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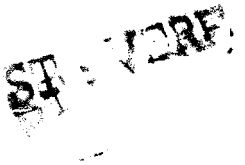
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The General Secretary, Indian History Congress.

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PREFACE

Delay in the publication of the Proceedings volume of the Patna Session held in the year 1946 is very much regretted. Reasons have been many. The year 1947 was the most unusual year in the life of the country. Efforts will be made, henceforth to bring out the proceedings volumes before a session takes place. It is expected that the proceedings volume of the Bombay Session will be out before we assemble at Delhi.

June 15th 1948.

O. P. BHATNAGAR,
Jt. Secretary.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

I am deeply sensible of the high honour that you have conferred on me in calling upon me to be president of this Session of the Indian History Congress. It is the highest honour to which any student of history in our country can aspire. Starting with the limited aim of confining its attention to modern Indian History, the Congress soon extended the sphere of its activity to cover the whole range of Indian history, and has now come to be recognised as the most important gathering of the historians of India. I am conscious of my limitations for the task of conducting the deliberations of so learned and comprehensive a conference; yet I have accepted the invitation in the hope that the hearty co-operation of the scholars assembled, particularly of the presidents of the different sections who are specialists each in his own field, will enable us to maintain the high standard of work this Conference has set for itself in its past sessions.

Before proceeding further, it is my sad duty to mention the demise of two of our former presidents. In the death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit so soon after his retirement from the Director Generalship of Archæology, Indology has sustained a very serious loss. This brilliant scholar and archæologist was engaged in active work on two schemes of Indian history which are now in progress, and a cruel fate has snatched him before he could complete the work. Again, the death less than a month ago of the doyen of Indian historians, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, has made another big void in the editorial board of our history scheme which it will not be easy to fill. Full of years and honours, he too was actively engaged to the last in seeking to complete the chapters undertaken by him for our projected history of India. We in this conference have special reason to lament the loss of these two scholars who have had so large a share in guiding and inspiring the work of this Congress from its beginning.

The year has witnessed a most momentous event in our national history, the arrival of India on the threshold of freedom with the formation of a national Government

under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. And it is a happy and significant coincidence that we should be meeting so soon after in the precincts of ancient Pataliputra, the seat of the first great national government which, in historical times, under Chandragupta Maurya and his successors, brought practically the whole of India under one rule. Patna now celebrates in this Conference of the students of our national history, the auspicious rebirth of our national government not unattended by the natural pangs. It is as well that at this moment we remind ourselves of the resources of our past which can be drawn upon to fortify the nation and carry it through its grand, though difficult, re-emergence. While plunging into a whole vast series of changes, novelties and inventions inevitable in the setting up of a new order, India has need to resume contact with her traditions. In a time of crisis and re-creation like this, it is essential to maintain a close touch with our own past. For unlike several other countries, in India the whole of her past may be said to live and lie coiled up inside the present, potent for good and ill in the shaping of our future.

India has had a past which has known glory as well as tragedy, triumph as well as failure, fulfilment as well as frustration. The present, we venture to hope, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, will be an epoch of the glorious fulfilment of an ideal which has fascinated and fired the hopes and aspirations of the famous heroes of our history. Max Muller used to say: 'My interest lies altogether with the people of India, when left to themselves, and historically I should like to draw a line after the year 1000 after Christ.' And in a very large measure he was right. For the best contributions of Indian Civilization to the stock of human culture had been made by then; the subsequent history of India may well be looked upon in one sense as a sustained rear-guard action calculated to conserve the gains of past ages against the impact of alien and unsympathetic forces. If I were required to name the period when Indian civilization attained its apogee, I would point to the five or six centuries that followed the establishment of the Gupta empire, with a considerable extension of the period by some centuries for South India. For you will see that in that age the most advanced races of men lived not in Europe or America, but in Asia; and among the Asiatic nations, we in India held the foremost place in all the arts of civilized life. Our ancestors were quite confident of themselves and ready to recognize merit

wherever they found it, as when Varahamihira said that the Greeks deserved as much respect as our own rishis for their eminence in astronomy. India then meant not only the extensive peninsula now so called, but its vast hinterland in Central Asia, happily styled Serindia to-day, as also the sister peninsula of Indo-China and the neighbouring archipelago; in fact India extended wherever her ancient classical language was studied, her gods worshipped, and her ceremonies followed, her way of life, her arts, and her literature accepted. Then was the Indian ocean properly so called, for India's ships and India's mariners roamed at large over all the ports and emporia from Africa to China. And the Chinese who then shared with Indians the front rank in the civilized world turned to India with admiration, and followed her steps diligently in all the higher reaches of religion and philosophy; scores of their pious pilgrims and eager scholars braved the unknown dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas in order to worship at the shrines of the holy land of India and drink deep at her fountains of learning. And they often took back with them not only sacred relics and scriptural texts, but preachers and pandits who could expound the law of Dharma in far off lands and translate its texts into the language of the country. For any one who takes a broad view, this intercourse between China and India, maintained for many generations, and renewed more than once after intervals, holds an important place in the intellectual commerce of humanity; the obscure pandits and sramanas whose names alone have floated down to us, and others even more numerous, who must remain forgotten for ever, accomplished a high and noble work, for they helped to bring together whatever was best and most universal in two great civilizations. They overcame the barriers of geography, race, and language, and united two great peoples in an intimate communion of thought and soul.

From time immemorial the idea of Indian unity has been cherished in legend and song. The empire of the ancestors of Sri Rama, the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya, is said to have extended over the whole world, by which was meant the world of Jambudvipa, India as it was then known:

सर्वापूर्वमियं येषामासीत्कृत्स्ना वसुंधरा।

Likewise in the Mahabharata, Yudhisthira tells Sri Krishna just before the Rajasuya:

त्वत्कृते पृथिवी सर्वा मद्वशे कृष्ण वर्तते।

According to one account, Prthu Vainya was the first monarch of the world, and the earth came to be called Prthivi after him. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, was among the first emperors of all India, and after him the land bore the name of Bharatavarsha. The Aitareya Brahmana contains a list of the anointed emperors of all India in early times of whom history, as known to us, has little to tell. The clearest and the most decisive statement on the unity of India occurs in the Arthasastra, the first great treatise on Indian polity from the pen of the thinker and statesman who was, at least in part, the architect of the political unity of India as it was realised in the Maurya empire. Kautilya laid it down distinctly that the land which extends north to south from the Himalayas to the sea, and measures a thousand yojanas across, is the field of the Cakravartin (Cakravarti-kshetram). Kautilya's ideal was fully realised under Asoka whose empire was even vaster and greater than that which Britain is relinquishing in India to-day. But politics was by no means the main pre-occupation of our ancestors as it is with us and with other nations to-day, and even in the long periods when India comprised a number of states, the conception of her unity vis-a-vis the rest of the world did not flag or falter for a single moment. Indian unity, the essence of her nationality, was cultural, not political. The unity of India is to be found in the ample range of her holy places of pilgrimage, in the names of the rivers and mountains of the country which are as music to the ear of an Indian, in the firm hold on the popular mind of her noble epics and ballads whose characters and situations are lovingly localised in every part of India, and even in Indo-China. It found its expression not in parliament or empire, but in the comprehensive social ideal of Dharma to which all her children naturally conformed without exception. Asoka's noble utterances in his edicts furnish the most outstanding evidence that this was no pious sentiment or remote ideal, but the lamp of daily life for officials as for citizens.

The advent of Islam into India at the close of the twelfth century A.D., indeed threatened to break up the unity of India for a time, as it threatens to do again in our own day. But as the effects of the first onset wore out with time, Muslim and Hindu were not slow to discover that perpetual antagonism between groups whose lot was cast together was both unnatural and inhuman. The good men from both sides came together on more and

more friendly and equal terms with results that declared themselves in the movements of religious reform and reconstruction both in Hinduism and in Islam, and in the fresh creative efforts that marked every sphere of the nation's life, its language and literature, its architecture and its painting, its music and dance. It was a process of mutual education that benefited both parties and went a good way to assimilate their culture and outlook. There were, of course, extremists on either side who sought to foment strife and keep up and exaggerate the differences, and unfortunately history chronicles their actions and their evil fruits in greater detail than they merit, almost to the exclusion, or at least relative neglect, of the more normal and fruitful activities of their peaceful social life. The Muslim rulers of India were quite alive to the unity of India, and the Khaljis and Tughlaks and later Aurangzeb, brought nearly the whole country under their sway though only for short periods. But their efforts were, in the conditions of the case, bound to provoke reactions, and Vijayanagar, the Mahrattas, Rajputs and Sikhs were bound to take up the implied challenge. The illustrious Akbar made a conscious and deliberate attempt to promote national solidarity by cultural eclecticism, political policy and administrative action; but he was too much in advance of his times, his dreams remained unfulfilled; the later Mughals reversed gear and undid much of the good work that had gone on before.

The more modern history of India is a tale of disunion and dissension, neglect of sea-power, and failure to catch up with the advances in the art of warfare among the newly risen nations of the West, leading to the gradual and inevitable subjugation of the entire country to the most talented, if also the most fortunate, among the nations of Europe that competed for the rich prize in the East. The present is hardly the time for casting the final balance-sheet of the relations between England and India. But on any reckoning, the greatest achievement of British rule in India and the most beneficent is the political unification of the country and the organization of its rule under a firmly knit administrative system. Modern conditions of transport and communication have rendered this possible, and the repercussions of world politics during and since the second world war leave no shadow of doubt that a divided India would be a menace to the peace both of herself and the world, while, united and progressive, she may yet shed the lustre of her great and ancient culture on the

rest of the world and save it from stumbling into the abyss of a third world war.

History, said Seeley, is past politics—a dreary limitation which few are inclined to accept at a time when history has come to be regarded, and regarded rightly, as the entire record of men living in societies in their geographical and physical environment. But if history is much more than past politics, present politics is at least half history. What we have been determines in a large measure what we are, and may well influence, if not decide, what we shall be. It may not then be without interest to confront the past experience of the nation with some of its present problems. In doing this I do not mean to suggest a revival of past ideas, practices or institutions; for this is by no means possible, and may not be desirable in modern conditions even to the limited extent to which it may be held possible by some. Nor do I mean to suggest that direct guidance can be derived from them for the solution of our present problems. But I do think that a contemplation of those aspects of national history will help to bring about an awareness of the neglected sides of the genius of the people which may have a tangible though indirect use in the task of planning the future of the nation. For this purpose I shall devote more attention to the earlier and the more seminal phase of our history when all the great problems of social organisation were faced and solved, and the foundations of an abiding national culture laid by the original thinkers and seers of the community. Much of this is obviously subjective valuation though based on established facts of history, and I shall not be surprised if these views do not find universal acceptance; indeed I should rejoice if the utterance of my tentative thoughts on these important subjects leads to more coherent and fruitful studies from some of my learned colleagues.

From the earliest times the history of India has been a more or less continuous story of accommodation and adjustment between different culture groups. The group which spoke the language which developed into classical Sanskrit in later times, the 'Indo-Aryans' as they have been called, exhibited qualities of leadership which secured for them the first place in society wherever they went; and so in course of time the whole of India was 'Aryanised' and the 'Indo-Aryan' himself became much more Indian in his outlook. The resulting Indian culture was a blend

in which Aryan and pre-Aryan elements were mixed in different proportions and with varying results in the various parts of the country. It was a great task, that of civilizing large sections of the human race, undertaken and executed with great skill, patience and humanity. And the work was continued outside India also. Mohenjo-daro and Harappa indeed render it probable that parts of India at least knew a higher material culture than that at the command of the Aryans when they appeared in India; but of the actual conditions that prevailed in these parts when the Aryans came we have as yet no definite knowledge, and the general picture of the Aryanization of India still remains in its outlines what it was before the discovery of the Indus valley culture. However that may be, the most significant factor in the whole situation is the understanding shown and the experience gained in accommodating many local differences in one general scheme and evolving a complex culture-system which was remarkably alike for the unity of the general framework accepted all over, and for the flexibility which found room for innumerable variations. This characteristic, Indian culture has retained through the ages, particularly in its social and religious organisation. The Persians and Greeks, Sakas and Huns were all accepted as they came in, and more or less rapidly Indianized and absorbed into the social structure.

The principles of caste organization formed an important element in so ordering society that its different elements found full scope for their development and self-expression while at the same time they co-operated wherever possible and necessary for the common good of society. The social and economic benefits of the institution of caste have not been overlooked by dispassionate students of the subject. That in recent times caste has departed far from its original nature and purpose, and developed several undesirable features such as its extreme rigidity and its tendency unnecessarily to multiply sub-divisions is also admitted on all hands. But that the tendency for society to divide itself into different strata of a more or less exclusive character is not the monopoly of India is not as well recognised as it should be. We have as yet known no society which in practice is fully egalitarian. And some Western writers like Gerald Heard and Charles Waterman are seen deliberately advocating the formation of something like the ancient varnas of India as the greatest desideratum of Western society at the moment, in order to

correct its universal absorption in the pursuit of purely economic ends. The truth of the matter is, inequality of various kinds is real among men, and you have to take account of them in the dispositions of society; the West has chosen the path of proclaiming equality in theory, and for the rest of it, except for the vote which seems now to satisfy nobody, following the philosophy of 'devil take the hindmost' in the arrangements of daily life; the economic consequences of its incidence are now sought to be corrected by means of social security schemes. The old Indian way followed the other alternative of recognizing inequalities incapacities and needs as facts, organizing society into different more or less homogeneous groups, and regulating the relations among them according to the equitable standards of *dharma*. This system worked on the whole very well, and what is more, it enabled Indian society to weather many a storm successfully. Caste as we know it now does indeed stand in need of much reform, and there is every need for resuming and quickly completing the process of securing a proper place in society for the so-called 'casteless'—Harijans as Mahatmaji has named them. But the assertion so often and so confidently made that caste is incompatible with democracy is only true in the limited and relatively unimportant sense that it affords no scope for the doctrinaire theory of equality; in practice caste has not been found a hindrance to the adoption of the same laws, civil and criminal, to govern all strata of society, or to the progressive realisation of political freedom under democratic institutions.

The same capacity to achieve unity in diversity marked the political arrangments of the ancient Indian state. Politics, as already observed, did not fill so large a place in the life of the past as it does to-day. In those days they looked to the state for very little. The ruler was expected just to uphold the existing social order and protect it from internal trouble and foreign invasion, and receive as his wage the taxes paid by the people, particularly a part of the produce of land. The social order itself had its roots elsewhere—in Revelation (sruti), tradition (smriti) and the practice of the *elite* (acara). The ruler had ordinarily little control over the numerous social, economic and religious concerns of the people, except by way of dispensing justice when disputes were brought before him or his courts. The details of the daily life of the people were looked after by numberless autonomous groups and associations bound by ties of locality, caste, occupation or

religious affiliation. These groups generally followed custom and ancient practice, though they were by no means unwilling to try new methods should occasion demand it. Each group had its own constitution, generally well uuderstood by its members, and flexible enough for meeting new situations. There was usually a general assembly which met rarely except perhaps once a year on some definite festive or ceremonial occasion, and an executive body in charge of the daily routine. The executive was often chosen by lot from among persons possessing certain prescribed qualifications of age, learning or property. Decision by majority of votes was not unknown, but usually the aim was to reach a unanimous and integrated decision by reconciling the different interests and points of view. Guilds of merchants, associations of craftsmen, artisans and manufacturers, of students, ascetics, temple-servants, priests, and so on, besides the territorial assemblies of the village and higher administrative units—all functioned more or less independently of the king's government. In some periods as under the Mauryas and the Guptas, and the Cholas and Akbar, a fairly strong and centralised administration did come into existence and promote the well being of the subjects in a remarkable manner; but on the whole steady control from the centre was the exception rather than the rule, and social life maintained its integrity mostly by the efficiently functioning of the autonomous pluralistic local organisations. In most of them membership was voluntary, and in all every effort was made to secure the acquiescence if not the enthusiastic approval of the members for the lines of action followed. There was thus full scope for the realization of the substance of democracy; and though life was lived at a much slower tempo than in our age of speed, the area of realized social satisfaction was very much greater.

The modern state is concerned with a complicated economy with its ramifications extending throughout the world, and it is obvious that the old notions regarding the role of the ruler that I have sketched above have no meaning in the present context. But the consistent adoption of the principle of autonomy in the organisation of religious and social institutions perhaps deserves some emphasis as it may still be availed of for the solution of problems arising out of diversities of religion and culture. By long and continuous tradition the Indian state has been most liberal in its religious policy; Asoka with all his zeal for the propagation of the ethics of Buddhism throughout

the world did not dream of pressing his subjects to adopt his creed ; the many Hindu rulers of Western India willingly allowed the Arab Muslim traders who came and settled in the ports and cities of the land to build mosques and practise their religion without let or hindrance ; it was part of Akbar's magnificent dream that by doing away with the special disabilities of the Hindus and the special privileges of the Muslims and thus treating Hindus and Muslims alike, he would bring them together and lay the foundations of perpetual friendship between the two religions ; except on the few occasions when Muslim rulers endeavoured to force their religion on their subject, the authority of the state was never employed in India to foster the spread of one religion at the expense of another ; and the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* never found acceptance in this country. If there is any country in the world where freedom has prevailed and may be expected to prevail for all religions to flourish side by side it is India. It is only a modicum of good sense that is needed on the part of any one to see that this is so. May that measure of good sense enter the minds of those few who in the name of religion have contrived to throw the country into turmoil and confusion.

