = 1710 + 1400 =)$ 3110 B.C. This date, surprisingly enough, closely approximates 3102 B.C., the hypothetical beginning of the Kali era. For the particular year to have gained importance it must have signified some epoch-making event, and we have to search for it in the period of Manu to which we have found it to be related. Besides being the first ruler of the earth, maker of laws, etc., Manu is celebrated as the saviour of humanity from the Flood which swept over the world. Thus the Flood appears to have occurred in 3102 B.C. We have accounts of the Flood, not only in India, but in Hebrew and Babylonian records as well. The Flood was the most important landmark in the history of the ancient world, and archaeologically the Flood at Ur has been placed round about 3100 B.C. This is yet another confirmation of the *Purānas* from the archaeological side.

Working on the dynastic lists on the average of 18 years per generation, we can indicate approximately the periods of Paraśurāma (2500 B.C.), Dushyanta (2350 B.C.), Rāma Dāśarathi (1950 B.C.), Dāśarājña (1900 B.C.), and so on.

Now, I proceed with the suggestions that I have to offer for your consideration. With a large number of research journals, societies and institutes issuing their publications in English and various regional languages, it is impossible to keep pace with the latest publications in such a vast multilingual country. Several publishing houses bring out a good number of books every year. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute from Leyden is, no doubt, doing excellent work, and it is to its credit that it has brought its Bibliography up to its scheduled time when,

unfortunately, its compeers in India are lagging behind. The Kern Bibliography naturally does not refer to many journals and publications not available there, nor to most journals and publications in regional languages. In order to be of use to scholars, bibliographies should not only be thorough and reliable, but also expeditious. And in order to ensure both, the work should be undertaken by a central body like the Indian History Congress or the All-India Oriental Conference, or under the joint auspices of both, each taking up particular branches. It can also be arranged that the whole work may be distributed among different Universities, Research Institutes and learned Societies, and the History Congress and/or Oriental Conference or some central organisation may co-ordinate the work, supply omissions, etc., and, most important of all, get the volume printed. This is an urgent work of first rate importance, and I do hope something will materialise before long.

Another suggestion is about the ancient history course in our Universities. Ancient Indian history is closely knit with the ancient history of the Near East, Middle East, Far East and Further India. For the proper understanding and appreciation of the several problems with which the ancient period bristles, proper knowledge of the ancient history of the surrounding countries, to serve as a background, is absolutely necessary. I would suggest that the Universities should include appropriate texts in their M.A. courses in History dealing with the above subjects. Elementary knowledge of archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics should also form at least an optional group in the history course.

Finally, I may refer to notable recent contributions to ancient Indian history. If I give the first place to the first volume of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, entitled the *Vedic Age*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the doyen of historians in India, it is not because I am connected with the work, but because of the magnitude of its importance and value to students of Ancient India. Ever since the epoch-making discoveries in the Indus Valley were published in 1931, there has appeared no comprehensive work dealing with pre-historic India as also with latest researches on the subject. The first volume of the celebrated *Cambridge History of India*, published in 1922 but almost completed before World War I, has naturally become out of date. The present volume takes into account all available material on the subject, and will prove to be a valuable reference book. Written by experts on the different topics it is a standard work and bids fair to hold the field. Dealing with the geological, geographical and biological background, the book proceeds with the Chalcolithic culture, the Indo-Aryans, political history, language and literature, political and legal institutions, social and economic conditions, and religion and philosophy. The volume gives a vivid picture of the dawn of Hindu civilisation.

Although the title of Wheeler's latest book on Pakistan is, strictly speaking, not quite correct, since Pakistan came into existence but recently, the territory comprising the dominion has a glorious history and prehistory. *Five thousand Years of Pakistan* briefly sketches the archaeological history of both Western

and Eastern Pakistan from the earliest time. Architectural remains receive special attention of the author. Though it is difficult to agree with Wheeler on certain points, the book is a valuable addition to ancient Indian history. Stuart Piggott's *Prehistoric India* is the best and up-to-date book on the subject, giving everything that is required to get a sound and thorough knowledge. Wheeler and Piggott have successfully demonstrated how archaeological data can be made into a reliable and readable history. Dry bones of archaeological exploration have been clothed and presented as a connected whole.

Louis Renou's *La civilisation de l'Inde ancienne* is a popular survey of ancient Indian culture mainly based on literary sources. A similar, but perhaps more profound, book in German is Ernst Waldschmidt's *Geschichte des indischen Altertums*.

The Scythian Period by J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, as stated in the sub-title, is an approach to the history, art, epigraphy and palaeography of North India from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. The important conclusions of the learned authoress are: There was only one era before the accession of Kanishka and it began in 129 B.C. Śaka era, dating from A.D. 78 was founded by Kanishka, who ascended the throne after A.D. 71, and was a Śaka monarch. North-west Indian art (Gandhāra art) was more influenced by India than by Greece and ancient Indian art forms its base. The chapters on art, inscriptions and political history are learned, thorough and instructive, throwing welcome light on many a hitherto obscure point.

History of India, Part I, Ancient India by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri covers the period up to A.D. 1200 for Northern India and up to A.D. 1300 for the South. This book, from the pen of a seasoned historian, deals adequately and authoritatively with the subject, especially with some points in south Indian history which are generally skipped over in similar works. It will prove useful to scholars and students alike.

Among other books may be mentioned:

Gertrude Emerson Sen: *The Pageant of India's History, Vol. I.*

Kewal Motwani: *India: A Synthesis of Cultures.*

Padmini Sen Gupta: *Everyday Life in Ancient India.*

M. Ruthnaswamy: *India from the Dawn.*

It is beyond my limited powers to make even a passing reference to the innumerable articles that have appeared in various research journals since we met last. To these articles may be added those published in the Commemoration Volumes in honour of Dr. Barua, Shri Munshiji, Mm. Prof. Potdar, and Principal Srinivasachari.

I thank you all very heartily for the patient hearing you have so kindly accorded to me.

KĀLIDĀSA AND SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

Kālidāsa was a representative poet of his age. His works reflect the culture of the period in which he lived. There can be several points of view from which his works should be studied, and then the evidence forthcoming should be compared and assessed to throw light on the problem of his date. A comprehensive study and interpretation of Kālidāsa should be undertaken from the following points of view:—

1. Geographical and historical, in which the significance of his reference to the Hūnas, *Vaṅkshu* in the north, Uragapura in the south and Trikūṭa in Mahārāshṭra, should be assessed.

2. Linguistic: in which a word index of his works should be prepared and the range of his vocabulary should be compared with the known *Kāvya*s or prose works from the time of the Śuṅgas to Aśvaghosha in the Kushāṇa period and to other poets in the Gupta period.

3. Literary: under this a comparative study of the metres and *alaṅkāras* and the characteristic features of Mahākāvya, as well as other literary motifs such as *Udyānakṛīḍa*, *Salīla-kṛīḍa*, *Chandrodaya*, *Kumārajanma*, *Dig-vijaya*, etc. should be examined from the point of view of their evolution in Sanskrit *Kāvya*s and how far they throw light on the problem of Kālidāsa's date.

4. Religion and philosophy: under this head one could study the development of the religious and philosophical view-points as found in his works, and compare them with historical facts about the growth of Indian religion and philosophy during the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods.

5. Art and iconography: this approach to Kālidāsa has not yet been fully developed, although the art evidence in his works is quite considerable. Kālidāsa refers to particular forms of Hindu gods and goddesses, for example, to Kārttikeya riding on the back of a peacock and holding a spear (*mayūra-ṭṛishṭhāśrayinā Guhena*). This feature of Kārttikeya images did not exist in the Kushāṇa period, but was distinctly Gupta. He also refers to the images of two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā in human form and attending on the deity (*Kumār*. VII. 42). It is an undisputed fact of Indian temple architecture that this feature was seen for the first time in Indian art in Gupta sculpture. No one writing in the Kushāṇa or earlier periods could have thought of the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā attending on the deity. It was only during the Gupta period that this became an accepted motif of art, literature and iconography. Kālidāsa also mentions the seven Mothers and especially Kālī decorated with a *kapāla* ornament (*Kālī kapālābharanā*, *Kumār*. VII. 39). This again is an iconographic feature inconceivable before the Gupta period. His reference in the *Raghuvaṃsa* (X. 60) to the *Āyudha-ṭṛushas* in human form of Viṣṇu is also a feature which holds good in the Gupta period. Thus it may be clear that the evidence of art as found in his works is in favour of the poet being assigned to the Golden Age of the Guptas.

In the present paper I wish to draw attention to a few motifs occurring in Kālidāsa, which are also found in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The latter is a very fruitful source for throwing light on the literary motifs and descriptions, and on the language and thought of Kālidāsa. Fortunately enough, much of this literature has been published ; but the material incorporated in it has not yet been utilised either for cultural or literary history. Let us in the first instance take the motif of the II Canto of *Raghuvamśa*, viz. a king Dilīpa offering his body to a hungry lion to save the life of a cow. As the poet says, 'the king offered his body to the lion like a lump of flesh' (*haraye svadeham upānayat piṇḍamivāmishasya*, II. 59). The story has been graphically related with consummate skill and perfection of literary art. Indeed, it has not only immortalised Dilīpa as an ideal king, but the motif presented with such warmth has caught the imagination of millions of readers as a great sublimating force. The incident does not occur in any of the *Purāṇas*, but is the product of Kālidāsa's own mind. We find in it an attempt to create a parallel to the *Vyāgharī Jātaka*, which symbolised the perfection of compassion (*kāruṇya-pāramitā*) of the Great Buddha. Because of the overflowing mercy of his heart, the Enlightened One had sacrificed his life in one of his previous births to save the life of a hungry lioness and her cubs. This was no doubt a very moving story possessing an intensely human appeal and touching a sympathetic chord in every human heart. When properly related by accomplished story-tellers, its appeal must have been simply irresistible. The Great Bodhisattva in the *Vyāgharī Jātaka* typifies the eternal ideal of self-sacrifice for the sake of all living beings, than which nothing is greater. The inscriptions in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods speak of this ideal permeating the atmosphere in that age: *sarvasattvānām .hita-sukhāya*, "for the happiness and welfare of all living beings." This ideal of universal god was the dynamic force underlying the mighty civilisation built up by the teachers and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Their ideal of Bodhisattvahood revolves round this central theme.

The story of the *Vyāgharī Jātaka* seems to have been extremely popular at one time. Not only do we find it represented on railing-pillars in the art of Mathurā, but the poet Āryasūra, who possibly wrote at the same time as Kālidāsa, gives the place of honour to this *Jātaka* in his collection of thirty-two *Jātaka* tales known as the *Jātakamālā*. The incident in the life of Dilīpa of feeding the hungry lion with his own body is Kālidāsa's reply as selected from the armoury of Hindu Purāṇic myths and legends, which were especially multiplied with many new motifs during the Gupta period as part of the prevalent literary style of the age.

Another important motif is that of the 'Rain of gold' (*suvarṇa-vrīṣṭi*). This motif is also rooted in the facts of India's economic history during the Gupta period as reflected in Gupta coins. We know that the period of the Guptas was literally a "Golden Age". Through her international commerce, India had earned vast amount of gold and jewels. It is as if the country was inundated with an overflow of gold from all sides. The Imperial Guptas hardly minted in copper. There are no silver coins of

Samudragupta and Chandragupta, except for a comparatively few specimens of the latter, minted specially for circulation in Western India after that region was conquered from Saka supremacy. The gold coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramāditya and his son Kumāragupta are, however, abundant and present a veritable feast to the eye in their different types and varieties and for artistic beauty. In a great measure they represent the aesthetic culture of the Golden Age of Indian art. The Gupta coins have never been surpassed in the history of Indian numismatics for their artistic quality and variety. The emperors took a personal interest in the coins, which served as the medium of illustrating their physical, cultural and religious attainments. It may be imagined that the country was practically overflowing with the specimens of gold coins on all sides. In the great cities and the countryside, in the palaces of the rich and the homes of the poor, the Gupta gold coins shed their sparkling lustre and beauty. It seemed as if they were the foot-prints of the Goddess of Prosperity and Plenty, Lakshmī, who was the presiding deity of that period and the family goddess of the Gupta Emperors. This phenomenon of the abundance of minted gold on all sides set people thinking as to what was the source of this plenty, unseen and unheard of ever before. Mother-earth would not be credited with bearing this enormous wealth in her coffers. The idea naturally appealed to the people that this profusion was due to a rain of gold from heaven. In the fifth Canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa deals in his own inimitable manner and perfect poetic excellence with this motif of *suvarṇa-vṛishṭi*. "When the kings are pious, the earth fulfils the wishes of the people ; this is natural and should cause no surprise. But miraculous is the glory of the new kings that through their wisdom they have tapped even the heavens for golden showers" (*Raghuvamśa*, V. 33). This literary motif belongs not exclusively to Kālidāsa, but to that age. We find it also in the *Divyāvadāna* in the story of the great king Māndhātā, who says that in his palace there had fallen a rain of gold for seven days (*vṛishṭam me sapṭāham antaḥpure hiranya-varsham, Divyāvadāna*, XVII, p. 216). This was a motif distinctive of the period which appears both in Buddhist Sanskrit literature and Kālidāsa.

The third great motif is that of *Madana-dahana*, 'Victory over the god of Love', which corresponds to the *Māra-vijaya* of the Buddhists. Kālidāsa has devoted his epic poem *Kumārasambhava* to this great theme. The victory of *yoga* and *samādhi* is typified by Śiva over the forces of passion and ignorance as symbolised by Madana, the god of Love. Śiva, god of gods, represents the arch-type of perfection conceivable in Hinduism, as does Buddha in Buddhism. In the *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghosha we have a description of this triumph of the Buddha over Māra. We have even more elaborate descriptions and representations of this motif in the *Lalitavistara* and in the paintings of the Ajanta Caves. To the Buddhist philosophers and religious teachers of the Gupta period, to whom Buddha represented the arch-type of human and divine perfection, the greatest triumph of Buddha's genius was the victory over Māra (*Māravijaya*). In their insistence on *dhyāna* and *samādhi*, they could not think of anything higher and nobler. Similarly, in Hinduism the

most inspiring ideal of religious and philosophic thought has been *yoga*, and as we find in the *Kumārasambhava*, its practice and ideals had been carried to the highest point as a means of ennobling and liberating the human mind (*Kumār.* III. 44-50). The *Madana-nigraha* of Kālidāsa and the *Māra-vijaya* of the Buddhists represent a common religious *Sādhanā*, which was the inspiring ideal of that age.

It is not only in these outstanding motifs of thought that there is such close resemblance between Kālidāsa and Sanskrit Buddhism, but a detailed study of the poet is likely to reveal numerous other points of similarity both in thought and literary expression. For example, Kālidāsa in the beginning of his *Mālavikāgnimitra* has introduced himself to his audience with the following well-known *śloka*:

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवयम् ।

सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद् भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ (Act. I. 2).

“All that is old is not wholesome by virtue of its age ; all that is new is not to be rejected for this reason. The wise examine both and accept one of them which is good ; the fools on the other hand are led away by the opinions of others.” The spirit of this verse is reflected in the sixth *Dvā-Trīṃśikā* of Siddhasena Divākara who deals in thirty-two verses with the relative merits of the old and the new (*Pūrva* and *Nūtana*). For example, he says, “the old is dead and gone. He, who follows the old will become like them. The old is not finally established. Who will accept the old doctrines without subjecting them to his own independent judgement?”

जनोऽयमन्यस्य मृतस्य पुरातनः पुरातनैरेव समो भविष्यति ।

पुरातनेष्वित्यनवस्थितेषु कः पुरातनो कान्यपरीक्ष्य रोचयेत् ॥५॥

Or he states in another verse: “He, who is slovenly in thought, does not come to a decision, but one who is of firm mind perceives the truth clearly. He, who thinks that the teacher’s word is of unquestionable authority, and his own judgement is limited ; such a being rushes to his suicide.”

विनिश्चयं नैति यथा यथालसस्तथा तथा निश्चितवान् प्रसीदति ।

अवन्यवाक्या गुरवोऽहमल्पधीरिति व्यवस्यन् स्वधाय धावति ॥६॥

What Kālidāsa speaks of as *mūḍha* is referred to as *alasa* by Siddhasena Divākara. This Jaina author, who certainly lived in the Gupta period, seems to be the same as Kshapaṇaka, mentioned in the list of Navaratnas or “Nine Gems”. The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature also shares this idea of Kālidāsa and Siddhasena. We find in the Gilgit manuscripts that one who has seen the *Dharma*, attained the *Dharma*, known the *Dharma* and deeply meditated upon the *Dharma*, becomes free from desires and doubts and such a one is not to depend upon others’ judgement (*apara-pratyayah*) and is not led by others (*ananya-neyah*):

अथ जीवकः कुमारभृतो दृष्टधर्मा प्राप्तधर्मा विदितधर्मा पर्यवगाढधर्मा तीर्णकांक्ष-
स्तीर्णविचिकित्सोऽपरप्रत्ययोऽनन्यनेयः शास्तुः शासने धर्मेषु वैशारद्यप्राप्तः ।

- (Gilgit Mss. चीवरवस्तु, p. 46).

There were many other technical words which had obtained distinctive terminological value in the vocabulary of the Buddhists. Kālidāsa has also used them with an extended significance, which was proper to the age, for example, *Chakshu*. He refers to Vasishṭha as the type of perfect sage and seer (*Rishi*), who had obtained the perfect vision, which could see through the past, present and future without obstruction. This was his *Nishpratigha chakshu* consisting of pure knowledge (*jñānamaya*) referred to in *Raghuvamśa* (VIII, 78):—

पुरुषस्य पदेष्वजन्मनः समतीतं च भवच्च भावि च ।

स हि निष्प्रतिधेन चक्षुषा त्रितयं ज्ञानमयेन पश्यति ॥

This agreed with *Prajñā* or the transcendental vision of the Buddha which had knowledge of the past, present and future. We have a number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts praising the merits of such a Vision. For example, *Chakshur-visoḍhana-vidyā* by Dharmaraksha (266-313 A.D.); *Chakshur-visoḍhana-vidyā-dhāriṇī* by Amoghavajra and others. A text known as *Ratna-karatala* refers to the capacity of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to treat the objects and events of the world as being in the palm of their hand, similar to the supernatural powers of Vasishṭha, perhaps a doctrine of the Supra-mundanists or Lokottaravādins. As a matter of fact Kālidāsa refers to Vasishṭha by the same epithets as are applied to Buddha in the Mahāyāna literature, e.g. *Muni* (*Raghu*. VIII, 76); *Udāramati*, *Vīneta*, *Guru* (*Raghu*. VIII, 91). Kālidāsa also refers to *Chakshus-mattā* or Vision which enables a person to obtain a knowledge of subtle matters, and that such Vision consisted in a proper understanding of the *Sāstra* or "Word". Such *Sāstra* for the Buddhists would be the authority of the Word of the Buddha, and for the Hindus the *Smṛitis* or the secondary texts based upon the *Śrutis*. The belief was there that the subsequent texts followed the spirit and principles of the earlier ones as stated by Kālidāsa (*Śruterivārtham smṛitiranv-gachhat*, *Raghu*. II, 2). This *Chakshusmattā* seems to be the same as *Dharma-Chakshu* referred to in the Buddhist literature. For example, it is stated that when this chapter of *Dharma* was explained, Jīvaka obtained the religious eye which is free from passion and evil (*asmin virajo vigata-malam Dharmeshu Dharma-chakshu uttapannam*).

The Mahāyāna Buddhists laid great stress on *Śraddhā*, as the greatest virtue of the person who entered the initial stage of *Māra* or Path. There is a text called the *Śraddhotpāda Sāstra*, whose authorship, sometimes attributed to Aśvaghosha, is uncertain. Literally it means "The Awakening of Faith". Kālidāsa also mentions the quality of *Śraddhā* or Faith as an ideal to be followed in combination with *Vidhi* or Right Action (*Śraddheva sākshād vidhinopapannā*, *Raghu*. II, 16).

The *Raghuvamśa* and other works of the poet may be regarded as written against the background of thought in the particular cultural epoch of the Gupta period. The same ideas, imagery, expressions, literary motifs and references pertaining to art and life as are contained in the contemporary literature of

Sanskrit Buddhism, are also found in the works of Kālidāsa, which is only natural. The poet was truly a product of his age. He was saturated with the spirit of his times and was inspired with the ideals of cultural resurgence and regeneration that characterised Hindu society and culture during that period. He was presenting a picture of thought and an ideal of life from the traditional Hindu point of view, but refined and perfected according to the latest developments of thought and life as prevalent in his own times. His own genius contributed to that picture being invested with greater perfection, higher poetic charm, stronger inspiration and deeper meaning. The thought presented in his inimitable poetic form became a powerful instrument of religious and cultural truth presented from the broad Hindu point of view.

THE DATE OF NAHAPĀNA

PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR

The date of Nahapāna is one of the knotty problems of ancient Indian history and widely divergent views have been expressed on the subject. Messrs Dubreuil,¹ Bakhle² and Nilakanta Sastri³ refer the years of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era and place him in the last half of the first century B.C. Marshall also held the same view mainly because of the imitation of the motifs of the Sanchi Stūpas in the caves of Nahapāna.⁴ R. D. Banerji placed him slightly later ; he thought that Nahapāna and Rūdradāman must be separated by at least a century.⁵ Jayaswal placed his overthrow in 58 B.C. ; he thought that the Vikrama era was founded by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to commemorate his destruction of the power of the Śaka ruler Nahapāna.⁶ R. G. Bhandarkar and Rapson refer the years of his inscriptions to the Śaka era and place his overthrow by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi soon after Śaka 46 or 124 A.D. This latter view is generally accepted in the recent text books on Ancient Indian History.⁷

There are however serious difficulties in accepting this view. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled at least six years after the overthrow of Nahapāna in or before his 18th regnal year. He therefore continued to rule down to 130 A.D., if we assume that Nahapāna was overthrown by him in his 18th regnal year, coinciding with the (Śaka) year 46 of Nahapāna's latest record. Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi who ruled at least for 24 years. The Nasik inscription No. 2 issued by his grand-mother Balasiri in his 19th regnal year gives a glorious picture of the might of the Sātavāhana empire. According to Bhandarkar⁸ and Rapson⁹ its date cannot be earlier

1. *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 19-25.
2. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 69.
3. *J.R.A.S.* 1917, p. 285.
4. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 537.
5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, p. 19.
6. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 249.
7. Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, p. 405.
8. *B.G.*, Vol. I, II, p. 166.
9. *B.M.C.A.C.*, p. cx.

than 149 or 150 A.D. But Rudradāman I claims in his Girnar inscription dated in 150 A.D. that he had twice defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Dekkan, and wrested away from him Aparānta (Koṅkoṇa), Surathā (Kathiawar) and many other provinces. It is difficult to imagine that Balasiri would have thought of giving a glorious accounts of her son's conquests in 149 or 150 A.D., if they had all already evaporated into air by that time. There are no indications whatsoever to suggest that Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi had suffered any defeat in his reign. It is further noteworthy that Rudradāman gives the name of the Deccan ruler overthrown by him as Sātakarṇi and not as Puḷumāvi. This Sātakarṇi was spared by him because he was a not-distant relative. There is no evidence to show that Puḷumāvi had any relationship with Rudradāman. If we place the overthrow of Nahapāna in 124 A.D., it is difficult to understand how Rudradāman could have defeated a Sātakarṇi before 150 A.D. Surely that Sātakarṇi could not have been the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.¹⁰

In order to overcome this serious difficulty R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar advocated the ingenious theory that Gautamīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra were ruling together.¹¹ They maintained that the years in all the Nasik records are to be referred to the reign of Puḷumāvi. So the 19th year of Puḷumāvi was only one year later than the 18th year of Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra was alive in the 18th year of Puḷumāvi's reign as also in his 19th year when Nasik cave No. 2 was dedicated.

All this is difficult to understand and believe. Several arguments can be advanced against the view of Bhandarkars. If Gautamīputra was ruling at Paithan simultaneously with his son Puḷumāvi at Nasik, how is it that no single coin in the Jogalthembi hoard has been restruck by Puḷumāvi, who was the *de facto* ruler over the Nasik area? It cannot be argued that Vāsishṭhīputra struck no coins because his father was living, for we have actually found several types of his coins. The argument that Balasiri's description in Nasik inscription No. 5 that she was a Mahādevī and Mahārājamātā shows that she was both at the same time showing that her son was ruling along with her husband, is weak. In Nasik inscription No. 2, Balasiri is called *Mahādevī, mahārājamātā and mahārājapitāmāhī*; are we to assume that her husband, son and grandson were ruling at one and the same time? In this inscription, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi makes a grant, the merit of which he assigns only to his father. This would suggest that Gautamīputra was dead at the time when Balasiri got his eulogy engraved in the cave.

Nor can it be argued that Nasik inscription No. 5 dated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign refers to the monks staying in the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi's reign. The cave dedicated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign was a joint gift of that king and his mother; the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi was a gift donated by the donor's grand-mother alone. A careful examination of the plan of the cave shows

10. R. G. Bhandarkar suggested this possibility in *B.G.*, I, ii. but it is hardly believable. No other scholar has subscribed to this view.

11. *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 165. ; *I.A.*, 1918, p.

that what Gautamīputra and his mother excavated in the year 24 of the former's reign was merely the verandah of the cave No. 3, having one room at its either end. What Gautamī donated in the 19th year of her grandson's reign was the big cave behind the present verandah, having 18 cells around a big court yard 43 × 37 feet in dimension. It cannot be therefore maintained that the record engraved in the 24th year of Gautamīputra presupposes the cave donated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi. The earliest epigraph in this cave dated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra merely records the grant of a field to the monks ; this field was still recently in the possession of Ushabhadāta, obviously the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa. The next record issued 6 years later refers to the monks residing in the cave (at Triraśmi mountain), which was a joint gift of Gautamīputra and his mother. So during the interval of six years, a small cave was constructed. The third record, engraved in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi's reign, refers to the cave as a *vimānavaranivisesamahādihikalena*, a cave as magnificent and in no way inferior to a first class *vimāna* or divine palace. This spacious cave obviously took about 20 years to excavate, and by the time of its dedication, Gautamīputra was no longer living. This made his aged mother sad and induced her to engrave the eulogy of one who was associated with her in the first dedication.

It is thus clear that we have no evidence to show that Gautamīputra Sātākarni and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi were ruling conjointly, rendering the defeat of a Sātākarni possible before the year 150 A.D. It is thus clear that the overthrow of Nahapāṇa cannot be placed in c. 124 A.D.

Can we then accept the view of Messrs Dubreuil, Banerji, K. A. N. Sastri and Bakhle and place the overthrow of Nahapāṇa at the beginning of the first century B.C.? Arguments advanced in favour of this view are hardly convincing. Banerji relies much upon palaeographical differences between the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāṇa and the Gimar inscription of Rudradāman and concludes that at least one century must be presumed to separate the two records.¹² But Bühler has admitted that the script of Ushabhadāta's records at Nasik is similar to that of Puḷumāvi's records, thus showing that the two were more or less contemporary. In ancient India communications were difficult and it is therefore fallacious to compare the palaeography of the records of places separated by hundreds of miles. We can compare the script of Nahapāṇa's records at Nasik with that of the records of Gautamīputra Sātākarni and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi at the same place, and these are similar and contemporaneous.

The theory that the years of Nahapāṇa's records are those of the era of Azes founded in c. 60 B.C. has yet to be proved. It is a mere hypothesis. The argument that Nahapāṇa was a Parthian and his son-in-law Ushabhadāta a Śaka, and therefore he should be presumed to be a viceroy of one of the great Parthian or Śaka rulers like Azes, Vonones or Gondopharnes is a weak one. Did not the great Śaka ruler Rudradāman flourish in the Deccan a hundred years later than the latest of the Śaka-Parthian emperors of the north?

12. *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, pp. 19.

There is one important numismatic fact going against this view. In Nasik inscription No. 12 a reference is made both to the silver Kārshāpaṇas and to golden *suvarṇas*; 35 of the former are equated to one of the latter.¹³ It is clear that gold coins were in circulation in the days of Nahapāṇa. Azes, Azileses, Vonones and Gondopharnes are known to have issued no gold coins. They became common only with Wima Kadphises and we can hardly place Nahapāṇa before his date. The argument that the intelligible Greek legend on the coins of Nahapāṇa points to an early date like c. 50 B.C. is not of much force, because we find that Wima, Kanishka and Huvishka were issuing coins in correct Greek language down to 150 A.D. It has further to be remembered that intelligible Greek legend appears only on a few coins of Nahapāṇa. On the majority of them it is altogether corrupt.

The architecture argument of Marshall is also not very strong. He argues that the form of the entrance door way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* figure beside the entrance at the cave of Nahapāṇa all bespeak a date approximately contemporaneous with the Sanchi *torāṇas* of about 50 B.C.¹⁴ In the first century A.D. or B.C., we had no daily newspapers publishing the photographs of new buildings on the morrow of their completion or dedication. The fashion at Sanchi may have taken some decades to become popular and there is nothing improbable in the sculptures at Nasik imitating motifs that were in vogue at Sanchi a century earlier.

It is argued that the coins of the Jogalthembi hoard show that not all the pieces that bear the name and bust of Nahapāṇa were really issued by him. Scott, who analysed this hoard, points out how there are different types of busts to be seen on them; on some Nahapāṇa is short-necked, on others long-necked, on some he is straight-nosed, on others hook-nosed; on some his face is pleasant, on others stern, on some he is lean and on others fat. While admitting the possibility of one and the same person being thus diversely represented by the artists of unequal capacity, he felt it more probable that the busts on the coins of Nahapāṇa were not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons of Nahapāṇa, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour and for some strange reasons caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, while refraining to record their personal names.¹⁵

This argument is ingenious, but there are insuperable difficulties in accepting it. Contemporary history shows that even rulers like Jayadāman, who were quite insignificant, used to issue coins in their own names and not in those of their more famous predecessors like Chashtāna. It is therefore difficult to understand how the successors of Nahapāṇa should have obliterated their own names, if they were ruling over a prosperous kingdom. It appears that Nahapāṇa could get artists of only very inadequate capacity and qualifica-

13. Cf. *Pañchatrimsaka suvarṇa krita*.

14. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 637.

15. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXII, p. 236.

tions. In the far off Deccan, it was not easy to secure artists who would be well grounded in Brāhmī, Kharoshthi and Greek scripts and should also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is young, and correct on those coins where it is old. It is also significant in this connection that coins which have correct Greek script have corrupt Kharoshthi script, and *vice versa*. It cannot therefore be maintained that the great Nahapāṇa flourished at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and that he was succeeded by several successors whose coins were counterstruck by Gautamīputra about a century later.

In my opinion Nahapāṇa ruled from c. 55 A.D. to 105 A.D.; this theory explains all known facts of contemporary history.

(1) The years in his records need not be referred either to the Śaka or the Vikrama era. They are 41, 42 and 46 and can be his regnal years. On some of his coins his bust is alike that of a youth of 25, on others like that of an elderly person of 45, while some coins show his face with sunken cheeks and toothless jaw, showing that he ruled right up to the advanced age of 70 or 75. A reign of 46 years was thus perfectly possible in his case. The years 41, 42 and 46 of his records can well be his regnal years.

(2) Gold currency, as shown above, had come into vogue in the reign of Nahapāṇa. Its issue was started by Wima Kadphises, who under no theory can be placed after 100 A.D.; he was probably ruling as early as 50 A.D. We can therefore very well understand the reference to the *suvarnas* or gold coins in the records of Nahapāṇa's son-in-law, if we place his reign between c. 55 and 105 A.D.

(3) The *Periplus* states that Ariake belonged to the kingdom of Nambanus, whose capital was Minnagar. Fleet has shown how a copyist's mistake would convert Nahapāṇa into Nambanus. The *Periplus* was written in the latter half of the 1st century A.D. and we can well understand its reference to Nahapāṇa as a contemporary ruler, if we place him between 55 and 105 A.D.

(4) Numismatic facts can also be well explained by this theory. If Nahapāṇa ruled from c. 55 A.D., the time of his predecessor Bhūmaka would be from c. 30 to 55 A.D. He is thus separated only by about 25 years from Spalirises and Azes II. We can therefore well understand how he should be adopting on the reverse of his coins the motif of Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, which is strongly reminiscent of the motif of Arrow, Discus and Bow, which occurs on the joint coinage of Spalirises and Azes II. Nahapāṇa, who ruled from c. 55 A.D., naturally continues this motif.

(5) It is generally agreed that the Mathurā Kshatrapa Rājuvula and Soḍāsa were ruling in the first quarter of the first century A.D. We can then well understand how the motif of the Lion capital, which was dedicated by these rulers, should appear on the obverse of the coins of Bhūmaka who was separated from them only by a decade or two.

(6) All known facts of Sātavāhana history can be explained only by the hypothesis of Nahapāṇa's rule during 55-105 A.D. and by no other. (a) It

is now generally accepted that the king Polemaios of the Deccan and Tistanes of Ujjayini, whom Ptolemy mentions as contemporaries, were Puḷumāvi and Chashtāna, the grandfather of Rudradāman. Chashtāna came on the scene after the overthrow of Nahapāṇa in c. 110 A.D. Soon after that date Puḷumāvi succeeded his father. We can therefore well understand how Ptolemy writing in c. 140 A.D. should mention these two as recent contemporary rulers.

(b) The Jogalthambi hoard does not contain any coins of Chashtāna, Jayadāman or Rudradāman. Obviously the power of these rulers had not yet penetrated into northern Mahārāshtra, nor had commerce introduced their coins at Nasik. It was probably buried in panic on the eve of the threatened invasion of Rudradāman in c. 140 or 145 A.D. The counterstruck coins of the hoard were thus current for about 40 years and we can therefore well understand how they were considerably worn out by that time.

It is clear that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāṇa himself and not any of his successors. In his earliest inscription at Nasik, dated in his 18th regnal year, he donates a field in the village Kakhaḍī, which is expressly described as enjoyed by Ushabhadāta. This Ushabhadāta can hardly be any other than the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa. There are scores of land grants recorded in the inscriptions in the caves in Western India. None of them, except the present record, gives the name of the former owners of the fields granted. If it is mentioned in this case, the reason must have been the well-known position of the earlier owner. The monks wanted some lands and Gautamīputra in the flush of his victory gave them a field owned by the son-in-law of his great enemy. It would however appear that at the disappearance of Ushabhadāta, his retinue was withdrawn from the village which resulted in its practical desolation. It soon became a deserted village and therefore the monks approached Gautamīputra six years later, with a request for the exchange of the above field. We can hardly explain the total desertion of the village of Kakhaḍī within a short period of less than six years, unless we assume that Ushabhadāta who is mentioned as the owner of the field, was the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa.

(c) According to our theory, Nahapāṇa was overthrown in c. 105 A.D. Gautamīputra ruled at least six years more and his death and the accession of his successor Puḷumāvi may be placed in c. 112 A.D. The latter ruled for at least 24 years as proved by the inscriptions, if not for 28 years as stated in the Purāṇas. He thus becomes a contemporary of Chashtāna, who was ruling about 130 A.D.¹⁶ We can thus understand how Ptolemy makes them contemporaries.

The long eulogy of the conquests of Gautamīputra issued in the 19th year of his son's reign suggests that down to the time of its issue in 131 A.D., the conquests remained intact. There is nothing to suggest that Puḷumāvi was defeated by Rudradāman before 131 A.D. The Andhau inscriptions of the latter only show that in 130 A.D. Rudradāman was trying to lay down

16. As shown by Andhau inscriptions, *E.I.*, XVI, p. 230.

the foundation of a small principality in the desert of far off Kachha. There is nothing to show that he had by that time inflicted any defeat on Puḷumāvi and wrested away from him Gujārat, Kathiawar or Aparānta (Koṅkan).

It is further noteworthy that the king of the Deccan defeated by Rudradāman is expressly named by him in his Girnar record as Satākarni. He could obviously not have been the great Gautamīputra Satākarni; nor could he have been Puḷumāvi for the simple reason of his name not being Satākarni. To argue that the Girnar record loosely refers to Puḷumāvi as a Satākarni, as the latter name was common in the Sātavāhana dynasty is hardly convincing. We are entitled to presume that an official eulogy cannot vaguely or wrongly refer to a king who was defeated twice by the hero praised in it. The name given must be a personal and specified one, especially since the king defeated was also a not-distant relative of Rudradāman.

Who then was this Satākarni and how was he related to Rudradāman? Kanheri inscription of No. 11 records the gift of a minister of a queen of Vāsishthīputra Śrī Sātākarni who is described as a daughter of *Mahākshatrapa Ru* Unfortunately the name of this queen's father is not fully preserved, but it is obvious that he can be none other than Rudradāman I. The next Śaka ruler, whose name begins with *Ru* is Rudrasīmha; but he ruled as Mahākshatrapa from c. 181 A.D., his daughter could hardly have been married to Vāsishthīputra Sātākarni, who from his name appears to have been a brother of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi, who was ruling from c. 112 to 136 A.D.

The fact that Jayadāman did not assume the higher title of Mahākshatrapa which was claimed by his father is significant. The proud claim of his son, Rudradāman that he had won that higher title for himself would show that Jayadāman was defeated most probably by Puḷumāvi in c. 130 A.D. The victor may have demanded the marriage of his younger brother Vāsishthīputra Satākarni with a Śaka princess and a daughter of Rudradāman, the son of the defeated king, may have been married to him in c. 130. Alternately it is also not impossible that while struggling for existence, Jayadāman and Rudradāman may have themselves made a proposal for this matrimonial alliance, hoping to improve the status of their family by it. That Vāsishthīputra Sātākarni of the Kanheri record did actually rule as an emperor is shown by a unique coin of his in the Prince of Wales Museum, which closely imitates the Kshatrapa prototype.¹⁷ The presence of a Śaka princess in the capital as the queen of the issuer will sufficiently explain the adoption of the Kshatrapa type for a few of his silver coins by the husband, the reigning Sātavāhana king.

According to the Purāṇas Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Sivaśrī, who is expressly described as Sātākarni by the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. He ruled for seven years, and according to our chronology, his reign would be between c. 135 and 142 A.D. His successor is described simply as Sivaskanda

17. *J.N.S.I.*, XI, p. .

by the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* but as Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi by the *Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*. He ruled for seven years and his rule, according to our theory, would be from c. 145 to 152 A.D. Both these kings were undoubtedly Sātakarṇis as shown by the Pauranic evidence and they were also the contemporaries of Rudradāman ; probably the latter was defeated by the Śāka Mahākshatrapa.

Could Rudradāman have defeated and humiliated his grandson through his daughter two times? Kings in ancient times had many wives and Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi may have been a son of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi through a queen other than the Śāka princess. As he was a step-son of his daughter, Rudradāman naturally describes him as related not very distinctly-*sambandhāvidūratayā*.

All the known facts of history can thus be satisfactorily explained on assuming that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by Gautamīputra in c. 105 A.D. Rudradāman avenged this defeat by twice defeating Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, who was most probably a grandson of Gautamīputra, but probably not born of his Śāka daughter-in-law, but of an earlier wife. And now we can well understand why Rudradāman describes his relationship with the Sātakarṇi king he overthrew as not distant. He was the step-son of his daughter and so his relationship with Rudradāman was neither close nor distant ; the record therefore naturally describes it as *avidūra* or not distant. It is not impossible that by the time of the outbreak of the war Rudradāman's widowed daughter had repaired to her father's capital after her husband's death in c. 142 A.D.; her relations with her step son Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, the ruling Sātavāhana emperor, might have been far from being cordial and she might not have been inclined to oppose her father's invasion of her late husband's kingdom tooth and nail. Out of regard for her feeling, however, Rudradāman may have refrained from pressing his victories home when he defeated Śivaskanda in two successive battles between c. 148 and 150 A.D., he was content to annex Gujarat, Mālvā and Koṅkan.

It is interesting to note that if we assume that the first Sātavāhana ruler Simuka rose to power in c. 225 B.C. and add together the reign periods of the 22 predecessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the period of the latter's rule is found to be c. 90 to 114 A.D. Four successive Sātavāhana kings Mahdalaka, Purindra-Sena, Sundara Svātīkarṇa and Chakora had short reigns of five, five, one and one-half year respectively between c. 52 to 63 A.D. It was just at this time that Bhūmaka and Nahapāṇa were trying to snatch away several provinces of the Sātavāhana empire. Some of these kings may have fallen in this war, thus ruling for short periods only.

It will be thus seen that all the known facts of history can be best explained only on the assumption that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by Gautamīputra in c. 105 A.D. The theories that he ruled at the end of the first century B.C. or that his inscriptions are dated in the Śāka era have to be given up.

SANSKRIT ELEMENTS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

It is well known that Tamil is the leading language in the Dravidian family of languages and that its literature is the earliest literature of the family accessible to us. The anthologies of the poems belonging most probably to the first three centuries of the Christian era known collectively as Saṅgam literature form the earliest stratum of Tamil literature. Barring a few Brāhmī inscriptions in natural caverns adapted to human habitation there is little guidance to the state of Tamil language in an earlier time. Even these short inscriptions written in Brāhmī, an obviously northern script adapted to southern use, contain Sanskrit words like *kuṭumbika*. In the present state of our knowledge, it is no exaggeration to say that there does not exist a single line of Tamil literature written before the Tamils came into contact with, and let us add, accepted with genuine appreciation, the Indo-Aryan culture of North Indian origin. In fact that culture, as we are beginning to realize more and more clearly, not only spread its elevating influence over the whole of peninsular India, but very soon after crossed the seas and shed its light in Malayasia and Indo-China.

Of the four hundred odd poets whose poems found a place in the anthologies, some were Brahmins, many princes, others merchants, yet others farmers; there were also women of whom at least 27 are known by name. By the time these poems came to be composed, the civilization of the Tamil country had become an inseparable amalgam of pre-Aryan and Aryan notions and conventions, and it is the aim of this paper to collect the most important ideas found in the Saṅgam literature which can be traced definitely to Sanskrit sources. The three Tamil monarchs, particularly the Chera, claim to have fed the armies that were engaged in the Great Battle of the *Mahābhārata* war.¹ The concept of *Rinatraya*, the three-fold debt that a man owes at his birth to the gods, sages, and ancestors is clearly mentioned and explained in the *Padirruppattu*.² The overthrow of the hundred brothers in battle by the five (Pāṇḍavas) and the heroism and liberality of Akkura (Akrūra) attached to the former are known;³ so also the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest by Arjuna and the skill of his elder brother Bhīma in cookery.⁴ There is reference to Rāma's Council (of war) held under a banyan tree in Dhanushkōṭi belonging to the Pāṇḍyas, and a humorous allusion to monkeys attempting to wear the jewels of Sitā dropped by her when she was being carried off by Rāvaṇa.⁵ All this shows that the poets were thoroughly familiar with the two great Sanskrit epics and were confident that passing allusions to incidents from them would command general appreciation. The sage Agastya is said to have been the *purohit*, of the Pāṇḍyas, and if the annotation of a

1. *Param* 2, and *n*.

2. 70 ll. 18-23.

3. *Perumbān* ll. 415-7; *Padirruppattu* 14, ll. 5-7.

4. *Sirupān* ll. 238-42.

5. *Aham* 70; *Pur.* 378.

late commentator may be accepted as recording a correct tradition, also to have enchanted Rāvaṇa by his music and to have persuaded him to quit South India and put an end to his deprivations there.⁶ The burning of the triple-strongholds of the Rākshasas by Śiva, Arundhatī as the ideally chaste woman, the Uttarakuru as the land of perpetual enjoyment are known to the authors of the *Padirrupattu*,⁷ as also the submarine fire to which is compared an army laying siege to a fortress. The practice of accompanying the parting guest to some distance, conventionally described as seven steps, is mentioned in a poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*—(Ten Idylls).⁸ The appearance of Brahmā, the Creator, on a lotus springing from the navel of Viṣṇu is known.⁹ Other Sanskrit ideas found in the Ten Idylls are: the growth of Vāmana into Trivikrama;¹⁰ the singing of the *sūtas*, *māgadhas* and *vaitālikas* in the morning in royal palaces, and the announcement of the hours of day by persons appointed for it;¹¹ the painting of the sun, moon and Rohiṇī with the signs of the zodiac on canopies of oil-cloth, the sight of which excites a woman separated from her lover;¹² and the thousand-rayed sun traversing the sky every day in a chariot drawn by seven horses and setting behind the *astagiri*.¹³ We have also instances of Sanskrit expressions being rendered into Tamil. Thus sandals elsewhere mentioned as made of leather are in one context called *aḍi-pudai-araṇam*, i.e. a protection which covers the foot, an exact rendering of *pāda-rakshā*.¹⁴ The phrase *dānadhurandhara* seems to be translated as *īgaich-chennugam tāṅgiya*.¹⁵ To the idea of omens being read in the flight of birds must be traced the curious expression *vāyp-puḷ lit*, mouth-bird, used to indicate words of good augury.¹⁶ Lastly *Jambūnada*, the Sanskrit name of gold of the best quality, is rendered by *nāval-oḍu peyariya pon*, i.e. gold which has *nāval* (*Jambu*) in its name. The evidence of the *Puranānūru* is not less decisive on the fusion of cultures. Auvaiyār compares the three Tamil kings seated together to the three sacred fires in a sacrificial hall.¹⁸ The snake is said to dread a peal of thunder to which the sound of the war-drum is compared.¹⁹ *Artha* (*poruḷ*), and *Kāma* (*inbam*) are said to follow *Dharma* (*aram*).²⁰ The story of Śibi rescuing a bird from a hawk by the sacrifice of his own flesh is often alluded to.²¹ The role of the Vālakhilya sages who surround the chariot of the sun and prevent his heat from becoming intolerable to inhabitants of the earth is mentioned in a poem;²² the idea first occurs

6. *Maduraik*, ll. 40-2.
7. 31 ll. 18-9; 65 l. 4; 68 ll. 12-13; 62 ll. 4-8.
8. *Porunar*, l. 167.
9. *Perumbān*, ll. 402-4.
10. *Mullai*, ll. 2-3.
11. *Maduraik*, ll. 670-671.
12. *Neḍunal*, ll. 159-63.
13. *Kuriṅṅi*, ll. 215-6.
14. *Perumbān*, l. 69, *Paṭṭina* l. 265.
15. *Sirupān*, ll. 113-5.
16. *Mullai*, l. 18.
17. *Tirumur*, l. 18; also *Pur* 397, l. 20.
18. *Pur*, 267.
19. *ib.*, 17 end.
20. *ib.*, 31, ll. 1-2.
21. *ib.*, 37, ll. 5-6.
22. *ib.*, 43, ll. 1-4.

in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.²³ The gods wear garlands which do not fade, they do not wink, and they feed on the flavour of viands.²⁴ A long arm reaching to the knee is recognised as the sign of a heroic warrior.²⁵ Kṛishṇa is said to have contended with the Asuras, Kāmsa in particular according to the *Mahābhāshya*, for the possession of the sun.²⁶ Yama with his *pāsa* for binding dead souls, the *Chakora* bird longing for raindrops—its only food, the sacrificial altar in the shape of a bird (*garuḍa*) for the *śyena* sacrifice, and the sacrificial post under the name of *yūpa* as well as the transformation of the raindrop into a pearl are the other ideas traceable to Sanskrit sources.²⁷ The employment of the mote seen in sunlight as a measure and of the terms *āmbal* (*kumuda*) and *vellam* (*samudra*) for indicating big arithmetical figures should also be noticed.²⁸

In works of a slightly later time like the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Kaḷaviyal* we see the further stages of this movement for assimilation. The former affirms that the Aryas (*ayyar*) introduced the rituals of marriage (*karaṇam*) among the Tamils.²⁹ These works also mention the natural coming together of members of the opposite sexes (*kāmakūṭṭam*); they distinguish secret marriage (*kaḷavu*) from the open alliance with the consent of parents (*karpu*). They mention also unrequited or unilateral love (*kaikkilai*) and improper love (*perundiṇai*) as between a youth and a woman older than himself, or a woman of different caste or one otherwise unfit to marry him according to the prevalent code. Lastly, they refer to the eight forms of marriage known to the *Dharmaśāstras* and spend much ingenuity in fitting them into the frame work of the Tamil scheme briefly explained above. Though the *gāndharva* form of marriage is easily equated to *kaḷavu*, the remaining seven forms are not easily accommodated in the Tamil scheme. And we have no data for deciding how far these developments had proceeded in the Śaṅgam age proper, the age of the composition of the poems in the anthologies. They refer to the *tāli*, the sacred *maṅgalya* of the married woman and the symbol of her married condition, which South India Brahmins borrowed from the Tamils and incorporated in their marriage ritual.

23. *ib.*, 3.

24. *Pur*, 62, l. 16.

25. *ib.*, 90, l. 10.

26. *ib.*, 174 ll. 1-5; *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 840-1.

27. *ib.*, 105; ll. 4-5; 198, ll. 2-5 and *Paṭṭina*, ll. 3-4; 224, ll. 8-9; 400, l. 19; 380 l. 6.

28. *Paḍirv*, 20, l. 6; 63, ll. 19-20.

29. *Tol. Karpu*, 4.

THE AGE OF VISHNU PURĀṆA

PROFESSOR V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Notwithstanding a century and more of critical research in the domain of Purāṇa literature we are not yet able to determine where and when these Purāṇas took their present form. The Purāṇas are eighteen in number and each has assumed a particular title for what reason we cannot divine. Most of the Purāṇas contain the traditional lists and mention by name the eighteen purāṇas. This would show to the impartial reader that these versions of the eighteen purāṇas may be traced to a common source and to a common tradition from which material was drawn by the respective authors. Some scholars think that at different centres of religious activity these purāṇas must have been formed and narrated to the assembled crowd thus imparting the chief tenets of Vedic religion with which this class of literature was intimately associated. Other scholars take a different view and regard these Purāṇas as the compositions of different ages and different epochs and not necessarily from a common source but from several other sources. Among these Purāṇas one that can be credited with a certain amount of antiquity may be *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which, according to close students of this class of literature, is the best preserved of all. Though originally it is spoken of as containing 53,000 couplets, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* as it now stands contains less than 7,000 couplets. Perhaps in its original form it was bigger in size and larger in scope. We are more concerned with the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* now extant.

The prologues in general to these purāṇas claim a certain amount of antiquity and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is no exception to the rule. According to tradition it is narrated by Parāśara, who is reputed to be the grandson of Vasishṭha who is again reckoned to be the sage occurring in the seventh Maṇḍala of the *Rigveda*. Tradition again credits that the narration of this purāṇa was done in the reign of Parīkshit who is the renowned king of the Kurus according to the *Atharvaveda*. If we cast our attention for a moment on the tradition contained in other Purāṇas, they say that a twelve-year sacrifice was celebrated in the Naimisha forest on the sacred banks of Drishadvatī. Here it is the Sūta, another sage of distinction, and not the custodian of the Kshatriya tradition, narrates these Purāṇas for the benefit of the people assembled to witness the sacrifice. The king who was reigning then is named as Adhisimakṛishṇa, the Puru king whom tradition credits as having lived before the historical period. From Parīkshit to Adhisīmakṛishṇa there may be an intervening period of four generations. If the tradition is genuine we have to take it that the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* was composed some four or five generations before the other Purāṇas came into existence.¹

Speaking about *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Pargiter, a critical student of Purāṇa literature, would assign a period not earlier than the 5th century A.D. to this Purāṇa. Examining closely the historical contents of

1. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, chap. 13.

the Purāna, with which Pargiter is primarily concerned, he goes into the structure of its genealogy which, in several particulars, shows correspondence to the *Vāyu* version and in some particulars with *Harivamśa* version. A date is given arbitrarily to *Harivamśa* and it is regarded as late. Seeing the similarity of the two versions in the *Vishnu Purāna* and the *Harivamśa* in some cases, concluded hastily that it is a late Purāna. But it is not so. The *Harivamśa* versions may be indebted to the account contained in the *Vishnu Purāna* and not *vice versa*.

The remarkable factor about this Purāna is that it is the work of a single hand for it presents a single whole with a well-prepared plan, not at all inconsistent, as is found in some of the Purānas which are a mere collection of different materials of different times. In its historical portions, however, the Purānas had been adding to their versions the account of dynasties some to the end of the Gupta period. In stating these genealogies it must not be understood that the Purānas were written in about the same time as the dynasties mentioned in them. The redactors of the Purāna who were anxious to make it up-to-date must have introduced these ruling dynasties and to read beyond this is to discard the whole tradition. Statements like "the *Bhāgavata* has used the *Vishnu* in its composition" could not stand the test of critical examination. The composition of the *Bhāgavata* is quite different from the *Vishnu* if one versed in the language and style of these Purānas would examine them.

So also must be taken into account the Purāna's reference to Buddhism and Jainism. As the date of the origin of these two religions is almost settled, a view has been taken that the *Vishnu Purāna* must have been composed at a time when Brahmanism was preponderant and when Buddhism and Jainism were on the decline. This view also could be contradicted by the fact that Jainism and Buddhism took their birth in a much earlier epoch than we seem to imagine. This is undoubtedly Indian historical tradition though scholars would believe that the Jain Tirthankāra Vardhamāna Mahāvira lived in the 5th century B.C. What we wish to point out here is that in reconstructing ancient Indian history we must take into account the indigenous sources containing genuine tradition and considering it as an important source of information for the historian of India.²

Among the various Purānas H. H. Wilson selected the *Vishnu Purāna* for translation into English, firstly because that out of the whole series it is the *Vishnu Purāna* that treats of the five specific topics or *pañcha lakshana* as given in the *Amarakośa*, and secondly because the Purāna appealed to him because it was not sectarian in character. Thirdly, the Purāna follows the prescribed rules and regulations. Fourthly, the legendary tales told are few and far between and are arranged in such a way that they do not distract the attention of the compiler from objects of more permanent interest and importance.

The Purāna itself is divided into six books of which the first is devoted

2. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 79-80.

to the details referring to the primary and secondary creation as conceived by the ancient Hindus. The kernel of the second book is the interesting legend of Bharata who gave a name to India called after him Bhārata Varsha. The third book is on the Vedas and other writings and contains also a description of the leading institutions of the Hindus. The fourth book is according to tradition historical where are narrated the lives and names of the kings of the lunar and solar dynasties of India. Here is shown that the lunar dynasty which succeeded the solar represents the same line of kings. In these historical traditions traces of migration and settlement are also seen. In specifying kings and dynasties the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* records the accounts with greater precision and in almost chronological order. The fifth book is devoted to the life of Kṛishṇa and this is considered an argument against the antiquity of the Purāṇa. How could this be when Kṛishṇa is prominently mentioned in Vedic literature? It can be indisputably proved that Kṛishṇa was a primitive deity who was worshipped by all Hindus without distinction of caste or creed among them, in much earlier times than we are prepared to assign to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The last book contains the usual account concerning the dissolution of the world in both its major and minor cataclysms. (*Vishṇu Purāṇa* by H. H. Wilson, Preface)

We have dwelt rather at length upon the materials contained in each book of this Purāṇa in order first to disillusion a section of the people who regard it as sectarian, and who think that the Purāṇa is Vaishṇavite in character. But it is not so. It has nothing to do with Vishṇu worship as such. It was not intended solely for the Vaishṇavas but to all classes of people. No doubt Vishṇu is glorified as the Supreme being but we must not forget the most important fact that the Purāṇa holds emphatically that with him, Brahman and Śiva are one. In fact there will be no creation or preservation of the world without Brahman and Śiva. This one fact is enough to show that the Purāṇa is non-sectarian in character and follows the Vedic path dispassionately. It appeals also by its profound doctrines to all of people who regard the work as a sacred one expounding Vedic literature and philosophy.

Another fact of much importance is that a close observer of this Purāṇa fails to notice the fasts and feasts, the ceremonials and ceremonies, festivities and sacrifices all connected with the deity called Vishṇu. An impartial observer will find at once from the absence of these rituals that the Purāṇa was not specially intended for the propagation of the Vaishṇava religion or even Vaishṇavism as such. What is more remarkable is even the sacred places or places of pilgrimage dedicated to Vishṇu or even places of repute where shrines dedicated solely to Vishṇu and his worship are not at all mentioned. These things above all must lead us to the conclusion that the special places with which the divinity of Vishṇu is associated or the special rituals attached to Him had not yet come into existence and were quite later developments. The very fact that these are conspicuous by their absence in this Purāṇa emboldens us to rank it among the ancient Purāṇas perhaps as the oldest among them.

Mention must be made of the fact that this Purāṇa like some other

Purāṇas conforms closely to the *pañchalakshana* of the Purāṇas unlike the later ones. The five characteristics are *Pratisarga* or primary creation, *Sarga* or secondary creation, *Vamsa*, genealogy of gods and patriarchs, *Manvantara*, periods of Manu and *Vamśānucharita*, history of princes of solar and lunar races and their descendants. We are referring to this because this Purāṇa by speaking on these five topics shows that it preserves an old nucleus by following the Vedic tradition. It is only in some Purāṇas we see these five topics specifically mentioned while other Purāṇas ignore the old tradition and even definition and introduce sectarianism thus cutting away from the established path. This itself shows that the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* belongs to the older school when Purāṇas as such came into being. In this connection we can once again point out that a sort of unity pervades the whole atmosphere and this Purāṇa hardly indulges in Māhātmyas and such like things which again indicates that the original purity of the Purāṇa literature is being maintained throughout.

From the foregoing evidences we are compelled to infer that the Purāṇa is much more ancient than we are disposed to think, devoid of sectarian character and written with a unity of purpose. These facts impress upon us that the Purāṇa must perhaps have belonged to the age of the Upanishads when there were wide speculations about the philosophy of religion and when there was no glorification of this god or that god and when there was faith in only one god and others were regarded as manifestations of this one god pervading the whole universe. In its literal sense the term Vishṇu means one who pervades the whole universe. If we take these things in this light the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* must be contemporaneous with *Atharvaveda* or a little subsequent to it. It can be safely placed in the sixth or seventh century B.C. Though orthodox tradition would assign a much higher antiquity to this Purāṇa, a critical student of history would place the composition of the Purāṇa in or about the beginning of the epoch of the Upanishads which may be roughly assigned to the 6th or 7th century B.C.

Before we close, a word might be said about reference to it in ancient Tamil literature. Under the caption 'the age of the Vishṇu Purāṇa' I wrote a note as early as 1931 in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* where I considered the evidence of the *Maṇimekhalai*, a Tamil classic roughly of the second century after Christ. In the course of a discussion on the various religious activities of different sects and persuasions in the Tamil land at a gathering at Vanji, the renowned capital of the ancient Cheras, we come across a very significant line, viz. *Kaḍal vanan Purāṇam ōḍinān*. This occurs in canto 27, ll. 98-99 meaning the Purāṇa dedicated to *Kaḍal vanan*. And *kaḍal vanan* is simply an epithet of Vishṇu meaning literally 'the god who had the colour of the sea'. It may be repeated here what I have said then that the expression is foreign to the Śaṅgam Tamil literature and whenever that god is mentioned the epithets employed are Tirumāl, kaḍal vanan etc. Therefore, it is reasonable to take the view that this line of the *Maṇimekhalai* is a distinct reference to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and *Vishṇu Purāṇa* was known almost in its present form to the writer of the *Maṇimekhalai*.

This is because the Purāṇa or Purāṇas attained the rank and status of the fifth Veda and they were expounded in the nook and corner of the Tamil land even at that time. For a Purāṇa to be expounded and popularised with the public it must have taken a considerable time after its composition was made. It is therefore certain that this independent testimony which is afforded by the Tamil literature shows that the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* may be reasonably assigned to a much higher antiquity and the date therefore assigned agrees well with this view and we are inclined to put down to a date much earlier than the fourth century B.C. suggested to us by the late scholar V. A. Smith. (Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 544 ff. ; V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, 4th Edn., pp. 22-23 ; *IHQ.*, Vol. VII, pp. 370-71 ; *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 747-767).

It has been the fashion with most of the Western scholars to treat slightly the historical value of the Purāṇas but one is glad to note a certain amount of transformation in the attitude of modern scholars. Though the Purāṇa literature as a whole is more or less believed to contain or embody early traditional history and even help epigraphy to some extent, still the age of the Purāṇas is far from being settled. In the last century it was almost thought that the Purāṇas are a very recent production and it is not possible to fix their date to any period before that of the Guptas. The consensus of opinion at present is to treat the age of the Purāṇas as some belonging to earlier versions and as some belonging to later versions. There is even a doubt among certain orthodox scholars that the age of the Purāṇas may even be fixed at the end of the Mahābhārata war when the Kali age began. But critical scholarship could not accept such an ancient date for, really speaking, some of the Purāṇas are undoubtedly late productions. But there are at least four or five Purāṇas which existed several centuries before the Christian era and we have no doubt that one such Purāṇa is the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. (*Kalyāṇakalpataru*, Vol. XXV, No. 11 ; A. D. Pusalker: *Purāṇas, A critical survey*).

THE NUMERALS IN INDIAN KHAROṢṬHĪ RECORDS*

BY DR. C. C. DAS GUPTA

A. Cardinalia

1. For "one" the Indian Kharoṣṭhī records use the term *eka* (*CII*, vol. I, M, I, l. 3; *Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, nos. XIV, l. 1, XXIII, l. 1, LXXIV, l. 1, LXXXV, ll. 2,3) and *[e]k[e]* in the inscriptions of Aśoka only (*Ibid*, vol. I, M, I, l. 5).

2. The numeral for "two" appears in the following forms. As *duve* it occurs in the inscriptions of Aśoka, such as *du[v]e* (*Ibid*, vol. I, l. 4) and *[duve]* (*Ibid*, M, II, l. 7). This also occurs as *duvi* in the inscriptions of Aśoka, such as *duv[i]* (*Ibid*, S, I, l. 3) and *du[vi]* (*Ibid*, S, II, l. 4).

3. The numeral for "three" is used in the following manner. In the inscriptions of Aśoka we find the word *ti[ni]*. (*Ibid*, M, I, ll. 4,5). There is no doubt that the term *ti[ni]* represents the plural number. There is also another word used in this sense, i.e., *trayo*. (*Ibid*, S, I, l. 3).

4. "Four" is *chature* as found in the inscriptions of Aśoka (*Ibid*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 9) and *chatu* as found in later inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, nos. VIII, A, l. 1, XXIII). *Chat(r)u* also indicates four (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XV, A, l. 14). *Chadu* also indicates four (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, nos. XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, LVA, LVB). *Chatur* also indicates four (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XCII).

8. The numeral for "eight" is *aṭha* as found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. (*CII*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 1). There is also another word "*aṭha[na]*" which Konow translates as eight. Regarding this word he has observed, "L.4 opens with a break, which is continued into the first remaining akshara, so that the shape has become distorted. We must, however, evidently read *a*. The next letter is *ṭha*, and then follows a long vertical which runs up into the akshara standing above. There are, however; faint traces of a curve in line with the head of the preceding *ṭha*, and if we can assume that the upper part of the long vertical is due to a later damage to the stone, we may think of reading *aṭhana*, which might correspond to Skr. *aṣṭānām*. It is quite conceivable that *aṣṭa* only becomes *aḍha* in compounds such as *aḍhasaṭhi*, and also in the Aśoka edicts and elsewhere in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions *aṭha* is the common form."¹

10. The numeral used for "ten" is *daśa* as found in the inscriptions of Aśoka (*CII*, vol. I, S, VIII, l. 17) and *daśahi* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, nos. X, LXXXII, l. 1). Regarding the first *daśahi* Konow has remarked, "L.4 opens

* A list of abbreviations of books, journals and terms used in this article:—
(1) *CII*—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; (2) *EI*—Epigraphia Indica; (3) *JRAS*—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; (4) *KI*—Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. Discovered by Sir M. Aurel Stein and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, E. Senart and P. S. Noble; (5) *M*.—Mansehra; (6) *S*.—Shahbazgarhi; (7) *TKDCT*—A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. By T. Burrow.

1. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 19, 1929.

with a comparatively clear *daśahi*, evidently followed by *kahapa* and an akshara which may be *na*, but is made unrecognisable through several irregular strokes which are clearly due to the roughness of the surface. Then come fairly clear traces of a *sa*, an akshara which may be a blurred *ha*, but also a *ña*, and finally a *sa*, with traces of an *e*-stroke and perhaps also a *r*-stroke. I therefore read *daśahi kahapanasahasre[hi]*, for ten thousand *kārshāpaṇas*, and infer that the inscription records a donation by the rich and wealthy *Sivarakshita*.² Regarding the second *daśahi* Konow has observed, "The next words are *Apelae sastehi daśahi*, for which Professor Thomas reads *Ape (or pi) laesa stehi dasahim*."³

12. For "twelve" we find the word *badaya* in the inscriptions of Aśoka (*CII*, vol. I, S, III, l. 5 and S, IV, l. 10). Regarding this unusual word Hultzsch observed, "With Bühler and Johansson (SS 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāsa*. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in *EI*, II, 203 f., and *ZDMG*, 73.227."⁴ It seems that there is no flaw in Hultzsch's argument. If we accept this view, we find *ba* stand for two. Instead of *ba* we find *duva* in some inscriptions of Aśoka (*Ibid*, *M*, III, l. 9; *M*, IV, l. 18).

13. For "thirteen" we find the word *todaśa* (*Ibid*, S, V, l. 11) Bühler reads this word as [*tidaśa*].⁵ Instead of *todaśa* we find *tredāsa* in the Mansehra recension of Aśoka's fourteen rock edicts (*Ibid*, *M*, V, l. 21) *Tre* is quite normal; but *ḍasa* instead of *dasa* is rather unusual.

60. For "sixty" we find the word *shashṭīhae* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. IX, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "Then follow some aksharas which look very clear in the estampage, but which I cannot make out. The first looks like *a*. The photographs before me make me, however, inclined to think that the head is damaged. If there was another curve on the other side of the vertical, it would be possible to read *sha*. The second letter does not look like anything I have seen elsewhere. One might think of reading *kri*, but the upper horizontal is much too long and the right-hand hook much too small. The long horizontal reminds me of *ṭha*, and the short bar to the right of *ṭa*. The only thing I can suggest is to read *shṭi*. The third akshara looks like the *ha*, no. 37 II of plate I, of Bühler's Palaeography, might, however, also be a mutilated *am*. With the utmost reserve I therefore read *shashṭīhae*, taking *-haa* to represent the suffix *tha* of *chaturtha*, *pañchatha*, etc. + *-ka*. In that case the ensuing three signs, the last of which is mutilated, would be the figure twenty thrice repeated. I feel so little confident about the reading, however, that I do not venture to assert that our inscription is one of the year 60, i.e., 25-24 B.C. The only thing which seems to be comparatively certain is that the passage following after *Damijadasa* has contained a date."⁶

68. For "sixty-eight" we find the word *aḍhashaṭṭhia* (*CII*, vol. II,

2. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 17, 1929.

3. *Ibid*, p. 157, 1929.

4. *CII*, vol. I, p. 52, foot-note 1, 1925.

5. *Ibid*, p. 55, foot-note 13, 1925.

6. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 15, 1929.

pt. I, no. XI, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "The three first aksharas are certainly *adhasha*, and the fourth and fifth seem to be *thi* and *a*, respectively. *Adhashathia* can hardly be anything else than some form or derivation of the numeral 68, cf. Ardhamāgadhī *adhāsathi*, where we find the same double treatment of old *sht*. The form *adhā* for *ashta* is already found in the Aśoka inscriptions in the word *adhakosikya*, at intervals of eight kos, but does not seem to have been used unless *ashta* occurs in the beginning of a compound. A numeral at the beginning of an inscription can hardly mean anything else than a date, and the inscription accordingly seems to belong to the year 68."⁷

100. For "hundred" we find the word *śatani* (*CII*, vol. I, S, IV, l. 7 ; *M*, IV, l. 12). Also we find the word *śa[tehi]* (*Ibid*, vol. I, *M*, IV, l. 14).

600. For "six hundred" we find *shashu-śa[t]eshu* (*Ibid*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 9 ; *M*, XIII, l. 9).

10000. For "ten thousand" we find the word *daśahi sa[ha]s[re]* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. X, l. 4). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "L. 4 opens with a comparatively clear *daśahi*, evidently followed by *kahapa* and an akshara which may be *nā*, but is made unrecognisable through several irregular strokes which are clearly due to the roughness of the surface. Then come fairly clear traces of a *sa*, an akshara which may be a blurred *ha*, but also a *ñā*, and finally a *sa*, with traces of an *e*-stroke and perhaps also a *r*-stroke. I therefore read *daśahi kahapanasahasre[hi]*, for ten thousand *kārshāpaṇas*, and infer that the inscription records a donation by the rich and wealthy *Sivarakshita*."⁸

100000. For "one hundred thousand" we find the word *śata-[saha]sre*. (*CII*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 1 ; *M*, XIII, l. 1).

For "hundred thousands" we find the word *śatasahasrani*. (*Ibid*, vol. I, S, I, l. 2 ; *M*, I, l. 4).

B. ORDINALIA

1. For "first" we find the word *purvaye* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XIII, l. 1). Konow translates this as first.⁹ We also find a slightly varied form, i.e., *purvae* in another later inscription (*Ibid*, vol. II, no. LXXVI, l. 1). First is written in two forms of Skt. *prathama*, such as [*pra*]tham[e] (locat. -e) (*Ibid*, vol II, pt. I; no. XX, l. 2) and *praḍhame* (locat. -e) (*Ibid*, vol. II, no. XXVI, l. 1). Regarding the latter form Konow has observed, "Dr. Fleet read *prathame* for *praḍhame*, and it is possible that the reproductions are wrong. We cannot, however, do more than to transliterate what they actually give, and the *ḍh* is perfectly certain."¹⁰

5. For "fifth" we find the expression *pañchashu pañchashu* in the inscriptions of Aśoka (*Ibid*, vol. I, S; III, l. 6 ; *M*, III, l. 9). Hultzsch

7. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 18, 1929.

8. *Ibid*, p. 17, 1929.

9. *Ibid*, p. 29, 1929.

10. *Ibid*, p. 68, 1929.

translates this expression as "every five years".¹¹ This expression is certainly equivalent to fifth year. This word *paṃchashu* is in the locative plural. In later inscriptions we find the expressions *paṃchame* (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XIII, l. 1) and *paṃchami* (*Ibid.*, no. LIII) and *paṃchamaye* (*EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 7). The word *paṃchame* is in the locative singular—this shows that the usual form of the locative ends in *-e*. The second word to be considered is the *paṃchami* which is in the locative singular. Konow has rightly observed, "The usual form of the locative ends in *e* ; cf. the common *saṃvatsare*, etc. In addition to this we also have the pronominal termination *asmin*, which partly appears as *asi*, *asa*, partly as *ami*, *aṃmi*, *amri*, i.e., probably *amhi*, as already stated. Forms such as *paṃchami* (Hashtnagar), *aṭhami* (Und) have been influenced by this termination, which may also be found in *aṭha-viṃśatihi* (Hidda), if the reading is correct."¹² He has further rightly observed, "We may note the form *paṃchami* for *paṃchame*, which is evidently influenced by the preceding *divasammi*."¹³ The word *paṃchamaye* is in the locative singular.

8. For "eighth" we find the expression *aṭhame* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXXIX, l. 2) and *aṭhami* (*Ibid.*, no. LXXXVII, l. 1). The word *aṭhame* is in the locative singular and in conformity with the word *divase* which precedes it. The word *aṭhami* is also in the locative singular but is not in conformity with the word *divase* which precedes it.

10. For "tenth" we find the word *daśama* (*Ibid.*, no. LX, l. 2). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "The next akshara might be *na*, but everywhere else the dental *n* is replaced by the cerebral one, and I therefore read *da*, which I take together with the ensuing *sama* as *daśama*, Skr. *daśamaṃ*."¹⁴ Here the word *daśama* which is in the accusative singular ends in *a-base*.

11. For "eleventh" we find the word *ekadaśe* (*Ibid.*, no. LXXIV, l. 1). Here also the locative singular ends in *e* and this is in conformity with the word *saṃva[t]sare* which precedes it.

15. For "fifteenth" we find the word *paṃchadaśe* (*Ibid.*, no. XXIII, l. 1 ; *Ibid.*, no. XXVIII, l. 1). Here the locative singular ends in *e-base*.

16. For "sixteenth" we find the word *ṣoḍaśe* (*Ibid.*, no. XII, l. 1). Here the locative singular ends in *e-base* and is in conformity with the word *divase* which precedes it.

20. For "twentieth" we get the word *viśami* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXXIII, l. 2). This word is in the locative singular and ends in *-mi*.

23. For "twenty-third" we find the word *treviśe* (*JRAS*, 1932, p. 950). Here the locative singular ends in *e-base*.

25. For "twenty-fifth" we find the word *paṃchaviś(r)aye* (*EI*, XXIV, p. 7).

28. For "twenty-eighth" we find the word *aṭhaviṃśatihi* (*CII*, vol. II,

11. *CII*, vol. I, p. 52, 1925.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. cxiii, 1929.

13. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 119, 1929.

14. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 126, 1929.

pt. I, no. LXXXII, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "The first word is *sambatsarae*, but the first letter looks like *se* or *sem*. The next seems to be *athavimsatihi*, as read by Professor Thomas. We should expect *athavimse* or *athavimsami*, or else *sambatsarehi* for *sambatsare*. Then follow the numerical figures 10 4 4 and evidently *masye*."¹⁵ The present author wants to put certain criticism to these remarks of Prof. Konow. First, it is clear that we have found such expression as *sambatsarae athavimsatihi* in many other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, such as *divase athami* (*Ibid*, no. LXXXVII, l. 1). Secondly, the reading 10 4 4 seems to be wrong. It is quite logical to expect 20 4 4 after *athavimsatihi* and there is no doubt that the numeral which Konow has taken as 10 is 20. That this numeral is to be considered as 20 is clear from the fact that it contains two hooks as is always the case with the numeral 20. This fact is also clear from a comparative study of 10 found in other inscriptions and this numeral. The numeral *athavimsatihi* is the locative singular. We also find another word *athavise* which certainly means twenty-eighth. The portion where this word occurs has been read by Konow as follows:—"divase(m) *athavise di 10 4 4*".¹⁶ Then he translates this as "on the eighteenth day, d. 18".¹⁷ The most serious objection is to the interpretation of *athavise*. He translates *athavise* as "on the eighteenth"; but *athavise* can never be translated as "on the eighteenth". In the Kharoṣṭhī inscription no. 354 found in Chinese Turkestan we find the expression "*masasya athadasami*".¹⁸ This is translated by Burrow as "on the eighteenth day of the (?) month".¹⁹ So there is no doubt that *athavise* means twenty-eighth.

41. For "forty-first" we get the word *ekachapar[i][sa]i* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXXV, ll. 2-3). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "After *Kanishkasa* follows *sambatsarae ekachaparisa* as read by Lüders. We may note this certain instance of *p*, i.e., *pp*, for the old *tv*. The *sa* of the last word, which stands at the beginning of l. 3, is defaced but certain."²⁰ Regarding this word Konow has observed, "The usual form of the locative ends in *e*; cf. the common *samvatṣare*, etc. In addition to this we also have the pronominal termination *asmin*, which partly appears as *asi*, *asa*, partly as *ami*, *ammi*, *amri*, i.e., probably *amhi*, as already stated. Forms such as *panchami* (Hashtnagar), *athami* (Und) have been influenced by this termination, which may also be found in *athavimsatihi* (Hidda), if the reading is correct. *Ekachaparisa* (Ara) and *ma[si]* (Mamane Dheri) perhaps are mere slips."²¹

78. For "seventy-eighth" we find the word *athasatatimae* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XIII, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, "The first two words are certainly *samvatṣaraye athasatatimae*. The first two

15. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 157, 1929.

16. *Ibid*, p. 139, 1929.

17. *Ibid*, p. 141, 1929.

18. *KI*, pt. I, no. 354, 1920.

19. *TKDCT*, p. 68, 1940.

20. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 163, 1929.

21. *Ibid*, p. cxiii, 1929.

aksharas are apparently so much corroded that they are hardly visible.”²² There is no doubt that this word is in the locative singular and ends in *e*-base.

81. For “eighty-first” we find the word *ekasitimaye* (*Ibid.*, no. XIV, l. 1). There is no doubt that this word is in the locative singular and ends in *e*-base.

100. For “hundredth” we find the expression *śata-bhage* in the inscriptions of Aśoka (*CII*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 7 ; *M*, XIII, l. 7). Hultsch translates this expression as “the hundredth part”.²³

103. For “one-hundred-and-third” we find the word [*ti*]śatimae (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XX, l. 2). Regarding this word Konow has remarked, “The next word is *tiśatimae*, for which M. Senart read *tiśatamae*. The reading is absolutely certain, and also supported by the forms *śatimaye*, *śatimae*, in the Paja and Skarah Dheri inscriptions.”²⁴ This word is in the locative singular and ends in *e*-base.

104. For “one-hundred-and-fourth” we find the word [*cha*]duśadam[*e*] (*EI*, vol. XXI, p. 28). Regarding this word Konow has observed, “What can be read is accordingly *duśadama-śra 4 4*, and though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharoṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *chaduśadam[e]śra 4 4*, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8 (of) śrāvana. It is true that other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions present *śatimaa* for hundredth, but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *satatimaa*, *aśitimaa*, and Pāli has *satama*. What precedes [*cha*]duśadama cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *sabatsarae*, which we have before [*ti*]śatimae in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription.”²⁵

111. For “one-hundred-and-eleventh” we find the word *ekad[a]śa-śa*[*śa*]timaye (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, “Then follows *ekadaśatimaye* 1 100 10 1. There is a blurred bar across *da*, but it only represents an unevenness in the stone. Mr. Banerji explains *ekada-śatimaye* as ‘an *Apabhraṃśa* of *ekadaśādhika-śatamaye*.’ The ensuing numeral symbols show that the word means ‘111th’, but the regular numeral for 111 would be *ekadaśasata*, and it is evident that a *śa* has been omitted by mistake, so that we should read *ekadaśasatimaye*. The form *śatimaya*, and not *śatamaya*, has already been met with in the Takht-i-Bahi record and is the only one which is found in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It seems to be due to the analogy of ordinals formed from numerals ending in *-śati*.”²⁶

399. For four hundredth year less one, i.e., 399 we find the word *ek[u]ṇa[cha]duśatimae* (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LX, l. 1). Regarding this word Konow has observed, “Dr. Stratton held the next word to be either *ekunaśiti-śatimae* or *ekanaśatiśatimae*, and M. Boyer is positive that the former is correct reading. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, read *ekunachaduśatimae*.

22. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 24, 1929.

23. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 69, 1929.

24. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 58, 1929.

25. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 26.

26. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 64, 1929.

M. Majumdar objects against this reading that *chaduśatimae* can only mean the 104th. But in Sanskrit we have *chatuṣṣata*, '400, and similarly *chaṁśaa* in Prākṛit. Such numerals were ambiguous, but there is no ambiguity when *ekuna* precedes. There is not, therefore, any *a priori* reason for rejecting Dr. Fleet's reading, which seems to be the only possible one."²⁷ This word is in the locative singular and ends in *-e* base.

1000. For "thousandth" we find the expression *sahasra-bhagam* (*CII*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 7) and *sahasra-bhage* (*Ibid*, M, XIII, l. 7) in the inscription of *Aśoka*. Hultzsch translates this as "the thousandth part."²⁸

C. Figure

1. We find the numeral 1 in the inscriptions of *Aśoka* (*CII*, vol. I, S, I, l. 3). In this inscription we find the use of the numeral sign indicating one. It is true that there is no word before this numeral sign indicating that it is one; but in other recensions of the same inscription found at Girnar, Kalsi, Mansehra and Jaugada one word indicating this numeral is placed instead of this numeral sign. Therefore, there is no doubt that it represents one. The sign for one is indicated by one slanting line. We find the numeral 1 in other inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXVI, l. 1; no. XXXVII, no. 3; no. LXXII, l. 1). Out of these three examples we find in one case the figure for the numeral 1 preceded by the word indicating the numeral one, i.e. *pradhame* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXVI, l. 1).

2. We find the numeral "2" in the inscriptions of *Aśoka* (*Ibid*, vol. I, S, I, l. 3; S, II, l. 5; M, I, l. 4; M, II, l. 7). The numeral "2" is indicated by two vertical strokes placed side by side. In the *Shahbazgarhi* version we find the *duv*[i] before the numeral "2" (*Ibid*, S, I, l. 3). In the *Mansehra* version of the same inscription we find the word *du*[v]e before the numeral "2" (*Ibid*, M, I, l. 4). In the *Shahbazgarhi* version we find the word *du*[vi] before the numeral "2" (*Ibid*, S, II, l. 5). In the *Mansehra* version of the same inscription we find the word [*duve*] before the numeral [2]. We find the numeral "2" used in other inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXVI, l. 3; no. XXXVII, no. 4). In both cases the numeral is not preceded by the word indicating the numeral 2.

4. We find the numeral 4 indicated in the inscriptions of *Aśoka* (*CII*, vol. I, S, XIII, l. 9). The *Mansehra* version is seriously mutilated and nothing can be read. But in the *Shahbazgarhi* recension we find the word *chature* before the numeral indicating four. This numeral is expressed by four vertical strokes.

5. We find the numeral 5 indicated in the inscriptions of *Aśoka* (*Ibid*, vol. I, S, III, l. 7; M, III, l. 9). The expression which has been used to indicate the number is *pañchashu pañchashu* in both cases. The numeral has been expressed by five parallel vertical lines. But in the later period we find the expression of the numeral 5 in a different manner. The numeral

27. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 125, 1929.

28. *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 69, 1925.

five is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka ; but here it is written in a different manner. In the inscriptions of Aśoka the numeral five is indicated by five parallel vertical lines ; but here the numeral five is indicated by one inclined cross and to its left one vertical line. There is no doubt that this sign indicates the numeral 5 as the numeral is also expressed in word. The portion of the inscription where this occurs runs thus: *pañchamaye* 4 1, i.e., fifth, 5.²⁹ It is obvious that this inclined cross which indicates the numeral 4 is nothing but the fixing of 4 vertical lines. Thus we can easily understand the significance of these two signs meaning the numeral 5. Thus we see that the numeral one is indicated by the slanting stroke, the numeral four by an inclined cross and the numeral five by one inclined cross and to its left one vertical line. We find the numeral 5 indicated in the same manner in other later inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XIII, l. 1 ; no. LII ; no. LXXXVIII). In one example we find the numeral 5 preceded by the word *pañchame* (*Ibid*, no. XIII, l. 1); in another by the word *pañchami* (*Ibid*, no. LIII). In another example we find only the numeral 5 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXVIII).

8. We find the numeral 8 indicated in some inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXXIX, l. 2 ; no. LXXXVII, l. 1). Here this numeral is indicated by the placing of two fours side by side. In one case we find the numeral 8 preceded by the word *aṭhame* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXXIX, l. 2). In another case we find the numeral 8 preceded by the word *aṭhami* (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXXVII, l. 1). We find the numeral 8 in another inscription (*EI*, vol. XXI, p. 28).

10. We find the numeral 10 indicated in some inscriptions (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXIX ; no. LXXXII, l. 1). The sign indicating the numeral 10 is very similar to the Kharoṣṭhī letter *a*. In one case there is no word indicating the numeral preceding it (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXIX) ; but in another case we find the word *daśahi* before the numeral (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXXII, l. 1).

The numbers lying between 10, 20 and 100 are expressed by groups in which the additional ones are invariably placed on the left. Thus for 5 we have 4(+)*1*. Groups formed of the signs for 10(+)*1* to 10(+)*9*, and 20(+)*1* to 20(+)*9* and so forth are used to express the numerals 11 to 19, and 21 to 29, etc.

11. We find the numeral 11 indicated in a number of inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXIV, l. 1, no. LXXV, l. 1). The sign is indicated by a vertical stroke to the left of the sign indicating ten. In one case the numeral is preceded by the word *ekadaśe* (*Ibid*, vol. II, no. LXXIV, l. 1) ; whereas in another case we do not find this kind of word.

12. We find the numeral 12 in one inscription (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. VIII, B, l. 2).

14. The sign used for the numeral 14 which is found in an inscription of Menander may now be discussed. Regarding this numeral Majumdar observed, "The day of the month Kārtika is expressed as 4 4 4 1 1, i.e., 14.

29. *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 7, 1938.

This notation is rather unsound, since the customary way to express the number 14 would be to write 10 4. The third digit, viz., 4, which is engraved below the line, appears to have been added later."³⁰ Majumdar added a note which runs thus: "The second symbol for 1 is longer than the first. A similar example occurs in the Fatehjang inscription of the year 69 (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. IV, 1)."³¹ We would offer certain criticism to the statement of Majumdar. First, it is not a matter of importance to find out the similarity between the second symbol for 1 in this inscription and the second symbol for 1 from the day-portion 16 in the Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68. Secondly, it is inexplicable how Majumdar calls this inscription as dated in the year 69 as there cannot be any doubt regarding its year being 68. In an example of the numeral 12 found in the Maira inscription of the year 58 the date is expressed by a sign, similar to the Kharoshthī *a*, for 10 and two other vertical strokes indicating two (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. VIII, B, 1. 2). This system is followed from this time onwards. It, therefore, seems that the date, if it was written 10, at first through mistake in this inscription, was unusual because the numeral 10 ought to have been represented by the sign for 10 which is similar to the Kharoshthī *a*. It, therefore, seems that the engraver at first wrote 9 indicated by the signs meant for 4, 4, 1 and then he added 1 to the left of the vertical stroke and also one 4 below to make it 14. Another explanation is possible. It may be that the sign resembling the Kharoshthī *a* intended for 10 was not evolved at that time and so the numeral 14 is written in this manner.

15. The sign used for the numeral 15 is found in a number of inscriptions (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, l. 1; no. XXVII, l. 1; no. LXXXVI, l. 7). This numeral is made by the addition of 1+4 to the left of 10. In one case we find the addition of the word *panchadase* before the numeral (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, l. 1). In the remaining cases we do not find the word before the numeral (*Ibid*, no. XXVII, l. 1; no. LXXXVI, l. 1).

16. The sign used for the numeral 16 is found in a number of inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XII). This numeral is preceded by the word *shodāse*.

18. The sign used for the numeral 18 is found in a number of inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXVI and LXXIX).

20. The sign used for the numeral 20 is found in a number of inscriptions (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIV, l. 3; no. XXXVII, no. 3; no. LXXV, l. 1; no. LXXVI, l. 1; no. LXXX, l. 1A). The numeral 20 is represented by a double curve, looking like a cursive combination for two 10, for 20.

22, 23, 25-27. We find the numerals 22 (*Ibid*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LX, l. 1), 23 (*JRAS*, 1932, p. 950), 25 (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. LXXXV, l. 3; no. LXXXIX), 26 (*Ibid*, no. XX, l. 1), and 27 (*Ibid*, no. XL).

30 and 40. We find the numerals 30 (*Ibid*, no. XXXVII, no. 4) and 40 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXII, l. 2).

30. *El*, vol. XXIV, p. 3, 1938.

31. *Ibid*.

28. We find the numeral 28 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXII, l. 1). Here we have the word *athavimśatihi* before the numeral 28.

41. We find the numeral 41 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXV, l. 3). Here we find the word *ekachapar[i][sa]i* before the numeral indicating 41.

51 and 58. We find the numerals 51 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXVI, l. 1) and 58 (*Ibid*, no. VIII, B, l. 1)

60. We find the numeral 60 (*Ibid*, no. IX, l. 1). Here we find the word *shashṭihae* before the numeral indicating 60.

61 and 68. We find the numerals 61 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXVII, l. 1) and 68 (*Ibid*, no. XII)

78. We find the numeral 78 (*Ibid*, no. XIII, l. 1). Here we find the word *aṭhasatimae* before the numeral indicating 78.

81. We find the numeral 81 (*Ibid*, no. XIV, l. 1). Here we find the word *ekasitimaye* before the numeral indicating 81.

89. We find the numeral 89 (*Ibid*, no. LXXXVIII).

100. We find possibly the numeral 100 (*Ibid*, no. XVIII). Regarding this figure Konow has observed, "The third one can perhaps be compared with the first numeral figure of the date in the Lorian Tangai inscription, preceded by the numeral 1. I am therefore inclined to think that we have to do with a misshapen 100. The last sign I cannot identify. It may be a sign of the same kind as the unidentified signs after the figures in the Fateh-jang and Muchai inscriptions. With every reserve I therefore read *samva* 1 100, in which case our record would be two years earlier than the Mount Barj inscription."³² The sign for 100 is indicated by a sign, resembling a Brāhmī *ta* or *tra*, for 100 to the right of which stands a vertical stroke, whereby the whole becomes equivalent to IC.

102. We find the numeral 102 (*Ibid*, no. XIX)

103. We find the numeral 103 (*Ibid*, no. XX, l. 1). This numeral is preceded by the word *tisatimae* indicating the same numeral.

111. We find the numeral 111 (*Ibid*, no. XXIII, l. 1). This numeral is preceded by the word *ekad[a]śa[śa]timaye* indicating the same numeral.

113. We find the numeral 113 (*Ibid*, no. XXIV, l. 3)

117. We find the numeral 117 (*Ibid*, no. XXV, l. 1). Regarding this numeral Konow has remarked, "L. 1 opens with four numerical figures and traces of a fifth. The four which can be read with certainty are: the lower portion of 4 and three other strokes, i.e., 4 1 1 1, seven. Before the damaged 4 only part of a bottom-stroke is left. It reminds me of the lower part of the figure 10, as seen in the Paja inscription. If it had been the figure 20, we should have expected the bottom to go further down. The only alternative seems to be that the figure before 4 was 100. I therefore restore the date as 1 100 10 4 11, i.e., 117, though 107 is also possible."³³

122, 134, 136 and 168. We find the numerals 122 (*Ibid*, no. XXVI, l. 1), 134 (*JRAS*, 1933, p. 950), 136 (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXVII, l. 1) and 168 (*Ibid*, no. XXVIII, l. 1).

32. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 54, 1929.

33. *Ibid*, p. 67, 1929.

187. We find the numeral 187 (*Ibid*, no. XXIX, l. 1). Regarding this numeral Konow has observed, "The first line was read by Professor Rapson as *sam 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 1 1 1*. He rightly remarks that it is doubtful whether the last three strokes, which are clearly visible in the photograph but absent in Dr. Francke's hand-copy, are part of the date or not. In the former case, we have the year 187, corresponding, according to Dr. Van Wijk, to A.D. 103-04, in the latter it is three years earlier."³⁴

191. We find the numeral 191 (*Ibid*, no. XXX, l. 1). Regarding this numeral Konow has observed, "Then follow the numeral figures 1 + 100 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 10 + 1, i.e., the record is dated in the year 191, evidently of the old Śaka era, and corresponding, according to the system adopted in this volume, to A.D. 107-108."³⁵

200. We find the numeral 200 (*Ibid*, no. XXXIX, l. 1). Regarding this numeral Konow has observed, "The reading of the date is quite certain: *sam 1 1 100 Veśākhasa masasa divase aṭhame 4 4*, i.e., the 8th Vaiśākha 200, corresponding, according to Dr. Van Wijk, to the 24th March, A.D. 116."³⁶ A study of the photograph shows that the numeral 200 is indicated by the addition of one vertical stroke to the vertical stroke which is a constituent part of the numeral 100.

303. We find the numeral 303 (*EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 10). A study of the photograph shows that the numeral 300 is indicated by the addition of two vertical strokes to the right of the vertical stroke which is a constituent part of the numeral 100.

318. We find the numeral 318 (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, no. XL, l. 1). Regarding this numeral Konow has observed, "The date is quite clear, viz. *sa 1 1 1 100 10 4 4 Proṭhavadasa di 20 4 1 1 1*, corresponding, according to Dr. Van Wijk's calculations, to the 27th August, A.D. 234."³⁷ A study of the photograph shows that the numeral 300 is indicated by the addition of two vertical strokes to the right of the vertical stroke which is a constituent part of the numeral 100.

359. We find the numeral 359 (*Ibid*, no. XLV). Regarding this numeral Konow has observed, "L. 1 opens with the date, and it is not likely that anything is missing. The first akshara is *sam*, where the anusvāra is marked by a slight forward bend of the vertical. Then follow the figures 1 1 1 100 20 20 10 4 4 1, i.e., 359, where the second 20 is written so near the ensuing 10 that it has evidently been added subsequently. It also stands so near the preceding 20 that it cannot well have been written before the 10 had been incised. The engraver evidently first wrote 339, and then noticed that he had made a mistake and added the second-20. It is less likely that he has wanted to correct 339 to 349, because the 10 was evidently there in his draft."³⁸

384. We find the numeral 384 (*Ibid*, no. LIII). Regarding this

34. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 80, 1929.

35. *Ibid*, p. 82, 1929.

36. *Ibid*, p. 104, 1929.

37. *Ibid*, p. 106, 1929.

38. *Ibid*, p. 111, 1929.

numeral Konow has observed, "The date was first read for Mr. King by Sir A Cunningham as *saṃ 274 emborasmā masasa mi pañchamī 5*, where *emborasmā* was explained as representing Greek, *εμβολισμος*, intercalated. M. Senart saw that the last figures of the date were 84 and the month *Prothavada*, and Bühler had simultaneously and independently arrived at similar results, reading the name of the month as *Postavadasa*. Vincent Smith compared the readings of these two scholars, and adopted Cunningham's view that the era was the Śaka era, and Bühler remarked that the palaeography of the record does not furnish us with sufficient facts for dating it at a great distance from the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka. Finally M. Senart read the year as 384, and his reading was, with a slight modification (*pañchamī* for *pañchame*), adopted by Professor Vogel and Mr. Pargiter."³⁹

A NOTE ON VERSE 22 OF THE AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PULAKESIN II

DR. G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Verse 22 of the Aihole Inscription of the time of Pulakesin II reads as follows:—

pratāp-opanatā yasya Lāṭa-Māḷava-Gūrjjarāḥ
daṇḍ-opanata-sāmanta-charyya-āch[ā]ryyā iv-ābhavan

"Subdued by His (Pulakesin's) splendour, the Lāṭas, Māḷavas, and Gūrjjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave."

The question is how far this claim put forth by Pulakesin's court poet on behalf of his patron is real? In the *Ārya-Maṅjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* Śilāditya of Valabhī (identified with the first king of that name, whose dated records range between 605 and 611 A.D.) is described as the ruler of the country that stretched beyond Ujjayinī up to the land of the Lāḍas (Lāṭas) on the sea-coast:

paśchāddeśaparyantaṃ Ujjayanyāmataḥpare
samudra-tīra-paryantaṃ Lāḍānāṃ janapade tathā
Śilāhvo nāma nṛpatiḥ buddhānāṃ śāsane rataḥ
purīm Valabhya saṃprāpto dharmarājā bhaviṣyati

Hiuen Tsang testifies to the fact that the Maitraka king was actually in possession of western Malwa (Ma-la-p'o). His brother Kharagraha issued his grants from Ujjayinī in central Malwa in 616 A.D.² The latter's son, Dhruvasena II Bālāditya made grants of land in the Mālavabhukti in 640-41 A.D.³ In the Life of Hiuen Tsang he is described as "the King of the South."⁴

39. *Ibid.*, p. 119, 1929.

1. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 43; Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, p. 9.

2. *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, 659 ff., Gadre, *op. cit.*, 7 ff.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 195.

4. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 185.

Sīladitya I's own son Derabhāta is spoken of in some late records of the family as the lord of the land which has the Vindhya and the Sahya as its breasts.⁵ Dhruvasena II's son Dharasena IV issued his Kaira plates from Bharukachchha.⁶

Finally, we may recall the evidence of the Nausari Plates of Jayabhāta III which gives us the interesting information that the Maitraka contemporary of Harsha being defeated by that great emperor took shelter with the Gurjara prince Dadda II. All these statements and facts point to only one conclusion, namely, that a very intimate connection subsisted between the Maitrakas of Valabhī on the one hand, and the Lāṭas, Mālavas and the Gūrjaras on the other, during the first half of the seventh century after the passing away of the Kāṭachchhuri rule in this quarter. The evidence of the Kaira grant of the Chālukya prince Vijayarāja has no doubt been adduced by Fleet to corroborate the above statement of the Aihole Inscription.⁷ But the genuineness of this record has been called into question by R. G. Bhandarkar.⁸ At best the record shows that Pulakeśin II held sway over the Lāṭa division only. But in the present state of our knowledge it may be asserted that he did not exercise any effective control over the territories occupied by the Mālavas and the Gūrjaras. The statement of the Aihole inscription, therefore, may simply imply that these small states, situated as they were, established friendly relations with their powerful neighbour, and may perhaps have acknowledged the superiority of his might, but there is nothing to suggest that they actually became his feudatories.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF VENGI (200 to 400 A.D.)

R. SUBBA RAO

The following are the chief sources for the History of Vengi:—

- (1) Prakrit stone inscriptions of Andhra-Sātavāhanas and Ikshvākus.
- (2) Prakrit and Sanskrit Literature.
- (3) Prakrit and Sanskrit Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Bṛihatphalāyanas and Śālaṅkāyanas.
- (4) Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.
- (5) Ptolemy's *Geography*—I-tsing's *Travels*.
- (6) Archaeological remains at Vengi, Guntapalli, etc.

The later Prakrit inscriptions of Sātavāhanas-Andhras as well as their coins are found in the lower Krishna and Godavari valleys. Pulumāyi's stone inscription is found at Amaravati. Some rock-cut well inscriptions of the reign of 29th Andhra king, Chandra-Sātasri are found at Kodavolu near Pithāpura. It is well-known that the later Andhra kings ruled over Vengi and a Buddhist statue was unearthed there recently. Some miles to N. W. of Vengi, at Guntapalli, there exists a three-storied chaitya with Prakrit

5. *Ep. Ind.*, I., p. 88; *Gadre, op. cit.*, p. 11.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XV., p. 339.

7. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 359.

8. *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I., pt. I, p. 111, pt. II, p. 188 and note 3.

Inscriptions and Buddhist stupas. The Guntapalli caves resemble the Ajanta caves in some respects.

By Yuanchwang, Vengi was called Pin-ki-lo. There were many Buddhist monasteries and Buddhism and Jainism were existing side by side as stated in his "*Travels*".

During the last part of the Andhra rule, the Ikshvākus ruled in the Krishna valley and probably their rule extended to the north of the river Godavari. The recent discovery of Nagarjunakonda stupa with its innumerable historical relics suggests that these kings also ruled mainly over this part of Andhra. Again a recently discovered copper-plate inscription (Kondamudi plates) states that Jayavarma of Bṛihatphalāyana gotra was ruling at Kuduru in Kuduhara Vishaya which subsequently passed under the Śālaṅkāyanas. This Jayavarma seems to have lived at the same time when Śiva-skandavarma Pallava ruled (250 A.D.). While the Pallavas ruled to the south of the river Krishna, Jayavarma ruled to the north of Krishna in Kuduhara (Kistna Dt.)

The Śālaṅkāyanas succeeded to royal power about 250 A.D. and ruled till 400 or 425 A.D. They ruled over both Kuduhara (Krishna Dt.) and Vengi (West Godavari Dt.). They had a sea-coast lying between the mouths of the two big rivers with two excellent sea-port towns.