The growing demand for linguistic provinces raises in its turn many thorny problems that may well prove impossible of satisfactory solution. But if the concern of the protagonists of the movement is truly for the languages and literatures they represent and the culture embodied in them, and if they are not using the cry as a cloak for some unstated ulterior purposes, they may be invited to reflect whether the setting up of properly constituted voluntary cultural agencies, liberally supported by the governments and people of the areas concerned, will not prove an easier and more satisfactory means of attaining the ends they have in view.

colonies brought as much good to the lands colonized as Indian empires did to the conquered lands. Systematic exploitation of occupied lands formed no part of the policy of the conqueror or colonist. The empires and colonies of India excelled not so much by the strength of their military organization or the ubiquity of the cleruchy as by their achievement in the realms of culture and art. What the cleruchy was to the military empires of the ancient Western world, and military, naval and air bases are to the modern imperialist powers, that the *agrahara* was to their ancient Indian counterparts. Not armed forces, but groups of learned men, were enabled, by the multiplication of these foundations, to go and spread the light of their teaching and the ideals of the good and noble life in almost every village and township. The temple, the vihara, and the matha were other symbols of empire and colony which repaid a hundredfold the pious attentions lavished on them by their founders. The results of the wider peace established by the Indian empires and colonies, and the fuller opportunities opened out by them for the self-expression of the people, are to be traced, not in the political subjection or economic ruin of nations, but in the growing eagerness of our people to seek contacts with the outside world, to learn from the foreigner, as well as to teach him—all in a friendly way, in the greater refinement of our architecture and the arts, and in the richer maturity of our literary creations. Among the most characteristic contributions of Ancient India to the sum of human happiness must be counted things like the religious and artistic influences that flowed on the kingdoms of the Southern Sea, as the Chinese called them, from the Andhra and Pallava kingdoms of South India and the Pala empire of Bengal. Does this carry no lesson to these colonial powers of the West who are still clinging desperately to the antiquated notions and practices fraught with danger to the peace and happiness of the nations of the world? And may it not be that in standing up for the freedom of India and the lands of South-Eastern Asia from external political and economic domination, our leaders are only seeking the recovery of the conditions that once conduced to the happiness of these lands and the good of the world? Experience has indeed taught Britain the futility of attempts to exploit colonies, and the value of free association with them, but even she lacks as yet the capacity for really generous and free association on equal terms with peoples of a different colour and culture. The cosmopolitan humanism of the ancient Indian colonists deserves to be recognis-

ed as a rare product of the highest cultivation of the human spirit.

India was counted among the richest countries of the ancient world, and was long noted for her manufactures and trade along different lines. Still the ancient economy was much simpler than that of the present day, and in many respects what held good then will do so no longer. But we are still at the beginning of our Industrial Revolution, and the attempt to modernize our system of production and distribution on Western patterns has not yet proceeded far. It may be of some use at this juncture to recall the salient features of the vanishing economy and to assess its strong points; for that will enable us in some measure to realise the cost at which we may be purchasing the benefits of the new order, and may be it even sets our captains of Industry thinking of ways in which that cost may be reduced to a minimum, and some at least of the old values conserved and worked into the new order.

Some western students of India's past, and let us gratefully acknowledge that till the other day there were few others so diligently occupied in unravelling and interpreting our past for us, once persuaded themselves that the people of ancient India were more concerned all their lives with preparing for life in the other world, than with living in this, and that they were altogether indifferent to mundane well-being and prosperity. That this was true only of the sanyasis or ascetics, and to a limited extent of the class of Brahmins who devoted themselves to learning and religion and were supported by the community, and did not apply to the people as a whole at any time, is now well recognized. For the rest, the desire for wealth and the comfort and distinction it brings to its possessor, was quite as strong among Indians as among the people of any other country. Only its operation in anti-social ways was more or less effectively restrained by a voluntary allegiance to the ideal of *dharma*.

social milieu was such that a man commanded the esteem of his fellowmen and of the rulers of the land to the extent to which he followed the law of Dharma.

Local self-sufficiency, and production for consumption was the rule with regard to the essential commodities of life. There was inter-regional trade in some commodities like salt and sugar, and a fairly developed foreign trade in fine cloth of various qualities and articles of luxury. By no means impressive in its volume according to modern standards, the maritime trade in Indian exports was enough to alarm the moralists and economists of the early Roman empire, and the financiers of China at a later time. But all production including that for export was domestic production, and the craftsman worked generally in his own house with simple tools and at his own convenience. Every article he produced was as much an expression of his own personality as an effort to meet the wishes of the customer. The achievement of great and striking results with relatively simple tools was the leading trait of the best work in those days in all spheres, and what Mr. Percy Brown says of the construction of a Hoysala temple at Belur is typical of much else in the ancient Industrial arts of India. The *navaranga* of the Chennakesava temple, he says, is a hall 92 feet by 78 and as there are in it forty-six pillars all of which, save the four in the central bay, are each of different design, the variety of form and complex character of the whole is astonishing. It seems as if the system employed in the design and construction of these pillars was that of entrusting each example to one head artist and his assistants, who combined as a team to produce their finest work. Set to compete against one another in such a manner, each pillar became, therefore, an individual masterpiece, the fertility of invention and the minuteness of the execution in every instance being phenomenal. One column in the middle hall is so unique in character that it has been distinguished by the name of the Narasimha pillar, for to show his cleverness the sculptor has not only carved its capital, shaft, and base, into a repeating pattern of niches in each of which is enshrined an image, but has ingeniously contrived that the whole pillar could be rotated at will. Yet underneath all these interlaced mouldings and intricately finished forms it is possible to see, in spite of his plastic overlay, that the basis of the design is in conformity with the Chalukyan order, that there is throughout a certain conventional combination of elements which is unmistakable. That

each detail of the building was the work of specialists in their craft, a not uncommon procedure in other forms of Indian art, is indicated by the fact that on a number of the images, particularly those on the brackets, there is inscribed the name of the sculptor, like a signature, thus showing that each individual artist had contributed to the scheme a selected specimen of his handiwork.'* The same scope for freedom and personal initiative within the framework of broad conventions marked the practices of the useful arts as much as of the fine arts, and the artisan was nearly as much a creative artist as the poet, musician or painter. His standard of life might not have been as high as that of his modern counterpart; but unlike the latter, he was a man, not a 'hand.'

Modern industry as we all know, is altogether a different story. Ever since Adam Smith expounded the economic possibilities of division of labour and the enormous increase in the quantity of production resulting from a labourer devoting himself entirely to the making of the eighteenth part of a pin instead of the whole pin, quantity and speed have been accepted as the ideals of industry in the West; the protesting voices of Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris, prophets of quality and art, went unheeded; though in recent years social legislation has made notable efforts to obviate the evils of reckless profit-hunting and restore somewhat of the lost integrity of human personality, there is as yet no sign that the struggle for markets and raw materials has either abated or may not lead to more warfare.

As for ourselves, we have already gone some way down the slippery slope, and have begun to experience both the good and bad effects of incipient industrialisation. But the main question is whether, in the indispensable re-organization of our economic life on modern lines, we shall follow the path of the Western nations in every detail, or endeavour somehow to evolve another way which, without denying us the benefits of modern machine production, would conserve as far as possible the human, ethical and æsthetic values characteristic of our national culture. This, it seems to me, is the difficult problem posed by the philosophy of Gandhism and its emphasis on elemental virtues and rural occupations. The great message of India is that of detachment and moderation in

* Indian Architecture, I. p. 167.

the pursuit of material ends, and it behoves our captains of Industry and planners of national policy to try and set a new model to an acquisitive world.

India would serve herself and the world best by retaining her individuality and developing on lines consistent with her long and instructive experience, and with the humane wisdom of successive generations of her philosophers and seers. Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs, and to a less extent even the Portuguese, French and English have made their contributions, to the mosaic of the Indian culture of to-day. It is the task of the historians of India to delineate impartially the successive phases of the country's development through the ages and enable the reader to arrive at a just appraisal of the good and the bad, the strength and the weakness, that marked it at every stage. In the last century and the first decades of the present this work was being done very largely, and on the whole very well, by generations of European scholars and archæologists working in the libraries and Universities of Europe, or in the field in India, in the East Indies or in Indo-China as well as Central Asia. Much was done by way of gathering and annotating the source-material, though even here much of course still remains to be done. But the task of co-ordination and a large-scale interpretation of the material, especially of the history of ancient India, has not progressed far enough. Lassen's monumental *Indische Alterthumskunde*, still worth perusal, is not history, but the prolegomena to it. Elphinstone's classic narrative of the Muslim and Maratha periods of Indian history, and the multi-volume histories of British India by Mill, Thornton, Beveridge and Martin are the nearest approach to general histories of India. Smith's *Early History of India* in its successive editions did much to settle the outlines of the political history of Ancient India, and his *Oxford History of India* will long remain, in spite of its limitations, one of the best single volume histories of our country. Interpretation, sometimes even on a meagre factual background, receives more attention in '*A Short History of India*' by Moreland and Chatterji, one of the most readable books on the subject. And we welcome with pleasure the latest addition to the group, the very adequate and competent *Advanced History of India* by three of our eminent scholars— Majumdar, Raychaudhury and Datta.

The Cambridge History of India is the most comprehensive attempt to treat the history of India as a whole,

and many of its chapters are enduring monuments of the scholarship of the different contributors. But it still remains incomplete, as its second volume covering the best part of the history of ancient times yet remains to be published, and very often the point of view of the different writers is not exactly that which commends itself most to us. In particular the treatment of the history of British conquest and rule lacks frankness and fulness. In this respect the histories written a century or more ago were much better. Then there was no national movement in India and the activities of Britain in India could be described and criticised without fear of political repercussions or administrative difficulties. Things have been different in the last fifty years and more, and several writers in this part of the Cambridge history have naturally come from the ranks of British Indian administrators. In the *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* Messrs. Thompson and Garratt have made a gallant effort to revert to the standards of an earlier time and have received little thanks for it from their compatriots.

That henceforth the study and writing of Indian history should become increasingly the concern of Indian scholars is now widely recognised. To this we owe the almost simultaneous inception some years ago of a number of schemes, having doubtless the Cambridge History of India for their model, for the production of several multi-volume histories either of the whole of India or large well-marked sections of it like Bengal and Deccan. The most recent addition to such schemes is, I believe, the plan for a History of Malava in three volumes. Our Congress has itself sponsored one of these schemes for a twelve-volume history of the whole country, and gone some way in collecting the resources, material and literary, for the execution of the scheme. That Indian historical writing at its best can hold its own in comparison with that of the rest of the world is seen clearly from the published work of recent times; and the first volume of the *History of Bengal* issued from Dacca and the sixth volume of the *New History of the Indian People*, the first to be published in the twenty-volume scheme of the

wanting of a rising feeling of disappointment in the minds of the public. Doubts have also often been expressed whether there is the need and scope for more than one large scheme for the history of the entire country, especially as all of them have apparently to depend on the co-operation of more or less the same set of scholars. Let us hope that in spite of everything, these several schemes will yet render a good account of themselves, and that, in a reasonable time.

But we should do well frankly to recognise the weaknesses in the present position of Indian historical studies and put forth our utmost efforts to remedy them as early as possible. In the twenty or twenty-five years before the outbreak of the war in 1939, we had a fair crop of monographs and dissertations of a fairly high standard that elucidated different aspects of our history and gave evidence of a growing interest in its study ; but there has been a perceptible falling off since, and I doubt, very much if this is merely due to the difficulties of publication under war-conditions. At any rate some of us who have had something to do with the planning and editing of the different volumes of the series of histories just mentioned, have experienced considerable difficulty in finding suitable contributors for a good number of chapters. And it is well known that many scholars of proved competence are lost either to lucrative administrative offices under government or have to spend all their time and energy in heavy routine teaching for degree courses which leaves them no time for any work of their own. Only a few of our universities maintain chairs in Indian History or offer other facilities for research in it, and these, we must acknowledge with gratification, are doing a good deal for the illumination of many neglected aspects and corners of Indian history. But there ought to be many more centres of advanced study and research and the teachers of the subject should be employed in the colleges and universities in sufficient numbers for them to command the leisure required to pursue independent researches of their own in addition to lecturing to undergraduates, thus maintaining a live and mutually beneficent contact between enquiry and exposition. Above all it should be recognised clearly that while periodical conferences and contributing papers to them and even to commemoration and presentation volumes have their own place in the academic life of the country, they can never be a substitute for the constant and steady pursuit throughout the year,

and perhaps for many years running, of some topic which requires elucidation and which may excite our interest and curiosity. Indeed some good work is coming to light in the pages of the learned periodicals of our country devoted to Indology, but much of it is jejune stuff which does little credit to the author or the Journal which accepts it. Here it seems to me that the Indian History Congress can make a decisive contribution towards setting up proper standards by running a quarterly Journal of Indian history, publishing only papers and notes marked by undoubted freshness and originality, serving as a clearing-house of the latest news and views of archæological and historical interest, and discussing the innumerable problems related to the teaching of history in the different stages of School and Collegiate education.

The Archæological Survey of India, the Imperial Record Office and the Record Offices of the major provincial governments have been doing excellent service in the recovery, preservation, and publication of much valuable source material. But it is common knowledge that these departments are often inadequately staffed, that the pace of their work is very slow, and that they have been generally slack in enlisting the co-operation of universities and other learned associations and individual scholars who could have helped to speed up publication and suggested improvements in methods and standards. After suffering a long period of starvation and relative neglect, the archæological department has, one is glad to note, apparently entered on a period of expansion and renewed activity. But under the new regime, epigraphy does not appear to be getting the measure of attention it merits. This is a matter of importance to all students of the ancient and mediæval history of India, and it is vital to the study of South Indian history. Only a small fraction of the tens of thousands of inscriptions listed has been published as yet, and much of it with no sort of aids to the student;

in general, and history in particular, in our schools, colleges and universities. Humanities are any day a more complex and difficult discipline than the sciences, and from the point of view of examinations, high marks and distinctions are more difficult to obtain in them. It has been rightly said that the astronomy of souls is a much more difficult science than that of the stars. And now the craze is all for science and technology, and in their eagerness to promote rapid industrialization, our governments have come to believe in the supreme virtue of sending out annually at public expence shiploads of promising young men to England and America for advanced scientific and technical training with no clear ideas of the nature of the training or the place where it is to be had. I would not be understood to deny the need for or the value of this development, though I certainly think, and I know that some eminent scientists of our country also share the view, that there is much room for a more co-ordinated plan, and that haste, in this as in all other things makes waste. But I am concerned more immediately with stressing the need for the cultivation of the humanities, and of history in particular. Mainly because of the advances in the physical sciences and their impact on human life and society, the human sciences are in our age 'the most vital, the most essential and the most exciting subjects of our intellectual effort.' (Rowse). The story of man is far more wonderful than the wonders of physical science, and one of the wisest of men observed, 'histories make men wise.' The superb educational value of history and its place in a properly articulated system of education cannot be put better than in the words of Professor Rowse. He says: 'Nothing gives unity to all other arts subjects so much as history. So many of them spring out of it, or find much of their material in history—such subjects as anthropology, sociology, economics and law, to a lesser extent languages. All of them have their historical aspect and meet together in history. It is a subject above all catholic, capacious, mixed; not a pure subject like mathematics, music, or logic; it is as wide and various as life. Nor does it only provide the best common meeting ground for all the separate art-disciplines; it gives them the best and most fruitful junction with the natural sciences.' If the increasing fascination of the B. Sc., and M.Sc., for our undergraduates as against B. A., and M.A., is not counteracted in time, not only will they as a class lose the benefits

of a broad-based and humane education, but we may soon find ourselves faced with other difficulties of a serious nature. Recruitment from abroad for the all-India services by the Secretary of State has come to a stop, and in future we shall have to depend almost entirely on our own resources for the personnel of the entire administrative system. A good academic course in history and allied subjects is admittedly an essential preparation for the career of those whose daily task is the proper regulation of the conduct of men and their affairs. Again, for the work of the teachers in our numerous schools, and their numbers must be multiplied very largely if our educational system is to meet our needs adequately, for this teaching work, the narrowly specialised B.Sc. and M.Sc. courses are hardly a proper preparation, and we should need many more men and women with a much broader training than are likely to be available if the present drift is allowed to go on unchecked. In fact students of arts subjects in general, and specially of history and allied subjects, should form the natural recruits for the educational services, the civil and diplomatic services and the body of social services which will be coming up under the new order, for the legal profession and all literary professions such as writing, publishing and journalism. Let us hope that the necessity for the promotion of the study of history and the arts on a much wider scale than is evident to-day will be realised by all concerned before it is too late, and suitable steps taken to secure the desired result. Our Congress, it seems to me, has a great part to play in keeping this problem constantly before the public eye and in focussing thought towards an efficient solution of it.

I have said little so far directly on the writing of history, and it is not my purpose to enter now at any length on this entrancing and varied subject. The task of history is to reveal the past as it was, for its own sake, and to explain the evolution of the present state of things from the past. As Trevelyan has admirably put it, there

propaganda the consequences are apt to be deadly. And in the writing of the history of our country the temptation to select some facts and suppress others that go against your thesis, or in your judgment do not redound to our credit, is strong, but must be resisted. An absolutely objective history is impossible, for the historian cannot cease to be a man ; and here lies the value of different historians dealing with one and the same theme, each in his own way ; they tend generally to correct and supplement one another, and enable their readers to make a nearer approach to historical truth than is possible with the aid of a single work of history. But even for this, it is essential that each historian should accept the ideal of truth and impartiality, and refrain from deliberate suppression and distortion. Our own Kalhana accepted the ideal wholeheartedly and said :

श्लाघ्यस्स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथनं यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥

'That noble-minded one is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a Judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.' We can have no better standard for the historian.

There has been much argument on whether history is a science or a branch of literature ; this is really a nineteenth century controversy which has lost its edge under changed conditions. Twentieth century science is no longer so cocksure of its objectivity as before. The historian's work is different from that of the scientist, and possibly more difficult, because at every stage the subject-matter of his thought is man and his actions in all their complexity, and the method of experiment under controlled conditions cannot guide his speculation. But it is well recognised now that there is much in common between the methods of science and of history. Objectivity is not the monopoly of the scientist, any more than the study of records and the determination of facts in the light of evidence form the exclusive province of the historian. And the scientists are becoming more and more conscious of the social consequences of the results reached in the laboratory. History has to be scientific in its method, but it has got to be much more. Its task is not merely to ascertain the facts about the past, but to recall them to life. The learned monograph is not history ; in a true history learning should underlie the narrative, but not overwhelm it. And the appeal of history to the enlightened mind is

in the last resort poetic. Carlyle writing on Boswell's Life of Johnson said : 'History after all is the true poetry . . . Now this *Book* of Boswell's, this is precisely a revocation of the edict of Destiny, so that Time shall not utterly, not so soon by several centuries, have dominion over us ! They who are gone are still here ; though hidden they are revealed, though dead they yet speak.' Much the same spirit marks the attitude to the past of two of our own masters who wrote centuries before Carlyle. Acarya Dandin says :

आदिराजयशोबिम्बमादर्शं प्राप्य वाङ्मयम् ।
तेषामसन्निधानेऽपि न स्वयं पश्य नश्यति ॥

The fame of ancient Kings stands imperishable, being reflected in the mirror of speech, though they are no longer here.

And again Kalhana :

कोऽन्यः कालमतिक्रान्तं नेतुं प्रत्यक्षतां क्षमः ।
कविप्रजापतीरित्यक्त्वा रम्यनिर्माणशालिनः ॥
न पश्येत्सर्वसंवेद्यान्भावान्प्रतिभया यदि ।
तदन्यद्दिव्यदृष्टित्वे किमिव ज्ञापकं कवेः ॥

'Who else but poets, resembling Prajaptis (in creative power) and able to bring forth lively images of things, can conjure up the past before the eyes of men ? If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the forms which he is to reveal to all men, what other sign could there be of his being divinely inspired ?" The role of historical imagination has seldom been better expressed. Every one cannot hope to write like Gibbon ; but history must be readable if it is to do its work in the world.

SPEECH

OF

LT. COL. SIR C. P. N. SINGH, KT., M.A., C.I.E., M.L.A.
Vice-Chancellor, Patna University and Chairman
of the Reception Committee.

Mr. President, Delegates to the History Congress.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, the University of Patna and the Province of Bihar, it is my privilege to accord you all a most cordial welcome. We have a homely saying in our villages which, translated into English, would mean "hallowed is the house on the threshold of which a guest sets his feet," I use no mere formality of convention when I say that by your kind response (in such gratifying numbers) to our invitation, you have overwhelmed us with joy and we wish we were in a position to provide you with the comforts and amenities of modern life; we are conscious of our lack of resources, and can only ask you to take the wish for the deed; and we hope you will kindly excuse us for the many inconveniences and discomforts of your stay in a half-grown town like ours.

What Patna lacks in modernity, it more than makes up for in antiquity: here we stand on historical soil: the procession of Indian history would unroll itself here to the historian as he muses standing on the banks of the Ganges much as Gibbon mused amidst the ruins of the splendour that was Rome, and conjures up images of the past. From comparatively modern times, from the struggles of a small trading company, filled with visions of founding a glorious overseas empire on the ruins of a disintegrating Mughal empire, and pursuing steadily to that end a course of tortuous diplomacy and military aggression, the mind wanders back to mediaeval times—to Man Singh and Akbar, to Sher Shah and Humayun; further back to Bukhtiyar Khiliji and his tornado of wild horsemen; to Maurya Emperors, "wielding far, peace or war"; to the Buddha and his band of faithful disciples, preaching and practising

the loftiest humanism that the mind of man ever conceived; to Rajarshi Janak and the glories of Mithila, till the mind is lost in a tangle of myths, legends and stories. As this procession unrolls itself,—not so much as a mere chronicle of the rise and growth of kingdoms and of empires, far less as a 'sad story of the death of kings', but as a story of the amazing vitality of a people that has survived many a change and upheavels and even retained much of its ancient culture,—the mind projects itself into the future and tries to pierce the veil of destiny.

For the future has its roots in the past. If it is true that 'no man can walk save in his own shadow,' no nation can take even a step forward save long lines almost predetermined by its historic past. Traditional and historical heredity is as powerful in a nation as personal heredity in an individual. Much of the evanescent and superficial character of current politics in India is due to the neglect of the fundamental axiom, that "history without politics has no fruit, politics without history was no root." The problem of constitution-making, for instance, is now the most pressing one in India, and we have before our mental vision the image of an "independent sovereign republic," all three words bearing the impress of the west; and for parallels and patterns, we are advised to study the constitutions of the Swiss republics, of Soviet republics, and of the United States of America. Yet, here in our homely Bihar, we had at Vaisali, in the remote past, an almost perfect little republic, complete in all the essentials and in even many of the formalities of the most advanced republic of to-day. If properly analysed and studied, the constitution of ancient Vaisali should give guidance to the solution of many of our present problems; for at Vaisali the church and the state combined and blended, each contributing for the individual citizen, whatever his creed, equal opportunities of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" it was in its structure and functions "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." The West has many gifts to offer us, priceless gifts of knowledge and of application of knowledge; but its knowledge is often dogmatic and intolerant and its ignorance is still more often dogmatic and intolerant; and what is worse, our indifference to our own past tempts us to look elsewhere for guidance. Imitation is generally crude and lifeless, and transplantation yields hybrid products, strange of flavour and barren of sustenance. Much of our present day difficulty, much of the fruitless controversy over forms and symbols

is, to my mind, due to the attempt to transplant western social and political institutions on to an alien and therefore unresponsive soil. They do not take root easily, nor do they prosper, and they have, therefore, to be kept artificially alive by strange and devious expedients, which in their turn, become, as they are bound to, fruitful sources of evil. Our political institutions shall have to have their roots in our own traditions and in our own history. We talk of democracy and discourse on concepts of democracy from Aristotle to Lenin; forgetting all the while that in Kautilya we have a complete analysis of political ideas and institutions, such as took root in Indian soil, and remains of which still linger in our village communities, remains that have withstood the ravages of times and that may yet form the firm foundation of our polity of the future. Indian history and Indian politics have, therefore, to be closely linked up, and Indian politics informed and guided by a thorough comprehension and correct interpretation of Indian history. The permanence or otherwise of human institutions depends on their spiritual basis, for it is the spirit alone that endures; and it is the duty of historians to bring out clearly and in proper perspective the eternal unity in varieties of our national history. When that is done we shall have something we could claim and recognise as our own: and whatever arrangement is evolved then on local foundations to guide and control human relations in the country will not only ensure enduring peace but also yield well ordered opportunity and prosperity for all.

I feel that the history of India has yet to be written. Enough has been written about sections of Indian history—the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, but the true history of Indian people from the time when our Aryan fathers settled in the land of the five rivers, or from even before, and of the slow fusion of a long succession of the conquerors and the conquered into one organic Indian nation,—this history is yet to be written. Our histories, such as they are, are too full of the conflicts between Aryan and non-Aryan, between Greek and Hindu, between Saka and Hun, between Pathan and Hindu, between Mughal and Pathan, finally between Indian and European; but we have too little of the history of the common men who lived the same pattern of life of common weals and woes in and through these conflicts. We need a historian to do for Indian history what Green did for English history—re-orientate it into a history of the Indian people. For India is one, and its peoples have been welded, by the stress of

Geography and of History, into one: the poet's vision made this clear to Rabindranath as he made his obeisance to the 'Spirit of Man,' standing by the shore of the 'ocean of humanity that is India'; the daring vision of the poet pierced through the phenomena and perceived the reality; the historian has yet to make this reality clear to the common man, present it as a concrete objective historical fact,—I mean, this fundamental unity of India. It is to this sacred task that I most humbly invite you, scholars and students of Indian history, to bring your offerings, "of treasures and of gold," your treasures of knowledge and your gold of wisdom.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

HON'BLE SHRI SRI KRISHNA SINHA,
Prime Minister, Bihar Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am here to inaugurate this Congress not only because it is an honour and privilege, but also because it is a sacred duty which one should like to perform. We stand now on the threshold of a new era in the history or our country, which is bound to be predominently an era of reconstruction. In order that this reconstruction may be done on sound lines, it is necessary that a full note is taken of the genius of the people inhabiting this land as unfolded through its history extending over centuries. A proper interpretation and appreciation of the past is bound to be of immense value in the reconstruction of the future and who can interpret the past better than the distinguished scholars whom I find assembled from all over India here in this Congress who are determined to rescue the history of India from oblivion and to rewrite it from the result of their laborious researches? The mission in the fulfilment of which you have all gathered here is thus sacred and it is because of this that I consider it a sacred duty to inaugurate this Congress.

I fear, in referring to the genius of a people, I have trodden a ground forbidden to a layman. There have been

much discussion about the meaning and purpose of history and the use that can be made of it in shaping the future of man. A celebrated man of the last century stigmatised history as a 'poor insignificant guess-work science'. But there are others who consider history no more insignificant and no more the subject of guess-work than any other of the human science. According to them on both these counts history is like the other sciences. Where opinions differ so widely, it is dangerous for a layman like myself to take distinguished scholars like you all into a discussion. What I can do is to lay before you the hope which has drawn me here in your midst. I don't know if there is any such thing as philosophy of history. According to some, philosophy aims at a knowledge of that which is eternal and inherently necessary—the super-reality. Perhaps, there may not be a philosophy of history in this sense. But there are others according to whom the aim of philosophy is a critical enquiry into what men do in this world and its purpose is search for wisdom, search for the ends and values that give direction to our collective human activities. A philosophy of history at least in this sense of a search for wisdom which will enable men to apply what is known to the intelligent conduct of human affairs, can be said to be a reality and it is a philosophy of history in this sense that can be of much use to us in the great work of national reconstruction that lies ahead of us.

Like changes in other concepts, there have been changes in the concept of history too. There was a time when history was merely military and diplomatic and contained full accounts of wars and negotiations. In supercession of this there has arisen a concept of history wide enough to cover the entire activities of man. The history of wars and negotiations has become a mere branch of history in this new and pervasive sense. History now deals with the formation of moral institutions in the broadest sense of the term, including religious institutions and revolutionary sects, including sentiments, customs, fancies and myths that are practical in tendencies and content". History is thus a branch of learning which embraces within its fold the entire activities of man. It is a record of the mighty efforts made by the human race to ascend from the level of a primitive humanity. In this great march of the caravan of human progress, in the great movements of history typified in the rise, growth and decay of civilisations, the historian sits down to find a direction and a flow. The task

is baffling but it has to be done if a study of history is to be a source of wisdom to those who have to guide this caravan to its goal. A proper understanding of this direction and flow and the tendencies made observable to man by history in the course of human progress, is bound to be of great help in appraising the hopes and desires surging through the heart of mankind at present and a just appraisement of these is necessary for a proper reconstruction of the future, a task which has to be done with great care and caution if mankind is to rise in the scale of civilisation.

A study of history thus possesses immense importance for us at a time when we stand at the end of the distressing present and at the commencement of a thrilling future. Historians have compared the movement of the human race to the great tides of the ocean. But these tides consist of innumerable waves which have their own laws to guide then. The entire mankind has not yet become permeated with that degree of social consciousness wnich would be necessary to form a world society. Mankind is still divided into smaller societies which function with a degree of autonomy, integration and self-consciousness. The result of this is that while men have a good deal in common, they because of their belonging to different groups, possess peculiarities which distinguish men of one group from those of another. we who inhabit this vast land also have got our own peculiarities wrought in us by environments and circumstances to which we have been subjected through centuries. The history of India is a testimony of how environment and circumstances have worked to make of us a different sub-group of the human race. It is these peculiarities which make Indian History of special importance to us. It cannot be gainsaid that a corrrect and comprehensive study of deeds and conditions of life of the Indian people through successive episodes is indispensable at the present moment when we are on the threshold of a new world order and a new era in our country. Traditions and knowledge of the past must be fairly known and fully utilised to effect a sound re-adjustment between the old and the new, a thing so necessary for a fruitful and sound reconstruction of Indian life.

In the vast panorma of human history, the history of our land, with the peculiar rythm of its own, occupies an important place. We are inheritors of a mighty civilisation which has its roots back in a past which ignorance and prejudice have so far been responsible for keeping away

from the gaze of the world. A whole army of indefatigable searchers after truth is required to reconstruct a true history of India, especially of the period which goes by the name of prehistoric India. It is a matter of profound gratification to find that scholars possessed of zeal and devotion like those whom I find assembled here, have taken up the work of presenting to the world a true picture of India that was and I am sure that while engaged in digging the debris to unearth the India that was, they will discover ample materials to reward their labour and keep up their spirit. In their arduous task they will meet not only those who dreamt dreams of founding republics and empires but also those who taught men how to live and what is all this effort of mankind to ascend from the primitive level, which we find enshrined in history, but an effort to live better?

Gentlemen, I have already taken much of your time and I do not want to take more of it. But I cannot finish without telling you of the hope that has drawn me here. I belong to a class which is sometimes ridiculed as a class of politicians. It is said that our main occupation is to arouse popular passions and harness them to the ends that we set before ourselves. Yes, politicians sometimes do such a job, but those are the perverted type of politicians, as there are also historians of the perverted type who instead of interpreting the past in its true perspective, so interpret it as to make history a store-house of materials which instead of drawing men together, make them fly against one another. But the right types of politicians and historians have a nobler work to do and in this work the roles of the politicians and the historians are complementary. The constructive business of a politician is to canalise the moral forces working in society and on the basis of this rear up a political structure in which liberty and authority will be so reconciled as to make the realisation of good life possible for men living in society. History is the great laboratory in which attempts in this direction have been made in the past. It is the sacred task of the historian to interpret these experiments made in the past, which are bound to be of great help in reconstructing the future. The end of the most humiliating period of Indian history seems to have come. We are on the height from which the promised land seems to be in sight. Very soon we shall be called upon to reconstruct a free India on the basis of those high principles which the great father of the Indian people has been proclaiming to a weary world. At

such a moment, historians with a true grasp of the genius of the Indian people are bound to be of immense help to us. I have a hope that the historians of our land will rise to the occasion and help us in this work. It is this hope which has drawn me here and I am sure my hope will be fulfilled.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

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I am deeply sensible of the high honour that you have conferred on me in calling upon me to be president of this Session of the Indian History Congress. It is the highest honour to which any student of history in our country can aspire. Starting with the limited aim of confining its attention to modern Indian History, the Congress soon extended the sphere of its activity to cover the whole range of Indian history, and has now come to be recognised as the most important gathering of the historians of India. I am conscious of my limitations for the task of conducting the deliberations of so learned and comprehensive a conference; yet I have accepted the invitation in the hope that the hearty co-operation of the scholars assembled particularly of the presidents of the different sections who are specialists each in his own field, will enable us to maintain the high standard of work this Conference has set for itself in its past sessions.