Śālaṅkāyanas: 250 to 400 or 425 A.D. Origin and Growth:

In his Book vii, 79, Ptolemy mentions the towns Bēnagouron, Kastrā and Magaris as belonging to the Salakēnoi, who are located above the Maiṣōloi and near the mountain range Arouaia, the last of Ptolemy's 7 mountains of Cis-Gangetic India. Now, we have got 7 C.P. charters issued by rulers called Śālaṅkāyanas. They ruled over a principality situated between Godavari and Krishna rivers. The names under which Ptolemy group the towns are stated to be as not homogeneous. Some of these indicate states and some tribes. But Salakēnoi is a dynasty. The empire of Andhras is called Ariake Sadenoi, capital being Baithana, the residence of Siropolemaios. It is known that Sadenos is a Prakrit form of the dynastic name Sātavāhana. Other instances are Pandiones = Pāṇḍyas, Kerobothros = Keralaputras, Poronamoi (Parururavas). The Śālaṅkāyas issued grants from Vengipura (Benagouron); Kuddura (Kuraāhāra), Maisoli (Krishna), Kontakossalai (Ghaṅṭāṣāila) are all mentioned by Ptolemy as connected with internal and external trade routes. They were great market centres and from the sea-ports, vessels carried merchandise to Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma), and Chrysei (Indo-Chinese Peninsula). Internal trade was carried on to Paithan and from there to the sea-ports on the west coast. Traders and colonists sailed in the ships from the eastern ports and colonised Java and other islands as well as Indo-Chinese countries, where inscriptions in Vengi script are found in large numbers. Buddhist religion also travelled abroad as proved by the discoveries of Buddhist stupas and inscriptions in foreign lands. The Śālaṅkāyanas like the Pallavas seem to have penetrated into Andhra at the close of the Sātavāhana rule from the

Indus Valley and Sind: Sālaṅkāyanas are mentioned in Pāṇini's grammar as a Gaṇa or Republic, and Patañjali, who wrote commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras, stated that the Sālaṅkāyanas consisted of 3 small tribes. The great work Kausaki states that they lived originally in Vāhika Deśa (Indus Valley and Sind), probably in 2nd century A.D. and along with the Pallavas they penetrated into eastern Deccan and ruled at first as vassals of Andhras and later on when the Andhra power declined, they became independent.

I stated already in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I (1927) that these Sālaṅkāyanas were closely related to the Pallavas as proved by several factors, viz., marriage alliances, same Gotra (Bharadvāja), same emblem (Bull or Nandi), several same names in both dynasties (Skanda Varmas and Nandi Varmas), same script Vengi (old Telkannada) and same kind of polity. The Sālaṅkāyanas also inherited the Iskhvāku and Bṛihatphalāyana kingdoms and mode of rule.

Jaya Varma's C.P. grant is written in Prakrit and its script resembles that of Śivaskanda. He assumed Brahmanical gotra and did Brahmanical ceremonies. He was a Śaivite, and an Aśvamedhin and a patron of Brahmanical Hinduism and a devotee of Śiva and Sun. He probably ruled before the middle of 3rd century.

The Sālaṅkāyana rule and genealogy and chronology can now be fairly determined from their own C.P. grants and from the identification of Samudragupta's Hasti Varma of Vengi with the great grand father of Nandi Varma whose Vengi plates were published by me in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, and Vishṇugopa of Kanchi with Pallava Vishṇugopa Varma of c 330 A.D. The North Indian Vedic culture and civilization and Sanskrit were introduced into the Andhra land. Some of their C.P. grants were written in old Telkannada. Prior to 200 A.D. owing to the defeat of Pulumāyi-Vāsishṭhiputra at the hands of the western Satraps, he and his successors retired to the Godavari and the Krishna valleys in the east and ruled there. The growth of Buddhism and Buddhist art as well as the spread of commercial and colonial intercourse with the Eastern Archipelago were due to the Andhra advent and rule in Vengi in the first quarter of 3rd century A.D. This is proved by their ship coins.

The use of Mahārāshṭrī and Kannaḍa words in some of the Prakrit works shows how the vernaculars were encouraged. Telugu was probably spoken even in the 3rd century A.D. in Andhra. Ptolemy's Trilinga and the Telings of Burma and Java are probably derived from the Telugus. Pedarvegi C.P. grants contain some Telugu words and some colloquial Telugu forms are said to be found in Hāla's *Sapta-Satī* and Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*. Andhra and Telugu are interchangeable words from 3rd century A.D. Even in ancient times, the Tamils called the Telugus Vadugars. Buddhist literature locates Andhra to the south of Telavāha river and some of the Andhaka schools existed in Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda etc. Venginadu is full of Buddhist monuments like stupas, chaityas and viharas. These attest to the glorious civilization that the Andhras enjoyed.

Sātavāhana coins as well as Roman coins are picked up in Gudivada and Bezavada and other places.

Kudrāhara which was ruled by the Bṛihatphalāyanas before, had now passed under the Śālaṅkāyanas about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. This Kuduhara which was ruled by Andhra-Sātavāhanas and then by Bṛihatphalāyanas was the same as Kuduru mentioned by Ptolemy as the place from which ships sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi or Burma and Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Kantakossalai (Ghantasala) and Maisoloi (Krishna Delta) were also mentioned as great market towns and this region has several Buddhist sites and gradually it passed under Brahmanical Hindu influence.

The next king who also issued a Prakrit grant is Nandi Varma I. From the archaic alphabet known as Vengi lipi or Tel-kannada characters, used in this grant as well as from its close resemblance to Śivaskanda-Pallava's and Jaya Varma Bṛihatphalāyana's plates, we learn that he ruled about the middle of 3rd century A.D. From Vengipura, Mahārāja Nandi Varma who was also a Bappabhaṭṭāraka and Bhagavat Chitrarathaswāmipādānudhyāta ordered the grant of the village of *Piḍiha* for the victorious life and prosperity of himself and his son young Mahārāja Kandapota (Skanda Varma), to a Vedic scholar belonging to Rathakara Kula (Viswa Brahmin). The grant was given free of all taxes and obstacles. For example, royal servants and spies should not enter it. The king's officials should not interfere in anyway with the affairs of the village. They should not dig salt earth. The police should not enter it. The king's officials should not call on the village to supply food, cloth, curries, or milk etc. These orders should be remembered by the village heads, the kulaputras and others such as the watchman. This grant should be protected for ever by the future kings.

It was made in the king's fourth regnal year. Hastiswāmi was named as the executor of this grant. Hadappa, son of Kogala Mahārāja, was named as the protector of the grant. Kandapota who is mentioned as the Yuva Mahārāja can be compared to similar names found among the Pallava rulers and as already stated, the Śālaṅkāyanas and Pallavas seem to be closely related. The Prakrit script employed in their early charters as well as the Sanskrit language and their religion, art and culture all travelled along with the Andhra colonists to further India.

The next King Skanda or Vijaya Skanda Varma Mahārāja is known to us from the Prakrit grant as well as from the Kanteru plates (Sanskrit) and as usual, titles of all the Śālaṅkāyana kings, viz., Bappabhaṭṭārakapāda-bhakta and Bhagavat Chitrarathaswāmipādānudhyāta. From Vengipura he gave the village of Chintapur in Kudrāhara Vishaya to Śivārya of Lekumari village who belonged to Maudgalya gotra. The grant was made or prosperity of the king's *kula* and *gotra*. It was made free of all taxes and obstacles and the king's officers, ministers, agents and heads of vishayas should have it safe and secure.

The next king *Hasti Varma* is known to us from Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription where he is stated to have been defeated along with Vishṇugopa of Kanchi. But from several Śālaṅkāyana plates we learn that he was a victor in many battles. Probably, he and Vishṇugopa and others combined and drove out Samudragupta. The C.P. grants of Nandi

Varma III and Skanda Varma II, mention their genealogy up to this Hasti Varma. He was their great-grandfather. A Hasti is mentioned in Nandi Varma's Kanakollu grant along with Skanda and could he be his younger brother?

The last six Śālaṅkāyana kings could be firmly established now (vide genealogy and chronology table).

The next king, *Nandi Varma II* may be identified with the one of Kanteru plates [*J.A.H.S.*, vol. III]. It is a charter of 15 lines in Sanskrit (2nd set) resembling closely Kanteru plates (1st set) of Skanda Varma. Both were found together in Kanteru in Guntur Dt. Both are in Sanskrit. The kings of both grants have the same titles and aspirations. Both give grants of lands to Vedic scholars and Brahmins of the same gotra (Maudgalya) and in the same vishaya or division (Kuduhara) corresponding to Kistna Dt. The seals have figure of bull. The alphabet is of same type, old Telugu-Kanarese script or Vengi script. Both resemble closely with regard to titles and closing verses.

From the king's grant, we learn that Mahārāja Nandi Varma gave to a Vedic Brahmin Swāmichandra 12 nivartanas of land in the village of Kuruvada in Kudrāhāra vishaya from the victorious Vengipura.

The next king was *Chandra Varma* whose eldest son Nandi Varma III issued two C.P. charters in Sanskrit. He has the same epithets as those held by his predecessors. By Kolleru charter, (*J.A.*, Vol. V, p. 175) he granted lands to 157 Brahmins in Viduturu palli of Kudrāhāra vishaya in his 7th reigning year. By Peda Vegi charter (*J.A.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 92-102), issued from Vengi in his 10th ruling year, he granted lands in 4 villages—Paluru, Munduru, Chencheruvu and Kanburan Chenruvu as *Devahalam*, the God mentioned being Trilokanātha Viṣṇugrihaswāmi. As usual, the lands were exempted from payment of all taxes and obstacles and the royal officers were ordered not to interfere with the same. The composer of the grant was Mulakurabhoja and the scribe Katikuri. The same Mulakura composed the kolleru C.P. grant. This grant as well as that of Skanda Varma of Kānu-kollu [*Bhārati*, March 1950] would give genealogy up to great-grandfather. The grandfather and great-grandfather are the same in each case and hence we have to deal with Skanda as nothing is known about his father Hasti Varma II. From victorious Vengi, the great grandson of Hasti Varma, the grandson of Nandi Varma and the son of Hasti Varma II, *Mahārāja Śrī Skanda Varma*, meditator on the holy feet of God Chitrarathaswāmi and the devotee on the feet of his Father, gave the village of Kompera in Kudrāhāra vishaya in his first regnal year for his family fame, victory and prosperity, free of all taxes and obstacles, to Chaturvedic scholar belonging to Rathakara Kula, after making the village a *Brahmadeyam*. All Niyogas, Niyuktas and Āyuktas were instructed to observe the respects due to it.

Śālaṅkāyana contributions to Andhra culture :

Ruling in the heart of coastal Andhra and inheriting it from Bṛihat-phalāyanas, Ikshvākus and Sātavāhanas, the Śālaṅkāyanas established an organised rule, developed internal trade and foreign commerce, encouraged

colonial enterprises, subdued internal foes and protected the country against foreign enemies. They revived Brahmanical Hinduism, both Saivite and Vaishṇavite creeds receiving due patronage. Temples were built and Vedic rites performed, Vengi script, the parent of Telugu and Kannada alphabet, was developed and even used in foreign countries by the Andhra colonists. The earliest inscriptions of west Java, Champa etc. are said by some scholars to be written in Vengi script. Sanskrit replaced Prakrit language. Art and religion of Vengi also flowed into Further India. As stated by Ptolemy, several sea ports and market towns existed in Vengi which had a good seafacing coast. Merchandise of several varieties flowed by internal routes to Paithan and thence to west coastal ports. Similarly, the merchandise of the interior was collected and exported in ships propelled by oars or sails to Java, Ceylon and other countries. The Ikshvāku inscriptions revealed the fact that 'Nagarjunakonda was an international centre of art, science and religion and foreigners flocked to it. Vengi, Ghantasala, Guntapalli, Gudivada and several other towns were ordinarily centres of Buddhism and Buddhist art but later on they became great Hindu centres. Vijayadeva Varma's horse sacrifice and his successor's patronage of Sanskrit learning and Vedic rites and several gifts of lands and villages to Hindu temples and to Brahmins learned in the Vedas would show that Buddhism and Jainism decayed or were driven to foreign lands and Vedic culture and civilization spread in the land.

Andhra culture then spread abroad. Pliny and Ptolemy also wrote that from the mouth of the rivers Godavari and the Krishna, vessels laden with rich and rare merchandise sailed eastwards. Colonisation followed commerce. The Klings and Telangs now living in Indo-Chinese peninsula and in East Indies, especially Java are named after their original homes. From Maisolos, cotton goods, from Partiyala diamonds, from Vinukonda iron, from Palnad and Guntur lead and marble, from the forests sandal and spices and other goods from interior were exported and in return, silks, precious stones, ivory, camphor, coral, gold etc. were imported.

The colonists carried the culture of the Andhra. The ancient Talaing script is only Telugu or Vengi alphabet. The Talaings of Burma are found in Ptolemy's Trilingon. Phayre in his *History of Burma* states that the people from the mouths of the rivers Godavari and Krishna settled in Pegu and Prome where stupas were built after the fashion of those in Vengi. A stupa-inscription was actually found to be written in Tel-kannada or Vengi script. Andhra is full of Buddhist remains and in ancient times, Andhra Buddhists carried the Gospel of *Ahimsā* to Burma, Indo-China, Java etc. When Vengi passed under Brahmanical dynasties, Hinduism and Hindu culture and art began to flow. The Hindu kings of Indo-China like Chandra Varma, Deva Varma and Jaya Varma get their namesakes in the Śāṅkārīyanas of Vengi and the Sanskrit of the inscriptions and the Hindu Gods find their counterparts in Andhra. Java and Ceylon also give ample proof of Andhra connections in art, culture and religion.

VINDICATION OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA LIST OF THE ĀNDHRA KINGS

PROFESSOR GURTY VENKET RAO

The determination of the chronology of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana¹ kings mostly depends upon a correct understanding of the evidence furnished by the Purāṇas, inscriptions and coins. The last two, although valuable aids, are not by themselves sufficient for reconstructing their continuous chronology and genealogy. Between the earlier and later inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas there comes a long interval for which the numismatic data are also extremely meagre. This interval can be filled up only with the assistance of a few of the Purāṇas which have preserved much genuine and valuable Indian Historical Tradition.

Out of the eighteen great Purāṇas, only five—*Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Vishṇu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata*—have maintained dynastic lists of princes who reigned over Magadha during the historical period; and among them are included² the kings of the Āndhra race (*jāti*). There are two crucial *unanimous* statements in these Purāṇas: (1) After the fall of the Nandas, the imperial sceptre was held *successively* by the Mauryas for 137 years, by the Śuṅgas for 112 years, by the Kāṇvas for 45 years and by the Āndhras for 411 or 460 years; and (2) Śiśuka (i e., Simuka) of the Āndhra race having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with main force, and whatever had been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, obtained possession of the earth. If these Purāṇas had stopped with this information the problem would have been very much simplified. But their *general* statements regarding the number of the Āndhra princes and the duration of their dynasty considerably differ from the *specific* details furnished by the *Yāyu*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. Such a situation has led modern scholars³ to fix the date of the beginning of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana power sometime between 270 B.C. and 28 B.C.!

It is, therefore, necessary to make a comparative estimate of the value of the relevant Purāṇas. Allowing for slight variations in the names of princes, the *Matsya* list of the Āndhra kings agrees approximately with that of the *Brahmāṇḍa*, and the *Vāyu* list with those of the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*. The last two do not record the regnal periods of the individual kings. Hence in this paper the comparative veracity of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* versions will be examined. The following synoptic tables reveal to what extent the different Purāṇas agree or dissent from one another.

1. Their dynasty is known by their tribal name, Āndhra, in the Purāṇas, and by their family name, Sātavāhana, in inscriptions.

2. Whether the Āndhras *actually* ruled over Magadha is a moot point. See *Jr. of Andhra History and Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 82-86; and *Quart. Jr. of Andhra Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 88. In inscriptions, their highest claim is to the title 'Lord of the Dekkan' only.

3. *Jr. Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 242-252.

TABLE A

Name of the PURĀṆA.	GENERAL STATEMENT.		SPECIFIC DETAILS.	
	No. of Princes.	Duration of the Dynasty in years.	No. of the names of kings.	Total of their individual reigns in years.
MATSYA ...	29	460	30	448½
VĀYU ...	30	411	17	272½
VIṢṆU ...	30	456	24	Nil
BHĀGAVATA ..	30*	456	22	Nil

TABLE B

The *Matsya* and the *Vāyu* lists of Āndhra Kings.⁴

Matsya Purāṇa.		Vāyu Purāṇa.	
No.	Names of Kings. Years of reign.	No.	Names of Kings. Years of reign.
1.	Śiśuka (Simuka of inscription) 23.	1.	Sindhuka ... 23
2.	Krishṇa (Kāṇha of inscription) 18	2.	Krishṇa ... 10 (or 18 ?)
3.	Śrī Mallakārṇi ... 10 (Śrī Sātakārṇi I of the Brahmanḍa, Vishṇu and Bhāgavata)		(Śrī Sātakārṇi I? of the other Purāṇas)
4.	Purnotsaṅga ... 18	3.	Sātakārṇi ... 56
5.	Skandastambhi ... 18	4.	Apilavā ... 12
6.	Sātakārṇi ... 56		
7.	Lambodara ... 18		
8.	Apilaka ... 12		
9.	Meghavāti ... 18		
10.	Svāti ... 18		
11.	Skandasvāti ... 7		
12.	Mrgendra Svātikārṇa ... 3		
13.	Kuntala Svātikārṇa ... 8		
14.	Svātikārṇa ... 1		
15.	Pulumāvi I ... 36	5.	Paṭumāvi ... 24
16.	Gaurakṛṣṇa or Riktavarṇa ... 25	6.	Nemikṛiṣṇa ... 25
17.	Hāla ... 5	7.	Hāla ... 1
18.	Maṇḍulaka ... 5	8.	Maṇḍalaka ... 5
19.	Purīndrasena ... 5	9.	Purikasena ... 21
20.	Sundara Svātikārṇa ... 1	10.	Sātakārṇi ... 1
21.	Chakora Svātikārṇa ... ½	11.	Chakora Sātakārṇi ... ½
22.	Śivasvāti ... 28	12.	Śivasvāti ... 28
23.	Gautamīputra ... 21	13.	Gautamīputra ... 21
24.	Pulomat (i.e., Pulumāvi II) ... 28		
25.	Śiva Śrī (Pulumāvi III ? Pargiter) ... 7		
26.	Śivaskanda ... 7		
27.	Yajñaśrī ... 29	14.	Yajñaśrī ... 29
28.	Vijaya ... 6	15.	Vijaya ... 6
29.	Chandāśrī ... 10	16.	Dandāśrī ... 3
30.	Pulomat (Pulumāvi IV) ... 7	17.	Pulovāpi ... 7
	Total ... 448½		Total ... 272½

⁴. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: *Early History of the Dekhan*, 3rd ed., pp. 55-56 and Prof. E. J. Rapson: *Cat. of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, pp. ixvi-ixvii.

The evidentiary value of these Purāṇas is vitiated not only by the differences between their lists of kings but also by the great inconsistency between the general statements and specific details presented by one and the same Purāṇa. Amidst this labyrinth of conflicting data, modern scholars, in spite of their wariness, could not tread the same path nor could they arrive at the identical conclusion.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar⁵, relying on the clause 'whatever had been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, came to the conclusion that Simuka overthrew the Kāṇvas and the Śuṅgas simultaneously, and hence the forty-five years of the Kāṇvas should be included in 112 years of the Śuṅgas. On these premises he assigned 73 B.C. for the beginning of the rise of Simuka to political power. He accepted the *Vāyu* version of the dynastic list and tried to reconcile it with that of the *Matsya* by *supposing* that the longer period and the corresponding list of kings found in the latter was made up by putting together the reigns and the names of all the princes belonging to the *several* branches of the dynasty. But while plumping for the authority of the *Vāyu* list as a more authentic record of the *main* branch, he did not strictly adhere to its detailed provisions either with regard to the number of princes or the total duration of their reigns. He made *another supposition* that the *Vāyu* left out one or two reigns lasting for about 28 years, and concluded that the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty ruled the Dekkan for about *three centuries* starting from 73 B.C.

Prof. Raychaudhuri⁶ while endorsing the views of Sir Bhandarkar regarding the hypothetical distinction between the *several* and the *main* branches of the Āndhra kings, treated the Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties as successive, because the Purāṇas and Bāṇa explicitly state that Devabhūti, the tenth and last Śuṅga was killed by Vasudeva, the founder of the Kāṇva dynasty. Accordingly his date for the foundation of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana power by Simuka is 28 B.C.

Dr. V. A. Smith⁷, Prof. E. J. Rapson and several other scholars accepted the *unanimous* general statement of the Purāṇas that there were 29 or 30 Āndhra kings who ruled for a period of about four and a half centuries. To them the *Matsya* list of princes and the corresponding regnal periods (which make a total of 448½ years) appeared to be more accurate. Dr. Smith says: "The independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kāṇvas about 28 B.C., and the Āndhra kings who slew Suśarman cannot possibly have been Simuka."

No doubt Dr. Smith's *strict* adherence to the *Matsya* list involves the repudiation of 'the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas' that Simuka slew Suśarman of the Kāṇva family. But Sir Bhandarkar's *qualified* acceptance of the *Vāyu* list not only compels the rejection of equally unanimous verdict of the Purāṇas that there were thirty kings who ruled for more than four centuries, but also demands a modification of the specific details of the *Vāyu*

5. *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd ed., pp. 51-63.

6. *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd ed., pp. 274-279.

7. *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 216-224.

Purāṇa regarding the number of princes and the total of their regnal periods.

However, the following points vindicate the accuracy of the *Matsya* list of the Āndhra Kings:—

1. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, unlike the other great Purāṇas, displays greater knowledge of the Dekkan and South India. According to Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar⁸ it contains the names of Elāpuram, Rāmeśwaram, Tāmraparṇi, Śrīraṅgam, Ekāmbhakam etc., and has references to Malaya and Tiruccengode hills. The place of honour given to the moon God in this work as an independent deity betrays the influence of early Tamil Sangam literature. Hence it appears that this Purāṇa passed through its last redaction in the Dekkan, and as such it is very likely to have preserved a more correct list of the Āndhra kings.

2. This inference gains further support from the fact that the names of the Āndhra kings furnished by it are phonetically almost akin to those found in inscriptions and coins of the Sātavāhanas. For instance, Śisūka, Apilaka, Pulomat or Pulumāvi and Chaṇḍaśrī. The *Vāyu* equivalents for them are Sindhuka, Apīlavā, Paṭumāvi and Ḍaṇḍaśrī! Surely that Purāṇa which preserves almost correct names deserves greater credence.

3. In the *Vāyu* list there are only four kings preceding Paṭumāvi, whereas in the *Matsya* list there are fourteen kings before the self-same ruler more correctly called Pulumāvi. Again, the *Vāyu* list is silent as regards the three successive princes, who according to the *Matsya* version actually filled the gap between Gautamīputra and Yajñāśrī.⁹ But the existence of the first of the three, viz., Pulumāvi II, is not only vouched by the *Matsya*, but also by a number of inscriptions and coins.¹⁰ It is especially noteworthy that the two periods for which the *Vāyu* list has no kings were the periods of great stress and storm for the Āndhra Empire. Its supremacy remained unrecognised in the Purāṇic scheme for the early period due to the imperial role assigned by it to the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas of Magadha. All the Purāṇas, including the *Matsya*, treat the Āndhras as successive to the Kāṇvas. But the synchronism of Khāravela with Sātakaṛṇi I or II proves conclusively that the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty had started on its political career long before the extinction of the Kāṇva family. The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a complete list of the Āndhra rulers of the *pre- and post-Kāṇva* periods, while the *Vāyu* mentions only four of the pre-Kāṇva, and gives almost a full list of the *post-Kāṇva* kings.

4. The omission of 13 names in the *Vāyu* list cannot be reasonably explained by *supposing* that they did not belong to the *main branch* of the Āndhra kings. It is highly improbable that the rulers of the so-called *several branches* were concentrated at two particular periods of Āndhra History—just before Paṭumāvi and Yajñāśrī. If it was a case of jumbling together of kings of the main and several branches in the *Matsya*, as suggested by Sir Bhandar-

8. *The Matsya Purāṇa—A study*, pp. 23-24.

9. See Table B, *supra*.

10. Prof. H. Lüders' 'A list of Brāhmī Inscriptions etc.,' in the *App. to Ep. Ind.*, X, Nos. 1100, 1106, 1122, 1123 and 1248; Prof. E. J. Rapson: *Cat of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, p. 21.

kar, they would have been more or less contemporaneous, and the princes of the alleged several branches would not have been confined only to two periods.

5. All the seventeen kings of the *Vāyu* list are fully represented in the *Matsya* list in the same order of succession and with the same regnal periods in majority of the cases. Mr. F. E. Pargiter,¹¹ who critically examined 63 manuscripts of the Purāṇas, is of opinion that the *Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa* was the source of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. Hence omission of some names in the *Vāyu* list is understandable ; but addition of irrelevant names to the so-called main line is unthinkable.

6. The real position has been grasped by Dr. Smith,¹² who has pointed out that the difference between the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* reckonings (156 years) is almost made up by the total duration assigned by those very Purāṇas to the Śuṅgas (112 years), and the Kāṇvas (45 years) and the shorter reckoning of the *Vāyu* must be taken to date from the close of the Kāṇva dynasty, when the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas could correctly claim imperial status. If the *Vāyu* mentions four other predecessors of Paṭumāvi (Pulumāvi I), it is in consonance with its own observation that it would mention only leading names (*Prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi*).¹³

To conclude, the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were contemporaries of the Āndhras. The Purāṇic statement that they were successive may be construed as referring to their title to suzerainty of Northern India. With this modification the *Matsya* list of the Āndhra kings appears to be of undoubted authenticity. It is fuller in details with regard to the number and names of the rulers, it satisfactorily fills the wide gap in the early and later inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas ; and above all it is in harmony¹⁴ with the general statement of all the relevant Purāṇas that there were thirty kings who 'enjoyed the earth' for more than four and a half centuries.

11. *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

12. *Z.D.M.G.*, 1902.

13. *Jr. of Behar and Orissa Research Society*, XVI, p. 264. It looks very likely that the Āndhra king who killed Suśarman, the last of the Kāṇvas, in 28 B.C., was Paṭumāvi (Pulumāvi I of the *Matsya* list). His importance is hinted in the *Matsya Purāṇa* which says "As to the Āndhras, they are the Pulomas" i.e. those succeeding the king Pulumāvi. *Ibid.* III, p. 248 ; Pargiter: *Dynasties*, p. 58.

14. The total of all the regnal periods of the *Matsya* list amounts to 448 years and 6 months. This figure is not very wide from its general statement since it ignores all fractions in the individual reigns only for six months.

SECTION II

ANCIENT INDIA, 712—1206

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. B. C. SEN

Like any other period of equal length, the era with which this address is directly concerned has its intrinsic importance as marking a definite stage in the history of this subcontinent,—a phase of its culture and civilization which has a recognizable individuality and stamp of its own. This period begins with the establishment of the first Islamic state in India and ends with the extension of Muslim political power over the greater part of Northern India by the close of the twelfth century. The Muslim invasion and conquest of India created manifold problems, which, by their magnitude and complexity, cannot but be regarded as incomparable and unparalleled. Although more than a millennium has passed since the Muslims first appeared in this country, some of these problems have not yet been finally solved, taxing the resources of saints and statesmen in all the succeeding centuries. This has imparted a sort of modern interest to the history of this period. Because some of the most complicated problems of modern times, so far as the fate of this vast subcontinent is concerned, originated in this period, and because foundations were then laid for new lines of national enterprise and endeavour, which have yet to reveal their final shape and achieve their complete fulfilment, I may venture to suggest that the modern era in Indian history began in a medieval setting from some moment of exceptional significance within the limits of our period, which the historian will have to determine in tracing the background of our present-day developments. If we want to solve our present problems with the knowledge of the past, we must go back to this period ; we must study its history with the devotion of a scholar and with the anxiety which is felt by every well-wisher of India to seek light from the past in his effort to consolidate her strength and vitality and realistically face some of the major issues of to-day. It is necessary that we should have as much accurate knowledge as possible regarding the social, political, religious and cultural activities of India during the period of five hundred years or more preceding the establishment of Muslim paramountcy in Northern India, so that we may bring it to bear upon the problems which confront us in modern times. The standpoint from which the history of this period should be investigated, has not, I am afraid, been settled in a manner which, to my mind, can alone give us a correct insight into its mysteries and their significance relatively to the progressive stages of our civilization. The loss of political freedom by India under the foreign rule established in this period, with its far-reaching consequences is regarded as a great tragedy and we indulge in the fancy that it may have been easily avoided if our own house were in order. Our investigations are not infrequently influenced by some such preconception ; we start with the belief that India must have declined in every field of activity, so that our weaknesses were the advantages of the aliens who finally established their sway in this country. It is true that if we were sufficiently strong and resourceful, we might have stopped the inundation which swept over

our country, but we must find out in what particular respects we should have been strong to fight the specific evils which overwhelmed us. Such limits are hardly observed when we regard the Muslim conquest as the central theme and proceed to show all the forces of history, all the institutions of our cultural and political life as merely preparing the ground on which the Muslim flag was ultimately hoisted. Not only there is a spate of careless and irresponsible observations on the subject, but even reputed scholars are found indulging in strange speculations when they subject the institutions of this period to a searching criticism with a view to explaining why the Hindus failed and the Muslims succeeded, apparently under the bias that if everything were in order, the Hindus would not have lost their independence. But the perfection which they imagine is of an ideal character, determined according to modern standards that have evolved out of our accumulated experiences of the past, grown out of the complex workings of historical forces. The trend of their arguments seems to be that India could have withstood Muslim attacks from the eighth to the twelfth century only if her army were organized as efficiently and scientifically as the army of a highly advanced modern nation ; if the Indians were as conscious of national unity as the British are to-day ; if their social system were based on a complete acceptance of the doctrine of equality and economic justice ; if instead of the multitudinous diversity of creeds there were only one creed in a pure monotheistic form, professed by all the people in the country ; if there were no caste restrictions and social conservatism ; if the people did not worship idols, etc. I think there is no room for such idealistic speculations ; they have a tendency to misinterpret not only our own history but also the history of the Islamic leaders who conquered India. An eminent scholar who has given us a valuable account of the dynasties of Northern India down to the twelfth century A.D. pleads his inability to account for the success of the Muslims, pending a thorough examination of India's administrative system, her social institutions, religion, etc., which he promises to undertake. I admire his caution, but I would ask him with the respect that is due to his scholarship to change this angle of vision, and to study all the phenomena of our culture and civilization included in his projected work, as representing in their varied phases the results of the operation of their own inner laws of growth and decay and not as objects of investigation subsidiary to the purposes of an idealistic interpretation of history. Foreign attacks succeeded even when our country had been more vigorous and creative. The Muslims did not originally come as torchbearers of a higher civilization ; they had their own serious weaknesses ; they were, in fact, driven by certain elemental passions led by men on whose shoulders the burden of an ancient civilization did not rest. My contention is that all the forces and phenomena of history should be studied and investigated in their proper perspective, each according to its importance ; we must not overemphasise one episode or factor and neglect others. What we want for this period is a complete history, not merely of the progress of Islam in India but of all the other forces which operated in the country

for half a millenium, either related to this phenomenon or not, but driven by antecedent circumstances and conditions as all historical processes are.

If the history of the period is critically studied on the suggested lines, the structure of our national life during its last two or three centuries will be found to have contained many cracks and crevices. It is essential to investigate the real character of our weakness in this stage rather than determine what our points of strength would have been if that structure itself had been formed of different materials, capable of combating, according to our present estimate, the hard blows which were struck at its foundation by the Muslim armies. By about the beginning of the tenth century India had fully attained the maturity of her ancient civilization; the potentialities of those elements of her culture and those factors of her society, which had remained predominant for centuries and been in active operation, stood self-realised and exhausted. Unless the other elements and factors were now organised in order to be able to set out on a course of integrated progress and expressiveness, the vigour and creative urge of our civilization and culture would have been destroyed. The progress of an alien power at this juncture may be regarded as a calamity for, it was an external pressure resulting in political subjection which temporarily diverted our energy from national reconstruction. But it is doubtful if the nation could have realised the tension of its inward impulses for resurgence in this period of transition unless it passed through a profound shock. The necessary realization may have possibly come through some other revolutionary change, but it seems that destiny required that the forces which had to be stabilised to become actively creative elements in the succeeding periods of our history should work for greater ends, and for a larger society.

Medieval history before the end of the twelfth century shows two definite stages: the earlier one witnessed the attainment of maturity by the dominant elements of the ancient civilization, followed by a stage which was characterised by the exhaustion and decay of these elements and the first stirrings of a new order. A new stimulus was necessary to which both the old and the new forces could respond by tapping their respective resources to bring to fruition all that they were capable of achieving.

Having regard to the facts of our history as we know them, I am of the opinion that we should not have placed the beginning of our period in the eighth century synchronising with the establishment of Muslim rule in Sind. Placing its end in about 1200 A.D. we seem to give encouragement to the posing of a wrong approach to its history by implying that its sole importance lies in disclosing the successive stages in the growth and expansion of Muslim power in Northern India. But it is to be noted that even before Islam established itself in the Lower Indus Valley, frictions between the Arabs and Indian interests had already begun in the Helmund and Kabul Valleys and on the western coast of this country. There are again some scholars who are inclined to start a new period from the end of Harshavardhana's reign on the ground that the collapse of his empire marked the break-up of the political

unity of India which remained the characteristic of her history down to the twelfth century. But empires were also founded and developed after Harsha's death, which brought considerable areas under their paramount authority. I believe most of the outstanding characteristics of the period ending approximately with the close of the twelfth century began to reveal themselves as symptoms of a new age, if not from the time when the Huns appeared in India, at any rate from the final dissolution of the imperial system of the Guptas. Some of the features of fundamental importance in the history of the period were the constitution of a new Kshatriya order after the older political and military elements had been overpowered or reduced in strength ; the consolidation of the political resources of the Deccan, inspired by an imperialistic ideal, with a systematic programme of active interference in the affairs of Northern India ; the shifting of the centre of gravity from Bihar to the Gangā-Yamunā Doab ; the organization of Kanauj as the seat of a steadily growing empire whose effects marked the whole course of the history of the Age down to its very end in its characteristic trends ; the rise of a powerful monarchy in Gauḍa ; the rise of Islam which set the stage ready for its adventures in India, etc. All these characteristics appeared in their initial form in the sixth century, and it will, therefore, be proper and scientific to conclude that a distinct era began from that time when new conditions as typified by these characteristics became first visible and began to fashion themselves and crystallise into definite shape in each successive stage of development.

I have already referred to a preconception regarding the history of this period which may lead to wrong conclusions. I may here also mention the tendency, which is frequently noticed, of emphasising lack of political unity as the cause of the Muslim conquest. I think there is much of confused thinking on this subject, which requires a very careful consideration. Political unity, as we understand it in modern times, did not exist in any territory of the world during the period under review. Even England which had developed a fairly united kingdom fell a victim to Norman aggression in the 11th century A.D. In India from very early times attempts were made on various occasions to bring different regions under the control of a paramount government. A large measure of political unity was achieved under the Mauryas whose empire included practically the whole of India. With this unity to their advantage they could repel the attack of the Greeks when they were strong. If there were a powerful empire like that of the Mauryas under Chandragupta or Aśoka, it may be surmised that India could have met the Muslim challenge successfully. When we say that there was no political unity in India from the eighth to the twelfth century, do we mean only this that there was no empire embracing the whole of this country, symbolising this unity? As an alternative, is it intended to mean that there should have been an imperial organization like that of the Guptas of the time of Samudra-Gupta or Chandra-Gupta II, whose paramountcy was admitted by a number of autonomous states? But it is admitted that one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Gupta empire was the attack made by the

Huns. It may also be suggested that some kind of effective political unity could have been established if an organization consisting of a number of independent states were evolved. But this would have been against the normal political tradition and usage of India, and I do not think that such an experiment was ever made on a large scale. An empire in India always depended for its stability on the personal qualities of its ruler. It was natural that whenever there was a weak or incompetent ruler, attempts were made to overthrow his government. India did not develop a constitution which might keep a weak ruler on the throne and yet maintain a strong and efficient government obeyed throughout his dominion. When a new dynasty was founded and it produced a set of vigorous men, extension of power took place ; when it ceased to produce men of like calibre its government began to totter and was in the end overthrown. A weak king meant a weak and unstable government. If he was not removed, the people would suffer from the evils of maladministration. Whether a king was strong or weak was to be determined to a large extent by the way foreign relations were managed by him. If he showed skill and vigour in defeating his enemies and making conquests or otherwise extending his power, he would be regarded as a strong king, feared and respected by others. Otherwise stronger men would take advantage of his failures and difficulties and would either impose humiliating terms on him or annex his dominion. No doubt, politics in these circumstances was inevitably tinged with opportunism, but rather than allowing a weak king to continue his government, it was desirable in the interest of political stability that there should be forces which could be marshalled to put his regime to an end. Political rivalry between different families of rulers was thus a means of stabilising conditions and maintaining some continuity of governmental functions. As a deterrent to forces inherent in a system of flux, it was not an unmitigated evil. The empire of the Mauryas when it became weak could not resist the Graeco-Bactrians. But in the sixth century foreign inroads were checked by powers of much lesser importance than the Mauryas. The Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas were conquered by the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan who were able to build up a limited empire by defeating their enemies. The non-existence of an empire symbolising India's political unity at the time when the Muslims knocked at its gates therefore does not *ipso facto* prove her political weakness or incapacity. Lack of this particular type of political unity was certainly in evidence in the spirit of dissension prevailing in the capitals of many kingdoms in the North and South and also in unceasing hostilities of rival dynasties ; but unless it can be proved on the reliable evidence of recorded cases of unusual treachery, showing that many Indian rulers deliberately threw themselves on the side of the Muslims when their rivals were engaged in bitter fightings against those aliens or even attacked their territories, taking advantage of their dreadful preoccupation, it will be a mere generalisation to affirm that lack of political unity helped the cause of the enemy in a substantial measure. If we suppose that all the different states of India should have combined together to meet the common enemy, we miss the point that the awareness of a common danger threatening

the security of the country as a whole when its frontiers were attacked is a comparatively recent development, which could not be anticipated in this age as a potent factor forging political unity, as now understood, since no definite organization had then been conceived or evolved to promote and foster this outlook.

It will not be fair to conclude that the political system of the Hindus lacked resistant power. The Gurjara-Pratihāras were able to check Muslim advance in the eighth century ; the Chālukyas of Lāṭa under Pulakeśi Avani-Janāśraya defeated in the same century an Arab army which had caused troubles to Sindh, Cutch, Surāshṭra and other kingdoms, and was trying to extend its power into the Deccan. When the Hindu Śāhi king Jaypal was engaged in a bitter and protracted struggle against the forces of Ghazni, it did not appear at the outset that he was fighting for a losing cause, and that his ultimate defeat was a matter of certainty. There was no tendency to surrender ; to fight to the last ditch was the motive that inspired his own actions and those of his successors, Anandapal and Trilochanpal. It is not definitely known if Jaypal and his successor were able to organize confederacies of contemporary rulers to oppose Muslim armies, but the fact that such efforts to pool together the resources of neighbouring kings, if actually made, did not succeed, need not also be overemphasised, for quickly improvised measures for joint action, unsupported by precedents, creating innumerable problems of leadership and organization, had their inherent defects, impeding effective operation. Even the nations of the modern world with maturer political experience and identity of interests have not yet been able to build up an organization, perfect in all its parts, to put forth concerted action against aggression. There was lack of political unity in the sense that those powers which were more or less interested in the prevention of Muslim aggression did not combine together even when diplomatic considerations had brought them closer to one another by ties of friendship. The Kashmir government in the eighth century appears to have maintained friendly relations with the Śāhis who were fighting against the Muslims. The policy seems to have been reversed by Śaṅkaravarman of the Utpala dynasty in the latter part of the ninth century, when the Gurjaras are found to have allied themselves with Laliya Śāhi. If the gravity of the situation were sufficiently realized, some way for concerted action might have been found to cause pressure to bear upon Arab strongholds. The traditional hostility of the Gurjaras to Islam should have found its unflinching expression in a policy of persistent opposition in collaboration with the Śāhis. There were many reasons, however, why no joint plan of defence or aggression was formulated. From the eighth to the tenth century there was little realization of the extent of danger which threatened Indian rulers, due to the rise of Islam as a political power. Secondly, the political shrewdness of the Arabs, who inaugurated a policy of toleration towards the social and religious systems of the Indians, may have gone a great way in disarming suspicion against their intention amongst the conquered people and the neighbouring Hindu rulers,—a policy which was carried forward in undertakings of collaboration between the Hindus and the Muslims

in the administrative and other fields. The Arab principalities with no avowed policy of playing havoc with the normal course of the lives of the people, came to be regarded as part and parcel of the political system of India. But if the policy of the Gurjaras and that of the Chālukyas, which evidently succeeded in the eighth century, were steadily and forcefully pursued, and if with the help of the Sāhis it could result in the dislodgment of the Arabs, those Muslim invaders who came later might have taken a lesson from such effective display of Hindu strength, and it is doubtful if they could have possessed those bases of operation from which they subsequently led their attacks on India. But this was not to be. The Rāshtrakūtas entered into friendly relations with the Arabs; the Gurjaras turned their attention to projects of expansion in the east and other directions; in Kashmir the forces of disintegration could not be kept under control; the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar found the Arabs agreeing to the step taken by them to build up a hegemony in Northern India in opposition to the Gurjaras who were the natural enemies of the Pālas as well as the Arabs. The strategic importance of the alliance between the Arabs and Jayapāla was fully appreciated by Sabuktigin whose diplomacy succeeded in detaching Shaikh Hamid Lodi from the side of the Sāhis. Had the Arab rule been already eliminated, the situation would have been quite different.

From the 10th century onwards resistance to foreign attacks could not be as strong and effective as it might have been in the earlier period. The Rāshtrakūta attack on the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Mahipāla in the early part of the tenth century was a great calamity so far as the security of Northern India was concerned, breaking the backbone of his power, and destroying the prestige and reputation on which his family's suzerainty was based. The blow came at a time when after the vigorous reigns of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, the energy of the family should have been exclusively devoted to a renewed effort of consolidation. The decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, hastened as a consequence of the Rāshtrakūta raid on their territory, deprived India of a power which could have given some trouble to the advancing Muslim army, led by Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century. The Rāshtrakūtas in attacking the Gurjaras had no constructive policy of their own; they never seem to have thought of bringing Kanauj permanently under their rule. On the other hand their attack resulted in the weakening of the nerve-centre of the political structure of the Gangetic valley, which had been built up in the course of several centuries.

It may be doubted, however, whether the Gurjara-Pratihāras could have given due attention to the N.W. and the Punjab at an earlier stage of their history. They had to guard their frontiers against the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūtas and to keep a sharp watch on the conduct of their feudatories. They, however, succeeded in building up an empire which in the reign of Mahendrapāla in the ninth century stretched from 'the Karnal district in the Punjab to the Vindhya' and from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal. But when the hostility of the Rāshtrakūtas and that of the Pālas remained as a constant threat, they could not possibly venture to open another front in the west to

fight Islam, specially when, as they seem to have supposed, there was no immediate threat of aggression from that side.

Finally, the point should be stressed that there were some serious defects in the military policy and organization of the Hindus when they failed to stem the tide of Muslim conquest. The army which Jayapāla assembled on the field against Sabuk-tigīn towards the end of the tenth century was a vast one and chances of success were for some time hanging in the balance. Had he, instead of collecting the entire strength of such a large army as he assembled on the occasion to face a single issue, relying more on its numerical superiority than on mobility of action, distributed it into smaller sections, exploring the possibilities of applying diversionary and other tactics to harass the enemy from all available points of attack, its effect on the moral, and fighting capacity of his troops may have been encouraging. It is recorded that the accident of a snowstorm finally decided the battle in favour of Ghazni and the soldiers employed by Jayapāla being mainly recruited from the plains were unable to deal with the Muslim troops. But there should have been more troops on the side of the Hindu monarch capable of carrying on a sustained fight under the climatic conditions of the region where they met the enemy. Further experience of warfare with the Muslims seems to have made some Indian rulers conscious of the necessity of adapting their military manoeuvres to the tactics of their enemy, instead of depending on conventional methods. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī gives details of the military advice offered by Trilochanapāla to Tuṅga, the Kashmir prime minister, after he had obtained an asylum with promise of military help from Kashmir king Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.). As all the relevant facts are not known, we are not in a position to judge whether Anandapal acted wisely in offering help to Mahmud when he was in a difficult situation, being attacked by Ilak Khān, the leader of a rival Turkish horde. Anandapāla was, however, regarded as an inveterate enemy by the Muslims; and he once refused to give passage to Maḥmūd's army through his territory on its expedition against his ally, the Amir of Multan. It is impossible to decide finally if Anandapāla were still left with sufficient forces for a surprise attack on Maḥmūd's army from the rear after it had passed through his territory to attack Thaneshwar. It may be supposed that if all the relevant evidence of this period is examined, it will show that the western defences of the Gangetic Doab were never made as strong as they should have been if there were repeated challenges from the N. W. before the Muslims actually invaded this region. Under the imperial Guptas, the zones vital for the defence of the Gangetic plains in the Punjab and the North-West, beyond the Jumna and the Chambal, remained outside their own system of government; being administered by tributary or semi-independent rulers, they were deprived of the benefit of the organizing power of the Guptas, which territories directly under their rule enjoyed. In the succeeding centuries there arose no indigenous power in the Punjab and the North-West, stronger than the Gurjaras, which might have necessitated sufficient alertness in regard to the security of their frontiers on the western side.

There is some evidence to show that the religious susceptibilities of the newly formed Kshatriya aristocracy were taken advantage of by the Arab rulers of the 9th century A.D., who to prevent Hindu attacks on their territory threatened immediate destruction of Hindu idols if the Gurjara-Pratihāras made any attempt to invade it. Thus when the Hindus were in a position to give hard blows to the enemy, the supreme political task, to which their resources should have been devoted, was subordinated to the expediency of the moment. Hindu rulers, however, in another part of the country, enjoying by reason of its geographical position, a temporary immunity from foreign aggression, were devising ways and means for increasing the coffers of the state, including barbarous spoliation of religious properties and in a contemptuous mood ordering sacred images to be systematically desecrated and destroyed, probably in imitation of Muslim vandalism.

The political life of the people during the period under review was not entirely absorbed in the Hindu-Muslim conflict, which for a long time was a comparatively minor episode in its history, presenting almost an unbroken record of singular achievements and distinctions. There was an unceasing process of constructive work reflected in the foundation of new dynasties and kingdoms, replacing those which played out their part, and in vigorous pursuits of imperialistic policies, unrestrained by geographical or other barriers and limitations. The coming into being of a new Kshatriyahood when the politically conscious elements of the old Hindu society had been either exterminated in the course of the long drawn-out battles against foreign hordes in the preceding centuries, or demoralised and suppressed by the imperialistic regime of the Guptas, probably contending themselves with the pleasures and comforts of a landed aristocracy, the Hindu community produced a new brand of Kshatriyas to save the country from chaos. The vitality of our national life was thus preserved; the stream of political activity flowed on uninterruptedly through wars and conquests, alliances and settlements of ever-shifting territorial boundaries. In some phases of political history marks of a struggle between the new Kshatriyas and the older stocks with their habits and traditions rooted in the past seem to be implicit. Brahmin advisers and ministers in whose houses Vedic sacrifices were performed lent their wholehearted assistance to the Buddhist rulers of Bengal and Bihar in establishing their paramountcy; here kings and Brahmins gave proof of exceptional aptitude for religious compromise in the interest of political planning and solidarity. For several centuries, although wars and intrigues never stopped, there was no part of India where some form of organized government did not exist. The building up of new capitals, of fortifications and defences, organization of military expeditions on a large scale, judged by the standard of the time, kept up a lively political activity in the whole subcontinent, and provided occupations in the army for thousands of people, whose efficiency and mettle were repeatedly put to test. The patronage extended to cultural and religious causes, including building of temples and grants of lands to Brahmins, must have added to the strain on the financial resources of the states, caused by their war-like preparations and repeated

military engagements, both offensive and defensive. Constant military movements all over the country brought out the strategic importance of many sites, and the comparative strength or weakness of frontiers between different states. Military expeditions, some of which may have been undertaken not for any definite political purpose but for plunder, facilitated the extension of traffic between one part of the country and another, and in particular brought the North nearer to the South. Paradoxical though it may seem, the political set-up of the country, though characterised by bitterness of strife and clash of interests materially contributed to the strengthening of the realisation of India's geographical and cultural unity. Long distances were abridged and barriers overstepped by unlimited political and military ambition which did not regard any part of India, however remote, as lying outside its scope. The Karnāṭas, who established their power in Bengal in the 12th century, brought with them new ideas which they had imbibed in their homeland and introduced them into the territory which they occupied, thus helping the cause of cultural unity which was advancing under similar pressure of circumstances throughout the whole country.

Indian civilization would have been much poorer but for its many achievements in diverse realms of thought, literature, art, architecture, craftsmanship, law, religion and political organization during this period, which in its final stage, however, witnessed the virtual end of Hindu rule in Northern India. It was in this period that the Hindu sciences and folklore were carried beyond the frontiers of our country in the trail of its commercial articles through Arab intermediaries to take their legitimate place in the progress of world-culture ; Indian scholars and saints went to Tibet and China and other Eastern countries and made profound contributions towards their intellectual, moral and religious progress ; strange rituals, beliefs and customs which continued to infiltrate into this country, instead of being suppressed or banned, were being steadily absorbed into the ever-widening stream of Indian culture, opening out new boundaries of human relationships ; and unassimilated racial elements in Assam and other border states were being brought into closer contact with the progressive cultural and religious forces of the country. It was in this period that literature and art attained their efflorescence with amazing richness of variety and content as true media of expression of India's distinctive thoughts, conceptions and aspirations ; new social and political forces were generated for the defence of India's freedom and culture ; Śaṅkarāchārya's bold speculation reduced the universe to a single principle ; the ambitious Chola rulers of the far south built up a powerful navy and extended their political power beyond the borders of India ; Kashmir engineers set themselves to the task of grappling Nature's opposition to material progress and executed a stupendous project for the fertilisation and irrigation of the soil, which might extort admiration from their counterparts in modern times.

It is impossible to appreciate the nature and implications of the spiritual experiences and disciplines and social transformations through which the country was passing without keeping the historical background constantly in mind. The problem before the country for many years was how to stabilise the

foundations of society when Buddhism was rapidly passing from one phase to another in its downward course, reflecting in each such stage an effort to find out a path for the guidance of its followers through the forest of accumulated beliefs and customs, myths and doctrines, all of which were not of Indian origin. Buddhism and Hinduism were opposed to each other both doctrinally and institutionally, but the latter had for ages striven to assimilate those elements of the former in the various stages of its evolution, for which its ideals and capacities fitted it. The Tantric system, which developed when Buddhism was in decline in this country, furnished at some points a common meeting ground for the two religions. Out of the struggle between the two religions Hinduism emerged stronger. Its triumph must have been largely to the advantage of those who undertook to reorganize society and plan the stratification of castes when Buddhists, whose faith was changing, had to be admitted into the Hindu fold and the evils arising out of the collapsing monastic order had to be fought. This was the age when social controls became increasingly rigid, and castes further hardened into a hierarchy of exclusive groups, whose place in the system was determined by historic associations—racial, economic and cultural. Although a synthesis was broadening out, the social framework did not obliterate memories of a hundred fights. The bitterness and hatred characterising the historic struggles of succeeding ages left their indelible mark on the social structure which was refashioned under the guidance of scholars and reformers steeped in traditionalism. Attempts were made to purge society of its evils by a resort to Vedic sacrifices, which got an impetus from the advocacy of the Mīmāṃsists led by Kumarila.

The advent of Islam and its progress created unparalleled difficulties in the field of social reconstruction which had been undertaken to meet the problems arising out of the decline and breakdown of Buddhism and the associated monastic system. When the Hindus lost their political power, when thousands of people were *en masse* converted to Islam, when the temples and Vihāras of the Indians were being fanatically destroyed, it was impossible to preserve Hindu society from extinction except under the guidance of the intellectuals, to which it had to submit in the absence of any alternative leadership. The influence of the Brahmins on the Hindu state before its final overthrow by the Muslims had already become increasingly dominant; this influence now began to work in a far more authoritative manner, with its excesses now left without any corrective that might be administered by the organs of a government, responsible for the welfare of the society as a whole. The utility of the system imposed upon the people by the intellectuals, however reactionary it might seem, judged by the modern standard, was proved in the resultant social consolidation. When the protection of the state was unobtainable, people were also thrown on their individual resources, to the development of which they had to bend their energy in the critical situation in which they were placed. The Hindus had now to carry on their religious duties without much ostentation, and this required the opening out of new channels and possibilities of spiritual experience, which was to be more direct and individualistic than what might be derived through the practice of el-

borate conventional rituals, the usual facilities for whose performance were fast disappearing. The stress on individual striving after a spiritual ideal, undisturbed by the vandalism of fanatics, grew stronger and more insistent. When all the malevolent forces of the world seemed to have risen against them, when they were losing everything which was precious and sacred to them, people began to endeavour earnestly to conquer terror and despair and lay the foundations of a more intimate faith in the inner resources of man which had to be organized, as they perceived, through dangerous and difficult experiments aiming at the final sublimation of human impulses. These efforts probably gave some a taste of their inner power, when the foundations of the ancient civilization were shaking, stimulated new realisations and finer sensibilities, but although they craved strength and power, their aim was not to galvanise the political consciousness of a dependent people, who must recover their freedom first, before they can save their souls.

But this recovery could not take place because the Kshatriya spirit had been practically wiped out in a large part of this country by the close of the 12th century, because the economic foundations of the Hindu community had been effectively undermined by adverse conditions and forces whose mischief was further accentuated with the transfer of control of India's trade into Muslim hands, and the establishment of Islam as a political factor. It is necessary to investigate how far the mercantile classes in this country were gradually losing their initiative and spirit of enterprise in a changing world. They became more interested in the hoarding of wealth than in investing it in trade. In spite of the injunction of the Śāstras against hoarding, temples all over the country became the repositories of vast amounts of hoarded gold and jewels. Frequent wars interrupted the normal course of trade and commerce. Profiteering and exploitation of the poorer classes, in which sometimes even high state officials and dignitaries took part, as recorded in the Rājataranṅinī, must have constituted normal features of the economic condition of the people at least in many parts of the country. I do not think state control over trade and industry for the purpose of balancing the conflicting interests of middlemen, employers, labourers and consumers, on the lines suggested by Kauṭilya, was ever seriously enforced as a distinct part of administrative policy. New items of taxation appear. It was not easy to build hundreds of lofty temples if labour and craftsmanship were not cheap. The arts and crafts, which depended to a great extent on the patronage of the Hindu aristocracy, languished when it was overwhelmed by the Muslim onslaught. Men must have left towns and cities, taking shelter in villages with the consequence that more pressure fell on land, agricultural labor becoming cheaper and rural crafts more crowded.

Hindu political thinkers had followed a line of speculation which regarded the state and government as indispensable for the preservation and promotion of *dharma* with which every individual, according to his station, had to be concerned under the compulsion of law and custom. The state evidently was a matter of vital interest for all ; its grandeur and nobility as an instrument of human progress was vividly realized, but the people, in whose interest the

state was required to function, were not accorded any right to determine its nature or the form of government suited for them, or assigned any active part in the discharge of its functions except in the very limited sphere of some branches of local administration. Government remained a kind of trust held by the king and his ministers in the interest of the people. A great opportunity for the development of political consciousness on the part of the people was thrown away although the speculation of our ancient thinkers should have logically led to the conclusion that what concerned all so vitally should not have been made the exclusive privilege of one or more groups only. A logical extension of the principle of autonomy, granted to castes and corporations, to the broader field of politics would not have been an unexpected development. Praise is often bestowed on our village-system as having provided the strongest bulwark for our culture and civilization. The fact that cultivators were able to plough their fields peacefully while towns and cities were burnt and devastated, should make us realize, if of course, it is admitted that our historic role does not consist merely in the unhampered production of raw materials, that the system must have bred a spirit of isolation from the all-embracing interests and purposes of the state, and an indifference and callousness which were suicidal in their effect on the political life of the nation. I am not prepared to hold that our people, even though the economic order under which they lived was unprogressive according to modern canons of justice and equality, were constitutionally unable to reach a fair degree of organizational development in the political field. In the eighth century when due to repeated political disturbances, there could be no stable government in eastern India, it was the people of Bengal who put an end to the prevailing state of anarchy by electing a king whose dynasty maintained peace and order in a wide territory and pursued an energetic foreign policy for many years. After the end of the rule of the Lohara dynasty in the latter part of the 12th century, citizens in Kashmir for want of a worthy successor, are said to have elected a king. The Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla records that Brahmapāla, the founder of a new dynasty in Assam, owed his throne to popular election, which, if the evidence is reliable, took place in the beginning of the 11th century. These recorded instances, though few and isolated, show that our people were able to take political action at critical moments in their history: Hindu thinkers frequently describe the evils of anarchy (*mātsyanyāya*), but they generally hold that the first king who was set up to save the world from lawlessness inherent in a state of nature was created by the supreme God out of divine elements; the Buddhists on the other hand declared that the first king was elected by the people from among themselves. But the above-mentioned instances of popular election show the strength of the Buddhist idea; the non-encouragement of popular participation in the broader duties of the state seems to have been due to the prepondering influence of Brahmanic thought, which advocated the divine theory of kingship. But with the shadows of the national crisis gradually deepening, the warning of history seems to have been caught by Sukra and even some authors of Smṛiti commentaries, who were expected to defend Hindu orthodoxy and

follow conventional rules of interpretation. Śukra draws a distinction between kings who are like gods and those who are like demons giving the subjects the right to rebel against and overthrow oppressive rulers. Earlier thinkers also advised the subjects to abandon a worthless or tyrannical king, but the manner in which they did so seems to be a half-hearted one, because they were obsessed more powerfully with the doctrine of the divinity of king. But Śukra's clear thinking in the context of the political experiences of his time and the few centuries which preceded him, bears a great historical significance. Presumably part of the problem which seems to have confronted him was whether the alien rulers, who had established their power deserved the allegiance of the people as representatives of God on earth. The *Mīmāṃsakas*, 'the most authoritative interpreters of the Sacred Law,' applied the term "rājan" to the Kshatriya only. Viśvarūpa while commenting on Yājñavalkya restricts the term 'King' to a consecrated Kshatriya alone, ignoring the fact that there had been many rulers in the past who were not Kshatriyas. But Medhātithi, commenting on Manu, declares that non-Kshatriyas can also perform royal functions and that whoever "protects people" should be called king, irrespective of caste considerations. Medhātithi's interpretation is found to be in substantial agreement with the views expressed by Aparārka and Vijñāneśvara. Medhātithi grants the people the right to bear arms for self-defence as well as for the protection of the lives and properties of others. Rebellion is also supported if it is not motivated by personal desires, if it is backed by the "will to sovereignty". Our scholars and jurists seem to have been making an appeal to the people, although in a cautious and guarded language, and trying to kindle martial spirit and engender political ambition in them for the restoration or consolidation of Hindu sovereignty. Wise men evidently felt that the old order was approaching its doom, and it was imperative that those human resources which had been hitherto neglected should now be utilised.

One of the surest signs of the decay of the old order was the decline of originality of thought and form of art, dating from the 10th century, which could not be compensated merely by massiveness, solidity, ornamentation, laborious reproduction of old styles, techniques and themes, and scholasticism. When attention fell on the common people, possibilities of further progress were revealed. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, composed in the 12th century, was a unique literary endeavour in his time, which derived its inspiration and form from a popular source. The beginning of some of our provincial languages is to be dated from this period, which set in motion a new machinery for cultural progress enlivened by direct contact with the masses, whose importance in our national life manifested itself in a far larger measure in the next epoch of our history. The drift towards reaction and conventionalism was combated by the movement inaugurated by the *Liṅgāyat* sect founded in the 12th century, which rejected the caste system, the supremacy of the Brahmins, sacrifices and other rites, did not insist on child marriages, nor object to the remarriage of widows. The *Tantras* also breathe a liberal spirit, allowing women to act as teachers, and following a programme of social

reform like that adopted by the Liṅgāyats. Al-Bīrūnī who composed a notable book on Hindu civilization and history, may be said to have accomplished a pioneering work which was an essential preliminary to Indo-Muslim co-operation in the cultural field. These are some of the indications that when the old order was decaying, new forces made their appearance to preserve the vitality of the race.

In conclusion I beg to put forward an earnest plea for a more intensive and also comprehensive study of the ancient history of our people. There is no doubt that a good deal of spade work has already been done, but much remains to be accomplished. The output of research in respect of the period with which our section is particularly concerned, has been proportionately meagre. We have not yet been able to carry out even a preliminary exploratory study of the immense material which lies scattered in hundreds of epigraphic records. Many of us surely regret that the Archaeological department of the Government of India has not yet made accessible to the scholarly public numerous documents still unpublished, although on the staffs of the universities of India there are specialists whose co-operation can be obtained for the purpose of editing them and assessing their historical value. An intelligible framework of dynastic history is available, which may be depended upon until fresh material is discovered requiring further investigations and modification of the conclusions already arrived at. But the sociological aspect of our history has so far been sadly neglected. The material which we find in the Smṛitis and commentaries thereon must be tested with the help of the data contained in contemporary inscriptions, foreign accounts, etc. The field of research, so far as sociological studies are concerned, is so wide and is of such varied interest that it can easily accommodate hosts of scholars, promising them a rich harvest provided they labour with patience and devotion. I may be permitted to presume that I know the value of specialisation to some extent, but I feel that if it is carried to an excess, it defeats its own purpose. Data collected by specialists in different branches of research, must be constantly compared and their inner conflict or harmony noted, so that they may know the real value of their work in the context of the whole progress attained in various departments and also appreciate the problems on which their immediate attention should be focussed. We have developed an outlook which is more antiquarian than historical. Our ultimate object must, however, be to make contributions to the reconstruction of our history as part of world-history and its interpretation, and not to get lost in the niceties of antiquarian research. Some eminent men of our country have in recent times expressed their fear lest in free India we should forget our loyalty to truth, being carried away by patriotic zeal or provincial feeling. Undoubtedly this danger lurks round the corner, but I respectfully point out that although under European guidance we learnt to regard truth as our motto, it was psychologically difficult at times to work in a completely free atmosphere under stresses of a number of complexes, too well known to need any mention here. If we could reconstruct some parts of our history in an era of dependence, we may do the rest now when our moral responsibility is much greater. I am not making

any appeal for more facilities for research which have become urgently necessary, for authoritative bodies are now in the planning stage which may take too much time and yet produce nothing. My appeal is to ourselves, workers in this union of scholars, to put forth more energy in the prosecution of the task with which we have identified ourselves, and expecting neither patronage nor emoluments, press for one right to exercise with complete freedom,—the right to dedicate ourselves humbly to Truth.

THE BATTLE OF URATTI

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

One of the major factors that contributed to the decline and disruption of many kingdoms that flourished in the ancient and medieval periods in the history of India was the existence of a number of over-grown feudatories in them, who, taking advantage of the growing weakness of the central government, tried to increase their power and influence by not only indulging in local quarrels among themselves, but also by raising their banner of revolt against their overlords. One of such feudatory families in South India that was to a large extent responsible for the weakening of the Cōla empire in the thirteenth century was the Kāḍavarāya dynasty which grew from humble beginnings to great political power and influence. The greatest member of the family was one Kōpperuñjingadēva who revolted against his master Rājarāja III (1216-1257), defeated him at Teḷḷarū in 1230, captured him and kept him prisoner at his own capital Śēdamangalam in the South Arcot district, till his release was secured by the intervention of the Hoysala king Vira Narasimha II in 1231. But before 1229-30 the Kāḍavarāyas just increased their power and influence in the north, by bringing under their control territories that appear to have been ruled by members of another feudatory family, namely the Yādavarāyas.

In the eastern portions of the Cōla empire there were two feudatory families, the Kāḍavarāyas who ruled over what is now the South Arcot district from their headquarters Śēdamangalam near modern Cuddalore, and the Yādavarāyas who ruled from Kālhasti roughly over the Tonḍamaṇḍalam region now comprising parts of the districts of North Arcot, Chingleput, Chittore and Nellore. There was one striking difference between the two families. While the Kāḍavarāya chieftains aimed at their own independence at the expense of the waning power of the Cōlas, the Yādavarāyas remained loyal to their overlords and tried to curb the growing power of the Kāḍavas.

The Kāḍavarāyas developed into an important political power during the days of Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III. A member of the family was one Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappirandān Viraśēkaran *alias* Kāḍavarāyan who is credited with the destruction of Kūḍal that belonged to a chieftain called Karkaḍamārāyan as a result of which his successors took the title of *Kūḍal Āḷappirandān*.¹ The growing political importance of the Kāḍavarāya chieftain is further borne out by the fact that a compact was made between him

1. 588 of 1908. The identification of Kūḍal has puzzled many scholars. It was once thought that it might be modern Cuddalore. (MER. 1913, para 66). But since the chief is said to have proceeded westwards and captured Kūḍal after which he conquered the land of Adhigamān identifiable with the area round about Dharmapuri, it is reasonable to assume that Kūḍal was on the way to the Salem district from Śēdamangalam. Probably it may be identified with the place called Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr in the Kil Āmur nāḍu (73 of 1918) comprised of parts of the Kallakurichchi and Tirukkōyilūr taluqs in the South Arcot District.

and one Sengēni Vīra Sōlan Attimallam *alias* Kulōttunga Sōla Sambuvarāyan, whereby both swore to protect the interests of one another.²

This Kūḍal Āḷppirandān *alias* Kāḍavarāyan had a distinguished son called Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyan or Viravīran Kāḍavarāyan. From the inscriptions that refer to him it appears that he followed the policy of his father, waged wars with his neighbours in the north and became the lord of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam country.³

The fifth and sixth years of the reign of Rājarāja III were years of great troubles in the Cōḷa empire, which are characterised as *duritangaḷ* (troubles) and *kṣobham* (agitation).⁴ Though it is not possible to get any clear idea of the nature of the troubles and agitation that prevailed in the empire it is clear that taking advantage of the general disorder the Kāḍavarāya chieftain engaged himself in local wars and extended his power over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. According to the inscriptions that have some bearing on this he killed a very large number of his enemies at Śēvūr and created "mountains of dead bodies and swelling rivers of blood". The place of battle may probably be identified with Mēlśēvūr in the Tindivanam taluq in the South Arcot district. Probably as a result of his successful war against the ruler of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam he became the master of the Peṇṇai nāḍu and the Vaḍa-Vēngaḍa hills (Tirupati), and the Protector of Mallai.⁵

But we are not able to know from the Kāḍavarāya inscriptions who the ruler of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was that was defeated by the Kāḍava ruler. The clue is however supplied by a cryptic statement contained in a Yāḍavarāya inscription. The inscription which is found at Yogi Mallavaram near Tirupati refers to a fight that took place at Uraṭṭi (modern Oraṭṭi) near Madhurantakam in the Chingleput district between Vīra Narasingadeva Yāḍavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya in which a soldier called Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai died and mentions that in order to commemorate his heroism a grant was made in favour of Uḍaiyar Tiruppalādiśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār of Tiruccukanūr in the Tirukkaḍavūr nāḍu in the district of Tiruvēnkaṭakōṭṭam in the Jayankonḍa śōlamaṇḍalam.⁶

Thus the ruler of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area during the time was the Yāḍavarāya chieftain Vīra Narasingadēva. From the provenance of his inscriptions it appears that he ruled over parts of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region which included important religious centres like Kālahasti, Tirupati, Tiruvorriyur, and Tiruppaśūr. He was a feudal vassal of the Cōḷa king Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III and owed allegiance to them. He appears to have enjoyed large administrative powers and therefore he was called a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and one inscription credits him with the title of Tribhuvanacakravartin.⁷ His distinction in war is commemorated by his title *Taṇṇinṇu venṇāṇ* (one who conquered unaided) by which he is called in a few inscriptions.⁸ He is said

2. 254 of 1919. Rep. para 21.

3. Monijonai inscription—178 of 1921. Atti Prasasti—296 of 1912. Tirukkallukunrām inscription—187 of 1932-3.

4. 141 of 1926; 213 of 1925; 309 of 1927.

5. MER. 1913, Rep. para 66.

6. 271 of 1904; *Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 35.

7. 710 of 1889.

8. 640 of 1904; 96 of 1922.

to have conquered his enemies in war, extended his fame, wedded the goddess of prosperity and bore the insignia of royalty namely a garlanded elephant, a white umbrella. He is also reported to have performed a tulabhara ceremony, and to have presented the gold for the gilding of the *vimānam* of the temple of Venkaṭeśvara. Though he was in the enjoyment of large political powers he continued to be loyal to his overlord. This is well borne out by the evidence of the above-mentioned inscription at Yogi Mallavaram which mentions Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḥ Śrī Rājarājadēvar.

The Kāḍava chieftain Vira-Viran Kāḍavarāyar, apparently thought that before establishing his independence he must become the master of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam country, whose ruler was a strong supporter of the Cōḷa power. Therefore he invaded the country and fought its ruler Vira Narasingadēva Yāḍavarāya in various battles, the most important of which was Sēvūr, probably on account of which it finds mention in the Kāḍavarāya inscription. Though the battle of Uraṭṭi is not mentioned in the Kāḍavarāya epigraphs it may be taken as one of those that enabled Kāḍavarāyar to become master over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. But in the nature of the things that obtained then, the Kāḍavarāya-Yāḍavarāya conflict may be taken only as a local war, as it appears that Rājarāja III did not have directly anything to do with it, for if the war had been directed against the overthrow of the imperial authority either the Cōḷa king himself or any of his commanders must have tried to resist the military activities of the rebel vassal. But the Kāḍava's success in different battles in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and his ultimate conquest of the region were necessary preliminary steps in the aggressively forward progress of the family.

But the defeat of the Yāḍavarāyas was definite and the death of Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai—a brother-in-law of Vira Narasingadeva was a distinct loss to them. He was the son of Pāṇḍyadaraiyar, the manager and treasurer of the Śiva temple of Tippaḷādiśvaram Uḍaiyār Mahādēvar in Tiruccānūr, and the father-in-law of the Yāḍavarāja ruler Vira Narasingadēva. When Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai lost his life in the battle of Uraṭṭi it was naturally thought by Pāṇḍyadaraiyar that religious services should be instituted in the temple of Tippaḷādiśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār of Tiruccānūr for the spiritual benefit of Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai, his own son, and hence the grant.

THE DATE OF PALLAVA PARAMĒSVARA II

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO

It is well known that the dates of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī can be fixed, even approximately, only with the help of synchronisms of these monarchs with those of the kings of other dynasties as no Śaka dates are given in Pallava inscriptions. Almost from the very beginning of their political career the kings of the Śimhavishṇu line, with whom we are concerned in this article, were engaged in constant wars with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, so much so that the Pallavas are referred to in some records of the Chālukyas as their 'natural enemies' (*prakṛityamitra*). This fact is of great advantage in working out the chronology of the Pallava rulers of this line particularly for the reason that a large number of the inscriptions of the contemporary Chālukya kings bear Śaka dates with corresponding regnal years.

In spite of this factor, it has not been possible to determine with any degree of exactitude the actual periods of reign of individual kings of the line. All that is definite about their dates is the contemporaneity of some of them with certain kings of the Chālukya dynasty as recorded in literature or inscriptions. Śimhavishṇu, the founder of the line, is known to have been living at the same time as Chālukya Viṣṇuwardhana (I) and the Gaṅga king Durvīṇita.¹ Of the time of his son and successor, Mahēndra I, we have no specific mention of any contemporary ruler. The next king Narasimha I is described in the Kūram copper plate inscription of his grandson Paramēśvara I² as having defeated the Chālukya Pulakēsin, i.e., Pulakēsin II king. As a result of this victory he appears to have captured Bādāmi and become famous as Vātāpikoṇḍa Narasiṅgapōttaraiyar³ (i.e., Narasiṅgapōttaraiyar who took Vātāpi). He is also mentioned in the inscriptions⁴ of the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-681) as the latter's adversary. Similarly the two kings who came after him, viz., Mahēndra II and Paramēśvara I are known both from Chālukya and Pallava inscriptions⁵ to have fought with Vikramāditya I. But we have no such evidence regarding either Narasimhavarman II (Rājasimha),⁶ or Paramēśvara II,⁷ the son and grandson respec-

1. (*Avantisundarīkathā-Sāra*). Edited by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, *Dakṣiṇābharatīgranthamāla*, No. 3 (1924), Intro., pp. 2-3, text, pp. 3 ff. See also *J.O.R.*, Vol. I, p. 199.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 148, text, l. 16.

3. *An. Rep. on S.I.E.*, 1932-33, p. 55; Narasimha's inscription at Bādāmi, (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, pt. i, p. 1) not only confirms this fact but also proves that he was in actual occupation of this city.

4. *Gadvāl plates: Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 103, verse 3.

5. *Ibid.*; Kūram grant, *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 146 ff.

6. It may be noted, however, that the Kēndūr and Vokkalēri plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 206 and Vol. V, p. 204, text-lines, 45-46) of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II say that his father Vikramāditya II 'acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasimhēśvara and other gods which had been caused to be built by Narasimhapōttavarman'. That this statement of the Chālukya plates is no mere boast is proved by the existence in this very temple of an inscription of Vikramāditya (II) himself recording the very same gift. This Narasimhapōttavarman has been rightly considered to be Narasimha II. This is the only mention of this Pallava king in a Chālukya record though it is not a contemporary document.

tively of Paramēśvara I. Recently, however, a stone inscription has been found which shows that Paramēśvara II was living towards the end of the reign of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya. The object of this paper is to ascertain with the help of this record, as nearly as possible, the period of rule of Paramēśvaravarman II and incidentally that of his predecessor Narasimhavarman II.⁸

This inscription was discovered in the village of Uḷchāla about 10 miles to the west of Kurnool, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Madras State. It states that in the 35th year of the reign of the (Chālukya) king *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* Vijayāditya; Vikramāditya-Yuvarāja, after he returned having raided Kāñchī and levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava made a gift of (the villages) Uḷchalu and Pariyaḷu to Durvinit-Ereyappōr of the Koṅguṇi (family). The latter finding that the villages were not in a flourishing condition granted certain concessions to the inhabitants of these places. Uḷchalu, one of the gift villages is of course Uḷchāla, the find-spot of the inscription and Pariyaḷu is the modern Parla a few miles south of Uḷchāla both situated not far from the southern bank of the river Tuṅga-bhadra.⁹ The wording of the epigraph would indicate that the historical events recorded therein, namely, prince Vikramāditya's invasion of Kāñchī and the collection of tribute from Paramēśvara were of recent occurrence on the date of the inscription, *i.e.*, the 35th year of the reign of Vijayāditya. On the basis of the Aihole inscription of this king, Fleet has fixed the date of the commencement of his reign as falling in the month of Śrāvaṇa (August-September) of A.D. 696.¹⁰ Accordingly, his 35th regnal year should have begun about August-September A.D. 730. Allowing about a year or so for the Chālukya prince's march on Kāñchī and the subjugation of the Pallava ruler from whom he levied tribute, the Chālukya invasion of Kāñchī may be placed about A.D. 729-30. It has to be observed here that a copper-plate inscription of Vijayāditya dated in the 36th year of his reign¹¹ does not, however, mention this expedition to Kāñchī undertaken by his son Vikramāditya. The absence of any mention of this event in this record need not be regarded as incompatible with the information found in the Uḷchāla inscription for the following reasons. The Uḷchāla inscription which is dated in

7. Venkayya and other scholars are of the opinion that Mahendra III, another son of Narasimhavarman did not probably rule at all. He is known only from a single inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram which describes him as the son of king Rājasimha (*i.e.* Narasimha II) and the grandson of Lōkāditya (*i.e.* Paramēśvara I) and records the fact of his having built the shrine of Mahēndrēśvara.

8. As already pointed out (f.n. 5, above), Mahēndravarman III, the brother of Paramēśvara, does not appear to have ascended the throne. It is not even known whether he was the elder or the younger of the two brothers. Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar, however, regards him as the predecessor of Paramēśvaravarman II.

9. A village named Pariyaḷa is mentioned as one of the battle-fields where Narasimha I defeated Pulakēśin II (Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I, *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 148, text-line 16). Various identifications have been suggested for this place. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, p. 40; *Proceedings etc. of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. 623, n.). It is not certain whether this Pariyaḷa is the same as the Pariyaḷu of the Uḷchāla record, though their identity is not improbable.

10. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 370, n. 5.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 21.

the 35th regnal year of the king is set up in the village which was the object of the grant. And it is clearly stated therein that the gift was made after the return of Yuvarāja-Vikramāditya from Kāñchī. A glance at the map would show that this place lies on the way from Kāñchī to Bādāmi, the capital of the Chālukyas. It is thus evident that Vikramāditya made the gift while still on his way back home, before reaching the capital. Apparently the interval between the time of the Uḷchāla inscription and that of the copper-plate under reference was too short for this exploit to be incorporated in the approved official draft of the preamble of Vijayāditya's grants recounting his achievements.¹² It may be added that no inscription of Vijayāditya before his 35th regnal year mentions any victory over the Pallavas during his reign and this would support the conclusion that prince Vikramāditya's invasion of Kāñchī was an event which occurred either during the 35th regnal year of his father or immediately before. The Paramēśvara of the Pallava dynasty who was ruling in this year could be no other than Paramēśvara II. The Narwan plates¹³ of this very Vikramāditya II which are dated in the 8th year of his reign (*i.e.*, A.D. 741 or 742) state that he defeated a Pallava king but his name is given as Nandivarman (*i.e.*, Nandivarman Pallavamalla). As the Pallava defeat mentioned in the Uḷchāla epigraph should have taken place before the date of the Narwan plates, the Paramēśvara from whom *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II levied tribute in 729-730 must be Paramēśvara II, the predecessor of Pallavamalla.¹⁴ It is thus clear that Paramēśvaravarman was the ruler of Kāñchī in 729-30.¹⁵

There is only one dated record, assigned to this king, in the Vīraṭṭāñēśvara temple at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot district.¹⁶ Scholars agree that his reign was short and uneventful. And the well-known Vaikuṅṭhaperumāḷ temple inscription¹⁷ at Kāñchī states explicitly that since after his death the country had no ruler, Nandivarman Pallavamalla of a collateral line was chosen by the people to succeed Paramēśvara. The third regnal year of Paramēśvara may therefore be regarded as the last year of his sovereignty. The three years of his rule may consequently be taken to have started one

12. It is a matter of common knowledge that copper-plate documents were based on such drafts to which additions were made as and when necessary.

13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 126-7.

14. From one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164) we learn that Vikramāditya II conquered Kāñchī thrice. Though it was known from the Kēndūr and Vokkalēri plates of Kīrtivarman II and more recently from the Narwan plates of Vikramāditya II himself that there were two campaigns on Kāñchī during his reign, one led by himself and the other by his son Kīrtivarman, as Yuvarāja, there was no information about still another invasion until the discovery of the Uḷchāla inscription which tells us in unequivocal language that even while he was Yuvarāja, Vikramāditya II raided Kāñchī. The three campaigns recorded in the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions are as accounted for and they took place in the following order: the first in 729-30 as shown above, the second some time before 741-42, the date of the Narwan plates, and the third between this latter date and the end of Vikramāditya's reign, *i.e.*, 746-47; the last one was led by prince Kīrtivarman after obtaining orders of his father.

15. Though Pallavamalla was called Paramēśvara before his coronation, he was crowned king under the name of Nandivarman. The Vaikuṅṭha-perumāḷ temple inscription (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 63, p. 54) is definite on this point. And it is this name Nandivarman Pallavamalla that is found in his inscriptions.

16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 331.

17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 117; *M.A.S.I.*, No. 63, p. 54.

year prior to the date of the Vikramāditya's first invasion of Kāñchī and to have continued for one year after the invasion. As the date of this campaign has been shown to be A.D. 729-730, Paramēśvara may be considered to have ruled from c. A.D. 728-29 to 730-31. Having fixed the period of the reign of Paramēśvara we may try to find out the date of his predecessor Narasiṃhavarman II, who, as noted above, is not referred to in any contemporary document other than his own inscriptions which, as usual, do not contain a date in any known era. It is needless to say that A.D. 728-29 which was the first year of the reign of Paramēśvara was also the last year of the reign of Narasiṃha II. From the Gadvāl plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I it is known that Paramēśvara I was this Chalukya ruler's contemporary in A.D. 674. Consequently the interval between A.D. 674 and 728-29, *i.e.*, about 55 years, must have covered a part of Paramēśvara's reign and the whole of Narasiṃha II's reign. Since Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 681) claims victory over three successive Pallava kings, namely Narasiṃha (I), Mahēndra (II) and Īśvara (Paramēśvara I), the last of them could not have come to the throne long before A.D. 674, the date of the Gadvāl plates. Obviously then, this period of 55 years was made up of a major portion of the reign of Paramēśvara I and the entire reign of Narasiṃha II. Assuming that Paramēśvara's reign started in about 670, the period of 59 or 60 years between this date and 728-29 may be apportioned almost equally to the two rulers. Thus we may not be wrong if we place the initial year of the reign of Narasiṃhavarman II in A.D. 700; that is to say, he ruled from c. 700 to 728-29.¹⁸

Now that A.D. 728-29 to 730-31 has been arrived at as the date of Paramēśvara II the dates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his successors until the final overthrow of this dynasty by the Chōḷa king Āditya I will have to be reconsidered. This and allied chronological problems will be discussed in my forthcoming paper on the Uḷchāla inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 103, v. 6.

19. The only dated record of this king is a copper-plate inscription which came to light about three years ago. It is the Rēyūru grant issued in the 12th year of his reign published in the *Journal of the Sṛī-Venkatēśvara Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII, (Telugu section, p. 82 ff.) by the late Veturi Prabhakara Sastri.

SCULPTURES IN THE MAIN TEMPLE AT BAIJNATH

PANDIT M. S. VATS

Baijnath (Skt. Vaidyanātha) is a village in Pargana Danpur of Hazūr Tahsil in Almora district of Kumaon Division. It is the ancient Kārttikeyapura and was at one time a stronghold of Katyūri kings. It once had several Hindu shrines and at present also has a few besides a large Hindu temple sacred to goddess Kālī, situated in the old Ranchula Fort. It is necessary that a proper archaeological survey of these Himalayan districts should be undertaken with a view to exploring the expansion of religious influences in ancient times in this part of the Himalayas, and supplementing the records of local history as far as it may be possible. With this object among others in view, a tour of the area was undertaken by me in 1941-42 and the archaeological material available in the temple was closely examined. As a result, I saw a good number of Brahmanical sculptures placed against the walls of the main sanctum and its porch. Their examination throws light on two points, *viz.*, that there were three different periods of artistic activity which brought these sculptures into existence, namely Period I dated to about the 8th-9th centuries A.D.; Period II to 12th-13th centuries; and Period III to about the 17th century. As specimens of Indian sculpture, those belonging to Period I are amongst the finest to be seen in the hills of Northern India. They display a sense of proportion, liveliness of action, restrained simplicity and gracefulness. In the following two periods, the art became more elaborate, formal and stiff, sharing the general characteristics of the history of Indian sculpture elsewhere and also its decadence. This stylisation and degeneration are particularly seen in the sculptures of the Period III.

The second point that may be deduced from the evidence of these sculptures is that they represent that phase of Hinduism in which the worship of Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya was evolved as a synthesis of different religious systems. The number of sculptures devoted to Śaivism is the greatest and consistent with the predominant influences of Śaivism in these parts. The sculptures of Pārvatī, Mahishāsūramardīnī, Hara-Gaurī, Śiva and Gaṇeśa point to this conclusion. At the same time there are images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and his wife Brahmāṇī, Indrāṇī, Kubera and Śeshasāyī Viṣṇu, as well as images of Sūrya. This eclectic phase is specially marked in the sculptures of Period I, which coincides with the Early Medieval period (7th-9th century) when there was a strong wave of religious influences under the inspiration of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya who developed a higher form of Brahmanical religion recognising the worship of all the main gods and goddesses, especially Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa, together with their goddesses—a religious movement which goes by the name of Pañchāyatana.

Period I.

From the point of view of art and the wealth of relief the following sculptures are among the best of those that can be relegated to

Period I. They are all carved out of an igneous rock of dark grey colour which lends itself excellently to the execution of the minutest details and is capable of taking high polish.

1. Pārvatī, 5' 6" high and 2' 3" broad, resting on a pedestal other than its own. This is the largest and the most elaborate sculpture at Baijnath. Being placed in the porch in a niche to the right of the entrance to the sanctum it could not be photographed for want of adequate space even with a wide angle lens. It has four hands: the upper right holds the *sraḥ* and the *akṣhamālā*, while the lower is held in *varamudrā*; the upper left holds the *aṅkuśa* and the lower one a flask. She wears an unusually high *jaṭāmukuta* which is held in position by a flowered tiara round the lower edge. The tiara is relieved by three triangular ornaments, two at the sides and one in front, the latter showing a *Kīrtimukha* emitting creepers. Below the tiara is a fine broad band of curled hair. The goddess wears two torques and two necklaces, one hanging from above and the other from within the breasts, the latter ending in a long flowered pendant. She also wears a double garland of *chāmpaka* flowers. The ears are somewhat damaged, but along the outer edges of the lobes she wears heart-shaped and rhomboidal pendants. Her armlets are elaborate, the front ones showing *Kīrtimukhas* emitting garlands of pearls, but the bracelets, two on each of the four arms, as well as the finger-rings and anklets are comparatively plain, if also much worn. The finely flowered *dhoti* is elaborately tied and secured by an exquisitely ornamented girdle made up of a series of rhomboidal clasps and two horseshoe-shaped beaded and petalled loops, one falling on each hip. From the girdle hang chains with heart-shaped pendants on the knees.

Round the goddess are a number of accessory figures. Prominent among these and at the level of the head are Siva on his bull to left and Gaṇeśa to right. Above them, are garland-bearing couples of *Vidyādharas* flying in the sky which is represented by conventional clouds. In the middle background are four bearded anchorite figures, the lower two seated on lotuses and the upper two in balconies. Each of them has a *mālā* in his right and a flask in the left hand. Behind them is a series of flames conventionalising Agni. On either side of the pedestal are eight figures—six females, four standing and two in a respectfully seated or kneeling posture and two seated ascetics worshipping or making offerings. All the female figures are handsomely dressed: their calm and serene pose with eyes half closed in adoration being especially remarkable.

2. Pārvatī, height 2' 3" (Plate No. I, 1) standing on a lotus seat with a rampant lion on either side. This figure, again, is very elaborately carved. She has four hands: the right upper holds an *akṣhamālā* and a lotus bud, while the lower is held in *varamudrā*; the upper left holds a *triśūla* and the lower, which might have held a flask, is broken. Its ornamentation agrees very closely with that of No. 1, but in this instance ear-rings of pearls are quite clearly indicated. Flying in the clouds on either side of her head is a garland-bearing *Vidyādhara* couple and above them, again, another flying figure holding a doubled piece of cloth in one hand and a sword in the other.

On both sides above the reign of the shoulders of the main figure is a female *chauri* bearer and in the outer angles a female musician playing on a stringed instrument. Immediately below them and seated on a lotus is an adoring female figure on either side. Still lower down are three standing female figures on each side, the inner ones being *chauri* bearers, the middle ones holding a sword and of the outer figures the right one holds an *amritaghaṭa*. Behind the lions are adoring couples. Along the outer periphery is the familiar motif of a lion astride the head of an elephant and further up a *makara* emitting creepers.

3. *Mahishāsūramardīnī*, height 2' 2" (Plate No. I, 5). This is a very graphic relief full of action. The demon *Mahisha* is shown in three stages, once with sword and shield rising from the body of the buffalo, the second time being speared in the body with one of the right hands of the goddess who has overpowered the demon by trampling him with her left foot and pulling his hair with one of her left hands. The third time the demon is completely overpowered and is being pulled by the hair. The discus and the sword held in the upper hands of the goddess are also ready to strike. The upper part of the figure and most of the hands of the deity are broken.

4. *Hara-Gaurī*, height 2' 3" (Plate No. I, 3). This is a somewhat mutilated relief depicting ecstatic joy which Śiva experiences in Kailāśa with his consort Pārvatī seated on his left lap. The right foot of Śiva is on the *nandī* bull and that of Pārvatī on the lion. Śiva has four hands: the right upper probably held a snake now broken, the lower one holds an *akṣhamālā*; in the left upper hand is a trident and the lower one from behind touches the hair of his consort. Both the husband and the wife have a sling going round from the waist to the right knee of the god and the left one of the goddess. The former sling is made of a broad ornamented band but in the case of Pārvatī a snake has been tied to keep the leg in position. Between the legs of the deities is Kārttikeya seated on the peacock, while to the left of the *nandī* bull is Gaṇeśa, but these figures are much blurred. Along the outer ends of the pedestal is a trident bearing attendant and in the sky a flying figure carrying offerings.

5. Śiva, height 2' (Plate No. III, b, 3). In this the god is seated on the *nandī* bull. He has four hands: the right upper, which is broken, probably held the *triśūla*, while the left upper holds a snake; the remaining two hands are placed on a long object which is broken. He wears an elaborate *jaṭāmukuta*, pearl ear-rings and a necklace, beaded and ornamented armlets as well as wristlets.

6. Gaṇeśa, height 3 feet (Plate No. II, 1b). This is a beautiful dancing figure of Gaṇeśa, eight handed and with one tusk only (*ekadanta*). In the four right hands from top to bottom he holds an *akṣhamālā*, his tusk, a *paraśu* and a snake; and in the two upper left hands a lotus stalk and a pot of *modakas* which are being eaten with the trunk, while the lower two hands are swung across the belly and the left thigh in the act of dancing. A long, flowing, beaded garland and the *yajñopavīta* of snakes are seen intersecting

each other at the lower end of the belly. He wears armlets, wristlets, finger-rings, and anklets. Tuning the dance are four musicians: those on the right are playing on a drum and cymbals, while on the left one plays on a tabor and the horse-headed figure on a *vinā*. In the upper background is a garland-bearing figure flying on either side.

7. Gaṇeśa, height 2' (Plate No. I, 4). This, like the dancing figure of Gaṇeśa No. 6 is an excellently executed sculpture. Here the god is seated, but in both cases his vehicle, the mouse, is omitted. This relief is well preserved. In the right hands the deity holds a *paraśu* and an *akshamālā* and in the left ones a lotus bud and a bowl full of *modakas* which he is eating. He wears an ornamented tiara, at either end of which hangs down a *śaṅkha* upside down; a beaded necklace of two strings, wristlets and anklets. The figure, though simple, is highly artistic.

8. A* four faced Viṣṇu standing, height 2 feet (Plate No. II, 3). The god with four faces and eight hands stands on the palms of the hands of a *Nāgī* with an adoring *Nāga* on either side at the end of the pedestal. Two of the right hands hold the *gadā* and the *khaḍga*, with the third he draws out the *bāṇa*, while the fourth is held in the *abhaya* pose: in the left hands are a shield, *chakra*, *dhanusha* and *śaṅkha*. The front face is that of a man, the right one resembling a lion (but not so clear in the photo), that of Narasiṃha, the left one of Varāha, while the hind one projecting overhead is of Haya-grīva (an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu) with his right hand raised in the *abhaya* pose. In the *Vaikunṭha* image of Viṣṇu these four faces should be of a man on the east, of Narasiṃha on the south, a woman on the west and of Varāha on the north. Taking the human face to be on the east, the other faces except that on the west agree with the above directions. To the god's right stands a female *chauri* bearer and to the left an adoring male figure. In the background above the head of the god is a horse-headed figure whose right hand is raised in the *abhayamudrā*. Above him on the top and seated on a lotus is a pot-bellied, squatting figure whose head is broken. This figure has in his left hand a pot, while the right hand is held in *abhaya* pose. Around this, forming a semicircle along the upper edge of the relief, are eight human heads as if strung together. In the right background are a number of small figures seen standing in three tiers, each holding flowers in both hands, and it is possible that these are repetitions of the Sūrya figure which is posed standing on a lotus at the right edge of the perimeter of the sculpture. Sūrya wears boots and socks and, like other figures on this side, holds lotus flowers in both hands. In the corresponding left background there are five rows of human figures, each holding his right hand uplifted with the palm turned outside, while the other hand is held down. Their pose, with half closed eyes, in reverential attitude is one of obeisance to the god. The sculpture appears to be one of the minor *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, but is uncanonical. Nevertheless it is of sufficient iconographic interest.

9. Brahmā, height 2' 1" (Plate No. III, b, 4). The god seated on lotus is three faced and had four hands of which only the lower left has survived. He is seated cross-legged and has a broad cloth band going round the

knees to hold them in position. Below his seat is a pair of geese pecking at the lotus at the centre.

10. Brahmānī, height 2' 1" (Plate No. III, b, 2). The goddess is seated cross-legged on a full blown lotus on either side of which is a goose. She holds an *akshamālā* in her right hand and a small pot in her left and wears simple but graceful ornaments.

11. Indrānī, height 1' 11" (Plate No. III, b, 1). The goddess seated on her vehicle, the elephant, is shown facing left with her legs interlocked. She is exquisitely dressed and the elephant is also well caparisoned. The hands being broken, the attributes held in them cannot be made out. Her hair is very elaborately made by intertwining tresses into a large knot on the right which is not visible in the photo. She wears a flowered fillet with a triangular clasp above the forehead round the plait of hair which is flattened into a cap-like formation on the top. Below this fillet her hair is hanging all along in graceful curls.

12. Sūrya, height 2' 9" (Plate No. II, 1). The god is posed standing, wearing high boots and socks and holding full blown lotuses in both hands. A long sword is hanging down from below the god's left elbow. He wears a high *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, ear-rings and necklaces of pearls, torques, bracelets, a highly ornamented *ahayaṅga* and *udara-bandha* and richly embroidered but extremely fine drapery through which the body is clearly visible. To his right and left are *Rājñī* and *Nikshubhā* each holding a *chauri* in her outer hand and a lotus bud or flower in the other. They look majestic: their simple ornamentation, large ear-rings and flowered fillets projecting forward from over their heads add not a little to their grace and dignity. In front of them are two male attendants *Daṇḍa* and *Piṅgala*. To judge by the boots and socks being worn by the attendant figures of Sūrya in the following relief and its indication in one of the surviving feet of the right hand figure in this case, these also appear to have worn boots. On either side of the head of the god is a flying male figure carrying a garland.

13. Sūrya, height 2 feet (Plate No. II, 7). Here, too, the god is posed standing on a lotus pedestal, wearing high boots and socks and holding a full blown lotus in each hand. He wears a high *mukuṭa* and other ornaments and dress as referred to in the previous figure. To his right and left are male and female figures resembling those in sculpture No. 12. The male attendants wear boots and socks like Sūrya. Below the pedestal are shown seven horses speeding with Sūrya's chariot which is being driven by the charioteer *Aruṇa*, who, it may be pointed out, is also shown in flight and is not legless. In the middle background are two female figures in flight, each with a bow in her inner hand. These are probably to be identified with *Ushā* and *Pratyushā* shooting darkness. They wear a high head-dress. Above them are couples of *Vidyādharas* carrying garlands.

14. Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, length 2' 2", height 14½" (Plate No. II, 2). As usual in such figures, the god is shown reclining on the coiled bed of *Ādiśeṣha*, the ocean below the bed being represented by crocodiles and fishes. Viṣṇu has four hands: in the right lower is held the mace and the right upper



Kubera
(Plate No. I, 2)



Chāmūṇḍā
(Plate No. II, 6)



Mahishāsura-mārdinī
(Plate No. I, 5)

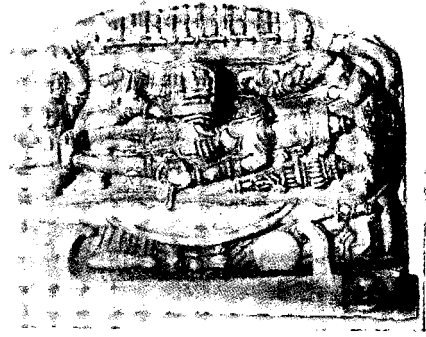


Viṣṇu
(Plate No. II, 3)

Bājnath, Sculptures in the main temple



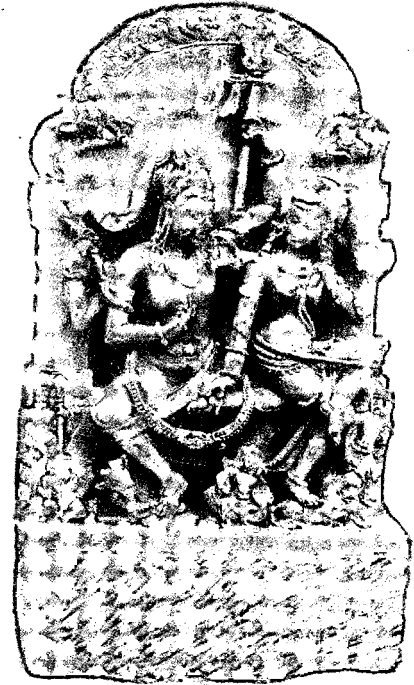
Sūrya
(Plate No. II, 5)



Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu
(Plate No. II, 4)



Pārvaṭī
(Plate No. I, 1)



Hara-Gaurī
(Plate No. I, 3)



Sūrya
(Plate No. II, 1a)



Ganeśa
(Plate No. II, 16)



Indrānī
(Plate No. III, b, 1)

Brahmānī
(Plate No. III, b, 2)

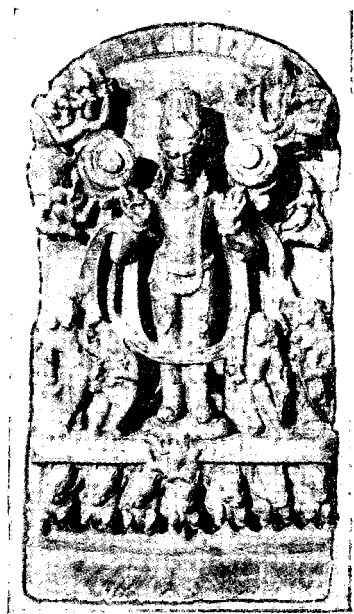
Śiva
(Plate No. III, b, 3)

Brahmā
(Plate No. III, b, 4)

Baijnath, Sculptures in the main temple



Anantaśāyi Viṣṇu
(Plate No. II, 2)



Sūrya
(Plate No. II, 7)



Ganeśa
(Plate No. I, 4)

supports the head ; in the left hands are the *śaṅkha* and *chakra*. The left foot of the god is placed in the lap of Bhūmidevī who is kneeling on her left foot and massaging the right foot of Viṣṇu. Brahmā is seated in the centre on a lotus which rises from the navel of Viṣṇu. Between Brahmā and Bhūmidevī stand two *Āyudha-purushas*, the first one with a sword and shield and the second one with a club.

15. Kubera, height 1' 10" (Plate No. I, 2). He is seated on a *padmapīṭha* with his right leg resting on a pedestal. In his right hand he holds a broad fluted bowl and in his left the mungoose. To his right is a lady carrying a wine flask and below her a round high-necked pot of plenty. He wears a low beaded tiara above which rises a series of luxurious curls of hair. Both the ear-rings are different: the right one is flowered while the left one is made of a simple creeper design. He wears an ornate torque and a double garland of *champakā* flowers, elaborate armlets but plain bracelets. The folds of his *dhoti* are quite artistically shown and so are the creepers below his seat. His countenance, with half closed eyes and a bewitching smile, aptly represents a carefree, ecstatic mood. There is also a play of smile on the female attendant carrying the wine flask. This is one of the finest and earliest sculptures at Baijnath and ranks high as a specimen of plastic art. In this connexion mark the folds of skin on his neck, between the chest and the abdomen and the pendulous belly, which is very realistically depicted. Below his seat on the raised rim is an inscription which reads:

Om! Sūtradhāra Śrī-Jayañagasya-puttreṇa
Ānandena ghaṭitah!

in characters of the 8th century A.D.

16. Kubera, height 1' 8". This is seated and ornamented like No. 15. In this case there are two pots of riches on which stands the lady with the wine flask. The mungoose and the bowl in Kubera's hands are also rough. There is an addition of a flying garland bearing figure on either side of the god. The sculpture, though contemporary with the former one, is a distinctly inferior example.

The collection described above is one of the finest I have ever seen in the hills of northern India. For their sense of proportion, liveliness of action and expression, and in many cases for their restrained simplicity which makes their composition so graceful, the sculptures are remarkably realistic. In the following two periods, however, of which some examples are given below, realism has yielded place to stiff and formal execution. Their general expression, dress, ornamentation and other details have become altogether stylized, particularly in the third period, more attention being paid to the make-up of the composition rather than to its execution.

Period II.

1. Hara-Gaurī, height 1½ feet. This is a somewhat mutilated sculpture and a poor reproduction of the scene depicted in I(4). Though the figures are few, the composition suffers by being overpowered with disproportionate details.

2. Sūrya, height 2' $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Posed standing, wearing high boots with attendants on either side also wearing boots. In both hands he holds not one but a number of sun-flowers, an attempt at undue elaboration. Compared with I (12) and I (13) the execution is quite poor.

3. Slab with four goddesses, length 17". This shows four goddesses who, to judge from their vehicles, may be identified from left to right with Vaishṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī, and the blood-thirsty goddess Chāmuṇḍā.

4. Slab with six goddesses, length 26". The goddesses and their vehicles depicted on this slab are of very inferior workmanship. From left to right they are Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Yamī and Indrāṇī.

5. Relief with two goddesses, height 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". This shows from left to right Kaumārī and Vaishṇavī. Nothing need be noted on it.

6. Chāmuṇḍā, height 16" (Plate No. II, 6). This blood-thirsty and famished goddess wearing a *muṇḍa-mālā* is seated on a corpse, and has an adoring female figure kneeling on either side. She has six hands: in the right ones are a *kapāla*, a serpent and a *damru*; in the left middle hand is a skull, while in the doubled front arm, which is in contact with the cheek is a *khaṭvāṅga*, the sixth hand being broken. The blood veins and bones of the thorax are rather prominently shown to depict her famished appearance, while her staring eyes, grinning expression and the erect hair of her head combine to depict a fierce and blood-thirsty expression.

Period III.

1. Sūrya seated, height 16" (Plate No. II, 5). The god wears boots and socks and holds a lotus in each hand. Similarly booted are the attendants on either side. Between his feet is the legless charioteer Aruṇa and below the seat are seven horses which he is driving. To the right of Sūrya is depicted a sword in the background. In the upper background are seated Brahmā and Śiva to Sūrya's right and left respectively.

2. Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, length 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (Plate No. II, 4).

The god, as usual, is four-handed: in the right hands he holds the *padma* and the *śaṅkha* and in the left ones the *chakra* and the *gadā*. The upper hands, however, are detached and not connected with the shoulders. The composition is usual, but it may be noted that behind Bhūmidevī is a *chauri* bearer who has held it in such a way that one would think that he was going to strike the god with it. In the upper background is the *navagraha* frieze and at the lower ends of the pedestal, which is inscribed, a male and a female worshipper. The clumsiness and profusion of details mar the effect of the entire composition.

THE PARTICLE *NI* IN SOME TWELFTH CENTURY COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BENGAL AND ASSAM

DR. SUKUMAR SEN

The copper-plate grants (unmutilated) of the Sena kings and the Belabo grant of Bhojavarman contain at the end of the documents abbreviated official signatures with the affix or post-position *ni*. This also appears in unofficial initials in the Guyakuci grant of Indrapāla of Assam. The occurrences are as follows:

mahākṣa ni [Belabo grant of Bhojavarman].

śrī ni [*ma*] *hā ni* [Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena].

śrī ni mahāsām karana ni [Naihati grant of Vallālasena].

mahāsām ni śrī ni [Ānuliā grant of Lakṣmaṇasena].

śrī ni mahāsā ni [Tarpanighi and Sundarban grants of the same].

śrī ni mahāsām ni [Saktipur grant of the same].

śrīmanmahāsā karana ni śrī mahāmahattaka karana ni śrīmatkarana ni (*nī*) [Edilpur grant Keśavasena and Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpasena].

śani ḍhani ani [Guyakuci grant of Indrapāla].

The accepted interpretation of the particle is that it is an abbreviation of *nibaddha* recorded. Kielhorn suggested this. This interpretation suits most of the forms but not all. *Śrī ni* cannot mean 'recorded by the king' when the document is recorded by the Mahākṣapatalika and his office or by the Mahasāndhivigrahika and his office.

In the Prakrit dialect of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkistan there is a post-positive or affix *ni* which carries the sense of the genitive and is appended to proper names, e.g., Śarsena ni putra 'Balasena 'Śarsena's son Balasena', Kapg'eya ni kilmeçi Kōmpala 'Kapg'eya's tenant Kōmpala', Yipiya ni bhuma praceya 'regarding Yipiya's land'. This meaning of the particle suits admirably all the occurrences in the Bengal and Assam grants. *Śrī ni* then stands for the initials of the king (*śrīman-mahārājādhirājasya*). The three initials in the grant of Indrapala then stand for the signatures of the three persons who engraved the inscriptions, two inscribing the text and the other the three drawings—(1) Garuḍa on a *nāga*, (2) a lotus and (3) a conch shell.¹

Burrow derives *ni* from contraction of *niya* < Skt. *nija*.² But the contraction of Pkt. *-iya* > *-i* is otherwise unknown in the dialect. The particle, I suppose, goes back to early Prakrits (viz., *apheni* 'to us, us'; *tupheni* 'to you, you' in the Jangaḍa. Separate Edict II = *aphe*, *tuphe* in the Dhauli version) and further back to Indo-European (viz., in Arcadian Greek genitive singular *tō-nī*, accusative singular feminine *tān-nī*, neuter plural *ta-nī*³).

1. See *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvālī* by Padmanath Bhattachārya.

2. See Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 100.

3. Wright, *Comparative Greek Grammar*, p. 244.

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY BENGALI POET IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON

PRABHASCHANDRA MAJUMDAR

In the fourth century A.D., Fa-Hien, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim travelled by ship from Tāmralipti to Ceylon and several other wandering monks both Chinese and Indian followed him in the later periods. The ports of Bengal became gradually less important after the seventh century A.D., and after I-tsing very little was heard of the ports of Bengal and of its maritime relations with the island of Ceylon. Bengal again rose to prominence during the middle ages. During the Pālas and Senas, Bengal played an important role in the cultural regeneration of the island of Ceylon and to some extent influenced the cultural pattern of its people by spreading Mahāyānic Buddhist thought in its neighbouring regions. In the island of Lan̄kā and the adjoining lands Bengalees displayed more earnestness in the religious activities, besides other activities in the spheres of trade, commerce, literature etc.¹ Buddhism began to decline in Bengal during the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D., but it had not by that time totally disappeared from the soil of Bengal. During this period was born a Buddhist poet in Gauḍa-Bengal named Rāmacandra Kavibhārati ; but unfortunately very little of his exploits is known to the people in the land of his birth. He played a great part in the development of Buddhism in Ceylon and contributed much to the Sanskrit learning of the people of this land. As one of the distinguished sons of Bengal, Rāmacandra's role in the cultural life of the people of Ceylon and of Bengal was significant. He held with dignity and honour a prominent position in the court of the then Ceylonese king.

Rāmacandra hailed from the village of Vetravatī² in the district of Varendra within the jurisdiction of Rāḍha-division in the province of Gauḍa in India. He was born in the Kātyāyana-Brāhmin family and as such became well versed in the Brahminic lore. He became a famous scholar and attained proficiency in Logic (tarka), Grammar (Vyākaraṇa), Rhetoric (Alaṃkāra), Poetics (Kāvya), Astronomy (Jyotiṣa) and many other branches of Brāhminic learning.

During the reign of king Parākramabāhu II, Rāmacandra visited the island of Ceylon and stayed at the monastery of Jayavardhanapūra (also known as Cotta). At that time Venerable Rāhula was the Saṅgharāja or the leader of the Buddhist monastic Orders in Ceylon. Rāhula was a celebrated teacher and his fame spread all over the island of Ceylon and even outside. He was the Principal of the Vijayabāhu Pariveṇa at Tottagamuwa. He lived during the time of king Vijayabāhu III, father of Parākramabāhu II. King Parākramabāhu conferred upon Rāhula the epithet of 'Vācīssara' when he became the head of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. This Rāhula may be the same person who is said to be the author of a Pāli work called Thūpavaṃsa.

1. See, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University Publication, 1943, pp. 670 ff.
2. It is mentioned as Viravatī in the *History of Bengal*, I, p. 687.

In the colophon of the work,³ the author is introduced as Thera Vācissara whom king Parākramabāhu appointed as the Librarian of the Royal Library (Dhammāgāra). Vācissara is also introduced as the author *Linatthadīpanī-tikā*, a commentary on the Patisambhīḍā-magga, the *Sacca-saṅkhepatthadīpanā* and the *Visuddhimagga-saṅkhepa-atthappakāsinī*. Thera Vācissara is also described as the leading Thera of Laṅkā who led a deputation of the Ceylonese monks to the Pāṇḍya and Cōla countries for the pursuit of Buddha's tooth-relic and the bowl.⁴

When Rāmacandra Kavibhārati came to Jayavardhanapūra in Ceylon, Rāhula (also known as Vācissara) was then living at that place. Rāmacandra was well received by this celebrated Buddhist teacher and became subsequently the most favourite pupil of Rāhula. Under the feet of Rāhula, Rāmacandra studied the whole of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. Rāmacandra had a great regard for his teacher Śrī-Rāhula. In one of his works, named *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcīkā*, Rāmacandra addresses his teacher in the following manner:

“Rāhula-nāma munir-ati vidvān
Sādagaṇa-bhārī Tripiṭakadhārī
Maurya-kulābdhi-prabhava-sudhāmsu
Janmani janmanyapi mama mitram.”⁵

“Rāhula, the virtuous one, a profound scholar having a complete knowledge of the Tripiṭakas is ‘like unto the moon shining the ocean-like Maurya-race’. He may be my friend in all my subsequent rebirths.”

Rāmacandra later on became one of the disciples of Rāhula and embraced Buddhism. He began to write books on Buddhism. Though he was a profound Buddhist scholar and had mastery over the language of the Tripiṭaka, no Pali work seems to be ascribed to him. He used to write in Sanskrit and the authorship of three works written in pure and classical Sanskrit are ascribed to him. These are: *Bhakti-śataka*, *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcīkā* and *Vṛttamālā*. *Bhakti-śataka*⁶ is a commentary on ‘Bhakti or supreme regard for Buddha expressed in hundred stanzas. The work consists of one hundred and seven verses in twelve different metres, and in these verses the Buddha is worshipped and eulogised in ‘the ornate style of poetry’. The Buddha is here worshipped as the only teacher, the saviour and the all-merciful. The work betrays the characteristics of Brāhminic Bhakti or love for God, although it was composed by a Buddhist author. For the lucidity and elegance of style, *Bhakti-śataka* is highly appreciated in Ceylon. Rāmacandra has himself remarked in this book on certain occasions that he writes the book for the beginners who can derive great benefit from it for acquiring a good style and

3. See, Thūpavaṃsa, P. T. S., 1935; Sinhalese ed. by Dhammāratana, 1896, also Eng. Tr. by B. C. Law—*Legend of the Topes* (Bib. Ind., 1945); *Chronicles of Ceylon* (R.A.S.B. Monograph series, 1947) by B. C. Law, p. 24 f.

4. See, Cūlavāṃsa, LXXXI, 20-23. Vācissara also took the charge of compiling Dāthāvāṃsa at the request of another Thera whose name is not known (See Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, p. 25).

5. From *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcīkā*, to illustrate the metre *Strī* (स्त्री) of the eleventh chandas.

6. See, Winternitz II, p. 379; Ed. by Śīlaskanda Thera in Ceylon, 1885; also H. P. Sastri, JBTS, I, 1893, pt. 2, pp. 21-23 and pt. 3, p. iv f.; see also *Texte zur maïschen Gottesmystik II*, Jena, 1917, for its German translation.

those who will be benefited by studying it will attain threefold happiness: *dharmā*, *artha* and *mokṣa*.

Another work ascribed to Rāmacandra is *Vṛttaratnākara-ṣaṅcīkā*. It is a commentary on Kedāra-Bhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*. The third work of Rāmacandra is *Vṛttamālā*. It was written for facilitating the study of Sanskrit metres. All the twenty-six metres are beautifully illustrated in fifty-two stanzas. The first four of the verses are composed in Mātrā metre. The first verse begins with an adoration to the Lord Buddha and the second describes what skilful composers deserve while the third and fourth verses give a general description of the island of Laṅkā and its king Parākramabāhu.

Rāmacandra during his stay in the island of Ceylon obtained royal patronage and became a favourite of King Parākramabāhu.⁷ This Parākramabāhu was certainly Vīra Parākramabāhu II who according to *Vṛttaratnākara-ṣaṅcīkā* reigned at Jayavardhanapūra in the Buddha Era 1799, *i.e.* A.D. 1245.⁸ The king was pleased with Rāmacandra's scholarship and honoured him by awarding him a gold medal and by conferring on him the title of *Sambuddhāgama-cakravartī*. The king subsequently made him his spiritual minister. In the colophon of his *Vṛttaratnākara* Rāmacandra introduces himself in the following manner:

Śrīmad-Rāhula-pādatas-tripiṭakācāryād guror-nirmmalam /
 Bauddham śāstraṃ-adhīya yastu śaraṇam ratnatrayam sisriye //
 Yo Bauddha-āgama-cakravartī-padavim Laṅkēśvarā-llabdhan /
 Sa śrīman-iha sarvva-śāstra-nipuṇo vyākhyām-imām vyātanot //

This book (*i.e.*, the commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*) was written by one well versed in the Śāstras, who studied the true and noble doctrine of Buddha at the feet of the Venerable Śrī Rāhula, a master of the Tripiṭakas, and who took refuge in the Triple Gems (of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and received from the king of Laṅkā the epithet of Bauddhāgama-cakravartī.

7. See, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 688, also R. C. Majumdar's *Suvarnadwīpa* I, p. 198.

8. H. P. Sastri on the other hand identifies this king with Parākramabāhu III (JASB, Proc., 1890, p. 125 ff.), but Parākramabāhu III was not a contemporary of Rāhula, the leader of the Ceylonese Buddhist Saṅgha.

LATER REFERENCES TO THE HŪNAS

(From the 7th to the 12th century A.D.)

MISS PUSHPA NEOGI

The great Hūna empire in India established by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula did not survive the defeat and death of the latter. With the death of Mihirakula his empire fell to pieces. What happened with his successors is not known. In fact, the history of the later Hūnas in India is shrouded in mystery. Only stray epigraphic and literary evidences are available but excepting bare references to the 'Hūnas' in certain inscriptions and literary works, few facts of political interest have been recorded.

Some of the epigraphic records mentioning the later Hūnas may be noticed here:—

1. The Bādal Pillar Inscription of Devapāla which contains an eulogy of five generations of hereditary Brahmaṇa ministers who served under four rulers of the Pāla dynasty—beginning from Dharmapāla. Extravagant claims are put forward in this record on behalf of Darbhapaṇi and his grand son Kedāramiśra, who both served under Devapāla. It was Darbhapaṇi's diplomacy, we are told, which enabled Devapāla to exact tributes from the whole of Northern India, from the Himalayas to the Vindhya Mountains and from the Western to the Eastern Sea (verse 5). It was again the policy of Kedāramiśra that enabled Devapāla to enjoy the sea-girt earth, after having exterminated the Utkalas, curbed the pride of the Hūnas and destroyed the haughtiness of the Draviḍa and Gurjara lords (verse 13).

2. An inscription of the reign of the Gurjara king Mahendrapāla refers to his feudatory Balavarman who by slaying Jajjapa and other kings is said to have freed the earth from the Hūna race in the last part of the 9th century A.D. The mention of a Hūna king's name is rather unique (E.I., vol. IX, p. 1 ff.).

3. The Udaipur Prasāsti of the Paramāras of Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana distinctly states that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (anuja) Sindhurāja (E.I., Vol. I, pp. 236-237, v. 16). The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūna king (rāja) and gained glory by other victories.

4. The Ātपुर Inscription of Śaktikumāra belonging to the dynasty of the Guhilaputras of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kathiawar. Tod in his monumental work has given us a translation of an inscription which he calls the 'Inscription from the Ruins of Aitpoor'. It opens with the date (V.S.) 1034 (c. 977 A.D.). This inscription gives us the genealogy of the Udaipur dynasty (*Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 756; I.A., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-91). Verse 1 speaks of Guhadatta, a Brahmin who emigrated from Anāmdapurā as the founder of the Guhila dynasty. After a line of kings came Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) 'who was the ornament of the three worlds' (verse 3). Verse 4 says Bhartṛipaṭṭa II's queen was Mahālakṣmī of the

Rāshṭrakūṭa family and from her she had a son named Allaṭa. In verse 5 we are told that Allaṭa had a queen named Hariyadevī, daughter of a Hūṇa prince, and that her fame shone in the form of Harshapura. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the latter expression probably means that she founded the town of Harshapura (I.A., XXXIX, p. 186).

5. An inscription belonging to the dynasty of the Haihayas of the 'United' and 'Central Provinces' states that Lakshmi-Karṇa was succeeded sometime before 1073 A.D. by his son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, begotten on queen Āvalladevī of the Hūṇa stock (Hūṇānvaya) (E.I., Vol. II, p. 4 ; v. 15 ; XII, p. 212, v. 15. (JASB, vol. XII, p. 480).

6. The Ajmer Stone Inscription (II) of Vīgraharāja belonging to the dynasty of the Chāhamānas of the Punjab, Rajputana and Gujarat. This inscription contains portions of the 2nd and 3rd Acts and the concluding portions of the 5th Act of the *Harakeli-nāṭaka*, a drama composed by Vīgraharājadeva of Śākambhari. The inscription describes Vīgraharāja as the grandson of the learned Govinda 'who was born in the family of the Hūṇa prince and was, on account of his excellence, a favourite king of Bhoja'. It is dated in (v.s.) 1210 (A.D. 1153).

7. The Chebrolu inscription of Jaya 'after Śaka Samvat 1135'. This inscription opens with invocations addressed to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu (verse 1). In this lineage was born Gaṇapati (verse 5). The Madra king, the Pāñchāla, the Videha king, the Hammira, the Hūṇa and the Kōsi are stated to have been waiting at his door.

Besides the epigraphic references noted above, there are also literary references to the Hūṇas in the following works:—

1. *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa—Bāṇa has referred to the Hūṇas in more than one passage. In one passage it records Sarvavarman's (Maukhari king) successful encounter with his Gupta rivals and further informs us that "the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas" (in order to trample them to death). It appears from the manner of the description that Sarvavarman inflicted a defeat on the Hūṇas before he came into conflict with Dāmodara-gupta.

The Hūṇas are again referred to in another passage of the *Harshacharita*. The *Harshacharita* calls Prabhākara-vardhana "a lion to the Hūṇa deer (Hūṇaharīṇakeśarī), a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat" (HC., Cowell & Thomas, p. 101).

There is another reference to the Hūṇas in the *Harshacharita*. It states: 'Rājyavardhana defeating the Hūṇas of the North-West had returned to the capital with limbs emaciated and long white bandages abounding with arrow-wounds received in battle' (HC., Eng. Trans. by Cowell & Thomas, p. 167).

The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* states that Siyaka II of the Paramāra dynasty conquered a Hūṇa-chief (Hūṇ-avarodharī-vaidhavya-dīkshā-dānam). The identification of this Hūṇa prince is not known. It is probable, as Dr. H. C. Ray suggests, that the Hūṇa prince may have died in battle with the Paramāra king (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 850).

The tenth sarga of the *Navasahasāṅkacarita* (x.14.20) states that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūṇa king (nṛpati) and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Mūrala, Lāṭa and Kosala. This is also mentioned in the Udaipur Praśasti of the kings of Malwa (E.I., Vol. I).

Another interesting reference to the Hūṇas is to be found in the work of the Jaina author Hemachandra. According to this Jaina author, the Chālukya king Durlabha, who ascended the throne of Anahilapātaka about 1009-10 A.D., won over his queen Durlabhadevī in a svayamvara ceremony, but in this connection he had to fight a number of other rulers, including the kings of Aṅga, Kāśi, Avanti, Chedideśa, Hūṇadeśa, Mathura and Vindhya (DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 945-46).

The *Harakeli-nātaka*, as already mentioned, also refers to an encounter between Vighararāja of the Chāhamāna dynasty and the Hūṇas. This drama has been partly preserved as an inscription at Ajmer.

These scattered notices are sufficient to indicate that even after the death of Mihirakula different Hūṇa chiefs ruled in different periods. They came into conflict with some of the notable Indian powers and were sometimes subdued by them.

An attempt may be made here to construct the history of the later Hūṇas as follows:—

After the defeat and death of Mihirakula the short-lived empire of the Hūṇas broke up. Different Hūṇa chiefs, however, are found to have ruled over one or more small principalities in Uttarāpatha near the Himalayas and also such regions where by reason of their geographical and strategic position they invited the hostilities of the enterprising rulers of Malwa, Gujarat, Sindh etc. That they had special and distinct seats of power in India is proved from the use of such terms as Hūṇadeśa and Hūṇamaṇḍala referred to in an inscription of the Paramāra king, Vākpatirāja (E.I. XXIII, p. 102). From the last part of the 6th century A.D. till the end of the 12th century, more than half a dozen Hūṇa raids, were made in India. The first attempt was made during the reign of Sarvavarman, the Maukhari king, as already mentioned. The Hūṇas referred to in this connection evidently came after Mihirakula. It is not known if they were in any way connected with his family. Probably the successors of the defeated Hūṇa chief tried to follow in his footsteps and for the time being became a menace to the empire of Prabhākaravardhana. Prabhākaravardhana fought against them and towards the close of his reign he had to send the crown-prince, Rājyavardhana, again, to defend the frontiers of the kingdom against their attack as the evidence in the *Harshacharita* shows. It has been suggested by Tripathi that Sarvavarmana's fight against the Hūṇas was by way of helping the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save North India from Hūṇa supremacy.

It may not be unreasonable to hold that the Hūṇas afterwards ruled peacefully for some time. Again, Devapāla in the course of his western campaign came into conflict with the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas and defeated both, as referred to in the Bādal Pillar Inscription. The question is: where were the Hūṇas at the time of Devapāla's attack? With regard to this point,

we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, suggests that most probably the Hūṇa principality was situated at the outskirts of the Pāla empire and this sufficiently explains Devapāla's hostilities with them (Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 118). But the term 'outskirts' does not provide the exact location.

Next, the Hūṇas had few encounters with the rulers of the Paramāra dynasty including Utpala (Muñjarāja—E.I., Vol. I, p. 235). The Hūṇa chief conquered by Siyaka II may have died in the battle as indicated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. The Hūṇas were also twice defeated by the Paramāra kings, Vākpati and Sindhurāja, as referred to in the Udaipur Praśasti and the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. It may be suggested that all these Hūṇas defeated by the Paramāras belonged to one and the same ruling family. Persistent Paramāra opposition must have reduced their power to a considerable extent. The Rāshtrakūta, Kakkarāja II Amoghavarsa is shown by the Kharda plates of A.D. 972 to have fought battles with the Hūṇa lords (I.A., Vol. XII, p. 265). However, the Hūṇas appear to have been subdued but not utterly destroyed. Many, of course, perished, but some at least survived, adhering to their Hūṇa heritage and must have gradually merged in the general population. Before this the Hūṇas must have in large numbers been admitted to the Hindu community. The Āṭpur Inscription of Saktikumāra informs us that Allāṭa had a queen named Hariyadevī, daughter of a Hūṇa prince. Also, the Ajmer Stone Inscription (II) of Vighararāja describes Vighararāja as the grandson of the learned Govinda, 'who was born in the family of the Hūṇa prince and was on account of his excellence a favourite king of Bhoja'. There is another instance of a Hūṇa princess marrying an Indian prince. Karnadeva, the ruler of Cedi, married the Hūṇa princess Avalladevī. Thus, that the Hūṇas became Hinduised is clearly proved by these instances of matrimonial alliances and the adoption of such Hindu names as Govinda etc.

We may conclude that the Asiatic hordes that began to pour into India in the Gupta period, settled down in different parts of the northern and western regions of the country and were in course of time merged in the general population and became Hinduised.

LAKULIŚA-PĀŚUPATAS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

B. P. MAJUMDAR

The Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas belonged to one of the important branches of Pāśupatas in early mediaeval India. They signify their distinctiveness by their belief in the theory of incarnation of Śiva. This belief is not to be found among the other schools of Śaivism, e.g., the Mattamayūras,¹ Kāpālikas, Kālamukhas, Liṅgāyats. Just as the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta enumerates twenty-four incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas mention eighteen or twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva in different ages. Due to the non-availability of Lakuliśa-Pāśupāta texts,² the names in each incarnation have to be gathered from inscriptions and literary works like those of Ācārya Haribhadra, Mādhava and Rājaśekharasūri. The Cintra Praśasti³ of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva acquaints us only with the names in five incarnations. Ācārya Haribhadra⁴ mentions eighteen Avatāras 'तेषामीश्वरो देवः सर्वज्ञः सृष्टिसंहारादिहृत् । तस्य चाष्टादशावतारा अमी ।' and Rājaśekharasūri⁵ gives the same number of incarnations 'तेषां च शङ्करो देवः सृष्टिसंहारकारकः । तस्यावतारा सारा ये तेऽष्टादश तदचिताः ।

But Viśuddhamuni⁶ and the writer of a Bhāṣya of Rāśikāra mentions twenty-eight incarnations. The Cintra Praśasti, Haribhadra and Rājaśekharasūri give us the names of the eighteen Avatāras thus: Bhattāraka Śrī Lakuliśa, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa, Maitreya, Iśāna, Pāragārgya, Kapilāṇḍa, Manuśyaka, Kuśika, Atri, Piṅgala, Puṣpaka, Bṛhadārya, Agasti, Saṁtāna, Rāśikāra and Vidyāguru. But Viśuddhamuni⁷ gives us an entirely different list of names.

The antiquity of the founder of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupata sect is also difficult to be determined. The name of Lakuliśa or Nakuliśa occurs as early as the time of the composition of the *Vāyu Purāna*⁸. The *Liṅga Purāna*⁹ represents Maheśvara to have told Brahmadeva that at the time of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana during the 28th repetition of the Yugas, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmācārin by the name of Lakulin. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar concludes from this fact that if the *Vāyu Purāna* were composed in the fourth

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 239-245; *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 1-6.

2. The only work of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupata system available till now is *Gaṇakārikā*. That there exist more works on this branch of Śaivism is known from the commentary on the *Gaṇakārikā* and *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, I, vv. 14, 16.

4. *Gaṇakārikā* (G.O.S., XV), Appendix II.

5. *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (G.O.S., XV, Appendix III, p. 35).

6. *Ātmasamarpaṇam*, v. 4.

श्वेतः सुतारी दमनः सुगोत्रः कङ्क एव च । लीकाच्चिन्नीगीष्वी च तथैव दधिवान्नः ॥१॥

कृषभो मुनिरुग्रश्च चित्रार्थोलिश्च गौतमः । वेदशिरा गीकर्णश्च गुह्यावांसिशिखण्डिनौ ॥२॥

जटामालौ चाट्टासी दारुकी लाङ्गली तथा । श्वेतः श्लथश्च दण्डौ च सहिष्णुः सीमशर्मकः ॥३॥

लकुलीश्यावतारा अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याकाः ।

8. Chapter 23, śl. 221 (Ānandāśrama edition).

9. Chapter 24, śl. 129 (Calcutta edition).

century A.D., the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuliśa must be placed in the 1st century at the latest. The age of the subsequent incarnations of Lakuliśa cannot be determined with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. But we can make a possible conjecture if twenty-five years are assigned to each Avatāra. Thus if we take the eighteen Avatāras as the actual number of incarnations and Lakuliśa flourishing in the first century A.D., all the other incarnations were complete by the end of the sixth century A.D. But if we are to assign more importance to the Bhāṣyakāra of Rāśīkāra's works and Viśuddhamuni, the last incarnation took place seven hundred years after Lakuliśa. And it took about a century for the propagation of the ideas of the sect. The believers of the sect increased in such large numbers that the inscriptions began referring to Lakuliśa on and from 943 A.D.¹⁰

Lakuliśa was a historical personality like the Buddha or Mahāvīra., and not Śiva, as Dr. Burgess¹¹ thinks. He appeared on the earth as a great Śaiva teacher who carried a club in his hand and so became known as Lakulin. He preached the idea of a new manifestation of Śiva as Lakuliśa "the Lord, who bears the club". This teacher might have subsequently identified himself with God and in course of time came to be known as an incarnation of the God Śiva. Bhandarkar¹² thinks, "that a person of the name of Lakulin or Lakuliśa founded a Śaiva system corresponding to the Pāñcarātra system, which the *Vāyu* and *Līnga Purānas* consider to be contemporaneous with it. The other general name of Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin, and substituting that of the god Paśupati, whose incarnation he was believed to be, as is done in the texts of the *Mahābhārata*". The figure of Lakuliśa was anthropomorphised as a god with two arms and holding a club in one of his hands. Dr. J. N. Banerjee¹³ also identifies images having these attributes as those of Lakuliśa, the founder of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupata sect. Such images have been found not only in Rajputana but also elsewhere in India. The base of a Mathura stone-pillar inscription of the time of Chandra Gupta II (the year 61 of his reign), contains a three-eyed human figure holding a club in the right hand and an unidentified object in the left shown akimbo.

That Lakuliśa was a great Śaiva teacher and had spread his doctrines can be proved by a number of inscriptions. The doctrine became so popular in the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries as to find mention in contemporary inscriptions of different parts of India. His doctrines were taught by Muninātha-Cilluka who is referred to in an inscription at Hemavati in Mysore, dated 943 A.D.,¹⁴ by Lakuliśvarapaṇḍita,¹⁵ referred to in an inscription at Balagami in Mysore, dated 1035 A.D. ; by certain ascetics called upholders of Lākulāgamasamaya, i.e., system based on a work of Lakulin, referred

10. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, p. 92. D. R. Bhandarkar connects the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in the year 61 of the Gupta era, with the Lakuliśa sect, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 81.

11. *ASWI.*, plate 37, fig. 1.

12. *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 120.

13. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 265.

14. *Op. Cit.*, p. 92.

15. *I.A.*, 1901; *E.I.*, IV, p. 226.

to in an inscription dated 1177 A.D.¹⁶; Nāgaśiva Paṇḍita referred to in an inscription dated 1183 A.D.¹⁷; Bammadeva, son of Nāgarāśi, the promoter of the system based on the work of Lalulin, in an inscription¹⁸ dated 1199 A.D.; a Vāgi-Lākula, or one who upheld the system of the Lakulin, in an inscription dated 1213 A.D.

The Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas had their followers practically over the whole of Mediaeval India. In the east we get the image of Lakuliśa Śiva in Assam. In a brick-built temple of Śiva¹⁹ of the Ahom period, at Parbatia, the chaitya-window is itself occupied by a figure in the form of Lakuliśa, seated with a rope tied round his leg. A female is holding a cup to his left, while another stands to the right. In the western region, we get numerous sculptures of Lakuliśa Śiva in Rajputana. The Ekalingji temple inscription²⁰ near Udaipur in Mewar, dated 971-72 A.D., mentions the incarnation. That the Lāṭa region was a stronghold or head establishment of the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas. can be inferred from the Cintra Praśasti, the Bherāghāt inscription of queen Ālhaṇadevi and the Ekalingji temple inscription. According to the Cintra Praśasti and the Ekalingji temple inscriptions, Lakuliśa incarnated at a place called Kārohaṇa. Scholars have identified Kārohaṇa with Kāyārohaṇa and Kāyāvarohaṇa. A chapter on the Kārāvaṇamāhātmya in the *Śiva Purāna*²¹ mentions a story in which Lakuliśa was born as a son of Viśvarāja in the family of the sage Atri. The same Purāna gives us the names of Kāyārohaṇa in different ages, e.g., Icchāpuri in the Kṛta era, Māyāpuri in the Tretā era, Meghāvati in the Dvāpara and Kāyāvarohaṇa in the Kali Yuga:

सृष्टक्षेत्रपवित्रार्थं निर्मितं शम्भुना स्वयम् ।
 कृते इच्छापुत्री नाम त्रेतायां च मायापुरी ॥
 द्वापरे मेघवती नाम कलौ कायावरोहणम् ।
 श्रीमातेति कृते प्रोक्ता त्रेतायां भूलम्बा मता ॥

Kāyārohaṇa has been identified as Kārvan,^{21a} a town in the Dabhoi taluk of the Baroda State. It was at Kārohaṇa that the four incarnations Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣha and Maitreya²² appeared. And it was in Lāṭa region that the three teachers of the Gārgya branch of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas, e.g., Kārttikarāśi, Vālmikirāśi, and Tripurāntaka were abbots of some *matha*. Rudrarāśi, a Pāśupata ascetic, was placed in charge of a Śiva temple and *matha* built by Queen Ālhanadevi at Bherāghāt in the Jubbulpur district came also from Lāṭa.²³ They were also known to the people in Mysore.²⁴ From a study of the verses 23 to 33 of the Cintra Praśasti, which relate to the places of pilgrimage visited by Tripurāntaka, we can infer that the follow-

16. *Ep. Carn.*, V, pt. I, p. 135.

17. *Ep. Carn.*, V, No. 103.

18. *Ep. Carn.*, V, No. 103.

19. Barua: *History of Kamrup*, p. 178.

20. *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 22, p. 151 ff.

21. Quoted in *Ganakārikā* (G.O.S., XV, pp. 49-55).

21a. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1171, fn. 3.

22. Cintra Praśasti, v. 16.

23. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 7-17, v. 31.

24. *JBBRAS.*, XXII, pp. 151-153 and *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Shikarpur Taluq, No. 107.

ing places were notable centres of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupata sect: Kedāra (v. 23-24), confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga (v. 26), Śrīparvata (v. 27), Rāmeśvara (v. 30) and Prabhāsa (v. 31-32). There were followers of the sect also residing at Benares.²⁵

The temples of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas were mostly located in the Lāṭa region, Rajputana, Mysore and isolated ones at Prayāga, Benares, Kedāra, Bherāghāt. Cloisters of *maths* were sometimes attached to those temples, e.g., the Śiva temple built by Queen Ālhanadevi, a widow of King Gayakarna-deva, at Bherāghāt. The expenses of these temples were borne by the munificence of the royal family or by the merchant community or guilds.

The Cintra Praśasti gives us a description of food offered to their deity Śiva. Husked rice or choṣa, phaselus mungo (mudga) and clarified butter ghr̥ta, (v. 52), betel nuts pūga, (v. 53) were offered as the *bhoga* for the deity. The *bhoga* was to be offered by the Paśupāla (vv. 56-57, 69), who was also entrusted with the duty of worshipping the deity regularly.

We may ascribe two main reasons for the popularity of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas. Firstly, it was a sect of wide catholicity suiting the tastes and capacities of the different classes of people. It was a religion which the ascetics as well as worldly men could profess. Ācārya Haribhadra in his *Ṣaḍadarśanasamuccaya* remarks that the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas "worship that form of the Almighty contemplated by the ancient sages where there is neither the celestial river, cobras, the garland of skulls, the digits of the moon, Pārvatī, matted hair, ashes nor anything else. He, God Śiva, alone is to be resorted to by the ascetics. Those who are covetous of pleasures of a kingdom meditate upon and worship Him."²⁶ Admission to the sect was open to married and unmarried people alike: आतिथ्यकर्मनिरताः सखीकाः, निखीकास्तेषुत्तमाः । Of course, celibacy was regarded as a distinctive quality. Anyone devoted to Śiva might take the vow and become a Bharāṭa. For becoming a Bharāṭa it was necessary that he should be a Brāhmin²⁷ भरटादीनां व्रतग्रहणे ब्राह्मणादिवर्णनियमो नास्ति । यस्य तु शिवे भक्तिः स व्रती भरटादिर्भवेत् । Rājaśekharasūri²⁸ confirms the opinion of Ācārya Haribhadra. The attractive features of this religious system may have contributed a good deal towards its popularity. Secondly, Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* says that laughter हास्य, songs गीत and dance नृत्य were allowed at the time of meditation. The music was to be tuned in accordance with the rules of the Gandharvaśāstra, and the

25. *Kūrma Purāna*, I, 33, 6-8.

26. न स्वर्धुनी न फणियो न कपालदाम
नेन्दीः कला न गिरिजा न जटा न भस्म ।
यवान्यदेव च न किञ्चिदुपास्यहे त-
द्रूपं पुराणमुनिशीलिनमौश्वरस्य ॥१॥
स एव योगिनां सेव्यो ज्यवाचीनस्तु भोगभाक् ।
स ध्यायमानो राज्यादिसखलुर्ब्धैर्निषेव्यते ॥२॥

27. *G.O.S.*, XV, p. 30.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

qualities of Śiva were to be sung. In the histrionic art attention was to be given to the movement of the limbs of the body as well as the thought-contents of the drama.²⁹

The Lakuliśa-Pāśūpatas maintained their individuality by dress, by their philosophy and method of worship. Like the other Śaiva ascetics they too used to smear their body with ashes, wear loin cloth, keep matted hair and wear sacred thread. But unlike others, they used black dress.³⁰ They followed the Vaiśeṣika school of philosophy, whereas the Śaivites were guided by the Naiyāyikadarśana. Not later than 900 A.D. the Lakuliśa-Pāśūpatas separated themselves from the other Śiva-worshippers known as Śaivas. The distinction became so wide that Bhāskarācārya, Aparārka and others recognised the differences between the Śaivas and the Pāśūpatas. Bhāskarācārya, who is placed sometime between 850 and 950 A.D. mentions four sects of the Māheśvaras—Pāśūpatas, Śaivas, Kāpālikas and Kāṭhaka-Siddhāntins. Aparārka, who flourished about 1125 A.D., differentiated the Śaivas from the Pāśūpatas.³² The Śravaṇa-Belgola inscription of Mallisena (1129 A.D.) refers to the Śaivas, Pāśūpatas, Kāpālikas and Kāpilas.³³ According to Hariḥhadra,³⁴ the Lakuliśa-Pāśūpatas differed from the Mahāvratadhara and Kālamukha. R. G. Bhandarkar³⁵ seems to be incorrect when he says that "Lakula was the general name by which the Śaiva ascetics were called, and the specific name Kālamukha is associated with the general name in one case."

The method of worship of Paśupati-Maheśvara by the Lakuliśa-Pāśūpatas is described by the authors of *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* and *Ganakārikā*. The lay worshippers are to recite 'salutation to Śiva' with folded hands. But an elaborate procedure is prescribed for the naked celibate ascetics, who enjoy a special distinction. The latter are to be engaged in the performance of the ritual five fires. After washing and cleansing their teeth and feet and performing ablutions in the morning, they must smear their body with ashes thrice and meditate on Śiva. In the noon and evening after worshipping their God, they smear their body with ashes carefully and then bathe. Then they should proceed gradually towards the 'garbhagrha.' On the right of the image, they should kneel on the ground and placing hands on the breast visualise Śiva and meditate. At the time of meditation they should laugh loudly. Then they should sing and dance. They sit in the same manner indicated above, meditate on Śiva and do 'huddukāra', bow down and recite 'japa'. Again they should take deep breath thrice while laughing, go round thrice at the time of dance, do 'huddukāra' thrice, take salutations six times. While coming out of the 'garbhagrha' they should salute, go round the deity thrice and do 'japa'. Bathing in a lonely place, they should also salute in order of succession all the Tirthankaras like Lakuliśa and Rāśikāra, and go

29. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

30. Ekalingji temple inscription.

31. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, p. 127.

32. *Aparārka's commentary* on Yājñavalkya, p. 11.

33. *Ep. Ind.*, III, 1894-95, p. 192.

34. *G.O.S.*, XV, p. 30.

35. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems*, p. 120.

round each of them. The place selected for meditation should be examined in the morning and its dirt and impurities removed. When darkness descends the site should be again cleared with the end of a piece of cloth and purified with ashes. Then when they are half-asleep and half-awake they should utter 'mantras' formulae, perform the Krāthana, Spandana and Maṇḍana and thus worship Rudra.³⁶ The author as well as the commentator of the *Gaṇakārikā* clearly says that the 'Guru'³⁷ is necessary for an ascetic. Unless one is initiated by the 'Guru' one cannot worship in the right way and win salvation.

36. Commentary on the Śloka no. 7 of *Gaṇakārikā*.

37. *Gaṇakārikā*, Ślokas 2 and 3.

SOME ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE 9TH & 10TH
CENTURIES AS ILLUSTRATED BY CONTEMPORARY
KANNADA WORKS

G. S. DIKSHIT

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the value of literary works in ancient Kannada language for a study of contemporary administration. Their value for the reconstruction of political history has long been recognised. Pampa's *Vikram-Ārjuna-Vijaya* identifies his patron Chālukya Arikeśārī with Arjuna and contrives to weave many contemporary historical events into the story. Similarly Ranna's *Gadāyuddha* or *Sāhasa-Bhīma-Vijaya* identifies Satyāśraya, the second Western Chālukya king with Bhīma, the epic hero, and introduces many historical incidents into his work. From these and similar works it is possible to extract information throwing light on administration. The most useful in this respect is the earliest work in Kannada, which is known as *Kavirājamārga*.¹ It is a handbook on rhetoric, partly based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. The authorship of this work is disputed between Nripatuṅga or Amoghavarsha I, the well-known Rashtrakūṭa king of the 9th Century A.D. and a poet in his court who had the title of Kaviśvara but whose real name is unknown. The prevalent opinion is that Kaviśvara was the real author; but he was so much benefited by Amoghavarsha in writing this poem that he wanted posterity to think that it was written by his patron only. This practice of a court poet fathering his work on his patron is not quite unknown in the history of Indian literature.

The poet was a member of the court and he was fully conversant with matters relating to administration. A major part of the work is no doubt based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. But some of the verses are addressed to a king, who is referred to as 'you' and 'yours'. There are also verses which contain praises of a king's liberality and prowess and some other contains the praise of a king who had the titles of Nripatuṅga, Atiśaya-Dhavalā, and Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, and who is no other than Amoghavarsha himself. From all these it is evident that the poet has introduced as illustrations in his work, verses which he wrote in praise of his patron or in reference to him. An identical practice was later on followed by another Kannada poet Tirumalaraya who illustrated his work on rhetoric, with examples from his patron Chikka-devaraya's heroic deeds.

The following examples² which occur in *Kavirājamārga* under *Dṛṣhtānta* Alāṅkāra have a great significance from the point of view of contemporary history and politics.

"The minister should give a lead to the people, when they are confronted with baffling problems. He should not like a mountain echo the ill-considered views of the people. If he does so, can he be called a minister?"

1. The discussion about the authorship of *Kavirājamārga* is to be found in *Karnāṭaka Kavirājamārgam*, edited by Shri. A. Venkata Rao and Shri H. Sesha Aiyangar.

2. *Ibid.* ch. III, vv. 144-153; chap. IX, vv. 9-19; chap. II, vv. 35-51.

“If a person overburdens his head with work and then complains that he is not able to do anything properly, he will be like the fool, who first has a shave and then enquires if that is the proper day for having a shave.

“If the time is not propitious, even a policy approved by all should not be put into action ; it will be as useless as helping a dead person.

“Even the luminous sun will not rise until the time is proper. Hence an experienced king should wait for the proper time to execute a policy even though it has much to commend it.

“An enemy who knows the weakness of a king will defeat him, even if the king’s army is aware of the attempt to defeat, in the same way as Rāhu who knows the weakness of the moon meets with no obstacle in seizing it.

“If an enemy is not completely beaten because he is insignificant, he will grow in strength in course of time and will cause inconvenience, just as a group of clouds can cover even the brightness of a sun.

“Internal enemies will not allow even able rulers to achieve any progress, just as the internal sea-fire disturbs even the sea.

“Opponents are always troublesome. Therefore, the king should understand their nature. Otherwise just as particles of dust create mud in water, the internal enemies will clog your progress.

“A doctor who does not correctly diagnose goes wrong in prescription ; in the same way a minister who does not understand the policy of a good king but acts according to his own will, goes wrong.

“Who will not appreciate these words which will lead to fruitful results? Only a patient who has lost taste cannot relish a good feast.”

Some of these examples may have been based on contemporary life and experience. If so, ministers evidently were sometimes headstrong and negligent. Rebellions may have sometimes assumed dangerous proportions because the king and his ministers did not suppress them in time. In Amoghavarsha’s reign there were actually some internal troubles.

The *Pampa Bhārata*, a work of the early 10th century, in 10 verses contains the following praise of Sāmopāya or tact in administration. Can a minister, who uses force before attempting diplomatic or tactful methods, be called a minister? Softness overcomes strength. Praise creates goodwill. Hence tact should be tried before force.

Ponna’s *Santhipurāṇa*, a work of the middle of the 10th century, also condemns the unnecessary use of force. A king who always hankers after war does not know that even success in war may lead to a catastrophe. A king who does not overcome his enemy by peaceful methods, but tries to conquer them by waging war against them is like a man who fells a tree on himself.

To revert to Pampa, in his *Ādipurānam*, he has the following qualifications for a minister of war and peace:—Janapada-Samabhijata, Abhirupa, Vakroktinipuna, Anudhatavesha, Parichatasesha-Desubhasha, etc. We meet ministers having some of these qualifications in contemporary records. For example, this particular minister is stated to have known many regional

languages. In inscriptions we have ministers of war and peace appointed to various regions such as Lāṭa and Karṇāṭaka. Presumably they were required to know the regional languages.

Ranna, a poet of the later 10th and early 11th century A.D. in his *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa Tilakam* describes Dallapa, the father of his patron Attimabbe, and minister to Tailapa as follows:—Sachivottama, Uttama-jatium, Sakala Chakravartiya Sabha Samvada Chaturanam, Chaturapadha-Visiddhanam, etc. Some of these qualifications are prescribed in text-books on political science. Ranna's praise, if true, shows that there were ministers who satisfied these requirements.

A NOTE ON THE KĀYASTHAS OF EARLY-MEDIAEVAL KĀSMĪRA

SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

In some of the works of Kṣemendra, in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, we frequently come across the term Kāyastha. In a wider sense, it denotes all the members of the bureaucracy ranging from the Gṛhakarṭyamahattama (the chief secretary in charge of home affairs) to the Aśvaghāsa-kāyastha (officer in charge of the fodder for horses), whose principal duty, besides carrying on the general administration of the state, consisted in the collection of revenue and taxes. In a narrower sense, the term is sometimes also used as a synonym for clerk (niyogī or divira).¹

Now-a-days, the term Kāyastha denotes a particular sub-caste of the Hindu society. In early-mediaeval Kāśmīra the term never stood for a caste ; it was the name of an occupational class. This is evident from Kalhaṇa who mentions that some of the Brāhmaṇas too were Kāyasthās.² The career of a Kāyastha seems to have been open to all. Even persons holding other hereditary occupations—sometimes lowly ones like that of ārāmika (gardener) could attain the rank of a Kāyastha.³ A Kāyastha holding a lower office could be promoted to a higher rank. Kṣemendra says that it was the ambition of every Kāyastha to become the Gṛhakarṭyamahattama. The post of this highest official was the highest that could be secured by a Kāyastha.⁴

There is no mention of Kāyastha in the earlier books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. They appear as a distinct class for the first time in the fourth book of the Chronicle. That, however, does not prove that the Kāyasthas did not exist in pre-Karkoṭa period. But even if they did—they seem to have held an insignificant position in the State, because the administrative system of Kāśmīra, prior to the establishment of the Karkoṭa rule, was remarkably undeveloped.⁵ From the Karkoṭa regime onwards, the expansion of the State-administration we can clearly observe a corresponding rise and development of the Kāyasthas—the official class of the valley. In the Karkoṭa period, besides the general mention of the Kāyasthas as officers in king's service, we meet with such specific posts held by them as Nagarādhīpa⁶ or Nagarādhyaṅga⁷ and we find the names of such offices as Dharmādhikaraṇa (apparently department of justice)⁸, Calagañja (moving treasury)⁹ and Śeḍa (an accounts office)¹⁰ where Kāyasthas were employed.

The Utpala period marks further increase in the number of State offices,

1. *Narmamālā—prathama parihāsa*—ed. M. Kaul.
2. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*—VIII—2383.—ed. Stein.
3. *R.T.*—VII—39-41.
4. *Narmamālā—prathama parihāsa*, verse 32 ff.
5. The only Kāyastha officer whose name is met with in the pre-Karkoṭa period, was the Aśvaghāsa-kāyastha—*R.T.* III—489.
6. *R.T.*—IV—81.
7. *Kuṭṭanīmatam Kāvyaṃ*—Dāmodaragupta.
8. *R.T.*—IV—588.
9. *R.T.*—IV—589.
10. *R.T.*—IV—691.

particularly in the departments of revenue and taxation. The two new departments created by Śaṅkaravarman were Aṭṭapatibhāga (the office charged with share of the lord of the market) and Gṛhakarṭya (office concerned with domestic affairs).¹¹ The latter, we learn from the *Rājatarāṅginī*, was placed in charge of a treasurer (gañjavara) and five secretaries (divira).¹² Kalhaṇa gives a detailed account of the fiscal exactions made by Śaṅkaravarman and we can easily imagine that a large number of Kāyasthas were employed for the purpose. Grāma-kāyasthas and perhaps, a class of officers called the Skandakas were responsible for the collection of revenue from the villagers.¹³ An important office of this period was the Akṣapatala—where land grants were executed by the recorder of official documents (pattopādhyāya).¹⁴ This department was supervised by an officer, directly appointed by the king.¹⁵ Another notable officer of the Utpāla period was the Dvārādhipa, lord of the gates.¹⁶

The period ranging from the fall of the Utpalas to the rise of the Loharas shows a further development of the administrative machinery. Besides the names of almost all officers previously met with we find in this period two new officers—Gañjeśa (the officer in charge of the treasury)¹⁷ and Adhikaraṇa-lekhaka (the official recorder).¹⁸

Under the Lohara dynasties, the administrative system of Kāśmīra becomes even more elaborate, with various departments, having graded officials in each of them. Kṣemendra, who wrote his *Narmamālā* during the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) gives a list of contemporary Kāyastha officers. At the head of the home administration was the Gṛhakarṭyādhipati. Other Kāyastha officers below him were Paripālaka, Mārgapati, Gañja-divira, Āsthāna-divira, Nagara-divira, Lekhakopādhyāya and Niyogī.¹⁹ All of them were charged either with the collection of revenue or with the general administration of the revenue department. Another Kāyastha officer—the Saulkika, was posted on the frontier routes for collecting customs duties.²⁰ In addition to the officers referred to above, King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) created two new posts, viz., those of Devotpātananāyaka and Arthanāyaka.²¹ The former was appointed for overthrowing divine images and the latter for confiscating the property of temples and villagers.

The bureaucratic machinery of the post-Lohara period seems to have been as developed as that of the preceding period. Jonarāja mentions the names and designations of some of the officers whom we meet in the *Rājatarāṅginī*.

The increase in the number of Kāyastha officials, as evidenced by

11. R.T.—V—167.
 12. R.T.—V—176.
 13. R.T.—V—175; also Stein's notes on the above verse—R.T.—Eng. tr., Vol. I—p. 210.
 14. R.T.—V—398.
 15. R.T.—V—301.
 16. R.T.—V—214.
 17. R.T.—VI—266.
 18. R.T.—VI—30.
 19. *Narmamālā—prathama parihāsa*.
 20. *Samayamātṛikā*—ed.—*Kāvya-mālā*—ii—102; R.T.—VII—2010.
 21. R.T.—VII—1091, 1103-4.

Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, was accompanied by growing interference of the State in private landed properties. After the fall of the Karkoṭas, trade and commerce with foreign countries practically came to a close. The State had now to depend for its income principally on the revenue of the land. Hence closer supervision of landed estates was required and steps were taken for exacting as much revenue from them as possible. That also accounts for the increased number of the Kāyasthas.

Among the different types of officers who constituted the Kāyastha class, except the Śaulkika, we have not met with a single official designation which had anything to do with the trade and commerce of the valley. Nearly all other officials were engaged in collecting land revenue or supervising its administration. This also tends to show the growing importance of the land in the economic life of early-mediaeval Kāśmīra.

The Kāyasthas received their salary from the royal treasury. Probably they used to get monthly payments.²² But there are reasons to believe that besides the usual salary which they received for their work, they usurped parts of the revenue which were collected by them for being deposited in the royal treasury. Thus while describing the condition of the valley under Jayāpīḍa's reign Kalhaṇa says that the Kāyasthas carried off all property of the subjects, delivering to the king only the smallest fraction of what they realised.²³ In his *Samayamātrikā* Kṣemendra says that the Kāyasthas make fortunes during autumn when the harvest is reaped in the field and the cultivator has to pay his periodical tax to the king.²⁴ In the *Narmamālā*, the same writer vividly describes how the Kāyasthas steal away the state property of the temples and also how they increase their private wealth by exacting from the villagers articles and cash money.²⁵

Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa are eloquent in describing the Kāyastha's greed for money, extortions and dishonesty. The government in early Kāśmīra having been generally unstable, officials did not feel normal security of tenure, which could have made them less avaricious and corrupt.

22. *R.T.*—V—175.

23. *R.T.*—IV—629.

24. *Samayamātrikā*—i—49.

25. *Narmamālā*—*prathama parihāsa*.

UGRĀDITYA'S KALYĀNAKĀRAKA AND RAMAGIRI

JYOTI PRASAD JAIN

Kalyānakāra¹ is a celebrated name in the annals of Jaina medical literature. The earliest known work of this name is attributed to Pūjyapāda Dēvanandī (circa 450—500 A.D.), the author of the famous *Jainēndra grammar*.² Jagadalla Sōmanāth (c. 1150 A.D.) claims to have rendered into Kannada, the *Kalyānakāra* of Pūjyapāda,³ to which Pārśva Pandit in his *Pārśva Purāna*, composed in 1222 A.D.; makes a reference,⁴ and from which Vijayanna Upādhyāya says his own *Sārasaṅgraha* is derived.⁵ There is yet another *Kalyānakāra* which is an original and complete treatise on the science of medicine written in Sanskrit verse by one Ugrāditya-ācārya.⁶ This author, although he speaks highly of Pūjyapāda as a great and ancient medical authority, however nowhere mentions or refers to any other or earlier *Kalyānakāra*. His work is of a quite independent nature and he does not seem to owe to anybody for its title. It is divided into 2 parts and into 25 chapters with an appendix (Pāriśiṣṭādhyāya) on the subject of fatal symptoms (Rṣṭa), and at the end of the book there is yet another extra chapter named *Hitāhitādhyāya* which contains a long discourse in Sanskrit prose on the uselessness of flesh and spirituous products for eating and medicinal purposes. The work opens with a statement that the science of medicine is divided into two parts, namely prevention and cure, and it deals with all the eight traditional divisions (Aṣṭāṅga) of Āyurveda. He discusses at length the basic principles of Āyurveda, gives more attention to surgery, and in medicine lays special stress on the Rasaśāstra which owes its development mostly to the Jaina doctors.⁷ In a succinct yet quite intelligible form the author deals with practically every aspect of the art and science of medi-

1. Dr. B. R. Chatterji, on the basis of a note by Barth (p. 467, note 3) probably refers to this work, when in the course of interpreting a Kambuja inscription of the 9th Century A.D. he says, 'Kalyana is one of the lost books of the Jains'—*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, Calcutta, 1928, p. 126.*

2. My article—'Jaina gurus of the name of Pujyapada'—*Jaina Antiquary*—XVI, 1, p. 4. That Pujyapada was a master of Medical science is amply borne by epigraphical as well as Jaina and non-Jaina literary evidence, viz., Nagar insc. of 1530 A.D. (E.C. VIII Nr. 46, p. 147), and *Kalyānakāra* of Ugrāditya, *Jnanārṇava* of Subhacandra (11th century), *Pārśwapurāna* of Pārśva Pandit (1222 A.D.), *Kannada Kalyānakāra* of Jagdalla Sōmanāth (c. 1150 A.D.), *Vaidyasārasaṅgraha* of Vijayanna Upādhyāya; *Mādhavanidāna*, *Ratnasamuccaya*, the works of Bāsavarāja and Nityanāth etc.

3. R. Narsimhamachar—*Karnataka Kavicharite* I, pp. 164-165, II. 15-16.

4. *Ibid* I, p. 325 (n.1)

5. *Prasastisaṅgraha* (JSB—Arrah), p. 149.

6. *MAR.* (1922), p. 23; *Prasastisaṅg.* pp. 56-57. This work (KK) has also been published with a Hindi translation in *Sakhārām Nemchand Granthmāla* (no. 129) from Sholapur. So far five mss. of this work are known to exist, including that in possession of the Mysore Government library. One of these mss. is dated Saka 573 (i.e. A.D. 1651) and it mentions several earlier copies one of which is said to have been dated Saka 1476 (A.D. 1554) and another Saka 1351 (A.D. 1429).

7. For an estimate of the technical importance of this work please see the introduction to the Sholapur edition (*Op. cit.*) by the eminent Ayurvedist, Pt. Gangadhara Gopal Gune Vaidya of Ahmadnagar. Some of its prescriptions are said to be quite unique and highly efficacious.

cine, theoretical and practical, including toxicology, obstetrics, child welfare, hygiene and public health, state control of medical training and practice, etc.

Besides giving the aim, scope and extent of the science Ugrāditya also gives a short sketch of its traditional history, and traces its origin to the Prāṇāvāya Pūrva, the twelfth of the 14th subdivisions of the *Dr̥ṣṭipravāda Aṅga*, the last of the 12 aṅgas that comprise the original Jaina canon which was first propounded by Lord Ṛṣabhadēva and subsequently by the other 23 Jaina Tirthaṅkaras up to Mahāvīra (599-527 B.C.). After the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra the relative knowledge continued to be handed down for some time by oral tradition, and then independent works based on that traditional knowledge of the original canon began to be compiled. Ugrāditya also supplies a very suitable, though unique, philosophical and metaphysical background to his scientific discussions of all the Āyurvedic theories and aspects, in complete accordance with the Jaina religious system and its traditions. In the true Ahimsite spirit, he scrupulously avoids, even condemns the use of uneatable products (Abhakṣhya, *viz.*, flesh, wine, and other products obtained by killing living beings). Yet there is no touch of sectarianism, and unlike some other Jaina writers of the subject he also tries his best to avoid using Jaina technology.⁸ The author seems to be quite well acquainted with most of the previous literature, both Jaina and non-Jaina, on this subject and refers to or quotes from many renowned scholars and their works.⁹ No commentary on this work is known to have existed, nor is there any reference to or mention of it, so far as we know, found in any religious or secular work or in any epigraphical records. And whatever we know of him, we know from the information supplied by the author himself in the work.

In the Puṣpikas found at the end of each chapter, in the author's colophon (Praśasti) given towards the end of the last chapter (*i.e.*, ch. 25), at the end of the *Hitāhitādhyāya* and in several other passages of the work, Ugrāditya gives us scraps of information about himself. From a reconstruction of these data we know that Ugrāditya who is styled as Guru, Ācārya, Mahāguru, Munīndra, Paṇḍit, etc. was a great saint, scholar, doctor, preceptor and leader of ascetics, of the Digambar school of Jainism.¹⁰ From a verse found in the beginning of chapter XVIII in some of the MSS. it appears that he belonged to the Deśigaṇa, Pustakagaccha of *Pansogavalli*, in the *Kund-Kunda anvaya* of the *Mūla Sangha*, and was associated with one Lalit-kīrti Ācārya.¹¹ Ugrāditya got his education and training, particularly in the Prāṇāvāya Pūrva (the section on medical science) of the original canon, in the establishment of Mount Rāmagiri, from his teacher Śrīnandī who was a great scholar, well-versed in the traditional canonical literature and was an expert in the science of medicine.¹² By order of this Guru, Śrīnandī whose

8. One of the very few instances where he gave vent to this tendency is found in 'तथैकनयनद्वभेद गणितान्गुली संस्थिता'— I, v. 49 in which Naya devotes two and Ratna devotes three.

9. Particularly Ch. 21 on toxicology, and the *Hitāhitādhyāya* at the end, also Ch. 20, v. 93 etc.

10. *KK*—Ch. 25, v. 53; Ch. 24, v. 55 etc.

11. *Ibid*—p. 443 (f.n.).

12. *Ibid*—Ch. 21, v. 3, also Ch. 20, v. 84.

feet were worshipped by Śrī Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara, Ugrāditya wrote his *Kalyānakāraka*.¹³ He wrote and completed this great work for the good of mankind on the beautiful hill of Rāmagiri which was adorned with many Jain caves, cave temples and other objects of worship and was situated in the level plains of Vengi in the country of Trikaṅga.¹⁴ Ugrāditya claims to have based his work on the knowledge directly derived from the original canon as taught by the Omniscient Jina, the only difference being that the latter was in the Ardhamāgadhī language while his own work is in Sanskrit.¹⁵ At the end of the *Hitāhitādhyāya*, it is stated that this discourse on the uselessness of a flesh diet etc. was delivered at the court of the famous Śrī Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja where many learned men and doctors had assembled.¹⁶ In the closing *puṣpikā* of this chapter he names this monarch as Nṛpatuṅga-Vallabhendra.¹⁷ Of the earlier Jaina masters, Ugrāditya tells us that Samantabhadra was a renowned master of the Aṣṭāṅga, Pūjyapāda was an expert in Śālākya (diseases of ear, nose, and throat), Pātrasvāmī in surgery, Siddhasēna in toxicology, Daśarathaguru in medicine, Meghanāda in the diseases of children, and Simhanāda (or Singhasēna according to one Ms.) in Bājikaraṇa and divine recipes.¹⁸ He also refers to Jatācārya,¹⁹ Kumāranāndī, Vīrsēna²¹ and Śrutakīrti.²² Amongst the non-Jaina authorities, he often refers to the *Charaka saṁhitā* and to *pantāmaha* and to the *Samhitā*, probably the Āyurveda *Samhitā* of Suśruta whom Ugrāditya designates as a Syadvādi Vaidya who is also not in favour of the use of animal products.²³ But he does not mention Vāgbhaṭṭa or any other writer later than Vāgbhaṭṭa.

The compilers of the Mysore Archaeological Report (for 1903-4) seem to have been the first to take notice of this work and it said that *Kalyānakāraka* is a Jaina medical work in Sanskrit written by Ugrāditya in about the 12th or 13th century A.D.²⁴ The *M. A. R.* for 1906-7, however, revised this opinion and said that this work which contains a discourse on the uselessness of a flesh diet was compiled by Ugrāditya between 815-877 A.D.²⁵ A few years later, in another volume of this report, R. Narsinhamachar observed that this Ugrāditya was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I and the Eastern Chālukya king Kali Viṣṇuvardhana V.²⁶ He thus identifies

13. *Ibid*—Ch. 25, vv. 51-52.

14. *Ibid*—Ch. 20, v. 87, p. 555.

15. *Ibid*—Ch. 25, v. 54, also the verse found at the end of every chapter, and Ch. 21, v. 3; Ch. 20, v. 30; Ch. 25, v. 52 etc.

16. *Ibid*—p. 747. Ugrāditya calls himself Jainendra Vaidya or Arhat Vaidya in contrast to other Vaidyas.

17. *Ibid*—“वैद्यशास्त्रेषु मांसनिराकरणार्थमुयादित्याचार्येण कृतं गवह्वलेन्द्र समाया

18. *Ibid*—Ch. 20, vv. 85-86. For other references to Pūjyapāda see Ch. 15, v. 290, Ch. 20, v. 24, to Samantabhadra—Ch. 15, v. 291, to Siddhasēna—Ch. 15, v. 290.

19. *Ibid*—Ch. 15, v. 290.

20. *Ibid*—Ch. 20, v. 23. V. P. Sastri (Intro. to *KK*) and K. Bhujabali Sastri (*Pras. Sang.*, pp. 50-57) give this a name as Kumarasēna, which is a mistake. Kumaranāndī is a distinct and earlier guru than Kumarasēna.

21 & 22. *Ibid*—Ch. 20, v. 23.

23. Particularly in the *Hitāhitādhyāya*, pp. 714-749.

24. p. 5.

25. *MAR.* for 1906-7, p. 15.

26. *MAR.* for 1922, p. 23.

Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha of *KK* with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I (815-877 A.D.) and its Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara with Kali Viṣṇuvardhana V (843-44 A.D.) of Vengi. Dr. B. A. Saletore accepts Narsimhamāchar's opinion as regards Amoghavarṣa I, and further remarks that this ruler extended his patronage to Jainism, was a disciple of Jinasena, the author of Sanskrit *Ādīpurāṇa* and is referred to by Mahāvīrācārya, the author of the Jaina mathematical work *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*, as a follower of the Syādvada doctrine.²⁷ Sri P. K. Gode also refers to *KK* in his article on Jaina medical literature but he refrains from making any identifications.²⁸ V. P. Sastri, the editor of the Sholapur edition of *KK* although accepts the identification of *Nṛpatuṅga* with Amoghavarṣa I, he at the same time identifies the latter with Śrīvallabha of Harivaṃśa (783 A.D.), which is obviously a mistake. Further he suggests that Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara of *KK* must have been Govind III Jagattuṅga, the father of Amoghavarṣa, simply because the title Paramēśvara is also found used with the names of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. As regards the Rāmagiri of *KK*, he thinks that this must have been the hill Rāmagiri where, according to the *Jaina Padmaṣurāṇa* ch. 40 (of Raviṣeṇa—660 A.D.), Śrī Rāmacandra stayed for some time and built temples, while in exile.²⁹ Pt. K. Bhujabali Sastri, on the other hand, says that Ugrāditya's Rāmagiri must have been the Rāmaṭēk hill situated 24 miles north of Nagpur in C.P., that the Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara was probably some one of the Kalachuri kings of Central India who had their capital in Tripuri or Tewar near Jubbulpur, that this part of the country was also called Trikaliṅga and that Ugrāditya wrote his work on this Rāmaṭēk some time after the 10th century A.D. He admits that most of the authorities referred to by Ugrāditya lived long before the 10th century A.D., but also says that some Gurus bearing identical names as Śrīnaṇḍī, Śrutakīrti, Kumārasēna are also known to have lived in about or after the 10th century A.D. He, however, fails to identify them with any amount of certainty.³⁰ Now from the information supplied by Ugrāditya himself, and from the way in which it is given, there remains no reason to doubt that Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara and Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha are two quite different kings each of whom, though a contemporary of Ugrāditya, might not have been necessarily a contemporary of the other. The main work nowhere refers to Nṛpatuṅga or any other king but to Śrī Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara only. And the *Hitādītādhyāya* which is quite separate from and independent of the main work and is apparently in the form of a discourse delivered before an august assembly long after the completion of the main work to which it was subsequently attached, probably by the author himself, mentions only Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha Mahārājadhīrāja and no other king. This also quite

27. *Med. Jainism*, p. 267 & p. 38. He is however mistaken when he dates this Jinasēna in 783 A.D. which is the date of an altogether different Jinasēna of Punnata Saṅgha, the author of *Harivansa*. For other proofs of Amoghavarṣa I's leanings towards Jainism see Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (898 A.D.), *Prasasti*, the *Parsvabhūdaya* of Jinasēna, *Ratnamālikā*, Dr. K. B. Pathak's view in Intro. to *Kavirajamārga (I.A., pp. 216-217)*, Dr. Hiralal's article in *JSB.*, etc.

28. *Jaina Antiquary*, XII, 1, p. 5.

29. Editor's Intro. to *KK (Op. cit.)* pp. 40-43.

30. *Prasasti Sangraha* (Arrah), pp. 50-57.

clear that this Viṣṇurāja who was a devotee of Ugrāditya's Guru Śrīnandī was associated with Vengi which had been the seat of Government of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty from 615 to 1063 A.D. and in this dynasty there had been as many as five kings of the name of Viṣṇuvardhana which, of all the available names of rulers of this line, is the nearest approach to Viṣṇurāja. Of these Viṣṇuvardhana the third ruled from 709 to 746 A.D., Viṣṇuvardhana the fourth from 762 to 799 A.D. and Viṣṇuvardhana the fifth and the last in 843-844 A.D. Nṛpatuṅga is the special title attached to the Rāṣtrakūṭa royal name Amoghavarṣa only. And the first and most important Rāṣtrakūṭa king of this name ruled at Mānyakhēṭa from 815 to 877 A.D. No earlier Rāṣtrakūṭa king or any other Indian ruler of those times had the title of Nṛpatuṅga, while even the second Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga lived in 917-918 A.D. Hence it is obvious that the synchronism of Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara of Vengi and Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja can be reconciled only by admitting the latter to be the Rāṣtrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarṣa I. The other titles Vallabha, Vallabhendra, Mahārājādhirāja attached to the name Nṛpatuṅga, and the fact that Amoghavarṣa I was not only a literary minded person, patron of learning and a powerful and benevolent potentate but had Jaina leanings and was associated with other eminent Jaina Gurus of the times goes further to confirm this theory.

As regards Viṣṇurāja Paramēśvara, it is to stretch the imagination too far to identify him with Amoghavarṣa I or with his father Govind III on a mere conjecture that Viṣṇurāja and Paramēśvara might have been some other titles of theirs. There is no need to discuss the vague possibility of this ruler being some Kalachuri king of Central India, several centuries later. This Viṣṇurāja, however, on the basis of the above-stated synchronism, must have been either Kali Viṣṇuvardhana V (843-844 A.D.) or Viṣṇuvardhana IV (762-799 A.D.) of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Vengi. I am inclined to hold that the Viṣṇurāja of Ugrāditya could not have been Kali Viṣṇuvardhana V who ruled, if at all, only for a year, and even then he must have been a vassal of Amoghavarṣa I who, according to his Sirur grānt, had subjugated Vengi.³¹ Moreover, when Viṣṇurāja was a devotee of Ugrāditya's guru Śrīnandī at whose feet the author got his education and at whose bidding he subsequently wrote his work, presumably in the same reign since he mentions the name of no other king, this requires a period of several years and a reign of only one year is quite inadequate for the purpose. Hence the king referred to by Ugrāditya must have been Viṣṇuvardhana IV (762-799 A.D.) who was a powerful monarch, a dreaded rival of even the contemporary Rāṣtrakūṭa kings, held his sway over a large part of Trikaṅga as well and had for his titles the epithets Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, etc. Like several other rulers of his dynasty, he was also a devotee of Jainism. According to one of his copper-plate grants, the village Musinakunḍa in Tonknāṭavāḍī Viṣaya was given to a Jaina Guru named Kalibhadracārya on Mārgaśīrṣa badi 12 Śaka

684 (*i.e.*, 763 A.D.). The issuer (Ājñāptṛi) of the grant was the queen Ayyana Mahādēvi, the wife of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana and the document bears the seal of the king himself.³² The editor of the grant, however, ascribes it to Viṣṇuvardhana III which seems to be a mistake, because the latter ruled from 709 to 746 A.D., and the year 762-63 A.D. could only be the last year of Vijayāditya I (746-762 A.D.) and probably the first year of Viṣṇuvardhana IV's reign. It seems that the grant was given on the auspicious occasion of this king's accession to the throne.

The south-eastern part of India, between the Ganges and the Godavari was called the Trikaliṅgadēśa which was originally divided into three parts: Odra or Utkala, Kanyōdha and Kaliṅga and also included Ganjam, Dakṣiṇa-Kosala and that part of the Andhra country which lay to the immediate south of Kaliṅga and in which the city of Vengi was situated and which now comprises the territories of the modern Vizayanagaram State of S.I. Very often the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi held sway over parts of Trikaliṅga and were also styled as the Trikaliṅgādhipatis. In this very region in the District of Vizagapatam of the above State lies the famous Rāmīrtha hill which was also known in ancient times as Rāmakōṇḍ (Kōṇḍ = giri or mount). This beautiful mount consists of a group of three hills respectively named Budhikōṇḍa, Durgakōṇḍa, and Gurubhaktakōṇḍa, which contain many Jaina caves, cave temples and shrines, the remains of which are still extant. That there were in ancient time a great Jaina establishment and centre of learning on this Rāmīrtha hill and a flourishing Jaina colony in its neighbourhood is proved by epigraphical and archaeological evidences.³³ According to a Kannada inscription found on the walls of the Durgapañca cave of Rāmīrtha, a Jaina guru Trikālayōgi Sidhāntadēva who was the pontiff of the Deśiya-gaṇa and the religious preceptor of king Vimalāditya is said to have with great devotion paid homage to this sacred hill. The king is herein styled as Rājāmārtaṇḍa and Mummadi Bhīma, and there is also mention of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja.³⁴ It is, however, not clear which of these two kings is the originator of the inscription. The name of this chief pontiff of Deśigaṇa and the guru of king Vimalāditya is, in another place, given as Trailokyayōgi Sidhāntadēva, and in yet another place of Trikālayōgimunīndra.³⁵ There was only one Vimalāditya in the whole eastern Chālukya dynasty and he was the last king of the line, who ruled from 1022 to 1062 A.D. Amongst his near predecessors there was no Viṣṇuvardhana. It therefore appears that the name has been wrongly deciphered and most probably instead of Vimalāditya it is Vijayāditya of which name there had been as many as five kings. Of these Vijayāditya I (746-762 A.D.) just preceded Viṣṇuvardhana IV while Vijayāditya II (799-843 A.D.) was his immediate successor. The mention of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja in the inscription tempts me to hold that the king referred to must have been Vijayāditya I. The association of

32. *MAR* (for 1916-17), pp. 9, 116. The record is in Sanskrit and Telegu mixed.

33. *MAR* (for 1908-9), pp. 10-11, 39; for 1909-10, pp. 21, 110, 111; for 1915, p. 8; for 1917-18, p. 134; and *ASI* (1910-11), p. 83.

34. *MAR* (1917-18), pp. 85, 133-134.

35. *ASI* (1917-18), p. 33; *JB.*, XXIII, p. 140.

gurus of the Deśigaṇa with Rāmatīrtha lends further confirmation to the view that this very hill was the Rāmagiri of Śrīnandī and Ugrāditya who also belonged to the Deśigaṇa. So there is no question of Rāmaṭṭēk (near Nagpur in C.P.) being our Rāmagiri. The Rāmagiri of Padma Purāṇa (ch. 40) could also not have been Ugrāditya's abode since the former was originally called Vamśagiri being situated near the city of Vansasthapur far north of the Narmada and is at present identified with Kunthalagiri near the village of Rāmakuṇḍa in Taluka Kalamba, district Osmanabad of Haidarabad, Deccan.³⁶

As regards the Jaina authorities mentioned in KK., most of them are quite well known figures, viz. Samantabhadra, the author of *Dēvāgama* (2nd century A.D.), Dēvanandī Pūjyapāda (c. 450-500 A.D.); Sidhasēna, if he was the Digambar Guru he belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era but if he was the Sidhasēna Divākara of Sanmati Taraka fame he belonged to circa 6th century A.D.; Pātrasvāmi or Pātrakēsri, the author of *Trilakṣana-kadarīhana*, and Jātāsīmhanandī, the author of *Vārāṅga Charitra* belonged to circa 600 A.D.; Kumāranandī, the guru of Vīrsēna's guru Elācārya to c. 700 A.D. Vīrsēna (c. 750-790' A.D.) completed his Dhavala in 780 A.D., and Daśarathaguru was a senior colleague of Jinasēna the disciple of Vīrsēna. Nothing is as yet known about Sīmhanāda, Meghanāda and Sīmhasena. Several Srutakīrtis in later times are known but none prior to 800 A.D. One Śrīnandī is mentioned in the Paṭṭāvali of Nandī Sangha and is dated in Vik. S. 749, and another Śrīnandī was the preceptor of Gurudāsa, the author of *Yōgasāra*. But it cannot be said with certainty that Ugrāditya's guru Śrīnandī was one of these two or was somebody else. It is, however, certain that all these gurus mentioned by Ugrāditya and about whom anything is known, lived prior to 800 A.D.

Thus Ugrāditya-ācārya, the disciple of guru Śrīnandī and a pontiff of the Deśigaṇa, Pustakagaccha, Pansogavali subsection of it, in the Kunda-Kunda Anvaya of the Mūla Sangha wrote his *Kalyāṇakārka* in the great Jaina establishment of Rāmatīrtha (Rāmgiri of Vengi in Trikaliṅga) in the modern Vizagapatam district of S. I., in the reign of Eastern Chālukya king of Vengi, Sarvalokāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana IV Mahārāja Paramēśvara, some time between 790 and 799 A.D., and delivered his famous discourse on the uselessness of a flesh diet in the court of Rāṣṭrakūta Amoghavarṣa I Nṛpatuṅga Vallabha in about 830 A.D. Ugrāditya may thus be assigned to circa 780-840 A.D.

SECTION III

EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD
(1206—1526 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

FELLOW-WORKERS AND FRIENDS,

It is perhaps a convention that I should commence my address with a general condemnation of all those who are responsible for my infliction on you today. But I shall be untrue to myself if I do not say how greatly I value this honour of being called upon to fill a chair which has been adorned in the past by men whose scholarship fills me even now with something like awe. I look upon this honour not as something which I have earned but as an indication of the confidence my seniors have reposed in my ability to fulfil the promise which, I know not how, they have seen in me. I shall, therefore, continue to regard this as a trust, remaining ever sacred to me, and demanding the supremest efforts in investigating our past with that passionless quest for truth which I have learnt to accept as the supremest guide in historical research.

It is, therefore, not in me to discourse in an instructive vein or to hold forth on the principles of research. Nor is this a suitable occasion for discussing historical problems which I feel is best done in the sectional meetings. Some of my predecessors found it a good occasion to review the research work done during the past year or two indicating the new lines in which investigation should be conducted. For me even this course is fraught with difficulty, for during the past year or so I have had to live in situations and contend with circumstances which I do not wish to describe here, but which as a result have made my acquaintance with such recent work rather sketchy. These circumstances and developments appear to me to have a basic relation with the historian's approach to the dynamics of that formative period of India's history represented by the section over which I have the privilege to preside today. You will, therefore, kindly bear with me if my thoughts inevitably tend to dwell on those trends which have so far determined our appraisal of this epoch of history and which, as our recent experience has shown, need very close re-examination today.

It is wellknown that original research in India's medieval history began with the publication, a little over a century ago, of Henry Myres Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to Muhammedan Historians*, to be followed in a few years by the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of original historical texts. Although summary histories of Muslim rule had begun to appear from the end of the eighteenth century yet these were mostly paraphrases of single chronicles like Alexander Dow or Major Brigg's history of the Muhammedan Power, and it was only when the original chronicles became available either in texts or in translations as in Elliot and Dowson's monumental series that the comparative and analytical method came to be applied in the study of Indo-Muslim history. I do not wish to dilate upon the nature of the impulse which our mid-nineteenth century rulers felt for presenting the history of their immediate predecessors; for, we have often been tempted to over-

stress the tendentious character of their presentation, a tendency which Elliot makes no attempt to conceal in his otherwise valuable appendices, where he takes every opportunity to highlight the oppressive foreign nature of the Muslim administration. Starting under such auspices and with such ends in view research in Muslim history was bound to remain essentially an attempt to read the past more or less as a projection of the present, political or social tempers. The period was viewed as a continuous process of social evolution but as an episode or series of incidents moving rootlessly in Time. Discovery and accumulation of these incidents gave form and content to research and the political chronicles remained the basic tool of this discovery. Even at the turn of the century when epigraphic and numismatic materials came to have their recognised value, research in medieval India could not free itself from the basic conception with which it had been initiated, namely, an account of the invasion and continued domination of India by the Muslim foreigners and the extent to which military power determined the course of this domination. The medieval period, marked by the introduction of the Muslim element in Indian life, thus came to be regarded as something essentially separate from the main current of India's history.

While this was perhaps unavoidable in the circumstances in which historical research began in our country, the full significance of its cumulative effects has dawned on us only very recently. It was set in a disintegrating process in our social and personal culture-consciousness and has grievously disrupted the harmony which, inspite of all stresses of history, India tends to evolve in our beings. For, by conceiving of medieval history as an age in which a foreign people thrust its ways on an unwilling country and who functioned only as an extraneous factor seeking to preserve nothing but its own exclusiveness, historians perhaps unwittingly, have bred and generated a feeling not of ever-increasing harmony but of acute social conflict implicit in our heritage. When in presenting this story of domination we depend as we do on the version of the conquerors alone this feeling is bound to be accentuated, for these versions embody the mental attitude of a contending party which inevitably affects our approach to the events of those days, and the writings, in consequence, tend to be polemical in nature. Almost inspite of ourselves we begin to take sides long before this alignment assumes the dimension of a social problem. In his ill-inspired longing to re-live the age of his domination, the Muslim develops an exclusiveness, an unreal sense of isolation from the context of time and space, and the other elements of society similarly learn to look upon him as an unwanted imposition.

If I raise these basic questions it is not to deny the great progress made in the past few decades in research in Indo-Muslim history ; new lines of investigation have been opened up and the analytical study of the sources has reached great heights. What I plead for is the infusion of a proper sense of perspective in our object and method of enquiry, for it is this alone which can impart balance to our conclusions and correct false notions. For, of all the periods of India's history, it is the early medieval age which has suffered most from this compartmentalization of approach. It is only in

recent years that scholars have begun to shed their earlier notion about the unrelieved barbarism of the Sultanate period. But this first phase of India's intimate contact with Islam is yet to receive that sympathetic attention that its later phase has been receiving from our research scholars. And when it does, it should be approached not as an age when the flow of India's stream of culture was retarded or stopped but as the process of flowing into it,—in a violent onrush, it is true,—of the current which, though rising in the arid wastes of Arabia, had yet drawn into it the heritage of most of the ancient civilizations. I like to look upon it as an age when India rediscovered herself in Asia and the world, for behind all the excitement and shock of discovery and adjustment she never deviated from the basic course of her development towards harmonising all conflicts of thought and experience into a deeper unity. The one supreme task of medieval India's history should therefore be to find out the extent to which this process expressed itself in the routine of the people's lives and thought and to discover the forces that tended to prevent its consummation. In other words, this period should be viewed as a stage in the acculturation of India, a stage in that marches through time whose beginnings Archaeology may never fully discover.

Such approach will necessarily call for a shifting of emphasis. While political chronicles can never be dispensed with as source books, time has now come not merely for a re-examination of these materials but also for their equation with other types of evidence. Research workers should make as much use of the Muslim materials as the non-Muslim literary and epigraphic evidences and I look forward to a time when our research scholars in the early medieval period will be specially equipped with a knowledge of both the Islamic and Sanskritic languages. Valuable data lie still scattered in the accounts of foreigners and a more consistent search and use of these will undoubtedly enrich our investigations, for it is increasingly realised that India in the early middle ages did not live as isolated an existence as was generally supposed.

It will, perhaps, be relevant here to point out the lacunae that still exist in the political history of this period without which no extension of our range of enquiry is possible. We have yet to have a detailed account of the Arab rule in Sind; for, beyond Professor Majumdar's long essay published many years ago, nothing worth while has yet been attempted in this subject. Another surprising gap is the period of the Khalji rule, surprising because to my mind it is one of the most momentous in the pre-Mughal age since it was then that the whole of the Indian sub-continent and the India of history for the first time came under one central administration. Although short-lived, the empire left governmental practices and notions which it will be most instructive to compare with Indian traditions. While we have valuable studies of the process of disintegration of this empire under Muhammad b. Tughluq, the century following his death has not attracted much attention. And yet it was this century which saw the settling down of India into regional or provincial entities and consequently into those cultural patterns whose totality make up the India of the middle ages. The process of unification, restarted under

the Lodis, similarly also requires closer attention as epitomising the struggle of the two forces which have patterned India's political history through the ages. My predecessors in this office have repeatedly pleaded for the preparation of provincial or regional histories and I could do worse than add my own voice to this appeal. As a Bengalee I am however proud to note that, as in all other cultural matters, Bengal has taken a lead in this matter by the publication of the two volumes of the Dacca University History of Bengal and a third volume to cover the social and cultural history is under way. While similar works should be undertaken for other cultural regions I should specially plead for a history of Kashmir, the region where Islam and Hinduism reached the happiest adjustment.

But obviously they are not the minutiae of political history alone that I have in view today. What I wish to see initiated is the far more vital history of Indian society and its evolution during the early middle ages. It will of course require a great deal of spade work and exploration of the whole mass of medieval literature, Muslim and non-Muslim, political, religious, biographical and otherwise. It will call for the fullest acquaintance and use of the latest advances in such connected fields of study as ethnology, linguistics and Folk-religion. But let our research workers equip themselves with the necessary technique and materials, and investigation into the history of institutions may well form the starting point. After the late Mr. Moreland no one has ventured to tackle the very basic subject of the land system of medieval India which, if properly elucidated, would answer many of our mute questions. An enquiry into the development of religious thought and practices among the Muslims is yet another subject which is bound to reveal facts of immense social significance, for behind the façade of official Islam and its approved variations the Muslim has a personal religion which is as varied as India's cultural patterns and which could only be explained or understood by viewing him in his medieval environment. Such evolution of the Muslim religious outlook can be studied only from such hitherto neglected materials as the lives and discourses of the popular saints of India whose intimate contact with the people's routine of living make their actions and thoughts almost reflection of contemporary thought-process. The immense literature bearing on this subject has never been fully explored or approached from this angle. Lately Prof. Syed Hasan Askari has engaged himself in bringing to light the historical references scattered in this class of unpublished writings and I wish the work is shared systematically by other scholars, and that urgently, for a great mass of these valuable materials are in imminent danger of total destruction.

In epigraphy and numismatics also the work of survey and collection of data has an equally urgent demand on our attention. We are still a long way off from having a conspectus of Muslim inscriptions. Some forty years ago Horovitz commenced an index of pre-Mughal inscriptions, an indispensable reference work which some of our younger scholars may well continue. A couple of years ago, Mr. Bendry published what could have been a very useful index of all the published epigraphs but for the loose arrangement

of the material. We have some well-edited compilations of local inscriptions and while such compilations may be prepared for other localities also, I hope we may some day have a *corpus* of Muslim inscriptions with text and translation and I shall appeal to the learned societies to initiate the measure. Although Nelson Wright's valuable monograph on the coins and metrology of the Delhi Sultans has immensely facilitated research there are still large collections of coins which await study and publication.

Vernacular literature of the middle ages is another fruitful source to which I should specially invite the attention of the Muslim research scholars, for it is only in these writings that we can hear the people voicing their joys, sorrows and aspirations. Persian and Sanskrit sources speak of a state of mind which was largely class-based and which therefore could never be a true index of the times. I have always felt that no account of governmental organization of any period can be honest or complete without examining the people's reactions to its working. For arriving at a balanced view of medieval man's reactions to his environment India's vernacular literatures are an indispensable aid to which I hope research scholars of early Muslim period will also increasingly turn.

Friends, I do not wish you to think I am laying down rules of research but I feel that no research worker should approach this period unless he is fully equipped with a knowledge of medieval India's vernaculars, for a partial use of sources lead us to all sorts of conclusions. The modern standard of scholarship is far more exacting than it has been and my ideal research worker will not only be a linguist but something also of an economist, art critic, ethnographer and sociologist. With such equipment and with the bibliographical aids which I have tried to indicate and which I hope will ere long come into being, let the scholars re-examine the controlling forces of this period and I feel sure we shall re-discover ourselves more truly than we have experienced so far.

THEOCRATIC AND SECULAR ELEMENTS IN THE INDO-ISLAMIC STATE

S. R. SHARMA

Introduction : In view of the present political set-up in our sub-content, *viz.* of the Secular Democratic Republic of India and the Islamic State of Pakistan, the need for having clear ideas about the basic concepts underlying the two States becomes quite obvious. It is needless for me to point out that these fundamental concepts derive from roots that reach far down into our history. Nevertheless, the terms "Secular" and "Theocratic" are being used so loosely in popular discussions that it is the duty of an academic body like the Indian History Congress to help define them, especially in the light of historical antecedents. My purpose in the present paper is more to focus the attention of scholars on this important problem than to pronounce a definitive verdict of my own. I shall, perhaps, be the greatest gainer from the discussion, because I have been baffled by the somewhat casual observations of scholars I respect, on the nature of the Indo-Islamic State from the point of view of the problem I am posing for discussion today.

Definitions : The term "Secular" is, in my opinion, easier to understand than "Theocratic". Without being pedantic in going to its Latin root (*seularis—seculum*, an age, a generation), by *Secular* I mean "pertaining to the present world, or to things not spiritual: lay or civil, as opposed to clerical." In actual fact a *Secular* State need not necessarily be atheistical or irreligious. What is essential is that it should be *neutral* in matters of religion. That is, while promulgating no State religion it should be equally tolerant of all faiths. "Theocracy" is more difficult to define precisely. I do not refer here to—"Theocrasy" (with an "s") but only to Theocracy (with a "c"). The accent is on the second syllable, not on the third as in Theocrasy (with "s"). The first is derived from the Greek root "*Theokratia*" (*Theos*, God ; *Kratein*, to rule). The second is from *Theos* and *Krasis* which means "mixing with God" or "the mixing up of gods."

"Theocracy" is variously defined even in the dictionaries. The *Basic* gives: "Government, nation, in which God is looked on as ruler;" the *N.E.D.* (Oxford) gives: "A form of government in which God (or a deity) is recognized as the king or immediate ruler, and his laws are taken as the statute-book of the kingdom, these laws being *usually* administered by a priestly order as his ministers or agents ; hence (loosely) a system of government by a sacerdotal order, claiming a divine commission ; also a state so governed ; (*e.g.* Israel), 'in which the two Societies, Civil and Religious, must be entirely incorporated'." Also, "a priestly order or religious body exercising political power." *The Twentieth Century* states, in the round, "that constitution of a state in which the Almighty is regarded as the sole sovereign, and the laws of the realm as divine commands rather than human ordinances—the priesthood necessarily becoming the officers of the invisible ruler: the state thus governed."

The Islamic Polity: Let us apply these criteria to the Islamic polity in its pre-Indian State, and then to the Indo-Islamic State. Since I cannot speak with authority on these matters, I shall mostly quote from the Muslim authors known to you and me. Prof. I. H. Qureshi, in his *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (p. 24) writes: "Just as the Prophet is the vice-regent of God and the caliph the vice-regent of the Prophet, the monarch is the vice-regent of the caliph." This statement puts in a nutshell the three stages of the development of Islamic polity as I have understood it, *i.e.*, in terms of the Prophet, the Caliphs and the Sultans. Obviously the theoretical criteria of Theocracy as defined earlier are not equally applicable to all of these. Prof. H. K. Sherwani distinguishes three elements in Islamic theocracy: *viz.*, (1) the Kingship of God; (2) the Brotherhood (or Equality?) of all men as His subjects; (3) the Subjection of all to the Universal Law (of God)—(*Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, p. 50). The most important of these is the view that "God is the real ruler of the world, His Law is supreme, while man is His vice-regent and (that) of the human species He appoints kings and magistrates (?) whose most important duty is to do justice according to the Law (of God)." Such, says Dr. Sherwani, is the teaching of the *Quran*. The Oxford dictionary regards Theocracy as a form of government in which (1) "God is recognized as the king or immediate ruler"; (2) "His laws are taken as the statute-book of the kingdom"; and (3) "these laws being usually administered by a priestly order." The last is only a subsidiary, not absolutely necessary, criterion of Theocracy.

Some have sought to make a subtle distinction between Theocracy and a *Theo-centric State* (Gibb's *Whither Islam?*, p. 26, cited by Dr. Qureshi). "The essential feature of a theocracy—the rule of an ordained priesthood—is, however," writes Qureshi, "missing in the organisation of the Muslim State; the jurists are all laymen who claim no sacerdotal immunity from error." Hence he concludes, "Gibb is right in calling the Islamic polity *theo-centric*." (Qureshi, p. 43). Dr. A. L. Srivastava in his latest book (*The Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 422) considers this argument unsatisfactory. I think Srivastava is right; not so much, however, as he points out, because Dr. Qureshi has emphasised the *letter* ignoring the *spirit*; but more because *in the letter* and *in spirit* Islamic polity was theocratic, despite the absence in it of "an ordained priesthood." Dr. Qureshi is not right in speaking of "the rule of an ordained priesthood" as "the essential feature of a theocracy." The desideratum of a Theocracy is the acceptance of what Sherwani has called "the kingship of God" and government according to "His Laws" as promulgated by His immediate agent or agents; in the case of Islam, through Prophet Muhammad.

Other Parallels: Before proceeding to deal with the successors of the Prophet, I think it will be useful to cite a few parallels outside Islam, rooted in the basic concept of 'the kingship of God'. According to the Bible (*Romans*, xiii, (1-2): "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that

resist shall receive to themselves damnation." As a corollary to this, king James I of England claimed: "A king can never be monstrously vicious. Even if a king is wicked, it means God has sent him as a punishment for people's sins and it is unlawful to shake off the burden which God has laid upon them." (A. Appadorai, *The Substance of Politics*, pp. 34-5.) After stating that Adam according to Filmer was the first king and that "present kings are, or reputed to be, next heir to him," Appadorai remarks: "The essence of the theory, held whether in the east or the west, is not only that God created the State in the sense that all human institutions may be believed to have had their origin in divine creation; (but also that) the will of God is supposed to be made known by revelation mediately or immediately to certain persons who were his earthly vice-regents and by them communicated to the people. Obedience to the State becomes a religious as well as a civil duty; disobedience, a sacrilege." In Hindu tradition Manu was the first king. But *Dharma* is eternal and even kings are not above it.

The Prophet's Successors: In Islam too the *Shar* or Law of God is supreme. Its first supreme interpreter was the Prophet. His interpretations are contained in the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. "On these two rocks," says Dr. Qureshi, "is built the structure of Muslim Law," which governs the lives of all Muslims in religious as well as secular matters. But, while the Law is eternal, its interpretations are various. These latter are the product of changing times. Hence, after the Prophet came, in the words of Qureshi, men of "lesser wisdom." These were the Caliphs and Jurists.

The Prophet did not nominate his successor. He left it to the people to obey the message he had delivered to them from God. His first five successors down to Hasan were all elected. But Hasan abdicated in favour of Muawiyah and Muawiyah made the succession after him hereditary by nominating his son as the next Khalifah. Abu-Bakr, the first Khalifah, had declared: "Lo, I am one like you and not better than you. If I am right, obey my orders; if I am wrong, do not obey." This democratic spirit vanished when the Caliphate became hereditary. Yet, "the idea that God is the Supreme Ruler, and that humanity in the collective sense is the vice-regent of God on earth remained the fundamental principle of Islam." ((Shushtery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, p. 50). We may therefore conclude that the Theocratic character of Islamic polity continued in spite of changes in the form of succession. As a matter of fact, as it turned out, the Khalifah could be either selected by general consent and election, or nominated, or the Khalifah could even hold *de facto* power with or without the consent of the people. The Shiahs asserted that "since the Khalifa (or Imam) is appointed by Divine Will and has nothing to do with the will of humanity, and as the last Imam has disappeared and is out of sight, in his absence any man can govern the country, though he would not be considered as the spiritual leader. The *Mujtaheds*, or chief theologians would act on behalf of the Imam as authorities on religion." (*Ibid.*, pp. 52-3). This, in effect, resulted in the virtual bifurcation of the two functions of the head of the State, *viz.*, the religious and the secular. Whatever the theory, in practice, particularly with the rise

of the Sultanates, the gulf between the religious and the secular aspects widened with the lapse of time, irrespective of the ruler being a Shiah or a Sunni. The Khalifah or Imam who was the sole head of the Islamic State and Society became more and more a mere figure-head, whereas the Sultan in his own kingdom usurped his secular powers, leaving the spiritual affairs to the theologians. The *Mullas* and *Mujtaheds* took care of the latter. The *Qazis* who administered justice supplied the link between the religious and the secular sides. They were, however, appointed by the Sultan who could also dismiss them. Sovereignty belonged to the Sultan alone, who formally accepted or rejected the suzerainty of the Khalifah as it suited his occasions.

This is the background and these are the antecedents against which we are to assess the character of the Indo-Islamic State in terms of Theocracy.

The Indian Sultans : The Arab conquerors of Sind acted directly as agents of the Khalifah. But the Turkish Sultans from Mahmud Ghazna to Alauddin Khalji were independent of the Khalifahs, though they found it expedient to bolster up their newfound authority by invoking the blessings of the Khalifahs or assuming the title of "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful", etc. Where they owned, even nominally, the suzerainty of the remote Khalifah, theoretically it may be admitted that Theocracy existed. But when the Sultan openly flouted even the supremacy of the *Shar'*, as apparently Alauddin Khalji did, it is incorrect to speak of a Theocracy. Alauddin is alleged to have declared: "I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be for the good of the State or suitable for the emergency, that I decree, and for what may happen to me on the approaching Day of Judgment I know not". Dr. R. P. Tripathi comments: "Alauddin was shrewd enough to see the State more clearly than any of his predecessors. He had moreover the courage to declare for the first time that the State should look after its own interest and not act under the direction of the orthodox church." (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 49). In the face of this, his assumption of the title of "*Yamin-ul-Khilafat*", etc., was mere mockery.*

The Indian Khalifahs : There are at least three instances among the Muslim rulers of India where the ruler openly assumed the role of the Khalifah. That meant, for the time being, that the spiritual and temporal headship of the State was concentrated in the same person. Then certainly there was Theocracy. The first of these was Mubarak Shah Khalji. "What the mighty Alauddin had failed to do," observes Tripathi, "was done by his son." He shook off the fiction of the Khilafat and declared himself the Great Imām, the representative of God (*al Imām ul 'Azam Khalīfai Rabbul 'Ālimin, Khalīfat ullāh*, etc.) and Delhi was called "*dar ul Khilafat*." (*Ibid.*, pp. 52-3). Muhammad bin Tughlaq ignored the Khalifah until a political crisis made it expedient for him to invoke the fiction. For three and a half years (February 1258—June 1261) the Muslim world had been without a Khalifah. "It was

* I know there were women rulers in the Islamic world besides Sultana Raziya, and even women theologians. But I doubt whether the Delhi Sultanate under her could be described as a Theocracy. The revolt of the orthodox muslims which ended her meteoric headship of the State seems to suggest that she was regarded as ineligible even to be the secular head, despite her eminent masculine qualities as ruler.

at this critical juncture in the history of Islam that Muhammad bin Tughlaq determined to secure the Caliph's investiture," writes Prof. A. M. Hussain. (*The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, p. 169). Otherwise, as Dr. Tripathi has pointed out, "there was a tendency to drop all references to the Khalifah, and the Lodis were the last to respect it. It was left to Sher Shah and the Surs to revise the memory of Mubarak Shah and assume the Khilafat for themselves . . . That such a sober, cool and calculating man as Sher Shah should choose to style himself as Khalifah on silver and copper coins, is far more significant than the action of Mubarak Shah Khalji." (Tripathi, p. 98). His successor, Islam Shah, retained for himself the title of *Khalifatul'Adil* that his father has brought into vogue. (*Ibid.*, p. 103).