Before proceeding further, it is my sad duty to mention the demise of two of our former presidents. In the death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit so soon after his retirement from the Director Generalship of Archæology, Indology has sustained a very serious loss. This brilliant scholar and archæologist was engaged in active work on two schemes of Indian history which are now in progress, and a cruel fate has snatched him before he could complete the work. Again, the death less than a month ago of the doyen of Indian historians, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami

Aiyangar, has made another big void in the editorial board of our history scheme which it will not be easy to fill. Full of years and honours, he too was actively engaged to the last in seeking to complete the chapters undertaken by him for our projected history of India. We in this conference have special reason to lament the loss of these two scholars who have had so large a share in guiding and inspiring the work of this Congress from its beginning.

The year has witnessed a most momentous event in our national history, the arrival of India on the threshold of freedom with the formation of a national Government under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. And it is a happy and significant coincidence that we should be meeting so soon after in the precincts of ancient Pataliputra, the seat of the first great national government which, in historical times, under Chandragupta Maurya and his successors, brought practically the whole of India under one rule. Patna now celebrates in this Conference of the students of our national history, the auspicious rebirth of our national government not unattended by the natural pangs. It is as well that at this moment, we remind ourselves of the resources of our past which can be drawn upon to fortify the nation and carry it through its grand, though difficult, re-emergence. While plunging into a whole vast series of changes, novelties and inventions inevitable in the setting up of a new order, India has need to resume contact with her traditions. In a time or crisis and recreation like this, it is essential to maintain a close touch with our own past. For unlike several other countries, in India the whole of her past may be said to live and lie coiled up inside the present, potent for good and ill in the shaping of our future.

India has had a past which has known glory as well as tragedy, triumph as well as failure, fulfilment as well as frustration. The present, we venture to hope, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, will be an epoch of the glorious fulfilment of an ideal which has fascinated and fired the hopes and aspirations of the famous heroes of our history. MaxMuller used to say : 'My interest lies altogether with the people of India, when left to themselves, and historically I should like to draw a line after the year 1000 after Christ.' And in a very large measure he was right. For the best contributions of Indian Civilization to the stock of human culture had been made by then; the subsequent history of India may well be looked upon in

one sense as a sustained rear-guard action calculated to conserve the gains of past ages against the impact of alien and unsympathetic forces. If I were required to name the period when Indian civilization attained its apogee, I would point to the five or six centuries that followed the establishment of the Gupta empire, with a considerable extension of the period by some centuries for South India. For you will see that in that age the most advanced races of men lived not in Europe or America, but in Asia, and among the Asiatic nations, we in India held the foremost place in all the arts of civilized life. Our ancestors were quite confident of themselves and ready to recognize merit wherever they found it, as when Varahamihira said that the Greeks deserved as much respect as our own rishis for their eminence in astronomy. India then meant not only the extensive peninsula now so called, but its vast hinter-land in Central Asia, happily styled Serindia to-day, as also the sister peninsula of Indo-China and the neighbouring archipelago: in fact India extended wherever her ancient classical language was studied, her gods worshipped, and her ceremonies followed, her way of life, her arts, and her literature accepted. Then was the Indian ocean propely so-called, for India's ships and India's mariners roamed at large over all the ports and emporia from Africa to China. And the Chinese who then shared with Indians the front rank in the civilized world turned to India with admiration, and followed her steps diligently in all the higher reaches of religion and philosophy; scores of their pious pilgrims and eager scholars braved the unknown dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas in order to worship at the shrines of the holy land of India and drink deep at her fountains of learning. And they often took back with them not only sacred relics and scriptural texts, but preachers and pandits who could expound the law of Dharma in far off lands and translate its texts into the language of the country. For any one who takes a broad view, this intercourse between China and India, maintained for many generations, and renewed more than once after intervals, holds an important place in the intellectual commerce of humanity; the obscure pandits and sramanas whose names alone have floated down to us, and others even more numerous, who must remain forgotten for ever, accomplished a high and noble work, for they helped to bring together whatever was best and most universal in two great civilizations. They overcame the barriers of geography, race, and language, and united two great peoples in an intimate communion of thought and soul.

From time immemorial the idea of Indian unity has been cherished in legend and song. The empire of the ancestors of Sri Rama, the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya, is said to have extended over the whole world, by which was meant the world of Jambudvipa, India as it was then known:

सर्वापूर्वमियं येषामासीत्कृत्स्ना वसुंधरा ।

Likewise in the Mahabharata, Yudhisthira tells Sri Krishna just before the Rajasuya:

त्वत्कृते पृथिवी सर्वा मद्वशे कृष्ण वर्तते ।

According to one account, Prthu Vainya was the first monarch of the world, and the earth came to be called Prthivi after him. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, was among the first emperors of all India, and after him the land bore the name of Bharatavarsha. The Aitareya Brahmana contains a list of the anointed emperors of all India in early times of whom history, as known to us, has little to tell. The clearest and the most decisive statement on the unity of India occurs in the Arthasastra, the first great treatise on Indian polity from the pen of the thinker and statesman who was, at least in part, the architect of the political unity of India as it was realised in the Mauryan empire. Kautilya laid it down distinctly that the land which extends north to south from the Himalayas to the sea, and measures a thousand yojanas across, is the field of the Cakravartin (Cakravarti-kshetram). Kautilya's ideal was fully realised under Asoka whose empire was even vaster and greater than that which Britain is relinquishing in India to-day. But politics was by no means the main pre-occupation of our ancestors as it is with us and with other nations to-day, and even in the long periods when India comprised a number of states, the conception of her unity vis-a-vis the rest of the world did not flag or falter for a single moment. Indian unity, the essence of her nationality, was cultural, not political. The unity of India is to be found in the ample range of her holy places of pilgrimage, in the names of the rivers and mountains of the country which are as music to the ear of an Indian, in the firm hold on the popular mind of her noble epics and ballads whose characters and situations are lovingly localised in every part of India, and even in Indo-China. It found its expression not in parliament or empire, but in the comprehensive social ideal of Dharma to which all her children naturally conformed without exception. Asoka's noble utterances in his edicts furnish the most outstanding evidence that this was

no pious sentiment or remote ideal, but the lamp of daily life for officials as for citizens.

The advent of Islam into India at the close of the twelfth century A.D., indeed threatened to break up the unity of India for a time, as it threatens to do again in our own day. But as the effects of the first onset wore out with time, Muslim and Hindu were not slow to discover that perpetual antagonism between groups whose lot was cast together was both unnatural and inhuman. The good men from both sides came together on more and more friendly and equal terms with results that declared themselves in the movements of religious reform and reconstruction both in Hinduism and in Islam, and in the fresh creative efforts that marked every sphere of the nation's life, its language and literature, its architecture and its painting, its music and dance. It was a process of mutual education that benefited both parties and went a good way to assimilate their culture and outlook There were, of course, extremists on either side who sought to foment strife and keep up and exaggerate the differences, and unfortunately history chronicles their actions and their evil fruits in greater detail than they merit, almost to the exclusion, or at least relative neglect, of the more normal and fruitful activities of their peaceful social life. The Muslim rulers of India were quite alive to the unity of India, and the Khaljis and Tughlaks and later Aurangzeb, brought nearly the whole country under their sway though only for short periods. But their efforts were in the conditions of the case, bound to provoke reactions, and Vijayanagar, the Mahrattas, Rajputs and Sikhs were bound to take up the implied challenge. The illustrious Akbar made a conscious and deliberate attempt to promote national solidarity by cultural eclecticism, political policy and administrative action; but he was too much in advance of his times, his dreams remained unfulfilled; the later Mughals reversed gear and undid much of the good work that had gone on before.

The more modern history of India is a tale of disunion and dissension, neglect of sea-power, and failure to catch up with the advances in the art of warfare among the newly risen nations of the West, leading to the gradual and inevitable subjugation of the entire country to the most talented, if also the most fortunate, among the nations of Europe that competed for the rich prize in the East. The present is hardly the time for casting the final balance-sheet of the relations between England and India. But on

any reckoning, the greatest achievement of British rule in India and the most beneficent is the political unification of the country and the organization of its rule under a firmly knit administrative system. Modern conditions of transport and communication have rendered this possible, and the repercussions of world politics during and since the second world war leave no shadow of doubt that a divided India would be a menace to the peace both of herself and the world, while, united and progressive, she may yet shed the lustre of her great and ancient culture on the rest of the world and save it from stumbling into the abyss of a third world war.

History, said Seeley, is past politics—a dreary limitation which few are inclined to accept at a time when history has come to be regarded, and regarded rightly, as the entire record of men living in societies in their geographical and physical environment. But if history is much more than past politics, present politics is at least half history. What we have been determines in a large measure what we are, and may well influence, if not decide, what we shall be. It may not then be without interest to confront the past experience of the nation with some of its present problems. In doing this I do not mean to suggest a revival of past ideas, practices or institutions; for this is by no means possible, and may not be desirable in modern conditions even to the limited extent to which it may be held possible, by some. Nor do I mean to suggest that direct guidance can be derived from them for the solution of our present problems. But I do think that a contemplation of those aspects of national history will help to bring about an awareness of the neglected sides of the genius of the people which may have a tangible though indirect use in the task of planning the future of the nation. For this purpose I shall devote more attention to the earlier and the more seminal phase of our history when all the great problems of social organisation were faced and solved, and the foundations of an abiding national culture laid by the original thinkers and seers of the community. Much of this is obviously subjective valuation though based on established facts of history, and I shall not be surprised if these views do not find universal acceptance; indeed I should rejoice if the utterance of my tentative thoughts on these important subjects leads to more coherent and fruitful studies from some of my learned colleagues.

From the earliest times the history of India has been

a more or less continuous story of accommodation and adjustment between different culture groups. The group which spoke the language which developed into classical Sanskrit in later times, the Indo-Aryans as they have been called, exhibited qualities of leadership which secured for them the first place in society wherever they went; and so in course of time the whole of India was 'Aryanised' and the Indo-Aryan himself became much more Indian in his outlook. The resulting Indian culture was a blend in which Aryan and pre-Aryan elements were mixed in different proportions and with varying results in the various parts of the country. It was a great task, that of civilizing large sections of the human race, undertaken and executed with great skill, patience and humanity. And the work was continued outside India also. Mohenjodaro and Harappa indeed render it probable that parts of India at least knew a higher material culture than that at the command of the Aryans when they appeared in India; but of the actual conditions that prevailed in these parts when the Aryans came we have as yet no definite knowledge, and the general picture of the Aryanization of India still remains in its outlines what it was before the discovery of the Indus valley culture. However that may be, the most significant factor in the whole situation is the understanding shown and the experience gained in accommodating many local differences in one general scheme and evolving a complex culture-system which was remarkable alike for the unity of the general framework accepted all over, and for the flexibility which found room for innumerable variations. This characteristic, Indian culture has retained through the ages, particularly in its social and religious organisation. The Persians and Greeks, Sakas and Huns were all accepted as they came in, and more or less rapidly Indianized and absorbed into the social structure.

The principles of caste organization formed an important element in so ordering society that its different elements found full scope for their development and self-expression while at the same time they co-operated wherever possible and necessary for the common good of society. The social and economic benefits of the institution of caste have not been overlooked by dispassionate students of the subject. That in recent times caste has departed far from its original nature and purpose, and developed several undesirable features such as its extreme rigidity and its tendency unnecessarily to multiply sub-divisions is also admitted on all hands. But that the tendency for society to

divide itself into different strata of a more or less exclusive character is not the monopoly of India, is not as well recognised as it should be. We have as yet known no society which in practice is fully egalitarian. And some Western writers like Gerald Heard and Charles Waterman are seen deliberately advocating the formation of something like the ancient varnas of India as the greatest desideratum of Western society at the moment, in order to correct its universal absorption in the pursuit of purely economic ends. The truth of the matter is, inequality of various kinds is real among men, and you have to take account of them in the dispositions of society; the West has chosen the path of proclaiming equality in theory, and for the rest of it, except for the vote which seems now to satisfy nobody, following the philosophy of 'devil take the hindmost' in the arrangements of daily life; the economic consequences of its incidence are now sought to be corrected by means of social security schemes. The old Indian way followed the other alternative of recognizing inequalities in capacities and needs as facts, organizing society into different more or less homogeneous groups, and regulating the relations among them according to the equitable standards of *dharma*. This system worked on the whole very well, and what is more, it enabled Indian society to weather many a storm successfully. Caste as we know it now does indeed stand in need of much reform, and there is every need for resuming and quickly completing the porcess of securing a proper place in society for the so-called 'casteless'—Harijans as Mahatmaji has named them. But the assertion so often and so confidently made that caste is incompatible with democracy is only true in the limited and relatively unimportant sense that it affords no scope for the doctrinaire theory of equality; in practice caste has not been found a hindrance to the adoption of the same laws, civil and criminal, to govern all strata of society, or to the progressive realisation of political freedom under democratic realisations.

The same capacity to achieve unity in diversity marked the political arrangements of the ancient Indian state. Politics, as already observed, did not fill so large a place in the life of the past as it does to-day. In those days they looked to the state for very little. The ruler was expected just to uphold the existing social order and protect it from internal trouble and foreign invasion, and receive as his wage the taxes paid by the people, particularly a part of the produce of land. The social order itself had its roots elsewhere

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—in Revelation (sruti), tradition (smriti) and the practice of the *elite* (acara). The ruler had ordinarily little control over the numerous social, economic and religious concerns of the people, except by way of dispensing justice when disputes were brought before him or his courts. The details of the daily life of the people were looked after by numberless autonomous groups and associations bound by ties of locality, caste, occupation or religious affiliation. These groups generally followed custom and ancient practice, though they were by no means unwilling to try new methods should occasion demand it. Each group had its own constitution, generally well understood by its members, and flexible enough for meeting new situations. There was usually a general assembly which met rarely except perhaps once a year on some definite festive or ceremonial occasion, and an executive body in charge of the daily routine. The executive was often chosen by lot from among persons possessing certain prescribed qualifications of age, learning or property. Decision by majority of votes was not unknown, but usually the aim was to reach a unanimous and integrated decision by reconciling the different interests and points of view. Guilds of merchants, associations of craftsmen, artisans and manufacturers, of students, ascetics temple-servants, priests, and so on, besides the territorial assemblies of the village and higher administrative units—all functioned more or less independently of the king's government. In some periods as under the Mauryas and the Guptas, and the Cholas and Akbar, a fairly strong and centralised administration did come into existence and promote the well being of the subjects in a remarkable manner; but on the whole steady control from the centre was the exception rather than the rule, and social life maintained its integrity mostly by the efficient functioning of the autonomous pluralistic local organisations. In most of them membership was voluntary, and in all every effort was made to secure the acquiescence if not the enthusiastic approval of the members for the lines of action followed. There was thus full scope for the realization of the substance of democracy; and though life was lived at a much slower tempo than in our age of speed, the area of realized social satisfaction was very much greater.

The modern state is concerned with a complicated economy with its ramifications extending throughout the world, and it is obvious that the old notions regarding the role of the ruler that I have sketched above have no meaning in the present context. But the consistent

adoption of the principle of autonomy in the organisation of religious and social institutions perhaps deserves some emphasis as it may still be availed of for the solution of problems arising out of diversities of religion and culture. By long and continuous tradition the Indian state has been most liberal in its religious policy ; Asoka wtth all his zeal for the propagation of the ethics of Buddhism throughout the world did not dream of pressing his subjects to adopt his creed ; the many Hindu rulers of Western India willingly allowed the Arab Muslim traders who came and settled in the ports and cities of the land to build mosques and practise their religion without let or hindrance ; it was part of Akbar's magnificent dream that by doing away with the special disabilities of the Hindus and the special privileges of the Muslims and thus treating Hindus and Muslims alike, he would bring them together and lay the foundations of perpetual friendship between the two religions ; except on the few occasions when Muslim rulers endeavoured to force their religion on their subjects, the authority of the state was never employed in India to foster the spread of one religion at the expense of another ; and the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* never found acceptance in this country. If there is any country in the world where freedom has prevailed and may be expected to prevail for all religions to flourish side by side, it is India. It is only a modicum of good sense that is needed on the part of any one to see that this is so. May that measure of good sense enter the minds of those few who in the name of religion have contrived to throw the country into turmoil and confusion.

The growing demand for linguistic provinces raises in its turn many thorny problems that may well prove impossible of satisfactory solution. But if the concern of the protagonists of the movement is truly for the languages and literatures they represent and the culture embodied in them, and if they are not using the cry as a cloak for some unstated ulterior purposes, they may be invited to reflect whether the setting up of properly constituted voluntary cultural agencies, liberally supported by the governments and people of the areas concerned, will not prove an easier and more satisfactory means of attaining the ends they have in view.

One further aspect of the political parctice of ancient India deserves more than passing attention in the present posture of world affairs, especially in South-Eastern Asia.

The movement of Aryanization, after it had covered the whole of India, then crossed the seas and flowed on to Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the Archipelago. But this spread of Indian culture abroad was more the unfoldment of a natural creative process in the cause of human progress than the penetration of alien countries by force or fraud for the aggrandisement of the home country. Indian colonies brought as much good to the lands colonized as Indian empires did to the conquered lands. Systematic exploitation of occupied lands formed no part of the policy of the conqueror or colonist. The empires and colonies of India excelled not so much by the strength of their military organization or the ubiquity of the cleruchy as by their achievement in the realms of culture and art. What the cleruchy was to the military empires of the ancient Western world, and military, naval and air bases are to the modern imperialist powers, that the *agrahara* was to their ancient Indian counterparts. Not armed forces, but groups of learned men, were enabled, by the multiplication of these foundations, to go and spread the light of their teaching and the ideals of the good and noble life in almost every village and township. The temple, the vihara, and the matha were other symbols of empire and colony which repaid a hundredfold the pious attentions lavished on them by their founders. The results of the wider peace established by the Indian empires and colonies, and the fuller opportunities opened out by them for the self-expression of the people, are to be traced, not in the political subjection or economic ruin of nations, but in the growing eagerness of our people to seek contacts with the outside world, to learn from the foreigner, as well as to teach him—all in a friendly way, in the greater refinement of our architecture and the arts, and in the richer maturity of our literary creations. Among the most characteristic contributions of Ancient India to the sum of human happiness must be counted things like the religious and artistic influences that flowed on the kingdoms of the Southern Sea, as the Chinese called them, from the Anhdra and Pallava kingdoms of South India and the Pala empire of Bengal. Does this carry no lesson to these colonial powers of the West who are still clinging desperately to the antiquated notions and practices fraught with danger to the pearce and happiness of the nations of the world? And may it not be that in standing up for the freedom of India and the lands of South-Eastern Asia from external political and economic domination, our leaders are only seeking the recovery of the conditions that once conduced to the

happiness of these lands and the good of the world? Experience has indeed taught Britain the futility of attempts to exploit colonies, and the value of free association with them, but even she lacks as yet the capacity for really generous and free association on equal terms with peoples of a different colour and culture. The cosmopolitan humanism of the ancient Indian colonists deserves to be recognised as a rare product of the highest cultivation of the human spirit.

India counted among thh richest countries of the ancient world, and was long noted for her manufactures and trade along different lines. Still the ancient economy was much simpler than that of the present day, and in many respects what held good then will do so no longer. But we are still at the beginning of our Industrial Revolution, and the attempt to modernize our system of production and distribution on Western patterns has not yet proceeded far. It may be of some use at this juncture to recall the salient features of the vanishing economy and to assess its strong points; for that will enable us in some measure to realise the cost at which we may be purchasing the benefits of the new order, and may be it even sets our captains of Industry thinking of ways in which that cost may be reduced to a minimum, and some at least of the old values conserved and worked into the new order.

Some western students of India's past, and let us gratefully acknowledge that till the other day there were few others so diligently occupied in unravelling and interpreting our past for us, once persuaded themselves that the people of ancient India were more concerned all their lives with preparing for life in the other world, than with living in this, and that they were altogether indifferent to mundane well-being and prosperity. That this was true only of the sanyasis, or ascetics, and to a limited extent of the class of Brahmins who devoted themselves to learning and religion and were supported by the community, and did not apply to the people as a whole at any time, is now well recognized. For the rest, the desire for wealth and the comfort and distinction it brings to its possessor, was quite as strong among Indians as among the people of any other country. Only its operation in anti-social ways was more or less effectively restrained by a voluntary allegiance to the ideal of *dharma*.

The code enjoined on even a manufacturer and trader not to be too relentless, too eager and grabbing in the pursuit of wealth, but to follow the path of rectitude and justice.

It was equally insistent that the wealth accumulated was to be spent on worthy causes. We may not believe that these ideal prescriptions were always and everywhere followed to the letter; but literature and epigraphy show beyond doubt that they actively influenced the daily life of vast numbers from generation to generation, and that the social milieu was such that a man commanded the esteem of his fellowmen and of the rulers of the land to the extent to which he followed the law of Dharma.

Local self-sufficiency, and production for consumption was the rule with regard to the essential commodities of life. There was inter-regional trade in some commodities like salt and sugar, and a fairly developed foreign trade in fine cloth of various qualities and articles of luxury. By no means impresive in its volume according to modern standards, the maritime trade in Indian exports was enough to alarm the moralists and economists of the early Roman empire, and the financiers of China at a later time. But all production including that for export was domestic production, and the craftsman worked generally in his own house with simple tools and at his own convenience. Every article he produced was as much an expression of his own personality as an effort to meet the wishes of the customer. The achievement of great and striking results with relatively simple tools was the leading trait of the best work in those days in all spheres, and what Mr. Percy Brown says of the construction of a Hoysala temple at Belur is typical of much else in the ancient Industrial arts of India. The *navaranga* of the Chennakesava temple, he says, is a hall 92 feet by 78 and as there are in it forty-six pillars all of which, save the four in the central bay, are each of different design, the variety of form and complex character of the whole is astonishing. It seems as if the system employed in the design and construction of these pillars was that of entrusting each example to one head artist and his assistants, who combined as a team to produce their finest work. Set to compete against one another in such a manner, each pillar became, therefore, an individual masterpiece, the fertility of invention and the minuteness of the execution in every instance being phenomenal. One column in the middle hall is so unique in character that it has been distinguished by the name of the Narasimha pillar, for to show his cleverness the sculptor has not only carved its capital, shaft, and base, into a repeating pattern of niches in each of which is enshrined an image, but has ingeniously contrived that the whole pillar could be rotated

at will. Yet underneath all these interlaced mouldings and intricately finished forms it is possible to see, in spite of this plastic overlay, that the basis of the design is in conformity with the Chalukyan order, that there is throughout a certain conventional combination of elements which is unmistakable. That each detail of the building was the work of specialists in their craft, a not uncommon procedure in other forms of Indian art, is indicated by the fact that on a number of the images, particularly those on the brackets, there is inscribed the name of the sculptor, like a signature, thus showing that each individual artist had contributed to the scheme a selected specimen of his handiwork.'* The same scope for freedom and personal initiative within the framework of broad conventions marked the practices if the useful arts as much as of the fine arts, and the artisan was nearly as much a creative artist as the poet, musician or painter. His standard of life might not have been as high as that of his modern counterpart; but unlike the latter, he was a man, not a 'hand'

Modern industry as we all know, is altogether a different story. Ever since Adam Smith expounded the economic possibilities of division of labour and the enormous increase in the quantity of production resulting from a labourer devoting himself entirely to the making of the eighteenth part of a pin instead of the whole pin, quantity and speed have been accepted as the ideals of industry in the West; the protesting voices of Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris, prophets of quality and art, went unheeded; though in recent years social legislation has made notable efforts to obviate the evils of reckless profit-hunting and restore somewhat of the lost integrity of human personality, there is as yet no sign that the struggle for markets and raw materials has either abated or may not lead to more warfare.

As for ourselves, we have already gone some way down the slippery slope, and have begun to experience both the good and bad effects of incipient industrialisation. But the main question is whether, in the indispensable reorganization of our economic life on modern lines, we shall follow the path of the Western nations in every detail, or endeavour somehow to evolve another way which, without denying us the benefits of modern machine production,

* *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 167.

would conserve as far as possible the human, ethical and æsthetic values characteristic of our national culture. This, it seems to me, is the difficult problem posed by the philosophy of Gandhism and its emphasis on elemental virtues and rural occupations. The great message of India is that of detachment and moderation in the pursuit of material ends, and it behoves our captains of Industry and planners of national policy to try and set a new model to an acquisitive world.

India would serve herself and the world best by retaining her individuality and developing on lines consistent with her long and instructive experience, and with the humane wisdom of successive generations of her philosophers and seers. Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs, and to a less extent even the Portuguese, French and English have made their contributions, to the mosaic of the Indian culture of to-day. It is the task of the historians of India to delineate impartially the successive phases of the country's development through the ages and enable the reader to arrive at a just appraisal of the good and the bad, the strength and the weakness, that marked it at every stage. In the last century and the first decades of the present this work was being done very largely, and on the whole very well, by generations of European scholars and archæologists working in the libraries and Universities of Europe, or in the field in India, in the East Indies or in Indo-China as well as Central Asia. Much was done by way of gathering and annotating the source-material, though even here much of course still remains to be done. But the task of co-ordination and a large-scale interpretation of the material, especially of the history of ancient India, has not progressed far enough. Lassen's monumental *Indische Alterthumskunde*, still worth perusal, is not history, but the prolegomena to it. Elphinstone's classic narrative of the Muslim and Maratha periods of Indian history, and the multi-volume histories of British India by Mill, Thornton, Beveridge and Martin are the nearest approach to general histories of India. Smith's *Early History of India* in its successive editions did much to settle the outlines of the political history of Ancient India, and his *Oxford History of India* will long remain, in spite of its limitations, one of the best single volume histories of our country. Interpretation, sometimes even on a meagre factual background, receives more attention in '*A Short History of India*' by Moreland and Chatterji, one of the most readable books on the subject. And we welcome with pleasure the latest addition to the group, the very adequate

and competent *Advanced History of India* by three of our eminent scholars—Majumdar, Raychaudhury and Datta.

The Cambridge History of India is the most comprehensive attempt to treat the history of India as a whole, and many of its chapters are enduring monuments of the scholarship of the different contributors. But it still remains incomplete, as its second volume covering the best part of the history of ancient times yet remains to be published, and very often the point of view of the different writers is not exactly that which commends itself most to us. In particular the treatment of the history of British conquest and rule lacks frankness and fulness. In this respect the histories written a century or more ago were much better. Then there was no national movement in India and the activities of Baitain in India could be described and criticised without fear of political repercussions or administrative difficulties. Things have been different in the last fifty years and more, and several writers in this part of the Cambridge history have naturally come from the ranks of British Indian administrators. In the *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* Messrs. Thompson and Garratt have made a gallant effort to revert to the standards of an earlier time and have received little thanks for it from their compatriots.

That henceforth the study and writing of Indian history should become increasingly the concern of Indian scholars is now widely recognised. To this we owe the almost simultaneous inception some years ago of a number of schemes, having doubtless the Cambridge History of India for their model, for the production of several multi-volume histories either on the whole of India or large well-marked sections of it like Bengal and Deccan. The most recent addition to such schemes is, I believe, the plan for a History of Malava in three volumes. Our Congress has itself sponsored one of these schemes for a twelve-volume history of the whole country, and gone some way in collecting the resources, material and literary, for the execution of the scheme. That Indian historical writing at its best can hold its own in comparison with that of the rest of the world is seen clearly from the published work of recent times; and the first volume of the *History of Bengal* issued from Dacca and the sixth volume of the *New History of the Indian People*, the first to be published in the twenty-volume scheme of the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad, are clearly seen toconform to the best standards and traditions of historical

scholarship. But the pace at which all the schemes are progressing is unduly slow; the great dislocation due to war conditions, though it explains much of the delay, appears by no means to be the only factor in the situation; and signs are not wanting of a rising feeling of disappointment in the minds of the public. Doubts have also often been expressed whether there is the need and scope for more than one large scheme for the history of the entire country, especially as all of them have apparently to depend on the co-operation of more or less the same set of scholars. Let us hope that in spite of everything, these several schemes will yet render a good account of themselves, and that, in a reasonable time.

But we should do well frankly to recognise the weaknesses in the present position of Indian historical studies and put forth our utmost efforts to remedy them as early as possible. In the twenty or twenty-five years before the outbreak of the war in 1939, we had a fair crop of monographs and dissertations of a fairly high standard that elucidated different aspects of our history and gave evidence of a growing interest in its study; but there has been a perceptible falling off since, and I doubt, very much if this is merely due to the difficulties of publication under war-conditions. At any rate some of us who have had something to do with the planning and editing of the different volumes of the series of histories just mentioned, have experienced considerable difficulty in finding suitable contributors for a good number of chapters. And it is well known that many scholars of proved competence are lost either to lucrative administrative offices under government or have to spend all their time and energy in heavy routine teaching for degree courses which leaves them no time for any work of their own. Only a few of our universities maintain chairs in Indian History or offer other facilities for research in it, and these, we must acknowledge with gratification, are doing a good deal for the illumination of many neglected aspects and corners of Indian history. But there ought to be many more centres of advanced study and research and the teachers of the subject should be employed in the colleges and universities in sufficient numbers for them to command the leisure required to pursue independent researches of their own in addition to lecturing to under-graduates, thus maintaining a live and mutually beneficent contact between enquiry and exposition. Above all it should be recognised clearly that while periodical conferences and contributing papers to them and even to

commemoration and presentation volumes have their own place in the academic life of the country, they can never be a substitute for the constant and steady pursuit throughout the year, and perhaps for many years running, of some topic which requires elucidation and which may excite our interest and curiosity. Indeed some good work is coming to light in the pages of the learned periodicals of our country devoted to Indology, but much of it is jejune stuff which does little credit to the author or the Journal which accepts it. Here it seems to me that the Indian History Congress can make a decisive contribution towards setting up proper standards by running a quarterly Journal of Indian history, publishing only papers and notes marked by undoubted freshness and originality, serving as a clearing-house of the latest news and views of archæological and historical interest, and discussing the innumerable problems related to the teaching of history in the different stages of School and Collegiate education.

The Archæological Survey of India, the Imperial Record Office and the Record Offices of the major provincial governments have been doing excellent service in the recovery, preservation, and publication of much valuable source material. But it is common knowledge that these departments are often inadequately staffed, that the pace of their work is very slow, and that they have been generally slack in enlisting the co-operation of universities and other learned associations and individual scholars who could have helped to speed up publication and suggested improvements in methods and standards. After suffering a long period of starvation and relative neglect, the archæological department has, one is glad to note, apparently entered on a period o expansion and renewed activity. But under the new regimfe, epigraphy does not appear do be getting the measure of attention it merits. This is a matter of importance to all students of the ancient and mediæval history of India, and it is vital to the study of South Indian history. Only a small fraction of the tens of thousands of inscriptions listed has been published as yet, and much of it with no sort of aids to the student; and what is more, large areas rich in their inscriptions still await systematic survey and exploration. The need for strengthening the epigraphical branch of the archæological survey particularly in the Southern Circle both for exploration and for speeding up the publication of the annual reports which have not appeared after 1938 and of the texts of inscriptions is indeed very urgent.

But the most disquieting aspect of the situation is the diminishing numbers of students studying arts subjects in general, and history in particular, in our schools, colleges and universities. Humanities are any day a more complex and difficult discipline than the sciences, and from the point of view of examinations, high marks and distinctions are more difficult to obtain in them. It has been rightly said that the astronomy of souls is a much more difficult science than that of the stars. And now the craze is all for science and technology, and in their eagerness to promote rapid industrialization, our governments have come to believe in the supreme virtue of sending out annually at public expense shiploads of promising young men to England and America for advanced scientific and technical training with no clear ideas of the nature of the training of the place where it is to be had. I would not be understood to deny the need for or the value of this development, though I certainly think, and I know that some eminent scientists of our country also share the view, that there is much room for a more co-ordinated plan, and that haste, in this as in all other things, makes waste. But I am concerned more immediately with stressing the need for the cultivation of the humanities, and of history in prticular. Mainly because of the advances in the physical sciences and their impact on human life and society, the human sciences are in our age 'the most vital, the most essential and the most exciting subjects of our intellectual effort.' (Rowse). The story of man is far more wonderful than the wonders of physical science, and one of the wisest of men observed, 'histories make men wise.' The superb educational value of history and its place in a properly articulated system of education cannot be put better than in the words of Professor Rowse. He says: 'Nothing gives unity to all other arts subjects so much as history. So many of them spring out of it, or find much of their material in history—such subjects as anthropology, sociology, economics and law, to a lesser extent languages. All of them have their historical aspect and meet together in history. It is a subject above all catholic, capacious, mixed; not a pure subject like mathematics, music, or logic; it is as wide and various as life. Nor does it only provide the best common meeting ground for all the separate art-disciplines; it gives them the best and most fruitful junction with the natural science.' If the increasing fascination of the B.Sc., and M.Sc., for our undergraduates as against B.A., and M.A., is not counteracted in time, not only will they as a class lose the benefits

of a broad-based and humane education, but we may soon find ourselves faced with other difficulties of a serious nature. Recruitment from abroad for all-India services by the Secretary of State has come to a stop, and in future we shall have to depend almost entirely on our own resources for the personnel of the entire administrative system. A good academic course in history and allied subjects is admittedly an essential preparation for the career of those whose daily task is the proper regulation of the conduct of men and their affairs. Again, for the work of the teachers in our numerous schools, and their numbers must be multiplied very largely if our educational system is to meet our needs adequately, for this teaching work, the narrowly specialised B.Sc. and M.Sc. courses are hardly a proper perparation, and we should need many more men and women with a much broader training than are likely to be available if the present drift is allowed to go on unchecked. In fact students of arts subjects in general, and specially of history and allied subjects, should form the natural recruits for the educational services, the civil and diplomatic services, and the body of social services which will be coming up under the new order, for the legal profession and all literary professions such as writing, publishing and journalism. Let us hope that the necessity for the promotion of the study of history and the arts on a much wider scale than is evident to-day will be realised by all concerned before it is too late, and suitable steps taken to secure the desired result. Our Congress, it seems to me, has a great part to play in keeping this problem constantly before the public eye and in focussing thought towards an efficient solution of it.