I need hardly dwell at any length on the implications on Akbar's promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi*. It proclaimed Akbar the supreme head of the State in matters as well spiritual as temporal, in full knowledge of the Quranic injunction:

"Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who have authority over you Whoever obeys the Amir obeys Me, and whoever rebels against him rebels against Me."

The document concluded with the words: "for the glory of God and the propagation of Islam and is signed by us, the principal Ulamas and lawyers." "Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt any of the conflicting opinions and issue a verdict to that effect, we hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and the whole nation." This was in conformity with the doctrine enunciated by Abul Fazl: "Royalty," he held, "is a light emanating from God and a ray from the Sun modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it *Kiyān Khwarah* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone, and man, in the presence of it, bends the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission."

Theocracy and Toleration: This was Theocracy pure and simple. Nevertheless, it is well known that Akbar was the most tolerant of the Muslim rulers of India. This brings me to the last point with which I would conclude this paper. The religious policy of the Indo-Islamic State is too vast a subject for closer attention here. I shall, therefore, confine myself only to its bearing on my theme. There is no doubt in my mind that the earlier Sultans were intolerant towards the non-Muslims. On the whole they favoured the idea of converting *Dar-ul-Harb* into *Dar-ul-Islam*. To this end they destroyed non-Islamic places of worship and discouraged construction of new temples; they exacted *jiziya* and levied other invidious imposts on religious grounds; and connived at, if not encouraged, even forcible conversions. The law of the State was Islamic law; the operations of Hindu law were confined to civil cases only. The *Ulema* preached propagation of Islam, and the more orthodox among the *Qazis* held the extreme views of Mughisuddin of Biana who

advocated "complete degradation" of the Hindus for whom the only choice should be, according to him, "either Islam or death". I refrain from quoting the full passage which must be familiar to most of you (see *Islamic Polity* by Dr. P. Saran, p. 26).

Such observations have led some into wide generalisations which, in my humble opinion, need more careful qualification. For instance, Dr. Srivastava observes: "The Sultanate of Delhi was a Theocracy and not a secular State. The conduct of ruling authorities in the Sultanate of Delhi was governed by the Quranic injunctions. The Sultan had not only to follow this law in his own personal life, but also in the administration. (*op. cit.*, pp. 422-3).

So far as the personal conduct of the Sultans was concerned, it is clear to me that it does not bear scrutiny according to strict injunctions of the *Quran*. Addiction to drinking liquor was a common failing. From the point of view of other social regulations, usury and debauchery were not considered *haram* by many of them. A free-thinker like Muhammad bin Tughlaq hardly conformed to the conventional conduct expected of an orthodox Muslim. Alauddin Khalji, as I have stated earlier, openly flouted the Islamic law when it appeared to come into conflict with practical considerations of the State. As I have shown elsewhere (*The Crescent in India*, p. 183 ff.) the pragmatic Sultans were governed more by *secular* empiricism than *religious* laws. In the words of Erskine, "It was the individual, not the law, that reigned."

If there was religious intolerance it was not because Islam inculcated it. I have reason to believe that those who acted fanatically were moved by greed of earthly goods than by the true teachings of the Prophet. Temples were more often destroyed on account of their hoarded treasures than purely because of their idolatry. If the latter were the real motive there should have been no Hindu shrine left intact.

Conclusion: More suggestive than full as has been this causerie I cannot conclude it better than in the words of Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah. At the close of his *The Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India* (page 321) he has pointed out "the unIslamic character of the kingship". The Sultanate followed the path of *duniya-dari* instead of *din-dari*. Secularism triumphed more and more over Theocracy, *i.e.*, such of it as existed. May I add, even the latitudinarian Theocracy of Akbar (*viz. Din-i-Ilahi*) failed. Nevertheless, the Indo-Islamic State was never more secular in its positive objectives and achievements than in the time of Akbar. England is not the less secular because it has a State church of which the King is the head. Soviet Russia, in spite of its professed materialism, is not less intolerant of unofficial ideologies than was the most fanatical Sultan.

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY SHUTTARI SUFI SAINT OF NORTH BIHAR

SYED HASAN ASKARI

Nowhere did Sufism which reinterpreted Semetic Islam to the Aryan world found such a fruitful soil to thrive as in India, for the Sufi with his doctrine of mystical union of man's soul with God, regarding the world of phenomena as a mere reflection of the Supreme Being, requiring the aid of spiritual-guides so as to be capable of reaching God, emphasizing faith rather than work for the salvation of men, believing in the moral elevation of man, and discarding all invidious social distinctions, established himself in India, the land of the Vedanta, Yoga, and Bhakti, where the whole atmosphere was surcharged with a deep yearning and quest for God, and the need was felt by a band of Hindu seers and reformers for a great spiritual regeneration and social uplift of fellowmen. The Muslim saints and Sufis of various orders, each with a discipline and organization of its own, concerned themselves not only with the development of mystical doctrines but also with the propagation of their faith. That the Sufi saints and missionaries were largely responsible for the peaceful¹ penetration of Islam in India is now an admitted fact. But very little is known about the part played in this respect by Sufi saints of Bihar some of whom were of outstanding personalities and of wide and far reaching influences. The little that has been written² so far is mostly about the saints of south Bihar and little or no notice has been taken of those³ whose field of activities lay across the Ganges in north Bihar. Many of them belong to the Shuttari order of Sufis about which, unlike the Chisti, Qadri, Suharwardi, Naqshbandi orders etc.,⁴ nothing is practically known, specially to the English-reading public. The few lines in Encyclopaedia of Islam and the passing notice in the articles of the Indian Culture about the introduction of this order in India, are not only inadequate but in some respects misleading. It is not a fact

1. *Preachings of Islam* by Sir Thomas Arnold ; *Indian Islam* by Titus Murrayet.

2. See the writer's papers in *J.B.O.R.S.* (Patna) and *B. P. & P.* (Calcutta).

3. Those who did not belong to the Shuttari order included among others the following:—Syed Ibrahim Chisti (d. 657), father of the well-known Makhdoom Adam Sufi (d. 670). Taqyuddin alias Mir Budhe Chisti, the spiritual guide of the ruler of Tirhut and the son of Mir Jalaluddin Chisti of Kalpi (d. 899 A.D.). Mir Qutbuddin (d. 960), Shaikh Abdul Hai Chisti, son of Jalalul Haque alias Qazi Khan Nasihi (d. 931), Makhdoom Syed Hassan of Saran and his son Pir Damaria, I. of Hajipur (d. 931), Makhdoom Syed Hassan of Saran and his son Pir Damaria I, of Hajipur Gisudaraz (d. 825 A.D.), Sh. Dilawar Sher Chabuk Sawar of Ladauli in Saran, Mir Abdul Mallick of Ushri, Saran (d. 911), Sh. Fattu and Sh. Burhan of Salimabad who died a 'martyr' during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak at Bargazar, Maulana Khaja Ali of Teghra, the disciple of Hazrat Shahbaz of Bhagalpur of Shahjahan's time, Shah Birkhe of Darbhanga (d. at Amethi 997), Sh. Zahid of Saran, Hafiz Hizrat of Saran, spiritual guide of Shah Daulat Manari, Shah Shariatullah alias Shah Charra, Shah Majzub of Darbhanga, Sh. Zakariah Mazindrani of Sheorah, Jandaha, Shaikh Sultan Naqshbandi of Belia Lakhmeniya (d. 1126), Syed Abdul Rasul of Darbhanga, etc.

4. Seekers of truth and knowers of God, we are told, are of three types: Akhyar, Abrar, and Shuttar. The title Shuttar literally means 'clever', 'fast going', 'abandoning', 'taking sides' etc. The Shuttari order, also called Ishqa, Bustamia and Firdusia, is the way of those mystics who turning aside from self and worldly things attain God within the shortest possible time, profiting directly by spiritual grace rather than, as in the case of other orders, through austerities and self-mortifications.

that "allusions to the order in Sufi literature are rare," that "its headquarters in India was at Jaunpur," that "the Indian could not accept⁵ him (pioneer of the order) warmly for the reason of novelties introduced by him," that "we do not know the extent of his success in India" and that "he died in Malwa in 1406 A.D."⁶ Neither time and space nor the occasion permit a detailed consideration or even a bare outline of the theological position and theosophical principles of the Shuttari order, but it is worth while to write something about the importance of the order, with special reference to the life, work, and influence of one of the greatest Shuttari saints of India who flourished in the fifteenth century in north Bihar, on the basis of materials locally available, particularly one of his own rare works which has come down to us in a manuscript form.

Though Abul Fazal⁷ does not include the Shuttari Silsilah in his list of 14 orders in India, he admits that his list is not exhaustive and he mentions the order in more than one place and says that his famous father, Shaikh Mobarak, profited by the instructions of men of the Shuttari order. Abul Fazal's sister's son and the editor of his epistolary composition gives us valuable information in his rare *Tazkira, Akhbar-ul-Asfia*, still in MS., about some⁸ of the saints of the Shuttari order including Shaikh Abdullah and his chief disciple, Shaikh Abul Faiz Md. Bin Ola alias Qazin Shuttari of Bania Basarh in Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. Another contemporary of Akbar, the historian and traditionist, Sh. Abdul Haque⁹ of Delhi, and a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan named Sh. Abdul Rahman Chisti of Amethi (Oudh), the respective authors of the standard biographical dictionaries of saints, namely Akhbarul Akhyar and Mirat-ul-Asrar,¹⁰ have noticed some of the saints of the Shuttari order including Shaikh Faridduddin Jahangir¹¹ alias

5. The first man to receive the title of Shuttar from his Pir, Sh. Md. Arif, who afterwards sent him to India, sometime in the early decades of the 8th century Hijra, was Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Sufi mystic, Sh. Shahbuddin Suharwardi and 5th in line of spiritual succession from Shaikh Nagmuddin Kubra (d. 628), the founder of the Firdusia order. After travelling widely in Persia and Iraq he came to India, met the 3 saints of Manikpur, including Makhdoom Husamuddin (d. 853), saw Sultan Ibrahim Shergi at Jaunpur (d. 840), paid a visit to Bihar and Bengal and then went to Mandu where he finally settled down and died in 890 = 1485. He wrote a book, as we learn from his chief disciple, the saint of Basarh, at the instance of Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Minister of Sultan Ghasiuddin Khilji of Malwa (1469-1500) dealing with the doctrines of his order, specially the principles of affirmation (Isbat) and negation (Nafi).

6. This date given in Khazinat ul Asfia and Khazanatul Ansab is obviously wrong for Sh. Qazim was initiated in the Shuttari order by Sh. Abdullah in 881 or 1486.

7. *Ain Akbari*.

8. Abdus Samad writes about Sh. Umar of Thatta, "one of the great Mashaikhsh" who taught about the Shuttari, Taifuri, Chisti, Suharwardi orders and it was at the instance of the latter that Shaikh Mubarak went to Agra in 950. He also gives an account of Mir Syed Ali Qawam of Jaunpur (d. 905), one of the chief saints of Hindustan who received his spiritual grace from Sh. Quazam Shuttari.

9. See the *Proc. I.H.C.*, Bombay about the historical importance of his writings. He is the author of a general history of India named *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*.

10. *Kujhwa* MS.

11. The two brothers practised austerities and self-mortifications for a period of 13 years and 7 months in the fort of Chunar under the spiritual direction of Shaikh Hamid Zahur Haji Hasur of Ratansarai. Emperor Humayun became the Murid of Sh. Bhul (Bahlol) and so long as he was alive no harm occurred to Humayun. When in 945 Mirza Hindal, younger brother of the emperor turned against the latter the

Sh. Bahlul and his more famous brother, Sh. Khatiruddin alias Sh. Md. Ghaus of Gwalior, one of the greatest Sufi saints in India, and their spiritual guide, Haji Hamid Hasur¹² who lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran district and the latter's spiritual directors, the saints of Basarh and his son, Sh. Abdul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast, of Tankol in Muzaffarpur district. The celebrated Shuttari saint of Gwalior to whom and his brother, emperor Humayun was greatly attached and about whom, to quote the historian Nizamuddin,¹³ "His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Elahi (Akbar) had a very high opinion," writes in a reverential tone in his well known work, *Jawahir-i-Khamsa*,¹⁴ which was translated into Arabic by Sh. Sibghatullah¹⁵ of Baroach (Gujarat) about his spiritual guide, the saint of Saran, who was the disciple of the son of the great saint of Basarh. M. Ghaus bin Hassan Shuttari, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, who was born in 962 and devoted much of his book, *Gulzar-i-Abrar*,¹⁶ completed between 1014 and 1022, to the saints of Shuttari order including those mentioned above was the disciple of the celebrated Maulana Wajihullah¹⁷ Gujrati, "the author of commentaries of many learned works and many noble treatises" including some which form the earliest specimens of Urdu prose. The latter became a disciple of the saint of Gwalior. Thus the spiritual inspiration of the saints of Basarh and Saran flowed through Gwalior to Gujarat and Deccan. M. Wajihullah's disciple Sibghatullah Baroachi

Shaikh was sent to pacify him. But the Mirza made the Shaikh a Martyr. "Faqad Mata Shahida" is the chronogram of his death. Emperor Akbar became Murid of Sh. Md. Ghaus and so long as he lived he remained genuinely attached to him (M.A., Asf., Mt. M-U).

12. Son of Maulana Zahiruddin Ghaznavi who was killed on his way while taking his infant son to Gwalior. He had lost his mother soon after his birth in 835 and was brought up by a wet nurse. From the very beginning he was religious minded, simple, pious and remained celibate throughout his life. After travelling widely in this country and in Arabia he was ordered while at Mecca to return to India. He picked up two boys, the future saints, Bahlol and Ghaus, imparted religious knowledge to them, made them practise austerities in Kalinjar and in the hills of Chunar and then initiated Shuttari order which he had himself joined under the guidance of his Pir, Sh. Quazin of Basarh. The latter entrusted him with the Khirqa and other emblems of his succession which he delivered to the saint's third son, Abdul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast, and was magnanimous enough to acknowledge him as his guide. He died on 22 Zilhijja 930 at the age of 95 and lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran Dt., as we learn from a MS., *Maqabiri-Aulia Mulla Naseer*, compiled at the instance of prince Azimusshan. His five chief disciples, his eldest son Rukn Alam, Abayazid, son of his eldest brother, Haji Hamid Hasur, Hajibadhe, a grandson of Sh. Sadruddin Chiraghi-i-Hind of Zafarabd (d. 798), and Syed Jalaluddin, the grand father of the Diwan Syed Md. Jafar Qadri, the famous saint of Barh (d. 1101/1689).

13. *Tabakat Akbari*.

14. The saint of Gwalior who died in 970 wrote other books also such as *Mirajnama*, *Aurad-i-Ghausia*, *Bahrul-Hayat*. The first raised such a controversy that the saint had to flee to Gujrat to escape the wrath of Sher Shah and was saved by the intervention of Maulana Wajihuddin Gujrati.

15. According to the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, he went to Malawa in 998 and thence proceeded through Khandesh to Ahmednagar, Deccan where he was honoured by its ruler, Burhanul Mulk. Next year he went to Bijapur whose ruler welcomed him. He then disposed of everything that he possessed and left for Madina in 1015 where he died in 1019.

16. Tazkirat ul Abrar translation of *Gulzari-Abrar*.

17. An Alavi Syed, a great teacher, a prolific writer, and a pious saint, who, according to Abul Fazal, spent his whole life in poverty, fasting, and reliance on God. For fifty years he imparted lessons to his pupils. He died in 998. When the Ulema, including Sh. Ali Muttaqi Gujrati, condemned Sh. Ghaus of Gwalior he refused to sign the Mahzar prepared against him and saved Sh. Ghaus from the wrath of Sher Shah. After a personal discussion with Sh. Md. Ghaus he became his disciple.

Madani, was the spiritual guide of Ahmad Shinnasi¹⁸ (d. 1028), the author of a commentary on *Muwahib-ul-ladunna*, and the latter was the spiritual director of Sh. Safiuddin Quahashi Madani¹⁹ (d. 1071), who wrote a book in Arabic named *Samtul Majid*²⁰ which contains an account of the Shuttari saints and their connections with other orders. Quahashi's father-in-law met at Medina Sh. Mahmud Shuttari,²¹ a grandson of the saint of Basarh. A disciple of Quahashi Madani named Ibrahim Bin Hassan Kurd (d. 1112), was the father of Sh. Abu Tahir Madani²² (d. 1145) who was the teacher and spiritual guide of the great Delhi theologian and traditionist, Shah Waliullah whose daughter's son, Ismael, was one of the great leaders of the puritanical²³ movement in India. Other notable disciples of Abraham Kurd²⁴ were Abdullah Sālim of Basarh (d. 1124) and Sh. Ahmad Nakhli (d. 1114) who besides being a mystic was a traditionist.

Thus the fact that the Sufis of the Shuttari order occupied an important place in the history, religion and learning and the light of spiritual knowledge that was lit in Mandu and north Bihar illumined the distant corners not only of India but also outside regions will have to be admitted by those who care to study the existing literature on the subject. But for the limited space at our disposal we could have made mention of other mystics²⁵ of the Shuttari order of Bihar, Jaunpur, Deccan, Gujarat and elsewhere and referred to later Tazkirahs and books which contain accounts of or references to the saints indebted to the Shuttari Sufi of Bihar but it seems necessary to say something about two rare MSS discovered in Bihar, one of them being *Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri*²⁶ and the other, *Manahij-us-Shuttar*,²⁷ by Sh. Qazin of Basarh. The author of the former which is a compendium of the principles and practices of what is called Madhhab-i-Shuttar was a well known saint of Rajgir, named Abdul Haseeb alias Imamuddin whose blessings were sought, shortly before his death, by Farrukhseyar²⁸ while that prince was on his way from Bihar to Agra to contest for the imperial throne

18. G.A. or T.A.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Published by Daitasitil Maarif, Hyderabad. The present writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness with thanks to Maulana Hakim Syed Muhammad Shoaib Saheb of Phulwari for his help and guidance. The Maulana allowed his MSS. and books to be consulted and utilized and also gave many valuable hints.

21. *Samtal-ul Majid.*

22. Fuyuzal Haramain by Shah Waliullah Muhaddis-i-Dehlavi.

23. Ismail Shahid and Syed Ahmad of Bareilly (1782-1831) had acquired an enormous following by preaching the purification of the faith, back to its primitive simplicity and were the sponsors of the Wahabi movement in India. They died fighting against the Sikhs who were said to be oppressing the Muslims in the Punjab.

24. F.H.

25. An interesting figure was Shaikh Badhan Shuttar, a descendant of the saint of Mandu and a contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He, according to the author of *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* taught Zikr to his famous uncle, Sheikh Rezqullah, practically surnamed Mushtaqi of Rayan. He wrote Hindi verses and also prose. His teachers Niranjani and Paiman have been mentioned in A.A.

26. Also named Muqtabasul Anwar. Copy consulted is good but old and undated; contains 244 fol. lines 15; the author died 1130.

27. Two MSS., one very damaged and the other with 68 fol. each of 23 lines and divided into 61 fasals, was written by Md. Nadir on 17 Zilqad 1121.

28. *Khazanatul Ansab* which contains copy of the farmans granted by emperor Farrukhseyar.

with his uncle, Jahandar Shah. There is much in the MS which a student of history may feel interested in, specially the account of Syed Jalaluddin alias Shah Niamatullah of Firozpur in Bengal who wrote *Tafsir-i-Jahangiri*, was honoured by Nawab Saif Khan, the Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and prince Shah Suja and emperor Aurangzeb, composed Hindi Dohras,²⁹ and was met by the author in Jamadi, II. 1079, a few months before his death. As for the technicalities of Shuttari Sufism elaborately dealt with in this MS, these are based largely on the extremely rare and valuable work, *Minhaj-us-Shuttar*, by Sh. Qazin, the saint of Basarh, edited and named Maadanul Asrar by the latter's son-in-law and disciple, Makhdum Sh. Ali Manjhan Rajgiri,³⁰ the son of Syed Md. Chakkn of Jaunpur. Besides the mystical and theological ideas which have been made to correspond with the positive and real teachings of orthodox Islam, the book contains something about the life and thoughts of the saintly author which cannot but attract one's attention.

The author frequently refers to and names himself as "this mean slave (of God) Md. alias Qazi Bin Ola Bin Alam Tirhuti Maneri Hashmi" because his father Alauddin, son of Alam, was the fifth in descent from Makhdum Ismael whose father, Imam Taj Faqih, a direct descendent of Abu Darda,³¹ an uncle of the Prophet of Islam, was one of the first of the Muslim missionaries in India and he is said to have wrested Maner in Patna district in 576 or 1180 A.D. as is evident from the chronogram "Din Md. Shudqavi."³² The Imam is said to have left his two sons, Israel, grand father of the celebrated Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar and Abdul-Aziz, the ancestor of the Kako and Shaikhpora³³ (Monghyr) families of saints to propagate Islam in south Bihar while he deputed his other son, Ismael, to preach his faith in Tirhut (north Bihar). Sh. Qazin appears to have been born in the last decade of the 8th century A.H. and not in 838³⁴ for he is said to have been authorised, at an early stage of his career, to preach the principles of Madaria order of Sufism by Shaikh Hismauddin Salamati³⁵ who died in 840. For a long time, however, he did not accept any one as his spiritual guide and says that he wandered about for twelve years in search of 'Shuhud' through one who was absolutely free from worldly tinge. The writings of Sh. Fariduddin Attar and Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar were a source of inspiration to him and he

29. Ye Dukh Meri Kān Sun Kahun Subh Sahāy-Jo Diya So Thar Rahā Jo Rākhā So Jāy.

30. A Hasani Syed who lies buried at Mariamtola in Bihar near the Rauza of Hazrat Badr Alam Zahidi. He married Bibi Khonja Daulat, the daughter of Sh. Qazin. He also wrote Mazharul Asrar which was a translation of Fawaid us Shuttar.

31. This has been taken from a very old MSS. which contains the Ijazat-Nama of Hazrat Muzaffar Balkhi in favour of his nephew and successor M. Hasan Balkhi, dated 842. But in Zaria-i-Daulat, Zobair bin Abdul Muttallab bin Hashim is substituted for Abn Darde Ali. Other names tally.

32. *Zaria Daulat*, a late work, contains the couplet "Yāft Chun Bar Raja-i-Manyar Zafar-Dād Imām Az Din Jahanarā Navi—Hast Manqul Az Buzurgan-i-Salaf—Sāli An Din i Muhammad Shud Qavi".

33. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* by Shah Shoab, a grandson of M. Abdul Aziz, is one of the earliest and the most authentic authority on the Maner and Bihar family of saints.

34. Hamid Quraishi in Monuments of Bihar has taken this wrong date from KN.

35. Fusul-i-Masudia and Tazkirat ul Muttakin.

used frequently to keep quarantine at the cell of Hazrat Muzaffar Balkhi³⁶ in the shrine of the great saint of Bihar. He did not at first feel attracted towards his future spiritual guide, Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, when he came to Bihar during the course of his journey to Bengal and Jaunpur before proceeding to Mandu where he finally settled down and died. At long last, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends and fellow workers such as Ahmad Muhammad Abdul Hakim and Shaikh Saadullah to accompany them from Bihar to Mandu. For three days the saint of Mandu took no notice of him and for several months in hot summer the corpulent Sh. Qazin waited daily upon Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari performing obeisance and perspiring from head to foot due to the intense heat of the hilly region. At last one day to test his earnestness he was instructed to practise incessant fasting called Tai. In the meanwhile, another occasion arose to test his devotion to duty. His companion, Abdul Hakim Bihari fell so seriously ill that no hope was left of his life and through his able nursing and blessings of the saints and grace of God he, however, recovered. Though still very weak he requested Sh. Qazin to take him to Bihar so that he might see his children. The Shaikh was torn between two sentiments, the desire to complete his period of probation under the saint of Mandu so as to attain his ends in the next world and the sense of duty and fidelity to a fellow man in this world. He told the saint of Mandu that though he had left his small children and covered a distance of about 500 kos to learn his spiritual lessons from the addressee, he had decided to discharge his duty by his friend, and he was permitted to do so. On the fourth day of the journey, however, his friend gladly allowed him to return to Mandu to complete his austerities. He was well received and on the night on Friday, the fourth Zihijja, 881, he was formally initiated in the order of Shuttari Sufism and he received instructions in Khas ul Khas. He was then directed to return to Bihar and continue his mission. The saint of Basarh has narrated the whole of this episode in the 21st and 35th of about 61 chapters of his book so as to show how a disciple has to undergo many trials and tribulations and how he has to develop a genuine feeling of devotion to his spiritual guide.

During the remaining 20 years of a fairly long life Sh. Qazin was engaged in propagating Islam and instructing people in the principles and practice of the Shuttari School of Sufism in Bihar. The southern portion of Muzaffarpur district was the special field of his activity and it is at Basarh on the historic site of ancient Vaisali and "about 300 yds.³⁷ south-west of the ruined fort" on the top of a huge mound or a stupa of solid brick work about 24 ft. high, with a diameter of 40 ft. at the base, and approached by a large flight of steps that his tomb and that of his eldest son are still an object of the veneration on the part of a large number of people. "This tomb," wrote General Cunningham, "is generally³⁸ believed to be five hundred years old."

36. A very learned and pious saint of royal extraction whose Maktubat contains among other things correspondence with Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Bengal. He died in 788.

37. A.S.I.R., vol. xvi.

38. *Ibid.*

He was wrongly informed that the saint's name and that of his son were Mir Abdul and Makhdum respectively. An annual fair is held at the ruined Basarh stupa with the tombs on it. "When men of all ages dance round the holy spot with switches and fans in their hands, chanting a dirge of some kind" Cunningham rightly thought this fair to be a pre-Muslim festival as the occurrence of it is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar years of the Muslims. It is reasonable to suppose that "the Muslim³⁹ saint used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islam to the people. The fact that ever since his appearance in this country this fair has been held at his residence and burial place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher".

It is on record⁴⁰ that the eldest son of the saint, Makhdum Owais called Mansur Hallaj Shahid, in his proselytizing zeal while attempting to erect⁴¹ a mosque on the ruins of which another was built and can still be seen at the foot of the stupa mound was killed by a Cheru chief. Tradition about the former occupation of a considerable part of the regions in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran by Cheru Chai tribes was very strong in the time of Cunningham who found traces of the ruins of the forts and towers of the Cheru Rajas in Cherand Chapra,⁴² Dihwa Dubuli, and Jauridih and elsewhere. Besides Makhdum Owais whose fourth lineal descendant was Ruknuddin, the saint of Jandaha⁴³ (d. 1117), Sh. Qazin had two other sons and a daughter, all probably born of the daughter of a Chisti saint, Syed Zahid,⁴⁴ son of Shah Badh, whose place of birth and burial was the town of Saran. The second son, Abdul Rahaman Shuttari,⁴⁵ who lies buried on an elevated ground in Saraiyaganj Muhalla of Muzaffarpur had as his chief disciple Jalaluddin Hafiz,⁴⁶ also of Saran, who was one of the spiritual guides of the celebrated Shah Diwan Daulat⁴⁷ (d. 1017), whose mausoleum, perhaps the most magnificent in the whole of the province, was erected by Tangar Quli Badakshani at the instance of Ibrahim Khan Kakar, a noble of Emperor Jahangir. The third and the most famous son was Abul Fatah Hadiatullah who was born in 838 and died in 947 and lies buried at Tankol, near Hajipur, on the bank of the Gandak. He was married with the daughter of Shah Md. Sharif of Chandhaus, a descendant of the Sufi saint, Zaiuddin Suharwardi. Humayun, on the occasion of his conquest of Gaur, is said to have met him and wanted to take him to Agra but owing to his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah could not do so. We are told by Mulla Naseer⁴⁸ that the emperor had bestowed a considerable property in Tirhut on the saint for the expenses

39. M.B.

40. Nasah Nama-i-Maner. He died a martyr at Bania Basarh in the fight against the Cherus.

41. M.B. by Quraishi.

42. I.A.S.R., vol. xvi.

43. See the article *The Christians in Calcutta Review*, 1891.

44.G.A.

45. A.S.I.R.

46. Known also as Hafiz Maujham Jalal Nasehi, lies buried at village Sipaha in Saran.

47. Pr. q. All India Oriental Conference, Patna, also M.U.

48. M.A., Shamsabad Ms.

of the wayfarers etc. which was confiscated from his son, Rukn Alam, by Sher Shah. It is through him and his disciple that the influence of the Shuttari order spread far and wide in the country and elsewhere.

Indeed there were many personages among the descendants and followers of Sh. Qazin of Basarḥ who carried on his legacy and established their reputation for piety and learning. He himself set a good example and laid down noble ideals for his followers. There is nothing startlingly novel or in any way heterodox in his teachings. He says that the perfect state of a Darvesh is that in which his outward forms and practices are in accord with the positive religious commandments of Shariat and his inward part (heart) is full of eternal truths or Haqiqat. He follows the path of truth or Tariqat and possesses spiritual knowledge or Marifat. He likens Shariat to a boat, Tariqat to a river and Haqiqat to the pearls. The seeker or Talib follows the code of Divine law, adheres to all that has been affirmed and shuns all that is forbidden and purifies himself of all sinful acts such as lies, slander, etc. In the 44th chapter which is devoted to Tariqat he writes, among other things, that those who follow the true path refrain not only from all that caters to the senses and passions but avoids even that enjoyment which is permitted. People generally want comfort and affluence but the true seeker is a self-sacrificing and anxious to do all that is possible to fulfil the wants of others at his own expense. If they don't get what they want they feel pleased; for so long as a man is a slave to his own desires he cannot be the true slave of God. He is free from jealousy, hypocrisy, miserliness and cupidity, pride and self-conceit, anger and revenge, and false display of piety, etc. As the prayer of a man with an unclean body but pure clothes can never be acceptable, even so one whose heart entertains evil thoughts, though his body is clean and pure, can never have a true concentration on God.

For want of space we cannot consider the various chapters including those devoted to Ishq, Mashrab-i-Shuttar etc. but his observations regarding the ways of many of the so-called Sufis who subordinate the code of the Prophet to the prejudices, manners and customs of the age are well worth our attention. "Such men," he says, "never wish that the people should detect their faults, never will they dare go to the bazar with the long vest, turban and caps on, nor will they ever disgrace themselves by going personally to a weaver or cobbler. Self-worshippers, as distinguished from God-worshippers, sit in a corner so as to display themselves as men of rectitude, venerable Shaikh and leaders living retired life. To impress people they put on a sad countenance and make a show of moving their bodies, heave sighs, crying 'Ah' and then begin to talk of 'Suluk' (advancement in a spiritual life) and like a Mulla who has read only a few pages and little about the principles of divorce, manumission of slaves, purchase and sale etc., they seem to unfold this thing in such a way as to display their power to explain clearly subtle things. They speak in a subdued voice so that the people may realise that owing to austerities and self-mortifications and reduced dietary the Shaikh's strength of speech has become diminished and his face has become pale. What a perfect austerity? They make a show of keeping the Tai fasting for a few days to show that the

Shaikh has voluntarily cut down his meals. If they have to join a feast they lift their morsels with only two fore-fingers, observe absolute silence to make people think that the Shaikh is engaged in deep contemplation and meditation of His eminence. The Shaikh is found, day and night, with rosary in hands and with a copy of the Quaran on the Rihal (support) in front and a few books on mysticism all around him on the sajjada he is sitting on while the devotees are respectfully standing by. Having erected a sort of platform like idol-temple he is seen seated on a tiger skin or an extended prayer-carpet garbed in mystic dress such as a broad sleeved pairahan (long robe) or Hazarmekhi (a Darvesh habit closely stitched) or Mushdandani (a garment made of shreds and patches) pallet or a blanket with a big Dastar (turban) on his auspicious head in such a way as to look like a spiritual leader and attract people towards his great self. Men of ordinary run and even gentry kiss the hand of the Shaikh who is beside himself with joy as he considers the concourse of people around him as a sign of his greatness, perfection, and nearness to God. His self-deception is like that of the accursed Satan who was rejected on this very ground. Those who are the slipper bearers of the men of God do discover the subterfuges of ego and their hidden infidelity." In the end, the saintly author says that all that he has written represents his own condition and is based on his personal experiences. He has exposed the fraud and subterfuges of his own self. He concludes with a couplet:— "Those who see through my self-conceit, even if they be hard drunkards, will refrain from keeping company with me. Where I lay bare my real conditions before a dog, even that animal would begin to abstain from me".

Writing about the ways of procuring lawful food so as to sustain life and strength in order to perform special acts of devotion such as Zikr (recital), Aurad (devotional exercises), etc. the saint makes special mention of dry bread or "bhat khusk" (boiled rice) and Asham-i-Biranj (rice gruel) with which one can break one's fast and says that one can without any violence to one's conscience borrow grain from non-believers, and pay off the debt as soon as one gets something from one's own arable fields or trade. He compares in this connection the state of things obtaining in his own days with that in the time of the celebrated saint of Bihar-shariff whose next door neighbour, a Hindu grocer, used to supply grain for the expenses of the Khanqah up to the value of 1,000 Tankas after which the whole debt was cleared off. "These days", he laments, "such a thing is difficult" and therefore one has to remain content with only getting a loan of bare necessity which can easily be paid off from grain grown in the field or money acquired through trade or other lawful means. At any rate one should be quite fair and above board in one's dealings with others. It is due to the purity of character as much as to spiritual advancement that a man of God has effectiveness in his prayers.

The author here relates a story which is of cultural importance. Some one asked Makhdum Jahanian⁴⁹ (Jahangastat) Sayed Jalalul Haq Wad Din

49. The present writer has the honour to trace his direct lineal descent from this celebrated saint who died at the age of 81 in 788 and lies buried at Uch in Sindh. Emperor Firuz Shah and his minister Khan Jahan were devoted to him.

as to why when he read and wrote the same thing as the addressee, there was no response to his prayers such as to that of the saint, the latter replied in Hindi "Khandā Hai Phandā Kahān" (The pit is there but where is the noose ?) meaning thereby that the real means of attaining God was wanting. The Hindi words and expressions occurring in this rare book and in other Malfuzat⁵⁰ of even an earlier period are extremely valuable. We get very good and suggestive examples of linguistic assimilations in the writings and utterances of the Sufi saints. They utter expressions containing significant Hindusthani terms the use of which must have been indispensably necessary for their spiritual work. The Muqtabasul Anwar⁵¹ of the Shuttari saint, Imamuddin Rajgiri and a rare autograph copy of the Bayaz of Hazrat Sayed Jaffar⁵² Qadri Shuttari, the saint of Barh, a contemporary of Shah Jahan, contain not only the Persian but also the "Hindi" formulae used in practising Zikr and originally prescribed by the celebrated Chisti saint, Baba Farid Shakerganj⁵³ of Paktattan (d. 668). The Zikr is "the act of drawing the sound of certain syllables of the creed from sides, front, navel, brain, etc., containing 8 such acts. The aim is to awaken the organ of spiritual apprehensions into active remembrance of God." The Shuttari saints also believe in and practise what they call 'Hast Rukni Zikr' and it is significant that the Shuttari saint of Rajgir definitely makes mention of Yoga⁵⁴ practices of the Hindus which the Sufis also were in the habit of observing. The formulae referred to above, shorn off of other technicalities, is as follows: "Haun⁵⁵ Ohi Hai ; Ohan Tun ; Ai Heen Hi ; In Han Tun ; Inhan Tun ; Hoon Hoon Oohan Tun ; Ohi Ehi Anhi."

50. See the writer's papers in *J.B.A.R.S.* on the historical importance of the Malfuzat and Maktubal of a fourteenth century saint of Bihar (Makhdum Sharfuddin). Among other things *Bāt Bhali Par Sankri* and *Des Bhatta Par Door* have been quoted from Maadan-ul-Manni, compiled in 747. Elsewhere the writer has quoted the saying of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Qadri of Amgher *Na Mānā Jiva Eehān Na Rahna*".

51. Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri.

52. The famous disciple of Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhteyar Habi Sultan Nasiruddin and Balban were very much devoted to him ; many of his Hindi Dohaas, Kafias etc., have been published.

53.

54. Slightly differs in other MSS.

THE GAJAPATI BHĀNUDĒVA IV

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

The events of the reign of the Gajapati Pratāpa Vīra Niśśanka Bhānudēva or Bhānudēva IV, the last monarch of the Eastern Ganga family, have not yet received the attention of scholars which their importance demands. It is generally believed that he succeeded his father in A.D. 1414 or a little earlier, and ruled the kingdom up to A.D. 1434 when after his death Kapilēśvara of the Solar family usurped the throne. In this paper, an attempt is made to describe the events of his reign in their proper perspective, and estimate the part played by him in the affairs of his age.

(i) The problem that deserves consideration at first is the date of Bhānudēva IV's accession on the strength of two epigraphs at Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1336/A.D. 1414,¹ it is supposed that he must have come to the throne either in that year or a little earlier; but an inscription at Śrīkūrmam² equates his 3rd anka with Kali 4512 (= Ś. 1333), and this points to Śaka 1331 as the year of his accession.³ The reign of his father Narasimha IV must have come to an end in A.D. 1409 and Bhānudēva IV must have ascended the throne in the same year.

(ii) Though several inscriptions of the time of Bhānudēva have been discovered, they hardly throw any light on the events of his reign. What little is known about them is gathered from the records of the contemporary rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, Muslim histories and the tradition preserved in the *kaiḥiyats* of the villages in the coastal Telugu country. The first important event of Bhānudēva's reign after his coronation was his invasion of the Reḍḍi kingdom and Rajahmundry which must have taken place during the regency of Allāḍa between A.D. 1417 to 1422. It is said in the Vēmavaram grant of Allaya Vēma that his father Allāḍa made friends with the Gajapati and the king of Karnāṭa who came upon him.⁴ The circumstances in which the Gajapati and the king of Karnāṭa attacked Allāḍa are not explained in the inscription. Nor is it clear whether they made the attack jointly as allies or came there independently of each other for the purpose of conquest. An alliance between the Gajapati and the king of Karnāṭa at this time was utterly unlikely. To understand this point clearly, it is necessary to have an idea of the history of the Reḍḍi kingdom and its relations with the neighbouring states. The small but rich kingdom of the Reḍḍis excited the cupidity, both on account of its wealth and strategic importance, of the rulers of neighbouring states. Situated in the fertile deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōḍavary, it served, as observed by the poet Śrīnātha, as a hangman's noose around the necks of the three kings of Vijayanagara, Bīdar and Cuttack.⁵ The Rāyas

1. *SII.*, vi, III3, III5.

2. *SII.*, v, 1205

3. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *The History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, p. 189, n. 48.

4. *EI.*, xiii, p. 241. 'Mitrīkritya sam-āgatam Gajapatim Karnāṭa-bhūpam cha'.

5. 'Muguru-rājūlakunu mōhambu puṭṭinchu gurut = ainay = uri = trāḍu Koṇḍa-vīḍu'. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 60.

of Vijayanagara were eager to appropriate the Redḍi dominion so that they might make the Kṛishṇā and the sea in the northeast and east, the boundaries of their kingdom. The Sultāns of Gulburga and Bīdar and their subordinates, the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa cast envious glances at the fertile deltas of Gōdāvary and the Kṛishṇā and were unceasing in their efforts to reduce them to subjection. And the Gajapatis were anxious to re-establish their authority over central and southern Kalinga which formed an integral part of the western kingdom since the time of the Eastern Chālukyas. The Redḍi kings were no weaklings. They were sturdy warriors, and they carried warfare frequently into the enemy's territories. Like all kings, they were eager to extend their dominions. Unable to extend their territory in the west and north owing to the powerful opposition of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, the Velamas and the Bahmany Sultāns, they turned towards the petty principalities in the east which owed allegiance to the Gajapati, and began to reduce them to subjection gradually. This naturally brought them into conflict with the Gajapati, and war with Kalinga became one of the characteristic features of the Redḍi history almost from the beginning of their power. War began in the reign of Anapōta (A.D. 1353-64 ?), who after the conquest of the delta of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvary led an expedition against Kalinga. Anavēma who succeeded Anapōta on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, continued his brother's policy of aggression and invaded Kalinga about A.D. 1375 ; he pushed forward his conquests up to Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district, which thenceforward became the eastern boundary of Redḍi kingdom. The succession to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu on the death of Anavēma was disputed. Kumāragiri who succeeded him ultimately could only do so with the help of his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, who became his chief minister and *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. Taking advantage of the troubles which disturbed the peace of the Redḍi kingdom, Harihara II of Vijayanagara conquered the provinces of Śrīśaila in the west and Addanki in the south. At the same time, the Gajapati Narasimha IV seized some territory in the central and southern Kalinga and made himself the master of the country in the neighbourhood.

Though beset with enemies both at home and outside, Kumāragiri was able to stabilise his power with the help of his brother-in-law and minister. Kāṭaya Vēma was a good general and capable statesman. He persuaded Kumāragiri to cede to Harihara II the territory conquered by him and conclude peace with him. It was cemented by a marriage alliance between the royal houses of Vijayanagara and Koṇḍaviḍu. Hariharāmbā, a daughter of Harihara II, was given in marriage to Kāṭa II, son of a Kāṭaya Vēma ; and very probably the Vijayanagara emperor agreed to help Kāṭaya Vēma against his enemies. Having thus freed the kingdom from the danger of an attack from the south and the west, Kāṭaya Vēma accompanied by Kumāragiri hastened to Rajahmundry, whence he set out at the head of an expedition against the Gajapati in A.D. 1390. The expedition was completely successful and the Redḍi army penetrated to the shores of the Chilka lake, subduing several important local chieftains on their route. It was probably on this

occasion that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva sent messengers to the court of the Redḍi king with presents suggesting perhaps the advisability of an alliance between them against the Gajapati.

The death of Kumāragiri in A.D. 1402 and the partition of the Redḍi kingdom between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma brought about a great change in the political situation. A civil war broke out in the Redḍi dominions between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma ; and all the southern powers with the exception of the Gajapati joined one side or the other. Dēvarāya I, who ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1406, warmly espoused the cause of Kāṭaya Vēma, and sent his armies to fight for his ally on the banks of the Gōḍāvary. The Velama chiefs and their overlord the Bahmany Sultān joined Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the war that followed Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his allies were successful at first. They penetrated to the banks of the Gōḍāvary, killed Kāṭaya Vēma in one of the battles during their advance, and captured his family in A.D. 1416. But Allāḍa, the commander of the forces of Kāṭaya Vēma, retrieved the disaster with the help of Dēvarāya I, liberated the family of his master and placed his master's young son Kumāragiri II on the throne of Rajahmundry. It was at this time that the Bajapati and the king of Karṇāṭa, as stated in the Vēmāvaram grant, arrived in the Rajahmundry kingdom. There cannot be much doubt about the intentions of the former. He must have come there to settle old scores with the Redḍis and wrest from them as much territory as he possibly could. The arrival of the Vijayanagara forces could not have been due to any hostile designs. Dēvarāya I, it may be remembered, was an ally of Kāṭaya Vēma, whom he supported until his death in A.D. 1416 and helped Allāḍa to destroy his master's enemies subsequently. It is utterly unlikely that he should have changed his attitude suddenly towards the son of his old ally whom he helped to regain his throne and came upon him with his forces with hostile intentions. What actually happened seems to be this. On hearing of the Gajapati's invasion of the kingdom of Rajahmundry, Dēvarāya I who was still engaged in fighting with the Bahmany Sultān in southern Telingāṇa sent an army to help young Kumāragiri II in driving back the invaders ; the Allāḍa took advantage of the timely arrival of Vijayanagara forces, and presenting a bold front to the invader persuaded him to give up his bellicose attitude and return to his kingdom. Allāḍa maintained friendly relations, according to Śrīnātha, not only with the Gajapati but with the king of Karṇāṭa and the Bahmany Sultān until the time of his death.⁶

(iii) A few years after his invasion of the Redḍi kingdom, Bhānudevā IV fell into the hands of Sultān Hoshang of Dhārā and purchased his freedom by offering him a large number of war elephants. This event is described in several Muslim histories. The brief account of Abul Faṣl's *'Āin-i-Akbary* which enumerated all the relevant facts may be cited here with advantage:

“On one occasion, cunningly disguised as a merchant, he (Hoshang Shah) set out for Jajnagar. The ruler of that country accompanied by a small

6. *'Yavana-Karṇāṭa-Kaṭaka-bbūdhavulatōḍa chelimi vātimchi yēlimche Telugu-bhūmi'*—*Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, 1: 6.

retinue visited the caravan. Hoshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together Hoshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life would pay the penalty. The prince therefore sending for a number of valuable elephants presented them and was set at liberty.'''

This event, both according to Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad and Ferishta, took place in A.H. 825/A.D. 1421.⁸

Sultān Hoshang did not, however, escape scotfree. The Muslim historians give us but a partial account of the adventure. The inscriptions of the Redḍi kings of Rajahmundry and the contemporary Telugu literature present the other side of the medal. It is said in the Vēmavaram grant that Allāḍa defeated in battle the mighty Ālpa Khān.⁹ This is confirmed by the evidence of Śrīnātha and Niśśanku Kommana, two great poets who flourished at the court of Allāḍa and his sons. In the introduction of his *Bhīmēśvara purānam*, Śrīnātha refers to Allāḍa and his sons as the destroyers of the enterprise of Dhārā Sultān's invasion.¹⁰ Similarly, in his *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* he alludes to the destruction of the pride of Dhārā Suratrāṇa.¹¹ Kommana, who also alludes to this incident in his *Śivalīlāvīlāsam* adds an important fact not mentioned in the Vēmavaram grant or in Śrīnātha's works. 'Allāḍa', says he, 'defeated the Sultān of Dhārā in battle and caused his horses to be plundered.'¹² These epigraphical and literary allusions refer to one and the same event. The Alpa Khān mentioned in the Vēmavaram grant was the son of Dilāvar Khān, the Sultān of Dhārā. After the death of his father in A.H. 810/A.D. 1407, he ascended the throne, and assuming the name of Sultān Hoshang Ghōry, he ruled until A.H. 838/A.D. 1435.¹³ During his long reign of twenty-eight years, Sultān Hoshang led an expedition to the east coast only once, and that was, as noticed already, in A.H. 825/A.D. 1421, when he came to Jājnagar disguised as a merchant to procure elephants. It is said that 'in order the better to conceal his object, he took with him horses of different colours; viz. bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey, such as the Prince of Jājnuggur was known to admire most.'¹⁴ It must have been on this occasion that Allāḍa and his sons came into conflict with Sultān Hoshang. The exact circumstances in which this came to pass are not definitely known. Śrīnātha, no doubt, refers to the invasion of the Dhārā

7. *Āin-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.), vol. 2, p. 219.

8. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.), iii, p. 475 ff. Briggs' *Ferishta*, iv, p. 178 f.

9. *EI.*, xiii, p. 241. '*Jīva = ānalpa-Vikalpa-kalpita balam tam ch = ĀlpaKhānam rānē*'.

10. 1: 28. '*Dhārā-suratrāna-dhātī-sam = ārambha garva-pāthōrāsi Kalaśaju-lakṣu*'.

11. 5: 337. '*Dhārāpattana-sārvabhauma-surathān = darpa = āpakāra-kriyā dheyu-randharya-paṭishtha-nishthura-bhujā-dambhōli samrambha*'.

6: 309. '*Dhārā-surathāna-darpa-dharanīdhrapavi*'.

12. See, M. Somasekhara Sarma, '*The Redḍi Kingdoms*', Appendix, p. 551.

v. 42. '*Dhārā-suratrānu bōra-nirjitu-jēsi kolla-vaitinche tad-ghōtakamula*'.

13. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.) iii, p. 468 ff. Briggs' *Ferishta*, iv, p. 171 f.

14. Briggs' *Ferishta*, iv, p. 178 f, cf. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.), iii, pp. 475-6. 'He took some silver grey and iron grey horses which the Ray of Jājnagar was very fond of.'

Suratrāṇa ; but this invasion was not probably directed against the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry but the Gajapati himself. For Sultān Hoshang planned the expedition of Jājnagar to secure elephants with which he wanted to fight against his enemy the Sultān of Gujarāt and not to conquer fresh dominions. Having fulfilled his object, he would have returned to his kingdom direct, instead of attacking the Redḍi territory which was far removed from his path. It is more likely that Allāḍa who is said to have maintained friendly relations with the Gajapati might on hearing the news of his abduction by the Sultān have marched with his forces to Kalinga to oppose him there on his way. The intelligence that the Sultān had with him a choice collection of excellent horses might have served as an additional inducement ; for Allāḍa and his sons loved horses ; Doḍḍa was an expert horseman, and his skill in horsemanship was praised both by Śrīnātha and Kommana.¹⁵ Whatever might have been the circumstances in which Allāḍa came into conflict with Sultān Hoshang, it is certain that he succeeded in inflicting defeat on the latter, and seized all the horses in his possession. The release of Bhānudeva from captivity by Hoshang on the frontiers of the former's kingdom was perhaps the direct outcome of the defeat sustained by the Sultān at the hands of Allāḍa and his sons.

(iv) The friendly relations between Bhānudeva IV and the Redḍis of Rajahmundry did not outlast the time of Allāḍa who died probably in A.D. 1423.¹⁶ Soon after Allāḍa's death, Bhānudeva IV seems to have invaded the coastal Telugu country and reduced it to subjection. According to the tradition preserved in the *Gangavamsānucharita*, Kajjala Bhānudeva having made his kingdom free from enemies went on an expedition of conquest to the south ; and taking advantage of his absence from the capital, his ministers set up on his throne Kapilēndra. On getting the news of the revolution in his capital, Kajjala Bhānudeva conquered the Guḍāri-Kaṭaka country and established himself there.¹⁷ Bhānudeva's expedition appears to have pene-

15. *Kaśikhandaṃ* 1, 52 ; *Sivatilāvilāsam* 1, 77.

16. There is considerable difference of opinion about the date of Allāḍa's death. The Government Epigraphist is of opinion that Allāḍa Redḍi 'was alive till A.D. 1431' (*ARE*, 1937-38, part ii, para 58). This is hardly likely ; for, as pointed out by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Ś. 1431 (A.D. 1419) is the latest known date of Allāḍa after which no record of his reign has been so far discovered. (*The Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 185). He could not have, however, died in the next year. Though the installation of *Allāḍ-ēśvara-linga* at Pālakol on Sunday 5 Māgha, Vikāri of Ś. 1341 (February A.D. 1420) (*SII*, v. 135) may at first sight seem to support this view, there is good reason to believe that he was alive subsequent to that date. In the first place, another inscription in the same place dated Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit Pushya ba II, Tuesday, *Maḥara-saṃkrānti*, registers a gift by certain Pōtu, son of Bābu, a gift for the merit of Allāḍa Redḍi ; and his sons Kumārāyya, Anavōtā Redḍi, Vēmā Redḍi, Virā Redḍi, and Anitallamma, the queen of Virā Redḍi (*SII*, v. 104). As all the persons mentioned in the record excluding Allāḍa are known to have been alive at the time, it is reasonable to presume that like the others he was also alive. Secondly, the Vēmavaram grant of Allāyā Vēmā (*EI*, xiii, pp. 237-50) and the contemporary Telugu writers of the Redḍi court refer to Allāḍa's victory over Ālpakhān, the Sultān of Dhārā. This must have happened, as pointed out already, at the time that Sultān's attack on the the Gajapati in A.H. 825 (December 26, A.D. 1421 to December 15, A.D. 1422). Therefore, Allāḍa must have been alive at this time. It is obvious that Allāḍa was alive until A.D. 1423. He probably died in that year, for the inscription from that date onwards refer to Anitallamma, her husband Virabhadra Redḍi and his brother Vēmā Redḍi as the rulers of the Rajahmundry kingdom.

17. *Kalinga Samchika* pp. 342-44.

trated to the southernmost limits of the Redḍi dominion. Several *kaiḥiyats* of the villages in the coastal districts of Telugu country allude to this invasion.

"Then the Redḍis from the time of Prōlaya Vēmā Redḍi to Rācha Vēmā Redḍi ruled until Śaka 1318 for a period of one hundred years. Then the country passed under the sway of the Gajapati. The Prauḍha Dēvarāya, the lord of the Narapati throne, defeated the Gajapati and annexed the land."

"Then Lāngūla Gajapati, the lord of the Gajapati throne, conquered all the hill and the land-forts from Cuttack to Udayagiri. He ruled for a period of twelve years (s.s. 1342-53). Then the country passed under the sway of the Narapati kings of Ānegondi."¹⁸

Though the dates mentioned in the *kaiḥiyats* of the Gajapati conquest and the duration of his rule over the coastal Āndhra country are not quite accurate, the events described in them are substantially correct; and they occurred in the same order in which they are said to have taken place. The account of the *kaiḥiyats* is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was ruling at Koṇḍaviḍu in December, A.D. 1419, as shown by his Rudravaram grant.¹⁹ As this is the latest known record of his reign, it is not unlikely that he died soon after, probably in A.D. 1420. His son and successor Rācha Vēma is said to have ruled for four years, after which, according to the *kaiḥiyats*, the Redḍi rule at Koṇḍaviḍu came to an end. Therefore, the fall of the Redḍi kingdom at Koṇḍaviḍu must have taken place in A.D. 1425. The history of Koṇḍaviḍu, between this date and A.D. 1432, the year in which Dēvarāya II set up his first inscription at Koṇḍaviḍu, is a blank.²⁰ Similarly, the affairs of the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry are shrouded in obscurity. Allāḍa, as stated already, died in A.D. 1423; and Anitallamma, the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and her husband Vīrabhadra Redḍi supported by his elder brother, Allaya Vēma Redḍi began to rule the kingdom in the same year.²¹ During the next five years, no record of their rule is found anywhere in the kingdom, but their inscriptions make their appearance once again at the end of this period, and they run in a series up to A.D. 1438.²² It is evident from these that between Ś. 1345/A.D. 1433 and Ś. 1350/A.D. 1428-29 the power of the Reddis of

18. *Further sources of Vijayanagara History*, iii, 49-50.

19. *ARE*, A 7 of 1919-20.

20. It has been suggested on the strength of a few Vijayanagara inscriptions (*ARE*, 125 of 1925 dated Ś. 1344 and ND. III, 104, dated Ś. 1346) that the Vijayanagara conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu has begun as early as A.D. 1420 and 1424. These inscriptions do not, as a matter of fact, indicate any acquisition of fresh territory by the Rāyas. The region in which they are found passed into the possession of Vijayanagara kings even during the reign of Kumāragiri Redḍi (A.D. 1386-1402).

21. *SII*, iv, 109, 114, *JTA*, ii, pp. 93-112.

22. <i>ARE</i> , 447 of 1893	Ś. 1350 Kīlaka.
" 224 of 1899	Ś. 1351 Saumya.
" 226 of 1899	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa.
" 225 of 1899	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa.
<i>EL</i> , v, pp. 53-69	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa.
<i>ARE</i> , 423 of 1893	Ś. 1355 Paridhāvi.
<i>E</i> , 223 of 1899	(Ś. 1355) Pramādīcha.
<i>EL</i> , xiii, pp. 237-50	Ś. 1356 Ānanda.
<i>ARE</i> , 461 of 1893	Ś. 1356 Ānanda.
<i>E</i> , 424 of 1893	Ś. 1359 Pingala.
<i>E</i> , 426 of 1893	Ś. 1359 Pingala.

Rajahmundry suffered an eclipse. The only cause which can account for this state of affairs both at Koṅḍavīḍu and Rajahmundry is the conquest of coastal districts of the Telugu country by the Gajapati, as described in the *Gaṅga-vamśānucharita* and the village *kaṣṭiyats*.

The Gajapati does not appear to have taken the field against the Redḍis alone. The Velama chiefs of Dēvarkoṅḍa and Rājukoṅḍa, the implacable foes of the Redḍis, seem to have joined him and rendered him valuable assistance in reducing the kingdom of Rājahmundry to subjection; for, several verses in the *Velugōtivāri Vamśāvali* are devoted to the description of the victory of Mādaya Linga over Allaya Vēma and his younger brothers, Vīrabhadra and Doḍḍa, the devastation of their territories and the conquest of Simhādri. One of the verses makes a special reference to the capture of the fort of Rājamahēndravara by Mādaya Linga, and the re-instatement of Allaya Vēma and Vīrabhadra as its rulers after their submission to the victor.²³

The Gajapati could not, however, keep his hold on the coastal Āndhra districts long. His authority was soon challenged by the Vijayanagara emperor. Dēvarāya II, who, on succeeding to the throne in A.D. 1422, had

23. Velugōtivāri vamśāvali 112-118—The following deserve special notice.

"*Gaṅga sākshiga mīri kadisi Rājamahēndravaramu chīralugoni vachchināḍu*".

"*chatul = ograḡati rāya-śarambhamai = yavalīla-diruga Simhādri Sādhimchināḍu*".

"*Vīrabhadruni Doḍḍavibhu Vēma-nṛipātula raṭṭadai kāl-ande beṭṭināḍu*". (126)

*Ājṃukh = ātibhītul = agun = Allaya-Vēmana-Vīrabhadrudum
Linga-nṛipāla nī mahārāja-kul = ābhirāma Raṇa-Rāghava
rājata-pātra-damma dīni rājyamu-nīpīri yinkan = ēmanan
Rājamahēndra-durgamulu rājulu-gaikonak-unḍan = unḍure?* (116).

It has been suggested that Lingamanēḍu won these victories not as an ally of the Gajapati, as stated here, but of Dēvarāya II, who invaded the coastal Telugu country and subdued it as far as Simhāchalam in the Visakhapatnam district, in A.D. 1428.

"Lingama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Mādā Nēḍu of Dēvarkoṅḍa, is credited in the *Velugōtivāri vamśāvali*, to have defeated Allaya Vēma and Vīrabhadra in battle, ravaged Rājamahēndra Rājya and captured Simhāchalam. The invasions of Telungarāya (one of the officers of Dēvarāya II) and Lingama Nēḍu do not seem to have been two different campaigns. The Rēcherla kings maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagar rulers from Śaka 1339 (A.D. 1417), the date of the siege of Pānugal. Hence it may not be wrong to suppose that Lingama Nēḍu, as an ally of Vijayanagar, took an active part in this eastern campaign (of Dēvarāya II) and his exploits in the coastal tract have to be assigned to this period (M. Somasekhara Sarma, *The History of the Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 191)".

Lingama's participation in Dēvarāya II's campaign in the coastal Āndhra country in A.D. 1428 depends on the assumption that friendly relations continued unbroken from the time of the siege of Pānugal in A.D. 1417 between the Rēcherla kings and the rulers of Vijayanagara. This, however, was not the case. Friendly relations, no doubt, existed between them for some time. They even joined Dēvarāya II to oppose the invasion of Vijayanagara empire by the Bahmany Sultā Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1423; but for some reason unknown at present they deserted Dēvarāya II in the midst of the war and retired to their country.

"Dev Ray" says Ferishta, "collected his troops, and inviting the Ray of Warungole to come to his assistance, marched with a numerous army to the banks of the Toongabuddra in the hope of extirpating the Mahomedans . . .

"It is proper to mention that the Ray of Warungole had previously deserted his ally, and withdrawn his troops"—Briggs' *Ferishta*, ii, pp. 400-401.

Dēvarāya II would not have forgiven the treachery of the Velamas so soon, and sought their alliance in his campaign in the coastal Telugu country in A.D. 1428. It is more likely that Velamas helped Bhānudeva IV to conquer the Redḍi dominions; and it was perhaps for this purpose that they deserted Dēvarāya II in A.D. 1424 and retired to their country with the object of helping the Gajapati.

to face an invasion of the Bahmany Sultān Aḥmad Shāh, prevailed against him ultimately and after inflicting a defeat on the Muslim forces, drove them back to their own kingdom. He then turned his attention to the affairs of the coastal Āndhra country and sent his armies to the east to expel the Gajapati, annex Koṇḍaviḍu and re-establish the authority of the Redḍis in the kingdom of Rajahmundry. The events of the Vijayanagara campaign are not known; but there is no doubt that it was completely successful; for it is clearly stated in an epigraph at Mudabidire in S. Kanara dated Ś. 1351 Saumya (A.D. 1429-30) that Dēvarāya, son of Vijayarāya, defeated the enormous and powerful Muslim cavalry, destroyed the numerous elephant forces of the Gajapati, and ocean-like army of the king of the Āndhras.²⁴ An inscription at Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District of Telungarāya, one of the officers of Dēvarāya II dated Ś. 1350 confirms the evidence of the Mudabidire record and shows that the Vijayanagara conquest of the coastal Āndhra country was completed by A.D. 1428.²⁵ The revival of the authority of the Redḍis of Rajahmundry from A.D. 1428 onwards, as shown by their records,²⁶ points in the same direction. Aḥmad Shāh Bahmany contributed indirectly to the success of Vijayanagara arms; for, according to Ferishta, he invaded Telingāṇa in A.H. 828 (A.D. 1424-5) and attacked the Velamas, the allies of the Gajapati, in their home territory. 'In the year 828', says Ferishta, 'the king in order to punish the Ray of Wurungole for joining the Ray of Beejanuggur (during Aḥmad Shah's war against him) marched into his country, with the intention of conquering Telingana. On his arrival at Golkonda, he sent an army before him under Khan Azim, and halted with the main body for twenty-seven days. During this time, he received accounts that Khan Azim, notwithstanding the small force, had defeated the enemy, killed seven thousand Hindus, and obtained possession of Wurungole, the Ray having been slain in action. The king moved to Wurungole, took possession of those treasures, the accumulation of ages which had till then been preserved from plunder . . . after which he detached him (Khan Azim) to reduce the remainder of Telingana, which he effected within the space of four months and returned to join the king at Wurungole.'²⁷ This must have been a staggering blow to the power of the Velamas. They could not have offered, under the circumstances, any help to the Gajapati in opposing the advance of Vijayanagara armies. Without their assistance, he was unable to maintain his authority in the coastal Āndhra districts, and had to retreat to his own kingdom abandoning his conquests.

What happened to Bhānudēva IV after his defeat at the hands of Dēvarāya II is not known. An inscription at Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1352 shows that notwithstanding his defeat and loss of his recent conquests, he still held sway over Simhāchalam and its neighbourhood.²⁸ He was, however, soon driven out of this region by the Redḍis sometime before Ś. 1356

24. *SII*, vii, 202.

25. *SII*, vi, 905.

26. *SII*, iv, 1381, vi, 675, 225 and 226 of 1899.

27. Briggs' *Ferishta*, ii, p. 406.

28. *SII*, vi, 784.

(A.D. 1434) ; for it is stated in an inscription at Simhāchalam that Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, conquered by the strength of his arms Kalvala-palli, Oḍḍādi and Potnūr with the territories dependent on them.²⁹ It was probably after the loss of this region that Bhānudēva, unable to return to his capital owing to the machinations of Kapilēśvara, retired, as stated in the *Gangavāṃśānucharita*, to Guḍāri-Kaṭaka, identified with Varāṇāsi in the Parlakimidi Zamindari, and established himself there.³⁰ His subsequent career is of no interest to the historian, for with his retirement to Guḍāri-Kaṭaka his sovereignty over Kalinga and Orissa passed into the keeping of the rulers of another dynasty.

29. *SII*, vi, 1168.

30. *Kalinga Samcchika*, p. 333.

SAROOR-US-SADUR

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

Very little attention has so far been paid to a critical assessment of the Muslim religious literature of Medieval India. If our history is to be something more than a mere record of political events and governmental changes we will have to turn to non-political literature of the Middle Ages, both as a corrective of the impressions created by court chroniclers and as a source of information for the religious and cultural movements of the Middle Ages.

Malfuz writing is the greatest literary invention of Medieval India. Through these records of conversations we can have a glimpse of the Medieval society, in all its fullness if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners and above all the problems of the people.

Recently I have discovered a manuscript in the library of the late Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur of Habibjung and on examination found it to be the little known *Saroor-us-Sadur*. Professor Mohammad Habib of the Aligarh Muslim University examined it at my request and wrote to me as to the genuineness of the Malfuz in the following words: "The work is genuine and not a fabrication of later days. It will be criminal to allow a work like this to perish and it will certainly perish if not printed." I am editing the work and it will be shortly published.

Saroor-us-Sadur is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Farid uddin Mahmud, the son and successor of Shaikh Hamid uddin Sawali Naguri, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Moin uddin Chishti of Ajmer. Shaikh Hamid uddin Sawali had settled at Nagaur¹ at the instance of his spiritual master and eked out his meagre subsistence by ploughing a single *bigha* of land. He was a typical representative of the Chishti traditions and did not like to associate himself with rulers or the bureaucracy. He refused to accept jagirs or government stipends and considered them as abominable chains that fettered the soul. He considered wealth and sainthood as incompatibles and trenchantly criticised Shaikh Bahauddin Zakarriya, the famous saint of the Suhrawardi order, for accumulating wealth.² Shaikh Hamid uddin's son Shaikh Farid uddin followed closely the footprints of his father. His malfuzat breathes an air of complete indifference towards the worldly affairs and worldly men.

Unfortunately the name of the author of *Saroor-us-Sadur* is not clear from the text, but it is definite that he was a son of Shaikh Farid uddin Mahmud. The author says that he is compiling the conversations (لفظ مبارك و نفس شيفى و موجد) of his 'father, Shaikh and master' (والدي) Shaikh Farid uddin Mahmud. We know from other sources that Shaikh Farid had four sons—Shaikh Aziz, Shaikh Uhud, Shaikh Said and Shaikh Najib. *Saroor-us-Sadur* is the work of one of them.

1. For Nagaur, vide *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Nov. 1940.

2. For his life vide, (1) *Sujar ul Auliya*, (2) *Akhbar ul Akhyar*, (3) *Gulzar i Abrar*.

The conversations recorded in *Saroor-us-Sadur* cover the period before and after the exodus to Deogir demanded by Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq. At least three significant features of this period are clearly visible in this work.

1. When Mohammad bin Tughlaq forced the Mashaikh to accept government services, great saints like Shaikh Nasir uddin Chiragh Dehlvi, Shaikh Shams uddin Yahya and Shaikh Qutb uddin Munawwar, resented it and refused to indulge in *shughl*, but the lesser among them succumbed to the alluring prospects of government service. *Saroor-us-Sadur* contains a strong condemnation of such saints:

‘دین سہامت شیخوں و عالموں پر دہ بادشاہان روند، و خوارمی شوند، کہ اصلاً باز نمی یابند’

2. The Tughlaq period was characterised by a deep interest in Fiqh. Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq himself was keenly interested in it and had jurists by his side. *Saroor-us-Sadur* reflects the same increasing interest in Fiqh. Shaikh Farid asks his disciples:

”زل علمے کہ مقصود شود علم فریض است“

He recommends *Qaduri* to his disciples and asks them to consult it frequently. He refers to Hasan Sijistani, a Mufti of Lahore who decided all issues in the light of *Qaduri*.

3. The economic crisis that shook the empire of Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq to its roots finds an indirect mention in the book. There are frequent references to scarcity of corn and the duties of those in affluent circumstances. Blackmarketing is here condemned on religious grounds. The fact that these remarks are repeated at several places can only be explained in the context of the then prevailing economic crisis. That there was active trade between different parts of the countries, particularly in the time of Alauddin Khalji, is evidenced by the availability of Kashmiri *shawls* in Delhi. We are informed that Shaikh Nizam uddin Auliya had one such *shawl* with him.

Besides, we find valuable information about some medieval figures in this book. We know something about Minhaj-us-Siraj's interest in audition parties from *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad* and other works. We were completely in the dark about his performance as a *qazi*. *Saroor-us-Sadur* tells us that Balban used to say: "I have three qazis. One of them fears me but does not fear God. The other fears God but does not fear me. The third one fears neither myself nor God." To our surprise Balban placed Minhaj in the third category.

Saroor-us-Sadur tells us something about the respect shown by Iltutmish to religious men. He used to address Shaikh Najib uddin Makhshabi as پدر—father.

This Malfuz throws valuable light on mystic attitude towards the government service and the state in general. When all such scattered references are pieced together we can construct a sufficiently accurate picture of the mystic opinion about the Muslim political organizations from the time of the Omayyads to the rise of the Sultanate. Shaikh Farid uddin Mahmud remarks that so long as Hajjaj bin Yusuf was alive, Hassan Basri did not come out. When he died, Shaikh Basri thus thanked God: "O God! I fear thee and fear the

man who does not fear thee.” Another story of a saint is recorded which shows that the Caliphs of Baghdad also were not held in religious respect by the saints. The mystic opinion about the necessity of the State is made abundantly clear in this brief but thought-provoking statement:

قاضی برائے بدان است، برائے نیکان چہ کار دارد *
 'جهان از دم آنکس ننگ دارد'
 'که از بهر جهان دل ننگ دارد'

Besides, *Saroor-us-Sadur* tells us a lot about the literary atmosphere and the standard of scholarship reached in Medieval India. Imam Ghazzali's works were read with keen interest in those days. Shaikh Farid uddin Mahmud advised his disciples to read *Kimiyaa-Saadat* regularly:

‘بابا پیوسته این را در نظر باید داشت’

At one place the compiler has recorded a controversy between two persons about the relative merits of Imam Fakhr uddin Razi and Imam Ghazzali. These two great scholars represented two scholars of thought and approach to Islamic teachings. The episode recorded in *Saroor-us-Sadur* has very great significance as indicating a very important conflict of tendencies which had a bearing on later history.

It is clear from a study of this Malfuz that the Science of Hadis had made surprising progress at Nagaur and a fairly high standard of *Hadis* scholarship was maintained there:

مرد را بسبب هزار حدیثی یاد باید تا محدث شود

There is strong condemnation of illiteracy. Shaikh Farid says:

هویج صفتی در آدمی زشت تر از جهل نیست

Shaikh Farid's opinion about some important books like *تفسیر کشاف*—*تدریجی*—*مقصد الاقصی* etc. reveals a very high standard of critical scholarship. The author claims that his father was good in Arabic, Persian and Hindi and quotes his verses from each language. Obviously in the family of Shaikh Farid—as in all other educated middle class Muslim families—conversation was carried on in Hindi or Persian or both. But the author's reference to his younger brother, Najib, seems to show that Hindi was the mother tongue. The word *بهائی* is used for *برادر*

The arrangement of the book is not as methodical as that of *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad* of Amir Hassan or *Khair-ul-Majalis* of Hamid Qalandar. There is no chronological order in the narrative. Some dates are given, but after 1327 A.D. we are taken to an earlier date and again to later dates. The author puts down as idea after idea comes to his mind regardless of chronology.

SECTION IV

LATER MEDIAEVAL PERIOD
(1526-1764 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. YOUSUF HUSAIN KHAN

Friends,

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me in inviting me to preside over the Mughal History Section.

Now, instead of treating you to a technical discussion of some abstruse historical problem or giving you a long list or summaries of historical works which have appeared recently, I would offer some general observations on certain aspects of Mughal History and polity which need greater elaboration and elucidation than they have hitherto received from our scholars.

The Mughals seem to be peculiarly endowed with a genius for organization and understanding. They early realised that freedom of religion and belief was the *sine qua non* of the very existence of the state in India with its heterogeneous elements of population. They limited the scope of state activity and left the society free to live its own life in accordance with its traditions and customs. The Mughal state was a culture state par excellence, which aimed at the advancement of the welfare of its people. Considering the old methods of government to be obsolete and irrelevant, the Mughals were ingenious enough to try new methods to meet new situations. The ideal of Mughal polity is thus described by Abul Fazl:

“Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king’s household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this is again connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men.”

(*Ain*, 2, p. 12)

The mention of the word ‘People’ time and again in the *Ain-i-Akbari* strikes a new note in the policy of the Mughal rulers. The documents of the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb seem to be equally concerned with the welfare and the prosperity of the people. In this connection PARWANAS reproduced in “Selected Documents of Shah Jahan’s Reign” (p. 23 and p. 157) show conclusively that the Mughal Government put into actual practice the benevolent sentiments about general prosperity and well-being. The words *riaya* and *baraya* which have been employed in the Mughal documents are significant enough, the former meaning the ryots and latter

meaning the people. The Regulations (Dastural Amals) issued from time to time during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb also testify to the deep concern of the government with regard to the well-being of the people.

In pre-Mughal times the state allied itself with the church as it did not have sufficient confidence in itself, although rulers like Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq did not hesitate to weaken religious hierarchy in the interest of secular administration. Akbar emancipated the state from ecclesiastical control which policy even Aurangzeb could not completely alter or subvert. The European travellers testify to the fact that the secular approach of the Mughal state gave full opportunities to loyal citizens of different religious persuasions to hold responsible positions. Della Valle noticed that the Hindus and Muslims "lived all mixt together and peaceable, because the grand Mughalalthough he be a Muhammadan makes no difference in his dominions between the one sect and the other, and both his court and armies and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration." (*Travels*, I, p. 30). Edmond Terry and Hamilton also bear testimony to the spirit of active tolerance prevalent in India in those days. The translation department of Akbar was entrusted with the task of rendering the religious books of the Hindus into Persian. The Persian translations of the *Atharva Veda*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Harivamsa*, and the *Ramayana* familiarised the Muslim of higher and middle classes with Hindu thought and culture.

Abul Fazl wrote an inscription for a temple in Kashmir, which is characteristic of the man and the policy of religious tolerance and larger humanity put into effect by his master. It runs thus:

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek
Thee, and in every language I hear spoken,
people praise Thee! Polytheism and Islam feel
after Thee,
Each religion says, Thou art one, without equal.
If it be a Mosque, people murmur the holy prayer,
and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the
bell from love to Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and
sometimes the Mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from house to house.
Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or
orthodoxy ; for neither of them stands behind the
screen of Thy truth.
Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the
heart of the perfume-seller.
This temple was erected for the purpose of binding
together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan,
and especially those of His worshippers that live
in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown,
 the lamp of creation, Shah Akbar,
 In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in
 whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.
 He who from insincere motives, destroys this temple,
 should first destroy his own place of worship ; for
 if one follow the dictates of the heart, one must
 bear up with all men, but if we look to the external,
 we find everything proper to be destroyed.
 O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the
 motive;
 Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and
 tellest the king what motives a King should have."

It is generally conceded by historians of civilization that religious developments reflect or accompany basic changes in social processes. The *Bhakti* movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represents the first effective impingement on Hindu ideas of Islamic culture and outlook. It is true the *Bhakti* cult was essentially based on the teachings of *Srimad Bhagavat*, but it certainly received a great impetus from the presence of Muslims in this country. It aimed at single-minded love and devotion to one God who is the creator of both high and low. This movement not only prepared a common meeting-ground to the devout men of both creeds, it preached human equality and even condemned ritual and caste. It was radically new, basically different from old traditions and ideas of religious authority. This movement on the one side and Akbar's approach on the other sought to refashion the collective life in the sixteenth century on a new basis envisaging a new India in which there shall be justice and equality for all and in which men of all the creeds shall be able to develop to their full spiritual stature.

Babar once dreamed a dream which he recounted with relish and pleasure years afterwards. In his dream he visited a beautiful garden about which he expatiates thus:

"In its different beds the ground was covered with flowers. On the one hand were beds of yellow flowers in bloom ; on the other hand, red flowers in blossom. In many places they sprang up in the same bed, mingled together, as if they had been flung and scattered abroad. I took my seat on a rising ground to enjoy the view of all the flower pots. As far as the eye could reach, there were flower-gardens of a similar kind."

The dream was not only characteristic of Babar, a man of great poetic and imaginative capacity, it was also prophetic. It came true in actual history. If dreams represent symbolic reality, the springing up of flowers of varying colours in the same bed could be nothing else but the mingling together of the Hindu and Muslim cultures under the aegis of the Mughals in India.

The 'Divine' claims of Mughal monarchs and especially of Akbar aimed at centralising the authority of the state in the person of the ruler. The Infallibility Decree of September, 1579, assured to him the utmost power that

any man can claim. By means of this document the superiority of judgment of the ruler was established and opposition to it was rendered impossible. Although Akbar believed in Divine dispensation of things human, but in fact his approach in mundane affairs was secular with universal toleration (Sulh-i-Kul) as its chief motive of action. This general policy of state was more or less maintained throughout the Mughal period. Whenever there was any deviation, it weakened the structure of state detrimentally.

Apart from the moral and cultural significance of this tolerant approach in matters of state, its results were by no means negligible on the material plane. It proved a potent factor in the social evolution of this period of Indian History. Mughal India, with great political and cultural achievements to its credit, deserves a modern interpretation in socio-economic matters.

The Mughal Empire, and even its predecessors, Turkish and Afghan rulers, helped a great deal in re-establishing the contact between India and other Asiatic countries, which had been completely destroyed with the decline of Buddhism in its home. The centralised structure of the Mughal Empire was not only favourable to the development of internal trade, but it also stimulated a vigorous prosecution of foreign trade between India and the Islamic countries of Central Asia and the Near East. Through the Bolan Pass from India to Kandahar, no less than fourteen thousand loads of merchandise passed every year in the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan it increased even more. The Mughal government facilitated and fostered commercial relations with European nations also and allowed them to establish their factories on coastal towns. This period of our history coincided with the rise of the energetic races of Europe into more civilized forms and manifold vigour and copiousness of life.

It was certainly due to extension and security of trade that contemporary European travellers were much impressed by the wealth and prosperity of the great cities in the Mughal period. Ralph Fitch the only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominion writes about Agra and Fatehpur as follows:

"Agra and Fatehpur are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpur are twelve miles and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."

Terry describes Lahore as "the chief city thereof (the Punjab) built very large and abounds both in people and riches; it is one of the most principal cities for trade in India."

Abul Fazl says about Ahmedabad: "It is a notable city in a high state of prosperity which for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest production of the whole globe is almost unrivalled."

These testimonies concerning the material conditions of the great inland towns, permit of no doubt that the urban population was prosperous and enjoyed the fruits of its labour peacefully.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were also considerable

industries in India apart from agriculture which attracted the attention of foreign travellers and about which we have considerable information spread all over the literature of this period. During these centuries India was famous for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen. In fact when the western merchant adventurers made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of the country was not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations before the Industrial Revolution. Even in ancient times India enjoyed a world-wide celebrity in all manner of technical arts and crafts, although in early medieval period of her history the development of industries was hampered owing to disturbed political conditions. Some of the early Muslim kings promoted technical knowledge and tried to develop the economic resources of the country. The Tughlaq kings maintained the *Karkhanas* which were factories to manufacture articles of various kinds and which were run as a regular government department and a high official who was called *Mutasarrif* was its head.

Under the Mughals, the *Karkhanas* formed a regular department under *Divan-i-buyutat* and *Mir Saman*. The *Karkhanas* were not only manufacturing agencies but they also purchased and stored all kinds of articles and were run strictly on business lines. They included factories and stores maintained by the government for purposes of state. The government encouraged foreign artisans and skilful masters and workmen to get settled in the country to teach people an improved system of manufacture. *Abul Fazl* gives the following description of the *Karkhanas*:

“His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs ; hence Irani, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, Ahmedabad (Gujrat) turn out many masterpieces of workmanship and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashion which now prevail astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade ; and on account of the care bestowed upon them the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection, and the Imperial workshops furnish all these stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general.”

Abul Fazl's description is corroborated by *Bernier*, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, saw these *Karkhanas* at work. He observes:

“Large halls are seen in many places, called *Karkhanas* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see goldsmiths ; in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer-work ; in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors, shoe makers ; in a sixth manufacturers of silk, brocade, and these fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and the fine dresses worn by females.....beautifully embroidered with needle-work. The artisans repair every morning to their respective workshops, where they remain employed the whole day ; and in the evening

return to their homes.....The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and physician of the city educates his son for a physician.”

(Bernier, p. 250)

The Mir Saman and the Divan-i-buyutat jointly administered the *Karkhanas*. A sense of joint responsibility and the balancing of powers so characteristic of the Mughal system of administration, was maintained here also. Both had the right to appear before the king. The Mir Saman had a slightly higher status in official hierarchy, but the Divan-i-buyutat cannot be said to be his subordinate.

The successful prosecution of internal and external trade depends on the existence of reasonable security of life and property. In Mughal times roads must have been fairly secure in the interior of the country, although in less settled parts the traders were protected by guards as is testified by Terry's account as well as by innumerable documents called 'Dastaks' in the *Daftar-i-Divani* collection of Mughal papers. The Dastaks served the purpose of a travellers' passport for providing facilities to persons proceeding on journey from one Subah to another. Tom Caryate was much impressed by the 'Long Walk', four hundred miles in length, 'shaded by great trees on both sides', which was a highway between Agra and Lahore. This, says Terry (p. 81), 'is looked upon by travellers, who had found the comfort of that cool shade, as one of the rarest and most beneficial works in the whole world.' Generally on inter-provincial highways Sarais or public inns and wells were provided for the comfort of the traders and travellers.

Terry also notes with satisfaction that the customs duties charged at the ports were not high so that traders of all nations may have the greater encouragement to establish trade relation with the country under the Mughals. On the whole there was a substantial balance of advantage for India in her foreign trade. The competition between the English, Dutch and French companies secured reasonable prices to sellers of commodities.

The foreign travellers who visited India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were much struck by the cheapness of food and milk in Indian towns. Terry states that fish could be purchased 'at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuings' and that generally speaking 'the plenty of all provisions was very great throughout the whole monarchy and everyone there may eat bread without scarceness'.

The general prosperity of the country presumes a fairly high standard of administration without which no cultural or material advancement is possible. It is a pity that this aspect of Mughal history has not yet received as much attention of our scholars as it deserves. There are innumerable compendiums and documents bearing on the subject which need scholarly interpretation and elucidation. I am sure if the documents in the *Daftar-i-Divani*, Hyderabad, and in the archives of Jaipur were properly edited and interpreted a new field of historical research would be opened for the historian of Mughal India. Such compendiums as *Siyaq Nama* of Munshi Anand Ram, *Usul-us-Siyaq*, *Siyaq-i-*

Deccan, *Ziwabit-i-Alamgiri*, *Dejhara Subajat-i-Deccan* and various *Dasturul Amals* should not be ignored by our scholars who wish to do research on the Mughal administration as they are veritable mines of information about grants, taxes, land-tenures and other administrative and financial matters. Here we have a field of investigation which offers every prospect of original contribution to historical research of the period.

SURAT IN 1663 AS DESCRIBED BY FR. MANUEL GODINHO

By G. M. MORAES

In 1661 Portugal, threatened at home with the extinction of her independence by Spain and with the annexation of her dominions overseas by the Dutch, sought to save herself from a critical situation by concluding a defensive alliance with the English. The latter had long been casting covetous eyes on the Portuguese possessions in North Konkan. Already in 1626 they had all but succeeded in taking forcible possession of the island of Bombay. 26 years later they had offered to purchase these territories. Consequently, when England demanded as the price of her help the island of Bombay, disagreeable though the prospect was, Portugal had no alternative but to agree.

In 1662 Charles II of England sent a squadron under Lord Marlborough to take charge of the island of Bombay. But the Portuguese governor, Antonio Melo-e-Castro refused to surrender it on the ground that the English admiral had failed to assist their fortress of Cochin, against the Dutch, who were besieging it. He defeated the efforts of Marlborough to siege Bhoily force by marching all the Portuguese forces in Bassein to its defence. In the letters to the Portuguese Crown the governor and the administration of Goa defended their stand pleading that the cession of the island would deal a fatal blow to the Portuguese empire in India. As their arguments could not be driven home with sufficient force by correspondence, the governor despatched Fr. Manuel Godinho, an able and astute Jesuit, as his personal representative who would press before the Crown the point of view of the authorities in India. But few Portuguese ships were sailing to the East in those days and it was manifestly perilous to proceed by an English vessel on a secret and important mission which concerned English interests precisely. It was, therefore, judged safer to take the overland route through Persia. Accordingly, Fr. Manuel Gobinho left Bassein in December 1662 for Surat to take ship to the Red sea by which they generally went to Persia. To conceal his identity he entered Damaun dressed as a soldier. At Nargol he changed into Moorish clothes, as he ran the risk of being recognized as a Portuguese by inimical Arabs, and did not wish to attract undue notice from the Europeans. He was at Surat during the whole of January 1663 pending the departure of the ship. He reached Lisbon in October 1663. In his *Relacao do Caminho da India para Portugal* which describes his journey, he has left perhaps the very best account of Surat, pace his odium theological, by any writer of the 17th century.

Fr. Godinho was born in 1630 at Montalvaõ, a town in the district of Alentejo in Portugal. His parents were Manuel Numes de Abreu and Joana de Reis. He entered the society of Jesuits at the early age of 16. Assigned to the Indian Mission, Fr. Godinho worked in Goa. He left the society and became a secular priest, holding successively the post of prior of the Church of St. Nicholas at Santarem, and of beneficiary of the Church of the same Saint at Lisbon. He was prior of the Church of St. Mary at

Loares, and was also Protonotary and Commissioner of the Holy Office. He died in 1712.

His chief work is the *Narrative of the Journey which Fr. Manuel Godinho made taking a new route by land and sea from India to Portugal in the year 1663*. Published in 1665 it was reprinted in 1842 and again recently in 1944. It is notable for the historical importance of the narrative, as well as for the beauty of its form, which reveals itself particularly in the vivid description of the journey. He also wrote a life of the Venerable Fr. Antonio da Chegas, the *evangelical time-table showing the forty hours given in the Gospels with as many sacramental meditations for them, interesting descriptions of some events which took place at Constantinople after the March of the Turkish troops on Vienna which description he sent from Constantinople to a Maltese knight*, and a panegyric on Saint Anthony preached at the Church of St. Mary at Lisbon.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY AND PORT OF SURAT, THE MAJOR EMPORIUM OF INDIA

In ancient times Surat was a poor town and the port was hardly known. But today, thanks to the patronage of the Hollanders and the English, it is the richest city and the most celebrated emporium in the whole of the Orient. It lies twelve leagues to the north of Damaun on the banks of the river Tapti, three leagues from its mouth and bar. It is not suitable for ships of heavy draft, which enter it only after first discharging their cargo without. The river is not deep, but there are in it certain deep hollows excavated by human industry so as to allow heavy vessels to lie on the silt at low tide. The first Portuguese who sounded the bar was Antonio da Silveira, who proceeded thither by order of Nuno da Cunha with a fleet to destroy this city and that of Reiner which lies higher up the river on the opposite bank behind a promontory. The water of this river is sweet at low tide and brackish at high tide. In a hollow which the sea has made a league to the north of the river called Soali, the ships of the English and the Hollanders that come to Surat ride at anchor, and are under so close to the land that they can cover the landing place of their sloops with the artillery from their ships. There these two nations have their own custom-houses, through which they send their goods. In this hollow of Soali both the Hollanders and the English have been attacked by our fleet, but with little credit to our arms. The greatest of these reverses was suffered by D. Jernimo de Azevedo, the twentieth Viceroy of India who after attacking four Dutch vessels which were at Soali with a fleet of six galleons, three pinnaces and sixty rowing vessels had to withdraw with hardly three pinnaces which he left in flames.

The city is rather narrow, and surpasses our Evora in grandeur as in the number of its inhabitants which I reckon at more than 1,00,000 the white Mongals, the Hindustani Moors, Hindus of every class, Christians of various nations, in short, people from all over the world, who either live a settled life there or frequent that port on business. You can find at Surat Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Hollanders, Flemings, men

from Dankerk, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, Swedes, Turks, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, Georgians, Scythians, Chinese, Malabarians, Bengalees, Ceylonese, Armenians, with other infinite variety of barbaric and strange nationalities. The buildings are mostly humble with roofs of *olas* (which is the name given to interlaced palm leaves). This is the reason why, if by some accident a house is set on fire, it consumes many on entire street. But the city is not without some noble and stately houses belonging to the chief lords. The exterior is hardly imposing because these men as also other Moors take care to embellish the interior of their houses, purposely leaving the exterior uncouth, as they are building apartments for their women and not habitations for men. If you should look at one of these better houses from the street, they give an appearance of hell, but if you enter them they are like paradise because everything is of gold with rich paintings on their ceilings, exquisite decorations on their walls, the finest carpets on chairs, couches draped with the best of silk for reclining, cloisters, gardens, fountains and everything else that can help those to amuse who live there. On the other hand, the Bania gentoos of Surat build their houses curiously, paying greater attention to their exterior than to the comforts within. They build them of stone and lime up to the first floor. From there on nothing else is to be seen but works of carving in relief on teak embellished with enamel and lacquers of variegated hues.

There are in the city a large number of mosques for worship, and each nation among the Muslims has set apart for it a portion of the mosque where they gather on Fridays. The chief mosque is outside the city gates. It faces east, and is a majestic and lofty structure with imposing houses adjoining the minaret. Here lives the Sheriff (as the Moors call the relatives of their *Mafoma*) universally respected and venerated by high and low alike, and it is deemed a merit to kiss his hand or even his tunic.

Not the least sumptuous of the buildings are the two *caravanserais* (that is to say public inns) built in the style of cloisters with living rooms on the side. The *caravanserais* have only one door which is closed at night and opened at daybreak so that the goods of the merchants who lodge in them may be the more secure. Another building worthy of mention is the public bath. It is a low spacious house which caters for a variety of baths, and is open to Muslims. It is staffed by a large number of servants who are paid for by the city to serve those who have their bath there, and to furnish them with hot water without return of any payment from individual visitors.

The city is not walled, but has a low enclosure pierced by four gateways. These are heavily guarded and whoever enters them with his goods is taken by the guards to the custom-house to see that the customs dues on goods they bring may not be lost. On coming out, he is further interrogated and required to produce the receipt of the assessor of customs, without which no one is allowed to proceed. There are two custom-houses in Surat. They are close to the river and face each other. Through the bigger are despatched the goods that are brought by sea, and through the smaller those that come to the city from inland. For export there are other custom-houses or rather other

offices at the same place. The duties which they pay at the custom-houses are five per cent. To the Dutch, however, 1% is remitted by the present governor in consideration of a rich and exquisite present which Mansucar, the governor of Jacatara, made to him in the name of the Company in the year 1661.

The defence of the whole city rests with the citadel which stands on the banks of the river. The citadel has three bulwarks and a horseman in the centre with twenty pieces of artillery partly of bronze and partly of iron. But almost all these have been dismantled being either without gun-carriages or having burst. The ditch of this citadel is very deep, but narrow. The garrison consists of 200 native soldiers under a Mughal captain. The latter holds authority independent of the Nawab or Governor of the province. Nevertheless, save for the fact that he is a lord of that fortress, he cannot set foot outside its limits without the express permission of the king. (1) The Captain is also treasurer of many millions; for in the fortress are deposited the revenues of the province, the customs dues and most of the coins that are struck in this city continuously. These coins are the finest in the whole of India because here are refined the *patakas* that come from Spain, and of these and of the *larins* of Persia which are of the finest silver their rupees are made, corresponding to our *crusados*. At sunrise, and at sunset they beat kettledrums in the fortress which are like *tabalas* and which the Moors use as *tambors* in battle. Around the fort there are no houses in order not to stand in the way of the artillery, but a beautiful square in which a fair is held every day in the evening, and everything can be had there that is asked for.

Surat is the greatest emporium in India and perhaps the richest in the whole world, because of the choice merchandise that is carried there by land and sea. It is carried by the English and the Dutch from Europe, by the ships of the Red Sea from Africa and by the natives from Asia and Asia Minor. The best of the goods come into Surat from inland by caravans of bullocks and camels which every hour enter its gates. The merchants and those that have business dealings in this city are very rich, some of them computed to have more than 5 to 6 millions. They have 50 ships going to all countries and of the foreign ships that call at this port there is no count. There will be found at all times of the year in Surat ships from China, Malaca, Macassar, Malucas, Jacatara, Maldives, Bengal, Tenacerim, Ceylon, Cochin, Cananore, Calicut, Mecca, Aden, Suez, Magadaxo, Caxem, Mascut, Madagascar, Ormuz, Basra, Sind, England; in fact from whatever part of the world one is after.

The country of Surat abounds in wheat, pulses, and rice but grows hardly any food or coconut trees save the date-palm from which wine is produced by a class of people. (1) These are fair-skinned and are called *Parsis* because of their origin from Persia, whence they fled at the time when Persia was converted to Islam. These are gentiles who adore the sun, the moon and fire, which they tend as is related of the *restal virgins* of Rome. And if by any chance a house is set on fire, they would rather have everything burnt than put it out, because that would amount to killing God whom they adore in fire.

Outside the city to the west there are two wide pieces of ground with countless tombs of the Moors, separated from one another by stones at the head of each grave. Further still are two enclosures, in one of which the Dutch and in the other the English are buried. Some of the Mausoleums of the Dutch Commodores and the English Presidents are worth a visit both for their structure and finish. The epitaphs in Latin, English and Flemish describe what persons they were who lie there, and what offices they held. (1) There is a separate graveyard for Christians easily distinguished by the crosses which are planted on the glares.

I shall describe the dress, food and other customs of the people of Surat when I shall speak of the Mughals. The water which is used for drinking is from two well supplied wells outside the gates of the city. The gentoos use the water from the river, not because it is better but because once the carcass of a cow was found thrown into one of the wells and they have since taken such a disgust for it that no one drinks of it any more. The moorish and gentoo gentry of Surat ride beautiful Arab steeds, out without the solar hats, as it is the royal headgear in the Mughal Empire. Some also go in carriages called arcolins which look like coaches and are drawn by stately and swift-footed bullocks of beautiful colours. The points of these cars shine with rings of gilded bronze for gallantry, their hoods are lined with silk and scarlet cloth, and for seats they have luxurious cushions on fine alcatifa. Nothing is known here of carts drawn by mules, because they have no mules, nor of coaches because there are many horses.

Ever since they first entered India the English and the Dutch (the former during the Viceroyalty of Matias de Albuquerque and the latter during that of Aires de Saldanha) have established themselves at the port of Surat. The English have here the Presidents and the Dutch their Commodores. Their ships anchor at this port though the Dutch ships since that nation possesses better ports in their city in the south, do not visit Surat as frequently as did before. But the English having no ports of their own in India capable of harbouring their ships save the fortress of Madras-patan on the inhospitable and high seas of Coromandal, have availed themselves of the ready welcome they have always received at Surat where their ships are in great demand. Here they discharge their goods and wait till they can return laden with the cargo of cloth, pepper, indigo, silk and other commodities which for this reason is purchased at this port beforehand or is sent from other ports by their ships which for this purpose go coasting all over from Surat. And so it is that the Dutch Commodores and the English Presidents fly their National flags from masts not only higher than the roofs of houses but also all the towns in the city.

The administration of the whole of this district is vested in one head called the Nawab. He is selected from among the *umars*, who used to be the titular lords of the Mughal Empire. He is treated with great deference and never stirs out of his palace unless accompanied by a brilliant company of cavalry and foot soldiers preceded by an armed corps of elephants and camels and followed by a large body of horse. At the time when I passed through

Surat, the Nawab was a highly respected Persian but he was much given to hunting leopards, a weakness he paid for with his governorship. For when it was reported that in going out on the chase, he was neglecting his duty and was never present in the city as was expected of him, the Emperor relieved him of his charge and sent another governor.

Whenever a letter is expected from the Emperor the Nawab goes out from the city, awaits its arrival, receives it from the messengers and puts it on his head, and without opening it proceeds to his palace and reads it there. The great Mughal has at Surat a Moor whose duty is to spy on the Nawab and the ministers in political as well as in other matters, who keeps him informed of his doings, at times even to the minutest details such as among Christians as well as among the Moors themselves would be regarded as trifles.

In ancient days there was in Surat a house of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had enough work in this mission and city. For besides the Portuguese and their slaves who had fled or been expelled from our territories, there are so many Christians here of the East and of the West, that even if there be a hundred religions, all of them would be fully occupied with them, administering sacraments to the Catholics, converting the heretics, and undeceiving the schismatics. The Society abandoned this mission, because every time the Mughals demanded satisfaction they would take the Fathers prisoner, compelling the viceroys to accede to their demand for fear of imperilling the life or liberty of the prisoners. Their place is now taken in Surat by two bearded French Capuchins sent by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide who labour there much in the service of God, and have their chapel in their house, in which the Catholics hear mass on Sundays and holidays.

I saw at Surat among the gentoo Banyas a counterfeit of our religious orders, whom the devil makes them mimick so that he may take more source for himself to hell. I refer to the dervishes who live in a community in such poverty that not even the Order of St. Francis can equal it. They sleep on the ground with no other bed than the hard earth. They eat only rice with butter, and take no meat or fish all their lives. They wear a coarse saffron cloth, which covers only a part of their body. They go about bare-footed and bare-headed with a staff in hand, always in two like the friars. They observe celibacy, live on alms, accompany the dead, and in this way live to a great age. Twice a day they go out to the river in community, each one with a pot full of water, which they call holy, and spend much time in praying in their manner and relating stories, to whomsoever wishes to hear them. They are governed by Provincials and other local superiors.

But these religious men are not so strict as the *yogis*. (1) The ancient call them gymnosophists. I would with greater propriety call them martyrs to the demon, or rather living demons. They go from place to place like the gypsies, some in torn and patched clothes, others without any clothes at all, others still with only a piece of cloth to cover their shame, leaving the rest of the body bare. And although it would appear that they cover a part of their body

for shame, they have in fact very little of it, and in all human matters they obey nature wherever they are so disposed, and are not ashamed to be seen, saying with the cynics that nature can do nothing shameful. They go about with ashes smeared all over from head to foot including the eyes and mouth. These ashes are of cow-dung. The cow also gives them water with which they wash themselves. They have neither house nor bed. They sleep in the open on the bare earth. Not only do they despise luxury and all delicacies in eating and dress, but they lead penitential lives of such surprising rigour as to move one to pity. For some go about naked with heavy iron chains round their neck and body like hairshirts. Others bury themselves alive by the roadside, leaving only an air-hole, through which may be passed a piece of reed for directing into their mouth some *conjee* or rice-water. Others fall into a trance after mounting columns or wooden pillars, from which they do not descend save after death. Others still on days of great feasts in their temples hang themselves from poles by pointed hooks which are made to pass through their naked ribs, and remain suspended in the air singing in joy hymns to their gods. One of the *yogis* I saw at Surat had been holding his arms aloft and had not lowered them for ten years. The nerves and the joints had become so stiff that even if he had wished it would not have been possible for him to bring them down. His hands had their fingers clenched as in dealing a blow. His nails had grown so long that if turned round the hands they could serve as chords for tying them. The hair of the head covered part of the visage and all that was exposed. I saw another *yogi* with only one hand raised, another always in standing position whether by day or night, the only rest he took being when he caught a string, the ends of which had been tied to two windows, and balanced himself from side to side. Others went about charged with conches and rama beads about their neck. I was curious to go and see how these *yogis* with the upraised arms ate and slept, and I saw that certain boys of their company fed them; and when it was night the Banyas brought to them many sacks of cow-dung (cakes) with which they lit a fire and sitting round it they passed the night.

The credit of these *yogis* among the gentoos is very high. These gentoos think that they are the greatest saints on earth, who are doing penance for all the sins of mankind, and control the wrath of God with those hands lifted up to heaven. However great may be the evils they see them commit, they take everything in good part, and if any harms them he is excommunicated and loses both body and soul. The *yogi* carries a trumpet, which he sounds when he approaches a hamlet so that it may be known that the *yogi* is there, and that they may bring him food. If by any chance which is indeed very rare, a *yogi* is offended with people for failing to provide him with his needs he puts them under a curse, then forthwith all of them go in a procession taking with them whatever they have in the house in order to ask pardon of the *yogi* so that he may revoke his sentence which they think is already being executed on them. The *yogis* are more feared than respected, because to avenge a wrong done to any of their number two or three thousands of them will collect together and stand in defence of the honour

of their order. When they thus foregather, they elect a chief whom they obey just as the gypsies do in electing a count. The chief is generally of the highest lineage, since there is no dearth of such in their order. Indeed there are few gentoo countries in which there are no princely *yogis*, a fact which enables many to live free from danger from their brothers, and even to seize the reins of Government from them with the help of their comrades. Not to speak of other instances, Bahadur Khan, the third son of Mudafar (Muzafar), king of Cambay was at first a *faqir* who usurped the kingdom from his brothers Muhammad and Latiff Khan. Again the present Grand Mughal, who today rules over more kingdoms than any other monarch in the world, became king from a *faqir* or *yogi* (the Moors call their *yogis* by the name of *faqir*), and he secured his throne by putting to death a father and his three elder brothers.

All these *yogis* are very great sorcerers, and pretend to know medicine though in truth they are only herbalists. They make what is known as the cobra stone which is the best anti-venom for the bite of any poisonous animal. Many miracles are worked every day in India where the cobra is the most deadly and kills in a matter of hours. But whoever has the cobra stone saves himself by placing it on the wound ; the stone at once adheres to the wound, and drops only after it has sucked all the poison off. The stone is cleared of this poison by immersion in milk. The *yogis* also bring some other green stones for which they claim the same properties as the cobra stone when put in the mouth. But I am not aware if this is proved by experience. These sciences which the ancient writers appreciated so much in the *yogis*, calling them on this account gymnosophists or naked philosophers, are to be found only in those of them, who having learned and practised them in the Universities of Europe, entered the kingdoms of Madura and Mysore in the interior of India. Here they dress themselves as honest *yogis* to have easier access to, and be held in higher esteem by, the natives, and they use their learning in converting them to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, thus becoming gymnosophists of the soul.

The Society counts many such philosophers in these kingdoms.

A QANDAHAR COIN OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, THE MUGHAL AND LATER INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

A. K. BHATTACHARYYA

As is well known Qandahar, the Afghan township of earlier importance, formed the object of rival occupation by Chiefs of the Afghan principality and those in India from very early times. With the Afghan Lodis coming to the throne of Delhi, the kingdom of India and Afghanistan came under the common banner of royalty. And when the Lodis gave way on the field of Panipat in A.H. 932 (1525 A.D.), the chieftaincy which held the empire of India, perhaps, confined itself to the limited spheres of Afghan territories. Although in A.H. 929 (1522 A.D.) Qandahar for the time being came to the control of Babar, it hardly remained within his grip, for, Askari, a brother of Humayun ruling over the province seems to have declared independence about 20 years later so that Humayun had to reconquer it from him. In fact, in course of his wanderings and in the desperate state to which he was reduced, he sought refuge in Persia with the then ruling Chief of the empire, emperor Shāh Tahmasp. With the aid of the Shāh of Persia from the other side Askari yielded and Humayun captured Qandahar in 952 A.H. (1545 A.D.).

Ever since this conquest and the recovery of Kabul from Kamran two years later, for nearly ten years, the little Afghan realm in his control did not quite give peace. Thus 13 years later in 965 A.H. we find the earstwhile helper (Shāh Tahmasp) of the Mughal emperor usurping the Afghan territories won for the later and making it over to his own nephews. Although, it is interesting to note, it was this very same year that finally and decisively gave India to the Mughals.

The consolidated and formidable rule of Akbar very easily made the little principality of Afghanistan and its Chief admit allegiance to the Mughal throne. The *'Ain-i-Akbarī* states that Qandahar passed on to the Mughals in A.H. 1003 and possibly remained so for the following three decades.

In the fag end of the reign of Jahangir, the Persian empire having grown powerful once again under Emperor Shāh Abbas, the latter annexed it to his own empire. During the few years preceding the final conquest of Qandahar by the Persian emperor in A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622), the Roshanis in Tīrah were a source of constant trouble to the Afghan province of Qandahar. In fact, Ihdād, a descendant of the founder of the sect, stormed Kabul and succeeded in holding possession of the same although for a very short period. The flight of the Roshani leader to Qandahar, being routed by the Viceroy of Kabul, is indeed significant. It probably marks a pointer to the importance of the province and the city which finally received the attention of the Persian emperor. It also perhaps paved the way for a virtual decline of internal tranquillity leading on to the change of control. Although finally about 3 years after the passing of Qandahar to Persian hands, Ihdad, the rebel, was shot dead, his bold move years before, remained the

signal for the whole drama. The weak rule that marked the later years of Jahangir by his relegation of royal responsibilities virtually to Queen Nur-jahan of Persian descent perhaps had something to do with the Persian insurrection.

The reins of administration in the far western parts of the empire were so much slackened that it was impossible to recover the lost realms by conquest. In A.H. 1047, *i.e.*, about 15 years after it was lost to the Persians, Qandahar again formed part of the empire of Shāh Jahān but this came to pass only as a result of an act of treachery in favour of the Mughal Emperor. For eleven years Qandahar remained a part of the Mughal empire since then.

There were Afghan rebellions no doubt in the reign of Shāh Jahān. But most of these were confined to the limits of the Indian empire. They were aimed at the subversion of the Mughal dynasty. Pir Khān Lodi, the Afghan, attained much distinction and received much appreciation during the reign of Emperor Jahangir; he was conferred the title of Khān Jahān Khān. With the accession of Shāh Jahān, suspicion gradually got the better of the Afghan official and after a protracted flight intermittently endangered by armed attacks, the Afghan rebel was killed. But before he was finally done away with much mischief was wrought by him by having successfully roused the Afghan tribes in the Peshawar district to open revolt.

Although the Afghan troubles within the borders proper of the empire were thus quelled, Qandahar as the Afghan province remained still a bone of contention for years to come. Early in 1048 A.H. Ali Mardan Khan, a Chief of Kirman, in revenge for the maltreatment from Shah Sefi of Persia delivered Qandahar most treacherously to Shāh Jahān, as already stated. This at once made the southern parts of the Afghan empire pass on to the Indian empire very easily. As is natural, what for the immediate danger to which the Persian empire was exposed from the Indian quarters and what for the ulterior jealousy that the Shāh of Persia bore against the traitor, this act of unprovoked moral assault on Persia at once led to a political conflict with India. Further, there was immediately within three years of this event a military expedition to the north of the Hindukush by the ruler of Balkh. Even there was a possibility of conquest of Bokhara and Samarkhand by the Indian Emperor. And this was easily credible because the latter descended from Tamerlane whose capital was Samarkhand itself. The expeditions that were led and the repels that were suffered covered a considerable period. At last it seems, the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān whose attention and energies had many affairs to bestow on, grew sufficiently relaxed in his fight on this front as to allow Qandahar to be very soon sapped by the young Persian Emperor, Shah Abbas II.

The conquest was final but efforts continued to be made to reconquer Southern Afghanistan by India mostly out of necessity for military strategy. During the weak rule of Aurangzeb, although conflicts with Persia ceased, there was an Afghan rising from Qandahar to Peshawar. The Afghan Chief, Imal Khān proclaimed independence and issued coins in his own name. It seems, however, that although the rebellion was quelled and peace was restored,

Qandahar or rather the southern provinces of Afghanistan did not form an integral part of the Indian empire, much less as a mint-town of the Emperor, as it did last, in 1058 A.H. during the reign of Shāh Jahān. Probably the Afghans were left alone. There are proofs that Indian royal visits continued to Southern Afghanistan but restricted to Kabul alone and never to Qandahar. Prince Shāh 'Alam, the son of Aurangzeb, seems to have had to bribe considerably the Afghan Chiefs in many of such visits to Kabul.

Events of royal conflicts were probably over for some time now. Stray acts of treachery and maltreatment even to persons of the royal blood continued. We have on record, thus, the mean act of faithlessness that the Afghan leader Malik Jiand perpetrated on Dara Shikoh, the Prince. During the years that followed the reign of Aurangzeb for about a decade, the Mughal empire was impotent enough to think of a reconquest of these troublesome parts of Southern Afghanistan. About the beginning of the twenties of the 18th century Muhammad Shāh came to the throne of Delhi and he came with the last glow before the final darkness. While during the latter part of the reign of this monarch there was considerable decline in the powers of the Afghan on the one hand, the last consolidation of the crumbling Mughal empire was at its zenith on the other, and an attempt was made by the Mughal ruler to annex Qandahar to his empire, and probably successfully.

Our present coin preserved in the collections of the Indian Museum, issued from Qandahar by Muhammad Shāh, proves that not only was this Mughal descendant able to revive the imperial influence over this once lost part of the empire but did so with the establishment of the mint there after the lapse of a little more than a hundred years. In fact, the coins from this mint correctly reflect the history of the town. Right from the beginning of the Mughal occupation of the town and the province, coins were issued representing the political vicissitudes through which they passed. Humayun struck Dirhams at this mint which are preserved in the collections of the Lahore Museum. Although in the latter part of the reign of Akbar, Qandahar sought allegiance of the Indian Emperor, no coin seems to have been issued by the latter from the mint at Qandahar. This may be explained as due to the fact that the town or the province was not conquered and annexed to the empire so that there was no immediate necessity of establishing a mint there signifying royal occupation. For a mint was necessitated by the requirements of imposition of power rather than anything else, specially according to Muhammadan notions of kingship. It was only in the reign of Jahāngīr, established on the throne for six years and probably also with a considerable period of tranquil occupation of the territory, that in A.H 1020 the mint of Qandahar was re-established with the issue of the heavy rupees of the Kalima type. It was continued with pretty seriousness till about the 17th year of the reign of the monarch. In the second year of the mint a second variety of the silver coinage was the subject of currency issued from Qandahar. This variety came to be known as the 'couplet' variety, as it bore the couplet found on the issues from the Lahore mint. By Khurdad of the 8th year, again a new type, the Ilahi coin was chosen for the mint.

Till three years more this type occupied the mint when in A.H. 1025., i.e., the 11th year of the reign, the couplet variety with a new couplet replaced the older types. This was, as perhaps the couplet itself shows, to improve upon the older designs, to make the coin attractive.

Immediately after the passing of Qandahar into the hands of the Mughals once again, Shāh Jahān thought it best to establish his royalty by the issue of coins, and he issued Rupees in 1048 A.H. The British Museum specimen of this issue is unique in this respect. And coins keeping correct march with the events cease to be issued beyond the 21st regnal year of the king, i.e. A.H. 1057.

The successful attempt of Muhammad Shāh to annex Qandahar to the Mughal Empire was marked by the revival of the mint at the town, as we have already stated. The discovery of the coins of this ruler, therefore, marks an important event. It fills a very remarkable gap in the series of Mughal coins. The Qandahar coins of Muhammad Shāh are one of the recent acquisitions for the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They are mostly of the rupee type and are issues of the later years of the reign of the monarch. The coin under notice is dated in the 27th regnal year, the corresponding date in the Hijra year being not readable. The obverse and the reverse may be described as follows:



Obverse:

Reverse:

محمد شاه

م نوس

بادشاه غازی IIXX

میمنت

سکه

سنه ۲۷ جلوس

ضرب

قندهار

So far the coins discovered are of the dates 27 and 30 of the regnal year of the emperor so that they must have been issued for the period of three years thus covered. Against the acceptance of the mint-town of Qandahar as identical with the town of the same name in the Nander Distt. in Haidarabad, the strongest ground is that the lettering of the legends on these coins shows the closest similarity to the Mughal issues of the Afghanistan mint-town. Again, Qandahar of the Deccan, as mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, does not show much evidence of a mint-town as is generally supposed.¹

1. *Numismatic supplement, J.R.A.S.B.*, 1910, art. Nos. 78 and 88, pp. 240 and 580.

MAHARAJA BHARMAL AND BHAGWANT DAS OF AMBER AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHAL COURT

SATYA PRAKASH

Nearly all the modern historians of the Mughal period agree that in the year 1562 when the Emperor Akbar was going to Ajmer to visit the holy shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Biharimal, the Kachhwaha ruler of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar and entertained him lavishly. Biharimal with his son, Bhagwan Das and grandson, Mansingh are referred to have gone to Agra, where Bhagwan Das is said to have received a command of 5,000 soldiers and his son and grandson admitted to the rank of army officers.

These facts are corroborated by several other evidences but there seems to be a discrepancy with regard to the names which are differently spelt and pronounced. In one of the works named *Amber ke Raja* (page 54, line 34) it is reported that after the defeat of Himu when Akbar held his coronation Darbar, he invited Bharmal (not Biharimal) and his brothers and nephew. The name Biharimal does not occur in any record. In the old records of Amber it is referred to as Bharmal. Again *Maasir'ul Umra* (page 234) also refers to the meeting of the Emperor Akbar with Bharmal of Amber at Ratanpura (which is near Amber). Dr. Ishwari Prasad's reference to Sanganer in this connection is incorrect, because Ratanpura is near Amber and Sanganer is some fifteen miles off from Amber. It is also referred to in the work *Amber ke Raja* that Bharmal had entertained the emperor on a lavish scale and that he was accompanied by his brother, sons, nephew, and grandsons among whom are mentioned Gopalji, Jogmalji, Sultanji, Bhagwant Dasji and Bhagwan Dasji, Nathaji, Mansinghji and Manohar Dasji. It was on this occasion that Akbar took him to Agra for training in administration. Bhagwant Das is referred to have also gone to Agra with his son Mansingh and brother Bhagwan Das.

This clearly shows that there was no ruler in Amber whose name was Biharimal. His correct name was Bharmal and his son who succeeded him at Amber later on, was known as Bhagwant Das and not Bhagwan Das. Bhagwan Das was a brother of Bhagwant Das, who, too, was the son of Bharmal. An inscription found at Jamva Ramgadh, which gives the geneology of Kachhwaha rulers and mentions Bhagwant Das very clearly, may be cited in this connection. It bears on it the date v.s. 1669 corresponding to the year 1612 A.D.

“स्वस्ति श्रीमन्मृगविक्रमादित्य राज्यातीत सम्बत् १६६९ सालिवाहन शाकातीत १५३४
फाल्गुन शुक्ल पक्षे ५ रविवसरे श्रीमज्जहांगीर साहि सल्हम राज्जे बर्तमाने श्रीरघुवंश तिलक कुल-
बाहुकुलमंडन श्रीराजा पृथ्वीराज तत्पुत्र श्रीराजा भारहमल्ल तत्पुत्र श्री राजा भगवन्तदास
तत्पुत्र सकलनरेन्द्रचामणि प्रतापपराभूतसमस्तशत्रुगण समस्तपृथ्वीविजयप्राप्तमहायशोराशि-
विराजमान श्रीमहाराजाधिराज मानसिंह नरेन्द्र कारितं रामगढ़ प्राकाराख्यं दुर्गकूपारामोपशोभितं

तत्र परम पवित्र श्रीपद्माकर पुरोहित पुत्र श्रीपुरोहित पीताम्बर स्वाधिकारे सिद्ध । तत्र कार्य
नियुक्ता शिल्पिन ॥ एतद्वेशीमनि जामश्वा अन्ये च तत्रतानुसारिण ॥

A perusal of the above would clearly show that these two Kachhawaha rulers should be referred to as Bharmal and Bhagwant Das and not as Biharimal and Bhagwan Das. It is true that Bhagwan Das also helped Emperor Akbar in quelling the revolts and is said to have attacked Muzaffar-Shah at his orders but the other references regarding him in Mughal history concern themselves with Bhagwant Das, who was the ruler of Amber and not with Bhagwan Das, who was a military commander. Thus Bharmal and Bhagwant Das should be substituted in place of Biharimal and Bhagwan Das, wherever they occur in Mughal history, and should be taken to be the correct names of these two rulers of Amber, who were connected with the Mughal court and were in the sunshine of Akbar's favour.

Bhagwant Das's name occurs in several other contexts also in Akbar's time: In *Akbarnama* we find that after the war against Mewar, Akbar sent Bhagwant Das and Mansingh to the Punjab. Mansingh, later on, by sheer dint of intelligence and tactfulness, rose to the position of a Panjhzari Mansabdar and was made the Governor of Sindh.

All these facts are mentioned in *Jaipur Vanshavali* (p. 56), *Bharatiya Rajyon ka Itihas* (p. 11), *Samrat Akbar* (p. 270) and *Mirza Man* (p. 4).

THE DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE AMIN

SH. ABDUR RASHID

The word Amin has been employed for different officers of varying importance and widely differing in the functions these officers were called upon to perform. Dr. Saran has objected to the definition of Amin given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar with considerable truth. The duties however of the Amin as mentioned by Sir Jadunath Sarkar are in the main correct. We hear of an Amin whose duties were purely administrative and who had to perform duties specially entrusted to him for a particular contingency. Such an officer was the famous Qazi Fazilat whom Sher Shah appointed to Bengal when he got dissatisfied with the administration of his agent Khizr Khan there. The province of Bengal was split up into minor administrative units and the Qazi was placed there as the agent of the Central government to supervise the working of administration under the title of Amin-i-Bangala. As such he was not called upon to perform all the duties which an Amin attached to the revenue department was called upon to perform. His duties were of a different nature and much wider in scope.

We hear of an officer of the department of justice who acted as a commissioner in cases and performed judicial duties. This is also borne out by

an order of Aurangzeb who in remanding a complaint case observed, "The Qazi and the Amin should make thorough enquiries and not decide the case on a mere admission or denials". Sometimes the Amins, as revenue officers, were appointed Faujdars of a pargana in addition to their own duties.

Describing the branding department, the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, speaks of the Amin attached to this department who, besides his personal mansab, was entitled to keep 10 horsemen. The Amin along with the darogha used to sit with their staff in the four vaulted building in the market marking the attendance of the horses, their trappings and the equipage of the Mansabdars. Mention is also made of the appointment of Amins to the department of cloth market. The Amin in this case was entitled to keep 10 horsemen besides his personal mansab and was to inspect merchandise. An Amin was also attached to the jewel market and to the mint but he had no fixed mansab. Similar officers were to be found in the Pan (betel) market, department for the purchase of horses, and the wardrobe department.

The above account shows that the term Amin was used for various officers with different functions.

In the revenue department the duties of an Amin were well defined and the office carried with it considerable prestige and importance. The author of *Farhangi Kardani* gives the following as the main duties of an Amin of the revenue department in the form of an order of appointment issued to a new Amin.

The functions of the Amin (Revenue Collector) are as follows:—

"The Chaudhris, the Qanungoes, the ryots and the rest of the inhabitants of pargana such and such, situated in the territory of the province such and such should know that by order of the king whose command is obeyed by the whole world and who is as lustrous as the sun, the duties of the Amin of the aforesaid pargana are with the commencement of such and such a season entrusted to the honesty, thriftiness and wisdom of such and such according to details attached. He should with utmost diligence prepare the comparative account of the last 10 years and the average (of rent) of the last year, and the year before; last with all honesty and uprightness visiting personally each and every plot of cultivated area, he should prepare a statement of assessment and explain it to the ryots. He should send day by day the Dol Jamabandi.....till the Jamabandi of the pargana be completed. Thereafter, he should send the Jamabandi papers with the signatures of the Chaudhris and Qanungoes and the seal of the Protector of the Canon-Law, the agreement of formal receipt of the Karori to his Majesty. By his tact and kindness he should keep the subject and all the residents and the populace of his division happy and contented. By his tact and kindness he should enhance its cultivation and population and its buildings. In all these works he should pay regard to his duties and functions.

The (above) contents are in accordance with the original order with the signature of Madarul Muham purporting that in pargana such and such, situated in the province such and such from the season such and such, such and such has been appointed to duties of *amanat*."

Further he mentions the duties of an Amin in the matter of assessments which were of six kinds:—

Firstly, there is *naskh*, that is the Amin, after making a comparative study of the last 10 years and of the last year or calculating the average for the last twelve years, prepares a statement of assessment.

Secondly, the *zabti*, that is the Amin after measuring the cultivated areas enters the measurements in the Khasra. The total of cultivation as obtained in the *khasra* should, in accordance with the rules, be shown at the time of assessment.

Thirdly, *danabandi* or *konkoot*, that is the Amin after visiting every cultivated plot, makes the estimates of the crop, and on its basis determines the assessment.

Fourthly, the *ghalla bakhshi*, that is the Amin after visiting all cultivated plots, gathers the corn together and puts a thorny badge round it. Thereafter he keeps a watch on the ryots' share. He gives them a receipt for their share.

Fifthly, the *lulabandi*, that is the Amin visits the plots of cultivated land, gathers the produce of cultivation and effects *lulabandi*. Thereafter, he keeps a watch over (the share of) the ryot, gets the corn cleaned and regulates assessment according to the produce. He takes (from the produce) the full share of the state and hands over the rest to the ryot. The duties of the Amin are exceedingly difficult. If he takes more (than the share of the state), yet no harm; but if he obtains less than the state's share, he is called to account for that and much hardship is inflicted on him so that it is illegal for him to drink water in the pargana.

The longer an old Amin is in a pargana, the better versed he will become in its affairs, and as such the condition of the ryots would be fully known to him.

Sixthly, village assessment, that is the Amin visits the villages and examines the cultivated land, strikes an average of the good and bad land, and lays down the extent of the area that is to be cultivated. In this case he leaves his share to the ryot and with the advice of the Qanungoes of the division determines the assessment.

Sir Jadunath has depended for his information about the duties of an Amin on a manuscript which he got from a Kayastha family of Patna. He calls it the *Manual of Officer's Duties*. This is *Hidayat-al-Qawamin* a very good manuscript of which is available in our library and still awaits careful examination. I give below an extract from it relating to the duties of an Amin.

Those who wanted to know the method of work of Amin and Karori enquired from experts on the subject as to what was the best method of work. They replied: The Amin should know the rules and regulations, should be honest and should be well versed in preparing papers and reports (on cases). He should determine the assessment after appraising himself of the pros and cons of every case. He should see to it that not a single man is able to defraud the state. Whenever any one entrusts his case to him and

affairs for ascertainment (of true facts), he should acquit himself so creditably that not a single man is able to find fault with his assessment. He should strive to deal with the case in a way that settlement between both the parties is effected. On the manner that an Amin prepares his papers and reports depends the prosperity of the realm. In revenue cases, the Amin should, before the commencement of sowing period, obtain from the papers of the last ten years (data about) the assessment of land revenue and the area of the village, visit the villages and parganas accompanied by the Karoris, Choudhris, Qanungoes, and Zamindars and enquire from the Muqaddam of the village concerned as to the area of the villages and the number of ploughs they have. After getting this information, he should find out the extent of the area of the villages as given in the papers of the Qanungo. If the figures correspond, well and good. And if the proportion (of the total area and the number of ploughs) is larger than the one laid down (at the time of assessment and apportionment) he should call to account the Qanungo as to why his papers do not tally with facts and severely take to task the Muqaddam for being untruthful. The Amin should also compare the papers of every year with those of the last 10 years lest the Qanungo out of enmity may have stated the extent of the area more than that of the previous years. After having satisfied himself about this case the Amin should determine whether the number of ploughs in the villages are sufficient for the cultivation of the area. If so, well and good. Otherwise he should procure Taqavi, proportionate with the area of the village for the purchase of bulls and seeds. He should obtain a bond, providing for the re-payment of the Taqavi Loan in the very first instalment of the year stated therein, from the Muqaddams on the security of Choudhris, with the seal of the Qazi and the attestation of Qanungoes and Zamindars. He should obtain a bond for the Karori to the effect that they would pay the sum stated therein in the first (season) of the specified year. After that, he should determine the assessment and obtain qabuliat (*i.e.*, counterpart of lease) from the Muqaddams. The yearly assessment will encourage the Zamindars to better cultivation, as they will have to pay (only) the sum as laid down yearly. They will fare better in this way as after giving away the state demand they will have enough with themselves. If the Muqaddams produce more than the (estimate on which) assessment (is based), the govt. should not molest them (by increasing the state demand); for by thus honouring the engagement the population of the villages and property will increase every year through the grace of God. The revenue as assessed and stated in the counterpart of the bond, should also be obtained from the aforesaid Karori on promise of paying it back to him. At the time of the collection of instalment the Amin should appoint suitable days for collection.

ABU'L FAZL'S PREFACE TO THE PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE MAHABHARAT

DR. S. A. A. RIZVI

Abu'l Fazl's preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahabharat* is an extremely valuable source for the study of Akbar's religious policy, though unfortunately it has not attracted the attention that it deserves. In this preface, Abu'l Fazl explains Akbar's desire to bring about a positive understanding between Hindus and the Muslims and the reason why Akbar established a translation bureau for getting Sanskrit works translated into Persian.

Akbar ordered Naqib Khān¹ to prepare a translation of the *Mahabharat* in collaboration with Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī and Shaikh Ḥājī Sultān Thānesarī.² A number of Hindu scholars were asked to explain the work to the translators who were ordered to render it into Persian. According to the colophon³ of the manuscript of the *Mahabharat* no. *Tārikh, Lytton Library, Aligarh University*, these Hindu scholars were Debi Misr, Satuwani, Madhsudhan Misr, Chaturbhuj Misr and Shaikh Bhawan.⁴ According to

1. Naqib Khān, son of Mir 'Abdul Latif of Qazwīn, arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession had not yet left the Punjab, (*Akbar Nāma*, Bib. Ind., Vol. II, p. 230) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor. (*Akbar Nāma*, II, p. 281). He generally read out the books to the emperor and supervised the translation of Sanskrit works into Persian. He also wrote several sections of *Tārikh-i-Alfi* (Ethe, India Office Manuscripts, 112). He excelled in historiography and was said to have committed all the seven volumes of *Rauzat-us-Sāfa* (a general history in seven volumes, from the creation down to 929H/1522-23, by Muḥammad ibn Khāwand Shāh ibn Mahmud, known as Mir-Khwand, Browne Persian Catalogue, 44-56), to memory. According to Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, no man in Arabic or Persian was as proficient in History as Naqib Khan. Jahangir also very highly extolled the virtues of Naqib Khan as a scholar. He died, in 1023H/1614.

2. Ḥājī Sultān Thānesarī remained in the service of Akbar for a long time. According to Badāūnī, he was banished from Thānesar on account of the accusation of the crime of cow killing brought against him by the Hindus of that Pargana, but was after some time pardoned owing to the intercession of Khan-i-Khanan and was appointed *Karori* of Thānesar and Karnāl. He appeared to have continued and completed the translation of the *Mahābhārat*. On being asked, when he was translating the *Mahābhārat*, the question what he was writing, he replied, "I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue." (Badāūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Vol. III, Bib. Ind., pp. 118-119)

3. The present manuscript was transcribed by one 'Abdur Raḥmān in Kashmir who mentions the date of transcription to be 1112H/1700-1 in words and 103H/1604-5 in figures.

قد فرغت من تسييد هذا الكتاب بحسب الامر على حضرت خلافت پناهي - العبد بنده فقير الحقير... عبدالرحمن
في بلدة الكشمير همت تحرير يافت - سده اثناء عشر و الف و مائة في يوم - شهر ربيع الاول سده 1113 هـ

hundred in words appears to be an oversight of the copyist, because the title-page of the manuscript contains an autograph dated 1048H/1638. Khilāfat Panāhi also appears to have been used for Akbar, because Aurangzeb cannot be said to have been interested in the transcription of the *Mahābhārat*. Moreover, he was busy in that year in the conquest of Deccan and so he could not possibly order an inhabitant of Kashmir to transcribe the *Mahābhārat*. Lastly the title Khilāfat Panāhi has also been used for Akbar by Naqib Khān.

4. The name of the Hindu scholars who collaborated the translations of *Mahābhārat* except Shaikh Bhāwan, a learned Brahman of Deccan who was afterwards converted to Islam, and translated a portion of the *Atharva Veda* (Badāūnī, II, 213) is nowhere available in the colophon of the Lytton Library manuscript.

Badāunī, Faizi and Mulla Shīrī⁵ also took part in the work of translation.⁶ A portion of the translation in which Naqīb Khān played the most prominent part was completed within one and a half years on Monday, the 27th Sh'abān, 992H/September 4, 1584.⁷ It was finally completed by Sultān Ḥājī Thānesarī in the 32nd solar year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1587-88.⁸

Akbar took a keen interest in the work and supervised it personally. Badāunī writes that for several nights he himself heard the Brahmans interpret the *Mahabharat* and explained its meaning to Naqīb Khān. Akbar also expressed a desire that the work be given wide publicity and the nobles were ordered to get copies transcribed for themselves.

The preface of the translation was written by Shaikh Abu'l Fazl. Badāunī writes, "Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, as against the commentary on the Āyat-al-Kursī,⁹ which he had formerly composed, now wrote for it (*Mahabharat*) a preface extending to two (*Juz*)."¹⁰ Since there is no apparent contradiction between Abu'l Fazl's commentary on the Qurānic verse, Āyat-al-Kursī, and the present preface, and as Abu'l Fazl does not in any way refer to the commentary, Badāunī apparently intended to convey the impression that whereas the former work which was presented by Abu'l Fazl to Akbar in 1574¹¹ was written as a good Muslim, the latter work was written as an unbeliever.

The preface may be found in many of the extant manuscripts of *Mahabharat*, as well as in the lithographed edition of the *Nawal Kishore Press*. It runs into twenty folios of the *Aligarh manuscript*¹² and consists of two parts: (a) Akbar's motives in getting the work translated (Ff. 1a-10b), (b) a summary of the main problems discussed in the Persian translation of the *Mahabharat*, Ff. 10b-20b.

5. Mulla Shīrī, the son of Maulāna Yahyā, was a very good poet. He died in the campaign against Yūsufza'īs in which Raja Bir Bar was killed (994H/1586). (Bad, III, pp. 249-252).

6. Bad, II, p. 320.

7.

تمام شد کتاب مہابھارت بحمد اللہ تعالیٰ و حسن ترتیبہ و بہمن توجہ حضرت خلافت پناہی سلطان چاہی
سکندر نشانی خدا ملکہ و سلطانہ و افغان علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ

روز دو شنبہ بست و ہفتم ماہ شعبان المعظم سنہ اثنی و تسعين و تسعمایہ

8. Preface to the *Mahābhārat*, f. 8b, (*Abdus Salam Manuscripts* No. 450/5); Life of Ḥājī Sultān Thānesarī; where Badāunī says that Ḥājī worked for four years in order to complete the translation started by Naqīb Khān. (Bad, III, p. 118). In the second volume of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, *i.e.*, History of Akbar) the whole event is placed in the twenty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, but later, however, he says, "The author begs leave to request, that the reader will excuse him if in the account of this year (which has been introduced as a digression, written down by his rapid pen in an abridged form) he has not observed a strictly chronological order, nor preserved the exact sequence of events". (Bad, II, p. 321).

9. A verse from Quran.

10.

شیخ ابو الفضل برعکس تفسیر آیة الكرسي کہ تالیف دادہ ہند خطبہ نیز بمقدار دو جزو ہر ان نوشت
نورۃ باللہ من الکفریات و العشویات -

11. *Akbar Nāmā*, (Bib. Ind.) III, p. 85, Bad, II, p. 198.

12. *Abdus-Salām Manuscripts*, 450/5.

The preface opens with the words Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ¹³ (श्रीगणेशाय नमः). Then follows the praise and supplication to God in the same style as the doxology in his *Munājāt*.¹⁴

Before discussing Akbar's motives in getting works of different languages translated into Persian, Abu'l Faḥl laments that the rulers in the past neglected the most important duty of looking after the religious needs of the common people. Even when the religious problems of the common people reached the ears of the rulers in the past, they did not pay any heed to such matters. Being afraid of a campaign of slander which "babblers" might have started against them if they dared take up religious questions themselves, these rulers entrusted these to the people who did not know anything except issuing *Fatwas* (religious decrees) and to the theologians (who failed to understand the real significance of religion).¹⁵

But, says Abu'l Faḥl, Akbar initiated a bold policy so that in his age "the pillars of blind following" were demolished and a new era of research and enquiry (in religious matters) started.¹⁶ Referring to the new regulations and ordinances which were issued on religious subjects, he says that after they were promulgated, people found it difficult to imagine how the kings in the past were able to rule without them.¹⁷ Then follows an examination of the inventions of Akbar and a reference to some of his other institutes and sayings, including his ideas in respect of abstaining from taking meat for about seven months in a year and his views in opposition to non-vegetarianism.¹⁸

After extolling the virtues of the Emperor, Abu'l Faḥl discusses the motives of Akbar in getting the *Mahābhārat* translated into Persian. He says that Akbar was anxious to introduce reforms among all classes of his subjects and did not discriminate between a friend or a foe. As he found that there were exceedingly great differences amongst Hindus and Muslims, and there was no end to the polemics and refutations of each other, he decided to get the reliable books of both the religions translated in the language of their opponents, so that shaking off their enmity¹⁹ they should try to search for truth. However having been acquainted with their respective weaknesses, they should try to reform themselves.

Secondly in every religion there were a number of ignorant ones who always thought themselves to be great scholars and misrepresented the original

13. One of the Hindu forms of beginning a work employing thereby "We perform a salute to the god Gaṇeśa (गणेश)". Abu'l Faḥl similarly begins the translation of the Bible with the words *اے نلم رے ژرور عسرتور* (Thou whose name is Jesus Christ, i.e., Saviour and Anointed). Badāūnī however translated the words as *اے ائکھ نان ور مہبارتم ہسپار بخش است* (O, Thou whose name is merciful and very bountiful).

14. *Munājāt* is *Mantuqā* (Expression) I of *Lataif-i-Faizi*, a collection of letters of Shaikh Faizī, compiled by his sister's son Nuruddin Muhammad in 1035H/1625-26. (Lytton Supp. *Farsiya Akhbār*, 51) ff 84b-101a. It is being published in the *Medieval India Quarterly* (Vol. I, No. 3). For a reference.

15. Preface to the *Mahābhārat*, 'Abdus Salam Mss., 450/5 ff. 2a-2b.

16. *Ibid*, f. 3a.

17. Preface to the *Mahābhārat*, 'Abdus Salam Mss., 450/5, f. 4a.

18. *Ibid*, f. 8a. All these points are discussed at length in *Āin-i-Akbari*.

19. *Ibid*, f. 9b.

works of the Masters. Common people mistook these misrepresentations for the real religion and were often misled. Akbar thought it essential to protect the people from becoming a victim to the nefarious designs of such custodians of faith and came to the decision that if the books of different religions could be translated into a simple language, the common people would be able to know the truth for themselves.²⁰

The "*Mahabharat*", continues Abu'l Fazl, "which is the work of the sages of India, and greater than which is no book of their faith, was ordered to be translated. Many of the leaders of the faith among Hindus, in their bigotry and incapacity to see truth, have an exaggerated and blind faith in their beliefs. On account of their inability to see truth and justice they regard even the details of their religion as being above question, and follow the faith blindly. They have so impressed upon the common undiscerning folk, certain articles of faith, that these are accepted without question or an inquiry.

"Muslims who are ignorant of the subtlety and sublimity of the religion of Hindus, basing their judgment on the beliefs of the above (*i.e.*, common misrepresentation of the Hindu faith) bitterly refute Hinduism. It was therefore decided that the *Mahabharat* be translated so that those who refute them may give up their prejudiced opposition, and the uncritical believers may be enabled to seek truth.

"The common Muslims who have not studied the heavenly and other books of religion, nor have any insight in the history of different peoples such as the Chinese and the Indians etc., nor have studied the works of great men of their own religion like Imām J'āfar-i-Ṣādiq²¹ and Ibn-al-'Arabī²² believe that the human race has been in existence for seven thousand years and all the intellectual heritage of the human race is the contribution of these seven thousand years. Therefore it was decided that the *Mahabharat* which dealt with the great antiquity of the world and its people and bears witness to the much older age of the world and its inhabitants, be translated in simple language, so that the people (*i.e.*, such Muslims) may give up their improper belief. Let it be known that finer knowledge and nobler comprehension are without a beginning and these jewels of wisdom have no origin."²³

Lastly, concludes Abu'l Fazl, the study of history was very popular among all types of people and particularly among the kings. "The divine mysteries contained in history served as an example to the people." It also enabled the people to "improve the present in the light of the past, hence the translation of the *Mahabharat* was given priority for it also comprised the ancient history of India."

20. *Ibid*, f. 9b.

21. He was the eldest son of Muhammad Bāqir, and the sixth Imam of the Shī'as. He was born at Madinah about the year 702 A.D. and died in 765 A.D. He was very famous among his contemporaries for his learning and scholarship. Many Sunni jurists were his disciples. None of his works are extant, yet he is known to have written many standard works on Shī'a theology.

22. Shaikh Muḥī'-ud-Din Abu 'Abdullāh ibn Muhammad ibn Alī at-Ṭai-al-Ḥaṭīmi-al-Andalusi, was the author of two extremely well known treatises on Pantheistic mysticism, viz. *Fusus-ul-Hakam* and *Fatuhāt-i-Makkia*. He died in 1240 A.D.

23.

د این جواهر دانش را مبدی مدی

The preface also deals with the scheme of translation. It shows that Akbar earnestly desired that the translation should be as faithful as possible.²⁴ Scholars of both the religions who were expert in their respective languages were recruited to translate the work with their mutual consultation and "consent". It was essential for the scholars that they should be scrupulously honest in their work and should keep themselves aloof from bigotry.²⁵

The rest of the preface (ff. 10b-20b) contains a brief summary of the *Mahabharat* and the various problems discussed in the work. This summary provides further testimony to Abu'l Fazl's erudition and deep scholarship. He has surveyed the work objectively but sympathetically, and has successfully tried to catch its spirit.

Importance of Preface: Akbar's motives in getting the Sanskrit works translated into Persian, have been discussed by Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badāunī at length. He says, that after getting *Shah Nama* and the *story of Amir Hamza* transcribed and having heard the *stories of Abu Muslim* and the *Jami-ul-Hikayat*, he decided to get the works of the ancient Indian sages translated into Persian. He thought to himself, "Why should not I have them done in my name, for they are by no means trite, but quite fresh, and they will produce all kinds of felicity both temporal and spiritual, and will be the cause of circumstance and pomp, and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth, as is written in the preface of these books." But the preface of the *Mahabharat* is the first documentary evidence of the real motives of Akbar in establishing a sort of "translation bureau" which aimed at achieving something higher in comparison with the translation bureau of Mamūn-ur-Rashīd, the seventh Abbasid Caliph (813 A.D.-884 A.D.). While Mamūn was actuated only by intellectual curiosity, Akbar's motives were both intellectual and practical. It was for the betterment of the members of both the communities that the work was undertaken and did not mean any hostility to Islam, as it has been frequently represented by Badāunī. The causes of the discouragement, which religious chauvinism received in the reign of Akbar are nowhere better explained than in the present preface. The policy of "peace with all" was not merely a philosophical abstraction with either Akbar or Abu'l Fazl, but both of them tried to bring about a positive understanding between the members of both the communities. The preface shows, how Akbar himself tried to understand the very spirit of Hinduism and earnestly desired that others should also do the same.

24. In the translation of the Atharva Veda, Shaikh Bhāwan tried to prove that it contained many sentences similar to "*La Ilaha Ilallah*". (Bad, II, p. 213.) Apparently the forgeries of Shaikh Bhawan were exposed and the attempt to get it translated was given up. Akbar, as we have seen, personally supervised the translation of the *Mahābhārat*, and "the work was brought to such a point of perfection that not a flymark of the original was omitted". (Badāunī II, p. 321.) From another statement of Badāunī at the end of the work, it appears that Akbar had a suspicion that Badāunī tried to misinterpret the portions of the *Mahābhārat* assigned to him for translation. (Bad, II, pp. 399-400.)

25. Preface to the *Mahābhārat*, Op. Cit. f. 10a.

SCOPE OF STATE ACTIVITY UNDER THE 18TH CENTURY MARATHA RULE

R. V. OTURKAR

This is a study of some 45 original Marathi Manuscript papers of which 30 have been recently printed in the *B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. 30/31. Nos. 3, 4, 1 and 15 are from *Peshva Daftar*, Vol. No. 43.

The extent of state activities under the Maratha Rule was wide enough. I shall not here refer to cases which throw light on how state regulated *Watan*, gave decisions on caste disputes, punished witchcraft, and sought to regulate prices. These topics have been discussed by me in the papers read before the previous conferences. I shall concentrate attention on such papers as throw light on many other branches of state activity. Even before Peshwas had any thought of possessing Benares, they wanted to provide for the construction of *ghats* and other conveniences for the pilgrims at Benares (P.D. 43.2). This was evidently a meritorious deed, creating good will amongst the people of the locality and perhaps, preparing a favourable atmosphere for the conquest which might take place later on. In another letter (P.D. 43.30), we get an evidence as to how the Peshwa sought to bring about Prohibition and in yet another (43.150), take severe notice of Cow Slaughter. A person following a medical profession without sufficient qualifications was asked by the Peshwa (43.38) to stop his practice and thus the state saved people from amateur jobbery in a profession so vital for life. The state helped to start and organise new market centres (43.45). It acted as a final arbiter even in matters religious and decided cases of social precedents. It helped the constructions of temples by supplying labour if there was a shortage noticed (43.5). It made an inquiry into unjust impositions (43.166) and also gave compensation for harassments caused due to the march of the army (43.169). According to one paper, the state attempted to regulate the morals of the city in a manner which it may not be possible to adopt to-day. In a letter dated 13-6-1768 Ghasiram Savaldas, the famous Kotwal of Poona, wrote to one Ramaji Govind as follows, "Bhiwi, wife of Ramaji Vaghapurkar, was brought to the Kasba Chavadi on a charge of adultery. In the course of inquiry, she confessed her crime and informed the names of four correspondents. Of them, two were found and fined, the fine money being duly credited to the treasury. The other two could not be traced. Subsequently, it was known that Bhiwi who used to live with her husband at Saswad, came to Poona on his death about six months ago, and in course of time fell into the practice of bad ways. All attempts to get her married failed, as her dissolute life was very widely known. If left alone, she was sure to be a danger to the morals of the city. I have therefore taken Rs. 50/- from you and have given her over to you on condition that you employ her as your maid servant (Batik). If in course of time someone were to claim her as his own, you may deliver her over to him, on getting your fifty rupees back and duly informing the Chavadi of the same".

In another paper, a note is made of the arrangements to supply water to travellers passing through the famous *Dive* Ghat near Saswad. The man employed for the purpose was paid Rs. 7/- per month. The paper is dated 1821. In another paper, it has been noted that a Telangi Brahmin undertook to supply water during the hot season (*i.e.*, from about April to June) for Rs. 21/-. No charge was made to the travellers. It is needless to ask how the P.W.D. of 1950 looks after the needs and comforts of travellers, travelling by motor lorries along similar roads.

In 1769 the Deshpandes of Saswad received orders from Poona to prepare a census of the people of Kasbe Saswad, and classify them by their professions. In another paper the Saswad authorities prepared a list of the Gosavis and noted their whereabouts. Gosavis were professional beggars wandering from place to place and depending upon charity from the people. But they were organised and their leader, the Mahant, had a *gadi* and an estate too. At times, the Gosavis proved a source of nuisance to the people. In a letter to them Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao warns them not to create trouble and be content with accepting such charity as people might voluntarily give them. Succession to the *gadi* of the Gosavis could not be valid without the Peshwa's permission.

The State was interested in a variety of social activities. A learned Swami (ascetic) from Kolhapur received letters of introduction to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes who were instructed to help the Swami to collect charities. In another letter, the Peshwa ordered Rs. 25/- to be given to meet the expenses of a *Sati* ceremony. The State would help in the reconstruction of a broken temple, order a detailed calculation of the loss caused to a territory by the march of soldiers through it, with a view to arrange for compensation, order a calendar to be copied and prepared, and help a citizen to trace his lost relative in a certain place. In those days letters sometimes had to be sent in a mysterious form and language whose meaning could be understood only by its writer and the addressee but not by others (P.D. 43.32). I shall just read out this letter

Whatever interested the society interested the State. There seemed to be no limit to its paternal interference in the affairs of the people, its efforts being always directed to maintain the *status quo*, to protect the weak, to encourage learning and to help the religious. Nor did the initiative always lie with the Central Government. On the approach of famine we find the Patil proposing the higher authorities to cut down the avoidable expenditure in order that the village may be better prepared to meet the calamity. In another letter, we find the villagers themselves raising a loan on joint responsibility and distributing the fund amongst the needy. The writer of the letter added that of the Rs. 500/- thus raised and distributed, he got only Rs. 2/- and expressed his anxiety as to how he could face the calamity with that scanty assistance.

On the whole, a reading of these papers leaves an impression that the paternal care of the State, far from depriving the people of their initiative only acted to supplement their activities and safeguard their interests.

Hence it is difficult to call the Maratha State either a despotism or a democracy and characterise its government as either a feudal aristocracy or an absolute monarchy. The broad-bottomed democracy of the village panchayat was crowned with a monarchical head and counselled by a feudal aristocracy. Monarchy, aristocracy and democracy all combined in one and yet there was scarcely any conflict of jurisdiction as all the three acted within well-understood conventional limits.

PANIPAT AND THE NIZAM

V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

The tragedy of the third battle of Panipat has always evoked interest and emotion on the part of scholars. It is true it gave a crushing blow to the prestige of the advancing Marathas, all over India ; but it is also true that it was not so fatal nor decisive in its results. The tragedy did not deflect the Marathas from their aim of dominating over the princes of Northern India, through control over the puppet Emperor of Delhi. Indeed, within a decade of the disaster of the Panipat, the Marathas were again securely seated in their saddle of power all over the North except the Punjab and Bengal. They had taken a terrible vengeance on all those who betrayed them in those fateful days. They looked now in 1771 as if invincible. They had reasserted and realised their aim of ruling over India stretching from the snowy Himalayas to the southern shores of Cape Comorin, though it was not a well integrated Government that was set up by them at that time.

It was the aim of Baji Rao I and Balaji Baji Rao to unite Hindustan and establish a Hindu Empire, and keep all the holy places in Hindu hands. It was for this, that the Maratha armies spread from Poona, fan-wise all over India and established the authority of the Peshwa there. By 1760, the Maratha army was found encamped on the banks of the Indus in the north and the Cauvery in the south. Before the close of the year 1760, the Peshwa intended to complete the conquest of the Punjab and Bengal. With that aim he despatched Dattaji Sindhia to establish peace in Lahore and then march towards Bengal for its subjugation. Raghoba was to be despatched from the south to march through C. P. and effect a junction with Dattaji for a final pacification of India. (See *Rajwade*, p. 62).

The affairs of the south were to be directly managed by the Peshwa himself, assisted by Sadashiva Rao and Viswas Rao. For, at that time, there were two powerful rivals to power in the Deccan, the Nizam and Hyder Ali. If these two could be subdued, the southern countries up to the cape could be easily annexed. His general Gopal Rao Patwardhan believed in the feasibility of the scheme. He wrote to the Peshwa, "Give me but 50,000 troops, I shall leave no trace of Muslim rule in the south." (*Rajwade*, p. 62.) The condition of the Maratha state was succinctly described thus by Sadashiva on Feb. 1760. "The Karnataka has not yet been con-

The Badshain Mohars

The Khitabi Mohars

No. 1.



No. 1.

No. 2.



No. 2.

No. 3.



No. 3.

No. 4.



No. 4.

No. 5.

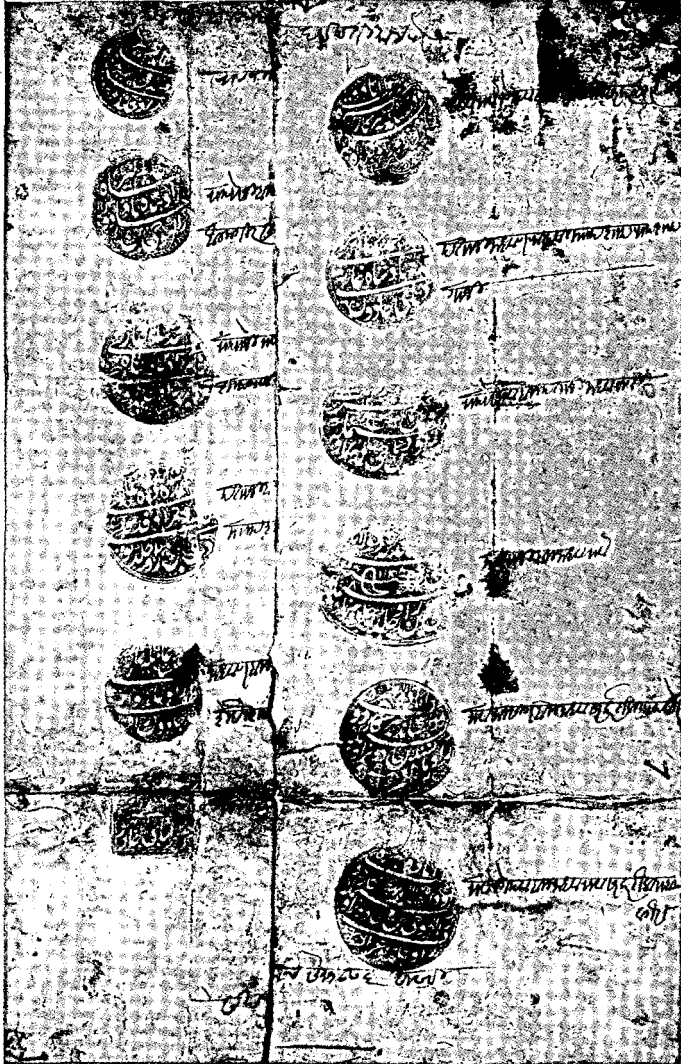


No. 5.

No. 6.



No. 6.



THE SEAL STAMPS OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE
JADHAW FAMILY OF SINDHKHED, IN BERAR

quered ; in the north, the danger from Abdali is impending. There is no hope of getting money anywhere ; else, the south at least could have been conquered." (*Rajwade*, p. 62.)

Nothing daunted by the manifold difficulties, the Peshwa Nanasahab resolved upon subduing the most dangerous enemy at his own doors, the Nizam of Hyderabad. In the fiercely contested battle of Udgir, Feb. 1760, the Nizam was defeated and compelled to pay heavy indemnity and cede important forts to the Poona Darbar. Then it was decided that the victor of Udgir, Sadashiva Rao should be despatched towards the conquest of Seringapatam.

Suddenly within a fortnight of the Udgir triumph, news arrived that Dattaji Sindhia was defeated and killed in the north ; that the northern powers were negotiating with the Afghan for favourable terms to themselves ; and that Maratha power was at stake in Hindustan. Therefore the Peshwa was forced to change his plans. Instead of marching on Mysore, the Bhao was ordered to hurry up towards the north to face the fresh danger to Maratha State, leaving the affairs of the south still unfinished.

Sadashiva Rao was chosen for the task because he had a longer military experience, and was a better diplomat, than Raghoba whose courage outstripped caution, and audacity outran diplomatic finesse. Therefore Raghoba, Gopala Rao, Visaji Krishna and others were retained nearer home to keep guard over the Nizam and Hyder under the general supervision of the Peshwa.

Though defeated, the Nizam could not be subdued. He proved always elusive and irrepressible. He would never accept any definite terms nor carry out those agreed terms of the treaty. He was always manoeuvring for a point of vantage from which he could once again deal a heavy blow at the Peshwa and recover his own prestige and territory. This is what a Maratha spy wrote to the Nana a few months after the victory of Udgir. "You must be ever on your guard against this Mughal. He will come to terms only in case of extreme necessity or compulsion ; soon after, he will try to wriggle out of the position. He is now trying to unite forces with all his brothers and to throw disunion in Maratha camp. He never betrays his intentions beforehand." (*Peshawa's Daftar* I, N. 86). Other letters (P.D. 25, Nos. 304 & 308) of June and September 1760 confirm the same tale of the Nizam's evil intentions, the movements of his army against the territories of the Peshwa. Those letters incidentally betray the financial difficulties of the Peshwa's forces encamped in the south.

Thus while the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao was trying to checkmate the forces of the Nizam, throughout the year of 1760, the latter was forming an alliance with Nimbalkar, Jadhavs, Ghorpade and others for another trial of strength against his hereditary foe. Purandare's *Daftar* aptly describes the position of the Maratha power in the south during the middle of the year 1760. "Even in the Deccan we are surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Siddhis of Jinjira in the west, the Raja of Kolhapur and Hyder Ali in the south, and the Nizam in the east are our deadly rivals, eager to swallow up the Peshwa ;

and all are ready, lying in wait, to pounce upon the Maratha State. Yet this powerful combination of the enemies is held in check by the magic of Raghoba's personality and his 30,000 troops." But for Raghoba all would have been lost in the south. He saved the Maratha power, south of the Vindhya.

The credit of thus weakening the military strength of the Marathas, at a critical time in their destiny, and thus preventing them from employing their full power against Afghan invader, must be given to Nizam Ali Khan, who was the strongest of the Peshwa's enemies in the Deccan. Within a few months after his defeat at Udgir, the forces of the Nizam were estimated to be almost equal to that of the Peshwa. Says *Purandare*, "Nizam Ali is almost our equal in power. We are strong in infantry and he is strong in artillery." (pp. 396, 398). He was also in touch with Abdali, the Nawab of Oudh, and the Raja of Kolhapur for a possible combination against the Peshwa. Thus the Nizam contributed materially for the defeat of the Peshwa in 1761.

Immediately after he heard of the Panipat disaster, the Nizam marched with his forces to burn Poona to ashes. But Raghoba met him boldly and checked his further advance. But soon he had his chance of reaping his harvest of hatred. The Peshwa died in Poona about the middle of June 1761, and the Nizam took advantage of the mourning in Maharashtra to indulge in his spirit of vengeance. He carried fire and sword all around the country for some time; then when the Marathas recovered from their shock, they compelled the Nizam to retire into his own territory.

Besides the constant threat from Nizam, the illness of the Peshwa was another contributory cause for his inability to attend to the affairs of the north as well as of the south. His twenty years of office must have worn out the thin frame of the Brahmin Peshwa and induced premature old age and illness. He is being cautioned by Raghoba, again and again, not to over-exert himself. He was even unable to ride a horse even at that time. His life being the most precious one, should not be exposed to danger. (*Purandare*, p. 307).

Thus it is unfair and unhistorical to blame him for criminal neglect of his duties, whereas he was ever constantly attending to his letters from Delhi to Mysore. Even G. S. Sardesai has changed his views after roundly damning the Peshwa. In truth the third Peshwa raised the Maratha State to the highest point of glory and power. More than that, he showed in his life that the Marathas had an all-India outlook, and they fought at Panipat, as Indians for India.

SEALS OF TITLES OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF JADHAW FAMILY
OF SINDHAKHED, IN BERAR

By D. B. MAHAJAN

Introductory.—At the Silver Jubilee Session at Delhi, I had read a paper on “the warrior family of the Jadhawas of Sindhkhed in Berar”. While pursuing my efforts still further in the direction of collecting old and historical documents, I met Shri Krishnarao Raje, Jadhao Deshmukh of Kingaon Raja, a village in Buldana District, who very kindly handed over certain papers to me for study and if necessary for publication. Among the heap of neglected old and rotten papers, I came across an important document which bears in all twelve seals, which record the names of various historical personages belonging to this great family of the Jadhawas of Sindhkhed in Berar.

Two kinds of seals.—Out of the twelve seals (six on each side of the paper) six are the seals of titles (*Badshai Khitabi Mohara*) from the Emperors of Delhi, and the remaining six are the seals of official marks (*Daskhati Mohara*). Please see the photograph enclosed.

Seals in Urdu script—All the twelve seals are engraved in Persian script and I have endeavoured to decipher them with the help of the Persian scholars, and also Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., Ph.D. of Yeotmal. From the endorsement written in Modi on the document itself, it is clear that this original document was filed in the court at Chkhli, Distt. Buldana, on the 16th March 1876. There is a note¹ in Modi against each seal, giving the translation of the contents in the seal in question. The writer is of course unknown. The persons referred to in the said seals are as follows:—

<p><i>Seal No. 1.</i> Rao Jagadeo Banda Sindakan (?) Mir Alamgir Badashah 1083.</p>	<p>If the year noted in the seal is correct, it is probable that the Emperor Aurangzeb might have recognised the services of Rao Jagadeo after the battle of the fort of Washingira in Carnatic in the year 1673 A.D., in which he greatly distinguished himself.² He was one of the most valiant soldiers, this family had ever produced.</p>
---	---

<p><i>Seal No. 2.</i> Raghoji Bin Jadhawrao Banda, Badshah Alamgir, 1113.</p>	<p>Seals Nos. 2 and 3 belong, as it appears, to one and the same person Raghoji, son of Rao Jagdeo. The word “Pisar” in the seal-stamp No. 3, is doubtful.</p>
---	--

45

<p><i>Seal No. 3.</i> Raghoji Pesar (?) Rao Jagdew Khanajad Banda</p>	<p>Raghoji fell fighting in the decisive battle of Sakharkherda in the year 1724 A.D.</p>
---	---

1. This note is not completely visible in the photograph enclosed, as the paper was folded while taking the photograph.

2. Unpublished Bakhar of Jadhaw Family; and letters M.S.S.

Badshah Mohammad Shah He fought on behalf of the Moghuls against the overwhelming forces of the Nizam. As the Nizam won the victory he named the village as "Fattekherda."

Seal stamp No. 4. Dattaji Bin Rao Jagdeo Jadurao Fidwi Mohammadshah Patshah Gazi 1083. He was the first in the Jadhaw family who founded the Paithan family. Since his boyhood, he accompanied his father on various campaigns.

17

Seal stamp No. 5. Jadu Rao Lutaf Rao (?) Jagdeo Rao Mohammad Shah Alamgir Gazi. If the name "Lutaf Rao" is correct, he is a new addition to the list of heroes in the family of Jadhawas.

Seal stamp No. 6. Gajarabai Jadhoo. 1129(?) Gajarabai's name appears for the first time in this document. She was not known to history so far. She appears to have flourished in the year 1719 A.D. She is the first lady in the family having her own seal.

Seal stamps of official marks⁴ : (Daskhati Mohara).

Seal stamp No. 1. "Jadhorao Jagdeorao Deshmukh wa Deshpandyan, Sarkar Daulatabad Wagaira."

48

This corresponds with the seal No. 1 (Khitabi Mohar) of the famous Jagdeo Rao.

Seal Nos. 2 and 4 :—

(a) "Dattaji Jadhu Fidawi Mohammad Farukshear Badashah Gazi."

(b) "Dattaji Bin Rao Jagdeo Jadurao Deshmukh wa Deshpandyan Sarkar Daulatabad, 1138."

Both the seals correspond with the seal stamp of Khitabi Mohar No. 4, above.

Seal No. 3 :—

"Raghorao Bin Dattaji Jadurao Deshmukh, 1144"(?). This corresponds with the seals Nos. 2 and 3 of the Khitabi Mohars noted above.

Seal stamp No. 5 :—

"Rao Mansing Bin Jadurao Deshmukh wa Deshpandyan Sarkar Daulatabad

45

Wagaira, 1113." He was Jagdeo's son who showed his spirit of independence as a real Hindu in the Delhi Darbar. He fought an important battle at the siege of fort of Mahur. He died in 1711 A.D.

3. This figure could not be correctly read.

4. These act as officers of Pargana.

Seal stamp No. 6 :—

“Rao Jagadeo Urfa Raghoji Bin Jadu-
rao Deshmukh wa Deshpandyan Sarkar
Daulatabad Wagaira 1175.F.” He was
killed in the famous battle of Fattekherda,
as described above, in 1724 A.D.

Importance of the document.—This document reveals the names of two unknown persons from the Jadhaw family of Sindhakhed. They are (1) Lutf Rao Jadhaw and (2) female name Gajarabai Jadhaw. The seal stamps mention the various dates which give us the definite period when the persons actually built up their career. Besides the Fasli year, some of the stamps bear the “Julus year” also. This document reveals for the first time the various Moghul Emperors to whom the Jadhawas remained faithful. It has been admitted by historians that the family of the great Lakhuji Jadhawrao (Shiwaji’s mother’s father) who once joined the Moghuls of Delhi, remained faithful to them till the last soldier in that family. The various seal stamps in the document confirm this view. The document therefore has very great historical value. I have tried to give an exact idea about the document by attaching a photograph of all the seals.

The writer shall be obliged to know from the Persian scholars if there are any mistakes in reading the Persian writings in the seals.

NOTES ON BALASORE AND THE ENGLISH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Balasore grew to prominence as a manufacturing and commercial centre and as a seaport from the thirties of the 17th century. The destruction of the Portuguese Settlement of Hugli in 1632 attracted the Dutch and the English to open trade northwards. At the same time the growing scarcity of piece-goods at Masulipatam on account of the famous and widespread Gujarat famine of 1630-1 necessitated opening of new centres of trade and the advance of the English from the East Coast up the Bay of Bengal. Ralph Cartwright, the leader of the expedition sent by John Norris, English Agent at Masulipatam, was granted freedom of trade in May 1633 by the Mughal Governor of Orissa, Agha Muhammad Zaman of Tehran. Equipped with a “parwana to trade free of all customs or duties, and to build houses or ships”, the English merchants, Cartwright and Thomas Colley, returned from Cuttack to Hariharpur and started building a factory there (May, 1633). Leaving Colley in charge of it, Cartwright went to Balasore (June 16) and established a factory there also, at the invitation of Mir Qasim, the Governor of the district.¹ Like the English the Danes also wanted to establish factories at Balasore, in order to escape from the oppressions of the Portuguese.²

1. Wilson, *Early Annals on the English in Bengal*, Vol. I. Chs. 1, 2, 3, p. 13 n: *EFL.*, 1630-33, xxxi, 307-308. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurungzeb*, 47.

2. *DSM.*, II, 84.

The importance of Balasore grew as a result of the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hijili by the Mughals in 1636 and the consequent decay of trade at Pipli and other neighbouring places. The silting up of the river Alanka and the Pātuā reduced the advantages of Harišpur harbour in comparison with the Road of Balasore. It also increased the difficulties of transporting down to the sea cotton manufactures of Hariharpur which could be brought to Balasore on land without much difficulty.³

In spite of these advantages of Balasore, the results of the efforts of the English there during the first decade were not very encouraging. Besides the opposition of the Portuguese there were other adverse forces working against the English and contributing to the decay of their settlements in Orissa, viz., the bad climate of the locality, the ravages of the Arrakanese pirates and worse still the opposition of the Dutch. The English also had their own internal weaknesses, namely, lack of funds and want of active servants, which naturally hampered their trade in these parts. There was even some talk of giving up Balasore. But this was opposed by Francis Day who, even during his short experience there (Aug. 13,—Nov. 3, 1642) was convinced that Balasore (with adjacent places) should never be given up.⁴

MANUFACTURES AND TRADE OF BALASORE AND ADJACENT PLACES

Balasore was an emporium of cotton yarn, cotton and *tassar* manufactures of the interior hinterland and surrounding places. Most prominent among the centres, arranged in order of quality of goods manufactured, were Suro (Soro),⁵ Harrapore (Hariharpur)⁶ and Mohunpore (Mohunpur),⁷ all specialising in the manufacture of *Sannoos*. Clavell writes in his account of Balasore that the weavers of Suro used to live in the "skirts of Balasore". Sir Richard Carnac Temple, the editor of the Diaries of Streynsham Master, expresses doubt on this, saying that Suro can hardly be called outskirts of Balasore.⁸ But does not Clavell's account imply that there was mobility of artisans and the weavers of Suro also arranged for disposal of their goods at Balasore by having a colony of theirs in the suburbs of that town?

Hariharpur was an important centre of manufacture of *Sannoos* and *Cassaes* (*Khasa*) which could be easily transported on land to Balasore.⁹

Again Balasore was near the country of the Raja of Tillbrichrumbung

3. Clavell's Account of the Trade of Balasore, in Dairies of Streynsham Master, II, 84.

4. Wilson, Op. Cit., 18-21, *EFI*.

5. Suro or Soro (Sohroh) in Balasore district (Lat. 21°16', Long. 86°49'), is now a station on B. N. Rly., mid-way between Balasore and Bhadrak, 20 miles from Balasore. In the 17th century it was on the frontier of Bhadrak (Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 228, 229; *Muraquat i Hassan*, 41, 59).

6. Harrapore (Hariharpur) near modern Jagatsimhapur, a town in the Mahanadi delta, about halfway between Cuttack and Harišpur Gar, a port at which the English landed.

7. Probably Mohanpur in Midnapur Dt. Lat. 21°50', Long. 87°24'.

8. *DSM.*, II, 86.

9. *DSM.*, II, 84. The economic importance of Hariharpur depended not only on its being a centre of supply of cloth to the English but also on the fact that it was a market for sale of some articles brought by the English. The Hariharpur factory was probably withdrawn on Aug. 31, 1642, as its accounts closed on that date. (*EFI.*, 1642-45, p. 126.)

(Tribikrambhanj, *i.e.*, Mayurbhanj) where, as Walter Clavell wrote in 1676, "the best quality and the largest quantity of Tester (*tassar*) or herba" was procurable. Further, "*Ginghams*, *Herba Taffatyas*, *Herba Lungees* (*lungi* or loin cloth) and other sorts of *Herba* goods," manufactured in neighbouring places could be easily brought there. Another natural advantage of Balasore was that the waters of "Casharry" (Kāsiāri in Midnapur district) within two days' journey from Balasore, could be used to give "the most lasting dye" to the textile manufactures of the neighbourhood.¹⁰

The following varieties of cheap, but well-made cotton manufactures were available at Balasore. In 1644 the Surat authorities wrote to the Company that they had asked the Balasore factors to invest money in "*Ginghams*, *Sannoos*, *Cossaes*, and *Hummanees* proper for England, intended to be sent unto you as a testimony of what cheap and well-made cloth those parts afford".¹¹

1. *Sanas* or *Sanahs*, 'a kind of fine white cotton goods' (Sanu).¹²

Quiller says 'Balasore is a place celebrated for trade in fine white calicoes called *Sanas*'.¹³ Sir Richard Carnac Temple thought that the *Sanah* of the 17th century "exis's as *Salu*, a cheap, fine cloth, generally red, in common use in Bengal".¹⁴ But this seems improbable as the one is white and the other red. Can *Sana* be *Sahan* of Pelsaert?

2. *Ginghams*: An Indian cotton cloth. The term, probably of Indo-European origin, denoted "a stuff made of cotton yarn dyed before being woven".¹⁵ The Orissan variety of *gingham* was superior to the Bengal variety available at Hugli, as Bridgman sending a bale of the latter to the Company in 1650 did not recommend it.¹⁶

3. *Orammalls*, or *Rumal*, handkerchief.¹⁷

4. *Cossaes* or *Khassa*¹⁸—a fine, thin cloth.

5. *Mulmull* or (*malma*).¹⁹ a kind of muslin.

6. *Humhum* (*hammam*).²⁰ a thick stout cloth used for wrappers.

7. *Gurras*.

8. *Neelaes* (or *Nillaes*, *Nillees*) or *Nila*: a kind of blue cloth.

Of the *Miscellaneous* goods produced in Orissa, may be mentioned: *Sticklack* (lac in a crude form),²¹ *Tumerick*,²² *Saltpetre*,²³ and *Rice*.²⁴

10. *DSM.*, II, 84-85. Casharry or Kasiari is in Midnapur Dt. Lat. 20°8', Long. 87°16'.

11. *EFI.*, 1642-45, p. 207.

12. Wilson, I. Index, *EFI.*, 1655-60, 188n.

13. Voyage au Golfe de Bengale, quoted in Prevost, *Histoire des Voyages*, xiii, 80, in Bowrey, 231 n.

14. Bowrey, 231n.

15. Hobson-Jobson; Bowrey, *Op. Cit.*

16. *EFI.*, 1646-50, pp. 337-8.

17. *Ibid.*, Bowrey, *Op. Cit.*, 133n.

18. *Ibid.*, 279.

19. *Ibid.*, 279, 237.

20. *Ibid.*, 279, 237.

21. *DSM.*, II, 70.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, 279. *EFI.*, 1651-55, p. 95, 271, 47.

24. Netlam in charge of Balasore was joined by Richard Hudson, sent to 'Bengalah' in July 1647 in the *Farewell* with 6000 iials of eight to buy cotton goods and rice. *EFI.*, 1646-50, 166, xxix.

Internal & Coastal Trade: Orissa had trade relations with Bengal and Golkonda:

(a) There was regular supply of Orissan cloth goods from Balasore to Patna in the 17th century. In the thirties of that century Peter Mundy noted that the following varieties of piece-goods of Orissa were available at Patna in Bihar.

(i) *Cossaes (Khasa)*,—a fine and thin cloth, thicker than the Sonargaon variety: Size 16, 17, 18 coveds long and 1 broad.

(ii) *Ambarees (Ambari, amari)*, a turban, the canopy of an elephant howda) and *Chareconnaes, (Charkhana, chequered muslin)*, linen striped with white silk; 16 coveds long, 1 broad.

(iii) *Hamaones (hammam)*, a thick stout cloth used for wrappers, linen, 11 coveds long, 1½ broad.²⁵ Forty years later Thomas Bowrey observed that the various cotton manufactures of Balasore like *Sanas, Gingham, Orummalls*, and cotton yarn and other goods were sent to Patna.²⁶

Balasore also sent to Patna articles imported by the English, like broadcloth and lead, which could not be disposed of there.

(b) The close connection between Balasore and Hugli necessitated constant coastal trade between the two places.

About 1650 the following articles came from Hugli to Balasore, as we know from the letter of James Bridgman (aboard the *Lioness*) to the Company (Dec. 15, 1650): raw silk, saltpetre, sugar, dry ginger. Hugli could also supply bees-wax, long pepper, civet, rice, butter, oil and wheat, "all at about half the price of other places."²⁷

(c) Balasore had trade relations with Dacca also.²⁸

(d) In March, 1634 the *Thomas* (purchased from the Governor of Balasore) sailed towards Masulipatam filled with sugar, rice and other provisions.

In March 1638 (?) the Masulipatam factors Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson advised John Yard of Balasore that freight goods belonging to Mirza Taqi, *Dabir* of Golkonda, should be sent there.²⁹

FOREIGN TRADE OF BALASORE:

(a) The foreign trade of Orissa, as conducted through Balasore, was not insignificant. She traded with Europe and Persia.

The commodities imported by the English into Orissa, Bengal and Patna, through Balasore, were (i) broadcloth of various colours, (ii) scarlet, (iii) rials of eight, (iv) copper, (v) quicksilver, (vi) lead, (vii) vermilion, (viii) coral, (ix) glasses, (x) knives, (xi) brimstone. All these articles were not, however, in demand in Orissa. Some of them were transported to Bengal (including Patna), e.g. broadcloth and lead.³⁰

The articles of (Bengal and) Orissa exported from Balasore were either

25. Mundy, 154-5.

26. Bowrey, 231-2.

27. *EFI.*; *DSM*, II, 67-8.

28. *DSM*, II, 67-8.

29. *EFI.*, 1634-6, p. 43; 1637-42, pp. 65, 66.

30. Bowrey, 231-2; *EFI.*, 1634-36, p. 42; 1642-45, p. 65; 1646-50, pp. 337-8.

(i) local products and cotton manufactures of Balasore and neighbouring centres in Orissa³¹ or (ii) goods procured from Bengal (including Hugli and Patna).³²

The general practice of shipment to England was that cotton goods and cotton yarn from Hugli and Balasore were emballed in factories; and according to the E. I. C.'s order, the various articles were loaded on the English ships coming yearly and anchoring in Balasore Road. From there these used to sail in November or December for Masulipatam and Fort St. George and after being finally laden and prepared there set out on the voyage to England about the end of January.³³

(b) *Persian trade*.—There was an active trade between Bengal (and Orissa) and Persia through Balasore. The English E. I. Company's factors used to utilise the oceangoing ships coming from England during their enforced idleness on voyages to and from Persia, carrying articles of Indian merchants in return for freight and investing the proceeds in goods suitable for Persia.

In 1642-43 the English factors of Balasore sold or bartered their glasses, knives, lead, broadcloth etc. for sugar 'gurras' *sannoes*, *cassaes*, iron and *ginghams*, all except the last being intended for Persia.³⁴

In 1644 the Surat factors sent to the Balasore factors one chest of rials with orders to provide for Persia 150 bales of sugar, 10 or 12 bales of gurras, and the same quantity of coarse sannoes.³⁵

The Dutch also had trade relations with Persia. In April, 1653, two Dutch ships from Balasore left Surat for Basra and Gombroon.³⁶

Various factors influenced the nature of E. I. C.'s trade at Balasore. The first problem was that of *finance*. As elsewhere, the English merchants had to solve the problem of provision of purchasing power in the markets of Balasore and its adjacent places. They were not supplied regularly with funds by the authorities at Surat or Fort St. George, and even when money was sent it was not sufficient. Local borrowing in the Orissan markets was expensive, the rate of interest being high. The factors had to procure articles for the Europe as well as Persia investment, by sale or barter of the goods imported, as in 1642-43.

On account of lack of funds timely purchase of necessary goods in advance of the shipping season could not be made at the cheapest markets, and the factors could not deal directly with the producers and weavers but had to contract with the town merchants. The Company suffered financial loss as a result of this arrangement.

Hence, the English factors concerned urged on the Company, the over-mastering need of supply of funds, sufficient in amount and well in advance of the shipping season, for reasons of economy and early purchases. In November 1642 Francis Day suggested to the Company that nothing could be done to improve the prospects of trade at Balasore without doubling the

31. Surat letter of 1644.

32. Letter of Capt. Brookhaven, Dec. 15, 1650.

33. Bowrey, 231-2.

34. *EFL.*, 1642-45, p. 65.

35. *Ibid.*, 207.

36. *EFL.*, 1651-54, p. 183.

supply of funds.³⁷ In 1650 James Bridgman (aboard the *Lioness*) explained to the Company (Dec. 15) that the prospects of trade at Balasore depended on sufficient stock of funds.

(ii) Secondly, Balasore suffered from want of efficient, hardworking and honest *personnel*. The English merchants 'preferred their own interests to those of the Company'. Many of them were engaged in private trade of their own. In 1663 Colley at Hariharpur deplored that "the falsity and desaytfulness" of their "new employed servants" was such that they did not dare to trust them even for 10 rupees." Francis Day suggested (Nov. 1642) the necessity of having two or three active servants.

(iii) Thirdly, the *system of contracting* was another problem. Down to the seventies of the 17th century the English factors in Balasore, owing to difficulty in disposing of imported articles like broadcloth, lead and to lack of funds, could not deal directly with the producers in securing articles for their investment, but contracted with the town merchants. From Clavell's account of 1676 we learn that on the arrival of the ships from England, the factors used to give the merchants half in money and half in goods and the latter contracted with them to supply the local products in October according to agreed musters or samples. The factors could "make such abatements" as they considered reasonable. But generally the goods were supplied too late to allow the abatements to be made and the accounts to be adjusted before the departure of the ships. Hence the articles were invoiced home at the contracted price and "the merchants were credited at the adjustment of accounts for the price concluded on and the difference carried to profit and loss." The Company admitted that this system was causing loss, as all the white cloth procured at Balasore was 25 or 30% dearer than that at the coast. Clavell, therefore, suggested that:

(a) Direct dealing with the producers would be more advantageous than the system of contracting with merchants. The Company could send its own servants to Mucktapore,³⁸ Harrapore,³⁹ Mohunpore,⁴⁰ to make ready purchases of local manufactures and to Danton⁴¹ and Jaleshwar⁴² for the manufactures of *Oremara*⁴³ and *Kasiari*.⁴⁴

(b) Balasore, being made a distinct factory, would have more leisure now to attend to such business. So an experiment should be made by advancing money to weavers of Suro for *Sannoos*.

37. *EFL.*, 1642-46, pp. 65-66, cf. the following:—

"Calicoes cannot be obtained at the Coast good and cheap unless funds are forthcoming to buy them before the ship arrives.....As for purchasing coloured *ginghams* in Bengal the only person available there is one William Netlam.....but now unfit to make transactions. The Coast should be supplied yearly with £20,000 for investment for these parts. (Letter to Co., Jan. 11, 1650. *EFL.*, 1646-50.)

38. Mucktapore is probably Matkadpur in Midnapur.

39. Hariharpur.

40. Probably Mohunpur in Midnapur Dt. (Lat. 21°50', Long. 37°29').

41. Danton (Lat. 21°58', Long. 87°20') in Midnapur Dt. on the main road between Balasore and Midnapur. Here "*oftaes*" (*aftaba*, brasswares) and "*Chellamaches*" (Chilamch, basins) & other brasswares were manufactured. (*JMI.*, 63, 85n.)

42. Jellasore (Jaleshwar), S. W. of Danton in Balasore Dt. (Lat. 21°44' Long. 87°15').

43. *Oremara*, either Ulmara in Midnapur Dt. or Urmullah in Balasore Dt.

44. *Cashary* or *Kasiari*.

(iv) *Attitude of the Governor* :—The prospects of trade greatly depended on the attitude of the *Governor*. About 1642, owing to the non-arrival of Danish ships, the *Governor of Balasore* demolished their factory and seized their goods. In 1647 the Danes tried to settle their long-standing grievances against the authorities by force. A Danish fleet of 5 ships captured a Moorish ship laden with 8 elephants. At the request of *Governor Malik Beg*, the English twice attempted to persuade the Danes to release the junk but in vain. The English were told that they would have to compensate the damage inflicted by their co-religionists.

The war between the Danes and the Mughals in Bengal hampered the prospects of trade of the English and the Dutch at *Balasore*. In 1647, the English factors, Hudson and his party, buying cotton goods and rice at *Balasore*, were at first well received.

The necessity of offering presents to the authorities as a means of strengthening the foundations of trade and securing concessions was pointed out by James Bridgman (in his letter to the Co., Dec. 15, 1650) and by Captain Brookhaven to James Bridgman (Dec. 14, 1650). The latter instructed the *Balasore* factors that they should keep on good terms with the *Governor of Balasore* and *Hugli* and with other friends of the English.....and that when the *Nabbab of Cuttack* came to *Balasore*, he should be presented with some fine cloth to the value of about 10 pounds and a swordblade or two.⁴⁵ Bridgman wrote to Co.: "Presents must be given occasionally to the Prince (*i.e.* *Shah Shuja*) and *Governors of the towns*; and so a few rarities of low price should be furnished for the purpose, such as globes, glasses, multiplying glasses, and four or five good substantial house clocks."⁴⁶

(v) *An armed Convoy* : For reasons of security and of checking piracy, Bridgman suggested to the Co. (Dec. 15, 1650) that "a small vessel of 30 or 40 tons, with 6 or 8 guns, would be very useful for carrying goods to *Balasore* and convoying other vessels."⁴⁷

(vi) *Undesirable practices in business* : The English E. I. Company's trade in broadcloth and lead resulted, as we know from *Clavell's* account of 1676, in some undesirable practices and corruption on the part of the Co.'s factors, the merchants and the *Government Officers*. (a) Though there was no demand for broadcloth in *Balasore*, the Company continued to send large quantities of it ordering the factors to sell as much as possible of the manufactures of England. This obliged the latter to continue the system of barter, *i.e.*, exchange broadcloth for local products. The merchants who took it from the English, used to sell it at "underrates" either to *Mughal officers* at *Cuttack*, the capital of *Orissa* or to the armies that came to *Cuttack* at the time of change of a *Governor* in whose train there were merchants moving under protection with their goods, buying and selling without paying customs. (b) The transport of lead to "the *Rajaes* countryes" (? *Northern Circars* and *Orissa*

45. Bowrey, 182-190; *DSM.*, I, 318; *EFI.*, 1642-5, p. 156; 1646-50, pp. 174-175. The war between the Danes and Bengal continued for nearly 30 years. After the peace of 1674 the Danes established a settlement at *Serampur* on the *Hugli*.

46. *Ibid.*, 337-38.

47. *EFI.*, 1646-50.

chiefships) was forbidden by the Governors, on the pretext that the rajas must not be supplied with articles of warfare, but really to make an illegal gain of -/8/- on every maund of lead so transported with connivance. (c) The merchants took recourse to another trick in disposing of lead and broadcloth—"to allow the king's officers so much per cent for taking of their goods on the king's account, and taking *cowries* in lieu thereof." The English factors were also prepared to follow this trick, but the officers were afraid to have such dealings with them lest they might disclose them in case of any difference, whereas there was no such danger from the Hindu natives.⁴⁸

Trade Privileges of the English in Balasore Port: The commercial privileges of the English at Balasore were questioned about 1670 and the Mughal Customs Officers wanted to open and search the bales of goods of the English either out of motive of illegal gain or because they suspected some underhand dealings on the part of the English. So the latter secured "an attestation given by the customers and brokers of Balasore concerning the English privileges in the import and export of their Goods and Disposing of them in that port."

Private Trade at Balasore: The prosecution of private trade by the factors of European Companies was a characteristic feature of commercial life in those days. Its volume was great, involving considerable loss to the Companies concerned and immense profit to the private traders. Balasore was no exception to this practice.

In 1642 Francis Day agreed to carry freight goods and passengers to Masulipatam and Persia against the advice of Trumball at the following rates:—

Balasore	Masulipatam	: 16 passengers	...	Rs. 15/- per head
Do.	Persia	: 35	..	Rs. 40/-
76	Bales of cloth	at a freight of	...	Rs. 15/- a md. (of 64 lb.)
355	.. ..	sugar at	...	Rs. 7/- .. (of 128 lb.)

They also embarked 118 bales of calicoes (at a freight of Rs. 15/- a md.) possibly on joint account of Messrs. Day, Peniston, Winter & Greenwill and only 700 bales of sugar and 34 of calicoes for the Company. Day arranged to load "provisions" for the Persians in hampers, bales, chests and fardles, for which no freight was paid to the Company, but he himself received many gifts from them and 60 bales of the Company's cinnamon had to be left behind. Only Rs. 6,345/- was credited to the Company's account out of the freight money of Rs. 17,854/-.⁴⁹

There were some Englishmen residing at Balasore who were engaged in private contraband trade. Two small ships belonging to Richard Hastings (Hastings of Dutch records), a pilot of Bengal Junk and resident at Balasore, were seized near Nagapatam because they were carrying ammunition to Jafnapatam during the siege of Ceylon.⁵⁰

48. *DSM.*, II, 85-86.

49. *EFL.*, 1642-45, 72 (details of the disposal of goods in Persia on p. 73).

50. *EFL.*, 1655-60, p. 177n.

Currency at Balasore : The nature of E. I. Company's trade at Balasore was largely determined by the prevailing currency. Orissa being a poor country, money was scarce, and as Abul Fazl informs us "Money transactions are in *Kauris* which is a small white shell generally divided down the middle: it is found in the sea shore."⁵¹ John Marshall of the 17th century, giving further details, observes that these "are little shell(s) which in England are called current shells (shell currency). They are taken at the Maldive Islands from the Rock and buried until all their fish is gone out of them and then sold. Some are sent for England to the Company, to be sent to Guiney, where they are of great value."⁵²

In the first half of the 17th century also *Cowries* formed the usual means of exchange, the 'common pay' as Clavell wrote. Under the circumstances trade was at first carried on by the English factors by barter, *i.e.*, exchange of goods: subsequently in the interloping period, *i.e.*, from 1630 onwards, owing to keen competition among the factors of different interloping Companies, trade was carried on partly by barter and partly by money.⁵³ By the middle of the seventeenth century the trade of Balasore came to be carried on in money. Capt. Brookhaven instructed the coast factors (Dec. 14, 1650) that "the trade of Balasore being now carried on in rupees morees", they must continue their operations "in the same specie".⁵⁴

The establishment of a mint by the English at Balasore (Nov. 1658) resulted in raising the price of silver. The factors observed: "This doth somewhat advance the price of silver in reference to sale: so that now a piece of eight will yield (if it be weighty) rupees Chellena (*Chalani*, current) two and one anna." When in 1660 the Governor of Balasore threatened to close the mint and prevent coining money by the English, the Company advised its factors (in their letter of 22nd Feb. received in August, 1660) that they might complain to the Prince (*i.e.*, Shah Shuja) if complaint was of any avail, otherwise they must submit.⁵⁵

John Marshall (c. 1670) found that the Currency at Balasore consisted of (i) Silver rupees, (ii) *ānā*, 16 *ānās* being equal to a rupee, but it was "rare" (*i.e.*, very scarce), (iii) Cowries (*Kauri*), forming 'small money'. Probably the perennial scarcity of coins accounted for the higher rate of exchange in Balasore as compared to other places. The rupee was "valued here in the Company's books at 2s. 6d. per piece, but in no other place valued at more than 2s. 3d." Eighty Cowries always constituted a *pond* (*Pan*) but the value of Cowries in relation to rupees varied according to the availability or scarcity of the former (36 to 40 to a rupee).⁵⁶

51. *Ain* (Jarrett & Sarkar), II, 138, see Revenue Regulations of Aurangzeb in *Studies in Mughal India*.

52. *JMI.*, 415-6, 419.

53. Vide Clavell's Account of Balasore: The E.I.C. found a formidable rival in the ships sent out by Sir William Courteen. *DSM.*, II, 85 & n.

54. *EFL.*, 1646-50, pp: 333-4. 'Yule was puzzled by this term and could only suggest that a round rupee was meant, as distinguished from a square. This seems unlikely'. Foster in *Ibid.*, n.

55. *EFL.*, 1650-60, pp. 192, 407-8.

56. *JMI.*, *Op. Cit.* This does not wholly agree with the calculation given by Abul Fazl. "Four *Kauris* make a *ganda*, five *gandas* a *budi*, four *budis* a *pan*, sixteen

Balasure as Seaport: The economic importance of Balasure in the 7th century was due not only to its being (i) a source of supply of cotton manufactures which could be exported abroad, especially to Europe and Persia, (ii) a market for sale of goods imported from Europe, but also to its being invaluable as a sea port. The Dutch writer Schouten spoke well of it as a harbour.⁵⁷

So long as the English had no settlement or factory in Bengal, their ships had of necessity to depend on Balasure as port. It had, of course, several disadvantages. "Sea Ports", observes Thomas Bowrey, "this Kingdom affordeth only one, and that none to be admired, affording not water enough for a ship of 200 tunns in burden to goe into the river, and to ride out is very unnecessary and dangerous, by reason, it is not better than a very very wild open bay that extendeth it selfe from Point Conjaguaree to Palmeris."⁵⁸

Thus big ocean-going ships could not sail up to Balasure town and had to halt at the Balasure Road, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from the shore. From there men and cargoes intended for Orissa were transported in "purgoes" and sloops. Further the bar of Balasure at 1 mile from the shore was "a very dangerous place to sail over, being very narrow, and being very great seas".⁵⁹

Even after the subsequent establishment of English factory at Hugli and development of Hugli and Cassimbazar as sources of supply of merchandise of E. I. C.'s trade, Balasure retained its importance as a seaport. Thus in the seventies of the 17th century, Balasure constituted one of the three "most important English settlements in the Bay,"—Hugli and Cassimbazar for making sales and investments, and Balasure for loading and unloading the "Europe" ships for Bengal (and Orissa).⁶⁰ Ocean-going ships could not, with safety, go up the Ganges to Hugli, on account of difficulties of navigation and had necessarily to halt at Balasure Road, and articles were transhipped to Hugli on small sloops and pinnaces. But this naturally proved to be very expensive. It was in 1660 that experimental trips up the river Hugli by ocean-going vessels were sanctioned by the English E. I. Company.

Balasure as Ship-building and repairing centre: In the 17th century Balasure was an important ship-building and repairing centre with suitable dockyards, which seemed to have developed further after the advent of the English. In the thirties the English factor Bruton described it as "Bollasorye", a sea-town where shipping was built.⁶¹ In 1634 the Governor of Balasure sold a small unfinished ship of his of about 100 tunas to the E. I. Co.'s servants. The latter completed her construction as quickly as possible, and christened her the *Thomas*.⁶² In 1638 the Masulipatam factors (Thomas Clerk and Richard Hudson) instructed Thomas Godfrey, Master of the *Coaster*, to

or acc. to some twenty *pan*s a *Khawun* (*Kahan*) and ten *Kahans* a rupee." *Ain* II, 138-39. This makes 1 *Pan* equal to 80 *Kauries*, but 12,800 or 16,000 *Kauries* equal to a rupee.

57. Schouten, ii, 159 f., quoted in Bowrey, 152n.

58. Bowrey, 152. See also Alexander Hamilton, i, 397.

59. *JMI.*, 61; *DSM*, II, 67; I, 300.

60. Hedges, II, 236; Wilson, I, 53, 56.

61. Wilson I, 9, 12.

62. *EFL.*, 1634-6, p. 43.

proceed to Balasore for re-fitting the ship. In 1650-1 Captain Durson repaired his damaged *Loyalty* here. But she was totally wrecked by striking a second time in the Balasore bar. So he built a ship of 200 tons "in partnership with a Moor of Balasore."⁶³

TWO FORGOTTEN MUGHAL SUBADARS OF ORISSA

P. ACHARYA

Stirling in his *An Account of Orissa*, opines as follows relating to the history of Orissa in the 17th century A.D.

"The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sing in A.D. 1604 to the dewanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A.D. 1707-1725), has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts, though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices and official designations, introduced by the Imperial Government during that interval."¹

From 1822 to up till now many distinguished historians have tried to fill up the gaps of this period from various sources such as English, Dutch, Persian and Oriya manuscripts and records. The researches of Sir Jadunath Sarkar based on Persian sources have bridged the gaps to a great extent and the "list of Mughal Governors of Orissa"² furnishes such information as is recorded in the Persian sources. R. D. Banerji writes that "we do not know as yet who was governing the Province from 1678 till about the end of the 17th century."³ In the footnote he mentions "Abu Noor Khan (1682), Akram Khan (1697)" and gives the reference to a note at page 153 of the book entitled the *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*.

Hon'ble H. K. Mahatap in his *History of Orissa in Oriya* writes that "the names of the Subadars of Orissa up to the end of the century after 1678 are not known".⁴ But Sir Sarkar in his above list has been able to fill up the gap to some extent as will be found from the following quotations:—

"Shaista Khan again, Jan. 1680-Jan. 1688, governs through deputies: Buzrug Ummad Khan (his eldest son), Iradat Khan (son of Shaista) appointed October 1682 but cancelled. Abu Nasar (son of Shaista) appointed 14 Jan. 1683 (after some time made substantive Subadar)".⁵ Elsewhere he writes: "But though Shaista Khan himself lived at the Provincial capital in

63. *EFL.*, 1651-54, pp. 100, 47, 92.

1. Stirling's *Orissa*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta—reprint of 1822 edition, 1904, p. 87.

2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, The University of Dacca, 1948, pp. 231-233.

3. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 55.

4. H. K. Mahatap, *History of Orissa*, 1948, p. 209.

5. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

royal magnificence and ease, he was no Viceroi faineant ; he succeeded in enforcing peace and administrative control, because he was assisted by four exceptionally gifted sons—Buzrug Ummed Khan . . . Abu Nasar the deputy Subadar of Orissa.”⁶

As Abu Nasar Khan was appointed on the 14th Jan. 1683 it may be that he is the same person called Abu Noor Khan (1682) mentioned by R. D. Banerji. ‘Akram Khan (1697), seems to be the same person as Nawab Akram Khan about whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar is silent. It seems that he was appointed Subadar of Orissa after Abu Nasar Khan.

Nawab Abu Nasar Khan and Nawab Akram Khan built mosques at Jajpur and Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb. The mosque at Jajpur is still called the Abu Nasir mosque which was erected in 1098 Hijra (1686-87) A.D. according to the inscription inserted on it. The following is the English translation of the Persian inscription.

“In time of Aurangzeb, whose splendour reached the stars and will remain as long as the stars endure, in the time of the Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praise or description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the messages of the angels, spend a night in it. Abu Nasir Khan reigned when the mosque was erected—then was the time of Abu Nasir Khan. The arithmetical value of the letters gives the date of the building 1098 Hijiri.”⁷

The Juma Moszid at Balubazar in Cuttack according to the Persian inscription inserted on it, was built in 1102 Hijra (1690-91 A.D.) by Zaibun Nisa Khanun, the Shahazada Begum, wife of Akram Khan, the Governor, during the reign of Aurangzeb.

These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions from Orissa prove without any shade of doubt about the history of the reigning Mughal Nawabs of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in last quarter of the 17th century.

According to the Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri, Maharaja Mukunda Deva and his son Maharaja Divyasinha Deva of the Khurda family ruled in Orissa from 1655-1692 A.D. and 1692-1715 A.D. respectively. The text of the Madalapanji has been printed in Oriya by Profesor A. B. Mohanty, and the account of Mukunda Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Nasar Khan:—

“In the 38th regular year (31st year of the reign) of this Maharaja Nawab Abdul (Abu ?) Nasar Khan came up to Pipli in order to spoil the Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva with family met with him at Danda Makundapur and resided there at palace. At Pipli there was a thunder struck in the month of Chaitra and so the Nawab returned to Cuttack after making friendship with the Raja.”

From above we learn that Nawab Abu Nasar Khan met Maharaja Mukunda Deva in the year 1687 A.D. from the Anka or Regnal year.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

7. List of Ancient Monuments in Orissa Division, Bengal, revised and corrected up to 31.8.1895, Calcutta 1896, pp. 10-11.

The account of Maharaja Dibyasinha Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Akram Khan. "On the 18th day of Rsabha in the 7th Anka or regnal year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temples were concealed in a place behind the temple of Bimala."

On the 19th day of Rsabha and the Harana Ekadasi Nawab Akram Khan who was appointed by Padsha Aurangshah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamaula and Jman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They and the Raja Divyasinha Deva broke the *Gumuta* (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc fitted at the top of the Bhogamandapa and the wooden image of Jagannath. The brother of the Nawab went up to the Sinhāsana of the temple."

"This desecration took place on the 17th May 1696"⁸. This account of *Madlapanji* finds also corroboration from the Persian account of *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin* according to which "Aurangzib sent orders to Mir Saiyad Mahamud of Bilgram to destroy the temple and idol of Jagannath. Divyasinha was compelled to break the statue of Rakshasa which stood over the entrance to the temple and surrendered the wooden images, which were carried off to Bijapur, where the emperor there was."⁹

From above we come to know that during the last two decades of the 17th century A.D. Nawab Abu Nasar Khan, son of Shaista Khan and Nawab Akram Khan, the son-in-law of Aurangzeb ruled in Orissa from 1683 to 1698 A.D.

In the list of 'Mughal Governors of Orissa' we find No. 19 with an interrogation, 1689-1698 Ibrahim Khan (Sudadar of Bengal¹⁰) but the contemporary inscription of Juma Mosque at Cuttack and the *Madlapanji* mention that Nawab Akram Khan was the Governor of Orissa during this period.

8. R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 60.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

POLITICAL OFFENCES IN AURANGZEB'S INDIA

S. P. SANGAR

For the sake of convenience we shall discuss the subject under the following sub-heads:—

1. Treason-felony.
2. High Treason.
3. Disobedience to the king's orders.
4. Neglect of duty.
5. The infringement of the royal prerogative.
6. Riot in king's realm.

TREASON-FELONY

Treason-felony was the gravest of all crimes. It was an open challenge to the king, threatening his very life and aiming at the abolition of the government. The risings of the Hindu chieftains or the Muslim generals seemed as trifles when compared to treason-felony. It sought for decisions and did not aim at compromises. Either side must win or lose. The sponsors of such movements were usually the royal princes or those who pretended to be such. The Mughal royal princes were, usually all of them, the heads of different provinces. Vast resources at their disposal enabled them to risk such undertakings. Almost all of them were past-masters in war-fare as they had the opportunity, at one time or another, of leading armies and directing campaigns. The chances of success lay on the side of those who were the most versed in state-craft. The decision of the issue lay only in the final defeat or victory. There was no mid-way house.

The victor was to decide the punishment to be inflicted on the vanquished. Jahangir, Khusrow, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Shuja and Murad were all guilty of the crime at one time or the other. Jahangir was pardoned; Khusrow was blinded and confined to imprisonment and then done to death. Shahjahan was a successful rebel and Aurangzeb was victorious. But once Aurangzeb had become the monarch, any attempt to depose him might have been considered as treason-felony. All cases, however, received different kinds of treatment at his hands. None can say what charge he might have levied against Shuja. Charge of treason-felony was not levied against Murad. Dara could have been accused of the crime; but the wily monarch chose a better alternative.¹ The sons and the grandsons of Dara were also not charged with the offence. The punishment was slightly different. Either they were immediately done to death or they were to waste their lives in prisons, their senses completely destroyed by the constant administration of poisonous drugs.²

1. Tavernier, I, 328-29; Manucci, I, 252; *English Factories*, 1655-60; 123; Elliot, VII, 143, 214, 216, 178-79; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 141.

2. Manucci, I, 262, 381; Bernier, I, 120; Tavernier, I, 367.

Prince Akbar revolted against his father. A mightier blow could not have been administered to Aurangzeb. He stood in danger of his life and throne. The assistance to Akbar of the Rajputs gave the movement a new colouring. It was only the resourcefulness of the emperor and blunders of Akbar that changed the scales. But for Akbar there could be no peace in India. His very shadow was being chased. Once in the hands of his father, the remotest hope of his life would have been extinguished. Escape to Persia alone saved him from a miserable end and cruel fate.³

The revolt of the fictitious Shuja affords still another example. The magic of the name and the hope of the reward secured him a good following. He, however, was no match for the Mughal emperor. He merited and was awarded capital punishment.⁴

HIGH TREASON

High treason meant levying war against the king and rendering assistance to his enemy.

The Mughal Central Government had to face serious situations because of the nefarious activities of the disgruntled persons and anti-social elements. Hindu rajas, anxious to release themselves from all obligations to the central government, would rise up in arms. Organised bands of rebels at times flung down the gauntlet to the provincial authorities and disturbed the peace of the localities by their unlawful activities. Peasants would sometime refuse to recognise the central government and cease to pay revenue. Influential imperial generals at times took up arms against the government. Whole tribes, with no ruler of their own, declared war against the Mughal monarch for one reason or another.