I have said little so far directly on the writing of history, and it is not my purpose to enter now at any length on this entrancing and varied subject. The task of history is to reveal the past as it was, for its own sake, and to explain the evolution of the present state of things from the past. As Trevelyan has admirably but it, there is no greater triumph of the modern intellect than the truthful reconstruction of past states of Society that have been long forgotten and misunderstood, recovered now by the patient work of archæologists, antiquarians, and historians. It is as great an achievement as to make ships sail under the sea or through the air. Truthful re-construction— mark you! The harm that results from one-sided history is immense, and when history is used as propaganda the consequences are apt to be deadly. And in the writing of the history of our country

the temptation to select some facts and suppress others that go against your thesis, or in your judgment do not redound to our credit is strong, but must be resisted. An absolutely objective history is impossible, for the historian cannot cease to be a man; and here lies the value of different historians dealing with one and the same theme, each in his own way; they tend generally to correct and supplement one another, and enable their readers to make a nearer approach to historical truth than is possible with the aid of a single work of history. But even for this, it is essential that each historian should accept the ideal of truth and impartiality, and refrain from deliberate suppression and distortion. Our own Kalhana accepted the ideal whole-heartedly and said :

श्लाघ्यस्स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथनं यस्य स्थैर्यस्येव सरस्वती ॥

'That noble-minded one is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a Judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.' We can have no better standard for the historian.

There has been much argument on whether history is a science or a branch of literature; this is really a nineteenth century controversy which has lost its edge under changed conditions. Twentieth century science is no longer so cocksure of its objectivity as before. The historian's work is different from that of the scientist, and possibly more difficult, because at every stage the subject-matter of his thought is man and his actions in all their complexity, and the method of experiment under controlled conditions cannot guide his speculation. But it is well recognised now that there is much in common between the methods of science and of history. Objectivity is not the monopoly of the scientist, any more than the study of records and the determination of facts in the light of evidence from the exclusive province of the historian. And the scientists are becoming more and more conscious of the social consequences of the results reached in the laboratory. History has to be scientific in its method, but it has got to be much more. Its task is not merely to ascertain the facts about the past, but to recall them to life. The learned monograph is not history; in a true history learning should underlie the narrative, but not overwhelm it. And the appeal of history to the enlightened mind is in the last resort poetic. Carlyle writing on Boswell's Life of Johnson said: 'History

after all is the true poetry . . . Now this *Book* of Boswell's, this is precisely a revocation of the edict of Destiny, so that Time shall not utterly, not so soon by several centuries, have dominion over us! They who are gone are still here; though hidden they are revealed, though dead they yet speak.' Much the same spirit marks the attitude to the past of two of our own masters who wrote centuries before Carlyle. Acarya Dandin says:

आदिराजयशोबिम्बमादर्शं प्राप्य वाङ्मयम्।
तेषामसन्निधानेऽपि न स्वयं पश्य नश्यति॥

The fame of ancient Kings stands imperishable, being reflected in the mirror of speech, though they are no longer here.

And again Kalhana:

कोऽन्यः कालमतिक्रान्तं नेतुं प्रत्यक्षतां क्षमः।
कविप्रजापतीस्त्यक्त्वा रम्यनिर्माणशालिनः॥
न पश्येत्सर्वसंवेद्यान्भावान्प्रतिभया यदि।
तदन्यद्दिव्यदृष्टित्वे किमिव ज्ञापकं कवेः॥

'Who else but poets, resembling Prajaptis (in creative power) and able to bring forth lively images of things, can conjure up the past before the eyes of men? If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the forms which he is to reveal to all men, what other sign could there be of his being divinely inspired?" The role of historical imagination has seldom been better expressed. Every one connot hope to write like Gibbon; but history must he readable if it is to do its work in the world.

SECTION I

Ancient India (up to 711 A.D.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. JITENDRANATH BANERJEA, M.A., PH.D.

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Friends and Fellow Workers:

I cannot sufficiently express my thanks for the honour which you have conferred on my by asking me to preside over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress—Ninth Session, in the historic city of Patna. I know that it is your kindness which has led you to choose me for this onerous task which, I am afraid, I may not be able to fulfil to your satisfaction.

The section over which I have been asked to preside covers a period which is one of the most interesting and intriguing in the whole history of India. The interest as well as importance attaching to it is mainly due to the fact that as a whole it is a period when races and tribes beginning from the 'Wiros' of the remote past to the Hunas and other allied tribes from lands far distant were coming to and settling in India and helping in their respective ways to build up the Indian culture of the subsequent times. The origins of most of the institutions, secular and clerical, that came to characterise the life of the Indians lie imbedded in this period and the cultural heritage of a vast majority of the people was built up piecemeal in this eary formative period of Indian history. Even before the Wilos' or the Aryans migrated into the country, part of it was inhabited by a race possessing great material culture and civilisation, who might also either have been immigrants or might have been the children of the soil. Their contribution to the composite civilisation was immense, though it is difficult to analyse its constituent elements after the lapse of so many milennia.

Our knowledge about the first part of this age is still comparatively meagre and this is so for the very simple reason that many of the materials we possess for reconstructing its history in its wider sense are open to interpretations which are not universally accepted. The history of the Indus valley culture can no doubt be partly recovered

with the help of many interesting structural and other remains that have been brought to light by the archaeologist; but in the absence of any clear literary data of contemporary or subsequent times for the confirmation of our present day explanations of many of our finds, this work of reconstruction has necessarily been partial and incomplete in character. One of the most interesting discoveries in this region, the host of seals and seal-impressions with the various pictographic characters on them, has made our task difficult on account of their very enigmatic nature. Serious and laudable attempts have been made in the past and are still being made by a devoted band of researchers for the decipherment of the characters on them, which, if it could be done to the satisfaction of all, may throw a flood of light on this dark period of Indian history. But these attempts are at their best so many hypotheses which cannot claim the honour of being regarded as well-established truth. The seals themselves and numerous other major and minor antiquities of this period, however, give us a glimpse into the mental workings of the people who made them, and it is possible to trace their influence in the Indian concepts of historical times. The Aryans who came to India during the last phase of the activities of the earlier Indus valley settlers have left us material objects of no consequence from which we can derive our knowledge about them; but the large mass of literature divisible into chronological groups that have survived have compensated to a very great extent the paucity of archaeological remains. These have enabled us to form an idea about their thought-developments and find the roots of many of the beliefs, practices and conventions in these very conceptual operations of our remote ancestors. The Vedic Aryans also appear to have imbibed in course of their prolonged contact with the earlier inhabitants many cultural traits which modified and re-shaped their civilisation. From the end of the Vedic age upto the end of the period under review, it is a long process of transformation and development—the change of the Vedic religion and culture into the composite Hindu culture of the subsequent times brought about by various factors, mostly indigenous and several others foreign. The post-Vedic age saw the growth and development of various religious creeds, the administrative experiments of far-reaching character resulting sometimes in the formation of separate monarchical or non-monarchical systems of government or at other times in the gradual integration

of most of them into a vast empire, the systematisation of numerous institutions, legal, judicial, economic, socio-religious and religio-philosophical in character, various orderly arrangements of language, the vehicle of surging thought, and different classifications of the rules of speech in which Sanskrit and Prākṛit were moulded, the evolution of scripts, Brāhmi and Kharoshṭhi, and lastly the rise and progress of multifarious artistic activities which culminated into the sublime achievements of the Gupta age. Thus, this period, from whatever angle we view it, is one of outstanding importance, and it is a matter of deep satisfaction that a devoted band of researchers, both eastern and western, have made their best efforts to throw light on the dark corners of its history in its various aspects. It is upon us now that the task of the earlier torch-bearers has fallen and the sacred duty of every one of us, especially the Indians, is to advance further the knowledge about the early history and culture of our beloved country.

It is not my present task to take stock of what has already been done and what is now being done as regards the fulfilment of the noble work of reconstruction of the ancient history of India in its different branches. I do not think it will be necessary for my learned friends assembled here today who have made distinct contributions themselves. But I should like to lay stress here on one important point. Scholars in the past have done a great deal for the unravelling of various knotty problems of political, administrative and institutional history of India of this period; many of the present generation are also engaged in the same task and by their disinterested and one-souled endeavours have added and are constantly adding copiously to the stock of our knowledge of this nature. This is just as it should be, though more earnest efforts of generations of scholars are still necessary for the solution of numerous such problems which still remain unsolved. But what I should like to emphasise is that we have not yet applied the same amount of collective energy to the proper elucidation of the history of Indian religious systems, especially of the Brāhmaṇical ones, as was devoted to the other branches of Indological research. Vedism, Buddhism and to a certain extent Jainism no doubt engaged the attention of a large number of ardent researchers, both eastern and western, and their contribution to the study of these subjects has been immense and varied in character. As regards the study of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, particularly that phase of it which deals with the evolution of its different cults

and sects, there is much that still remains to be done. The reason for the comparative dearth of a collective study in this branch of Indology is probably to be found in the earlier aversion in the minds of Indologists towards the Purāṇas as useful sources for the reconstruction of authentic history of any importance. It is the Purāṇas, however, especially the major earlier ones, which are some of the real repositories of interesting and important data about the Brāhmaṇical cults which are sometimes called, and rightly so, 'the Puraṇic religions.' But thanks to the ungrudging toils of an earnest group of workers, mainly Indian, the suspicion with which the Purāṇas had originally been regarded as a fruitful source for the study of particular branches of Indology has been greatly cleared and it is desirable that work connected with the history of the evolution of the early Brāhmaṇical cults be taken up in right earnest. The Puraṇic literature supplemented by other literary and archaeological data is the principal source for the study of this subject and elucidation of many problems that would constantly arise in its course. It is not that no start has been made; but it may be confessed that our knowledge of this topic has not advanced a great deal beyond the stage it reached when R. G. Bhandarkar wrote his work 'Vaishṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems' a few decades ago. I do not refer here to the progress of our ideas about the philosophical or doctrinal aspects of these cults, but I particularly allude to the reconstruction of their regular and systematic history derivable not only from ample literary sources which require to be studied with care and circumspection, but also a large mass of archaeological materials, monumental or sculptural, epigraphic and numismatic, that are still preserved to us. I know that some notable progress has been made since the publication of the above work just mentioned, especially in the systematic study of the historical evolution of several of the major branches of the sectarian religions, like Vaishṇavism, Saivism and others. Much, however, still remains to be done not only with regard to the elucidation of the history of other minor branches of the Puraṇic religions studied very little up till now, but the historical study of the major ones also needs be continued with zest and devotion in the light of fresh discoveries of literary and archaeological character. When L. R. Farnell brought out his magnificent work on *The Cults of the Greek States* about half a century ago, he attributed the cause of the neglect for the study of Greek religion by English scholars to 'the

confusion of Greek mythology—that apparently bizarre and hopeless thing—with Greek religion' made by them. He tried to disentangle myth from religion, only dealing with the former so far as it seemed to illustrate or reveal the latter, and aimed at giving a complete account of the names and ideas that were attached, and of the ceremonies that were consecrated, by the Greek states to their chief divinities. In fulfilling this task, he surveyed the most important texts and monuments that express the actual religious conceptions of the various Greek communities at different historical epochs. I do not know whether it will ever be possible for us to bring out a work on the history of Brahmanical cults of ancient India of such a comprehensive character, for it is to be confessed that though our literary data of the early period for this purpose are not negligible in bulk and importance, the archaeological ones of the comparatively ancient times are of a limited and fragmentary nature. But a systematic and intelligent study of whatever material we possess at present and those we hope to discover later in the course of explorations and excavations of old sites of India, many of which are still waiting for the excavator's spade, will enable us to emulate Farnell's magnificent achievement. A good start has already been made; what is required now is a sustained effort in this sort of enquiry and research.

VAISHNAVISM

I shall now briefly draw your attention to a few points of interest connected with this topic, which have arisen to my mind in the course of my humble studies in Indian archaeology. I shall only take here the early history of Vaishṇavism and briefly draw your attention to the methods of its historical study which appear according to my humble opinion to be in the right lines. It was long ago shown by R. G. Bhandarkar and scholars like Grierson, Garbe Raychaudhury, Chanda and other that the foundations of Vaishṇavism, one of the two major cults of India, at first designated by such names as Sātvata, Pāncharātra, Bhāgavata, Ekāntika, etc., were well-laid sometimes before Pāṇini who refers to the workshippers of Vasudeva and Arjuna. Though the manner in which the great grammarian puts these names in his *Sutra* (IV. 3, 98) leaves no doubt that the former was the more honoured among the two, yet it is possible that the latter had also some cult importance at that time, for his workshippers (*bhaktas*) are separately

mentioned. In the *Bhagavadgita*, Arjuna, the interlocutor, appears in the role of the greatest devotee (*bhakta*) of the god who came to live among men as the Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇis, and there is no evidence here about the existence of an associate cult centering round him. But did such a cult ever exist as we are led to believe by the aforesaid *sutra* of Pāṇini? If so, it must have been arrested in its growth due to the phenomenal rise to importance of that of his relation Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva, who after his identification with the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āditya Vishṇu of the Vedas became the principal cult picture of the Vaishṇavas, and it was absorbed completely like so many other elements in the well-developed Bhāgavata cult. Traces of the worship of Arjuna, however, seem to be preserved in some epic passages, where Arjuna and Vāsudeva are described as Nara and Nārāyaṇa who along with Hari and Kṛishṇa are represented as the sons of Dharma and Ahimsā. It is said in one of them (Udyogaparvan, 49, 19) that 'the two heroes, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, who are great warriors, are the old gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa. This is the tradition.' Nara and Nārāyaṇa were also great divine sages who practised austerities in the holy Badarikāśrama, and in the list of the 39 incarnatory forms (*Vibhavas* or *avataras*) of Vāsudeva-Vishnu given in the *Satvata*, one of the oldest Pāncharātra Samhitās, they occupy the 31st and 32nd positions; their earliest extant iconographic representation is found in one of the side niches of the Daśāvatāra temple of the Gupta period at Deogarh (Jhansi, Central India). Here Nara and Nārāyana are depicted almost in the same manner, the only noticeable difference being that Nara is endowed with two arms, while Nārāyana with four, thus emphasising the comparative greatness of the latter. The epic tradition clearly shows that they were great heroes as well as sages, and this sage-like character may be traced to the Vedic tradition about the Rishi Nārāyana having been the seer of the Purushasukta (*R. V.*, X, 90). The worship of the heroes (vīras) was one of the most important features of the original Pāncharātra, and the number of them came to be somewhat stereotyped at one of its early evolutionary stages. But Arjuna who was a Kaurava did not find a place in this list which, as has been shown by me elsewhere (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. X, pp. 65-8) contained the names of Samkarshana or Baladeva, Vāsudeva Kṛishna, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha, all of whom belonged to the Vṛishni clan and were close relations of one another.