The government viewed all these forms of revolt with due seriousness and took necessary steps to cope with the situation. The usual policy of the government was to nip the evil in the bud. The only method to deal with such elements was the demonstration and use of imperial might. Armies under experienced generals or faujdars were despatched to deal with them.⁵

The second half of the reign was a period of disturbed peace. It witnessed a number of serious risings. The populace found the release of anti-social forces upon themselves, and they became the sorry sufferers of their mischievous activities. The rebels became worse than robbers. They would lay waste the countryside and make the life of the inhabitants miserable. Roads became unsafe and trades sustained a serious loss at their hands.⁶

The Mughal criminal law laid down that rebels were to be confined till penitence in case they were seized before they took up actual position. If

3. Orme, 101; Elliot, VII, 298-304, 308, 231.

4. Manucci, II, 193-94; *English Factories*, 1665-67, 287.

5. Manucci, II, 223-24; 319-20; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 132, 150; Elliot, VII, 68; Letters, No. cxi, 110-11; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 117; Manucci, II, 462; *Riaz-ul-Salatim*, 262-63; 264-65.

6. Manucci, III, 257-58; Ovington, 114; Tavernier, I, 49; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 185.

they took up a position for fight, they were to be attacked and extirpated. All were to be slain mercilessly till their dispersion.⁷

The thought of the vast resources of the government and the futility of resistance would sometime avert bloodshed. The might of the imperial forces terrorised them into submission. As a rule the rebels did not show an easy surrender. They came forth with all force at their command and offered bold resistance. They fought with the courage of despair and even inflicted heavy defeats upon imperial forces. The government, on account of its vast resources, was bound to succeed in the end, but only after heavy sacrifices in men and materials. Sometimes when the rebels came of the Rajput or Pathan stock, the situation became serious. Such rebellions seemed to tax the resources of the empire and exhaust the energies of the emperor. He would stand overawed by the gravity of the situation and summon up all his resources to show a bold face. But in case arms alone failed to achieve the purpose, diplomacy was resorted to. When, however, ultimate success attended the arms of the imperial forces, they would throw their patience to the four winds and became furious. They poured fourth the vials of their wrath upon the defeated and gave full rein to the brute in them. Nothing but death and destruction could be expected from them on such occasions.⁸ But on surrender, after long resistance, the emperor could also order the cessation of hostilities and extend pardon.⁹

Sometimes the rebels were chased and made prisoners. They were produced before the governor or other local officers. After proper inquiry into their cases they were awarded due punishment. They were committed to prison ; the most notorious ones had to suffer life imprisonment.¹⁰

Rendering assistance to the enemy was a serious offence. The rebel princes who managed to escape to Persia or to some other place, would not give up their design of effecting the conquest of India. They had friends in certain nobles at the court and sundry rich merchants. Attempts to help these princes would continue. The only method was the remission of money to the land of their refuge. The discovery of such a plan would naturally infuriate the monarch. He inflicted exemplary punishment if he could get at the culprit. The latter, however, at times, would shudder to think of the consequences and feel constrained to gulp a dose of poison down his throat. The poor fellow thought himself lucky if he could make an end of his life with his own hands.¹¹

To allow the king's enemy passage through one's territory was no small a crime. Aurangzeb was not the sort of a man to blink over the fault of such a criminal. He would set a lesson for all by inflicting some terrible punishment on one. Champat Bundela was guilty of such a crime. He had

7. *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 168-69 ; cf. J. N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 126.
8. *Eng. Factories*, 1655-60, 64-65 ; *Ibid.*, 1661-64, 70 ; Manucci, I, 68-69 ; *Ibid.*, II, 167-68, 221-22, 223-24, 317-18, 319-20 ; *Ibid.*, III, 219 ; *Ibid.*, IV, 60 ; Elliot, VII, 141-42, 186, 294-96, 7, 47-50, 61, 105-6 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 55, 66, 76, 78 ; Ovington, 114 ; *Letters of Aurangzeb*, 23, 108-9.

9. Manucci, I, 209-11.

10. *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 183 ; Elliot, VII, 68.

11. Manucci, III, 270.

Currency at Balasore : The nature of E. I. Company's trade at Balasore was largely determined by the prevailing currency. Orissa being a poor country, money was scarce, and as Abul Fazl informs us "Money transactions are in *Kauris* which is a small white shell generally divided down the middle: it is found in the sea shore."⁵¹ John Marshall of the 17th century, giving further details, observes that these "are little shell(s) which in England are called current shells (shell currency). They are taken at the Maldive Islands from the Rock and buried until all their fish is gone out of them and then sold. Some are sent for England to the Company, to be sent to Guiney, where they are of great value."⁵²

In the first half of the 17th century also *Cowries* formed the usual means of exchange, the 'common pay' as Clavell wrote. Under the circumstances trade was at first carried on by the English factors by barter, *i.e.*, exchange of goods: subsequently in the interloping period, *i.e.*, from 1630 onwards, owing to keen competition among the factors of different interloping Companies, trade was carried on partly by barter and partly by money.⁵³ By the middle of the seventeenth century the trade of Balasore came to be carried on in money. Capt. Brookhaven instructed the coast factors (Dec. 14, 1650) that "the trade of Balasore being now carried on in rupees morees", they must continue their operations "in the same specie".⁵⁴

The establishment of a mint by the English at Balasore (Nov. 1658) resulted in raising the price of silver. The factors observed: "This doth somewhat advance the price of silver in reference to sale: so that now a piece of eight will yield (if it be weighty) rupees Chellena (*Chalani*, current) two and one anna." When in 1660 the Governor of Balasore threatened to close the mint and prevent coining money by the English, the Company advised its factors (in their letter of 22nd Feb. received in August, 1660) that they might complain to the Prince (*i.e.*, Shah Shuja) if complaint was of any avail, otherwise they must submit.⁵⁵

John Marshall (*c.* 1670) found that the Currency at Balasore consisted of (i) Silver rupees, (ii) *ānā*, 16 *ānās* being equal to a rupee, but it was "rare" (*i.e.*, very scarce), (iii) *Cowries* (*Kauri*), forming 'small money'. Probably the perennial scarcity of coins accounted for the higher rate of exchange in Balasore as compared to other places. The rupee was "valued here in the Company's books at 2s. 6d. per piece, but in no other place valued at more than 2s. 3d." Eighty Cowries always constituted a *pond* (*Pan*) but the value of Cowries in relation to rupees varied according to the availability or scarcity of the former (36 to 40 to a rupee).⁵⁶

51. *Ain* (Jarrett & Sarkar), II, 138, see Revenue Regulations of Aurangzeb in *Studies in Mughal India*.

52. *JMI.*, 415-6, 419.

53. Vide Clavell's Account of Balasore: The E.I.C. found a formidable rival in the ships sent out by Sir William Courteen. *DSM.*, II, 85 & n.

54. *EFI.*, 1646-50, pp. 333-4. 'Yule was puzzled by this term and could only suggest that a round rupee was meant, as distinguished from a square. This seems unlikely'. Foster in *Ibid.*, n.

55. *EFI.*, 1650-60, pp. 192, 407-8.

56. *JMI.*, *Op. Cit.* This does not wholly agree with the calculation given by Abul Fazl. "Four *Kauris* make a *ganda*, five *gandas* a *budi*, four *budis* a *pan*, sixteen

Balasure as Seaport: The economic importance of Balasure in the 7th century was due not only to its being (i) a source of supply of cotton manufactures which could be exported abroad, especially to Europe and Persia, (ii) a market for sale of goods imported from Europe, but also to its being invaluable as a sea port. The Dutch writer Schouten spoke well of it as a harbour.⁵⁷

So long as the English had no settlement or factory in Bengal, their ships had of necessity to depend on Balasure as port. It had, of course, several disadvantages. "Sea Ports", observes Thomas Bowrey, "this Kingdom affordeth only one, and that none to be admired, affording not water enough for a ship of 200 tunns in burden to goe into the river, and to ride out is very unnecessary and dangerous, by reason, it is not better than a very very wild open bay that extendeth it selfe from Point Conjaguaree to Palmeris."⁵⁸

Thus big ocean-going ships could not sail up to Balasure town and had to halt at the Balasure Road, 2½ leagues from the shore. From there men and cargoes intended for Orissa were transported in "purgoes" and sloops. Further the bar of Balasure at 1 mile from the shore was "a very dangerous place to sail over, being very narrow, and being very great seas".⁵⁹

Even after the subsequent establishment of English factory at Hugli and development of Hugli and Cassimbazar as sources of supply of merchandise of E. I. C.'s trade, Balasure retained its importance as a seaport. Thus in the seventies of the 17th century, Balasure constituted one of the three "most important English settlements in the Bay,"—Hugli and Cassimbazar for making sales and investments, and Balasure for loading and unloading the "Europe" ships for Bengal (and Orissa).⁶⁰ Ocean-going ships could not, with safety, go up the Ganges to Hugli, on account of difficulties of navigation and had necessarily to halt at Balasure Road, and articles were transhipped to Hugli on small sloops and pinnaces. But this naturally proved to be very expensive. It was in 1660 that experimental trips up the river Hugli by ocean-going vessels were sanctioned by the English E. I. Company.

Balasure as Ship-building and repairing centre: In the 17th century Balasure was an important ship-building and repairing centre with suitable dockyards, which seemed to have developed further after the advent of the English. In the thirties the English factor Bruton described it as "Bollasorye", a sea-town where shipping was built.⁶¹ In 1634 the Governor of Balasure sold a small unfinished ship of his of about 100 tunns to the E. I. Co.'s servants. The latter completed her construction as quickly as possible, and christened her the *Thomas*.⁶² In 1638 the Masulipatam factors (Thomas Clerk and Richard Hudson) instructed Thomas Godfrey, Master of the *Coaster*, to

or acc. to some twenty *pans* a *Khawan* (*Kahan*) and ten *Kahans* a rupee." *Ain* II, 138-39. This makes 1 *Pan* equal to 80 *Kauries*, but 12,800 or 16,000 *Kauries* equal to a rupee.

57. Schouten, ii, 159 f., quoted in Bowrey, 152n.

58. Bowrey, 152. See also Alexander Hamilton, i, 397.

59. *JMI.*, 61; *DSM*, II, 67; I, 300.

60. Hedges, II, 236; Wilson, I, 53, 56.

61. Wilson I, 9, 12.

62. *EFL.*, 1634-6, p. 43.

proceed to Balasore for re-fitting the ship. In 1650-1 Captain Durson repaired his damaged *Loyalty* here. But she was totally wrecked by striking a second time in the Balasore bar. So he built a ship of 200 tons "in partnership with a Moor of Balasore."⁶³

TWO FORGOTTEN MUGHAL SUBADARS OF ORISSA

P. ACHARYA

Stirling in his *An Account of Orissa*, opines as follows relating to the history of Orissa in the 17th century A.D.

"The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sing in A.D. 1604 to the dewanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A.D. 1707-1725), has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts, though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices and official designations, introduced by the Imperial Government during that interval."¹

From 1822 to up till now many distinguished historians have tried to fill up the gaps of this period from various sources such as English, Dutch, Persian and Oriya manuscripts and records. The researches of Sir Jadunath Sarkar based on Persian sources have bridged the gaps to a great extent and the "list of Mughal Governors of Orissa"² furnishes such information as is recorded in the Persian sources. R. D. Banerji writes that "we do not know as yet who was governing the Province from 1678 till about the end of the 17th century."³ In the footnote he mentions "Abu Noor Khan (1682), Akram Khan (1697)" and gives the reference to a note at page 153 of the book entitled the *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*.

Hon'ble H. K. Mahatap in his History of Orissa in Oriya writes that "the names of the Subadars of Orissa up to the end of the century after 1678 are not known".⁴ But Sir Sarkar in his above list has been able to fill up the gap to some extent as will be found from the following quotations:—

"Shaista Khan again, Jan. 1680-Jan. 1688, governs through deputies: Buzrug Umed Khan (his eldest son), Iradat Khan (son of Shaista) appointed October 1882 but cancelled. Abu Nasar (son of Shaista) appointed 14 Jan. 1683 (after some time made substantive Subadar)".⁵ Elsewhere he writes: "But though Shaista Khan himself lived at the Provincial capital in

63. *EFI.*, 1651-54, pp. 100, 47, 92.

1. Stirling's *Orissa*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta—reprint of 1822 edition, 1904, p. 87.

2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, The University of Dacca, 1948, pp. 231-233.

3. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 55.

4. H. K. Mahatap, *History of Orissa*, 1948, p. 209.

5. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

royal magnificence and ease, he was no Viceroy faineant ; he succeeded in enforcing peace and administrative control, because he was assisted by four exceptionally gifted sons—Buzrug Ummed Khan . . . Abu Nasar the deputy Subadar of Orissa.”⁶

As Abu Nasar Khan was appointed on the 14th Jan. 1683 it may be that he is the same person called Abu Noor Khan (1682) mentioned by R. D. Banerji. ‘Akram Khan (1697), seems to be the same person as Nawab Akram Khan about whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar is silent. It seems that he was appointed Subadar of Orissa after Abu Nasar Khan.

Nawab Abu Nasar Khan and Nawab Akram Khan built mosques at Jajpur and Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb. The mosque at Jajpur is still called the Abu Nasir mosque which was erected in 1098 Hijra (1686-87) A.D. according to the inscription inserted on it. The following is the English translation of the Persian inscription.

“In time of Aurangzeb, whose splendour reached the stars and will remain as long as the stars endure, in the time of the Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praise or description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the messages of the angels, spend a night in it. Abu Nasir Khan reigned when the mosque was erected—then was the time of Abu Nasir Khan. The arithmetical value of the letters gives the date of the building 1098 Hijiri.”⁷

The Juma Mosjid at Balubazar in Cuttack according to the Persian inscription inserted on it, was built in 1102 Hijra (1690-91 A.D.) by Zaibun Nisa Khanum, the Shahazada Begum, wife of Akram Khan, the Governor, during the reign of Aurangzeb.

These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions from Orissa prove without any shade of doubt about the history of the reigning Mughal Nawabs of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in last quarter of the 17th century.

According to the Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri, Maharaja Mukunda Deva and his son Maharaja Divyasinha Deva of the Khurda family ruled in Orissa from 1655-1692 A.D. and 1692-1715 A.D. respectively. The text of the Madalapanji has been printed in Oriya by Professor A. B. Mohanty, and the account of Mukunda Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Nasar Khan:—

“In the 38th regular year (31st year of the reign) of this Maharaja Nawab Abdul (Abu ?) Nasar Khan came up to Pipli in order to spoil the Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva with family met with him at Danda Makundapur and resided there at palace. At Pipli there was a thunder struck in the month of Chaitra and so the Nawab returned to Cuttack after making friendship with the Raja.”

From above we learn that Nawab Abu Nasar Khan met Maharaja Mukunda Deva in the year 1687 A.D. from the Anka or Regnal year.

6. *Ibid*, p. 375.

7. List of Ancient Monuments in Orissa Division, Beñgal, revised and corrected up to 31.8.1895, Calcutta 1896, pp. 10-11.

The account of Maharaja Dibyasinha Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Akram Khan. "On the 18th day of Rsabha in the 7th Anka or regnal year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temples were concealed in a place behind the temple of Bimala."

On the 19th day of Rsabha and the Harana Ekadasi Nawab Akram Khan who was appointed by Padsha Aurangshah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamaula and Jman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They and the Raja Divyasinha Deva broke the *Gumuta* (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc fitted at the top of the Bhogamandapa and the wooden image of Jagannath. The brother of the Nawab went up to the Sinhāsana of the temple."

"This desecration took place on the 17th May 1696"⁸. This account of *Madlapanji* finds also corroboration from the Persian account of *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin* according to which "Aurangzib sent orders to Mir Saiyad Mahamud of Bilgram to destroy the temple and idol of Jagannath. Divyasinha was compelled to break the statue of Rakshasa which stood over the entrance to the temple and surrendered the wooden images, which were carried off to Bijapur, where the emperor there was."⁹

From above we come to know that during the last two decades of the 17th century A.D. Nawab Abu Nasar Khan, son of Shaista Khan and Nawab Akram Khan, the son-in-law of Aurangzeb ruled in Orissa from 1683 to 1698 A.D.

In the list of 'Mughal Governors of Orissa' we find No. 19 with an interrogation, 1689-1698 Ibrahim Khan (Sudadar of Bengal¹⁰) but the contemporary inscription of Juma Mosque at Cuttack and the *Madlapanji* mention that Nawab Akram Khan was the Governor of Orissa during this period.

8. R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 60.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

POLITICAL OFFENCES IN AURANGZEB'S INDIA

S. P. SANGAR

For the sake of convenience we shall discuss the subject under the following sub-heads:—

1. Treason-felony.
2. High Treason.
3. Disobedience to the king's orders.
4. Neglect of duty.
5. The infringement of the royal prerogative.
6. Riot in king's realm.

TREASON-FELONY

Treason-felony was the gravest of all crimes. It was an open challenge to the king, threatening his very life and aiming at the abolition of the government. The risings of the Hindu chieftains or the Muslim generals seemed as trifles when compared to treason-felony. It sought for decisions and did not aim at compromises. Either side must win or lose. The sponsors of such movements were usually the royal princes or those who pretended to be such. The Mughal royal princes were, usually all of them, the heads of different provinces. Vast resources at their disposal enabled them to risk such undertakings. Almost all of them were past-masters in war-fare as they had the opportunity, at one time or another, of leading armies and directing campaigns. The chances of success lay on the side of those who were the most versed in state-craft. The decision of the issue lay only in the final defeat or victory. There was no mid-way house.

The victor was to decide the punishment to be inflicted on the vanquished. Jahangir, Khusrow, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Shuja and Murad were all guilty of the crime at one time or the other. Jahangir was pardoned; Khusrow was blinded and confined to imprisonment and then done to death. Shahjahan was a successful rebel and Aurangzeb was victorious. But once Aurangzeb had become the monarch, any attempt to depose him might have been considered as treason-felony. All cases, however, received different kinds of treatment at his hands. None can say what charge he might have levied against Shuja. Charge of treason-felony was not levied against Murad. Dara could have been accused of the crime; but the wily monarch chose a better alternative.¹ The sons and the grandsons of Dara were also not charged with the offence. The punishment was slightly different. Either they were immediately done to death or they were to waste their lives in prisons, their senses completely destroyed by the constant administration of poisonous drugs.²

1. Tavernier, I, 328-29; Manucci, I, 252; *English Factories*, 1655-60; 123; Elliot, VII, 143, 214, 216, 178-79; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 141.

2. Manucci, I, 262, 381; Bernier, I, 120; Tavernier, I, 367.

Prince Akbar revolted against his father. A mightier blow could not have been administered to Aurangzeb. He stood in danger of his life and throne. The assistance to Akbar of the Rajputs gave the movement a new colouring. It was only the resourcefulness of the emperor and blunders of Akbar that changed the scales. But for Akbar there could be no peace in India. His very shadow was being chased. Once in the hands of his father, the remotest hope of his life would have been extinguished. Escape to Persia alone saved him from a miserable end and cruel fate.³

The revolt of the fictitious Shuja affords still another example. The magic of the name and the hope of the reward secured him a good following. He, however, was no match for the Mughal emperor. He merited and was awarded capital punishment.⁴

HIGH TREASON

High treason meant levying war against the king and rendering assistance to his enemy.

The Mughal Central Government had to face serious situations because of the nefarious activities of the disgruntled persons and anti-social elements. Hindu rajas, anxious to release themselves from all obligations to the central government, would rise up in arms. Organised bands of rebels at times flung down the gauntlet to the provincial authorities and disturbed the peace of the localities by their unlawful activities. Peasants would sometime refuse to recognise the central government and cease to pay revenue. Influential imperial generals at times took up arms against the government. Whole tribes, with no ruler of their own, declared war against the Mughal monarch for one reason or another.

The government viewed all these forms of revolt with due seriousness and took necessary steps to cope with the situation. The usual policy of the government was to nip the evil in the bud. The only method to deal with such elements was the demonstration and use of imperial might. Armies under experienced generals or faujdars were despatched to deal with them.⁵

The second half of the reign was a period of disturbed peace. It witnessed a number of serious risings. The populace found the release of anti-social forces upon themselves, and they became the sorry sufferers of their mischievous activities. The rebels became worse than robbers. They would lay waste the countryside and make the life of the inhabitants miserable. Roads became unsafe and trades sustained a serious loss at their hands.⁶

The Mughal criminal law laid down that rebels were to be confined till penitence in case they were seized before they took up actual position. If

3. Orme, 101; Elliot, VII, 298-304, 308, 231.

4. Manucci, II, 193-94; *English Factories*, 1665-67, 287.

5. Manucci, II, 223-24; 319-20; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 132, 150; Elliot, VII, 68; Letters, No. cxi, 110-11; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 117; Manucci, II, 462; *Riaz-ul-Salatin*, 262-63; 264-65.

6. Manucci, III, 257-58; Ovington, 114; Tavernier, I, 49; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 185.

they took up a position for fight, they were to be attacked and extirpated. All were to be slain mercilessly till their dispersion.⁷

The thought of the vast resources of the government and the futility of resistance would sometime avert bloodshed. The might of the imperial forces terrorised them into submission. As a rule the rebels did not show an easy surrender. They came forth with all force at their command and offered bold resistance. They fought with the courage of despair and even inflicted heavy defeats upon imperial forces. The government, on account of its vast resources, was bound to succeed in the end, but only after heavy sacrifices in men and materials. Sometimes when the rebels came of the Rajput or Pathan stock, the situation became serious. Such rebellions seemed to tax the resources of the empire and exhaust the energies of the emperor. He would stand overawed by the gravity of the situation and summon up all his resources to show a bold face. But in case arms alone failed to achieve the purpose, diplomacy was resorted to. When, however, ultimate success attended the arms of the imperial forces, they would throw their patience to the four winds and became furious. They poured fourth the vials of their wrath upon the defeated and gave full rein to the brute in them. Nothing but death and destruction could be expected from them on such occasions.⁸ But on surrender, after long resistance, the emperor could also order the cessation of hostilities and extend pardon.⁹

Sometimes the rebels were chased and made prisoners. They were produced before the governor or other local officers. After proper inquiry into their cases they were awarded due punishment. They were committed to prison ; the most notorious ones had to suffer life imprisonment.¹⁰

Rendering assistance to the enemy was a serious offence. The rebel princes who managed to escape to Persia or to some other place, would not give up their design of effecting the conquest of India. They had friends in certain nobles at the court and sundry rich merchants. Attempts to help these princes would continue. The only method was the remission of money to the land of their refuge. The discovery of such a plan would naturally infuriate the monarch. He inflicted exemplary punishment if he could get at the culprit. The latter, however, at times, would shudder to think of the consequences and feel constrained to gulp a dose of poison down his throat. The poor fellow thought himself lucky if he could make an end of his life with his own hands.¹¹

To allow the king's enemy passage through one's territory was no small a crime. Aurangzeb was not the sort of a man to blink over the fault of such a criminal. He would set a lesson for all by inflicting some terrible punishment on one. Champat Bundela was guilty of such a crime. He had

7. *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 168-69 ; cf. J. N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 126.

8. *Eng. Factories*, 1655-60, 64-65 ; *Ibid.*, 1661-64, 70 ; Manucci, I, 68-69 ; *Ibid.*, II, 167-68, 221-22, 223-24, 317-18, 319-20 ; *Ibid.*, III, 219 ; *Ibid.*, IV, 60 ; Elliot, VII, 141-42, 186, 294-96, 7, 47-50, 61, 105-6 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 55, 66, 76, 78 ; Ovington, 114 ; *Letters of Aurangzeb*, 23, 108-9.

9. Manucci, I, 209-11.

10. *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 183 ; Elliot, VII, 68.

11. Manucci, III, 270.

Joshi and Kond Joshi. The year of the grant has not been recorded. There are five generations intervening between Sandba Raja, the founder of the Gond line of Deogarh and Jatba Raja. Taking 20 years as an average period for one generation, the year for Sandba Raja comes to 1520 A.D. So Tulobaji Raja must be earlier than 1520 A.D., *i.e.*, 450 years before this day. Thus we possess original document at least 450 years old connected with Nagpur.

IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCUMENTS

In all these documents Nagpur has been described merely as the headquarters of a *pergana* of that name. It was only after Raghujī I of the Bhonsla kings selected it as his residence, Nagpur became the capital of the state. Till Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah were made to reside at Nagpur by Raghujī I Deogarh was the capital of the Gond kings. For some years before Raghujī I took over the administration of the state in his hand, Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah had carried on the administration from Nagpur. They resided at Nagpur in a fort which is still the residence of their descendants. Late Shri Y. M. Kale records in his Marathi work that the fort at Nagpur was built by Jatba Raja and had posted his officer there for administrative purpose. But no authority has been quoted by him for this statement. The oldest parts of the fort such as ruins of a mint, the *darbar* hall, inner apartments of the palace, and the grandeur of the only remaining bastion of the fort show that it was once the residence of the ruling princes. The cemeteries of the Gond Rajas' family are located at three places in Nagpur, *viz.*, the big wadi, small wadi and the bastion of the fort. A list of the names of persons who have got tombs of theirs at those places has been recently recovered. It helps to identify some of the tombs. It is clear from this list that the tombs of Burhan Shah and Mir Bahadar in the fort are the oldest ones. A visit to the only relics of the Gond rule at Nagpur in the fort and the cemeteries will amply repay the scholars interested in the history of the Gond Rajas of Deogarh.

CONCLUSION

These relics of the Gond rule at Nagpur, however, do not evidence that it was a capital of the Gond Rajas before Burhan Shah. The grants recently recovered go to show that the said Rajas encouraged the people to settle at Nagpur by giving grants of land to them and thus led to the development of the town of Nagpur. The credit for laying the foundation of the present grandeur of the Nagpur city goes to the said Gauli Raja and subsequent Gond rulers. The discovery of the original documents connected with the Gond rule, has led us to believe that careful search for the historical documents of the period at Deogarh, Nagpur and the surrounding territory will bring out further historical material which will throw fresh light on the history of the Gond Rajas and even on that of the Gauli Rajas who preceded them and the information about who has been handed over to us, in meagre, by mere tradition.

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE GREAT MUGHULS

P. N. OJHA

The advent of the Great Mughals on the Indian soil opened a new and illuminating chapter in the history of Indian education. Promotion of learning and intellectual accomplishments received remarkable impetus from the sovereigns, important nobles, religious institutions, and interested public men, and more practical, novel and advantageous principles were sought to be introduced in the existing system of education by Akbar and also, to some extent, by Aurangzeb. With the coming of the Mughuls, we come across a new phase in the history of education in Moslem India, specially when Akbar the Great, for the first time in our period, turned his attention towards the reorientation and expansion of learning amongst his Hindu subjects as well, which was to have a considerable effect on his policy of Hindu-Muslim amity and fellowship. True, there was no separate department of Public Instruction under the Great Mughuls as today nor there had been a systematic and regular allotment of funds from the Public Exchequer for the education of the subjects ; yet, the Mughul sovereigns patronised learning and refinement, and their court was, during the days of their ascendancy, the cradle of the sage and the scholar who flocked there from distant lands in search of genuine patronage.

Muslim education was diffused in this country under the Great Mughuls by the three-fold means of (a) Maktab and Madrasas, (b) Mosques and monasteries and (c) private houses which resembled the university or higher education, the secondary education and the primary education imparting elementary knowledge. Besides, frequent literary discussion between learned scholars in which the illiterates also participated, sometimes as mere listeners, and sometimes as active participators, banking upon their knowledge, gained by accumulated experience, and also Mushaeras or poetical symposiums, which were very often held, contributed a good deal to the cause of learning. Religion formed the backbone of education, and most of the Maktabas or primary schools and Madrasas or colleges were attached to mosques and monasteries or saintly shrines.

About the higher or university education, it can be mentioned that it was imparted in the Madrasas, situated in important towns or cities, and only advanced students joined them. The curriculum was mainly religious or theological and the chief subject taught were Theology, Mathematics, Physics, and Persian.¹ We find the following account of higher education in the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

“In former times the higher education of Muhammadans was in the hands of men of learning who devoted themselves to the instruction of youth. Schools were attached to mosques and shrines and supported by state grants in cash or land, or by private liberality . . . several towns in India, such as Gopamau and Khairabad in Oudh, and Jaunpur in the Province of Agra,

1. Rawlinson—*A short cultural history of India*, p. 373.

have from time to time been famous seats of learning to which students flocked from all parts of India, and even from Afganistan and Bokhara, to attend the lectures of renowned specialists. The course of study in a Mohammadan place of learning included grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, metaphysics, literature, jurisprudence and science . . . ”². According to Mr. S. M. Jaffar, the following subjects were included in secondary and higher stages: “Ethics, divinity, astronomy, the art of administration, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, medicine, natural philosophy, rhetoric, law, ritual, accounts, agriculture, economics, and history.”³ The regulations of Akbar contained in the *Ain-i-Akbari* also confirm Mr. Jaffar’s views. It runs thus, “Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the Tabii, riyazi and ilahi sciences and history ; all of which may be gradually acquired.”⁴ The curriculum prescribed for secondary and higher stages seems to be very attractive and interesting. Although it was not uniformly followed in all the secondary schools and colleges in India, yet, it can be said that most of the subjects mentioned above were taught to the students who had wide options to study any subject according to their convenience and liking. The inclusion of art of administration in the courses of study not only for the princes and the sons of Umrahs but for all those who were interested in it, was a significant trend in those days, and it is interesting to note that the vocational studies like accountancy and agriculture were also embraced by the existing curriculum. Sciences of different kinds were also encouraged, but ethics, philosophy, theology and religious studies got greater support. It should also be noted that arts and crafts were not included in the collegiate courses of study, because separate institutions flourished for them, where interested boys received training.

Generally speaking, secondary education was imparted in mosques, monasteries or Moslem Khanqahs, and Dargahs or shrines of celebrated saints or darweshes, found all over the country. These institutions were also essentially religious where the teachings of mystical and theological ideas got priority, although they also constituted important institutions for secular learning. Thus, we find that the mosques and Khanqahs in Mughal India, like the churches and monasteries of mediaeval Europe, acted as supplements and ‘feeders’ to the universities and colleges or Madrasas imparting higher education.

Likewise elementary education was diffused by the Maktabs or primary schools and private houses. Such institutions were numerous all over the country, and education was considered to be a religious duty. Generally speaking, Moslem boys began their education at the age of four years, four months and four days, in the nearest Maktab, attached to a mosque and placed under the charge of the Mullah. Sons of the nobles and rich people

2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, p. 408.

3. S. M. Jaffar—*Education in Moslem India*, p. 21.

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*. Vol. I ; Blochman, *Ain*, 25, pp. 278-79.

were generally placed in charge of private tutors or Ustads for receiving elementary education.

The curriculum adopted in the elementary schools was very simple. A novice was first taught the alphabets, with correct pronunciations, punctuations and signs of accounts, then he was taught their combinations and then made to read and write short sentences. The Quran was their chief text book which they had to memorise bit by bit. In the elementary schools the children learnt to write with reed pens or with tubes of some other kind on oblong boards called takhtis.⁵ Besides memorizing portions from the Quran, every student learnt the Hadis or Traditions of the Prophet, the three R's, Persian and elegant penmanship was also cultivated.⁶ The method of teaching came to be reformed and improved by Akbar under the directions of Allama Abul Fazal. The changes made by the Great Moghul Emperor in the modes of study and in the curriculum led to various good results, which made Abul Fazal pride himself on the fact that "all civilized nations have schools for the education of youths ; but Hindustan is particularly famous for its seminaries."⁷ By following the novel method, a child could learn reading and writing in the shortest possible time, without wasting much of energy. We read in *Ain-i-Akbari* thus, "If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished."⁸ Thus, the reforms of Akbar came to cast new lustre upon the schools and colleges. Broad-minded, nationalist and universal as he was, he tried to turn the schools and colleges into so many instruments of Hindu-Moslem unity. Hindu and Moslem youngsters studied, side by side, in the same schools or colleges, their own books on religions and theology, without any distinctions of race or creed, rank or position. This nationalisation of education was fraught with far-reaching consequences. It led to mutual love and respect and created a nation where formerly there was none.⁹ Hindu system of study was also reorientated by the Emperor, and those who wanted to learn Sanskrit had to learn grammar (Vyakaran), logic and law, Vedanta, literature and all those branches of knowledge which were indispensable in those days.

Thus, we find that the cause of Hindu education as well, got marvellous impetus and patronage in Akbar's reign and it must have continued, though with decreasing strides, under his successors till the reign of Aurangzeb, under whom it got definite set-back. We have evidences to show that Aurangzeb destroyed a number of Pathshalas or elementary schools and other institutions of Hindu learning most of which had been attached to temples and monasteries. In April, 1669, for instance, he ordered the provincial governors to destroy the Hindu schools and temples and to put down their teachings and religious practices.¹⁰

5. S. M. Jaffar—*Education in Muslim India*, p. 21.

6. Rawlinson—*A short cultural history of India*, p. 372.

7. Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 192, 193.

8. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochman), Vol. I, pp. 278-79, Gladwin, pp. 192, 193.

9. N. N. Law—*Promotion of Learning in India*, pp. 160-162.

10. J. Sarkar's *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, p. 11.

In spite of occasional set-backs, due to the excessive religious fanaticism and anti-Hindu policy of some of the ruling sovereigns, the ancient system of Hindu learning, conducted chiefly by the Brahmins, continued throughout the Moslem period of our country's annals. Indeed, there seems no reason to suppose the advent of the Muhammadans in the 11th and 12th centuries sounded a death knell to the ancient Brahmanical system of education or to the Hindu vernacular schools.¹¹ The capture of Nadia in 1205 by the Moslems did not destroy its age-old reputation as a centre of Sanskrit learning; and its *tols*, in which erudite pandits taught logic, law and grammar to hundreds of students, were still following their ancient educational and literary activities when Prof. Cowell visited the town in 1867. The Brahmins, generally, monopolised higher learning and teaching profession, who taught their students in *Pathshalas* or primary schools, or other seats of higher learning. Bernier refers to the state and system of Hindu education as follows:

“It is the Athens of India whither resort the Brahmins and other devotees who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses and particularly in the gardens of suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven and the eminent may have twelve or fifteen, but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instructions proceeds but slowly.”¹² It is clear from this statement that Bernier primarily refers to the so-called domestic system of education which was in vogue in this country in those days both amongst the Hindus and Moslems. Bernier, in his *Travels* (pp. 335-345), also refers to the curriculum followed by the Brahmanical schools in those days. The courses of study, generally included fair knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature, study of the Puranas, the Vedas, philosophy of numerous schools of thought, medicine, astronomy, astrology, a bit of chronology, history and geography.

A Hindu child, generally, began his education at the age of five or five years and six months (and sometimes six) in a neighbouring institution under a learned Pundit. Next to the Brahmins, the Kayasthas formed the most literate community, almost all of them could read and write, chiefly in the northern India.¹³

Hence, we see that in our period, the ancient Brahmanical educational institutions attached to temples and diffused chiefly in the villages and also in principal towns continued to exist, although under the benevolent rulers like Akbar, Sher Shah and others, Hindu boys received education with their Moslem comrades under the same roof. This led to the process of give and take and ultimately contributed much to the growth of a common medium of expression in the form of Urdu language. Besides, we have instances of various

11. Edwards and Garrett—*Mughal Rule in India*, pp. 222-223.

12. Bernier—*Travels*, p. 334.

13. J. N. Das Gupta—*Bengal in the 16th Century*.

Hindus exhibiting brilliance in Arabic and Persian studies and also of Moslems competing with the Hindus in Sanskrit learning. There might also have been some such schools in which both Hindus and Moslems got education in Arabic and Persian, and Mr. Law holds that towards the end of the 18th century there were such educational institutions at Silapur in Bengal.¹⁴ Persian, being the language of the court, was the medium of instruction in the Moslem schools, whereas Sanskrit formed the medium of instruction in the Brahmanical institutions. The study of Arabic, the language of the Holy Quran, was compulsory for the Mussalmans.

About the system of examination in vogue in those days, it can be said that it was simpler, less formal and more useful than today. The students were not required to exhaust their life-blood in passing so many examinations every year, as it is today. There were no question papers, answer-books, marking of papers set by one and examined by another.¹⁵ This lengthy and delaying process was conspicuous by its absence. The actual teacher was the only judge of his pupil's merits, who examined, and promoted them to the next higher stage in the system. There was nothing like the game of "hide-and-seek" with the examinees, and they had to impress their teacher in all ways,—educational attainments, moral standards, and also practical wisdom. Such a system was prevalent, in some form or other, in all the Hindu and Moslem educational institutions, which necessitated a free and frank contact between the teacher and the taught. The teacher was a real guide to his pupils in all the spheres of their life, and this was more pronounced in the Brahmanical schools where the students spent ten or twelve years of their boyhood with their Guru almost completely cut off from their parents. The system of giving certificates, prizes and medals to the brilliant students continued even in those days.

This sort of education which necessitated free and fair personal intercourse between the teacher and the taught, naturally gave a higher and more respected status to the preceptors. The relation between them was most affectionate, and never formal. Profound respect and, sometimes, personal service were expected from the pupils, and the teachers, in turn, regarded it their moral duty to equip their pupils with all that was essential for their moral and material improvement.¹⁶ Their relation was much like that of father and son.

A few words may be said about the education of the princes of the royal blood. Almost every reigning sovereign in our period, thought it his duty to educate his successors, and hence, the Mughul princes got particular care in matters of their education and refinement. While still in the harem, they received their education generally under an efficient tutor, in most cases a learned eunuch. Manucci informs us that according to a Mughul practice the princes were taught to read and write their mother-tongue at the age of five. Then they were put under the instructions of learned scholars and eunuchs,

14. N. N. Law—*Promotion of Learning*, p. 113.

15. S. M. Jaffar—*Education in Moslem India*, p. 24.

16. Keay—*Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 178-180.

who imparted literary as well as military training to them and also regulated their amusements.¹⁷ Catrou in his *History of the Mughal Dynasty*, also informs us that they were placed in charge of a eunuch, learnt, first of all, the art of reading and writing Arabic and Persian and then received training in physical exercises and principles of justice and equity. Finally, they were instructed in the Muhammadan religion, and in the interest of the nation, which they might be called one day to govern.¹⁸ Col. Tod in a passage in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, also praises the high qualities in the system of education imparted to the royal princes.¹⁹ From all these, it appears that the education given to the royal princes was of high order and almost all-sided. But, it should be noted that Aurangzeb was not satisfied with the type of education given to the princes, as it is clear from the information given to us by Bernier, who says that the Emperor complained of his harassment for several years 'with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yield no satisfaction to the mind—propositions that seldom enter into the business of life; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man head-strong and insufferable.'²⁰ Aurangzeb further indicted his tutor of his early days thus, "Answer me cycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a king; namely on the reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects? . . . Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindustan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects'". (*Travels of Bernier*, pp. 160-161).

Allowing for any exaggeration, addition or alteration, made consciously or unconsciously by Bernier, Aurangzeb's lengthy discourse on education reveals his broad-based ideals, and a craving for more practical and more fruitful education for the princes. The Emperor seems to have advocated a radical outlook in this matter, and he emphasized a 'broad humanism' to be included in the curriculum of royal instructions, which, he thought, must put full emphasis on the teaching of history, geography, languages of the neighbouring states, the art of war as well as that of peace and good governance. Mr. Z. Faruki, quoting Mr. Keay, writes, "The formation of high ideals and of such habits of thought and action as would enable the pupil to meet all the difficulties of life with wisdom and courage and the desirability of connecting the education with the vocation to be followed by the pupil in after-life were the two points urged by Aurangzeb as necessary to a good education."²¹ It is interesting to note that Aurangzeb taught his sons in accordance with his theory of royal education as outlined above. It was an eminently practical education that he gave them. Muhammad Sultan, Shah

17. Manucci—*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, pp. 346-347.

18. Catrou's *History of the Mughal Dynasty*, p. 288.

19. Col. James Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 298-99.

20. Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), p. 160.

21. Z. Faruki—*Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 523.

Alam, and Mohammad Akbar were thoroughly accomplished in the essentials of imperial education.²²

This particular emphasis on the quality of education was greatly due to the fact that almost all of the great Mughuls were themselves accomplished men of letters, and therefore, naturally enough, they patronised learning by establishing series of schools and colleges in their realm, financing institutions established by private individuals, giving considerable financial aids and salaries to learned teachers and scholars from different quarters, and granting stipends and scholarships to needy and promising students. Babar and Jahangir wrote their own Memoirs, and the former was a great scholar of Arabic, Persian and Turki, and a fastidious critic.²³ Humayun followed the traditions of his father and was much interested in social intercourses, amusements and studies of astronomy, astrology, and geography, passing his days in company of renowned men of letters. He was fond of books and even during expeditions, carried a select library with him. Jahangir and Shahjahan were also well-read and knew Turkish, Arabic and Persian well. Aurangzeb's high ideals concerning the education of royal princes exhibit his wide range of thought and the extent of his learning. "This theory of royal education" says Stanley Lane-Poole "thus expressed with some French paraphrases would have done credit to Roger Ascham when he was training the vigorous intellect of the future queen Elizabeth in her seclusion at Chestnut".²⁴

But, there is a sharp division of opinion on the point whether Akbar was literate or not. Leaving aside unnecessary controversies, the statements of the Portuguese Missionaries like Father Monserrate and Jerome Xavier that "he could neither read or write", and that of von Noer that he was 'uneducated', can be easily cancelled on the basis of the evidences now available to modern historians. Humayun was very-keen about the education of his son, and therefore, he, according to the prevalent customs of the time, appointed tutors one after the other for the education of Akbar when he attained the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days in 1547 A.D. and this continued till his (Humayun's) death in 1556. There is no denying the fact that Akbar was endowed with a singularly receptive mind and strong memory and if so, it is unsound to believe that he might not have been able to learn even the alphabets during the eight long years of his early education. And one finds it difficult to believe that a learned and accomplished man like Humayun, would have neglected the education of his beloved son. Moreover, it is recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that His Majesty (Akbar) used to hear the recitation of important books on sciences, arts and literature by Court-scholars and on the last page of the book under perusal he would himself write in numerals, with his own pen, the total number of pages and put down the date where the reader stopped.²⁵ It should be noted that it was the prevalent practice in those days to make a novice learn and write the numerals along with or even subsequent to

22. Jaffar—*Education in Moslem India*, pp. 182-83.

23. *Tuzuk-i-Babari*, Elliot, IV, p. 219.

24. *Aurangzeb* by Stanley Lane-Poole, 9, 79.

25. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochman), Vol. I, p. 103.

the alphabet. Thus, it becomes clear that Akbar could read and write and that he was not ignorant of the alphabets, although he might not have been a great scholar. His son, Jahangir, informs us that he was competent enough to weigh and to express his opinion on any topic and he understood the beauty of prose and poetry better than any one.²⁶ Elliot and Dawson go even to a greater extent and hold that he was a fastidious critic of poetry and could improve upon the verses of other poets.²⁷

Akbar was a great book-lover, and under his directions the Imperial Library augmented with several new volumes and was re-arranged, and under his supervision was the entire educational system reformed. Taking all these into consideration, we cannot hold that he was utterly unlettered and illiterate. Mr. Jaffar's views seem to be reasonable when he says, "Thus there can be no doubt that if literacy means ability to read and write, Akbar was literate; and if the end of education is acquisition of knowledge and intellectual improvement he was undoubtedly profoundly learned and most highly educated".²⁸ Akbar was literate in the sense that he would read and write, and educated in the sense that he had received education in the great University of the World, like most of the great men of all ages, though not in a Maktab or a Madrasa.

FEMALE EDUCATION

Female education, as well, got considerable impetus under the great Mughuls, and the Emperors, specially Akbar, were keenly interested in this aspect of education. There is also evidence on record to show that in the reign of Akbar regular education was given to the ladies of the Imperial harem. The emperor is reputed to have established a girl's school in his palace at Fathpur Sikri.²⁹ Jafar Sharif in his interesting book entitled *Qanun-i-Islam* describes a number of customs and practices relating to female education as prevalent in Moslem India. There were schools and colleges for the girls not only in the north but also in the south of this country, mostly attached to private houses. Generally, Moslem widows considered it their sacred duty to train young girls in their houses, and the Holy *Quran* formed the principal text-book. Besides lessons on morals and religions, they got essentially practical education in managing their household affairs well. Mughul princes and daughters of great nobles, generally received education in the harem under the guidance of an old learned tutor, or an educated mistress or a eunuch. Some of the ladies so taught distinguished themselves in the field of culture and accomplishment. Babar's daughter, Gulbadan Begum, wrote the famous *Humayun-nama* and was a great lover of arts and letters. Humayun's niece, Salima Sultana, was a well-read and thoroughly accomplished princess. She was well versed in Persian literature and was also a

26. *Jahangiri* (Beveridge and Rogers), p. 33.

27. Elliot and Dawson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 294.

28. Jaffar—*Education in Moslem India*, p. 173.

29. N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning*, p. 202, Smith, *Fathpur Sikri*, part I, p. 80.

good poetess. Maham Ankah, the wet-nurse of Akbar, was a highly learned lady and a great patron of education. Noorjehan, the celebrated wife of Jahangir, was a woman of unique talents and mental endowments. Her vast learning had made her wise and shrewd enough to carry on the administration of the realm towards the last portion of her husband's régime. Mumtaz Mahal, beloved wife of Shahjahan, is known to us for her literary tastes and poetical faculties. Jahan Ara Begum, the learned daughter of Shahjahan, is immortal in history for her vast knowledge and cultural attainments. Safi-ul-Nisa was another widely read woman of our period, who was appointed tutoress of Jahan Ara Begum by Shahjahan. The daughters of Aurangzeb were one and all well-read, taught in accordance with their father's own theory of education. Zebun-Nisa was the most cultured and talented of them all. Thus, we find that Moslem girls were not ignorant of letters and the examples of the princesses were, undoubtedly, followed by the daughters of nobles and rich men. Of course, one can doubt whether there was education of girls on a mass scale, but considering the limitations of the age, and chiefly those caused by the Purdah system, the number of educated women was not unsatisfactory. Among the Hindus as well the system of educating the girls might have continued in our period, though with considerable difficulties and hurdles. Rich men could have afforded to impart some sort of practical and Sanskrit training to their daughters and we have instances of a number of learned women saints in this period. However, it can be said that the public opinion did not discountenance female education amongst the Hindus, especially in Bengal, although women belonging to lower classes of the society, especially maid-servants and the like were generally illiterate. But female education in Hindu society gradually decayed till the early 19th century when it became fully manifest.³⁰

Making a review of all these aspects, one comes to the conclusion that education flourished in our period both amongst the Hindus and Moslems, men and women. It is very difficult to estimate the extent of literacy in those days, but roughly speaking Moslem India did not lag behind any of the states of Medieval Europe in this respect. Education in those days, was more economical, and simple, but it was more religious, more theological and more formal and scholastic knowledge formed the key-note of all education, and students did not labour, day in and day out, merely to pass their examinations, which were not so many, and to get their cheap degrees or diplomas to be profitably utilised in getting state services. The system of education in those days was well-suited to the existing state of things, and we should not try to examine them from the modern standpoints. "The wheels of time go on, and with them changeth the requirement of the age" and the same is true of a system of education. But, it can be admitted that the system of education in India even in those days had become static and we don't hear of scholars who, profited by the profundity of Arab or Indian philosophers, tried to break new grounds or to make any advance on the researches of Ibn

30. J. N. Das Gupta—*Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 180.

Tufail, Ibn Sina or Ibn Rushd. Broad-minded international outlook in all the fields of learning was not properly developed in the students, and broad humanism which Aurangzeb tried to introduce in the system, was conspicuous by its absence. Anyway, in defence it can be said that international outlook could not be properly developed in the medieval ages, in the modern sense of the term, owing to various reasons which were peculiar to those days.

RAJA MANSINGH AND THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ORISSA BY THE MUGHALS

B. C. Roy

After the return of Shahabaz Khan from the Government of Bengal and Orissa to the Mughal court in year 1587, the Afgans were left free to play their roles in the far off kingdom of Orissa. Qutlu Khan Lohani, formerly a leading officer of Daud, now Afgan ruler of north Orissa, began to occupy new places, included in the Mughal territory and drove away the Mughal faujdars from their places. When the vexatious news of the fresh risings of the Afgans in Orissa was brought to the notice of the Emperor Akbar he decided to send one of his best generals to Orissa to settle the matter once for all. His choice, fell on Raja Mansingh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das born at Amber and also known as Mirja-Raja. After ably settling the matter in the province of Bihar and reducing the refractory nobles into obedience in 1590, he advanced towards Orissa. As many of the soldiers under the command of Raja Mansingh either were exhausted or tired in his expedition against the rebellious chiefs of Bihar, he wanted to reinforce the army from Bengal. At his suggestion, Said Khan, the Subadar of Bengal, refused to accompany him. But he however could prevail upon Pahar Khan, Rai Patradas and others from Bengal to come to his assistance. The revitalised and reinforced army under the efficient command of Raja Mansingh arrived at Jahanabad, (now named as Aram-Bagh in the west of Hughly District, the then frontier of Orissa). The approach of the rainy season made them halt there. The necessary plans were made to fight with the Afgans.

Qutlu, the able and shrewd politician of the Afgans, who was always vigilant to the movement of the Mughals, intended to take necessary action to check the advance of the Mughal army into the Afgan territory from the beginning. Like a wise general he sent Bahadur Kuruh with a big army to the fort of Raipur, some forty miles west of the imperial camp.

Mansingh at the advance of the Afgans, committed a great mistake of sending his worthless son Jagatsingh with a division of army to meet the Afgans. The inexperienced Jagatsingh was totally deluded by the Afgans. Instead of fighting against the enemy, he used to neglect his business. He took to drinking and wasted his time in merrymaking and pleasure. The indisciplined soldiers of Jagatsingh could not face the Afgans. After a few skirmishes a few Mughals escaped leaving the rest to the annihilation at the hands of the Afgans. Bika Rathore, Mahesh Das and Naru Charan fell on the ground

after a vigorous fight. Jagatsingh was wounded and he would have been captured, but for the loyalty of Raja Vir Hambir, who carried him to the fort of Vishnupur (in the Bankura district). A rumour as to the death of Jagatsingh spread in the Mughal camp.

Qutlu Khan the rebel leader of the Afgans was formally recognised as the governor of Orissa. But being left to peace he cut off all allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, ceased remitting revenue to the royal treasury, did not acknowledge Akbar as sovereign. He, however, died before he met Mansingh in the battlefield.

After the death of Qutlu, his young son Nasir was placed on the throne to act as king and leader. In medieval world, success more depended on the personality of a king than on anything else. Nasir was not the worthy successor of his father. He had neither commanding personality nor was an able general to guide the Afgans to bring success against the Mughals. The loss of a leader like Qutlu brought nervousness and depression in the heart of the Afgans. Moreover they were not sufficiently united and had their own weakness. Isha Khan, the Vakil of Qutlu, who was the only cautious and experienced man wisely consented to the term of treaty offered by the Mughals.

The submission of the Afgans to Mughals was regarded by Mansingh as a cheap bargain. The terms of peace disclosed the anxiety and weakness of the imperial cause. The reason why the Mughals did not press the Afgans but were satisfied with the treaty offering lenient terms to the enemy is that:—

- (i) Firstly, the tired army from Bihar, though partly reinforced by the Mughal soldiers in Bengal was not sufficiently strong to curb the pride of the Afgans.
- (ii) Secondly, the Bengal soldiers who were hard hit by their previous experience in Orissa were eager to patch off the matter.
- (iii) Thirdly, Mansingh who was reminded of the tragic fate of his predecessors did not like to carry the matter too far with the Afgans without being properly prepared with invigorated and refreshed soldiers. He felt diffident to give a crushing defeat to the enemy in a remote country the detailed knowledge of which he was not aware. Lastly his incomplete task at Bihar diverted his attention for a return to that province. All these considerations made Mansingh eager to agree to the treaty negotiations.

Nasir Khan submitted to Mansingh in person. He promised to read Qutba in the name of the emperor and stamp coins in the like manner. In return for that he was to be confirmed in the government of Orissa but he must live as a faithful vassal. A present of 150 elephants was made to the emperor by Nasir.

Another important clause of the treaty with the Afgans that gives much credit to the diplomatic mind of Raja Mansingh is his demand for the cession of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and its surrounding district to be used as a crownland. As a shrewd politician he not only understood the position of the Afgans in a predominantly Hindu territory, but also the sentiment of the Oriyas to the worship of Lord Jagannath whom they revered from the

core of their hearts. In order to win the goodwill of the Hindus and alienate the Afgans from Hindu sympathy, he laid much more emphasis on the point that Lord Jagannath should not be disturbed and no harm should be done to the loyal zamindars. This was a stroke of diplomacy which aimed at conciliating the Hindu sentiment and create a congenial atmosphere for posing the Mughals as the saviour of Hindu religion against the brutal aggression of the Afgans and thereby preparing the ground for the crushing of the Afgans.

The treaty of 1590 was neither favourable to the Afgans nor to the King of Orissa. Raja Ramachandra Deva, who always resented the appointment of a Mughal custodian at the temple of Jagannath was highly displeased with the Mughal way of deciding the peace. Though the treaty was made there was no reference to the position of the King of Orissa nor he was recognised as the custodian of the temple of Jagannath. Rather to the chagrin of him the temple with its surrounding places was brought under the direct administration of the Mughal emperor.

The same treaty brought an unexpected change in the political situation of the country. The enemies of King Ramachandra Deva, *i.e.*, Telinga Mukunda Deva and Chhakadi Bhramerber, the two sons of the late King of Orissa, Mukunda Deva so long disappointed in their effort to recover their old throne, now were encouraged and decided to place their legitimate claim to the throne of Orissa before Raja Mansingh for favour of necessary action. *Madalapanji* says, "In the 12th Ank (10th year) of the reign of Ramachandra Deva, the son of Mukunda Deva complained to the Padshah of Delhi and the emperor sent Raja Mansingh to Orissa."

The Afgan opposition to the Mughal rule did not come to an end with the death of Qutlu or with the treaty of 1590. So long Isha Khan, the wise regent of the young King Nasir, was alive the uncontrolled passions of the Afgan chiefs were in check. Soon after his death Nasir Khan with his followers captured the temple of Jagannath from the Mughal custodian and seized the crownland of Puri, attacked Hamir Singh of Bishnupur who once helped the Mughals against the Afgans, showing loyalty to the throne of Delhi, and also plundered the estates of those who refused to join him in rebellion.

The Afgan risings were looked with grave concern at the imperial court. Raja Mansingh was called upon for the second time to march against Orissa. He left Bihar for Orissa on 3rd November 1590. This time in order to harass the enemy from both directions he divided his army into two divisions. One division marched down the Ganges and was joined by the local zamindars. Said Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, came to its help with the Bengal troops. The other division took up the land route and advanced through Jharkharud (Sambalpur) under the commandship of Yusuf Khan Chak, the former King of Kashmir. The Mughal force occupied all the country near about Jaleswar. The Afgans to check the Mughal advance extended their northern frontier. At this point difference of opinion took place in the Mughal camp. Said Khan and Kachhwa Mansingh differed in the tactics of war they had to adopt. The Afgans wished

to treat. Such proposal was very favourably approved by the Bengal troops, but not by Mansingh.

Although the Afgans entrenched their position, the Bengal officers instead of cooperating with the plan of Mansingh sat down at a long distance. For months talks in regard to treaty as well as daily skirmishes continued simultaneously. According to *Akbar-nama* the entire Afgan army including the big Afgan leaders like Nasir Khan, Jamal Khan, two sons of Qutlu, Bahadur Khan, Usman and Jalal Khan Khasakhel offered their stubborn resistance to the Mughals.

A severe battle was fought with the entire Afgan army which had crossed the river Suvarnarekha at the forest of Benapur (10th April 1592). At the beginning of the fight, the Mughal rank was not properly coordinated. So the Afgan charge seemed to bring discomfiture in the imperial force. The situation was however saved due to the march of soldiers from the rear at the right moment. The well-equipped artillery fire of the Mughals created havoc in the Afgan line. The Afgans who mainly depended on the elephants were subjected to great inconvenience at the incessant fire poured on them from the enemy's side. The superiority in artillery and archery, enjoyed by the Mughals was sure to bring disaster to the Afgans whose tactics adopted and guns and other weapons used were of old nature. Almost 300 Afgans died in battle field including one divisional commander Khwaja Wais. Sultan Sur another commander was captured. Mansingh's clansmen, sons and relatives were a source of help for the achievement of victory.

The victorious Mughal army advanced towards Jaleswar, struck coins and read Kutba in the name of Akbar. The defeated Afgans had no more courage or strength to offer any effective resistance to the enemy. They returned towards the interior of Orissa. Mansingh chased them from behind. He advanced further 'digging up the roots of diaffection.' The local Hindu zamindars paid him reverence and submission. The victory, honour and prestige enjoyed by Mansingh was not tolerated by Said Khan of Bengal who grew jealous of him and in spite of the earnest request of Mansingh not to leave his companion, Said Khan, being more influenced by his mean spirit than anything else retired to Bengal, withdrawing all his forces.

Ramachandra Deva, the Raja of Khurda, was ever suspicious of Raja Mansingh. The appeal of Telinga Ramachandra Deva to Mansingh for placing him on the throne of Orissa confirmed his suspicions to a greater extent. He apprehended that in case the Mughals would be victorious in the battle, he would be deprived of his *gaddi*. In view of this he decided to try his lot with the Afgans and fortified the fort of Sarangagarh, (near Barang railway station) which appears to have been under his control.

Mansingh posted one division at Bhadrak and chased the Afgans towards Cuttack. Soon the capital of the Afgans fell into the hand of the Mughals. The Afgans as their last resource took shelter in Sarangagarh, occupied by Ramachandra Deva of Khurda. Tila Raja attended the Mughal general at Kalkalaghati. Alwa Khan, the Khaskhel of Qutlu Khan, was in charge of the fort of Aul. He was surrounded by the Mughal army and the attack

was so vigorous and hard that he was compelled to surrender the fort to the enemy.

While Mansingh reached Cuttack he saw, it was not only his duty to crush the Afgan power in Orissa but also to bring the Raja Ramachandra Deva, a great ally of Afgans and the greatest landlord of Orissa, into submission. At first he thought that the Afgans were completely powerless to offer any effective resistance to the Mughals. The only chief enemy who must be subdued was Raja Ramachandra of Khurda who still held the fort of Sarangagarh and gave shelter to a large number of Afgans.

As it appears the fort of Sarangagarh was well fortified and ably defended by the Hindu Raja. It was situated about five miles southwest of the town of Cuttack, the ruins of which old fort still exists today. It is said it was constructed by Chora Ganga (1104-1111 A.D.) the founder of the Ganga dynasty (later Gangas). It occupied a strategic position and was regarded as a second line of defence of the Raja of Orissa after the fall of Cuttack. Being situated on the bank of a river, the east was defended by natural boundary. Later on it played a great role in the history of Orissa. 'Kalapahar fought his last great battle with the chief of Orissa under its walls.'

Just during this time when it was the primary duty of Mansingh to demolish the fort of Sarangagarh, and occupy all other forts and places, southwest of Cuttack which were still under the sway of the enemy he proposed to go on a pilgrimage to Puri. Such a religious tour at this critical time was not becoming of a politician like Mansingh. This strange and unexpected move on the part of an astute diplomat was bound to receive censure in the eyes of common man. But Mansingh, while proceeding to Puri had two things in his mind.

Firstly, he saw the capitulation of the fort of Sarangagarh was a very difficult task. Even though with hard fight he could capture the fort it would not give him final victory over the Raja, because a large number of forts to the southwest of Sarangagarh was in enemy's possession, where he could take shelter. He thought if he could launch an attack on the homeland (*i.e.*, at the capital, Khurda) the Raja would be deluded and forced to submit to him.

Again as the attack would be made at the capital, the reinforcement would not be forthcoming from Khurda to the fort of Sarangagarh. Believing to achieve two things at one strike, he kept it as a secret. He gave out that he was going on a pilgrimage to Puri.

The second thing which he intended to do was to give a final decision to the claims of the rival claimants to the throne of Orissa, *i.e.*, Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telinga Ramachandra Deva. Ramachandra Deva, a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva, who had already seen the powers and strength of Mansingh in annexing the temple of Jagannath and the surrounding places to the crownland coaxed and induced him to offer him the *Gaddi* of Orissa. The antagonistic attitude of Ramachandra Deva of Khurda in holding the fort of Sarangagarh along with some Afgans greatly displeased and offended Mansingh. In view of this perhaps Mansingh at first was to

some extent inclined to place Telinga Ramachandra Deva on the throne, who would prove more faithful, subservient and obedient to the Mughal cause than anybody else. But still, he however, did not like to come to a rash conclusion without investigating the validity of the claim of the two rivals and without paying proper regard to the public opinion of Orissa. By the by he wanted to measure the strength of Ramachandra Deva and to know how far he was capable with his resources to fight against the Mughals.

In accordance with his plan Mansingh started for Puri. There was no difficulty in crossing the rivers Kathjuri and Kuakhai which were almost dry. It appears the Mughals with Mansingh went along the side of the river Kuakhai in the northeast and passing through Balakati posted near Pipli, one important place, now on Jagannath trunk road 25 miles from Puri and twenty seven miles from Cuttack and began to occupy the neighbouring places.

The approach of the Mughal army in the neighbourhood of Khurda infused fear into the heart of the Raja. He clearly saw through the diplomacy of Raja Mansingh and his intention to advance towards his capital. That is why he wished to come to terms with him. He not only sent his son, Birabar, with plenty of presents in order to win the favour of Mansingh and also expected that such voluntary submission would ensure his position as King of Orissa and the temple of Jagannath and the neighbouring places now included in the crownland would legally pass into his hands.

But Mansingh desisted from acceding to the proposal of Raja because on the one hand he was unwilling to be generous to a man who was fighting hand in hand with the Afgans against the Mughals. His sincerity in entering into negotiation could not be trusted. On the other hand, Telinga Ramachandra Deva had appealed to the emperor previously as the supreme arbitrator to give his final decision on the rivalry of the two claimants and sided the cause of Mughals by not giving shelter to the Afgans, the bitter enemies of the Mughals. There was every likelihood that he would always prove faithful to the emperor.

The attitude of the Mughal general clearly appeared to be very much disappointing and unsatisfactory to the expectation of Raja of Khurda. As no suitable reply was forthcoming from Mansingh as to his proposals, the Raja of Orissa changed his mind and made necessary preparations to fight against the Mughal general. Other circumstances were too favourable to him for such a decision.

While Mansingh went towards Puri, on his pilgrimage, he left Yusuf Khan Chak, the Kashmiri in charge of Cuttack. But the small number of soldiers stationed at Cuttack somehow with much difficulty could check the troublesome activities of the Afgans who were always watching for opportunity to rise against the Mughals. But in other directions they were more active. The encampment of Mansingh at Pipli induced the Afgans to re-establish their power in the north side of Orissa. The dispersed Afgans now attacked in the rear. Fath Khan Hijli, Habi Khan, Darya Khan, Sujawal Khan and Mewa Khan invaded Jaleswar and forced Babu Mankali to give up the place.

At this stage Mansingh demanded the personal attendance of the Raja and asked him to appear before him. But Ramachandra Deva who had already studied the mind and attitude of Mansingh and unable to receive the consent of Mansingh to his proposal of being recognised as the Gajpati, evaded waiting on him. The attack of the Afgans on Jaleswar offered another opportunity to the Raja of Orissa to defy the command of the Mughal general.

Three major problems, *i.e.*, the Afgan rising at Jaleswar, the defiance of Raja Ramachandra and failure of the Mughals in taking the fort of Saarangagarh were rising before Mansingh. As taking up the three problems simultaneously was a very difficult matter, he first of all concentrated his attention to the attack of the Afgans in Jaleswar. He sent Pahar Khan and others against Fath Khan and his companions. The Afgans were repulsed and the place was recovered. The Mughal victory at Jaleswar brought fresh reinforcements to Cuttack. After a hard fight the fort of Sarangagarh was surrendered to the Mughals.

Even before the fall of Sarangagarh, Mansingh in order to chastise the Raja, sent an expedition into his territory under the commandship of his son Jagat Singh. Jagat Singh started from Pipli towards Khurda. He was confronted with a series of impediments on the way. The Raja being the head of the kingdom of Orissa had a large number of forts and cities under his control. Most of them were situated on both sides of river Daya. The *killadars* stationed in these forts were entrusted with the defence of these forts. The advance of the Mughals towards Khurda, necessitated terrible fight against the enemy at each fort, they had to pass over. The forts and cities which fell into the hands of the Mughals are named in *Akbarnama* as Sahajapal, Kharagarh, Kalaupada, Kanan, Longarh and Bhumal.

Sahajapal is not Sakhigopal. It is Sahajapari Katak situated near the village Beguniapara, on the river Daya in Delang, P.S. Puri. According to *Madalapanji*, it was once made the capital of Raja Madana Mahadeba. The old remnants of the fort are still visible today and reminds the visitor of its past glory. A few Muhamadan families who live in the neighbouring village of Ghorodia are supposed to have been established during this time.

Kharagarh can be identified with Aragarh on the north of river Daya. The relics of the old fort are still found near the small village of Aragarh situated at a distance of two miles from the Khurda Road. (Railway station). It occupied a very strategic point having the river Daya on the south and Aragarh Hill on the north.

Kalaupada which has been identified with Kalupada, on the west shore of Chilka lake is a wrong assumption. This Kalupada is a village near the Biswanath Hill in the Delang, P.S. Puri. The boundary line of the dilapidated fort which fought against the Mughals still now attracts the notice of the visitors who generally go up to the temple of Lord Biswanath on the Viswanath Hill.

At the approach of the enemy, the Raja of Khurda shut himself in

the well-fortified capital at Khurda, at the foot of Barunai hill which was well protected on one side by the Barunai hill and on the other by the dense almost impregnable jungle. He sent reinforcements from the capital to the small forts on the both sides of river Daya. Although the six forts mentioned above fell into the possession of the enemy, a few other forts remained still unoccupied and the Raja of Khurda was also safe inside his formidable fort.

In spite of the hard fight of the Mughals, the idea of scoring an easy victory against Orissa Raja vanished in face of such difficult problems. Raja Mansingh was not successful to force the surrender of the impregnable fort in any manner.

The other problems rising along with it were equally difficult to tackle. Apart from the failure to take the fort of Khurda the second difficulty with which the Mughals were confronted was the rising of the Afgans. The Afgan snake though shocked was not killed. After a small interval of their submission they again appeared and were united to create fresh trouble in different parts of Orissa.

Thirdly, the adamant attitude of the Raja of Khurda, in the Khurda fort was looked upon with suspicion. It was apprehended that the rigorous attitude shown towards the Raja might throw him into the hand of Muhammad Quli Qutlu Shah, the Sultan of Golconda. The kingdom of Golconda which was rising in power was enjoying independence and for the last few years was interfering with the southern part of Orissa. There was every possibility that too much pressure on the Raja would make him an ally of the Sultan of Golconda as a result of which another difficult problem together with the Afgan risings would be faced by the Mughals.

Fourthly, it was afterwards discovered that the popular opinion was in favour of Raja of Khurda against the Telinga Ramachandra Deva. Telinga Ramachandra Dev was not able to win the sympathy and good will of the mass. To entrust such a grave responsibility of administration of Orissa to the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva might endanger the Mughal cause in the distant land of Orissa. Afterwards it was rightly considered that the recognition of Ramachandra of Khurda as the King of Orissa would do no harm to the interest of the empire. Rather it would be conducive to the Mughal empire in two ways. Firstly, it would not only make the Raja more loyal to the emperor of Delhi, but also would please the King and the sentiment of the people of Orissa. Secondly, the recognition of a popular hero as Raja would serve as a check and balance to the turbulent Afgan spirit in Orissa.

Considering all these points the emperor disapproved the aggressive attitude of Mansingh shown to an old dynasty which had already acknowledged the sovereign power of Delhi emperor by sending his son to attend Mansingh. Mansingh now received censure from Akbar and he was ordered to withdraw the troops which were engaged in harassing the forts of Khurda Raja.

As to who would be recognised as the King of Orissa, it is stated in *Madalapanji*, Badshah emperor sent Mansingh to Orissa and said "who is the Naik (leader) of Orissa would be made the Raja of Orissa".

The censure of Mansingh from the emperor changed the shape of the

whole affairs. He now changed his mind and became more generous towards the Raja of Khurda in coming to the terms of a treaty. The idea of placing on the throne, the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva was, however, discarded. The assurance given to the Raja of Khurda not to disturb him from his position reposed confidence within his heart. When it was found that Mansingh was really sincere in his dealings towards the Raja and as a proof it had already withdrawn his army, he found no reason to resist the Mughals any longer. Such unexpected change he never anticipated. Taking this opportunity he wished to perpetuate his friendly relation with the throne of Delhi. So he agreed to personally wait upon Mansingh (31st Man. 1593). Moreover he expressed his desire to give his daughter in marriage to Mansingh.

According to the terms of the treaty Raja Ramachandra Deva was allowed to retain the principality of Khurda which comprised 71 forts. Moreover he was made the master of the estates of thirty other feudal lords containing one hundred and twenty nine *killas* or castles. As calculated, the total area covered 13,935 sq. miles while his own principality comprised 1392 sq. miles. The total area included the modern districts of Ganjam, the tributary states of Angul, Athgarh, Banki, Baramba, Daspala, Dhenkanal, Khandapara, Narsingpur, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Talcher and Tigiria, the estates of Darpana in Cuttack and the fiscal division of Andhar, Bajrakot, and parganas, Rahanga, Sirai, Lembai and Chhabishkud of Puri District.

It was settled that Ramachandra Deva would pay the revenue to the imperial treasury instead of paying to the Afghans. He was conferred with the title of Maharaja and was promoted to the rank of a commander of three thousand and five hundred horses. Other members of his family also were favoured with the charge of different forts and *killas*. But they had to pay separate revenue according to their rank and position. Stirling says, "Khurda with Purusotham Chattar and certain mahals were assigned in Zamindari tenure free of all tribute to Ramachandra Deva with the title of Maharaja and the Musalman dignity of commandership or sovereignty over and to collect tribute from 129 of the *killas* or the jurisdiction of the Khatris of Orissa including all the present Cuttack tributary *mahals* south of Mahanadi and the estate of Ghumsar Moherry etc., reaching as far as the border of Khemdi in Ganjam."

The decision of Raja Mansingh over the rival claims to the throne of Orissa by Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telinga Ramachandra Deva has been very nicely described in the *Madalapanji*.

When Mansingh went on pilgrimage to Puri, both Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telinga Ramachandra Deva accompanied him. It was a time when the *chandana jatra* was celebrated. The priests of Jagannath asked Mansingh whom they should offer *Khadi-prasad*. Mansingh looked towards them and asked them to bring it to him. In the presence of Goddess Bimbalai Mansingh offered *Khadi-prasad* to Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and recognised him as the King of Orissa.

The open support of Mansingh to the claim of the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva in the earlier part of his campaign in Orissa was not unknown.

to the people. The rumour as to the recognition of the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva as the King of Orissa by the Mughals was probably still in current although terms of negotiation had already been carried on between Mansingh and the Raja of Khurda. Again as Mansingh once the conqueror of Orissa and one who formerly annexed the temple of Jagannath with surrounding places to the crownland did not express his opinion as to who would be King of Orissa, the priests were in a fix and had no option to offer *Khadi-prasad* whomsoever they liked. That is why without giving *Khadi-prasad* to any of them they waited for the decision and order of Mansingh. Mansingh who now received instructions from the emperor and had already entered into terms with Raja of Khurda had no other alternative than to recognise the Raja Ramachandra Deva of Khurda as the King of Orissa. The religious sanction to the recognition as King was given in front of Bimbalai by the temple of Jagannath.

Though the claim of Telinga Ramachandra Deva as King of Orissa was forfeited Mansingh wished to gratify him in some other way. The man reposing so much confidence in Mughal general was not to be altogether disappointed. The intention of Mansingh was not to please one in order to incur the displeasure of the other. In that case the Afgans not entirely suppressed would get the better of the situation and utilise the sympathy and cooperation of the discontented Hindu chiefs for their own ends. Again by placing both of them on some estates, the mischief of one Hindu chief would be balanced by the loyalty of other to the emperor in case of future trouble in Orissa.

Considering this, Telinga Ramachandra Deva, son of Telinga Mukunda Deva, was acknowledged as the Raja of the fort of Ali with its dependencies. The other son of Mukunda Deva, Chhakadi Bhramarbar was made the hereditary chief of Patia. A large number of Killajat estates in the different parts of the district were brought under his control.

The statement of R. D. Banerjee that the conquest of Orissa by the Mughals under Mansingh inaugurated a new era in the political history of the country by the establishment of a new dynasty of the Hindu kings in that country is not feasible. Neither Mansingh established a new dynasty nor Ramachandra Deva was appointed by the Mughal general nor he was the new Gajapati.

Before the advent of Mansingh to Orissa Ramachandra Deva had already been the King of Orissa. The management of the temple of Jagannath was being performed by him. His succession to the throne of Orissa did not wait for the sanction of the Mughal emperor of Delhi, because he being the son of a very powerful minister Danai Bidyadhar received the approval of all the leading people of Orissa to act as a king after a period of anarchy for some years. Mansingh had nothing to do with the establishment of a new dynasty. The statement that Ramachandra obtained recognition as Gajapati through the personal favour of Mansingh is not right. Because from the beginning of the Ganga dynasty, all the kings of Orissa took the pride of adorning their names with the pompous title of Gajapati. Ramachandra Deva, being the King of Orissa got the title of Gajapati. His succession to

the throne of Orissa did not depend on the personal pleasure of a Mughal general. Mansingh was not free to impose his own will in recognising whomsoever as the King of Orissa, only because he liked or disliked one or other. From the standpoint of political expediency, from the nature of the difficult political atmosphere where the Afgans were creating repeated trouble and defying the Mughal suzerainty and considering the public opinion of Orissa, only alternative which was left to Mansingh was to accept the thing as it was. Moreover he had to carry out the order of the Mughal emperor. In doing so he was only showing proper justice to the broad and generous principle which was being applied to different Hindu kingdoms during the time of Akbar. Akbar's treatment towards the Hindu kings was very generous and liberal. In his confederacy, whether one was a Hindu or a Muslim was allowed to be a member. He never interfered with the internal sovereignty of the state or internal administration of the king who acknowledged the sovereign authority of the emperor. He did not like to depose a king by replacing a favourite choice of his own simply because he once opposed him. On what he laid much more emphasis was the recognition of his overlordship, acknowledgment of his sovereign power. Though the chief of Ranthamber Surjana Hara once defied the suzerain power of Akbar, the government of the state was not taken away from him to be handed over to a different man.

He was, however, accorded with the honour of a Rajput chief when he later on realised his mistake and acknowledged the sovereign power of the emperor. The same thing was true in case of the Raja of Kalinger (Raja Ramachandra) and with other kings of India.

Ramachandra Deva of Khurda had already recognised the suzerain authority of Akbar by sending his son to attend on Mansingh. There was no reason why he should not enjoy the status of the grandees of the court of Akbar like the other Hindu chiefs who were privileged to enjoy such position. Accordingly he was made a Maharaja and was paid due honour. The theory of Mr. R. D. Banerjee that Ramachandra Deva was recognised as king by bribery is a distortion of fact and pure imagination. We do not get any proof of bribery by Ramachandra Deva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Madalapanji*.
2. *Akbarnama* (English Translation), Vol. III.
3. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1927, Vol. XIII.
4. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.
5. *Bengal District Gazeteer*, Balasore.
6. *Bengal District Gazeteer*, Puri.
7. *District Gazeteer*, Cuttack.
8. Stuart—*History of Bengal*.
9. R. D. Banerjee—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II.
10. Hunter—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II.
11. Stirling—*An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*.
12. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV.
13. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (Dacca University publication).
14. *Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation.
15. Krupasinidhu Misra—*History of Orissa*.

SECTION V

MODERN INDIA
(From 1765 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

FELLOW-DELEGATES AND FRIENDS,

I beg to refrain from staling the customary expressions of humility and gratitude by another tiresome repetition thereof. But, I am sure you will permit me to ask for your generous indulgence, your kindly cooperation and your cordial sympathy which I need to enable me to preside over the deliberations of your Section to your satisfaction, and discharge the duties which will be required of me.

As I stand before you, I cannot help giving expression to what is uppermost in the minds of all and everyone of us, and in the minds of the students of Modern Indian History in particular. Two of the noblest makers of what we love to call Modern India, Sri Aurobindo and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, have left their mortal bodies only a few days ago, and are now in the glorious company of the Immortals. Not for me to evaluate in feeble words that I could command the unforgettable roles which each, in his respective sphere, played in the history of Modern India. Their historic deeds are their best monuments, and their lives are their abiding glories. When the future historian would begin to appraise the greatest figures of Modern Indian History and assess their place in creative thought as well as dynamic action, he will surely come across no names standing out more convincingly than those of Sri Aurobindo and Sardar Patel whose contributions to the uplift of India will remain an imperishable chapter in our national history.

Turning to the subject matter of the history of Modern India, I need hardly remind you that the path of the student of Modern Indian History has so far been full of difficulties some of which we have yet to surmount. A really objective history of our period could not have been attempted successfully so far owing to handicaps and limitations which were inevitable in the period of our subjection to an alien power. Criticism could not always be free, and judgment could not be easily passed without regard to the viewpoint of the British administration. Those who were engaged in research before India became free were fully aware that there was a body of observers outside their own limited circle of fellow students, watching carefully and as alert and as ready to take offence, as any of their own countrymen could be. This constant awareness of an overseeing, even inquisitorial audience constituted a kind of invisible, yet potent, censorship which cast on the whole an unhealthy influence on the progress of research in British Indian History.

While the Indian scholar was thus circumscribed by the handicaps of the political situation, the average British historian, with honourable exceptions, betrayed a psychology which is characteristic of a ruling race. He was naturally more interested in the achievements of the British rule in India than in the greatness or originality of the Indian achievements. It was not

that he did not care to delve deep into the history of our people. In fact, he was responsible for some valuable pioneering work to which we owe much of the frame-work of Modern Indian History. But, he usually viewed every thing from the Western or British standpoint, and his opinions were coloured more or less by the current notions of imperialism. He had more often than not limited or little command over the Indian languages and likewise little or no access to the records in private possession. He, therefore, judged things and events on the basis of the English versions or English records alone. The inevitable result of this attitude was that his generalisations, even though at times brilliant and illuminating, were not infrequently unwarranted by facts or evidence. Thus, a good deal of the history of the British period was misread, misunderstood or misrepresented—a fact which we all deplore today.

It is now up to the Indian scholars to piece together from the records widely scattered all over the country or preserved in official record rooms a true and objective history of the Indian people during British rule, and check the old notions on the basis of authentic sources hitherto imperfectly known or even kept away from the reach of the historian. This process of real reconstruction which is now beginning with the advent of independence calls for an enterprise which is clearly beyond the powers of any single man or even a single generation. It involves an expense which is also beyond the reach of the class to which our historians generally belong. This dynamic and scientific approach to the history of Modern India will have to be achieved in planned stages and, as far as possible, by cooperative effort. If there is a lack of planning or proper co-ordination, our progress will be hampered and delayed. There is, and there will be in future, immense scope for individual effort, but, what we should now frankly recognise, there will have to be more and more conjoint effort at turning the flood-light of scientific method on to the vast mass of original material which is now being brought to light.

There are various pitfalls in the way of the reconstruction of Modern Indian History. *First*, there is the danger of patriotic bias which may lead one to take up consciously or unconsciously the role of an apologist for the Indian viewpoint. This nationalist outlook may also prompt the defence of all that the European scholars have hitherto objected to or criticised. *Second*, there is the ever-present possibility of a communal approach to every fact or personality, and it is not unlikely that the partition of India and its aftermath may aggravate this danger, and that things and events may be looked at from the communal point of view. *Third*, regional or provincial feelings may sway the outlook of the historian, and he may be tempted to present facts from his own local angle. There is already some loose talk going on about the so-called Maharashtrian point of view, the Sikh point of view, the Rajput point of view, the Bengali point of view and so on. The importation of regional consciousness or conceit into the domain of research will be a serious danger to objective study. *Fourth*, the historian may be led to align himself with a particular caste or social group, and may thereby be instrumental in giving a wrong turn to the study of history. We have heard lately of such things as the Brahmin point of view or the non-Brahmin point

of view in matters historical. This is a serious danger which we have to guard against. Caste jealousies have done immense harm in all walks of our national life. Shall we allow them to pollute the sacred temple of the Muse of History? *Fifth*, the trends of research are likely to be governed by party prejudices and political loyalties. If this danger is not guarded against, there will be as many schools of thought in history as there are political parties in India. That historical research has been misused in some countries in the interests of the ruling party is much too notorious to need a detailed mention. The historians of Modern India will have to resist the temptation of playing the role of publicity officers for the government of the day.

Last, but not the least among the pitfalls which beset the path of the historian of Modern India is the growing tendency in our country to judge everything in the light of the set terms and formulas of Marxist thought and to read the history of Modern India in those terms and formulas alone. The kernel of MARX'S viewpoint on Modern Indian history, it may be mentioned, is to be found not only in his "CAPITAL" and in some of his letters to ENGELS, but in the series of eight thought-provoking articles on Modern India, which he wrote for the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1853, when the East India Company's Charter came up before Parliament for the last renewal. MARX'S analysis in so far as it turned on the destructive and regenerative roles of British rule in India in the period of free-trade capitalism is based more on a pre-conceived ideology than on objective study. His ideas are of value to the extent they draw our attention to the importance of economic forces underlying historical developments. But, if these ideas and formulas are adopted as the chief basis of historical interpretation, we shall run the risk of straying into a kind of ideological propaganda, however catchy that might appear to the confirmed Marxist who is obsessed with his so-called historical premises for the future new society to be built in India.

To view, in short, the history of Modern India merely as the melodrama of the impact of extra-European expansion of capitalism on the Indian village economy with its resultant transformation of the Indian proletariat is to judge only one aspect, even though it might be an important one, of the facts of history. Objective research will, however, embrace even such aspects as are of no interest to the Marxist. With due deference, therefore, I beg to utter a word of caution against the danger that faces our historians, if they allow themselves to fall victims to any dogma or ideology or any 'ism' for the matter of that. In his inductive approach to history, the historian will no doubt study the role of economics as much as that of any other determining force in national life. It must, however, be admitted that the future historian will have to produce a more integral and correlated picture of the life of the common man than has been attempted so far from the scanty data that are scattered in different sources, documentary, literary or otherwise. Even when political, social and cultural institutions are studied, their evolution will have to be clarified, not in isolation as hitherto done, but as inter-related links in the chain of national economy. Thus far the Marxist method

will be of use as a corrective to an unbalanced and compartmental interpretation of tendencies and movements. What we shall have to avoid are the ideological inhibitions and obsessions which are uncritical and, therefore, unscientific.

So far as the work of reconstruction which has been, or is being attempted is concerned, it is by no means negligible. Research in Modern Indian History has outlived its stage of infancy, but, strictly speaking, it is still below par—not so much from the point of view of quality which is undoubtedly high, as from the point of view of data so far discovered and exploited. Despite the fostering care of the Indian Historical Records Commission and of the Indian History Congress, much remains to be done still. We are hardly far advanced beyond the infringe of a vast field. The very immensity and variety of the documentary material at our disposal makes our task indeed very difficult. A band of tireless workers is needed to explore every nook and corner of this field, before we can reach a stage when a real reconstruction of history will be achieved. I would now take the liberty of drawing your attention to those types of original records which still await a detailed study.

In the first place, the records in the possession of the Christian Missions in India have not yet received the attention they deserve. A close examination of the Church and Mission records would throw a flood of light on social and cultural history of Modern India. I have reliable information that some of the Missions in India and their headquarters' offices in Europe possess a vast amount of material which has not yet been explored, much less utilised.

In the second place, the letters, diaries, tracts, journals, speeches and other documents relating to the Indian religious movements like the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Prarthana Samaj, the Ram Krishna Mission, Sri Aurobindo Ashram etc. have yet to be studied with care. These records will be of great help in unravelling the threads of Modern India's religious renaissance.

In the third place, the mergers and integrations of the Indian States have lately brought to light immense quantities of States records to which we had so far little or no access. These records should be subjected to a close scrutiny, for they will materially supplement the information that was hitherto available only from the British records.

In the fourth place, the Regional Records Survey Committees have already unearthed a mass of material which, when properly utilised, will go a long way in helping us to understand the past. In this connection, I would like to voice our graceful appreciation of the valuable work these Committees are doing. May we hope that the Government will provide more funds so as to enable these Committees to work more intensively and with much better results?

In the fifth place, the importance of provincial records has not yet been fully recognised; and some of the local Governments have not yet even centralised their old records scattered in the district offices and buried in

dust-laden bundles. When these records are examined, they will doubtless yield valuable historical data.

In the sixth place, the papers, correspondence, speeches, and other documents, both private and official, pertaining to historic political bodies such as the British India Society, the British Indian Association, the Indian Association, and above all, the Indian National Congress among others should throw a flood of light on the less known aspects of Indian Nationalism, and the Indian Freedom Movement.

In the seventh place, the old records and other relevant papers relating to and in the custody of the old mercantile, industrial and banking companies, and also those in the possession of mercantile families will be of great use in understanding the economic history of modern times. Even the commercial records of the East India Company alone would yield a rich harvest, but it is a pity that even these have so far been only inadequately utilised.

In the eighth place, the old records of some of the well-known educational institutions in India, wherever available, will amply repay study as subsidiary material on the history of education.

In the ninth place, a survey of records in the custody of the law courts in India is essential to a comprehensive history of the socio-economic trends in modern times. Much of such records has already perished, or is liable to perish, if proper steps are not taken even at this stage. Large numbers of youthful researchers are needed to make a patient study of such records, and we shall have to wait long before we have a fair harvest of their labours in this connection.

In the tenth place, the old records, accounts and other papers in the possession of the Zamindar families and the Courts of Wards would constitute an invaluable source of information regarding rural economy in general and land revenue collections in particular. With the imminent abolition of Zamindari in various States of the Indian Union, it is not unlikely that such records may before long be totally lost to us. It is therefore to be hoped that the States Governments will see to it that this does not happen and that scholars are given an opportunity to look into them and collect historical material therefrom.

In the eleventh place, the records of semi-official local bodies such as Municipalities and District Boards are another valuable mine of information which has yet to unfold its treasures. It is up to the States Governments to see that such records are not carelessly weeded and destroyed, and that steps are taken early to provide for the preservation of such portions of the records which might have some historical value.

Lastly, the literary works in various Indian languages including polemical and journalistic literature, drama, fiction and poetry have to be subjected to a critical analysis from the historian's point of view. These will at least give us some insight into the mind of the people at a particular time, or during a particular epoch.

My predecessors in their addresses suggested a number of aspects and problems which await investigation. I would not reiterate them, lest I should

fire your patience. I should, however, point out that these suggestions still await a proper implementation. May I, in this connection, put forward a few additional suggestions and some which would go to amplify and supplement those of my predecessors?

So far as the political history of our period is concerned, the growth of army and navy, the evolution of diplomatic relations and the growth of various terrorist and revolutionary movements call for a careful inquiry and elucidation. Under the new political set up in India, much greater facilities are now available in this connection than in the days of British rule. I am sure our scholars will now increasingly turn their attention to these aspects. In this connection, I should like to urge that more and more recent records in the custody of both the Union and States Governments should be thrown open for *bona fide* research. Just at present, the official records are accessible up to the very end of the 19th century. But, now that the British rule has ended, we have a right to demand that this general limit should, as far as possible, be extended to the end of the British period, except only in the cases of such confidential records which are still of current use.

The history of the administrative developments has received some measure of attention already, but some of the items like the Posts, Telegraphs, Railways, Irrigation, P.W.D., Jails, Excise, Customs etc., still demand a fuller investigation. There is happily no dearth of material on these and other allied subjects. It is to be hoped that the attention of our scholars will be drawn to these fruitful fields of inquiry, howsoever uninviting and prosaic they may appear.

Economic history has already attracted considerable interest. But, some of its less known aspects still need attention. The rise and growth of what the Marxist calls "Merchant Capital", "Industrial Capital" and "Finance Capital" since the beginnings of British rule down to our own times have to be carefully explained on the basis of authentic data. The industrialisation of India with its consequential effects on Indian life and economy, the nature and extent of the hold of British capital and industry on India, the rise of socialist thought and movement, including trade-unionism will have to be studied with due care. Items like the growing pressure of the population on rural life and economy, the relation of landlordism to the increasing impoverishment of the peasantry and the rise of a landless proletariat are other subjects which should engage the attention of historians.

Social or cultural history has attracted very little interest so far, even though my predecessors frequently emphasised the importance thereof. Some of its aspects like the break-down of the old rural society, the rise of peasant movements, the life of industrial labour, emigration of coolie labour, the growth of the middle class, the nature of inter-communal relations, or religious revivalism are extremely vital to an understanding of the India of today. But, I am sorry to say, we have practically relegated these subjects so far to the tender care of journalists, bureaucrats and propagandists. Will the historians even now pay heed to a work which is peculiarly their own?

And now, Fellow-Delegates and Friends, as I do not like to tax your forbearance overmuch, I must bring my sermonising to an end. You will pardon me, if I have altogether left out of my purview, or merely casually mentioned some of the important problems that face us today. I shall be happy, if I find that I have been able to rivet your attention on some of the points that occurred to me during my own studies. Being only a very humble worker, I have no right to dogmatise on the purely scientific or philosophical aspects of our work. Nor do I presume to offer words of advice to my co-workers and to my seniors. I would venture merely to speak a word to my younger friends. I would tell them that our seniors are yet in the midst of their new endeavours which will ultimately lead us to our desired goal. But, they cannot promise to themselves or to you that they will complete the work of reconstruction of history they have undertaken with high hopes and with resolute determination. I would therefore appeal to the younger scholars to take up with vigour the work commenced by the present generation which may before long retire or pass away. The new generation of researchers would readily admit that they are placed in a better situation, under more fortunate circumstances, and, above all, under the inspiring patronage of a national Government which is prepared to give the greatest facilities as well as scope for original work on the basis of records in its custody. If some of us who are older have not been able to work as actively and intensively as we should have done, we can at any rate hope and pray that our younger friends, with their greater zeal and energy, will wipe out the oft-repeated reproach that the average Indian scholar works rather languidly and likes to rest on his laurels.

Fellow-Delegates and Friends, I have done. I thank you now most heartily for the very patient hearing you have given me. It now only remains for me to request that, in the discussion of the papers that will now be read before you, you will kindly show the same indulgence as you have hitherto shown. May your deliberations contribute to the benefit of us all!
JAI HIND !

THE PENULTIMATE PHASE OF THE POLIGAR WAR OF 1799-1801

PROFESSOR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The turbulence of the Poligars of the Madura and Tinnevelly country was long-continued ; and its earliest manifestation, on a large scale, was even prior to the governorship of Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the famous Sepoy Commandant, over the Madura country which ended in 1764 with his execution for treachery towards the Nawab of the Carnatic. Subsequently numerous sporadic campaigns had to be waged. Of the Poligar chiefs who were most insubordinate, those of Vāsudēvanallūr, Sivagiri and Pāñchālamkurichi were conspicuous. The situation was worsened by Haidar Ali's instigation of them under the lure of further fiefs and rewards, during the two wars with the English that he waged and by secret negotiations that the chiefs carried on with the Dutch at Tuticorin and Colombo. The difficulty of keeping the Poligars in effective control was so great that Warren Hastings planned, on one occasion, to give the Tinnevelly country to the Dutch in return for a body of 1,000 infantry, 200 artillery men and 1,000 Malay troopers.

The assumption of the Carnatic and its administration by the English for the duration of the war with Tipu Sultan (1790-2) and the subsequent English undertaking, by treaty with the Nawab in 1792, to collect *kists* and to take over the control of the country in times of war, led to numerous English encroachments into what the Poligars had deemed their traditional rights and to outbreak of revolts in Ramnad in 1797 and in other places. The Nayak brothers of Pāñchālamkurichi were very prominent among the anti-English chiefs and often defied or ignored the ultimatum sent by the English authorities.

After Seringapatam was taken and the power of Tipu was destroyed in May 1799, the English commander, Major Bannerman began the first campaign against Pāñchālamkurichi which was reduced only after some strain ; and the Poligar and his diwan were hanged (October 1799), and several punitive measures were undertaken, like the razing down of forts and the sequestration of several palayams and an attempt at the complete disarmament of the Poligars' retainers and followers.

After several months of seeming quiet, risings broke out afresh in the beginning of 1801, leading to the second campaign against Pāñchālamkurichi and operations against the Marudus of Sivaganga to whom the Pāñchālamkurichi survivors fled and who fought a most bitter campaign. The Pāñchālamkurichi Nayak brothers and the Marudus of Sivaganga naturally occupy a high place in the esteem of all South Indians who regard them as the real pioneers of a national revolt against the English domination. Their bravery and heroism have received ample testimony from all sides, including their English enemies.

II

Colonel James Welsh who was in active military service for nearly forty years in India and elsewhere, was a participant in the operations against Pāñchālamkurichi and Sivaganga in 1801, and has given an eye-witness's account of the two campaigns in the first volume of his *Military Reminiscences*. (Extracted from a Journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies. London, MDCCC., XXX.)

The following narrative of the Pāñchālamkurichi campaign is culled from the account he has furnished and is supplemented from the Military Records (Consultations). The operations against the fort of Pāñchālamkurichi lasted from February to May 1801.

February 1801. The Tinnevelley country was still in great ferment, and though the leading Poligars who were captured in the late campaign of 1799 were kept in prison at Pālayamkōttai and put in irons and under a strong guard, their adherents were swarming through the entire neighbourhood. As an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the prisoners their chains were removed; and after a few days of apparent quiet, the prisoners suddenly attacked and overpowered the two sentries posted in front of the prison gate. A few of the guards were wounded and all of them were disarmed. The prisoners seized the muskets of the disarmed guards, rushed on the guards of the main fort gate and quickly overpowered them also, being helped by a body of their adherents who had gathered outside, with concealed weapons (evening of 2nd February 1801).

Before the following dawn they had traversed the entire distance of 30 miles to Pāñchālamkurichi. On the road they surprised and disarmed more than a hundred of the Company's sepoy and drove away, at one place, an entire body of them under an Indian officer.

At the time of their escape from Pālayamkōttai Major Macaulay, the Commanding Officer, was giving a dinner party to all the staff officers and civilian Europeans at the station; and his residence was guarded only by a few sepoy under a Naik. The Poligar party who escaped could have easily secured the entire party of Europeans who were at ease at dinner and unprepared, and could have destroyed the whole number of them.

Even when the European officers became aware of the Poligars' escape, they sent out only small parties to recapture the fugitives—while even if all the sepoy then in Pālayamkōttai had been despatched, they would have proved totally inadequate for the purpose.

3rd February. The Company's troops stationed at Sankaranainārkōil were ordered to march east to Kayattār, 30 miles distant. At the latter place all the officers who were at Pālayamkōttai joined them, along with a cavalry party of the Nawab of Arcot. It was only a short time before this that a body of European cavalry and some infantry had been transferred elsewhere from Pālayamkōttai, as perfect tranquillity seemed to prevail, though really only on the surface, in the district.

8th February. The troops reached this day Kūlaiyanallūr, 19 miles from Kayattār. They consisted of 900 sepoy, armed with firelocks, and a

detachment of Bengal Artillery, with 2 six- and 2 four-pounder guns. Shortly after they had pitched their camp they were suddenly attacked by a body of about 1,200 Poligar troopers, armed with muskets, long pikes and swords. They attacked the English camp at three points and also the nearby village which the sepoys had occupied, and withdrew after an hour ; but they could not be pursued far. There was a second attack on the village made in the night, but it was easily driven back.

9th February. When the Company's troops reached the plain of Pānchālamkurichi, they were astonished to find that the walls which had been entirely levelled, shortly before, after the 1799 campaign, had been rebuilt and were now fully manned by about 1,500 men. The English did not know till then that the fort had been rebuilt at all.

The Company's troops did not dare to storm the fort in daylight ; they encamped near the village of Ottapidāram, about a mile from the fort, at a carefully chosen spot midway between the latter village on the east and Pānchālamkurichi on the west.

It was proposed to divide the forces into two storming parties and to attack the fort walls at two different points, as soon as darkness should set in.

Meanwhile, the scouts brought information that the Poligars were preparing to assault the English camp at nightfall. Thereupon the English immediately broke up camp in a panic, and retreated at 2 p.m. in the afternoon, the main body of troops being protected by field-pieces placed in front and rear.

This 'disgraceful' retreat is thus described by Welsh: "Here then was an unlooked-for occurrence ; in the first place, we were opposed by a strong fort, raised as it were, by magic, in six days ; in the second, its defenders increased beyond all possible calculation, were likely to become the assailants. It was decided, therefore, *nem con*, that we had no business to remain there ; and as both men and officers were already nearly exhausted by two grilling marches and a sleepless night, it was doubtful whether they could keep awake another, to receive with due alacrity, such a nocturnal visit as was in contemplation."

No sooner had the English forces proceeded a third of their way to Pālayamkōttai, than they were overtaken in the dark by a body of Poligar troops who rushed upon them with shouts and screams, almost to the bayonet point. But they were received with a well-aimed discharge of grape and musketry, which brought down 110 of them. The Poligar troopers escaped and did not molest the retreating English during the rest of their march to Pālayamkōttai which they reached on the morning of the 10th.

17th February. The troops having been collected from various sources, a detachment was now sent against the Poligar fort of Kādalgudi, which was supposed to be weak and ill-defended. But the Poligars contrived to send a body of 2,000 men to assist the defenders ; and the English troops, though containing a good proportion of European soldiers and marines, were compelled to retreat. In the fortnight preceding this incident the rising among the Poligar chiefs of the district had become widespread ; and several forts,

as well as weapons and fire-arms, guns and ammunition, in considerable quantities, had been secured by them.

The reason adduced by Welsh for this general rising is worth quoting:—

“The southern Poligars, a race of rude warriors, habituated to arms and independence, had been but lately subdued and those of Panjalamcoorchy were the hardiest and bravest of the whole group. Their chief, called *Cattabomia Naig* having successfully defended the fort against a force under Colonel Bannerman two years before, had at length been taken prisoner with the rest of his family (who were) kept in close confinement. It is not for me to decide upon the policy or justice of such a measure; but I should have thought liberality and kindness would have been the best way to secure their allegiance. While their chiefs were condemned to a perpetual and ignominious imprisonment, the fort of Panjalamcoorchy was ordered to be razed to the ground, with some others of less note. Such treatment to a high spirited people was not calculated to win their affections and the indignities to which individuals were subjected by the native servants of the Collector, added fuel to the fire, and the whole burst out at once and for a season bore down all before them.”