The epic and Puranic tradition clearly proves that they were originally human beings who were later raised to the position of divinities. The *Vayu Purana* (ch. 97, vv. 1-4) says that the gods who were human by nature (*manushya-prakriti*) were Samkarshana and the four others just mentioned, and they were 'celebrated as the five heroes of the clan, evidently the Vṛishni clan (*panchaite vamsavirah prakirtitah*). This list of divine Panchaviras should not be confused with the other epic lists of Vṛishni heroes, atirathas, maharathas, etc., among whom a few of the above five sometimes find their place, who were primarily great warriors. Thus Rauhineya (Saṁkarshaṇa, the son of Vasudeva by Rohiṇi). Kṛishna-Vāsudeva and Sāmba who is like Sauri in battle, along with Charudeshna, his brother, Chakradeva and Sātyaki are the seven atirathas among the Vṛishṇis, while the seven mahārathas of the same clan are Kṛitavarman, Anādhṛishṭi, Samika, Samitinjaya, Kanka, Sanku and Kunti. Most of these latter class of heroes had no cult significance, which the five Vṛishṇi viras undoubtedly possessed. This is fully corroborated by earlier epigraphic data, for the Mora Well inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Soḍāsa (c. beginning of the 1st century A.D.) refers to the enshrinement of the images of the five holy Vṛishnivīras (*bhagavatam Vrishninam Panchaviranam pratima*) in a stone temple by a lady Tosha by name, most probably of foreign extraction. It should be noted that excepting Sāmba, the fourth in this list, all the others constitute the four primary Vyūhas or the emanatory forms of the highest god (Para Vāsudeva) devotion to whom was one of the most important features of the early Pancharatra or Bhāgavata cult. The question then may be raised about the introduction of the Vyūha worship in it, and the elimination of Sāmba from the list of the worshipful ones of the Vṛishnis. The earliest reference to the former is found by some scholars in the *Brahma-sutra* passage, II. 2, 42, but it must be said that it is not explicit there and it is in the commentaries by Saṅkarāchārya and Rāmānuja that we find their clear mention. It is possible that Patanjali (c. 2nd century B.C.) was aware of the Pāncharātra Vyūhavāda, for while commenting on Pāṇini's sutra, VI. 3, 6, he explains the form *atmachaturtha* (not *atmana chaturtha*) in the passage *Janardanastatma-chaturtha eva* cited by him as a *Bahuvrihi* compound (*atma chaturthosya*). But are we sure about it? R. G. Bhandarkar who was the first to draw the attention of scholars to the passage in this connection was himself doubtful. In any case Patanjali uses the compound Rama-Keśava in his

commentary on Pānini, II. 2, 34, and in his *bhashya* on II. 79, 23, he describes Krishna as second to Samkarshana (*Samkarshana dvitiyasya Krishnasya*). The Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, who was himself a Bhāgavata convert, refers only to Devadeva Vāsudeva, but the Nagari inscription of king Sarvatāta contains the names of Samkarshana and Vāsudeva. The order in which the names are placed in the latter record which is also dated by most scholars in the 2nd century B.C. leads me to suggest that in that context they are not two of the Vyūhas, but two of the prominent Vṛishnivīras; had they belonged to the category of the former, the form of the compound in the inscription should have been *bhagava(d)bhyam Vasudeva-Samkarshana-bhyam*, in place of *bhagava(d)bhyam Samkarshana-Vasudeva-bhyam*, for in the Pāncharātra Vyuhavāda, Samkarshana who was the possessor of *jnana* and *bala*, two of the six ideal Gunas of the Pancharatrins (*jnana, bala, virya, aisvarya, sakti* and *tejas*) was a secondary or an emanatory form of the great god Vāsudeva, the possessor of all the six. If Patanjali were really aware of the Vyuha doctrine, it may be suggested that it was of a recent growth and had not been stereotyped at that date, the belief in the cult of the Vīras being then more prominent. This seems to be borne out by the absence of any reference to it in the *Bhagavadgita*, which comparatively recent scholarship dates in the 3rd-2nd century B.C. My suggestion appears to be further confirmed by the Nanaghat Cave Inscription of Nāyanikā (2nd half of the 1st century B.C.) where among the various gods invoked, the names of Samkarshana and Vāsudeva occur in this order. When, however, even a law book like the *Vishnusamhita* of a much later date refers to the Chatur-vyuhas (67 : 2), Vasudeva is named first, and then Samkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are mentioned (*Vasudeviya Samkarshanaya-Pradyumnayaniruddhaya*); this should be the correct order in the Vyuha doctrine, where Samkarshana the elder brother of Vāsudeva emanates from him, Pradyumna, the son of Vāsudeva, from Samkarshana, and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna, from his father. It should be noted that there is no place for Samba in this list; it is clear that along with the growing importance of the cult of the Chatur-Vyuhas, he gradually lost court with the Bhāgavatas, and all sorts of opprobrium were showered on him. I have suggested elsewhere (*Proceedings of the Madras Session of the Indian History Congress*, pp. 82-90) that this elimination of Samba from the list of the holy and worshipful ones might be ascribed to his mythical

association with the Iranian Sun cult and its introduction in to India, and to the story of his having been born to Jāmbavati, the non-Aryan wife of Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva (according to the epic and Puranic tradition she was the daughter of the Riksha king; the Mahāummagga Jātaka says that she was a chaṇḍāla woman) through the grace of Siva, the principal deity of a rival cult. It is also possible that his identity, was gradually merged in the cult picture of the north-Indian Sun worship which owed much of its re-orientation to Iranian influence, for the *Varaha Purana* refers to the enshrinement of such a deity as Sāmbāditya. The points raised by me above would show that the origin of the Pancharatra cult should be traced to the worship of the human *heroes* who were gradually raised to the position of divinities, and some time after their divine nature was well-established, the tenets about the five-fold aspects of the one great god, Devadeva Vāsudeva, such as Para (the highest aspect), Vyuha (the emanatory one), Vibhava (the incarnatory form), Antaryamin (the god in every individual controlling all his actions) and Archa (his concrete representation in the shape of images), were developed. This development had begun a little before the beginning of the Christian era, and continued its progress in the early centuries of the era and afterwards, when the major authoritative Pancharātra Saṁhitas were composed. I have shown elsewhere (*J.I.S.O.A.*, Coomaraswamy, vol., pp. 13-20; *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 114-15) that the worship of the three man-gods in the Besnagar area in the 2nd-1st century B.C. is well attested not only by the Heliodorus inscription referred to above, but also by several other fragmentary sculptures discovered there. Two capitals of columns, whose shafts are now missing, are shaped one as a *tala* (fan palm) and the other as a *makara* (crocodile) and there is little doubt that these when they were whole, served as the votive columns dedicated to Saṁkarshaṇa and Pradyumna. Two other sculptures of the Maurya-Sunga period found by Cunningham in the same locality and which are now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, may be mentioned incidentally in this connection on account of their possible Pancharātra association. One is that of the so-called Yakshiṇi which has been identified by me elsewhere as the earliest sculptural representation of Sri, the goddess or the active energic principle out of whose two dual aspects, Bhutiśakti (material cause) and *Kriya-śakti* (instrumental cause—she being for the *Ichchha-śakti* or the efficient cause)

are born the six ideal gunas of the Pancharatrins mentioned above ; the other is that of the so-called Kalpadrum or the wish-fulfilling banyan tree coming down from whose branches are shown the eight treasures (*ashtanidhis*) the presiding deity over which is none other than the goddess Lakshmi herself (*Proceedings of the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress*).

The literary and archaeological data briefly discussed by me leave little doubt that the Pancharatra or the Bhagavata cult was in its evolutionary stages in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. The progress continued in the subsequent times, and the Gupta period was marked by a great development of the creed, when its tenets were systematised. It is in this period that it was gradually transformed into Vaishnavism, and though most of the Gupta monarchs describe themselves in their inscriptions and coin-legends as Paramabhagavatas, the epithet Parama-vaishnava was not tardy in making its appearance. One of its earliest uses can be traced to the coin legend of the Traikutaka king Dahrasena, who flourished sometime about the middle of the 5th century A.D. (*Raychaudhury, Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.*, 2nd edition, p. 18). The doctrine of divine incarnation (*vibhava, avatara*) played a prominent part in this transformation and this is the reason why the worship of the *avataras* became a notable feature of the Gupta period, the inscriptions referring to the Varaha, Vamana and Narasimha forms. But absence of any reference to the Vyuhas in the Gupta inscriptions would not prove that they were displaced by the Avataras and that their displacement was a characteristic trait in the transformation of Bhagavatism into Vaishnavism. That they remained a potent force in the re-orientated creed of the early and late mediaeval periods can be clearly demonstrated with the help of literary and archaeological data. The four-faced images of Vishnu Chaturmurti of the mediaeval and even earlier period, hailing from Kashmir, Mathura and Benares fully prove that the Vyuha element in the mediaeval Vaishnavism was one of its strong and living features. The *Vishnudharmottara* (late Gupta period) explains the symbolism underlying this peculiar Vishnu icons with the faces of a man (central one), a boar (on the left), a lion (on the right) and a demon (back) with the help of the self-same doctrine of the Vyuhas ; nay, the very name Vishnu Chaturmurti shows that it embodied in one concrete form all the four primary Vyuhas, the central human face standing for Vasudeva, while the

lion, boar and demon faces symbolising in an esoteric manner the three other Vyūhas, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyāmna and Aniruddha respectively (for details, *cf. Proceedings of the Lahore Session of the Indian History Congress*, pp. 61-4). The Sri Vaishṇavism of later times which owed much to the earlier Pancharatra theology reserves an honoured place for this element in its tenets. It was in the early mediaeval times that the number of the four Vyuhas was increased to as many as twenty-four, and separate images of many of them have been discovered in eastern and southern India (the latter mostly belong to Mysore and area of the Hoysala school; *cf.* Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pp. 227-44). These discussions will prove that the laudable and assiduous endeavours in the collection of materials for the study of the subject by pioneers like R. C. Bhandarkar, H. C. Raychaudhury, R. P. Chanda and others in this field of Indology should be continued with devotion, in order that a comprehensive work on the early history of the cult may be undertaken.

SAIVISM AND OTHER SYSTEMS

The line of approach to the historical study of Vaishnavism which I have just indicated should also be followed in reconstructing the history of the other Brāhmaṇical cults like Saiva, Sākta, Saura and Gaṇapatya—which collectively make up the *Panchopasana*. It will not be possible for me to refer even briefly to their history in the course of this short address which I do not intend to prolong for fear of tiring your patience and good will. Yet I cannot resist the temptation to place before you one or two problems associated with the origin of one of these cults. Take the case of Saivism which is also a major creed; one of its earliest forms was the Paśupata system said to have been founded by Lakuliśa who according to the Puranic evidence was the 28th or the last incarnation of Siva. The historicity of Lakuliśa was demonstrated long ago by D. R. Bhandarkar on the basis of several inscriptions of the early and late mediaeval periods and some extracts from *Vayu* and other Purāṇas (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXII, 151ff., *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07). The Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, G. E. 61, edited by the same scholar in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, pp. 1-9, fully corroborates his earlier conclusions for it records the erection of two images, called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara (really two Śivalingas

named after Kapila and Upamita, the teacher and the teacher's teacher of the donor), in the *Gurvvayatana*, by one Uditacharya, the Maheśvara teacher, described in the record as tenth in apostolic succession from Kuśika (*Kusikad-dasama*) Now, this Kuśika was none other than one of the four immediate disciples of Lakuliśa (Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurushya), who according to an inscription usually known as Cintra Praśasti (between 1274 and 1296 A.D.) were the founders of four lines amongst the Paśupatas. Bhandarkar on the basis of this very helpful and concrete data furnished by the Mathura record supported his own dating of Lakuliśa which was fixed by him in his earlier writings as early as the first century A.D. Allotting 25 years to each generation, the founder of the Pasupata sect was assigned a date, 105-130 A.D., which agreed pretty closely with his earlier view. This seems to be a sound line of argument, but the resultant conclusion confronts us with an interesting problem. Was this sect of the Paśupatas then quite different from that of the Sivabhāgavatas mentioned by Patanjali in his comment on Pāṇini's sutra, V. 2, 76? The aphorism lays down that the affixes *thak* and *than* come respectively after *ayahsula* and *dandajina* (in the sense of "one who strives to gain something by that"). The great commentator describes in this connection a Sivabhagavata who carried an iron lance (*sula*) and a staff (*danda*), and wore a hyde (*ajina*); these marks were the outer badges of the sectary's devotion, and Patanjali expressly tells us that the particular devotee seeks to obtain his desire by violent means, the fulfilment of which should be sought for by mild ways, and thus is called *ayahsulika* (*Kim yo'yah-sulenanvichchati sa ayahsulikah kim chatah Sivabhagavate prap-noti..... ..Yo mridunopayenanveshtavyan-arthan-rabhasena-nvich-chati sa uchyata ayahsulikah*). The very characteristic refer-ence here to the ways by which a Sivabhāgavata sought to obtain his desire distinctly reminds us of the fourth topic *i.e.*, the Vidhi or means by adopting which a Paśupata desired his goal which was Dukhanta (cessation of misery). Mādhavāchārya gives us a glimpse of its nature in his *Sarvadarsana-samgraha*, and its study clearly shows how some of its features were violent. This led R. G. Bhandar-kar to describe the Pasupata school with two of its off-shoots, the Kāpāla and Kālāmukha, as Atimārgika or 'schools that are away from the path or go astray, and are spoken of by Sambhudeva as revealed by Rudra.' I may mention here that the outlandish means prescribed in the Paśupata system for the attainment of the sectary's goal

led Utpala the commentator of the *Brihatsamhita* to describe one class of Siva-worshippers as the followers of the *Vatula-tantra*, *i.e.*, 'the code of lunatics'; Varahamihira undoubtedly refers to them in the original passage as *sabhasmadvija* the ash-besmeared twice-born ones, who are none other than the Pāśupatas, as we know from a passage in Lakuliśa's own work the *Panchadhyayi* or *Pancharthavidya*, quoted by Mādhava ("'He, *i.e.*, a Pasupata, should besprinkle his body at the three points of the day, and lie down in ashes;—the definite practices are six," which are stated by the author of the Sutras to be laughing, singing, dancing, *Hudukkara*, *i.e.*, muttering a peculiar sound, prostration, and inaudible repetition'"). The above observations leave little doubt that the author of the *Mahabhashya* was aware of the nature of some of the practices of the Pāśupata, or of a similar Saiva sect, if we accept Bhandakar's dating of Lakuliśa the founder of the former; for the usually accepted date of Patanjali would put the Sivabhāgavatas a few centuries earlier. But even the summary characterisation of the latter by the grammarian shows such a similarity with the Pāśupata practice that one is inclined to suggest that the originators of the Siva-bhāgavatas and the Pāśupatas were one and the same person who flourished some time before Patanjali. This is a problem which should be carefully investigated, before any final verdict can be offered. I may add *in passim* that the name which was frequently used to denote the Pāśupata sect in the Kushan and Gupta periods was *Mahesvara*, as the coin-legends of Wema Kadphises and the Mathura inscription noted above show; this practice was not discontinued afterwards. Take again the question of the incorporation of Linga worship into Saiva ritualism. I have shown elsewhere (*D. H. I.*, pp. 125-27, pl. I, figs, 9, 10, 13, 14) that numismatic data clearly prove that the connection was already well-established in the 3rd—2nd century B.C., and we need not concur with D. R. Bhandarkar's view that his association was comparatively late (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, Lectures I). But it is true that the formal recognition of the practice by an orthodox section of the people was a little tardy, which is proved by the fact that it is only in some of the latest sections of the *Mahabharata* that we find its mention as an integral part of Siva worship. The extreme realism of the early Sivalingas was possibly the reason for this apparent aversion in the minds of some, which might also explain the gradual conventionalisation of these cult-objects.

As for the other minor Brahmanical systems,

many interesting deductions can be made regarding their historical evolution if we proceed in the above lines. I hope I have made myself clear regarding the methodology to be adopted in this kind of research. Religious and other kinds of literature, no doubt, will ever remain one of the principal sources for such work, but a systematic, careful and intelligent use must be made of the extent sculptural and architectural remains connected with one or other of the Brahmanical creeds. They are some of the concrete expressions of the inner religious urge of the people for whose use they were made, and when they are correctly and clearly understood they will be of immense help to us in this respect. The images and temples are more often than not studied by us as so many objects of ancient Indian art and architecture and in judging and appraising them only from the point of view of their artistic merits or demerits we are ever prone to miss their deep religious import which will supply us with many interesting clues useful for the solution of different problems connected with our topic. The historical study of the cults should also be conducted with the help of the extant inscriptions which are numerous especially in the latter part of our period. Some use of these materials has no doubt been made already by scholars with noteworthy contributions on this subject to their credit; but they can be made to yield many more informations, if they are systematically studied from this angle.

I feel I have left unsaid much that I wished to say to you in connection with the above and other fields of Indological research. Our time and my capacity are limited. I can, however, refer to one other fascinating branch of Indology which does not appear to me to have attracted hitherto that amount of attention from scholars which it deserves. I mean the social history of India especially during the several centuries of the Christian era falling within our period. It is in these times that the numerous foreign people gradually acclimatised themselves and merged themselves in the untold millions of the country. To trace the history of this social and cultural merger, as well as to study the social activities of the mixed population, in their various branches, on the basis of literary and archaeological, especially inscriptional, data is a gigantic task which ought to be taken up in right earnest by a devoted band of scholars. Such work may at first be conducted on zonal or regional basis and when some appreciable progress has been made the informations acquired may be pooled together and

studied from a bigger all India perspective. What is of primary importance for the scholars engaged in the pursuit of such studies and investigations in this and many other branches of Indology is the possession of a first hand knowledge of the ancient remains of their country, their past heritage, which are collected in the different museums of India and of countries outside India, and are scattered in accessible or inaccessible places. This would require money and encouragement, and our central and provincial governments, the universities, the rich trading and other magnates of the country should come forward and unstintedly encourage all organised work and enterprise of this character. It would be in the fitness of things, that in these days of national awakening we should strive to know our remote past, for such knowledge is undoubtedly one of the many factors which would help us to build our future.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN COCHINCHINA (S. W. INDOCHINA) OR THE DISCOVERY OF FOUNAN'S SITES

BY

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The general public, even ten years ago, regarded, as established the fact, that no trace of any very ancient civilisation could be found in the Mekong and Bassac Delta, as the swampy soil of these regions are of recent formation.

The few remains of the Khmer occupation one knew of in Cochinchina, seemed to afford some justification for this belief. As a matter of fact no systematic investigations had ever been undertaken in that ancient Cambodian site, with the exception of those carried out in 1909, by Mr. Henri Parmentier. When in 1938, Monsieur Louis Malleret, member of the E. F. E. O. undertook a thorough archaeological survey of this very part of Cochinchina, district by district, he was far from expecting that these researches would lead him to the discovery of Fou-Nan Kingdom which flourished earlier than the Southern Indochinese Khmer Empire.