While the English army proceeded to Kayattār where reinforcements joined them, the Poligars seized Tuticorin (recently acquired from the Dutch) which was guarded by a body of sepoy's. Much to the credit of the Poligars, the English sepoy's at Tuticorin were disarmed and set at liberty. An Englishman who was taken prisoner was also released; while the Dutch were not at all molested; and the youngest of the Kattabomma chiefs, the famous Oomai Durai, took up his headquarters therein. All the strategic posts in the country were now in Poligar hands, except the walled pagoda of Srīvaikuntam, 18 miles below Tinnevelley on the river Tāmraparāṇi. A body of troops tried to relieve the pagoda which was beset on all sides by the Poligar men; and the garrison contrived to retreat to Pālayamkōttai. Meanwhile, the Poligars had seized more than one thousand muskets and a large quantity of ammunition from several neighbouring English posts.

27th March. The English troops numbering nearly 3,000 men, with several guns and 2 howitzers, at last began their march on Pāñchālamkurichi on the 27th March; the first halt was at Otrampati and at the next halt (Pazhavanthali) a body of 500 Poligar troopers who advanced were met by a charge of cavalry against whom they presented an abattis of their formidable pikes directed to the horses' breasts; and though they retreated under cover of the shrubs that formed a thick piece of wood, many of them bravely engaged in single combat with the horsemen. They left 96 dead bodies on the field, but carried off all the wounded whom they would not expose to the enemy, nor allow to be eaten by the prowling jackals of the jungle.

III

Pāñchālamkurichi fort was an irregular parallelogram, two sides of which were about 500 feet in length and the other two about 300 only. The walls

were built entirely of mud of a very solid and adhesive quality. They were about 12 feet high, and provided with small square bastions and very short curtains on which were mounted a few old guns. The fort was surrounded by a thick hedge of cockspur thorn, but no ditch. On the whole, the fort was not formidable in size or outward appearance ; and the English looked upon it as not very defensible.

31st March. Two guns were mounted on an earthen bank about half a mile from the north-west bastion, but the firing was wild and ineffective and the shot seldom hit the fort. At noon the guns were removed to another bank, much nearer the fort wall and continued to fire till 3-30 p.m., when a breach appeared practicable and a storm was ordered. All the while, the other guns had been firing badly on the fort from a bank to the northward.

The assaulting party advanced under a very heavy fire of guns from the curtains and bastions which had not at all been injured by the play of the English guns. The thorn hedge was broken through by the assaulting party ; but all attempts to surmount the breach were in vain, as every man who reached the summit was thrown back instantly, pierced with wounds from musket and pike and no footing could be gained at all on the breached portion of the wall. At last a retreat was ordered, and many of the wounded were left behind at the foot of the breach, over which the Poligar troops immediately sprang and pursued the rear of the retreating men.

The breach was boldly defended by men armed with long pikes, 18 to 20 feet long, behind which other men kept up a constant fire from an elevated spot, while others rushed upon the flank of the assailants. The losses of the Company in this assault were 4 officers and 49 men killed, 13 officers and 254 men wounded. The English line retired and was reformed at a safe distance from the walls, on a ridge which ran parallel to the fort wall.

Both the English failure before the breach and the Poligars' successful defence of it were *inexplicable, almost miraculous*. None of the actual defenders showed themselves above the broken parapet of the breached wall, through which a practicable passage to the bastion was visible. Here a dense array of pikes, thickly clustering, alone presented itself. The Poligar troops exposed themselves most fearlessly on every other part of the walls and were as constantly and immediately replaced by others, as fast as they were shot down. Of the 120 Europeans who formed the storming party, only 46 escaped unhurt ; and, including officers and artillery men, 106 were killed and wounded—a very large proportion. 1,000 Ettayapuram Poligar *peons* (half-armed or light-armed sepoys) had joined the English on their march ; and they made some unsuccessful attempts at an escalade of the eastern side of the fort, but were repulsed every time with considerable loss.

1st April. The Poligars generously granted a day's truce and gave permission for the English to remove and bury their dead ; nor did they disturb the quiet of the English camp that night, their humane impulses thus showing out even in the welter of hate and cruelty.

After this repulse, the English planned to take the fort by blockade and

arranged for reinforcements, particularly of battering guns and ammunition ; and a camp with small breast-works was regularly formed for their protection.

2nd April. The day was quiet. The Poligars called out for an amnesty, declaring their readiness to obey the British Government and pay their *kist* balances ; but they shouted loudly that they strongly resented the humiliating imprisonment of their chiefs. To this demand which was made several times when any of the English approached them within hearing distance, a uniform answer was ordered to be given to this effect: "There could be no treaty with rebels in arms ; and they must deliver up all their chiefs and lay down their arms unconditionally."

At 8 in the night the men from the fort sallied out, sent a shower of bullets and kept on annoying the English camp till the moon arose when they retired behind the walls.

3rd to 22nd April. There were daily skirmishes in which a few men fell on both sides. The English camp was strengthened by breast-works to resist the shot fired from some guns which the Poligars had drawn out under the walls of the fort.

On the 22nd April, when a sudden summer thunderstorm burst, the Poligars took advantage of it as it was favourable for opposing their pikes to the English firearms which were wetted by the rain and became unworkable. The Poligar men, to the tune of 1,000 pikemen, now advanced, along with the rushing squall, against an English outpost, the only gun of which they quickly captured. The muskets of the English would not discharge at all on account of the wet. But a rescue party soon recovered the gun which could not be easily dragged by the Poligar men to the fort over the slushy black cotton ground. There ensued, as soon as the rain ceased, a general action which was indecisive and literally ended in smoke and in the fruitless expenditure of a good many cartridges.

On the same night, another thunderstorm broke out and all the English forces were wetted to the skin and their firearms could not be preserved from the damp ; now the Poligar men sallied from the fort, assaulted and carried off, as prisoners, all the pioneer men and coolies who were at work on the construction of a new battery within two furlongs of the fort wall.

23rd April. Major Macaulay rode out for making a reconnaissance of three sides of the walls, but carefully kept out of reach of the musket fire from them. All the while the Poligar men apprehended an attack on the fourth side. Their steady fire was counteracted by the English galloper guns.

24th April to 19th May. During these days nothing important happened. Every two or three days there were skirmishes in which the losses on either side were slight. But two guns were now mounted on the traverses of the north and south gates of the fort and their shots had a wide range, but did relatively little damage, though the English camp was crowded. The English sent a few dozens of heavy shot daily into the fort ; and they also built a tower against the western face of the fort and mounted two guns on it. The tower was intended to serve as a breaching battery and the men from the fort did all they could to retard its progress.

21st May. Lieut.-Colonel Agnew now arrived with large reinforcements ; and further addition of troops followed on the next day. Now Agnew determined to use the post erected on the south bank as a breaching battery and mounted 6 guns and 2 howitzers on it. (22nd May.)

23rd May 1801. At sunrise the English opened fire from their two batteries, on the south-west bastion of the fort, the southern face and salient angle of which were soon demolished. By noon the storming party was ready to advance ; but Agnew was advised by Macaulay, the old Commandant, to delay the assault until the next day, "much against what appeared to him his better judgment". The firing was, however, kept up all through the night in order to prevent the Poligar men from repairing the breach.

24th May. The guns were now turned against the defences and entirely cut off the breached bastion by 1 p.m., when the storming party was ordered to advance. This party was numerous and formidable and included a company of Malay troops.

But the defenders acted with renewed vigour and so stoutly defended the breach, that although the thorn hedge was passed in a few minutes, it was nearly half an hour before the first English soldier could reach the summit of the breach—the Poligar men firing heavily on the storming party from the broken bastions on both the flanks and even sallying round and attacking them in the space within the hedges. It was only after the entire body of the defenders of the breach were killed by hand-grenades and by heavy shot that the storming party succeeded in mounting the breach. After this further resistance was of no avail and the men began to escape from all sides of the fort.

The English cavalry with their galloper guns were now posted near the eastern face in order to capture the fugitives. But the Poligar men, as soon as they emerged out of the fort, formed themselves into two solid columns and contrived to retreat in perfect order, "beset, but not dismayed" by our cavalry who attacked them in flank and rear and succeeded in cutting off six hundred men. The remainder made good their retreat ; and about 2,000 escaped. 450 dead bodies of the Poligar troops were found in the fort ; and this was only the number of those killed in the last fight. The fugitive band retreated to Siruvayal in the Sivaganga territory, where they joined the large body of 20,000 men, gathered by the Marudu Brothers of Sivaganga who had also risen in arms and whose resistance constituted the last and bitterest phase of the war. The last and the bravest of the Kattabomma brothers, the Oomai Dorai, had a miraculous escape from the field of battle of the 24th May. From where he lay badly injured, he was conveyed by a woman of extraordinary loyalty and presence of mind, to safety and ultimately to the keeping of the Marudu Brothers.

WELSH'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE STRENGTH OF THE FORT OF PANCHALAMKURICHY

The bastions were about 15 feet high on the outside and nearly square. The parapet was 3 feet thick at the summit, gradually increased as it sloped

down to the centre. The depth in the centre was increased as the top mouldered down, so as to leave the defenders entirely sheltered from the shot and shell ; and their long pikes used in such shelter were most powerfully effective, as every man who got to the top was instantly pierced and thrown down again.

“Had the bastions been solid or their defensive weapons been only muskets and bayonets, their resistance would not have been so prolonged. The Oomai Durai was left among the dead, covered with wounds, but in the night he was taken away by his faithful followers, and kept in concealment till he was able to join the Marudus.”

Soon the fort which was the most aggressive symbol of anti-British feeling and of native independence, was razed to the ground and ploughed all over, in a few months.

Another Englishman, Lord Valentia, who travelled throughout India and Ceylon, shortly after the Poligar War, has given the following picture of the origin and conduct of this war. (*Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, etc.*, in the years 1802-6 in IV Volumes—London, 1811—Volume I, pp. 317-18.)

After remarking that the Poligars were a brave and active race and responded generously “when treated with liberality and justice with which I am sorry to say has not always been the case”—Valentia thus summarised the origin and operations:

“The proceedings which led to the late Polygar war are a melancholy proof of this. The Pānchālamkurichy Rajahs were young men, ruling over a tribe of Polygars of no great consequence, and bound to pay a tribute to the British Government. For some circumstances a coolness originated between them and the Collector, in consequence of which they refused to attend in person to pay their tribute, and the Collector refused to receive it in any other way. A negotiation took place, and at length it was agreed that the eldest should receive a safe-conduct from the Collector, and should meet him in the fort of Ramnad. He arrived, paid his tribute, and was going to retire, when contrary to all faith, an attempt was made to arrest him. Irritated by this treachery, one of his attendants instantly stabbed the officer to the heart, and then escaped with his master. A very respectable deputation was sent down from Madras to examine into the circumstances, which reported that the murder did not appear to have been premeditated, but was solely owing to a sudden ebullition of rage on discovering the intended treachery. The Government wisely published a declaration of amnesty to all concerned ; but the Pānchālamkurichy chiefs continued to entertain such a jealousy of the British, that they would not come in with their tribute, and hostilities were the consequence.

“The brothers were too weak to resist. They fled from their fort, and tried to conceal themselves in a jungle where they were discovered and taken. The eldest was executed ; the youngest, being deaf and dumb, had his life spared, but was confined in a British fort, from which he escaped, and fled to his own, which he repaired to defend against Major Macaulay with eight hundred men, repulsing him in an attempt to storm. At length Major

Agnew came up with reinforcements, when another attack was made, which succeeded. The place was destroyed, and the young Rajah was left amongst the dead, covered with wounds. In the night he was conveyed away by his friends, and carefully concealed, till, in the beginning of the year 1801, he was able to fly to the Murdoos, acting chiefs of Shevagungung.

Thus the Pānchālamkurichi Campaign of 1801, even when studied from the cold, dispassionate standpoint of contemporary evidence from purely British sources, sustains the reputation that it has been having in the popular mind, of a most glorious resistance of patriots against the heavy sway of foreigners.

WAZIR ALI'S FAMILY

PROFESSOR K. K. DATTA

After the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh in 1797, John Shore intervened in the matter of a disputed succession between Wazir Ali, whom Asaf-ud-daulah had acknowledged as his successor, and the deceased Nawab's eldest brother Saadat Ali. He raised the latter to the throne and concluded a treaty with him on the 21st January, 1798, which considerably enhanced the Company's influence. This arrangement was effected with the support of some nobles of the Oudh Court like Taffazul Hussain Khan (agent of the Oudh Nawab in Calcutta), Hussain Reza Khan and others, all of whom were friends of the Company, and the Begam of the late Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah was persuaded by John Shore to acquiesce in it.

Wazir Ali was allowed to reside at Benares on an annual pension of a lac and a half of rupees. He was naturally dissatisfied with the arrangement and spent his days at Benares in sullen discontent. In Oudh, the rule of the new Nawab did not produce any beneficial results for the country. In all respects, there were "embarrassment and disorder. The British subsidy was always in arrear, while the most frightful extortion was practised in the realisation of the revenue. Justice was unknown; the army was a disorderly mass, formidable only to the power whom it professed to serve. The evils of native growth were aggravated by the presence of an extraordinary number of European adventurers, most of whom were as destitute of character and principle as they were of property".¹

The Governor-General wanted to remove Wazir Ali from Benares, as the military force stationed there was not considered sufficient "to guard against the danger either of commotion or escape" and as he suspected that Wazir Ali had sent a wakil with presents to Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul, who threatened an invasion of Hindusthan.²

Wazir Ali was trying to organise a conspiracy against the Company and

1. Thornton, *History of the British in India*, Vol. III, p. 162.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 165; Wellesley's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 12th February, 1799, quoted in Martin, *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. I, pp. 129.32.

had some of his confederates in Bihar. He also sent agents to Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad, probably with a view to combining with Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad, and his ambitious brother-in-law Shams-ud-daulah.³

When under the orders of the Governor-General, Mr. G. P. Cherry, the British Resident at Benares, communicated to Wazir Ali that he should remove himself to the vicinity of Calcutta, the latter decided to "accomplish the meditated revenge" on the Company. Outwardly he at first manifested no sign of dissatisfaction and arranged to meet Mr. Cherry at a breakfast. But on visiting Mr. Cherry's house with a number of comrades on the 14th January, 1799, he massacred a few Englishmen, like Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, Mr. Robert Graham and Mr. Richard Evans; Mr. Hill, a trader, was dangerously wounded. Mr. Davis, Judge and Magistrate of Benares, defended his bungalow with the assistance of a party of troops sent to his relief by General Erskine. Wazir Ali then retired to his residence, but soon escaped out of the city with most of his chief adherents in the evening of that day, evading capture by the British troops. After the flight of Wazir Ali, no disturbance whatever occurred in any part of the Benares district; the city of Benares was then "in a state of perfect tranquillity".

Hunted from place to place, Wazir Ali took shelter with the Rajah of Jaynagar. But his host soon treacherously delivered him to the English in December, 1799, in return for pecuniary gain. Wazir Ali was then carried to Calcutta and spent his last days as a captive at Fort William till his death in 1817. After the capture of Wazir Ali, his wives and children were kept in Bihar under the strict control and supervision of the Company. Illahee Khanum, a wife of Wazir Ali's, was sent from Lucknow with her son to Patna in March 1807 by J. Colins, Resident at Lucknow. Both mother and son were accommodated there at Government cost, an allowance of Rs. 70 per mensem, exclusive of the charge of house rent, being granted to them for maintenance. As "the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khanum and her son at the public expense" was "security of her son by Vizier Ali", so that he might not be exploited by disaffected persons to organise any anti-British conspiracy, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, on enquiring of Mr. H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, if he could "provide suitable accommodation" for them at Patna, informed him on the 15th June, 1806, that any arrangement which he might "propose for their accommodation" must necessarily "combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience." Mr. Douglas made necessary arrangements for the residence of Illahee Khanum and her son at Patna and informed the Governor-General of these on the 10th April, 1807. The Governor-General entirely approved of the steps taken by him. Another wife and a son of Wazir Ali⁴ were accommodated at Monghyr on a pension of Rs. 35 per mensem. Soon the Government decided to remove

3. For details for this conspiracy, *vide* a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1937.

4. Sahib Buksh and her son Muhammad Ali, *J.B.R.S.*, 1941, pp. 416-430.

Illahee Khannum and her son also to Monghyr. Illahee Khannum objected to this arrangement. But the Government instructed the Magistrate of Patna "to adopt such measures" as he might deem necessary that "her son by Vizier Ally should be removed to that station." On the request of Illahee Khannum the Company's Government permitted her to leave Monghyr on the 1st May, 1813, for residing at Chapra with her son Helaluddin Hyder.⁵ Hussaini Begam, another wife of Wazir Ali, went to Calcutta with the permission of the Government there, after the death of Wazir Ali on the 15th May, 1817, to perform due rites at his grave and stayed there for some time with some other lady companions and her two adopted daughters before coming to Patna within a few years,⁶ probably in 1821.

APPENDIX

"I am directed to desire that you will report to me for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, whether you can provide suitable accommodation at Patna for Illahee Khannum, a wife of Vizier Ali with one son; and on what terms.

As the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khannum and her son at the public expense is the security of her son by Vizier Ali, I am inclined to inform you that any arrangement which you may propose for their accommodation must necessarily combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience.

It would be necessary to exercise every degree of vigilance for the safe custody of Vizier Ali's son, and to station a guard at the residence of Illahee Khannum to admit of as many sentries as might be requisite to prevent unobserved egress or ingress with a view to prevent the possibility of conveying away the boy from his mother's residence.

To assist your judgement in regulating the expense of providing accommodation for Illahee Khannum and her son, I am directed to observe to you that another wife and son of Vizier Ali are accommodated at Monghyr for the sum of 35 rupees per mensem."

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated 15th June, 1806).

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th ultimo reporting the arrival at Patna of Illahee Khannum and her son, and the arrangements which you have made for their accommodation, and for the security of the person of Illahee Khannum's son.

The Honourable the Governor-General in Council entirely approves your proceedings of this occasion.

With reference to the 3rd paragraph of your letter, I am directed to inform you that the allowance of 70 rupees per mensem, which has been assigned to the support of Illahee Khannum and her son, should be exclusive of all charge of house rent, and that it should be paid in the same manner as all other pensions are paid."

(Letter from J. Moncton, Persian Secretary to Government, dated Fort William, 15th May, 1807).

"I have the honour to apprise you that I have this day dispatched by water Illahee Khannum and her son, under the charge of two of my chuprassies accompanied by the persons mentioned in the enclosed list.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

The pension which Government has been pleased to settle upon Illahee Khannum is Eighty Rupees per month, commencing from the 16th of November last. I offered to discharge her arrears from that date to the 1st instant, but she signified to me her wish of drawing for the same upon her arrival at Patna.

I, therefore, request that whenever Illahee Khannum applies to you, for the payment of her stipend, you will have the goodness to pay the same at the rate of 80 Rupees per month, reckoning the commencement thereof from the 16th of November."

(Letter from J. Collins, Resident at Lucknow, to H. Douglas, dated Lucknow, the 7th March, 1807).

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and to inform you, that the necessary order has been issued to the Collector of Bihar authorising the payment of Illahee Khannum's pension of 70 Rupees per mensem, from the date of her arrival at Patna together with any arrear which may have been due to her at the period of her arrival there."

(Letter from J. Moncton to H. Douglas, dated 19th May, 1807).

"The Fort Adjutant at Monghyr having reported that the accommodations provided for the son of Vizier Alli and his mother who are at present under your charge are nearly ready for their reception, I am directed to desire that you will take measures for sending those persons under a proper guard as soon as may be convenient to Monghyr that you will be pleased at the same time to furnish Lieutenant Nugent with such information regarding the family transferred to his care as may be requisite for his guidance and to apprise him of the amount of the stipend allowed by Government and the period to which the family may have been paid by you."

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Govt., to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 28th March, 1807).

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, stating the aversion of the wife of Vizier Ally to proceed to Mongheer and desiring to know how you are to act in the event of her continued refusal to leave the city of Patna.

I am directed to inform you, that no such condition as that which she states to have been with Colonel Collins is known to Government nor ever was or would have been agreed to. As Government considers it to be necessary that she and her son should reside at Mongheer, you will be pleased to inform her, that her proceeding thither cannot be dispensed with, and if she should persist in her refusal, you are authorised and required to adopt such measures, as you may deem necessary to enforce her departure. You will of course however use such means of compulsion as are most consistent with mildness and delicacy. You are authorised to make such disbursements as may be required for the hire and other necessary expenses of the journey, and you will submit to the civil auditor's office Contingent Bill for the amount which you may expend.

You will make such communication to Lieutenant Nugent, respecting the family as may be required by the circumstances attending their departure from Patna."

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Govt., to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 16th May, 1808.)

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of June reporting the obstacles you have met with in carrying into execution the orders of Government for sending Illahee Khannum and her son to Mongheer.

The Governor-General in Council does not think it necessary to insist on Illahee Khannum herself going to Mongheer, if she should continue to entertain so great an aversion to it, but it is absolutely necessary that her son should be removed to that station, and this is a point from which Government will not recede. You will be pleased, therefore, if you should find it impracticable to prevail on her to go, to take measures for sending her son, and you will signify to her that she must

either consent to reside at Mongheer or to part from her son whose residence must be fixed at that place. It is by no means the wish of Government to adopt measures of unnecessary harshness, but if you shall not be able to succeed by means of persuasion, you are desired to according to the orders communicated in my letter of the 16th May, except that you are to consider them as applicable to the removal of the child only, and not to that of Illahee Khannum."

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Govt., to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 18th July, 1808.)

"On the 18th July last, I signified to you by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that His Lordship in Council did not think it requisite to insist on Illahee Khannum herself proceeding to Monghyr, but that it was absolutely necessary that her son by Vizier Ally should be removed to that station. It appearing from a letter from the Fort Adjutant at Monghyr, that the son of Illahee Khannum has not yet arrived there, I am directed to desire that you will report the reason of the delay which has taken place, in carrying the orders of Government of the 18th July into execution."

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Govt., to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 27th May, 1809.)

"In reply, I am directed to inform you, that the Governor-General in Council has complied with the request of Illahee Khannum and permits her to proceed to Patna and Arrah with her son for change of air on leave of absence for a period of two months."

(Letter from E. P. Montagu, Acting Dy. Pers. Secy. to Govt., to A. Dick, dated 4th January, 1821.)

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo transmitting an Arzee from Illahee Begum, one of the wives of the late Vizier Allee, to the address of His Excellency the Governor-General, and to request that you will be pleased to inform her, in reply, that her application for an extension of two months' leave of absence for the perfect recovery of her son Mirza Jelaul-oodeen Hyder, has been complied with."

(Letter from H. W. Prinsep, Persian Secy. to Govt., to Tippet, dated 10th March, 1821.)

"I have the honor to transmit for your information the enclosed copy of a letter from the Acting Deputy Secy. in the Persian Department respecting Illahee Begum, widow of the late Vizier Alee Khan, and her son Jullal-oodeen Hyder, who quitted this for Patna on the 20th ultimo."

(Letter from A. Dick, Off. Magistrate Zillah Saran, to W. H. Tippet, Magistrate of Patna, 10th February, 1821.)

"Hooseynee Begum the widow and Saadat-oon Nissa Begum, daughter of the late Vizier Ally, having obtained the permission of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council to reside at Patna with Bee Kulloo, Bee Izzut and Bee Museetee Khanum, females also attached to the deceased's family, I am directed to inform you that they will leave the Presidency in the course of a short period of time, and on their arrival at Patna you will be pleased to shew them such marks of attention as their condition may seem to you to require and also to require to place police peons or chowkeedars at the Dewry of their residence for their safety and protection.

Should Hooseynee Begum wish to make any representation to Govt. or forward any letters to me, you will of course consider yourself as the proper channel for the transmission of such address and you will on no account permit her or any of the members of the family to quit without previously obtaining the sanction of Government.

An allowance of 208 Rupees has been fixed for the maintenance of these ladies which will be paid by the Collectors to their receipts, and they monthly present it to you to be forwarded to this Collector."

(Letter from H. W. Prinsep, Persian Secy. to Govt., dated Fort William, 1st Sept., 1821, to William Henry Tippet, Magistrate of Patna.)

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 28th ultimo, with a letter from Hosseynee Begum to my address, enclosing an arzee for the Hon'ble the Governor-General, soliciting pecuniary aid from Govt. to enable her to carry into effect the ceremonies of the marriage of Saadat-oon-Nissa Begum, daughter of the late Vizier Ali with Mirza Sheyas Ali, a son of Mirza Mendhoo, uncle of His Majesty the king of Oudh, and to inform you in reply that the Governor-General in Council desires you will intimate to the Begum the impossibility of complying with her request for a donation, but you will be pleased, at the same time, to acquaint her that Government will have no objection to make an advance for the marriage expenses to the extent of one thousand Rupees to be repaid by monthly deductions of 50 Rs. from the Begum's stipend."

(Letter from H. T. Prinsep, Persian Secy. to Govt., to W. H. Tippet, 11th April, 1823.)

"The Governor-General in Council had under consideration the letter from Begum, to my address, forwarded 18th ultimo. I am directed to inform and to request you will intimate to her that no further pecuniary assistance can be afforded to her beyond what tendered in Mr. Prinsep's letter."

(Letter from A. Stirling, Acting Deputy Pers. Secy., Incharge, 11th July, 1823.)

"I am directed to transmit to you for information the enclosed copy of a letter received from Hosseynee Begum on the 29th ultimo, and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to comply with the Begum's request and will increase the payment of the sum of one thousand rupees allowed for the marriage expenses of Saadat-oon-Nissa Begum, a daughter of the late Vizier Ali as communicated in my last. The money will of course not be paid by you until the marriage may be on the point of taking place."

(From H. T. Prinsep, Persian Secy. to Govt., to Tippet, 20th February, 1824.)

THE PLUNDER OF BHARATPUR

DR. H. L. GUPTA

The redoubtable mud fortress of Bharatpur was captured by the British army with enormous difficulty on January 18, 1826. Sir Charles Metcalfe who was greatly shaken at the initial failure of the mines and had very despondently doubted the efficiency and adequacy of the European science to effect a breach through the Indian fortifications, heaved a sigh of relief and remained fully convinced that the success of the British arms was only a narrow escape from a most disastrous defeat.¹ This politically significant event, brought about by the combined action of a number of forces not excluding diplomatic manoeuvres, political inducements and the activities of the fifth column, had restored the blasted British prestige and had terrorized the weak rulers of the neighbouring States to surrender.² Before Durjan Sal could be taken a captive and a new government and a tottering authority under a minor, named Balwant Singh, sustained by British arms, could be set up, one of the three supreme objects, viz., the acquisition of the wealth

1. Metcalfe's letter to Hislop dated January 23, 1826.
2. *Political Consultations*, February 10, 1826, No. 1.

of the State, had to be materialized. Measures were taken to denude the State of its reported wealth and treasure during military occupation of the place.

The immediate effect of the British occupation was most disastrous to the State's integrity, pride and wealth. In the interval of confusion and chaos that followed the surrender, it passed through a period of so great insecurity and political vacuum that many people left the State and sought refuge in the neighbouring territories. The co-operators of Durjan Sal as well as those suspected of having helped his cause were shown no mercy. Their property was confiscated.³ The pension-holder's pensions were stopped.⁴ Certain members of the Jat fraternity not even residing within the State of Bharatpur were penalized. In short, all those who were charged with aiding and abetting Durjan Sal were brought to trial and punished.⁵ Only the people of very inferior ranks were exempted from molestation.⁶

There was wide-spread and almost indiscriminate plunder by the British army.⁷ J. Finch and W. Battine were appointed special agents for the management of prize money.⁸ All the valuable property found in the citadel as well as in the town was considered as prize money. Whatever could be obtained was immediately taken possession of, and for the rest of the fabulous treasure a thorough hunt was made and it took several days to remove it from the fort.⁹ Jewels were forcibly snatched from the person of Durjan Sal.¹⁰ Public chests and stores and even private property were plundered.¹¹ A large amount of commercial property of the State in salt and grain was also taken possession of.¹² The booty brought from Bharatpur and deposited in the Agra fort alone amounted to Rs. 46.33 lakhs exclusive of huge ordnance and military stores.¹³

Over and above this officially quoted prize money it is not known what part of public and private wealth had satisfied the individual lust. As the prize money thus obtained was far below the expected amount of wealth in the Bharatpur fortress, all possible efforts were made to find out whether the treasure was removed to some other place or was deposited somewhere under the ground. Durjan Sal was caught and kept as a state prisoner. Having obtained information that Durjan Sal on his flight from Bharatpur had with him jewels worth thirty lakhs of rupees, the Prize Agents sought permission from the Commander-in-Chief to effect the discovery of that treasure.¹⁴ In reply they were asked to exercise their discretion in employing the means of obtaining wealth but not to hold in exchange for it any promise

3. *P.C.*, March 3, 1826, No. 16.

4. *P.C.*, January 27, 1826, No. 34.

5. *P.C.*, April 7, 1826, Nos. 52 & 53.

6. *P.C.*, May 12, 1826, No. 32; *P.C.*, July 7, 1826, No. 63.

7. *P.C.*, April 7, 1826, No. 6 and also *F.M.C.*, vol. 189, No. 23.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 16.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 23; also *P.C.*, June 30, 1826, No. 8.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *F.M.*, Vol. 195. Letter from the Prize Agents to the C-in-C, 27th Dec. 1826.

of pardon, release or any favour from the British Government.¹⁵ The Prize Agents thereupon appointed Major Rich¹⁶ to persuade Durjan Sal to deliver up or give information of the treasure which he was supposed to possess but no clue of it could be obtained.

When again the Prize Agents were convinced from the circumstantial evidence that Durjan Sal had in his possession considerable property they advocated the imposition of greater restraint on his public and private interviews and also demanded the list of persons, particularly of bankers and jewellers, who had access to him.¹⁷ Even use of force was contemplated for discovering treasure but it was not resorted to on account of the difficulty of justifying the adoption of such a measure.¹⁸ However, Durjan Sal was kept under restraints generally imposed upon the State prisoners¹⁹ and Mr. Eales who had perfect acquaintance with the Hindustani language, was appointed to get the intelligence about the treasure from the talks between Durjan Sal and the persons visiting him.²⁰ But even then no clue to the treasure could be obtained from any source. At times certain people supplied information in hope of getting some reward while others with the object of gratifying their feelings of personal enmity or jealousy with the others. Kalian Singh, a brother of his wife, was arrested on his way to Calcutta and deprived of his jewels worth Rs. 8,000/- at Benares.²¹

The Government's lust for money was so unappeaseable that the British Agents were ready to take measures even on the slightest information about it without caring to find out whether information given out was correct. On information from Ranmast Khan that Durjan Sal had sent considerable amount of treasure to Mardan Ali Khan in Aligarh district, the latter's treasure and papers were seized without making any preliminary investigations about the correctness of the report, and in spite of his having been a friendly ally of the British Government, he was subjected to great inconvenience. Later on it was found that this information was given out of personal animosity.²²

When the new Government under Balwant Singh was set up the treasury was found completely empty. The State was wholly impoverished. All the State property including grain, tents, camp-equipment, insignias of royalty, palanquins, howdahs, elephants, horses, clothes, pistols, swords, match-locks, armours, furniture and sundry little things of daily use were converted into prize money.²³ The effect of this long continuous loot of money, property and food was disastrous to the State. Everything belonging to the State was in the hands of the army. When the young Raja was to be installed gold sticks, State cushions and other necessary things had to be given to him.²⁴

15. *Ibid.* Letter from Swinton to the Secy. to C-in-C, 30th Dec. 1826.

16. *Ibid.* Letter from Prize Agents to the Secy. to the C-in-C, 25th March, 1827.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Letter from Swinton to the Military Secy. to C-in-C, 2nd April, 1827.

21. *P.C.*, August 17, 1827, Nos. 117, 118.

22. Letter from Finch to Swinton, 15th Feb., 1826.

23. Letter from Prize Agents to Watson, 9th June, 1826; *P.C.*, June 30, 1826, Nos. 7, 8.

24. *F.M.*, Vol. 189, No. 23.

The plunder of the State had left little to feed the people and carry on day-to-day administration. The new Government had to purchase from the Prize Agents three lakh maunds of grain and other articles for Rs. 1,50,000 for feeding the people.²⁵ They were also driven to the extremity of begging for a loan of three lakhs of rupees from the British masters to facilitate the working of the State machine.²⁶ But this request was refused and the new Government of the State was forced by circumstances to contract a loan from Mr. Wright, an indigo planter, at an interest of 12% and for that the State Government had to grant to him certain commercial concessions for carrying on mercantile transactions with the State in indigo, salt, cotton and other commodities.²⁷ Thus the British conquest of Bharatpur had degenerated into a 'thieves' scramble'²⁸ and the Raja for whose professed protection the British troops had shed the blood of eight thousand brave patriots of the State was plundered to his 'last tolah'.²⁹ Edward Thompson, the biographer of Sir Charles Metcalfe, quotes the following from one of the letters:

"Our plundering here under the name of prize had been very disgraceful and has tarnished our well-earned honour. Until I can get rid of the Prize Agents I cannot re-establish the sovereignty of the young Rajah whom we came professedly to protect and have been plundering to his last tolah since he fell into our hands."

All this does not seem to have satisfied the monstrous appetite of the Paramount Power. A large demand amounting to twenty-six lakhs of rupees was made on the State as an indemnity for the expenses incurred on the restoration of Balwant Singh.³⁰ The ministers found it impossible to collect that amount owing to scanty resources of the State, increased expenditure and serious embarrassment caused by the total destruction of the vast national wealth of the State.³¹ In spite of all that no exemption was allowed and they were asked to effect an early liquidation of the demand by raising a loan for the purpose.³² But as the State had lost its credit in the market no loan could be available at the current rate of interest even under British guarantee. Thereupon the new Government was asked to make payment in six years by half yearly instalments and an interest of six per cent was charged on the amount.³³

25. *Ibid.*

26. *P.C.*, March 17, 1826, No. 7; August 3, 1827, No. 26.

27. *P.C.*, July 7, No. 11.

28. Thompson: *Life of Metcalfe*, p. 251.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *P.C.*, March 17, 1826, No. 7; August 3, 1827, No. 26.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, No. 24.

33. *P.C.*, Oct. 19, 1827, No. 17.

A CONTROVERSY ON THE NATURE OF INDIAN DEBT

AMALES TRIPATHI

In his introduction to *Eastern India* (published in 1838), Montgomery Martin wrote strongly on the economic drain of India. "For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and some times four million pounds sterling a year from India, which has been remitted to Great Britain to meet—the deficiencies of commercial speculations, to pay the interest of debts, to support the home establishment and to invest on England's soil the accumulated wealth of those whose lives have been spent in Hindusthan". Romesh Chandra Dutt has given an estimate of the amount of this drainage. In 1792 the Indian debt, bearing interest, little exceeded 7 millions. In 1799 it rose to 10 millions. In consequence of Lord Wellesley's wars it rose in 1805 to nearly 21 millions and by 1807 to 27. It remained almost stationary at this figure up to 1829 when it registered a further rise of 3 millions. Lord William Bentinck's beneficent administration had the effect of gradually reducing the debt. Sir John Malcolm and others before the Select Committee, 1832, as well as Bishop Heber and Sir John Shore in their books spoke against the remittance of surplus Indian revenues out of India. But the British Parliament in renewing the Company's Charter in 1833, provided for the payment of interest on the Company's stock out of the revenue of India at 10½% and perpetuated an unjust burden on India, euphemistically called Home Charges. Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1840 to hear the petition of the East India Company regarding removal of invidious duties on Indian industries, Montgomery Martin again laid bare the unjust nature of the Home Charges and said—"It is a curious calculation to show that estimating the sums of money drawn from British India for the last thirty years at 3 millions per annum, it amounts at 12% (the Indian rate of interest) compound interest to £723,997,971; or, if we calculate it at 2 millions per annum for fifty years, the abstraction of fructifying Capital from Hindusthan amounts to the incredible sum of £8,400,000,000."

In this paper we will discuss a controversy on the nature of Indian debt between Robert Rickards and J. Langton on the one hand and J. C. Melvill and James Mill on the other. The controversy arose in course of their contradictory evidence before the Select Committee of 1830 and 31. While the first two were of opinion, that the East India Company had no circulating commercial capital, that it was supplied with funds for the purchase of goods from Indian revenues and that far from commerce being of slightest use to the territorial revenues, the territory supported the commerce; Melvill and Mill thought it was the territorial branch which owed a huge sum of money to the commercial branch. The controversy is very important from the point of India's economic history. If the latter prove true, then, no question of drainage arises, for, commerce was not only self-supporting but was in a position to finance territorial commitments. But if the former prove true there can be only one inevitable conclusion that, whatever the Parliament might have said on the occasion, India was being drained of her resources to supply the commercial profits of John Company.

Let us first be clear about the nature of Company's financial transactions between 1766 and 1814 for we must know how the territorial and commercial accounts of the Company had got mixed up. It consisted of two interdependent transactions. An advance was made in England from commercial to territorial account for which the latter made repayment in India at the Board rate. This was a fixed rate and lower than the Mercantile rate—occasioning losses to the Company. A corresponding advance was made in India by the territorial branch to the commercial branch which was repaid in England in goods. This occasioned profit to the Company since remittance in goods was more profitable than remittance by bills or bullion (the outturn of the Rupee in the first being 2s. 2 $\frac{6.9}{100}$ d., in the second being 2s. 1 $\frac{6.9}{100}$ d. and in the third being no more than 1s. 9d.).

Rickards points out that these two were not two separate but one and the same transaction and the losses incurred in the first part were more than made good by the profits in the second. It was the territorial branch which bore the burden of the Company's commercial and military commitments. After the grant of Dewany surplus revenues, according to Rickards, were always used to finance commercial investments, *i.e.*, to remit funds to home and when those proved insufficient the Company borrowed on territorial account to supplement them. As funds raised in this way were used for purposes purely commercial in nature—these debts must be debited to the commercial and not to the territorial side. When Rickards was asked by Lords' Committee, 1830:

“Are not these funds, which are produced in this country by the remittance of goods purchased by payments in India by the territory in repayment of advances made by the commerce in this country for territorial purposes, properly commercial funds?”—he answered—“Those funds are not the result of actual commercial capital but wholly supplied from the revenues of India in the first instance, in other words, that the revenue supplies the commerce with the means of carrying on all its commercial transactions.”

According to him the Company never made an advance to territory from funds arising out of a real circulating commercial capital. When asked where had the original commercial capital gone, he replied, “I conceive that the whole of their original commercial capital is now either dissipated or fixed in buildings or other articles of Dead Stock ; and that the whole of the active capital for commercial purposes is from year to year supplied by revenues of India, and the revenues alone.”

J. C. Melvill challenged this thesis and pointed out that the commercial capital of the Company rested on a solid basis and the debt of the Company had entirely arisen from territorial causes. From 1765 to 1780 the commercial funds of the Company were expended in wars to the tune of £5,069,684. The sum realised in England from territory, *i.e.*, revenues of India was £3,622,969 of which £2,169,398 had been paid to the Exchequer according to 7th and 9th Geo. III. Thus only £1,453,571 had been applied to reduction of bond debt and the territory' owed to commerce a sum of £5,069,684—£1,453,571 = £3,616,113 in 1780.

In reply Mr. Langton begins by saying, "it would be unjust to claim as a debt from territory the amount paid to the Government for the permission to appropriate the surplus territorial revenues". The sum of £2,169,398, paid to the Government, should not, therefore, be debited against the territorial branch but must be considered to have been used for commercial purposes. The only debt, then, that the territory owed to commerce in 1780 was £1,446,715 (*i.e.*, £5,069,684—£3,622,969). He goes on to remind the Committee that a large part of this £5,069,684 was not used for acquisitions in Bengal but for expenses of Bencoolen and St. Helena, which the commercial branch ought to pay for. (Charges for St. Helena were calculated to be £18 millions approximately between 1765 and 1827 and for Bencoolen to be £18,500,000 between 1792 and 1824). Even the territory had amply compensated for the sum it owed to commerce long ago. The account shows £6,115,979 as the balance of aid to the commercial branch. To this must be added the sums from the payment of which the commerce was relieved on the acquisition of Dewany by their immediate transfer as a charge upon the territorial revenues. "Hence there is no doubt that Company was not only fully reimbursed for all money spent in wars between 1749-64 but that a large amount in excess of their outlay must have been added to their commercial funds out of the Indian territorial revenue." As for the bond-debt (debt bearing interest in India and generally paid after a year) its origin was in commercial causes. In 1780-81 Company's bond-debt in India was £1,790,626. Debts incurred from 1765 to 1780 amounted to £1,229,239. Hence debts incurred before 1765, *i.e.*, before acquisition of territory was £5,61,387. It must have been surely incurred for commercial purposes.

Again the Government ought to defray every expense of administration before appropriating the revenue as surplus. If, therefore, the Company so anticipated that surplus, that it became necessary to borrow money to defray the current expenses of Government, such loans could only be considered as commercial loans. If again from 1780 to 1828 the territory had been relieved from payment of interest on that debt—the territory would have been the richer by £52,000,000. Langton explains the nature and necessity of bond-debts clearly. In January every year the Company took whatever it wanted for investments as surplus. Then in September it transpired that there could not have been so much surplus. The money had been already spent in commercial investments but the Government was short of funds for administrative purposes. Hence they floated bond-debts. This is, clearly, a loan incurred on account of the Company's commerce and should never be charged on territory.

Melville stated in his evidence that the excess of payments by the commerce from 1780-1793 was £6,829,557. According to Langton this was clearly absurd. The accounts of this period were not subjected to any Select Committee. The only source for this period was "A compendium of East India Accounts and Affairs for the use of the Directors, by an officer of the East India House".

But let us look at the period preceding and the period following the

one in question. From 1765-1780 the Company drew continually from the territorial revenue in aid of commerce so much so that the entire Indo-British trade relation was revolutionised. Indian exports amounted to £12,360,264, English imports to £1,903,911. For the first time England did not have to send any bullion; on the contrary, silver, gold and diamonds began to pour in her ports—thus reversing the traditional one-way traffic of bullion from Europe to Asia. Silver was sent to China for surplus revenue of India (Ninth Report, 1782, p. 16), large remittances were made to British Settlements in India and abroad (letter to Court, March 24, 1768 & Evidence before Committee of Secrecy, 1773. See also Hastings' order in Council 61, Nov. 23, 1776 and Francis's minute o.c. 1, Nov. 4, 1776, Shore's minute June 18, 1789). From 1792-1802 the Select Committee of House of Commons states in p. 63 of Report II—"that the revenues of India proved more than sufficient to defray every expense of administration and Government and the interest of the debts by a sum of £3,734,445. Of the intervening 12 years. (1780-1793) Mr. Hastings, immediately on his return to England in 1785, published a pamphlet on the first four. According to him the state of the territorial finances had continued such, notwithstanding the heavy expenses of the recent wars, as alone to support the commerce of the Company. At p. 32 of this pamphlet Hastings says that the revenue of Bengal Provinces at the time of his leaving India, in the early part of 1785, was competent to pay a yearly tribute to the Company of a crore of rupees, applicable either for supplies to other presidencies or to China, or to be invested in cargoes for Europe. The only war that took place was that with Tipu and Tipu had paid its expenses." "It appears to me, therefore, inconceivable," says Langton, "that placed between two periods of surplus revenue, a few years under the circumstances described by Mr. Hastings and so little disturbed by untoward events, should have swallowed up, not only the whole territorial revenue and near £6,000,000 sterling of new debt, but have required moreover assistance from the commercial branch to the extent of £6,800, 000." Langton shows by a long calculation that—

Total revenues of the period from 1781-91	...	...	£ 73,934,608
Total expenses of the period from 1781-91	...	...	£ 68,725,926
<hr/>			
Total Surplus	...	...	£ 5,208,682
Money borrowed during this period	...	...	£ 5,747,350
<hr/>			
Total money available for investment	...	...	£ 10,956,032
Interest on the debts was not more than	...	...	£ 5,110,428
Sums allowed for Stores from England and sums paid in England (taken at the rate at which they were charged for 1793 in Appendix to II & IV Reports of 1811 & 1812)	...	...	£ 3,947,416
<hr/>			
			£ 9,057,844

Deducting this sum from £10,956,032 we get a surplus of £1,898,188 which should be charged against commerce.

Langton attacks the Third Report for not laying down a distinct view of the proportion of the Indian debt that was to be termed political or commercial. This had led to all sorts of mess and fantastic demands by commerce and unheard of exactions at the cost of territory. Why should charges of Bencoolen or Penang or St. Helena be levied on Indian revenues and why also the interest on debts? Even the Second Report points out, "These several articles cannot in either case be considered as either wholly of a political or of a commercial description, although they have uniformly been brought forward in the accounts from year to year as a direct demand upon the revenues of India and have very materially affected the general result of the same". Other items illegally charged on revenues were:

(1) The expenses of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. It was distinctly made a charge on commerce in the Act of Parliament. Yet it was introduced against territory in App. 46 of Third Report. Taking the minimum allowed £16,000, as the actual expenses per annum, £600,000, had been wrongly charged against revenue in 17 years.

(2) The expenses of East India Company's volunteers (£28,000 in one year) had also been wrongly debited to territory.

In another part of the Report Rickards charges the commercial branch with falsification of accounts. Total amount of advance made by territory to several presidencies for commercial purposes during 1814-1826 was £30,545,069. £24,338,050 of this sum was shown by the Company to be in repayment of territorial charges defrayed in England. Yet, according to Rickards, the real amount so defrayed was £18,833,065. There must have been thus a falsification of accounts to the extent of £5,504,985.

James Mill, a servant of the Company, tried to justify the Company's conduct and support Melvill's thesis but his evidence rings hollow in our ears and may be dismissed as it brings no new facts or figures to our knowledge.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that both the parties were united in assigning the cost of wars to the territorial branch, *i.e.*, Indian revenue. None of them thought it unjust or invidious to make the Indian people pay for a foreign conquest and an alien rule.

DIWĀN PAṆḌIT JIVĀJI SHĀMRĀJ

DR. M. R. MAJUMDAR

The flourishing of Diwān Paṇḍit Jivāji Shāmrāj during the reigns of two Gāekwāds—Dāmāji Rāo II (1732-68 A.D.) and Sayāji Rāo I (1768-78) as a Deputy of Peshwā first came to light in 1882, when sanads issued and signed by Jivāji Shāmrāj were produced in evidence in the District Court of Amreli, in a suit filed on 2-11-82 to establish the absolute rights of one Bhavānishankar Bhānji, a Prashṇorā Nāgar Brāhmin by caste to read Purāṇas in the town of Amreli and fourteen of the eighty-four villages round about Amreli, called the "right of Vyāsāsana-vṛtti", earned by their ancestor, one Rderām Kuṅvarji Bhaṭṭ.

There has been no trace of the name and fame of Paṇḍit Jivāji Shāmrāj so far, from the published selections of Records: either from the Peshwā Daftars or the Baroda State Records. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII devoted to Kathiawar, even, gives no clue to Jivāji's stay in Kathiawar.

The credit of discovering these sanads and disclosing their contents to the world goes to my friend Mr. Bhāilāl Oddhavji Sanghavi, B.A., LL.B., a Pleader, practising formerly at Amreli and now in Baroda. It is due to his kind offices that I have been permitted to utilize these materials for preparing a paper for the Indian History Congress Sessions at Nagpur.

The sanads issued by Diwān Paṇḍit Jivāji Shāmrāj have been confirmed and re-affirmed by subsequent officers and rulers of the Marāṭhā confederacy by Sayaji Rāo Gāekwād I (1768-78 A.D.) and Fattesinh Mahārāj Gāekwād (1778-89 A.D.). The sanads have thus been respected by the Court of Law, and gifted lands are continued as *Jāt-dharmādāya* and leaves no doubt as to their validity.

A sanad was issued in the name of Girdharji, dated Samvat 1812 Jeth Sud 7, bearing the seal and signature of Jivāji Shāmrāj, the Diwān of the Peshwās and Vālā Ugā and Vālā Muluji, the original owners of Amreli, whereby 100 Bighās of land in Amreli 'shim' and one 'vāḍi' (garden land) of 22-10 Bighās were given to him to be used for his own expense, from son to son, from generation to generation without any obstruction, and in return to give blessings to the Marāṭhā Government.

The lands were thus given as 'jāt dharmādāya', *i.e.*, as a personal gift and not to the temple or any idol; and in return no other service of any kind was to be performed by him except giving blessings to the Marāṭhā Government.

The original history as to the acquisition of dharmādāya lands in the Amreli tālukā by Shri Girdharji, the ancestor of Goswāmi Shri Aniruddhālālji Vrajkeshlālji, Mahārāj of Jāmnagar, is noteworthy. Girdharji was looked upon with high respect and honour in the province of Kāṭhiāwār as the religious head of the Vaiṣṇava Sect. He exercised wide-spread influence throughout the province, and was consequently useful to the Marāṭhās in consolidation of the province of Kāṭhiāwār.

Diwān Paṇḍit Jivāji Shāmrāj had also issued some sanads to religious people such as Brāhmins in Amreli, by giving them land or by giving them exclusive rights of reading Purāṇas in Amreli and surrounding 84 villages. These sanads have been respected and the gifted lands are continued as 'jāt dharmādāya' lands.

A batch of sanads issued in favour of Rderām by Paṇḍit Jivāji, includes those of Samvat 1810, Samvat 1818 and later on of Samvat 1830 to one Vyās Prabhāshankar Viśvanāth, the heirs of Rderām, which conferred on them the absolute rights to read Purāṇas or to arrange for their recitals; in return for which they were to give blessings to the Sarkār, *i.e.*, the rulers of the district, namely the Peshwā and the Gāekwāds.

In a sanad issued to Bhaṭṭ Rderām Kunvarji granting him a field of 70 Bighās in Samvat 1818 by Diwān Paṇḍit Jivāji Shāmrāj, Dāmāji Gāekwād has been referred to as 'Subedār Sāheb', who is specifically mentioned to be blessed by the grantee in return for the hereditary grant of the field to the deserving learned Brāhmin that he was known to be.

Sayāji Rāo Gāekwād, son of Dāmāji Rāo, issued a sanad with the seal of 'chālu-nirantara' (*i.e.*, to be continued permanently) to the Girdharji Mahārāj, whereby various hakks, *i.e.*, rights that were enjoyed by the Mahārājshri were mentioned in details; and these rights were affirmed.

These sanads are useful inasmuch as they shed new lights on the following main points:—

(1) That there was a Deputy of Peshwā in the District of Amreli in Kāthiāwād between Samvat 1810 to Samvat 1830;

(2) That Dāmāji Gāekwād II (Samvat 1788-1824) has been mentioned as 'Shrimant Shri. Subedār Sāheb Dāmāji';

(3) That the District of Amreli was originally owned by the Kāthi chiefs (Vālā Uga and Vālā Muluji), the Gāekwāds and the Peshwā, as all of these have been signatories to the grant of land to Goswāmi Shri Girdharji Mahārāj of Jāmnagar, who was given a grant of a 'vāḍi' of 100 Bighās with a well, in Samvat 1812 (1756 A.D.);

(4) That the common purpose of grants to both Rderām Kuṅvarji and to Goswāmi Shri Girdharji Mahārāj was to obtain blessings for the sustenance of the newly acquired territory by the Marāṭhā chiefs, who were the followers of the exponents of the 'Hindu-padpādshāhi';

(5) That the continuance of the tradition of Hindu kings, respecting and patronising Hindu learning and religion, believed to be the main-stay of the body-politic, is in evidence from these sanads.

A LITTLE KNOWN EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE

DR. B. N. MEHTA

On May 23, 1812 a daring conspiracy to assassinate the British Resident in Travancore with all the European officers of the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon was disclosed by one Venkata Ramaiah of the 2nd battalion of the 14th regiment to a Jamadar, Jalloo, of the same battalion who reported the disclosure to his adjutant Lt. Cox. It was given out that two havildars and about 30 sepoyes of the 18th had engaged in the conspiracy, the rest of the troops being entirely ignorant of it. A number of discharged sepoyes, some merchants of the bazaar and some of the police peons had also joined the plot. The plan was to rush upon and assassinate the European officers when all of them were assembled at a dinner and to set fire to the barracks and huts of the sepoyes to distract their attention. The conspirators expected to be joined, when they proceeded to act, by two or three hundred men from every corps. They hoped in this way to throw the whole force into such a state of terror and confusion as would enable them to overpower it without any difficulty. They had expectations of French co-operation also in the attempt. A *fakir* living with Jamadar Shaikh Hussain of the 14th had hatched the plan in concert with one Pyche Raja. The 22nd of May had been fixed for the act but the plot failed to materialize since some men did not turn up in time.¹

Alarmed at this sensational disclosure, the Resident and Col. Hall, the officer commanding the subsidiary force, paraded the troops on the afternoon of the 25th of May and Shaikh Hussain was taken out with his accomplices and put in irons. The *fakir* and some other men were also arrested. An examination of these people disclosed that Womana Thampi, an ex-Dewan of Travancore, was also implicated in the plot.² Later reports showed that the spirit of disaffection was quite widely spread in the force. A number of native officers were mentioned as having been actively implicated together with some important personalities besides Womana Thampi, Pyche Raja of Coliote, Cartigpillay Raja (who had advanced his pretensions to the throne of Travancore after the late Raja's death) and Eliya Raja, the heir-apparent. Evidences tended to implicate all of them, except Eliya Raja, in the conspiracy.³ At one stage even the Rani of Travancore and the Raja of Cochin were also suspected,⁴ although subsequently the suspicion proved to be groundless.⁵

The whole affair was strangely reminiscent of Vellore. Trying to sum up the factors calculated to produce the conspiracy, Col. John Munro, the Resident in Travancore, wrote to the Chief Secretary, Madras Government on January 21, 1813⁶ that the principles and objects of the conspiracy appeared

1. *Madras Military Consultations*, 5, June 1812.
2. *Mad. Mil. Cons.*, 5, June 1812.
3. Evidences, *Mad. Mil. Cons.*, 5, 19, 30, June 1812.
4. *Ibid.*, 30, June 1812.
5. *Ibid.*, 13, October 1812.
6. *Ibid.*, 5, Feby. 1813.

to be similar to those of the mutiny at Vellore ; a body of Muslim soldiers discharged from the Raja's service were dispersed all over that country, destitute of subsistence and anxious for a change. Of those men a considerable number were collected at Quilon. Some of them had been admitted to the Company's battalions and others were connected by marriage with native officers and sepoy. The discontent of these men, the 'treacherous, inordinate and vindictive passion' of Womana Thampi and the pretender, Coliote Raja,⁷ the ambition of some native officers, the artful and fanatical discourses of the *fakirs* and the state of uncertainty which the intrigues and the expected return of Eliya Raja created in the minds of the people—all these factors had co-operated to produce the conspiracy. The object of the conspirators, Munro thought, was to set up a Muslim power and to employ Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja as instruments to ensure the obedience of the Hindus until a sufficient Muslim force was got ready. The design of the conspirators, he added, could be understood from the harangues of the *fakir* and Shaikh Hussain who had declared it to be degrading for Musalmans to serve a few Europeans of reprobate religion and manners. He concluded that whatever might have been the causes which led to the conspiracy, they could not be attributed to any want of discipline or confidence between the officers and the men. In an earlier letter of October 2, 1812, Munro had mentioned that some months back, the sepoy of the 18th had been heard applauding the mutiny of Vellore and that a little of the seditious spirit which had prevailed at the time of the Vellore mutiny appeared to subsist among the troops.⁸ Captain Hall also wrote to the Chief Secretary, Madras that all the traitors were Musalmans.⁹

Col. Munro's analysis of the causes appears to be sensible but he has not been able to make out a case for his theory of the establishment of a Muslim power in Travancore. At Vellore there were at least the Mysore Princes at hand who could form the nucleus of the plot, but there was none here. Even if Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja could be duped by the Muslim conspirators, there was no Muslim who could be placed on the throne and whose name could inspire the sepoy. Yet it sounds very intriguing, if it was true, that all the traitors were Muslims. It is difficult to find from the evidence that they had any grievances. In the absence of any grievances, it could only be 'a regularly organized design for the attainment of a great political purpose rather than a sudden and popular plan of commotion',¹⁰ as Munro thought. To him the number of the native officers accused, the active part taken by the *fakirs* and the religious prejudices associated with it contributed to show that it was not an ordinary affair, but he could not find any clue to it.

It appears that the earlier analysis of the event conveyed by Munro to the Chief Secretary in his letter of the 16th of June was more correct, although some of his observations were, on his own admission, entirely conjectural. He saw three distinct parties with distinct views, all of which were, however,

7. Coliote Raja is the same person as Pyche Raja.

8. *Madras Mil. Cons.*, 13, Oct. 1812.

9. *Ibid.*, 7, July 1812.

10. *Mad. Mil. Cons.*, 13, October 1812.

united in the common plan of subverting the British Government—(a) the troops incited by a few factious officers and intending to establish a military and Mohammadan power ; (b) Womana Thampi and Eliya Raja's men seeking to capture power by overawing the subsidiary force ; and (c) Pyche Raja seeking his own restoration to his country with the help of Womana Thampi or Eliya Raja.

It is very likely that Womana Thampi conspired with Pyche Raja to spread disaffection in the subsidiary force to kill all the European officers and with its help to secure the throne of Travancore for either Eliya Raja or Cartigpillay Raja with Dewanship for himself and restore Pyche Raja to his county of Coliote. Munro said that Womana Thampi was so little liked by the people and Pyche Raja was so little known in Travancore that it was impossible that they should have formed so ambitious a plan without having secured the assistance of Eliya Raja's friends. This view is supported by the evidence of Pyche Raja and Womana Thampi's confidential men from which it appeared that Womana was the author of the plot, although Munro's suspicions about Eliya Raja's connection with the conspiracy are not borne out by it. His servants of course appear to be deeply involved in the affair. The view can be supported also on the many grounds of probability. Womana Thampi was ambitious ; while Dewan, he used to behave very haughtily with the Raja and the Rani ; he was the son of a former Raja and might have had some pretensions ; he sported Mughal dress and had no scruples in favouring Islam, if not actual conversion of himself.¹¹ The last characteristic can lend some support to the theory of the establishment of a Muslim power with Womana Thampi as head and explain the fact of all traitors being Muslims, although no inference can be drawn from the evidences about the probability of the conversion of Womana Thampi. Even if this probability be granted, Womana would still remain the chief person to benefit by the revolution.

The whole thing was confused and nothing but the fact of Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja being the chief men in the plot could be ascertained. Munro lamented the great difficulty he experienced in getting evidence. The sepoys who were accused had combined in silence. Local people furnished little evidence and even the offer of pardon failed to draw out much.

To complete the story. The principal court of Travancore passed the sentence of death on both Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja who were found to be the principal conspirators. The latter was pardoned on the intercession of the Madras Government. The Resident pleaded with the Government for clemency to Womana also in view of his having held the Dewanship and helped the British Government at a difficult period, his lack of talents or courage, and the unlikelihood of any recurrence of the circumstances which had helped the conspiracy, and his habits of intemperance which were threatening to cut short his life early.¹² The Government did not wish to obstruct the exercise of clemency of the Rani, but, while not agreeing to intercede, hoped that the

11. *Mad. Mil. Cons.*, 13, October 1812.

12. *Mad. Mil. Cons.*, 6, April 1813.

... would be ultimately remitted. Jalloo jamadar and Venkata Ramaiah who had divulged the plot were rewarded. Shaikh Hussain was tried immediately after the discovery of the plot and blown away from the guns, on the 28th of May.¹³

A NOTE ON THE IMPOSTOR OF SADASHIVRAO BHAU

DR. V. S. CHITALE

Maharashtra had to face a crop of pretenders after the disaster of Panipat. The fact that Sadashivrao Bhau, the hero of Panipat, was killed on the battle-field, was firmly believed not only by many officers and Sardars in Maharashtra but also by his nearest relations.¹ Yet the common belief was that he was missing and not dead. This gave room to an adventurous man to impersonate Sadashivrao.

Sukhalal, a Kañoja Brahman, wishing to take advantage of the circumstance declared himself to be Sadashivrao Bhau² towards the end of 1761 and continued to cause sensation and trouble for a number of years. Maratha officers and Sardars in Bundelkhand, Ganesh Shambhaji, Vishwarao Laxman and others,³ acclaimed him to be Sadashivrao, gave him support and arms, gathered round his flag and thus enabled him to collect an army. The Pretender, thus equipped, began to roam about, collecting exactions and levying contributions. In 1764 he crossed the Narmada but, by the orders of the Peshwa, was pursued and captured by Hari Damodar Nevalkar,⁴ the ancestor of the Rani of Jhansi, who sent him to Poona for punishment. An inquiry was set on foot and when he was declared to be an impostor, he was kept prisoner at fort Ahmednagar. After being confined in different places,⁵ he was finally put in the charge of Ramchandra Naik Pranjpe, the Subhedar of Ratnagiri, and continued to be there upto 1776.

Ramchandra Naik, however, following the false advice of his relations, released him from bondage in February, 1776, declaring him to be Sadashivrao Bhau. The impostor, after collecting an army again began to harass the Poona Government by conquering fort after fort in Konkan.⁶ Later on, his followers crossed the Ghats, captured fort Rajmachi and proceeded as far as Sinhagad. Haripant Phadke who was despatched against them routed them completely and drove them into Konkan. Mahadaji Sinda and Bhimrao Panse who were sent against the Pretender, pounced upon him suddenly near Rajmachi, and utterly defeating him⁷ forced him to run into Konkan for shelter. The impostor then sought the help of the English, which was, how-

13. *Ibid*, 5, June 1812.

1. Khare, 545.

2. Rajwade, I, 296, 300.

3. Khare, 397, 398; *S.P.D.*, 19: 16, 19, 22, 23.

4. Khare, 579, 748; *S.P.D.*, 19: 27, 28.

5. *S.P.D.*, 19: 33, 34, 48.

6. Rajwade, 12; 180.

7. *S.P.D.*, 36; 311, 312, 314; *K.S.P.Y.*, p. 464.

ever, refused. Raghunathrao who had disbelieved⁸ him, now though taking advantage of the circumstance and offered him support, simply increase the difficulties of the Poona Ministers. Unfortunately, however, for the Pretender, Raghuji Angre who had an eye on the activities of the Pretender, overpowered and captured him in November, 1776, before he could escape to Bombay to secure the assistance of the English.⁹ Mahadaji Sinde and Raghuji Angre, then conveyed him to Poona, as a prisoner. Eminent persons tried him, pronounced him to be guilty and sentenced him to death. After being paraded through the streets of Poona, he was put to death on December 18, 1776.

The following are a few important unpublished original documents found in the Vaidya-Daftar of Poona, a free translation of which is given below. The documents have a tale of their own to tell and hardly require any comment. Supporting many a detail mentioned above, they present to the historian new facts about the story of the Pretender and also add much to the details. Without further comment, the reader is free to examine them and fix their value.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT I.

Baburao Vishwanath to Ramchandra Tatyā Karkare.

Poona, 1764.

Kasi Narsinha¹⁰ Bundele has written to Balaji Govind and Baburao Bundele that Bhausahab (the Impostor) has reached a place near fort Karaya, with eleven thousand Gosavi followers and an army of five thousand soldiers. Ganesh Shambaji, and Vishwas, rao Laxman and other mamlatdars (in Bundelkhand), with an army of five thousand soldiers, and Gazi-uddin-Khan and Sujat-ud-daulah and Jats with thirty thousand men have crossed the Yamuna to meet Bhausahab. Kasi Narsinha has sent him six lacs of rupees, elephants, aflagirs, and other articles, as he firmly believes that the person is no other than Sadashivrao himself. He has, therefore, asked Balaji Govind¹¹ to join him soon, who will act accordingly very soon. A Surat-Despatch states that it is not the impostor but the real Bhausahab.

DOCUMENT II.

Mahadaji Ram Danle to Rambhat Vaidya.

3-9-1765.

The Shrimant is at Koregaon. The rumour that the impostor will be sent to the fort as a prisoner in a day or two is false.

DOCUMENT III.

Naro Shivdeo (Ponkshe) to Krishnarao Tatyā Vaidya.

Sept.-Oct. 1776.

Mahadaji Shinde has been despatched against the Pretender and as I have been asked to follow him I am in his camp.....The Impostor has captured Sinhagad by defection and hence he has been sent against him.

8. Rajwade, 12; 178, 179.

9. S.P.D., 36; 314.

10. Younger brother of Govindpant Bundele.

11. Son of Govindpant Bundele.

DOCUMENT IV.

Shankeraji Shivram Bapat to Tatya Vaidya.

31-10-1776.

Shrimant Dadasaheb is at Tarapur, a place about twenty *kosa* beyond Bassein. It appears that he is keen on peace with the ministers which Babuji Naik Joshi is negotiating. The Impostor is with Raghoji Angre, who, it is rumoured, is going to bring him here after the Dipavali. Mahadaji Shinde and Bhimrao Panse are in the neighbourhood of Kalyan and Haripant Tatya is near Poona.

DOCUMENT V.

Laxman Ballal (Joshi) to Krishnarao Tatya Vaidya.

Poona 3-11-1776.

The Pretender has fled away from Fort Rajmachi and Mahadaji Shinde and Bhimrao Panse are on him. Somehow or other he reached Balapur, boarded a boat and was about to flee away to Bombay; but when the English did not allow him to do so, he made his way to Ratnagiri. Raghuji Angre, Vajaratmab, however, overpowered and arrested him and kept him as a prisoner, with a few followers, at Kolaba. The group of the prisoners consists of about nine people and they are: the Impostor himself, Shivajipant, Dhondopant, Daulatgir, Venkatrao Ghorpade, the two sons of Bhaskar Hari, Laxmanrao Kolhatkar and Yesaji Shinde Mirajkar. It is not known whether the rest have fled away. Mahadaji Shinde has despatched Balarao and Ranekhan to bring them here from Kolaba, after which the prisoners will be put on show and then dealt with.

DOCUMENT VI.

Laxman Ballal to Tatya (Vaidya).

13-11-1776.

Raghoji Angre has joined the Camp of Mahadaji Sinde with the Impostor and they will arrive here (Poona) in a day or two. Forts Tale and Ghosale are captured by Govindbhat. Forts Anjanwel and Suvarnadurga are being besieged by Bacchajipant Barve and Moro Bapuji Phadke. Sadashibbhat Datya is asked to capture Ratnagiri and Suvarnadurga is left to the care of Gangadhar Govind.

DOCUMENT VII.

Laxman Ballal to (Krishnarao) Tatya Vaidya.

Poona, 23-11-1776.

The Impostor will be brought here today. Fort Ratnagiri has been captured by Jayarampant Bapat. It is not known whether Vijayadurga has fallen. Kokan is now safe. Shrimant Dadasaheb, with about one hundred men has reached Bombay. It is believed that he cannot harm us in any way; but everything is uncertain (about his future actions).

DOCUMENT VIII.

Laxman Ballal (Joshi) to Krishnarao Tatya (Vaidya).

Poona, 28-11-1776.

The Impostor will arrive here on Friday, as Angre can conveniently come here only on that day. Ratnagiri is taken, as also Deogad and other forts. Gangadhar Govind is asked to capture Vijayadurga and, I am sure, he would succeed in the work. All the Kokan forts are now in our hands and the danger is averted.

AN EPISODE IN THE LIEE OF SADOBA, A PRETENDER
OF SADASIVRAO BHAU

M. S. AGASKAR

The Bombay Government reported to the Court of Directors on 5th April 1776 "of a possibility of a political storm, rising from an unexpected quarter against the power of the Ministers at Poona", believing the "intelligence from the Resident at Fort Victoria and other quarters that the supposed Sadoba, who had been in confinement for many years, had effected his escape from Ratnaghery and that he was already joined by several Maratha chiefs and a considerable body of troops." "Row Durlabh, the Commander of the fleet declared for him and Sadoba claimed for the office of Regent either for himself singly or jointly with Raghoba during the minority of the young Peshwa." George Dick, from the Bankot factory had informed already the Governor of Bombay on 3rd April "that Sadoba was acknowledged at Ratnagiri".² It was confirmed from the same quarters by 15th April "that Sadoba was real as his manner of sitting on horse-back and looking with his eyes was the same as that of Sadashivrao Bhau. But that he had a wound in his lip which he generally covered with a handkerchief in his hand". "Sadoba was prevailed upon to save himself at Panipat wherefrom he escaped with twenty horse and fifty Brahmins". "The wound was nursed and he reached Barhanpur and again started on pilgrimage to Cassy". Madhavrao for political reasons, it was asserted, confined him, "though several declared him as Sadoba, in Gung Gur fort, Amdana Gur Dowlettabad, Miriz and lastly Ratnaghery". "The persons concerned in his final release were related to Gangabai, Narayan Rao's widow, for they did not enjoy that share of power which they thought they had a right to and that Moroba Dada Fadnavis and Butchoba Purandare were inclined to him". While "Visajipant was ordered to go against Sadoba," "the Peshwa family at Poona made the usual ceremony on receipt of the ashes of Vishwasrao who was killed in action at Panipat and burnt there".³

Sadoba "expected in May to be joined by a number of the noblemen and officers of rank and to be placed in Poona without bloodshed". It was asserted that "Gangabai sent the Sanad for Sadoba's release" and his declarations by this time were that "he intended to recall Raghoba and act under his orders" to "curb the power of the Ministers and to restore tranquillity to the state, which was then more required as Nizam Ally was very unfortunate in his demands of the country agreed to be ceded to him by the Ministers."⁴

Sadoba "attempted to throw garrison into Gheria Fort" on 9th and the

1. Sec. and Pol. Dept., Dy. B'bay Govt. to Directors, 5-4-1776, vol. 17, pp. 234-35.
2. *Op. Cit.*, George Dick, Bankot factory to Governor, 9-4-1776, vol. 17, p. 239.
3. *Op. Cit.*, Bankot Resident's account, 13-4-1776, vol. 17, pp. 273-276.
4. *Op. Cit.*, Resid., Fort Victoria (Bankot) to Bombay Co., 14-5-1776, vol. 17A, pp. 366-367.

Siddi was also alert enough "in watching every opportunity to surprise any of the Maratha forts".⁵ "Two Vakils from Sadoba arrived in Bombay on the 17th"⁶ though, however, the Governor of Bombay instructed Col. Upton on 20th June "to assure the Peshwa that the English would not pursue any measures in consequence that may be repugnant to the working of the treaty of Purandar";⁷ even though the Bombay Government made it clear to the Governor-General on 30th June that Sadoba "still then continued to the southward being prevented from advancing by the monsoon" and that he was "in possession of great part of the Konkan country and his army was said to consist of about eighteen thousand men" and "finally that Sadoba had requested the Company to assist him with a battalion or two of sepoy and a supply of small arms".⁸ "The fifteen hundred sepoy sent from Poona to reinforce Anjanwel and seven Durg had a skirmish with a small party of Sadoba's which fell in with them unexpectedly near Pall Gur, when Sadoba came upon himself with army". "Anjanwel received Sadoba's garrison, Subedar of seven Durg had set out to pay homage to him and Raigur was commanded by Gunpat Rao, Sadoba's wife's brother." "Moroba Furkia, nephew to Haripant Phadke and his elder brother" "are inclined to Sadoba" and "Sadoba now had twenty thousand men" under him.⁹ In their consultation of 13th August the Governor and Council in Bombay again asserted the authenticity of Sadoba and recorded that Sadoba was "encamped for the rains within two days' march from Fort Victoria with an army of thirty thousand men and expected to be joined by the Raja of Malwan with a considerable body of horse". The Council again felt that "there was every reason to expect that Sadoba would become very shortly master of Poona," and hence solicited advice from the Governor-General in the event of his success.¹⁰ Raghoba, meanwhile, in his letter of 19th June, had already protested against the treaty concluded by Upton and requested the Government of Bombay to abandon his cause, declaring that the young Peshwa was not the son of Narayan Rao.¹¹ Sadoba wrote a letter on 9th August which was received on the 19th August by the Governor of Bombay, "acquainting him that he wanted meeting with Raghoba, who was at Surat directly," and despatched one Gopal Dhond Dev to arrange matters through the Governor.¹² The Peshawa offered new terms to Raghoba and "consented, at length, to a change of abode for Raghunath Row and to allow him five lakhs of Rupees per annum."¹³ The Governor of Bombay in his letter to Governor-General of 4th September could not "sufficiently express his surprise at the intention of the Governor-General and Council of recalling Col. Upton

5. Sec. & Pol. Dept., Dy. Res. Fort Victoria (Bankot) to Bombay Co., 14-5-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 367 ff.

6. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. Consultation, 18-6-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 423-425.

7. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. to Col. Upton., 20-6-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 428-429.

8. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. to Fort William, 30-6-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 430-432.

9. *Op. Cit.*, George Dick to Bom. Co., 30-6-1776; vol. 17A, p. 445.

10. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. Consultation, 13-8-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 473-474.

11. *Op. Cit.*, Raghunathrao to Bom. Co., 19-6-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 475-476.

12. *Op. Cit.*, Sadashiv Chimanaji (Sadol) to Bom. Co., vol. 17A, 20-8-1776, p. 482.

13. *Op. Cit.*, Col. Upton to Bom. Co., 22-8-1776; vol. 17A, p. 504.

from Poona" and "Sadoba offered a district contiguous to Fort Victoria" to Company in the same month.¹⁴

"Sadoba continued moving to the north with an intention of joining Raghoba" but it could not be told "what effect the latter's negotiations with the Portuguese might have had on his conduct".¹⁵ The Peshawa again in his letter of 8th September suspected the Bombay Company of supporting Raghoba secretly,¹⁶ but simultaneously offered newer and better terms to Raghoba, namely the change of place and increment in the stipend.¹⁷

"Sadoba had applied to Bombay for an English Surgeon to cure a wound that he had received in his jaw (?) which was not healed." The Governor "could not in humanity refuse his request and accordingly sent John Blakeman to his assistance which also afforded the Company to receive intelligence that could be depended upon, of his operations." The passes between Poona and Bombay were possessed by Sadoba's forces so that one Captain who was proceeding from Bombay to join Col. Upton found himself under a necessity of returning.¹⁸

The President of Bombay received the following letter from John Blakeman who attended Sadoba which described the battle that was fought. "Since I last had the honour of addressing you, this is the only opportunity I have had of writing, on account of our daily marching, through this at present almost unpassable country and being obliged to leave my baggage considerably in the rear in order to help Company with Sadoba, who instead of ascending the Ghott he intended and which we were within a cousse or two of at a place called Sherwaly went to Broce Ghott about 18 cousse to the Norseward, where he met with a powerful opposition from the enemy, notwithstanding which he reached the summit with very little loss, his success was entirely owing to his own resolution, for observing some of his people retreating, he quitted his palanquin and without waiting to put on his slippers, headed them himself sword in hand, the consequence was, a general retreat of the enemy; after leaving a considerable force to secure the pass, he marched to Radge Matchy Fort, where he had a strong garrison and intends marching from hence in a few days and tells that he expects to be in Poona shortly and of having very powerful reinforcements, from some considerable men there, who were before in doubt of the identity of his person. His army is daily increasing, he the other day was joined by Yincotrow, a near relation with five hundred horse and an elephant."¹⁹

Radge Matchy. Fort 17th October, 1776.

14. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. Consultation, 4-9-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 514-516.

15. Sec. and Pol. Dept., Dy. Bom. Co. to Gov.-Gen., 14-9-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 535-540.

16. *Op. Cit.*, Peshwa to Bom. Co., 8-9-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 540-541.

17. *Op. Cit.*, Boddam (Surat) to Bom. Co., 10-10-1776; vol. 17A, p. 560.

18. *Op. Cit.*, Bom. Co. to Gov.-Gen., 20-10-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 562-563.

19. *Op. Cit.*, John Blakeman to President, Bom., 17-10-1776; vol. 17A, pp. 561-562.

THE OUDH TREATY OF 1837

DR. SRI NANDAN PRASAD

INTRODUCTION

The Treaty concluded between the Hon'ble East India Company and His Majesty the King of Oudh on the 11th September, 1837, has been the subject of bitter controversy, mostly in England. The Treaty was important as incorporating an agreed arrangement for correcting the growing misrule in Oudh without having recourse to the extreme measure of annexation. Lord Dalhousie, and others of his view, believed that the Treaty was abrogated as a whole on the orders of the Court of Directors soon after its conclusion. They, therefore, argued that there was no agreed solution in 1856 for ending the ills of Oudh, and hence annexation of the State was just and fair. The rival school of thought held that only a clause of the Treaty of 1837 had been disallowed by the Court of Directors, and therefore the annexation of Oudh was defective in Law and malafide in Equity, when the Treaty of 1837 was in existence, and misrule could be ended without annexation.

In view of the controversy, and its inconclusive result, it would be useful to examine the facts of the case in detail in order to arrive at an independent judgement.

RECAPITULATING THE EVENTS

To begin with, let us go over the history of the case. In 1837, on the death of Nasiruddin Haidar, the King of Oudh, Muhammad Ali Shah was not allowed to sit on the throne till he had agreed to conclude a new Treaty with the Hon'ble Company.¹ Although he was ignorant of the terms and conditions of the proposed treaty, Muhammad Ali Shah agreed. Accordingly, a Treaty was concluded at Lucknow on the 11th September, 1837, and was ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 18th September, copies being duly exchanged.² The new Treaty had two important provisions; firstly, that the Company would be entitled to take over the administration of Oudh as a temporary measure if maladministration continued, and secondly, that the King of Oudh would pay 16 lakhs of rupees per year for a new body of Auxiliary troops to be maintained by the Company for quelling disturbances in the King's dominion.

The Treaty, however, did not find favour with the Court of Directors when it was reported to them late in 1837. They objected specially to the provision for extracting more money from the King of Oudh for keeping the Auxiliary Force, because Article V of the Treaty of 1801 had laid down that "no demand whatever shall be made upon the territory of His Excellency (the Nawab of

1. Sleeman, Col., *Journey through Oudh*, vol. II, p. 178 (London, 1858).

2. Dalhousie's *Minute* dated 14th August, 1854; Political Proceedings of the Foreign Deptt. of the Govt. of India, No. 70 of 15th September, 1854.

Oudh) on account of expenses which the Honourable Company may incur for the suppression of disorders within his territory." They communicated their sentiments in the matter to the Governor-General ; Lord Auckland justified his action ; long correspondence followed. In the end, in July 1839, Lord Auckland reported to the Home authorities that he had informed the King of Oudh that Oudh would be required to pay no money for the Auxiliary Force and that the relevant clause of the Treaty of 1837 had been cancelled.³ The Home authorities then dropped the matter.

And there it rested. In India, everyone was under the impression that the Treaty of 1837 was in force, except for the clause about the Auxiliary Force.⁴ The Treaty was included in a Compilation produced by the Government of India in 1845, and was thence taken into an authoritative collection of treaties placed before the Parliament in 1853. In the collection, the Treaty carried a note saying that the clause relating to payments from the King of Oudh for the Auxiliary Force had been cancelled. When Lord Dalhousie discovered it, he lost no time in remarking upon it. Writing to the Court of Directors, he expressed his conviction that the inclusion of the Treaty was a mistake and that in reality it had no existence, having been disallowed in toto by the Home authorities soon after its conclusion.

In this view, as ever, the masterful Governor-General was dittoed by the members of his Council. One of them, however, suggested the desirability of informing the King of Oudh of the exact position even at that late stage.⁵ But the Court of Directors did not adopt the suggestion, and wanted "to leave matters as they stand until some practical question arises which must be dealt with according to the circumstances of the time."⁶

The "practical question" arose within twelve months, when Dalhousie proposed the annexation of Oudh. In the discussions then, the Governor-General reiterated his opinion about the total abrogation of the Treaty of 1837 ; none challenged his opinion ; and Oudh was annexed into the British territories in India for ever.

DALHOUSIE'S CONTENTION

On the face of it, Lord Dalhousie and his supporters appear to have had plausible grounds for holding the Treaty of 1837 null and void. The letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors dated 16th April, 1838, said, "Although we thus convey to you our directions for the abrogation of the Treaty, we leave it discretionary with your Lordship to adopt your measures to the state of circumstances as they may be found to exist when you receive

3. Jackson, Sir Charles, *A Vindication of Marquess of Dalhousie's Indian Administration*, p. 125, (London, 1865).

4. *Minute of General Low* dated 22nd August, 1854 ; Foreign Department Political Proceedings, No. 72 of 15th September, 1854.

5. *Minute* by J. P. Grant dated 22nd August 1854 ; Foreign Deptt. Political Proceedings No. 73 of 15th September, 1854.

6. Foreign Deptt. Political Letters from Court of Directors to Govt. of India, No. 2 of 1855, dated 10th January, 1855.

this letter."⁷ In their letter of 15th April 1839, too, the Secret Committee repeated their instructions for informing the King of Oudh about "the disallowance of the Treaty of the 18th September 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the state of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood."⁸ These instructions were explicit, and were never cancelled. In the words of Kaye, therefore, the Treaty was "an abortion". Kaye also pointed out that the Secretary to the Board of Control submitted in July 1838 a Return to Parliament saying, "There has been no treaty concluded with the present King of Oudh (Muhammad Ali Shah) which has been ratified by the Court of Directors with the approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India."⁹ Therefore, Dalhousie and his supporters held that the Treaty of 1837 had no existence, and it was to the Treaty of 1801 alone that one could look for provisions for ending misrule in Oudh. Since the old Treaty had no such provision, Dalhousie argued that they had to proceed without the sanction of any treaty, and Oudh was annexed by an act of State.

THE CASE FOR THE OTHER SIDE

The other school of thought, represented by men like Sleeman and Henry Lawrence, held that the Home authorities never disallowed the entire Treaty but only the clause relating to the payment for the Auxiliary Force. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, they argued, said, "Your Lordship in Council is, therefore, authorised to exercise the largest discretion as to the mode of carrying our wishes into effect in respect to the Treaty, but the order of the Court of Directors is positive and strictly to be enforced, to discontinue the preparations which may have been made for the organisation of the Auxiliary Force."¹⁰ It was obvious, therefore, that the Court were positive only about the offending clause, and when Lord Auckland informed the King of Oudh of the cancellation of that clause alone, the Court were satisfied and took no further step in the matter. Sir John Hobhouse too, who was the President of the Board of Control in 1837, said, "My impression certainly is that the treaty of 1837 was ratified by Government at home after the disallowance referred to: the whole treaty was not disallowed, but only one part of it."¹¹ This argument was fortified by all the subsequent events in the case. In 1845, and 1853, the Treaty of 1837 was included in authoritative collections of treaties. In 1847, Lord Hardinge warned the King of Oudh that his kingdom would be taken over temporarily according to the Treaty of 1837 unless the administration was improved.¹² Even in 1852, Sleeman,

7. Dalhousie's *Minute* dated 14th August 1854; Foreign Deptt. Political Proceedings, No. 70 of 15th September, 1854.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Major Evans Bell, *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p. 57 (London, 1868).

10. Major Evans Bell, *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p. 54 (London, 1868).

11. Beveridges' *History of India* (Blackie, 1866), vol. III, p. 548, quoted by Major Evans Bell, in his *Retrospects and Prospects*, p. 59.

12. Dr. Virendra Kumar: *The Administration of Lord Hardinge*, Appendix I. Typescript in the Allahabad University Library.

(then the Resident at Lucknow) reporting on the continued maladministration of Oudh, concluded, "I do not think that our Government can any longer forbear to exercise to the fullest extent the powers which the treaty of 1837 confers upon it, of taking upon itself the administration and conducting it by means of its own officers." It is obvious, therefore, that almost everyone in India and in England believed the Treaty still valid, and Lord Dalhousie was the first man to assert unambiguously that the whole Treaty of 1837 was null and void. But his view was willingly adopted by the then Court of Directors because it suited their annexationist purpose.

THE JUDGEMENT

After taking into consideration all the arguments and evidences adduced by either party, there remains no reasonable doubt of the real facts of the case. It is clear that, in 1838, the Secret Committee was definitely inclined to reject the entire treaty and to "the restoration of our relations with the state of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood." But, following the usual practice of those days, the Committee gave wide discretionary powers to the Governor-General in the matter, insisting only that no further money be demanded from Oudh for keeping up troops. Lord Auckland realised that the entire treaty was being disapproved of, for he commented officially on the "pledges upon the non-ratification of the Treaty given to Parliament."¹³ But he still defended the Treaty and requested the Committee to reconsider its attitude.¹⁴ When the Secret Committee repeated its previous instructions, Lord Auckland simply informed the King of Oudh that the clause relating to payments from Oudh for the Auxiliary Force had been cancelled, and forwarded to the Committee a copy of his letter to the King. This action, strictly speaking, was a defiance of the Committee's wishes, but such minor defiances were fairly frequent in those days, and the Committee did not seem to have noticed this strange method of carrying out its instructions. It should be remembered that the Afghan War was just in the offing then and it would have been very awkward for the Secret Committee to precipitate a quarrel with the Governor-General at that juncture. So it acquiesced in Lord Auckland's view of the matter.

Thenceforth, there seems no doubt that *everyone*, whether in India or in England, took the Treaty as valid and in force. This is indicated not only by the opinion of Sir John Hobhouse quoted above, but also by the inclusion of the Treaty in the Compilations of 1845 and 1853. The Return mentioned above—saying that there was no treaty with Muhammad Ali Shah which had been ratified by the Home authorities—does not affect the situation, because, it appears, no treaty had ever been formally ratified by the authorities in England, and because the Return was made in 1838, when the Treaty of 1837 was still under discussion. Moreover, Lord Hardinge undoubtedly threatened

13. *Minute* of Lord Auckland dated 13th December 1838, quoted by Dalhousie in his *Minute* dated 14th August, 1854.

14. *Minute* of Lord Auckland dated 2nd May, 1839.

the King of Oudh with the provisions of the Treaty of 1837 in November, 1847. Again, in 1848 Lord Dalhousie himself appears to have believed that the Treaty was still in force, for he wrote that, if maladministration continued in Oudh, "it will then be indispensable that the British Government should assume the direct management of the country ; and the affairs of Oude will be administered by the British Resident as Chief Minister."¹⁵ And finally, even the Court of Directors wrote in 1851 that, since the King of Oudh had effected no reforms in spite of the warning of 1847, the "British Government should no longer delay to exert its authority to the utmost extent authorised by the Treaty" and "a plan of reform likely to be effectual may be selected and brought into operation."¹⁶ In the above letter, the Treaty referred to could only be the Treaty of 1837, for no other treaty provided for a plan of administrative reform to be introduced and executed by the British in Oudh.

It is difficult to understand why only a few years later, both Lord Dalhousie and the Court of Directors declared the Treaty of 1837 null and void ever since 1839. If valid, the Treaty was a stumbling block in the annexation of Oudh. And annexation was Dalhousie's object.¹⁷ Nor were the Home authorities greatly averse to the cheap acquisition of large territories and revenue, whatever their denials before the British public. Therefore, when Dalhousie held, in 1854, that the Treaty was abrogated in toto, the Court of Directors willingly accepted his view. Moreover, they ignored Grant's suggestion that the other party to the Treaty might be informed, even at that late hour, about the British decision in the matter. Was it because they feared that the King of Oudh, goaded by a full realisation of his dire peril, might even then reform the administration and thus rob the Company of the excuse for annexation?

And finally, the juristic aspect of the case deserves brief notice. Treaties with the Indian Princes were international contracts, and were classed with other international treaties concluded by the Company with independent Powers like Nepal, Afghanistan and Persia. Such international treaties, once concluded and ratified by an authority empowered to do so, became binding contracts. Their obligations could be nullified only by their expiry or by one of the contracting parties giving notice to the other party denouncing the contract in part or whole. The Treaty of 1837 had been concluded and ratified by the Governor-General in Council, who was fully empowered to contract treaties on behalf of the Hon'ble Company. It was, therefore, a binding inter-

15. Therefore, Dalhousie argued, the person selected to be the new British Resident at Lucknow in 1848 must be a very able man and an expert in revenue matters, and hence Col. Sleeman must be selected—Dalhousie's *Minute* dated 14th September 1848 ; Foreign Deptt. Political Proceedings, No. 17 of 7th October, 1848.

16. Political Letter from the Court of Directors, No. 26 of 1851, dated 16th July 1851.

17. As proof, the following:—"The King of Oude seems disposed to be bump-tious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction"—Baird, J. G. A. *Private Letters of Dalhousie*, (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 262, Letter dated 18th August 1853. Or again, "That (Oudh) is a cherry which will drop into our mouths some day. It has long been ripening ; but in these days annexation is so unfashionable and the Charter Committee so near that I doubt the Court would approve of my shaking the tree to help it down"—*Ibid*, p. 169, Letter dated July 30, 1851.

national contract and could not be denounced unilaterally by the Company without the knowledge and consent of the other contracting party. Since the King of Oudh had been informed of the cancellation of only one clause of the Treaty, the rest of it must be presumed to be in full force even in 1856.

CONCLUSION

From the above analysis of the facts connected with the case, it appears clearly established that the Treaty of 1837 was still in force in 1856 when Oudh was annexed. In 1838, the Home authorities had certainly disapproved of the entire treaty. But Lord Auckland had stuck to his guns and, in the result, the Secret Committee had acquiesced in his view of only cancelling the article of the Treaty referring to payments by the King of Oudh for the Auxiliary Force. This position was well understood both by the authorities in India and in England, and measures were proposed on several occasions on the basis of the Treaty. In 1854, however, Lord Dalhousie argued that the entire Treaty was null and void, and the Court of Directors agreed with his view. But the King of Oudh was never informed of the abrogation of the Treaty, and no one appears to have considered the juristic view that, whatever the sentiments of the British authorities, the Treaty could not be abrogated without the knowledge of the other contracting party.

RAMSHASTRI

DR. V. D. RAO

In view of the abundant material pertaining to the Maratha history that has come to light in the form of Peshwa Daftars and other historical documents during the last few decades, it has become necessary to reevaluate the lives and reassess the achievements of some of the notable personalities who played important roles in the history of Marathas. Attempt is made here to take a brief review of the life of Ramshastri in this light.

On the ancestry of Ramshastri little light is thrown by the historical records available. We know that he had his ancestral home at MAHULI (dist. Satara). His exact birth date is not known but is supposed to be some time between 1715 and 1720. According to the traditional accounts he began his career with the Peshwas as a शमिद (domestic attendant). The earliest reference to him is in a document dated 1st October 1739 wherein he is referred to as a dependent of the Peshwa family drawing a monthly salary of rupees forty.¹

He was taken up on the council of lawyers (शास्त्रो मंडल) of the Department of Justice (धर्मखाते) in 1751.² On the death of Balkrishna Shastri Gadgil, the Chief Justice of Marathas in 1759, Ramshastri was appointed as

1. *Peshwa Diary*, vol. XXII, 137.

2. *Itihas Sangraha*, vol. III, p. 186.

Chief Justice of the Maratha kingdom which post he held till death with only a short break during the erstwhile regime of Raghunath Balaji Peshwa. As the Chief Justice of Maratha kingdom he was given a monthly salary of Rs. 2000/- and in addition palanquin allowance.³

Ramshastri was held in high esteem and regard by the Peshwa, especially by Madhavrao. In a letter informing Ramshastri about his victory over Hyder Ali, Madhavrao refers to himself as his disciple.⁴ Madhavrao paid to Ramshastri a sum of Rs. 5000/- to enable him to liquidate his debts in 1767.⁵ We find another reference to a payment of Rs. 15000/- to Ramshastri in the year 1785-86 for payment of his debts.⁶ No documentary or other evidence has so far come to light throwing light on the circumstances that led to his involvement in such heavy debts. But the fact that the Peshwas helped him with such large amounts to pay his debts shows in what high esteem he was held by them. A further proof of the high regard and esteem Madhavrao held for Ramshastri is found in the fact that the latter was one of the few persons called by Madhavrao at Theur while on his death bed.⁷

After the treacherous murder of Narayanrao Peshwa, it was Ramshastri who had the courage to denounce Raghunathrao for his complicity in the affair. As the traditional account goes he passed the sentence of death on Raghunathrao for the heinous crime and walked away relinquishing his post.⁸ On the successful consummation of the Barbhai Plot he was called back by the Maratha statesmen to Purandar where the infant Peshwa was with his mother,⁹ and within a short time reinstated in the office of Chief Justice.¹⁰ Ramshastri seems to have shown some hesitancy in accepting the office again on account of his bitter experience of the past, and accepted it only after an express undertaking on solemn oath having been given to him by Sakharam Bapu and Nana Fadnis, the *de facto* regents of the infant Peshwa, to the effect that they would not interfere with the administration of justice.¹¹ This solemn undertaking seems to have been faithfully carried out for he continued to serve as Chief Justice of the Maratha kingdom till his death which took place on 25th October 1789.¹²

Grant Duff gives an estimate of the character and personality of Ramshastri in glowing terms.¹³ Ramshastri has been regarded as an embodiment of all the high moral qualities such as uprightness, impartiality and incorruptibility which must exist in a person holding the scales of justice. Attempts, however, seem to have been made to sully his character by making insinuations of corruptibility against him.¹⁴ We come across an allegation

3. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 14.

4. Khare: *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*, vol. III, p. 564.

5. *Peshwa Diary, Madhavrao*, vol. II, p. 632.

6. *Itihas Sangraha*, vol. III, p. 188.

7. *Purandare Daftar*, vol. III, p. 123.

8. Sohoni: *Peshwyanchi Bakhar*, p. 116.

9. *Peshwa Diary*: V.—49.

10. *Ibid.*—54.

11. *Ibid.*, 57, 58.

12. Rajwade: vol. VI, p. 459.

13. Grant Duff: vol. II, p. 208.

14. Khare: *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*, vol. II, p. 482.

against Ramshastri of yielding to influence in a case of ex-communication.¹⁵ Ramshastri was, however, always held by his masters to be above corruption or any other low practices.¹⁶

The Judgments and decisions of Ramshastri exemplifying his high learning, legal acumen and common-sense would form a separate topic for discussion. It is not possible in a short paper like this to do justice even in some measure to this topic. They, however, disclose, while adhering strictly to the principles of law and justice, a liberal trend.¹⁷

A struggle was going on at this time between the Brahmins and Prabhus regarding the Kshatriyahood of the Prabhus. The Brahmins of Poona looked upon the Prabhus as Shudras. The matter was referred to Ramshastri, who after weeding through a mass of Sanads etc. gave his decision in the teeth of the Brahmin opposition. He held the Prabhus to be Kshatriyas and as eligible for all the Sanskaras of the twice-born.¹⁸

Ramshastri, besides his role as administrator of justice, appears to have played a role as an elderly statesman in the Peshwa regime. He was one of the *panchas* appointed for investigating the affair of the impostor. This was rather an affair of the state and not a judicial inquiry and the part assigned to Ramshastri in it supports my above statement.¹⁹

THREE LETTERS OF MAHARANI JIND KAUR

SARDAR GANDA SINGH

The story of the incarceration of Maharani Jind Kaur (popularly known as *Mai Jindan*), the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh, in the fort of Lahore, her removal from there to the fort of Sheikhpura as a State prisoner and her ultimate banishment from the Panjab is very tragic. But it has become all the more tragic and painful by the discovery of three of her letters, which form the subject of this paper. These letters were purchased by me in October 1940 from Pt. Kirpa Ram, a grandson of the late Rai Sahib Pandit Wazir Chand Trikha of Jhang for the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and are preserved there in the collection of the Sikh History Research Department. One of these letters is in the Maharani's own handwriting while the other two are transliteration of the originals, rendered into Persian characters by Herbert B. Edwardes, whose initials (H.B.E.) are inscribed thereon. One of them bears the initials (J.L.) of John Lawrence.

The first letter was written on, or a day or two after, the 14th of August, 1847, when it was decided by the British Resident at Lahore, Colonel Henry Lawrence, that "the Maharani is to confine herself to the Summan [Burj]"

15. *Peshwa Diary*, vol. XLIII, p. 164.

16. *Ibid.*, 132.

17. *Ibid.*, 50, 56, 107, 125, 140, 142, 151, 153.

18. S. M. Nayak: *History of the Pathare Prabhus*, p. 57.

19. Khare: *Adhikaryog*, p. 47.

in the fort of Lahore and that some of her old servants were to be dismissed and replaced by those chosen by the Government.

Ever since the arrival of the British in the Panjab after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, there had been a clash of interests. On the one side there were the politicals of the East India Company who wished to establish themselves permanently in the Panjab. They had got a foothold in the country and they did not want to go back. In fact, they had their eyes far beyond the Sikh frontiers to the north west. On the other side was the Queen-mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, who had been in favour of the retention of the British troops, to begin with, as long as, under the terms of the treaties of the 9th and 11th March, 1846, "the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State—but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government."¹ But she had been disillusioned to find that in the course of their nine months' stay in the country the British had won over, by liberal grants and promises of *Jagirs*, high offices, titles and other favours, most of the leading chiefs of the State and had so lubricated them in their own favour as to turn their backs upon the interests of the Lahore State and to petition to the British Government to tighten the British hold upon the Panjab. Maharani Jind Kaur stoutly opposed the treaty of Bharowal (December 16, 1846) which placed the administration of the Panjab entirely into the hands of the British Resident with "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State."²

Maharani Jind Kaur wished to save the Panjab from the clutches of the British Government. In the words of Henry Lawrence to the Government, December 17, 1846—a day after the treaty of Bharowal—"During the last day or two, her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low order and to unite them all together in a scheme of independent government of which she herself was to be the head." But this was successfully foiled by Frederick Currie with the help of councillors like Tej Singh—a non-Panjabi³ Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh forces—who had played to the tune of the British in 1845-46 and had brought about the defeat of the Lahore army.

The treaty of Bharowal, December 16, 1846, made the British Resident at Lahore an absolute and sole dictator in the Panjab. The Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge, was very particular about reducing Maharani Jind Kaur to a nonentity. He had, therefore, written to Currie on December 7, 1846, that "in any agreement made for continuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition."⁴ And it was with this

1. Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, vol. IX, no. XVI, p. 42.

2. Ganda Singh, *Some New Light on the Treaty of Bhyrowal*, Proceedings I.H.R.C., vol. XVII (1940), p. 96; Article 2 of the Treaty.

3. Tej Singh was a nephew of Jemadar Khushal Singh, a Gour Brahmin of Ikri in Sardhana Pargannah of Meerut District in the U.P.—The *Panjab Chiefs* (1865), p. 29.

4. Ganda Singh, *Some New Light on the Treaty of Bhyrowal*, Pro. I.H.R.C., vol. XVII (1940), pp. 92-93.

object in view that he had further suggested in the same letter, "If the Sardars and influential chiefs, and especially the Attareewala family, urge the British Government to be guardian of the Maharaja during his minority, the Ranee's Power will cease silently and quietly, the admission being recorded that the British Government, as guardian of the Boy administering the affairs of the State, is to *exercise all the functions and possess all the powers* of the Regent on behalf of the Prince."⁵

This was accomplished by the Treaty of Bharowal. The Maharanee was pensioned off with an annual allowance of .150 thousand rupees.

But the British politicals at Lahore were not fully satisfied. "The Ranee", according to Herbert Edwardes, ". . . had more wit and daring than any man of her nation."⁶ And according to the *History of the Panjab* 1846, Vol. II, she was possessed of a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit" and was well-known as "being skilful in the use of her pen, whereby, it is supposed, she was able to arrange and combine means of Hira Singh's overthrow." (p. ii 311). As long as she was in Lahore, the British could not feel secure in their saddle in the Panjab, thought the British Resident. He, therefore, tried to "give the dog a bad name and hang it." She was advertised as implicated in everything anti-British in the country. She was said to be at the bottom of the Prema conspiracy for the murder of Sardar Tej Singh and of the insurrection at Multan. But there was no proof, nor could any evidence be got against her. As such, no legal action could in any case be taken against her.

A strong pretence, however, came handy to the British Resident, Col. Henry Lawrence, on the 7th of August, 1847, when in the *Darbar* held for the purpose of conferring titles and honours on those selected by the Resident, the young Maharaja Duleep Singh refused to anoint Sardar Tej Singh with the *tilak* of the title of *Raja*. The Maharaja could not have done this on his own initiative, argued the Resident. He construed it as an affront to the British Government who had decided to create Tej Singh a *Raja*, evidently, in recognition of his services to them. But his loyalty to and complicity with the British in the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, when he was himself the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh forces arrayed against the British, was, according to all interpretations of political morality, nothing short of treachery to the Government of the Panjab whose trusted servant he was. And the Maharani could not have willingly allowed a traitor to be anointed by her own son whose cause he had so basely betrayed.

The Resident considered such an influence of the Maharani on her son as not conducive to the up-bringing of the young Maharaja and moulding his mind and character according to the future plans and designs of the British Government who had decided upon the annexation of his country sooner or later. The Governor-General, therefore, readily agreed to the proposal of separating the mother from her son prior to her removal from Lahore and ultimate banishment from the country. To begin with, she was ordered to

5. *Ibid*, p. 93.

6. Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab*, 13.

confine herself to the Samman Burj in the fort of Lahore from where she wrote as follows to Henry Lawrence:—

Robkar

From Bibi (Jind Kaur) Sahib to (Colonel) Lawrence: "I had entrusted my head to your care. You have thrust it under the feet of traitors. You have not done justice to me. You ought to have instituted an enquiry, and then charged me with what you found against me. You ought not to have acted upon what the traitors told you.

"You have kept no regard of the friendship of the great Maharaja. You have caused me to be disgraced by other people. You have not even remained true to treaties and agreements. Raja Lal Singh was true and faithful to me. He was loyal. Having levelled charges against him, you sent him away. Then we never said anything to you. We thought that as the Sahib himself was with us, we had no fear from any one. We could never imagine that we will be put in prison with baseless charges concocted against us. Produce any writings of ours. Prove any charges against me. Then you could do anything you liked.

"Myself, the Maharajah and twenty-two maid-servants are imprisoned in the Samman (Burj). All other servants have been dismissed. We are in a very helpless condition. Even water and food are not allowed to come in. Now that you persecute us in this way, it is better that you hang us instead of it.

"If you administer justice to us, well and good; otherwise I shall appeal to London headquarters. Even the allowance of one lakh and fifty thousand that had been fixed has not been paid by any body. The amount of fifty-one thousand that I had spent in four months, I have paid to Missar Meghraj after having sold my ornaments. I never begged for anything from anyone. Having sold my ornaments, I was managing to live on. Why should you have caused me to be disgraced without any fault? What was the fault of Manglan that she too has been turned out?

"The Maharajah came to me today and wept bitterly for a long time. He said that Bishan Singh and Gulab Singh had been frightening him. If something happened to the Maharajah through fright, then what shall I do? He was told that orders of the *Sahib* for him were to reside in the Shalimar. He wept very bitterly when he heard this. The treatment that is thus meted out to us has not been given to any ruling house.

"Why do you take possession of the kingdom by underhand means? Why don't you do it openly? On the one hand you make a show of friendship and on the other you have put us in prison. Do justice to me or I shall appeal to the London headquarters. Preserve three or four traitors, and put the whole of the Panjab to the sword at their bidding.

(SEAL)

Akal Sahai
Bibi Jind Kaur

The Resident, Henry Lawrence, ultimately prevailed upon the Councillors of the State to agree to the removal of the Maharani to the fort of Sheikhpura for close imprisonment. In his letter of August 9, 1847, Sir Henry Lawrence had suggested to the Governor-General "that Her Highness ought to be banished from the Panjab."⁷ The Governor-General suggested three places—Nurpur, Chamba and Kangra—in the British territories as the most suitable for the Maharani's residence.

On the morning of the 19th of August, 1847, the young Maharaja was sent away to the Shalamar Garden at a distance of about two miles from the palace in the fort and arrangements for the removal of the Maharani were taken into hand. The Resident expressed his decided opinion that the fort of Kangra (annexed to the British territories after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46) was a better abode for the Maharani than the fort of Sheikhpura, "but finding the chiefs decidedly averse to incur what they consider the odium of participating in effecting the banishment of the Maharani,"⁸ he yielded the point and agreed to her imprisonment in the fort of Sheikhpura "as the first step to the final banishment of Ranee Jhunda (*sic.* Jindan) from the country."⁹

This decided, the Maharani was removed from Lahore between 8 and 9 P.M. under a strong military escort, accompanied by Sardars Arjan Singh, Rangharnanglia and Gurmukh Singh Lamma, and was lodged in Sheikhpura fort in the early hours of Friday, the 20th August, 1847, under the charge of Sardar Boor Singh.

In addition to this, the Maharani's annual allowance of one lac and fifty thousand rupees, stipulated in Article 10 of the Treaty of Bharowal, was reduced by 69 per cent to four thousand rupees per mensem.¹⁰

Not long after her arrival at Sheikhpura, she wrote the following letter to the Resident at Lahore giving vent to her wretch and indignation at being so ruthlessly separated from her young son who was yet in his ninth year of age.

WITH THE GRACE OF THE GREAT GURU

From Bibi Sahib to Lawrence Sahib,

We have arrived safely at Sheikhpura. You should send our luggage with care. As I was sitting in the Samman, in the same way I am in Sheikhpura. Both the places are same to me. You have been very cruel to me. You have snatched my son from me. For ten months I kept him in my womb. Then I brought him up with great difficulty. Without any fault you have separated my son from me. You could have kept me in prison. You could have dismissed my men. You could have turned out my maid-servants.

7. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, p. 47, Secretary to G.-G. to Resident at Lahore, August 16, 1847.

8. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, p. 51, inclosure 8 in No. 9, Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to G.-G., August 20, 1847.

9. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, pp. 143-44, Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

10. Governor-General in Council to Secret Committee (No. 50), June 3, 1848, Panjab Papers, 1847-49, No. 27, p. 143.

You could have treated me in any other way you liked. But you should not have separated my son from me.

In the name of God you worship, and in the name of the king whose salt you eat, restore my son to me. I cannot bear the pain of this separation. Instead of this you put me to death.

My son is very young. He is incapable of doing anything. You want his kingdom. I have no need of kingdom. For God's sake, pay attention to my appeals. At this time I have no one to look to. I raise no objections. I will accept what you say. There is no one with my son. He has no sister, no brother. He has no uncle, senior or junior. His father he has lost. To whose care has he been entrusted? Without any fault why is so much cruelty being done to me?

I shall reside in Sheikhpura. I shall not go to Lahore. Send my son to me. I will come to you at Lahore only during the days when you hold *darbar*. On that day I will send him. A great deal (of injustice) has been done to me. A great deal (of injustice) has been done to my son also. You have accepted what other people have said. Put an end to it now. Too much has been done.

In spite of all the efforts and camouflage of the British politicals and their native associates, the sadness of the Maharaja on account of his separation from his mother could not be completely hidden. And the Officiating Resident, Mr. John Lawrence,¹¹ had to admit in his letter dated August 23, 1847, to the Secretary with the Governor-General that even on the evening of the third day (August 21, 1847) of his mother's removal from Lahore, a 'slight shade of sadness' was visible on the face of the Maharaja. On his return to the palace in the fort, he gave up the old-apartments where he had lived with his mother and shifted to the *Takht-gah*.

The third letter of the Maharani was written on the 16th of Bhadon, 1904 Bk. (August 30, 1847), evidently in reply to a communication from Mr. John Lawrence. It is not in the original language of the Maharani but is translated into Urdu (Persian script) and it bears the initials (J.L.) of John Lawrence at the left-hand bottom corner of the first page. At the end of the letter there is a foot-note in Persian saying, 'this is the translation of a *Hindvi* (Panjabi) letter that the Maharani had written in Gurmukhi script.'¹²

WITH THE GRACE OF THE GREAT GURU

*From the Queen-mother to John Lawrence, dated 16th Bhadon
(August 30, 1847).*

Your letter has been received. It is a matter of great pleasure that you remember me. I am very glad to learn from your letter that Maharaja is

11. Henry Lawrence left Lahore for England on August 21, 1847, and made over the charge of the British Residency to his brother, John Lawrence.

12. این ترجمہ چٹھی ہندی بخط گور مکھی نرشنہ مہارانی صاحبہ بودہ است

happy. Since the day I left Lahore, it is today that I have heard of the Maharaja being happy. Whatever you write may be true. But my mind does not believe that the Maharaja is happy. How can he, whose mother has been separated from him, be happy? You call him Maharaja and then treat him like this. On the one hand he is very young ; on the other he had never been separated (from his mother). You are an intelligent and a wise man. Think over it in your mind how the Maharaja can be happy. You write to me that on account of friendship between the two Governments you are very particular of the welfare of the Maharaja. How far you look to the welfare of the Maharaja is now well known all over the world. Weeping, he was torn away from his mother and taken to Shalamar Garden, while the mother was dragged out by her hair. Well has the friendship been repaid. You never thought in your mind how the Maharaja who was very young, could live (happily without his mother).

You had been kept for the protection of our honour and dignity. But the traitors have robbed us of these also. It is a matter of sorrow that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors. Whatever you have done has earned a good name for you! I have lost my dignity and you have lost regard for your word (*Meri izzat abru aur tumhara zaban ka sukahn gaya*). The treatment that you have given to me is not given even to murderers. Having renounced everything, I had become a *faqir*, but you have not allowed me to live even like a *faqir*. I am very much hard up for money.

I have sent Bandujit to you. Keep him with you. Half of my luggage has been received by me. The other half, they do not give. Get that sent to me, and also get the allowance and have it sent to me.

To John Lawrence, Superintendent and Commissioner, Jullundur Doab, and Acting Resident, Lahore.

In this letter again she expresses her grief and indignation at being separated from her son and tells the British Resident, Mr. John Lawrence, "It is a matter of sorrow that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors." She strongly resents the treatment given to her in Sheikhpura and says that such treatment "is not given even to murderers."

Finding herself helpless and seeing no prospect of either an enquiry of the allegations against her or of justice at the hands of the politicals in the Panjab, she sent an agent, Sardar Jiwan Singh, to represent her case to the Governor-General at Calcutta. He seems to have arrived there in December, 1847, and submitted a representation to the Secretary to the Government of India on January 2, 1849, complaining of "the cruel and unworthy treatment under which she now suffers ; to demand of British justice a full and impartial investigation of the charges (but imperfectly known even to herself) under which she has, by British authority, been condemned to incarceration ; and to request that the restraint to which she may be subjected pending that investigation, may be such as becomes the widow of one Sovereign Prince and the mother of another ; such as is compatible with the safety of her person and

such as will not deprive her of that intercourse with her friends and advisers which is necessary for bringing the truth of her cause to light."¹³

But the Governor-General declined to recognise him as her *Vakeel* and directed "that all her communications must be made through the Resident." This amounted to complete denial of justice to the Maharanee, contended Sardar Jiwan Singh, and he appealed to the Secretary to the Government of India on February 23, 1848, for modification of the Governor-General's resolution.

"The confinement in which the Ranee is now kept, is of the most close and rigid description. She is shut up in the fort of Sheikhoopoor, formerly used as a gaol for common felons, under the custody of those Sirdars from whose dangerous machinations against her own life, and that of her son, she first solicited the protection of a British force stationed at Lahore—all intercourse with her friends and advisers, or even with the ministers of her religion, is strictly prohibited, and the only attendants allowed her are a few female servants, not of her own selection, but appointed by her keepers. So penal is the nature of the treatment she undergoes, that she is not allowed even the privilege of choosing her own diet.

* * * * *

"The friends of the Ranee now in Lahore, are so much intimidated that they do not call the attention of the Resident to the hardships which she suffers.

* * * * *

"And, on the same behalf, I further request that the Resident at Lahore be directed to institute an investigation into the charges under which the Ranee has been imprisoned, and to take down, and transmit to his Lordship in Council, the evidence of all witnesses which may be produced, in support, or in rebuttal, of the accusation. His Lordship, in directing such investigation, will, no doubt, order that, under all precautions which may appear to him prudent, or necessary to prevent an abuse of the privileges, the Ranee shall be allowed such intercourse with her friends and advisers as will enable her to plead her cause effectually.

* * * * *

But all this was of no avail. The Government did not find it safe, for political reasons, to institute an enquiry, because in the absence of any proof of her delinquency, she might have been acquitted. And this would have exposed the intentions of the British and upset their plans about the Panjab. As early as the 9th of August, 1847, the Resident at Lahore when recommending "her expulsion from the Panjab for ever," had written to the Secretary with the Governor-General, "I do not disguise from myself, nor do I wish the Governor-General to be ignorant of the fact, that *the Maharanee is the only effective enemy to our policy that I know of in the country.*"¹⁵

13. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, Inclosure No. 2 in 22.

14. Jeeban Singh to the Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta, February 23, 1848, Panjab Papers, 1847-49, Inclosure No. 5 in No. 22, p. 108.

15. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, pp. 39-39, Inclosure 2 in No. 9.

To add to her misfortunes came the Multan rebellion which began with an attack on Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew and Lieut. William Anderson at Multan on April 19, 1848. There again the hidden hand of the Maharani, closely imprisoned in the fort of Sheikhpura, was said to have been working, although there was nothing to prove it. "*There is no proof,*" wrote the Resident to the Secretary to the Government of India on May 16, 1848, "*though there is some ground for suspicion* that the Maharanee was the instigator of the late violence in Mooltan ; but it is certain that, at this moment, the eyes of Diwan Moolraj, of the whole Sikh army and military population are directed to the Maharanee as the rallying point of their rebellion or disaffection. Her removal from the Panjab is called for by justice, and policy, and there is no time for us to hesitate about doing what may appear necessary to punish State offenders, whatever may be their rank and station, and to vindicate the honour and position of the British Government."¹⁶

It is difficult for a student of history to accept things done on mere suspicion as "called for by justice" and to call a person a "State offender" when "there is no proof" of his or her offence. However, the Maharani was removed from the fort of Sheikhpura on the afternoon of May 15, 1848, to spend the remainder of her life in exile far away from the land of her birth and the kingdom of her son...the Panjab—which was taken possession of by the British within ten months.

The Maharani's banishment from the Panjab created a stir amongst the Sikhs and a general demand for her restoration was made everywhere. But the Governor-General had already made up his plans and was determined on the annexation of the Panjab. He therefore refused to entertain any suggestion that stood in his way of removing the last independent kingdom from the north-west frontier of India which he wished to extend to the borders of Afghanistan. The restoration of the Maharani was, for political reasons, therefore, out of question. And, Lord Dalhousie wrote the following letter to Brigadier Mountain. The letter is self-explanatory.

PRIVATE

Camp Ferozepore,
January 31, 1849.

My dear Mountain,

.....

The pretences of the Sikhs of their anxiety to get back the Ranee . . . are preposterous. And the more sincere they are, the stronger are the grounds for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Panjab ; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting to render the present movement (the so-called Second Sikh War) truly formidable, namely an object and a head.

16. Panjab Papers, 1847-49, p. 168, Inclosure No. 24 in No. 37.

Trust me this is no time for going back or giving back or winking an eye-lid.

I am Yrs. most sincerely,
Dalhousie.¹⁷

Brigr. Mountain,
C. B. &c.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUDH ADMINISTRATION UNDER WAJID ALI SHAH

G. D. BHATNAGAR

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

The pivot of the Oudh Government was the king who was an autocrat with no restraint over his authority, except that in accordance with the treaty of 1801 with the English, the British Resident could override some of his decisions. The ministers were all appointed and dismissed by him and were responsible to him alone.

In the time of Wajid Ali Shah the ministry was composed of the Chief Minister, Ali Naqi Khan and several other ministers. The Chief Minister looked after the revenue administration and was also responsible for the peace and tranquillity of the country. He appointed kotwals in big cities and thanadars in the small towns. The kotwal performed the varied duties of a police officer, executive officer and a city magistrate of today. He was assisted in his duties by a Naib Darogha. To every kotwali were attached a small posse of soldiers, a few peons, two or three clerks and some attendants. As related above the kotwal investigated some cases and passed orders for action to his soldiers.

The jails also were under the kotwals. Except at the capital, where the government had a spacious central jail, a few rooms attached to every kotwali served as a local jail. The administration of the jails was not efficient, sometimes we find that due to the negligence of the kotwals the prisoners were detained indefinitely.¹ The under-trial prisoners were kept along with the regular prisoners.

The smaller towns were under the thanadars responsible for the maintenance of peace in their respective circles. Under every thanadar was a moharrir, jamadar, a chaprasi, and a few soldiers² in big thanas. There were a few additional officers, *e.g.*, a Naib, a parwananavis, and an izaharnavis. A small thana maintained ten soldiers while the big ones maintained some twenty or more of them.

The junior thanadars were paid 12 to 20 rupees per mensem and the senior

17. The original of this letter is in the possession of the writer of this paper.

1. *Miratul Awda*—page 40.

2. *Miratul Awda*, page 41.

ones from rupees 40 to 60 per mensem and their assistants received from rupees 20 to 30 per mensem.³ The moharrirs got rupees 7, the jamadars rupees 4, the chaprasis rupees 3, the turhinavaz and soldiers rupees 3 each, parwana-
navis from rupees 10 to 15 and izaharnavis from rupees 8 to 10.

The public generally was peaceful by temperament and religious-minded. The police officers were always helped by the public in the detection of crimes and in the apprehension of criminals. Therefore, a large posse of soldiers was not needed for the maintenance of peace and order. But if the criminal happened to be a powerful zamindar or a taluqdar the help of a royal contingent was obtained from the Nazim.

It is due to the peaceful nature of the public that we find crimes in Oudh less numerous than in the neighbouring British districts. The following list of crimes committed in Oudh in the first 7 years of Wajid Ali Shah's reign, prepared by the British Resident for the Governor-General at Calcutta will speak for itself.⁴

Year	Dacoitee committed	Total persons killed and wounded	Villages plundered	Prisoners carried off
1848	149	1337	36	206
1849	222	1872	86	150
1850	74	1001	32	42
1851	158	1448	69	99
1852	112	2011	108	146
1853	104	1954	88	391
1854	212	1391	128	459
Total for 7 Years	1031	11014	547	1493
Average of 7 Years	147 3/7,	1573 3/7,	78 1/7,	213 1/7

OUDH FRONTIER POLICE

Apart from the Oudh regular police, there was another department known as Oudh frontier police. This department was under the British Resident at Lucknow and was maintained by the king to guard the frontiers and to arrest the robbers from the British territories taking shelter in the jungles of Oudh. It was first instituted in January 1845, with a strength of 500 sepoy and 100 horsemen. This force was subsequently augmented by Wajid Ali Shah to the total strength of 750 sepoy and 150 horsemen, at a cost of Rs. 77062/- p.a.⁵ This force was under captain Hollings, and his assistant captain Hearsey was placed on the western frontier while captain Orr, on the eastern frontier of Oudh.

3. *Jababat-i-Blue Book*.

4. *Pol. Proceed.* dated the 28th December, 1855, No. 317.

5. *Pol. Proceed.* dated the 28th December, 1855, No. 312. But the Oudh government spent actually Rs. 8,180-8-0 p.m. as per statement given by Col. Sleeman in his report on "Badhuk alias Bagree dacoits and other gang robbers by hereditary profession and on the measures adopted by the government of India for their suppression," pp. 431-32.

Whenever the magistrates of the neighbouring districts of British India required the apprehension of a criminal taking shelter in the jungles of the Oudh frontiers they had to put up an application before the British Resident, who issued orders to captain Hollings to arrest the offender.

Captain Alexander Orr, incharge of the eastern frontiers, was generally successful in his operations against the criminals⁶ but such was not the case with captain Hearsey on the western front.

The officers of the Oudh Government were also very attentive and won praise for their co-operation and help.⁷

But the Oudh frontier police took undue advantage of their peculiar status and caused dismay to the Oudh durbar by their highhandedness. Specially Captain Orr and his men were very hard on the public and they were looked upon as a terror by them. We quote the following instances from Molvi Masehuddin of their cruelties, when the king showed his deep concern and wrote earnestly to the Resident, but all in vain.

On the 21st December, 1848, the king wrote to the Resident enclosing a petition from Mithoo Lal Vakil to Muhammad Hussain Khan Chückledar of Gonda Bahraich, complaining of the oppression and cruelty of the frontier police, under the command of Captain Orr, perpetrated on both the zamindars and ryots,⁸ whom they imprisoned and tortured without any proof of guilt, but merely to extort money from them, and had gone so far as to severely wound two unfortunate farmers with their bayonets.

On the 22nd May, 1849, His Majesty protested against the shooting of a fakir in possession of a naked sword in his hand, by the men of Captain Alexander Orr, on the mere supposition that he was going to wound the chaprasi. The king's newswriter of Haidargarh gave a different account altogether. According to him the murdered man was keeping watch on some mango trees that belonged to him: it was not known whether upon being challenged by the sentry he answered or not, but certain it was, that the policeman without any hesitation shot him dead upon the spot with his musket, and thus deprived a fellow creature of life on the mere impulse of the moment.⁹

The Resident replied to the above protest on the 31st May, 1849 that the fakir was killed by mistake as he resembled a maniac, and as Haidargarh was then infested with Badmashes (bad characters) and dacoits (depredators), the sentry challenged him and receiving nothing but incoherent replies, thought it unnecessary to make any further enquiry and ended the matter then and there.

His Majesty again complained to the Resident of the highhandedness of Captain Orr, who razed to the ground the dwelling house of one Bislam Bux, a grocer, and prayed for his protection and redress, but the complaints went unheard. The king had no restraint over the extensive powers of the frontier police, which they enjoyed from their peculiar position of acting as a guard between two big states.

6. *Pol. Proceed.* dated the 11th December, 1847, No. 145.

7. *Pol. Proceed.* dated the 28th December, 1855, Consl. 313.

8. *Princes and Oudh Government vindicated*, page 122.

9. *Ibid*, 123.

About the police administration Captain Patrick Orr reported on 5th January, 1853, that "there are no courts of justice of any kind in Oudh out of Lucknow, nor in fact any police establishments (leaving the frontier police out of question) unless the thannahs placed in some of the principal towns can be called by that name. These thannahs are framed out in the same manner as the newswritership".

Just a year before, Col. Sleeman had reported in one of his despatches to the Governor-General¹⁰ in the following words, "The roads in Oudh have been more secure than they were when I took charge of my office in January 1849, and in this the Durbar certainly attended to my wishes, and adopted many of my suggestions for the benefit of the people, sometimes after I had aided them with troops for the purpose of putting down formidable leaders of banditti and disturbers of the public peace, in march 1850."

These two contrary reports can give a fair idea of the nature of the information gathered by the Europeans in Oudh. Ignorant of the local institutions they sent reports based upon the evidence of isolated witnesses and we may not entirely rely on such evidences. The police administration of Oudh undoubtedly was not in an ideal state but if we look into the reports of the adjacent British districts we shall find that the police administration of Oudh was not so hopeless as had been represented by the British Residents. As an illustration of the inefficiency of the Bengal police we may quote the following remarks made by Mr. Haliday, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, "the village police are in a permanent state of starvation, they are all thieves and robbers of necessity, or leagued with thieves and robbers in so much that, when any one is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first one suspected will be the village watchman." In another place he remarks—"the administration of justice is considered little better than a lottery." These reports are further confirmed by the Madras commissioners,¹¹ who show, that "the police and robbers of the country make common cause,—that neither life and property are secure. . . "

If this picture is true, we can safely assert that the police in Oudh in comparison with the police of the East India Company performed its duties with greater zeal and honesty.

RESUMPTION OF RENT-FREE TENURES FOR ASSESSMENT BY THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT (1819-1850)

H. R. GHOSAL

The resumption of jagirs and rent-free tenures for the purpose of assessment forms an interesting study in connection with the land revenue administration of the Company's Government during the first half of the nineteenth century. Apart from relevant papers and statements in the parliamentary

10. Col. Sleeman's report dated the 16th February, 1852.

11. Malcolm Lewin—"Has Oudh been worse governed," page 16.

committees' reports there are numerous documents on the subject among the unpublished records of district archives. The present paper is based mainly on sources found in the record-room of the Muzaffarpur collectorate.

It may be noted at the outset that under regulations XIX and XXXVII of 1793 the Government of Bengal was entitled to the revenue of lands held free of assessment under illegal or invalid tenures.¹ These were followed by a series of other enactments for the same purpose, such as regulations XLI and XLII of 1795, and regulations XXXI and XXXVI of 1803,² intended respectively for Benares and the ceded and conquered provinces. By these rules collectors were required to proceed by suit in court as plaintiffs against any person supposed to hold rent-free land without a valid tenure.³ Under Regulation VIII of 1811, which modified the regulations of 1803, collectors in the ceded and conquered provinces were authorized, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, to resume and assess such lands, leaving the aggrieved parties to contest the resumption by suit in court.⁴ The rule was extended to Cuttack by Regulation V of 1813, and to Benares, Bihar and Bengal proper by Regulations XI and XXI of 1817.⁵ As these rules were believed to have been, for the most part, ineffective in "securing the just rights of Government", a fresh regulation was passed in 1819 which provided rules for the conduct of the Collector's proceedings with the view of giving them judicial precision and authorizing the Revenue Boards to decide in regard to rent-free lands, in all the provinces, their liability to assessment or otherwise.⁶ The party aggrieved might, however, cause the resumption to stay by a suit in Court.⁷ Regulation IX of 1825 enacted rules for the investigation of *lakhiraj* or rent-free tenures by collectors engaged in making settlements or holding local investigations.⁸ Further, under Regulation III of 1828 the Governor-General in Council was empowered to appoint special commissioners for the final decision of all cases, investigated by collectors, relating to the assessment of rent-free lands.⁹

From 1819 onwards the resumption regulations were rigidly enforced in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency. In Bihar, particularly, extensive jagirs, which were held as life grants, were resumed on the death of the jagirdars either under decrees of courts, or subsequently by orders of the revenue authorities.¹⁰ Moreover, the resumption regulations were declared applicable to all lands gained by alluvion or dereliction since the period of the Decennial Settlement, as well as to *patitbādi* (waste), *junglebāri* (forest) taluks in the Sundarbans and elsewhere.¹¹ Under the operation of this rule waste lands in the Sunderbans, not included within any *zamindaris*, were assessed and added to the public rent-roll.

1. See *Bengal Regulations* (1853), Vol. II, pp. 527-28.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

3. *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee* (1833), Vol. III, p. 222.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, see also *Bengal Regulations*, Vol. II, pp. 527-41.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 741-47.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 809-25.

10. *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee* (1833), Vol. III, p. 223.

11. *Bengal Regulations*, Vol. II, p. 529.

In Tirhut great difficulties were often experienced by the revenue officers in assessing rent-free tenures owing to the recusancy of the proprietors. Many of them opposed resumption in a vexatious and litigious spirit. In such a case two alternatives were open to the Government, either to farm the land in question to some one for a temporary period, not exceeding 12 years, at a fixed *jamma*,¹² or to hold *khas* pending the settlement with the proprietor. In either case, the latter was entitled to a *malikana*¹³ amounting at least to 5 per cent of the gross income from the land. Regarding the amount of *malikana* discussions arose between the Sadar Board of Revenue and the revenue officers of Bihar. In a letter to the Government, of 3 February, 1835, the Sadar Board expressed the opinion "that all laws of a provisional tenancy should be construed with the utmost possible tenderness for the rights and immunities of the persons whose interests would be effected by an opposite course of proceedings" and that, therefore, "unless under very peculiar circumstances . . . it would be proper to extend the more liberal scale of allowance to those parties in general."¹⁴ The system of *khas* management was extensively applied to resumed lands in Tirhut. In a letter from the Sadar Board to the Government, of 28 September, 1835, it is mentioned that during 1834-35, 56 estates had been settled permanently and 64 farmed out, and 29 held under *khas* management.¹⁵ That the progress of lapse or resumption was very considerable in Tirhut is attested by records. In a letter to the Secretary, Revenue Department, dated 10 September, 1833, the acting Secretary, Sadar Board, complained of the delay and injustice suffered by the zemindars in consequence of the inability of the revenue authorities to come to an agreement with them.¹⁶ A similar complaint was made in more emphatic terms in the letter to the Commissioner of Saran, of 6 December, 1833.¹⁷ The system of *khas* management often led to abuses and peculations, and usually to the deterioration of the lands.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the resumption of estates proceeded vigorously throughout Bihar between 1830 and 1840. And those that escaped notice were detected at the revenue surveys of 1840-50 and were assessed accordingly. In this way there was a considerable addition to the Government revenue. The desire for increased revenue led the Government to apply the regulations drastically also to the province of Bengal. It is worthy of note that between 1835 and 1848 something like five thousand tenures in Chittagong were resumed and settled with the occupants at the instance of Sir Henry Ricketts.¹⁹ It should be noted that occasional abatements were made by the Government in cases of serious injury to lands due to inundation or other causes. But such abatements were made only where it was supposed that the

12. Amount assessed.

13. An allowance paid to the proprietor of an estate.

14. Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records (unpublished).

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Letter from Commissioner of Patna to Collector of Chapra, 10 April, 1834 (Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records).

19. J. H. S. Cotton, *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, pp. 134-35.

loss sustained by such accidents had been so great as to render the zemindar thoroughly unable to pay the assessment.²⁰

Exemptions from payment of revenue were, however, allowed in special cases. In the lower provinces of Bengal, as also elsewhere, *lakhiraj* tenures were permitted to Brahmins, usually if they did not exceed ten *bighas* in extent. Moreover, throughout India, and especially in the south, there were numerous grants, some hereditary, others life-long, held as jagirs, *inams* or *wattans*.²¹ It was stated by A. D. Campbell in his paper on land revenue submitted to the Common's Committee in 1832 that nearly half the lands in the ceded districts of Bellary and Cuddapa had been settled by former governments as *inams* in small lots, chiefly to Brahmins, on hereditary tenure.²² But such alienations had been granted on the express condition that the holders of them would not draw away the ryots engaged in cultivation of arable lands elsewhere. To tax the *inam* itself had been proposed by the Government; but the proposal did not receive effect, since it would have been a highly unpopular measure.²³ Ultimately it was decided that any ryot quitting the government land to cultivate *inams* on more easy terms should, according to the old custom of the country, contribute to the support of the State by paying for a certain extent of government land, whether cultivated or not, in proportion to the extent of *inam* occupied by him.²⁴ Jagirs, *inams* and *maafis* existed also in large numbers in the Bombay Presidency, having been created by the Maratha governments. The Company's Government at the instance of Elphinstone at first dealt liberally with them. In 1823, however, a regulation was passed which authorized the Government to resume rent-free lands for assessment.²⁵

In 1816 a regulation had been passed by the Bengal Government declaring that rent-free lands held by kanungoes, generally in Bihar, in virtue of their office should be resumed and assessed.²⁶ Later on it was felt that the measure would cause great injustice to this class. Accordingly, Regulation XIII of 1825 provided that the revenue authorities might, under instructions from the Governor-General in Council, allow the kanungoes or their heirs to continue in the possession and management of *minhai* or *lakhiraj* tenures on paying a nominal rent.²⁷ At the same time the tenures of the *minhaidars* were declared hereditary and transferable. Section V of the above regulation also provided that in all cases of *lakhiraj* tenures, even where such tenures might be pronounced invalid by any revenue authority, the Governor-General might in consideration of long occupancy allow the holders of these to continue in possession on their engagements for the future assessment on such terms as may be prescribed by the Government.²⁸

20. *Appendix to Report from Select Committee* (1833), Vol. III, pp. 44-45.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Papers laid before Select Committee* (1833), Vol. III, p. 276.

26. See *Bengal Regulations*, Vol. II, p. 752.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 752-54.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 754.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN 1812 A.D.

R. N. CHOWDHURI

An interesting glimpse of the Anglo-Russian Commercial antagonism on the north-west of British India during the governor-generalship of Lord Minto (1807-1813) is obtained from an important minute of about thirty manuscript pages penned by the veteran Himalayan explorer Mr. William Moorcroft (dt. 7 Sept, 1812) from *Nitti*,¹ a Himalayan town north of Joshimath. A careful perusal of this report, available in the National Archives, enabled me to glean some facts of general interest dealing particularly with the nature and extent of the lively Russian trade in that region.²

In 1808, Mr. Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon of Lancashire, was appointed by the Directors as Superintendent of the Hon'ble East India Company's stud. It is indeed one of the impenetrable mysteries of Indian history to ascertain who was the first Englishman to set foot in Tibet. It is well known that the bold and adventurous General Bogle, "a gentleman of distinguished ability and equanimity of temper," was the first European who visited Bhutan on behalf of the E. I. Co. and signed a treaty of commerce on 1775.³ Curiously enough, exactly a decade after (1785), Capt. Samuel Turner, who led the second mission to Bhutan, proudly claimed that "most certainly Mr. Saunders and myself enjoyed the distinction of having been the first of our nation that ever signalised themselves by skating in Tibet."⁴ Shortly after (1788) George Forster, a civilian of the East India Company, undertook a journey from Bengal to England through the northern parts of India, Kashmere, Afghanistan and Persia into Russia by the Caspian Sea.⁵ According to H. H. Wilson, Mr. William Moorcroft was "the first European to cross the Himalayas and reach Chinese Tartary."⁶

The ostensible purpose of Mr. Moorcroft's penetration into Turkisthan was to study the country for the superior breed of the horses which it was his "great ambition to domesticate in India" though his real motive was to collect valuable historical, geographical and statistical data to secure a permanent commercial intercourse with the Trans-Himalayan districts for the benefit of the Company. It should, however, be borne in mind that besides the natural difficulties of the way, he had to elude the strict vigilance of the turbulent and hostile Nepalese,⁷ then master of the Himalayas, who were then encroaching upon the British territories. His first attempt to achieve this object was

1. *Nitti* is a small town 14,924 ft. above sea-level which separates Bhutan from Tibet. Hamilton: *East India Gazetteer*, (1828), Vol. II, pp. 322-3.

2. *Foreign Miscellaneous* No. 125, pp. 29-59.

3. Turner: *An account of Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet* (1800), pp. 376; Dr. Rennie: *Story of the Bhutan War* (1865), p. 383, App. A.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

5. George Forster: *A journey from Bengal to England*, Vols. I and II (London 1798).

6. Moorcroft: *Travels in Himalayas* (1837), Introduction, p. xvii.

7. In 1812 the Nepalese occupied Sheoraj and Butwal. For interesting details vide Hamilton's *Account of Nepal* (Edn. 1819), pp. 187-192.

made in 1812 when he was extremely surprised to find that the Russians had already anticipated the British in these regions.

Starting from Bareilly (March, 1812) this adventurous English itinerant entered a portion of the Chinese Tartary⁸ (Tibet) contiguous to Nitti,⁹ called the Oondes (Undes)¹⁰ or the country of the wool, lying to the north of Garhwal "after a continuous journey of about 24 days". Here he found "sufficient evidences for believing that adventurers said to be Russians under the garb and character of Mussalmans are busily employed in introducing French and Russian articles of commerce through Yarkand¹¹ into Kashmir by its northern side. The Russians established commercial depots in Yarkand and Leh^{11a} in Ladakh^{11b} from where the merchants obtain a currency in these independent Tartar states."¹² They were then conveyed by the Ladakhee traders to Lasha¹³ in Tibet and even to the frontiers of China itself.

To ascertain the nature and extent of the Russian commercial transactions, Mr. Moorcroft sought permission from Lord Minto to visit Bokhara but before he could actually start, reports reached him that streams of Russian merchants carrying caravan loads of merchandise had forestalled him already. In fact, as early as 1580, the Russians made an attempt to obtain a passage to India through the straits of Waygatz.¹⁴ Peter the Great, the founder of Russian greatness, was the first to contemplate the establishment of a great Empire in the East. The Russian eastward boundary was defined by the celebrated line called the Orenburg-Siberian line stretching upto the borders of China, a distance of 2200 miles. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russians wrested the province of Georgia from the crown of Persia. In 1809, Subhan Kulof, an officer of the Bashkir force, was despatched by the Russian Government as commissioner of trade to settle the Bokharan's demand of an extra-rate of duty from the Russian merchants.¹⁵ This resulted in frequent visits of the Russians to these parts for commercial and political pur-

8. Chinese Tartary or southern Tibet, nominally subject to the Chinese had four territorial sub-divisions—(1) Lasha, (2) Undes, (3) Ladakh, (4) Teshoo Lomboo. Hamilton: *East India Gazetteer*, (1828), Vol. II, p. 639.

9. *Vide ante*.

10. Undes or Urna desa is the general name of the country between the Himalayan ridges and Kailash intersected by the river Suttlej. Nitti pass or Ghaut separates Undes from Bhutan. Hamilton: *A Hist. Geographical and Statistical Account of India*, (1820), Vol. II, p. 593.

11. Yarkand is a thoroughfare of commerce which then had a population of about two lacs. Since 1757 it belonged to the Chinese. For detail, *vide* Venuikof: *Russians in Central Asia*, (1865), pp. 21-23.

11a. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is the principal mart in Tibet for the sale of shawl wool. It is a great rendezvous for the commercial intercourse between Punjab, Tibet and Russia. Moorcroft: *Travels in Himalayas*, (1837), Vol. I, p. 259; Thornton: *Gazetteer*, (1844), Vol. II, pp. 21-22; Vigne: *Travels in Central Asia*, (1865), Vol. II, p. 341.

11b. Ladakh or Little Tibet is the name of the elevated rugged country north of Himalayas. It is a province of Tibet. Thornton; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-12; Hamilton: *A Statistical Accts.*, (1820), Vol. II, pp. 599-600.

12. *Foreign Misc.* (MSS), No. 125, pp. 30-31.

13. Lasha is the capital of the Chinese Tibet and residence of Dalai Lama which was at a distance of 40 days' journey from Peking and 220 miles from Bengal. It is named Oochong by the Chinese. Hamilton: *East India Gazetteer*, Vol. II, pp. 574-75. (1828).

14. Mill: *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 7.

15. Capt. Venuikof: *Russians in Central Asia* (Tr. by Michell: 1865), p. 409.

poses. Thus by 1812 they "were endeavouring to secure her frontiers by pushing them forward to that snow-capped summit of the Himalayas—the natural conterminous boundary of England and Russia."¹⁶

The diary of this shrewd itinerant is full of interesting commercial details. He then visited Dhapa (Deba),¹⁷ a frontier town of the Ondes (Undes), held in jagir by the grand Lama (Dalai Lama) from the Chinese, which touches the territories of Ladakh¹⁸ in the west. Here he was surprised to see the Russian articles, *e.g.*, a dazzling fork knife, a fair skin leather and two pieces of attractive woollen cloth—one sky blue, and the other purple inscribed with the words "Drap trees fin" in letters of gold leaf.¹⁹ Mr. Moorcroft was so deeply interested in this Russian woollen pieces that he procured them in exchange of Company's superfine green cloth and presented them as specimens to Lord Minto. "These cloths appear to be of French fabric and the blue one has the letter "A" upon one corner to denote, having been made at "Abbeville," which was reputed ever since the ministry of Colbert for the manufacture of woollen goods. The freshness and unbroken state of the letters show that the cloths had lately come into the country."²⁰

He then proceeded to Gortope (Garo or, Gardok)²¹ where he saw an admirable sword with Russian character engraved upon its blade, a clumsy drinking glass and three dogs with the Gurpleur or Military Governor of the town, who purchased all these from the Russians. Even two of the Governor's horsemen were clothed in Russian duck linen dyed blue. "The Russians came as Mussalmans in Ladakh and Gortope, partook of the meals and entered as much as they could into the society of the Ondes (Undes)"²² The nearest Russian settlement, we are told, was only at a distance of six weeks' journey from Yarkand. Knowing that the Russians annually attended the fair of Gortope (Garo) with a caravan of 500 or 600 horses, he deliberately delayed for some time in order to attend it. The sly and cunning Gurpleur or Governor suspecting him to be an English spy "appeared to be extremely solicitous" and wished that he should depart immediately. The Governor expressed "grave apprehension for his safety from the length and difficulty of the journey before him because of the risk of a sudden fall of snow at that season of the year blocking completely the passes of the Himachal and shutting him out of the Hindusthan"²³ The argument was indeed quite convincing though it was his sincere wish "to prevent him in seeing the Russians lest this meeting might in some measure interfere with the commercial transactions in which his people

16. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

17. Dhapa is the capital of the Ondes division of Tibet which has a college and a nunnery. Hamilton: *A Statistical Accts.*, (1820), Vol. II, 595-7.

18. Ladakh is the little Tibet bounded by Khôtan on the east, Kashmir on the west, Chinese Turkisthan on the north and Himalayas on the south. Thornton: *East India Gazetteer of the neighbouring countries*, (1844), Vol. III, pp. 1-12.

19. *For. Misc.* No. 125, pp. 37-43.

20. *For. Misc.* No. 125, pp. 43-44.

21. Gortope is a town in southern Tartary above 16,000 ft., which deserves the name of an assemblage of tents. It is close to the borders of Ladakh and famous for the export of shawl wool. Moorcroft is the only European known to have visited it.

22. *For. Misc.* No. 125, p. 43.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Hamilton: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 598-99; Thornton: *Gazetteer*, (1844), Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

were deeply engaged."²⁴ He was told here by the local merchants that Russians had been in the habit of annually visiting Yarkand with European articles of commerce and that during the last three years (1809-12) the commercial intercourse between the Russians and Kashmerians had assumed much more lively character.

Russian articles from time immemorial found their way to Chinese Tartary. It is interesting to note that as early as 1773 A.D., when the two agents of Lama (Paima and Poorungheer Gossain), visited Warren Hastings, the presents they brought on this occasion contained sheets of gilt leather, stamped with Black eagle of the Russian armorial.²⁵ After about two decades, Forster the famous English itinerant, during his sojourn in Kashmere, came across Russian merchants and commercial agents, who frequented these parts, and carried merchandise on hundreds of mules laden with raw silk, ordinary calicoes, dry fruits, paper etc., from the marts of Jammu and Srinagar.²⁶ Twenty years later, the Russian trade with Kashmere increased to such an enormous extent that they carried such wares as leathers, felts, carpets, seed pearls, coral beads, tafetas, velvets, drugs, hardwares which they exchanged with Kashmere shawls, saffrons, spices, paper, dried fruits, silk, honey, copper and tin utensils, indigo or dye-stuffs, cutlery etc. Kashmere shawls were in great demand in European countries like Paris and Brussels. "The price of . . . an ordinary shawl . . . is eight rupees . . . thence in proportional quality, it produces from 15 to 20 . . . and the value may be enhanced by the introduction of the flowered works."²⁷

Mr. Moorcroft after an analytical study of the flourishing Russian trade in these regions, remarks that "since the Gurkhas have overrun the hilly country, the English woollen trade has declined much while the French woollens are circulated by the Russians and their agents with an activity and success which threatens to exclude the English woollens wholly from Tartary unless new measures be adopted."²⁸

What then were the causes of the declining and languid state of English commerce in these regions? "It seems extra-ordinary," writes the sojourner, "that our competitors should be able with the heavy expenses of land, carriages and other transit charges attendant so largely on articles as woollen cloth from Europe to India to contend with us all."²⁹ According to Mr. Moorcroft the decline of English trade was primarily due to the relative cheapness of the French and Russian articles in spite of heavy transit charges. "Though in softness, fineness and in fabric the French and the Russian woollens are much inferior yet they are sold at such a surprisingly lower rate that it is a strong recommendation in the judgment of a people living in a state of semi-barbarism."³⁰ The main difficulty of the English was to transport woollen goods

24. *Ibid*, p. 41.

25. Turner: *Ibid*, p. XII (Introd.).

26. Forster: *A Journey etc.*, Vol. II, pp. 1915.

27. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 18.

28. *For. Misc.*: *Ibid*, p. 32.

29. *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

30. *Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

to Tartary (Tibet) from India as the hilly traders were not only reluctant to invest huge capital, but also had strong aversions to visit Hindusthan for fear of being afflicted with illness.

“The Russians are satisfied with a profit too moderate to repay any individual for the first expenses, freights, insurances and long protracted return of capital. . . The present sacrifices are being made *to force a new trade* for the benefit is found in barter against article that bear a high profit in Europe like the Kashmere shawls.”³¹ “They not only endeavour to supplant the British in the woollen trade in Tibet but also in satin, telescopes, mirrors and hardwares, and if not checked, they may perhaps attempt to push their commerce in Hindusthan itself through Kashmere and the Punjab. Previously beads of red coral wre exported from Hindusthan into Tibet at an immense profit but within the last three years the Russians have so glutted the whole of the latter country, that the price has fallen so low as to afford only a small benefit excepting the beads of large size, the sale of which is necessarily confined to a few individuals.”³²

Thus Mr. Moorcroft viewed with alarm and anxiety the continuance of Russian trade which “whether stationary or progressive” was destined “to interfere with the course of British commerce and will give them an acquaintance with the state of the tract and afford them facilities for attempting an invasion of India.”³³ His apprehension of Russian designs on India was increased by the fact that the Tartars and the Gurkhas were utterly incompetent to repel any such invasion. He found the Tartar military force simply “despicable which could be of use only to an invader by furnishing horses, carriages and provisions for military use and all resistance of Goorkhas to an European army proceeding from this quarter would be as transient as unavailing.”³⁴ Thus the hopelessly indisciplined and incredibly ill-equipped army would be easily over-powered by an aggressive invader.³⁵

In fine, the alarmist Mr. Moorcroft seriously pointed out to Lord Minto that “the vigorous trade carried on by the Russians in the neighbourhood of the Hon’ble Co’s possessions is highly prejudicial to the Co’s commercial interest, which, if not timely counter-acted, will probably lead to events which may disturb the tranquillity and endanger the safety and security of the Co’s provinces contiguous to the north-western and northern frontiers of British India.”³⁶ “But Lord Minto, who laboured assiduously to preserve peace in India, in accordance with the pacific policy of the Home government, strictly adhered to the principle of neutrality and non-intervention, which unfortunately “he carried too far for national interest no less than for national honour.”³⁷ In reality, in this respect at least, his policy was chargeable with dilatoriness

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

35. According to Ghulam Hyder, the Tartars had a total army of 20,000 horses and 1200 infantry armed with such primitive weapons as bows, arrows and swords only. Vide *Asiatic Journal*, 1835, Sept.-Dec., p. 177.

36. *For. Misc.* No. 125, p. 29.

37. Thornton: *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

and timidity. He thus indirectly encouraged future insolence and aggression and left the issue as a burdensome legacy to his successor.³⁸

THE EDLABAD MEETING OF THE PESHWA AND THE NIZAM

DR. V. G. DIGHE

The rivalry between Nizam-ul-mulk and the Marathas is one of the main factors of Deccan history in the 18th century. The Nizam claimed the overlordship of the Subahs of the country south of the Narmada as the representative of the Great Mughal. This claim was contested by the Marathas and it became the sheet anchor of their policy to reduce and ultimately annihilate the authority of the Deccan Subahdar. Under the brilliant leadership of Peshwa Baji Rao they defeated him at Palkhed in 1728 and wrested from him the recognition of their demands of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six Subahs of the Deccan which amounted to supremacy in the Deccan. This opened the path of Maratha expansion to the south and the east, and the absorption of the rest of the Nizam's dominion in the Maratha kingdom became a matter of time. The Nizam well understood this threat to his existence. The Maratha claims over his dominion made a mockery of his sovereignty and reduced him to the position of a tributary of the Maratha State. As the Marathas insisted on collecting their dues by means of their own officers an authority superior to and undermining that of the Nizam was established which made the existence of his State precarious and his subordination most galling to him. The Nizam with great consistency and with all the arts of which he was a master, opposed Maratha ambitions throughout his career and attempted to break up the chains that bound him. Unable to match his military strength against the Marathas he sought his ends by fomenting discord at the Maratha Court and supporting the Peshwa's enemies at Satara, Delhi and elsewhere.

His first attempt in 1728 to gain complete control over his affairs ended in his discomfiture. The second in 1731 in alliance with Senapati Dabhade and Muhammad Khan Bangash and the third in 1738 at the head of the Turani party of the Delhi Court ended disastrously. By the Convention signed at Duraha Sarai in January 1738 the Nizam promised to obtain for the Peshwa the Subahdari of Malwa and several other large concessions. The seizure by Nadir Shah of the Punjab, the subsequent defeat of the Mughal army by the Persian invader and the humiliation of the Capital and the Mughal Court suffered at his hands and to which the Nizam was suspected to be a party, altogether lowered him in the estimation of the imperial Court and left him friendless. He retired to the Deccan to resume his Subahdari arriving at Burhanpur in November 1740.

The scene on which the Nizam opened his eyes must have taken away his breath. His son Nasir Jang whom he had left at the head of his province in

38. Beveridge: *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 849.

1737, rose in open revolt¹ against him. The Nizam's absence at Delhi for three years and the failure of his diplomacy had put strange ideas in the head of the young man. He was tired of his father's tutelage and was encouraged to supplant him in the governorship ; the latter's inability to stem Maratha advance in Hindustan or save the Emperor from the insults of the Persian adventurer were in the son's eyes clear indications that his father was no longer fit to bear the responsibilities of office. He therefore made up his mind to keep the reins of administration in his own hands and informed his father accordingly. The Nizam was either to resign office into the hands of his son or be prepared to fight.

The Nizam found himself in a corner. He had obtained information of the secret designs of his son at Delhi, but was not aware of the dangerous form they had assumed. He halted at Burhanpur and began his preparations to meet his son's challenge. But against Nasir Jang who commanded an army far superior to his own in strength and equipment, the Nizam's chances of success were slender. In his extreme hour of need help came to the Nizam from an unexpected quarter. Balaji Rao who had succeeded Baji Rao in the Peshwaship was moving northward from Poona at the head of a large force to enforce his demands on Malwa and other imperial provinces. To the new Peshwa's camp hastened Nizam's envoy Sayyad Lashkar Khan and begged him to succour his master. The Nizam, the envoy told, stood not only in danger of losing the battle but losing his life and honour as well. The resources at his command were limited and his servants had all joined his son.

The negotiations started by the Nizam were clearly directed to frustrate any design his son may have of drawing the Peshwa over to his side. The armies of father and son faced each other in the vicinity of Burhanpur and the junction of the Maratha force with either would be a decisive factor in the contest. Both parties were courting the Peshwa ; it was in the interest of the Nizam that the Marathas remain neutral in the contest or become his friends. If they joined Nasir Jang all was lost. He was therefore prepared to pay any price for Maratha neutrality if he could not have their active support. The Nizam however was a shrewd diplomat ; instead of making personal sacrifices he would save himself by encouraging Maratha ambitions in Hindustan and directing Maratha aggressions against Rajput and Mughal territory. On 7th January 1741 he met the Peshwa at Edalabad on the Purma with great ceremony ;² the grants of jagirs in Nimar which Peshwa Baji Rao had wrested a year earlier, were confirmed. Specious promises of aiding the Peshwa's northern projects were held out. After further festivities and exchange of presents the Nizam parted a week later.

The Peshwa-Nizam meeting at Edalabad had immediate repercussions. It spread dismay among Nasir Jang's ranks. Nasir Jang knew that the Peshwa's alliance tilted the balance against him and fell back upon Daulatabad.

1. For Nasir Jang's revolt and the subsequent meeting at Edlabad see *Raj.* II, p. 90, *S.P.D.*, XXVIII, p. 10, *Hingne Daftar*, I, pp. 19, 20.

2. *Hingne Daftar*, I, p. 20 ; the date of this letter is obviously wrong. It is written previous to No. 19, just after the meeting on 7th January, 1741.

Though father and son fought out the issue later in July 1741 the result was never in doubt. The Nizam had gained sufficient time to sow dissensions among Nasir Jang's camp, wean away his supporters and defeat him decisively. The Peshwa had helped the Nizam, the most inveterate enemy of the Marathas to regain his subahdari and restore him to power to annoy his neighbours!

The Edalabad meeting of the Peshwa with the Nizam marks a crisis in the Nizam's affairs, the significance of which was lost on the Peshwa. Similar occasions in the Maratha State were exploited by their enemies the Nizam, Haider Ali, the English and others who grabbed Maratha territory when civil war broke out (1762) as a result of differences between Peshwa Madhav Rao and his uncle Raghoba. The Nizam held some of the fairest districts of Maharashtra and successfully opposed their expansion to the south or the east. The great Baji Rao had declared in 1739 March when Mughal authority had been overthrown by Nadir Shah, that the time had come when Muslim rule in the Deccan must cease to exist. If only the Hindus united, he felt, they could supplant the Mughal authority.³ If this dream of the Peshwa was to be fulfilled, if the safety and security of the Maratha State were to be guarded against foreign aggression, no opportunity of reducing the Nizam's power was to be missed. Baji Rao's successor Nana threw away the opportunity which was not to recur for another decade.

3. *Bramhendra Swamicha Charitra*, p. 117.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1950

I am happy to report that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, has been pleased to accept our invitation to inaugurate this Session of the Indian History Congress at Nagpur. He has also been pleased to become the Patron of the Indian History Congress as well as that of the Executive Board and Editorial Board of the Comprehensive History of India. It is a great privilege, and I am sure his close association with this premier organisation of the historians of India will afford stimulus to historical studies and research in our country. I hope this will further lead to greater encouragement and support from the Government.

In my last two reports I had drawn attention to the supreme importance of co-ordinating historical research and the role of the Indian History Congress in influencing the character and content of research and historical studies in the Universities and elsewhere. I had also dwelt on the necessity of revising the Constitution of the Indian History Congress so as to develop this Association as a national committee of the historians of India and bringing it into line with similar associations in other countries. The Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress at its last meeting in Cuttack had appointed two sub-committees to consider these matters. It has not been possible to hold any meetings of these sub-committees during the course of the year. But I hope the two sub-committees will be able to present definite schemes for the consideration of the Association. I may be permitted to repeat the great importance of objective outlook and correct historical appreciation for our national development. Sound critical historical studies alone will impart such an outlook and it is up to the Indian History Congress to direct the enthusiasm for history and the craving for the knowledge of our past into healthy channels so as to help in building a glorious and peaceful future.

In my report for 1948 I had dwelt on the unfortunate existence of two or three simultaneous projects of the History of India sponsored by different organisations and had expressed the hope that the details for the amalgamation of the schemes of the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad and the Indian History Congress would soon be worked out. I am happy to report that at the beginning of the year, this object was achieved and the two organisations have merged to prepare and publish one Comprehensive History of our country. With slight modifications the scheme of volumes sponsored by the Indian History Congress has been accepted and every endeavour is being made to expedite its preparation and publication. For this purpose a whole-time organisation with a Joint Secretary has been established to push forth the scheme and to see the volumes through the press. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has kindly accepted to be the Patron of the scheme and Dr. Tara Chand has been appointed as the Chairman of both the Executive and the Editorial Boards. These two Boards have been re-constituted so as to have a membership incorporating the representatives of the two Institutions.

A word may here be added regarding the progress on the scheme of the Comprehensive History of India. So far four volumes have been nearly completed and are with the Editors for final editing and preparation for the press. Efforts are being made to expedite the writing of the chapters in other volumes. The response is encouraging and it may be hoped that it will not be long before we may expect the fruition of our aspiration and endeavours.

In my report for last year I had referred to the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in September 1950 in Paris. The Indian History Congress had appointed Dr. R. P. Tripathi, its President, as its chief delegate to attend the Conference. A few members had contributed papers and it was hoped that India will be represented by about four members. Two members, Dr. P. M. Joshi and Prof. V. G. Hatakhar attended and took part in the deliberations there.

The other International Conference which met this year was that of the History of World War II in the west which assembled at Amsterdam in September. Our country was represented by his Excellency Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, Indian Ambassador at the Hague, himself a historian of repute ; though it was not practicable for any other historians to participate in its deliberations. This Conference was limited in its scope and considered the progress and technique of the history of World War II as pursued in various countries of the world. I may here mention that apart from the military aspects, which form an important part of the history of World War II, studies in many countries are directed towards unravelling the social, economic, and administrative developments as affected by War. Resistance movements in the occupied countries of Western Europe are being studied and will be an important contribution to our knowledge. In this connection I may be permitted to emphasise the extreme importance and great value of the study of military history and research, a subject which has been unfortunately neglected in our country. I hope some scholars will come forward to take up this subject also.

In India itself the year 1950 has not been without interest in so far as the progress of history is concerned. The Government of India has appointed a Committee to examine the ways and means for writing the History of our Freedom Movement. The Indian History Congress can greatly help ; and I appeal to the members to render all assistance in this project. I hope they will be able to trace the whereabouts of literature, correspondence, memoirs, diaries and any other sources bearing on the subject and communicate to the Ministry of Education.

Only last month a conference was organised by the National Institute of Sciences for the study of the history of the Sciences in India which was attended by some prominent historians and scientists. It is a good beginning and I hope this organisation will flourish and thereby contribute to our knowledge of the development of sciences in this country. All these are necessary aspects of the history of our past and I hope there will be co-operation and co-ordination between the different organisations.

I am happy to report that in Bengal a provincial Historical Society has been formed. Recently in Assam a historical society has been established. There are important historical societies in other States also. The time has come when all such organisations should work in collaboration and association with the Indian History Congress.

The total number of members of the Indian History Congress up to 7th December 1950 was 180.

I am greatly thankful to the Government of India, Ministry of Railways for allowing concession in railway fares to the members of the Indian History Congress for attending the Annual Conference.

I am thankful to the University of Nagpur for inviting this session and giving us an opportunity to meet in this old historic town. I am also grateful to the Vice-Chancellor, Sri Kunji Lal Dube, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. H. N. Sinha, local Secretary for their efforts to make the session a great success.

In the end I must express my gratitude to Dr. R. P. Tripathi, the President, and Dr. Tara Chand, the Vice-President for their unfailing support, guidance and inspiration.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD.
General Secretary.

APPENDIX B

STATEMENT OF AUDITED ACCOUNTS

FROM 1st APRIL 1949 TO 31st MARCH 1950

	Rs. a. p.	Cr. Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance on 1-4-1949		3,060 8 9
Membership fee account		2,865 0 0
Life Membership fee a/c		790 0 0
Sale of Proceedings		134 7 0
History of India Scheme a/c		116 14 3
Imperial Bank a/c	3,379 6 0	
Establishment a/c	584 0 0	
Printing of Proceedings	1,637 0 0	
Postage and Telegrams	266 11 9	
Stationery account	26 10 9	
Bank Commission	9 0 0	
Printing a/c	493 10 6	
Audit expenses	25 0 0	
Imprest to Sri O. P. Bhatnagar	13 14 0	
Fixed Deposits in Imperial Bank	2,200 0 0	
Interest a/c		21 0 0
Miscellaneous a/c	72 0 6	
Donations a/c		1,750 0 0
Cash with office	30 8 6	
Total	8,737 14 0	8,737 14 0
	Opening Balance for the next year.	
With the Imperial Bank	3,379 6 0	
Imprest with Sri O.P. Bhatnagar	13 14 0	
Fixed Deposit in Imperial Bank	2,200 0 0	
Cash with office	30 14 6	
Total	5,624 2 6	
Less to be paid to History of India Scheme a/c No. 2	116 14 3	
Opening Balance on 1-4-1950	5,507 4 3	

Sd. BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.
Examined with the books certified correct.

Sd. B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

(Sd.) Illegible
*Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.*

APPENDIX C

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEAR 1951-52

Income	Actuals of 1949-50	Estimate of 1950-51	Estimates of 1951-52
Opening Balance	3,060 8 9	...	...
Membership fee	2,865 0 0	2,500 0 0	2,500 0 0
Life Membership fee	790 0 0	200 0 0	200 0 0
Sale of Proceedings	134 7 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
Interest on F. D. Receipts	21 0 0	...	21 0 0
Donations	1,750 0 0	...	500 0 0
Deficit			2,314 0 0
Total	8,620 15 9	2,800 0 0	5,635 0 0
<i>Expenditure</i>			
Establishment	584 0 0	600 0 0	600 0 0
Printing of Proceedings	1,637 0 0	1,700 0 0	4,000 0 0
Printing and Stationery	520 5 3	300 0 0	500 0 0
Postage and Telegrams	266 11 9	400 0 0	400 0 0
Audit Expenses	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0
Furniture	...	...	...
Bank Commission	9 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Miscellaneous Expenses	72 0 6	100 0 0	100 0 0
Total	3,114 1 6	3,135 0 0	5,635 0 0

Sd. BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

Sd. B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

APPENDIX D

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

NAGPUR SESSION 1950

The Annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association was held on the 27th December 1950 at 6-30 p.m. in the Nagpur University buildings. The following members were present:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Tara Chand. | 10. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar |
| 2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar | 11. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari |
| 3. Dr. P. C. Gupta | 12. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad |
| 4. Dr. B. P. Saksena | 13. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri |
| 5. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar | 14. Prof. D. V. Potdar |
| 6. Prof. Gurty Venket Rao | 15. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji |
| 7. Dr. P. M. Joshi | 16. Dr. K. K. Datta |
| 8. Dr. J. N. Banerjea | 17. Dr. D. C. Sircar |
| 9. Dr. A. S. Altekar | 18. Prof. Md. Habib |

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. Tara Chand took the Chair.

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The General Secretary presented the Annual Report for 1950 which, with certain amendments, was recommended to the Business Meeting for adoption (Appendix "A").

3. The Accounts for the year 1949-50 were presented by the Treasurer and were recommended for adoption by the Business Meeting (Appendix "B").

4. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for 1951-52 which, with certain amendments, were recommended for adoption by the Business Meeting (Appendix "C").

5. The Executive Committee elected the following as office-bearers for 1951:—

President	Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri
Vice-Presidents	1. Dr. Tara Chand
	2. Dr. R. P. Tripathi
General Secretary	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary	Dr. P. C. Gupta
Treasurer	Dr. B. P. Saksena

6. The Executive Committee elected Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai as President and the following as Sectional Presidents for the various Sections:—

Section I	Dr. U. N. Ghoshal
Section II	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam
Section III	Sri G. H. Khare
Section IV	Dr. H. R. Gupta
Section V	Dr. P. C. Gupta

7. The Executive Committee recommended that Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal & Co., Auditors and Chartered Accountants, Allahabad, may be appointed as Auditors.

8. The Executive Committee considered the letter of the Rajasthan Government inviting the next session to Jaipur in December 1951. The Committee recommended to the Business Meeting that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

9. The Executive Committee considered the letter from the Indian Economic Association relating to the suggestion that a joint meeting of all the Conferences of Social Sciences be held on the lines of the Science Congress. The Committee authorised the General Secretary to point out to the Indian Economic Association the practical difficulties in implementing a suggestion of this nature.

10. The Executive Committee considering the following resolutions recommended them for consideration by the Business Meeting:—

(1) The Indian History Congress Association welcomes the formation of a Committee by the Government of India to formulate policy and plans for research in, and collection of material relating to the Freedom Movement in India and hopes that earnest efforts will be made to expedite this work with a view to writing the History of the Freedom Movement ultimately. The Indian History Congress Association further requests the Government of India to render effective financial assistance to this scheme and lay down a programme to enable such a History to be written as early as practicable, preferably within a period of five years. It also appeals to the members of the Indian History Congress Association in particular and all scholars of history in general to actively co-operate in this project by helping in the collection of material and furnishing lists to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, of individuals, institutions and books, pamphlets and other literature which may throw light on any aspect—political, social or cultural of the great movement which culminated in the freedom of the country in 1947.

(2) The Indian History Congress Association welcomes the efforts of the Government of India to publish a detailed Military History of the Second World War which is being prepared by the Historical Section of the Ministry of Defence, and hopes that some permanent organisation will be established to carry on research in the Military History of India, a subject which is of considerable interest and benefit to the country. It also directs the attention of the scholars of History to this new avenue of research and hopes that the Universities and Governments will afford encouragement to such studies.

(3) The Indian History Congress Association regrets that little effort has so far been made to centralise the records, manuscripts and documents relating to the different periods of Indian History in properly equipped Record Rooms whether at the Centre or in the States, and emphasises the importance of early and expeditious steps in this direction. In this connection, the Indian History Congress Association would draw the attention of the Government of India to the necessity of proper custody of the records and manuscript collections in the old Indian States which have now merged.

(4) The records in the National Archives and the State Record Rooms up to the year 1946 should be accessible to the *bona fide* research students subject to such conditions as the Government may consider necessary.

(5) The Government of India, the State Governments and the Universities should provide adequate funds for the establishment of Research Fellowships in History, publication of research theses and other important historical contributions, travelling allowances and other financial assistance to the teachers and research scholars to visit archaeological sites and museums, Libraries and Record Rooms in various parts of the country, for securing basic material in the form of microfilms or photostat or typed copies and for the institution of Chairs of the various branches of history.

11. The Executive Committee referred to the Sub-Committees appointed in 1949 to revise the Constitution and examine the trends of research of the following proposals:—

(1) The report of the research work done during the year should be published by the Indian History Congress every year for which information would be furnished by the Universities, Historical Societies and other institutions engaged on such work every year before the 30th September to the General Secretary of the Indian History Congress.

(2) The Provincial/State Historical Societies should be affiliated by the Indian History Congress Association and rules should be framed for the purpose.

(3) Resolved that small committees should be formed at a few centres to lay down lines of intensive research activity.

12. The Executive Committee adopted the following resolution and authorised the General Secretary to communicate it to the Government of India:

The Indian History Congress Association has noted with pleasure the inclusion of the Indian History Congress among the academic bodies for the annual conferences of which railway concession would be available and thanks the Government of India for this encouragement to the cultural associations of the country.

13. The following resolution was also adopted:

It is resolved that every Section of the Conference shall hold a symposium on topics to be announced by the General Secretary in consultation with the Sectional Presidents six months before the meeting of the Conference.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
General Secretary

APPENDIX E

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING

NAGPUR SESSION 1950

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on 29th December 1950 in the Nagpur University buildings at 9-00 a.m. The following members were present:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Tara Chand | 43. Sri R. M. Sinha |
| 2. D. V. Potdar | 44. Sri Yash Pal |
| 3. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti | 45. Prof. S. R. Das |
| 4. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar | 46. Illegible |
| 5. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri | 47. Dr. Moti Chandra |
| 6. Prof. Md. Habib | 48. Sri K. R. Venkataraman |
| 7. Sri D. G. Mahajan | 49. Sri U. C. Bhattacharya |
| 8. Sri R. S. Gyani | 50. Sri V. A. Ghate |
| 9. Dr. K. M. Ahmad | 51. Dr. M. R. Majumdar |
| 10. Prof. R. S. Sharma | 52. Dr. G. C. Mendis |
| 11. Prof. R. V. Oturkar | 53. Dr. N. L. Ahmad |
| 12. Dr. C. C. Das Gupta | 54. Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri |
| 13. Prof. E. R. Kapadia | 55. Sm. P. Niogi |
| 14. Dr. V. D. Rao | 56. Sri D. R. Bhandari |
| 15. Prof. N. G. Tavakar | 57. Illegible |
| 16. Dr. K. K. Datta | 58. Mrs. Debala Mitra |
| 17. Sri P. Acharya | 59. Sri S. Sengupta |
| 18. Dr. A. C. Banerjee | 60. Sri S. C. Upadhyaya |
| 19. Dr. D. C. Sircar | 61. Dr. J. N. Banerjea |
| 20. Sri S. K. Saraswati | 62. Dr. V. G. Dighe |
| 21. Sri K. C. Panigrahi | 63. Dr. T. S. Shejwalkar |
| 22. Dr. B. C. Sen | 64. Sri Satya Prakash |
| 23. Sri R. Subba Rao | 65. Sri K. D. Bajpai |
| 24. Dr. A. Tripathi | 66. Sri M. M. Nagar |
| 25. Dr. P. M. Joshi | 67. Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar |
| 26. Dr. S. P. Sen | 68. Prof. Ganda Singh |
| 27. Sri B. K. Chatterji | 69. Sri Pritam Singh |
| 28. Sri D. K. Biswas | 70. Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao |
| 29. Sri P. C. Majumdar | 71. Prof. K. H. Kamdar |
| 30. Dr. Srinandan Prasad | 72. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar |
| 31. Dr. K. Gopalachari | 73. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari |
| 32. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar | 74. Prof. Gurty Venket Rao |
| 33. Prof. G. M. Moraes | 75. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji |
| 34. Sri K. Sajan Lal | 76. Dr. H. P. Shastri |
| 35. Sri S. H. Askari | 77. Dr. V. S. Agrawala |
| 36. Prof. S. Natarajan | 78. Dr. H. N. Sinha |
| 37. Prof. M. S. Agaskar | 79. Dr. P. C. Gupta |
| 38. Dr. K. N. Dutt | 80. Dr. Bisheswar Prasad |
| 39. Sri K. R. Srinivasan | 81. Dr. B. P. Saksena |
| 40. Sri K. Dev | 82. Dr. H. L. Gupta |
| 41. Sri A. K. Narain | 83. Dr. R. K. Parmu |
| 42. Sri V. S. Pathak | |

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. Tara Chand took the Chair.

1. The following condolence resolutions were moved from the Chair and were adopted, all standing:—

- (1) The Indian History Congress expresses its profound grief and sorrow at the death of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, a wise and constructive statesman, an architect of India's unity, and a far-sighted and intrepid leader who rendered unforgettable services to the country.
 - (2) The Indian History Congress Association places on record its profound sense of grief and sorrow at the death of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, President of the Indian History Congress in 1938 and an eminent historian.
 - (3) The Indian History Congress Association places on record its profound sense of grief at the death of Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, an eminent historian.
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
 3. The General Secretary presented the Annual Report for the year 1950 as recommended by the Executive Committee which was adopted by the house (Appendix "A").
 4. The Association considered the accounts for the year 1949-50 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved that the accounts be adopted (Appendix "B").
 5. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for the year 1951-52 as recommended by the Executive Committee. He pointed out the increasing expenditure from year to year particularly in the cost of printing the Volume of Proceedings and the deficits caused thereby and made the suggestion that unless there was an increase in the membership fee it would not be possible for the Association to have the Proceedings printed. It was resolved that the budget estimates as recommended by the Executive Committee be passed (Appendix "C").
 6. The recommendation by the Executive Committee that Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal and Co., Auditors and Chartered Accountants, Allahabad, be appointed as Auditors was accepted.
 7. The President reported the election by the Executive Committee of the following office-bearers for 1951, and President and Sectional Presidents for the next session:—

<i>President :</i>	Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri
<i>Vice-President :</i>	1. Dr. Tara Chand
	2. Dr. R. P. Tripathi
<i>General Secretary :</i>	Dr. Bisheswar Prasad
<i>Joint Secretary :</i>	Dr. P. C. Gupta
<i>Treasurer :</i>	Dr. B. P. Saksena.
<i>President and Sectional Presidents for 1951 session.</i>	
<i>President :</i>	Sri G. S. Sardesai
<i>Sectional Presidents :</i>	
Section I	Dr. U. N. Ghoshal
Section II	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam
Section III	Sri G. H. Khare
Section IV	Dr. Hari Ram Gupta
Section V	Dr. P. C. Gupta

8. The Association elected the following as members of the Executive Committee:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti | 5. Dr. K. K. Datta |
| 2. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji | 6. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari |
| 3. Prof. D. V. Potdar | 7. Prof. R. G. Gyani |
| 4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar | 8. Dr. P. M. Joshi |

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 9. Dr. N. K. Sinha | 12. Dr. J. N. Banerjea |
| 10. Prof. G. M. Moraes | 13. Dr. D. C. Sircar |
| 11. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar | 14. Sri P. Acharya |

9. The Association considered the recommendation of the Executive Committee for the venue of the next session of the Indian History Congress and resolved that the invitation extended by the Government of Rajasthan be accepted with thanks.

10. The Association considered the following resolutions sent up by the Executive Committee and adopted them (Appendix "D").

11. The Association adopted a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee, the University of Nagpur and the Government of Madhya Pradesh and the volunteers for the great success of the session.

12. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
General Secretary

APPENDIX F

RESOLUTIONS

1. The Indian History Congress Association welcomes the formation of a Committee by the Government of India to formulate policy and plans for research in, and collection of material relating to, the Freedom Movement in India and hopes that earnest efforts will be made to expedite this work with a view to writing the History of the Freedom Movement ultimately. The Indian History Congress Association further requests the Government of India to render effective financial assistance to this scheme and lay down a programme to enable such a History to be written as early as practicable, preferably within a period of five years. It also appeals to the members of the Indian History Congress Association in particular and all scholars of history in general to actively co-operate in this project by helping in the collection of material and furnishing lists to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, of individuals, institutions and books, pamphlets and other literature which may throw light on any aspect political, social or cultural, of the great movement which culminated in the freedom of the country in 1947.

2. The Indian History Congress Association welcomes the efforts of the Government of India to publish a detailed Military History of the Second World War which is being prepared by the Historical Section of the Ministry of Defence, and hopes that some permanent organisation will be established to carry on research in the Military History of India, a subject which is of considerable interest and benefit to the country. It also directs the attention of the scholars of History to this new avenue of research and hopes that the Universities and Governments will afford encouragement to such studies.

3. The Indian History Congress Association regrets that little effort has so far been made to centralise the records, manuscripts and documents relating to the different periods of Indian History in properly equipped Record Rooms whether at the Centre or in the States, and emphasises the importance of early and expeditious steps in this direction. In this connection, the Indian History Congress Association would draw the attention of the Government of India to the necessity of proper custody of the records and manuscript collections in the old Indian States which have now merged.

4. The records in the National Archives and the State Record Rooms up to the year 1946 should be accessible to the bona fide research students subject to such conditions as the Government may consider necessary.

5. The Government of India, the State Governments and the Universities should provide adequate funds for the establishment of Research Fellowships in History, publication of research theses and other important historical contributions, travelling allowances and other financial assistance to the teachers and research scholars to visit archaeological sites and museums, Libraries and Record Rooms in various parts of the country, for securing basic material in the form of microfilms or photostat or typed copies and for the institution of Chairs of the various branches of history.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1950 (NAGPUR)

PATRON

1. Hon'ble Shri Harekrushna Mahtab, Minister for Industries and Supplies, New Delhi.

LIFE MEMBERS

2. The Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., P.C., Winter Road, Malabar Hills, Bombay.
3. Shri Jehangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, Bombay.
4. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Dept. of Politics, Nagpur University.
5. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Department of Ancient History, Banaras Hindu University.
6. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi, M.A., Research Scholar, Navasari, B.B. & C.I.R.
7. Th. Batuk Singh, M.B.E., Dy. Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Govt. of India, South Block, New Delhi.
8. Shri K. M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad Dn.
9. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.
10. Prof. A. B. Pande, M.A., Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University.
11. Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, Department of History, Saugor University.
12. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Khalsa College, Amritsar.
13. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.A., D.Litt., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau, C.I.
14. H.E. Shri M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, Patna.
15. Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., 39, Ramanand Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
16. Dr. Bool Chand, Banaras Hindu University.
17. Shri R. N. Natu, M.A., 689, Sadashiva Peth, Natu Bagh, Poona 2.
18. MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar, 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
19. Shri S. M. Shukla, M/s. Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, Bombay 5.
20. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University.
21. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy, G. M. College, Sambalpur, Orissa.
22. Shri Syed Nurul Hasan, Lecturer in History, Aligarh University.

ORDINARY MEMBERS

1. Acharya, Shri Chintamani, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack.
2. Aiyangar, Shri A. N. Krishna, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.
3. Agaskar, Prof. M. S., History Dept. Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay.
4. Iyer, Shri K. R. Venktarama, 57, Gangadhareswara Street, Pura-sawakkam, Madras.
5. Ahmad, Prof. N. L., Elphinston College, Bombay 1.
6. Askari, Prof. Syed Hasan, History Dept., Patna College, Patna.

7. Acharya, Shri P., Supdt. Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
8. Agarwala, Dr. V. S., Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi.
9. Arokiaswami, Dr. M., Dept. of Indian History, Madras University.
10. Afzaluddin, Miss Afsar, Dept. of History, Aligarh University.
11. Avasthi, Shri Amareshwar, Lecturer in History & Pol., Nagpur Mahavidyalaya.
12. Bhide, Shri C. V., N. J. High School, Kalyan, Dt. Thana.
13. Banerji, Dr. A. C., M.A., Ph.D., 2, College Square, Calcutta 12.
14. Banerjea, Dr. J. N., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.
15. Bhatnagar, Shri O. P., Department of History, Allahabad University.
16. Bhattacharya, Prof. K., Department of History, Banaras Hindu University.
17. Biswas, Shri Dilip Kumar, Krishnagar College, Krishnagar; Dt. Nadia.
18. Bhattacharya, Shri Sukumar, 16, Basant Bose Road, Calcutta 26.
19. Bhatnagar, Shri G. D., M.A., K. P. Inter College, Allahabad.
20. Banerji, Shri Prag, Harmu Road, Ranchi.
21. Baliga, Dr. B. S., Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras.
22. Bhattacharya, Shri A. K., Asstt. Curator, Arch. Section, Indian Museum.
23. Basu, Shri S. K., 57, Prasanna Kumar Datta Lane, P.O. Sibpur, Howrah.
24. Budholia, Shri K. K., Lecturer, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
25. Chhabra, Dr. B. C., M.A., Ph.D., Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
26. Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.
27. Chatterji, Principal B. R., Meerut College, Meerut.
28. Chaturvedi, Shri Chaturbhuj Das, Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur.
29. Chatterji, Dr. Nandalal, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., History Dept., Lucknow University.
30. Chand, Dr. Tara, M.A., -D.Phil., Secretary to Govt., Ministry of Education, New Delhi.
31. Chaudhury, Shri Radha Krishna, Dept. of History, G. D. College, Begusarai.
32. Chopra, Dr. G. L., Keeper of Records, East Punjab Govt., Simla.
33. Chandra, Dr. Moti, Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
34. Chidambaram, Shri A., Tamil Research Instt. 10/98, Venkatraman Road, R. S. Puram, Coimbatore.
35. Chitale, Shri V. S., 369, Shanwar Peth, Oke's Wadi, Poona 2.
36. Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
37. Choudhuri, Shri R. N., Dept. of History, Maharaja's College, Jaipur.
38. Chatterjee, Shri B. K., M.A., C/o Dt. Saving's Organiser, National Savings Department, Collectorate Buildings, Howrah.
39. Chandramouliswar, Shri R., 16, Venkatachala Naik Street, Tondiarpet, Madras.
40. Chopra, Mrs. E. L., C/o Dr. G. L. Chopra, Keeper of Records, E. Punjab Govt., Simla.
41. Carpenter, Shri N. V., Ratna Kunj, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru Road, "Vakola", Santa Cruz (east), Bombay.
42. Dandekar, Dr. R. N., M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst., Poona 4.
43. Deshpande, Shri M. N., B.A., Archaeological Survey, Poona.
44. Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat Govt., Gwalior.

45. Dharma, Miss P. C., F. II, Lady Staff Colony, Banaras Hindu University.
46. Dass, Prof. Sudhir Ranjan, Department of History, Delhi University.
47. Datta, Dr. K. K., M.A., Ph.D., Patna College, Patna.
48. Dhar, Prof. S. N., M.A., Secy. Board of Secondary Education, Madhya Bharat Gwalior.
49. Dighe, Dr. V. G., M.A., Ph.D., Record Office, Secretariat, Bombay.
50. Desai, Shri N. K., Graduates' Association, Kabutarakhana, Broach.
51. Deshpande, Dr. Y. K., D.Litt., Shardashram, Yeotmal.
52. Datta, Prof. K. N., Head of History Dept., Edmund's College, Shillong.
53. Dikshit, Shri G. S., M.A., Ferguson College, Poona 4.
54. Dikshitar, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra, Dept of History, Madras University.
55. Dikhit, Prof. R. K., M.A., Dept. of History, Lucknow University.
56. Dikshit, Dr. Moreshane Gangadhar, Curator, Deccan College R.I., Camp Nasik.
57. Dandekar, Shri Shankar Ganesh, B.A., LL.B., 163-C, Vincent Road, Dadar, Bombay.
58. Director, B. J. Instt. of Learning & Research, Gujrat Vidya Sabha, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.
59. Deopujari, Shri M.B., Teacher, Bhonsla Military School, Nasik.
60. Deoras, Dr. V. R., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Robertson College, Jubbulpore.
61. Goetz, Dr. Herman, Curator, State Museum & Picture Gallery, Public Park, Baroda.
62. Gupta, Dr. C. C. Das, M.A., Ph.D., Presidency College, Calcutta.
63. Gode, Shri P. K., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental R. Inst., Poona 4.
64. Gaebele, Madam Y. R., President, French Historical Society, 11, Rue Dumas, Pondichery (Arcott).
65. Ganguli, Dr. D. C., Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.
66. Gujar, Shri M. V., Shri Shivaji P. Military School, Poona 5.
67. Ghoshal, Dr. U. N., M.A., Ph.D. 35 Ramananda Chatterji Street, Calcutta 9.
68. Ganguli, Shri Kalyan Kumar, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University.
69. Gupta, Dr. P. C., M.A., Ph.D., 125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta 29.
70. Gopalachari, Dr. K., Research Officer, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.
71. Ghosal, Dr. H. R., L. S. College, Muzaffarpur (Bihar).
72. Gupta, Miss Sudhamoyee Sen, M.A., 29-A, Bipin Mittra Lane, Calcutta 4.
73. Gupta, Shri Arun Das, M.A., 3-B, Kalighat Park South, Calcutta 26.
74. Gupta, Mrs. Manoshi Das, 3-B, Kalighat Park South, Calcutta 26.
75. Gupta, Shri Puran Mal, C/o Dr. S. R. Das, Delhi College, Delhi.
76. Ghate, Shri V. A., Talegaon Dasasar, Taluq Chandpur, Dt. Yeotmal.
77. Gore, Shri S. D., Lecturer, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
78. Gumashta, Sri S. P., M.A., B.S., T. B. Specialist, Residency Road, Nagpur.
79. Gandhi, Miss Sumittra, M.A., Mohan Nagar, Nagpur.
80. Gupta, Shri Parmeshwari Lal, 63/42 Victoria Park, (North), Banaras.
81. Hatalkar, Prof. V. G., M.A., 16-B, Sleater Road, Bombay 7.
82. Hemraj, Prof. M. A., Jaswant College, Jodhpur.
83. Habib, Prof. Mohammad, M.A., Prof. of History, Aligarh Muslim University.

84. Husain, Shri Mohd. Ashraf, Asst. Supdt. of Muslim Epigraphy, Dept. of Archaeology, Curzon Road, New Delhi.
85. Jamindar, Shri N. C., Bara Rawala, Juni Indore, Indore City.
86. Jagannath, Prof., Lecturer in Sanskrit, 360, Rainak Bazar, Jullundar City.
87. Jain, Dr. H. L., M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
88. Jain, Shri Jyoti Prasad, 75, Thaterwara Street, Meerut City.
89. Jayal, Miss Shakambari, M.A., Basant College for Women, Banaras.
90. Joshi, Shri S. N., 313-A, Sadashiva, Poona.
91. Jaini, Shri S. M., M.A., LL.B., Sadar Bazar, Nagpur.
92. Kale, Shri D. V., M.A., Editor, "Sahyadri", 568, Narayan Peth, Poona.
93. Kibe, Sardar M. V., Saraswati Niketan, Indore.
94. Karve, Shri C. G., Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.
95. Kapur, Shri Kali Das, Kalicharan Inter College, Lucknow.
96. Kulkarni, Shri B. R., B.A., Curator, Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia.
97. Khan, Dr. Yusuf Husain, Osmania University, Hyderabad Dn.
98. Kamdar, Prof. K. H., Pratapganj, Baroda Camp.
99. Kapadia, Prof. E. R., St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
100. Kala, Shri S. C., Curator, Allahabad Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
101. Katare, Dr. S. L., M.A., D.Litt., Mahadoshal Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur.
102. Khan, Shri Mohd. Abdul Wali, Keeper of the Coins, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Dn.
103. Krishnaswamiengar, Shri B. S., Lectr. in History, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
104. Kishan, Shri Radha, C/o Dr. S. R. Das, Dept. of History, Delhi College, Delhi.
105. Kumar, Shri Rabindra, Babu Gopalji Lane, Chandhari Bazar, Cuttack.
106. Keshava, Shri D. V., M.A., 67/216, Belvedere Road, Bombay 10.
107. Kulkarni, Shri L. R., Lecturer, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
108. Kotiyal, Shri Hari Shankar, Research Scholar, College of Indology, B. H. Un.
109. Librarian, National Library, Calcutta.
110. Librarian, B. R. College, Agra.
111. Lohiya, Shri Harish Chandra, Chaura Rasta, Jaipur.
112. Mahajan, Shri D. G., C.P. & Berar Jain Research Inst., Yeotmal.
113. Mirashi, Mm. Prof. V. V., Principal, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amraoti.
114. Misra, Miss P., G/16, Lady's Quarters, Banaras Hindu University.
115. Mulla, Miss M., 145 Lady's Quarters, Banaras Hindu University.
116. Mukerji, Shri P. N., Lecturer in History, D.A.V. College, Dehra Dun.
117. Majumdar, Dr. M. R., Baroda College, Baroda.
118. Mendis, Dr. G. C., 26, 27th Lane, Colombo, Ceylon.
119. Mitra, Shri Ramesh Chandra, College De Bussy, Chandranagar, E.R.
120. Mahalingam, Shri T. V., Reader in History, Madras University, Madras.
121. Majumdar, Shri Bimal Kanti, Prof. of History, Ashutosh College, Calcutta.
122. Mukerji, Prof. T. K., M.A., 12-A, Bakul Bagan Row, Bhawanipore, Calcutta.
123. Mitra, Mrs. Debala, 7212-B, Manoharpukur Road, Calcutta.
124. Misra, Pt. Raghav, High English School, P.O. Barpali, Dt. Sambalpur.
125. Mishra, Shri Yogendra, Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.

126. Misra, Shri S. N., Chandradhari Mithila College, Darbhanga.
127. Mishra, Shri K. K., Chandradhari Mithila College, Darbhanga.
128. Majumdar, Shri Prabhas Chandra, 45, Amherst Row, Calcutta 9.
129. Mahajan, Shri D. B., Pleader, Yeotmal.
130. Misra, Shri Wasudeo Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Hoshangabad, M.P.
131. Nizami, Prof. Akhtar Husain, M.A., Darbar College, Rewa.
132. Nagar, Shri M. M., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
133. Niyogi, Shrimati Roma, 29/2, Hare Kristo Sen Lane, Calcutta 2.
134. Niyogi, Kumari Pushpa, M.A., Auckland Mansion, 6/7C, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
135. Nandy, Shri Somendra Chandra, B.A., 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
136. Nanavati, Shri J. M., Curator, Watson Museum, Jubilee Garden, Rajkot.
137. Nair, Prof. D. S. Achute Ram, Head of Hist. Dept., First Grade College, Mysore.
138. Narain, Prof. A. K., Buddha Kuti, Banaras Hindu University.
139. Natrajan, Prof. S., Nizam College, Hyderabad Dn.
140. Nizami, Shri K. K., Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University.
141. Narayan, Shri Nene Hari, Retd. Principal, C/o Savitri Matanga, Abhyankar Road, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
142. Narhar, Shri Phatak Balwant, M.A., II, New Bhatwadi Lane, Bombay 4.
143. Oturkar, Prof. R. V., M.A., Head of History Dept., Sir P. B. College, Poona 2.
144. Ojha, Shri Kailash Chandra, Research Scholar, History Department, Allahabad University.
145. Ojha, Shri Phanindra Nath, M.A., Research Fellow in Hist., Patna College.
146. Pillai, Prof. V. Narayana, Mahatma Gandhi College, Trivandrum.
147. Pillai, Shri P. N. Kunjan, Lecturer, University College, Trivandrum.
148. Pandey, Shri R. B., Dept. of Ancient Indian Hist. & Culture, Banaras Hindu University.
149. Power, Dr. A. G., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, M. N. College, Visnagar, Gujrat.
150. Parmu, Dr. R. K., M.A., Ph.D., House No. X/2438, Chitli Babar Road, Delhi.
151. Prasad Dr. Bisheswar, M.A., D.Litt., Head of History Dept., Delhi University.
152. Patankar, Shri W. R., Principal, Union High School, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.
153. Parmanand, Shri, Secretary, University Grants Committee, Chatham Lines, Allahabad.
154. Patnaik, Shri S., Dy. Collector, Ganga Mandir, Cuttack, Orissa.
155. Prasad, Dr. Srinandan, M.A., Ph.D., Combined Inter Services Historical Section, Simla.
156. Pillai, Shri K. P., University College, Trivandrum.
157. Panthri, Prof. B. P., Kashi Vidyapith, Banaras.
158. Pendse, Shri R. K., B.A., LL.B., Hindu Dharma Samskriti Mandir, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
159. Panigrahi, Shri K. C., M.A., Curator, Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
160. Pant, Shri Trilochan, M.A., Visharad, Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University, Banares.
161. Pandya, Shri G. B., Reader in History, Baroda College, Baroda.

162. Priyavrata, Pandit, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Gurukul University, Kangri.
 163. Prasad, Shri Bimla, Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna.
 164. Pathak, Shri Vishwambhar Sharan, Research Fellow, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.
 165. Qayumuddin, Qazi, Lecturer, S. B. City College, Nagpur.
 166. Roy, Dr. Niharranjan, Bageswari Prof. of Indian Art, Calcutta University.
 167. Rao, Dr. V. D., M.A., Ph.D., Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay.
 168. Reu, Pt. B. N., Hon. Officer I/c Maharaja Hanavant Museum, Chandpal, Jodhpur.
 169. Rao, Shri R. Subba, Hon. Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
 170. Ranadive, Shri R. K., M.A., Panchhodji Nivad, Shivaji Road, Baroda.
 171. Rao, Shri R. Narsimha, M.A., Lecturer in Hist., Nizam College, Hyderabad Dn.
 172. Rao, Principal G. V., Andhra University, Waltair.
 173. Rao, Dr. M. Rama, Nizam College, Hyderabad Dn.
 174. Rangarajam, Shri K., M.A., LL.B., Rukmani Buildings, Mumblam West, Madras.
 175. Rao, Shri V. Narayan, M.A., Chief Lecturer in Hist., P. R. College, Coconada.
 176. Raychaudhury, Shri Tapan Kumar, Lecturer in History, Calcutta Un.
 177. Rao, Prof. V. Raghavendra, M.A., Mysore University, Mysore.
 178. Rafique, Shri Mohd., Leather Merchant 81/1, Bantinck Street, Calcutta.
 179. Ray, Shri Sunil Chandra, M.A., Netaji Subhaschandra Road, P.O. Chinsurah, W. Bengal.
 180. Raychaudhury, Dr. G. C., M.A., Ph.D., Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.
 181. Rajguru, Shri S. N., Asst. Curator, Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
 182. Raychaudhuri, Prof. H. C., M.A., Ph.D., 6, Mysore Road, Calcutta 26.
 183. Roy, Shri Shiren, 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 9.
 184. Roy, Shri Sukumar, M.A., 2-B, Lake Temple Road, Calcutta 29.
 185. Rao, Shri Namita, M.A., Post-Graduate Scholar, C/o Shri Sudhakar Rao, Kaligali, P.O. Chandni Chowk, Cuttack.
 186. Rao, Shri N. Lakshminarayana, Supdt. of Epigraphy, Ootacamund.
 187. Raghvachari, Shri K., Research Student, Dept. of Indian History, Madras University.
 188. Raghuvanshi, Dr. V. P. S., Shafiq Manzil, Raja Ki Mandi, Agra.
 189. Rashid, Prof. Sh. Abdur, Dept. of History, Aligarh University.
 190. Rao, Shri Bonala Krishna, C/o Shri Narendra Tidke, Mahal, Nagpur.
 191. Ramchandrayya, Dr. O., M.A., Ph.D., History Dept., Andhra University, Waltair.
 192. Sharma, Prof. S. R., Fergusson College, Poona.
 193. Saksena, Dr. B. P., M.A., Ph.D., Head of History Dept., Allahabad University.
 194. Sharma, Dr. Rajendra Narain, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi.
 195. Sharma, Principal Sri Ram, M.A., D.A.V. College, Sholapur.
 196. Srivastava, Shri Satya Prakash, Supdt. of Archaeology & Museum, Jaipur.
 197. Sastri, Prof. H. Goswami Vedant, M.A., C. M. College, Darbhanga.
 198. Sircar, Dr. D. C., M.A., Ph.D., Office of Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
 199. Sajanlal, Mr. K., M.A., Sajanlal Street, Secunderabad, Hyderabad Dn.

200. Saraswati, Shri S. K., M.A., Ph.D., 6/1, Mahendra Road, Calcutta 25.
201. Sachchidananda, Prof., History Dept., Patna College, Patna.
202. Saigal, Miss Braj, M.A., 'Vilas', T. G. Road, New Civil Lines, Lucknow.
203. Sarkar, Dr. J. N., Patna College, Patna.
204. Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, M.A., 'Nilesvar', Edward Elliot's Road, Madras.
205. Sen, Dr. Benoy Chandra, M.A., Ph.D., 40, Dr. Sarat Banerji Road, P.O. Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
206. Sastri, Dr. K. N. V., M.A., Ph.D., Narrator, Combined Inter Services Historical Section, Simla.
207. Sherwani, Prof. H. K., M.A., Himayat Nagar, Hyderabad Dn.
208. Superintendent, Archaeology & Art Museum, Jaipur.
209. Shah, Dr. Tribhuvandas L., Managing Trustee, Mahajangalli, Raspura Road, Baroda.
210. Sen, Shri S. P., M.A., 5-A, Motilal Nehru Road, Rashbehari Avenue Calcutta.
211. Shere, Shri S. A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
212. Siddiqi, Dr. Abdul Majid, Osmania University, Hyderabad Dn.
213. Shejwalkar, Dr. T. S., Deccan College Post-graduate Research Instt., Poona.
214. Singhal, Shri C. R., Numismatic Society of India, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
215. Sinha, Dr. H. N., Nagpur University, Nagpur.
216. Srinivasan, Shri K. R., M.A., Supt., Dept. of Archaeology, S. E. Circle, Maharanipetta P.O., Dt. Visakhapatnam.
217. Shastri, Shri P. Sheshadri, 17th Cron Road, Brodijpeth, Guntur.
218. Sharma, Shri Ram Sharan, History Department, Patna College, Patna.
219. Sen, Dr. Sukumar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Dept. of Philosophy, Calcutta University.
220. Sinha, Dr. N. K., M.A., Ph.D., 47-A, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta 19.
221. Singh, Shri Rajendra Narayan, Zamindar, Sarai Goverdhan Das, Banaras.
222. Sah, Shri Jagannath Prasad, Secretary I/c Vaishali Sangh, P.O. Lal-ganj, Dt. Muzaffarpur.
223. Seed, Prof. Geoffrey, Department of History, University College, Dundee, U. K.
224. Singh, Prof. Sachchidanand, Head of History Dept., G. D. College, Begusarai.
225. Singh, Shri Sita Ram, Lecturer in History, H. D. Jain College, Arrah.
226. Sangar, Prof. S. P., M.A., Dept. of History, Govt. College, Bhopal.
227. Sharma, Shri Raja Ram, Supdt., Office of Director of Education, Srinagar, Kashmir.
228. Sinha, Shri Basudeva Narayan, Secy., Dist. Congress Committee, P.O. Bara Chakia, Dt. Champaran.
229. Singh, Shri Pritam, M.A., Mahendra College, Patiala.
230. Sinha, Shri Ramanand, M.A., B.L., C/o Dr. K. K. Datt, Patna College, Patna.
231. Sarma, Shri M. Somasekhara, 52, Sarvanamudali Street, Puraswakkam, Vepery P.O., Madras.
232. Sharma, Shri Amin Chand, Lecturer, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
233. Somalwar, S. G., Asst. Prof. of Sanskrit, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
234. Sinha, Prof. R. M., Lecturer, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.

235. Samad, Shri, M.A., A-9/2, Ministerial Staff Quarters, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
236. Sharma, Shri Balraj, Old Assembly Rest House, Nagpur.
237. Tavakar, Prof. N. G., Principal, Dadar Vidya Mandir, Gokhale Road, Bombay 14.
238. Tambe, Shri G. C., C/o Shri R. K. Patil, 12, Tughlak Road, New Delhi.
239. Tamaskar, B. G., Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
240. Tripathi, Dr. Rama Shankar, M.A., Ph.D., History Dept., Banaras Hindu University.
241. Tripathi Shri Amalesh, 83/2, Russa Road, South, Calcutta.
242. Thiruvengkatacharya, Shri V., Lecturer in Maths., Govt. Arts College, Anantpur, Madras.
243. Telanga, Shri P. S., Lecturer, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amraoti.
244. Upadhyaya, Shri S. C., M.A., LL.B., Curator, Victoria & Albert Museum, Byculla, Bombay.
245. Venkataramana, Prof. T. K., 4, Tank Rd., Numgumbakkam, Madras 6.
246. Varma, Shri Bishan Narain, Prof. of History, Agra College, Agra.
247. Varma, Shri Shanti Prasad, M.A., Head of Hist. Dept., Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur.
248. Vats, Pt. Madho Sarup, Supdt., Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra.
249. Venkataramanayya, Dr. N., M.A., Ph.D., 10, Raman Street, T. Nagar, Madras.
250. Yazdani, Dr. G., Director of Archaeology, Orange Grove, Khairatabad, Hyderabad Dn.
251. Yashpal, Shri, M.A., Lecturer in History, D.A.V. College, Hoshiarpur.



APPENDIX H

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1950

<i>President for 1950 Session :</i>	Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury
<i>President :</i>	Dr. R. P. Tripathi
<i>Vice-Presidents :</i>	1. Dr. Tara Chand 2. Professor D. V. Potdar
<i>General Secretary :</i>	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
<i>Joint Secretary :</i>	Dr. P. C. Gupta
<i>Treasurer :</i>	Dr. B. P. Saksena

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar | 8. Dr. A. S. Altekar |
| 2. Dr. N. L. Chatterji | 9. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar |
| 3. Dr. K. K. Dutta | 10. Dr. S. N. Sen |
| 4. Dr. P. M. Joshi | 11. Dr. J. N. Banerjea |
| 5. Dr. D. C. Sircar | 12. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri |
| 6. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari | 13. Prof. G. V. Rao |
| 7. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar | 14. Prof. Mahammad Habib |

SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS

Section I	Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
Section II	Dr. B. C. Sen
Section III	Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah
Section IV	Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan
Section V	Dr. Nandalal Chatterji