The first researches were most encouraging and full of promises as they brought to light many pieces of evidence regarding pre-Angkorean period. It did not seem, as it has done, that

it would add several bygone centuries to the history of these districts. Though the archaeological researches in Cochinchina were greatly handicaped by the war, it was between 1943-1944 that, in spite of innumerable difficulties, the most important discoveries were made.

Monsieur Malleret undertook the survey of the Delta's lowest regions, which revealed the existence of very ancient human settlements, that had remained buried under 2 feet of alluvial deposits. Amongst the discovered settlements, the most important is the one known under the name of OCEO. It is a big town which lies 25 miles from the coast of the gulf of Siam. Aerial observation has enabled Mr. Malleret to notice that the town was in shape a vast rectangle of about 3 by 1 and 1/2 kilometer, covering an area of more than 400 hectares or 8 acres 4 roods 130 perches, *i.e.* to say half the area of Angkor Thome the ancient Khmer capital.

Cutting across the town of OCEO widthwise runs a canal leading to another site which seems to have been an ancient harbour; thus may one think that OCEO must have been a maritime town directly connected with the sea through a previous port.

The excavations which Mr. Malleret undertook in 1944 lasted three months, and revealed the existence of two archaeological levels corresponding to deposits of piles-habitations, a few of the piles being still in situ. Foundations of brick buildings have also been found but on sandy browhills, two of which are of an architecturel style not yet met with in Indo-China. During these excavations many articles have been brought to light: polished stone axes, as well as pottery, of the crude variety and of a sober refined kind which in shape and decoration are closely related to the already known finds from the prehistorical Indo-chinese sites, and to those discovered by I. H. N. Evans at Kuala Silingsing in Malayas; more than 8,000 crystal, cornelian, onyn, amethyst and glass beads of different colouring. Some of them, are the so-called "Roman beads," others are gilded with a thin sheet of gold between two pieces of glass and are known as "gilding beads"; iron articles, lead amulets bearing Brāhmanical symbols; silver "sun" coins of a most rare variety in Indo-china but common in Siam and Burma. The most striking discovery made is certainly that of several hundred articles of gold jewellery: rings, finger-rings, seals, clasps, pendants, ear-drops, ornaments of various kind, bead necklaces etc. with thin chasing or filigree work, showing a very delicate craftmanship. Hardly less important, is a collection of about fifty cornelian, crystal or sardonyx intaglios and cameos with Sanskrit inscription, animal figures or symbols, some of which show, Hellenistic affinities. One must also mentien a big "cabuchon," polished but uncut piece of glass paste bearing a profile with netted beard and hair, and having a bonnet of

Scythic style as head dress. It is possible for one to recognise in it a Sassanid effigy without any difficulty. Articles of Roman origin were also found, and on a cornelian intaglio one may distinguish the bust and the profile of a face, that leaves no doubt about its Roman origin. A golden medal bears the effigy of one of the Antonines with a very mutilated inscription reading AVREL.. ; the legend on one coin reads clearly "Antoninus the Pius" with a date corresponding to 152 A. D.

The diversity of these discoveries proves the long occupation of the site representing most probably several different periods. The Sanskrit inscription on the seals are in an archaic type of script belonging to the first century of the Christian era according to M. G. Coedes, Director of the E. F. E. O.

As for the Sassanid "Cabuchon," it belongs most probably to the middle of the 4th century during which period, a sovereign of Iranian descent, ruled over an ancient Hinduised state of Indo-china known as the "Founan."

Up till now, the only sources of information regarding this ancient kingdom have been Chinese texts and a few Sanskrit inscriptions. These last Cochin-chinese discoveries enable us, henceforth, to place this very kingdom on the map with a fair amount of certainly, and to acquire a much more precise idea about its material civilisation and art. They throw also an "unthought of" light on certain aspects of Indian colonisation in Indo-china, and it may be considered as one of the most important achievements of French achaeology during the past past years. Doubtless the maritime town known today under the name of OCEO was a big "emporium" where traders from far away places used to meet; only such a hypothesis could explain the Roman and Hellenistic articles found.

Aerial survey has also revealed ancient canal system and a land surface divided into small portions, where big estates now-a-days are to be found. So all this area opened to modern colonisation, less than 30 years ago, was once densely populated with small proprietors who, it appears, must have been skilful hydraulic engineers; fishery also must have been one of their means of livelihood, as in their art the maritime fauna occupies quite an important place.

Their town was also provided with many goldsmith's lapidary's, and glass craftmen's workshops; much of the jewellery has most likely been manufactured on the spot and traces of metallurgical industry have also been found in several places during the excavation.

What has caused the ruin of such an important city, even, the mere memory of which was utterly lost, is one of the most interesting problems that these discoveries put before us. The numerous golden jewellery that has been found in a scattered

state allow us to think that a sudden cataclysm destroyed it totally, but happily it has also preserved the town from being ransacked.

About a dozen of other sites, discovered in 1944, amongst which M. Malleret recognises at least a second town, nearly all are situated in the depressed regions of the Bassac's overflowing areas, innundated each year for a couple of weeks. It seems to indicate, that important modifications have taken place during the past centuries concerning housing conditions in the low Delta and it thus raises a geographical problem of acute interest.

One deeply regrets that the war and the sudden outbreak of the Japanese on the 9th March 1945, have paralysed and interrupted the pursuit of these researches which may be considered as a real disaster for two of the newly discovered Cochin chinese sites.

They have been unscrupulously plundered by local jewellery seekers. Twice M. Malleret protested vehemently, but the Japanese authority took no steps whatever to put an end to such devastation which without exaggeration may be said a catastrophy for Science.

Monsieur Malleret's publication on his researches will appear —in French—in the B.E.F.E.O under the title of "Transbassac Archaeology" and will consist of the following fascicules each printed under separate cover".

I. Evolution of the Melong Delta.
II. Transbassac exploration (ground and aerial survey).
III. Oc-Eo Excavations.
IV. Lithic material.
V. Bronze and iron metallurgy.
VI. Lead metallurgy.
VII. Jewellery.
VIII. Jeweller's trade and glass ware.
IX. Glyptic art.
X. Pottery.
XI. Statuary.
XII. Tranbassac ancient civilisations.

The preliminary report of the 1944 Excavations will also appear in the B.E.F.E.O.

THE ĀJĪVIKAS AND THEIR PLACE IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

BY

SATYA PRAKASH, M.A., (HONS.).

It is a common belief that the Ajivikas figure as ascetics in Buddhist and Jaina texts and owe their origin to Gosāla Mamkhaliputta (according to the Jainas) and to Makkhali Gosala Maskarin Gosala or Gosalikāputra (according to the Buddhists). Dr. Hoernle has described at length the significance of the above two words and illustrated very clearly that Gosala was his real name and Makkhali or Maskarin shows him as one belonging by birth to a certain sect of mendicant friars. He contend that *Maskarin* means an ascetic carrying a single bamboo staff (*Maskara*) and *Gosala* refer to the sect of mendicants usually called *ekadandins*—or the orthodox Saivas.

The existence of such *Maskara*—carrying Monks is ascertained not only by the name Mamkhaliputta, but also by Pāṇini (vi, 1, 15 4). [*Maskaramaskarinan venuparivrajikayoh*]. Mainkhaliputta may be regarded as a noun of the same kind as Nigantha-putta or Sākyaputta, names of the followers of Mahāvira, the Niggantha, and Gotama, the great ascetic of the Sākya clan.

But this statement is not clear to the author of the *Bhagwati-sutra* (p. 1204), who states that Gosala was called Mamkhaliputta, as being the son of Mamkhali or a *mamkha*, a wandering mendicant. Abhayadeva explains *mamkha* as being a medicant who tries to get alms from the people by showing them pictures of malignant deities which he carried about with him.

This explanation of Abhagadeva does not seem to be satisfactory for there is no real word *mamkha* and the word is an invented word. Under these circumstances it is proper to stick to the former view that Gosalas' father was rather a *maskarin*—a mendicant carrying one staff of bamboo, an *ekdandin*.

A peep into the sacred literature of the Hindus reveals to us certain interesting details in this connection. It seems probable that the name was not originally taken up by the followers of the heresiarch Gosala themselves but was from the beginning a nick name given to them by their opponents and meant to denote them as practising ascetic rules only as a means of gaining livelihood (*ajiva*). So *ajivika* means 'professional' or something like that.

Needless te say, this seems to be the most probable explanation of this rather obscure word. But it is highly probably that the term in question goes back to a more remote antiquity than

that of Gosala, who was the contemporary of Mahāvira the Jaina, and Gotama, the Buddha.

The verb *ajiv* is met first in the *Mahabharta* but the noun *ajiva*—"liveli hood"—"mode of life" occurs in texts certainly much older than the great epic poem. In the *Sveta Svatara Upanishad* (i, 6) we find *Sarvajiva* and *Samyag-ajiva*; *Sammajiva* is well known to designate one of the stations of the "noble eight fold path" in the sacred love of the Buddhists. In Buddhist scriptures too, *ajivika* as the name of hetrodox ascetics is frequently met with in the *Vinaya Pitaka* (i, 8), the *Majjhma Nikaya* (i, 170) and the *Vinaya Pitaka* (ii ; 130, 284 etc.), but the name of Gosala is not mentioned in connection with it. It is only from the Jaina Canonical texts that we learn that Gosala was the head of the Ajiviyas mentioned there. As for the epigraphical mentions of the word *ajvika* it may be assisted that the first of it dates from the time of Asoka and his successor Dasaratha.

It is a common notion that Siva worship was of considerable importance in Eastern India in pre-Buddhistic times. It is therefore probable that the use of the word Ajivika dates from the time before Buddha and must have been designated originally to mean an ascetic of the same kind as Gosala's father, a mendicant friar belonging to some Saiva sect. Here it is interesting to note that inspite of the fact that the word *mamkha* was only a blunder of Abhayadeva, his statement concerning the carrying of a picture of a certain ugly looking deity seems to be quite right. This assumption is based on a reference to Pāṇini (v., 3, 98 *jivikarthe chapanyā*) and also from the explanations of Patañjali and others from whom we learn that a picture of Siva or some other deity that was fabricated for sale should be called Sivaka, while another picture of the same god, carried out by a devalaka (cf. *devajiva tu devalah—Amerakosha* ii 10, 11) and shown to the people for earning money was called Siva. According to this *sutra* Pāṇini must have been well accustomed to the profession of carrying about idols for the purpose of earning money. And such a mode of life must have been rather traditional at this time, as the grammarian had already been able to make such nice distinctions as to the various uses of Siva and Sivaka, when the words were used to denote these pictures. Thus the explanation of Abhayadeva quoted above stands in union with what is told by Pāṇini.

Now it is of great interest to note too, that Siva should be used here for exemplifying the rule of Pāṇini and that the other examples are Skanda and Viśākha who are both very closely connected with Siva. From these indications we may, conclude that the Malignant deity which Gośala's father, the Maṁkhale was carrying about, must have been just the same Siva, of whom ugly looking and terrible pictures may, after all, have been known since very old times, in India. And in relation to the

conjunction it may also be stressed that Ajīvika seems to be sometimes used as a Synonym of *eka-dandin*, a Śiva by sect and that the *maskarin* of Pāṇini (vi, 1, 154) can scarcely have been anything but such a Saiva ascetic carrying one staff.

This is one side of the picture. Now coming to the other side I may refer to *Vinaya Pitaka* (i, 8) which tells us that Gotama, on his way from Gaya immediately after his enlightenment met a certain. Upaka, whom the text calls an ājīvika. It is almost certain that Buddha died at the age of eighty in about 480 B. C. and was accordingly born in about 560 B. C. Dr. Hoerules' calculation makes us feel that Gosala died in about 500 B. C. The *Bhagavati Sutra* states that Gośala founded his order of mendicants at Sāvatthi sixteen years before his death. If these calculations could be proved, this Upaka, whom the *Vinaya Pitaka* calls an ājīvika, was certainly not a disciple of Gosala but belonged to a sect previous to his.

Doubtless to say that much importance can not be ascribed to these uncertain chronological calculations; but the statement of the *Vinayapitaka* can be viewed in the light of the fact that the Buddhists never denote the Ajīvikas as real followers of Gośāla. It is important to note here that both Jaina and Buddhist texts name many older Brāhminical order of ascetics, but the names generally denote subtle difference of doctrine and not in the corporate names of schools called after their founders take the Sākiyaputta Samanas or the Nigantha Nātaputtas. The *Bambhajala Suttr* mentions as many as sixty-two systems of doctrines held by the Sramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas while in Jaina works their number is 363 of the several names contained in a list in the *Anguttara nikaya*, the Ājīvikas figure as one. They are mentioned to be the followers of the sect which went about naked and claimed special strictness in their means of livelihood.

In the *Samannaphala Sutta* we are told that Makkhali Gosala was so-called because he was born of a slave confined to a cowpen by his master. His doctrine was the denial of Karma and its defects. He admitted the face of depravity but held that it could be evoked out by transmigration and not by any action of the individual concerned. A part from the reference quoted before, Gosala figures in the Jaina texts as the founder of the sect of Ājīvikas made famous by the inscriptions of Aśoka recording his gift to them of cave-dwellings. At first he was a disciple of Mahāvīra, but later on, quarrelled and separated (Hoernle's—*Uvasagadasao*). The Jains nick-named him Ājīvika as one who turned an ascetic for the sake of earning a living (*ajiva*). The Buddha too could not stand an Ājīvika.

Thus both the Jaina and the Buddhist references show the Ājīvikas to be of quite an old and well-established order. In the *Samannaphala Sutta*, for instance, Makkhali Gosala divides mankind into six classes of whom the Nigantha formed the third

class. Thus the antiquity of the Ajīvika sect and also that of Gośāla is established. We are told in a Jaina work that Mahāvīra met Gośāla first at Nalanda and both lived together for 6 years in austere asceticism at a place near Khollaga called Parvijn bhūmi (*Uvasagadasao*, Appendix). Then they differed and separated and became critics of each others doctrines. Gośāla settled down at Sāvatthi (as I have said before), taking up his abode in a potters shop, the property of a landlord named Nalakanta, and became known as the founder of the Ājīvika sect. In its insistence on nakedness and denial of all comforts, in the general mode of life it prescribes, the system of Gośāla is hardly different from that of Mahāvīra. And yet the two became irreconcilable opponents and fought out their differences generally through their followers.

The *Sutra Kritanga* (II. 6) represents Gośala criticising the tenets of Mahāvīra and that defence by his disciple Ardhapa. One of his criticism is, "As a merchant desirous of gain shows his wares or attracts a crowd to do business, in a similar way does the Sramana Jnāti putra." In another, he says that Mahavīra avoids public places for fear of questions from more iearned monks whom he may meet there'. The Jaina text on its part ascribes to Gośala the strange levity of permitting to the monks of the order intercourse with women.

I have tried to put in the above pages the two views of the picture—one showing the part played by the Ājīvikas in the Jaina and the Buddhist literature and the other showing that the order Ājīvika originally was not particularly connected with Gośala, but was a much older one designating a sect to which Gośala and his desciples originally belonged.

MAHĀKOSALA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

BY

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The ancient kingdom of Mahākośala roughly corresponds to almost the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī including the districts Sambalpur, Bilaspur and Raipur, the modern Gondwana and the eastern hilly portions of Mandla and Balaghat districts in C. P. But its boundaries often changed, sometime extending considerably towards west and north-west. The country was also known as *Dakshina Kosala* to distinghish it from *Uttara* (North) *Kosala*, whose capital was Ayodhyā. The prefix *maha-* indicates that the south Kośala, at any rate at the time of its ascendancy, had become superior to its rival, the north Kośala,

whose importance was now gradually fading away. As regards its extent also, the south Kośala comprised a greater area than the north Kośala.[1]

It is to be admitted that up to about sixth century B. C. the northern India and particularly the country watered by the Gangā and Yamunā (later on known as *Madhya desa*) was regarded as the land *par excellence*. It finds mention time and again in the contemporary Buddhist and Hindu literature. It was mainly due to the fact that the northern India till then was the home-land of Aryan culture. It was the land of activities not only of Rāma and Kṛishṇa but also of Buddha and Mahāvīra. Although by the end of the sixth cent. B. C. some of the border lands along with the tribes inhabited in them were known, yet there was little definite information about them. Most important of these border countries were Aśmaka, Māhishmatī, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga. Of these Vidarbha seems to have gradually grown into a big kingdom, later on known as the Mahākośala.

In the early Buddhist literature there is no mention of Mahākośala, while it abounds in references regarding the north Kośala, with its capitals Sāketa and Sāvatthi, whose king Pasenadi (Prasenajit) has been immortalised in that literature. The *Jatakas* (II,237; IV, 342), the *Anguttaranikaya* and the *Dighanikaya* throw interesting light on the contemporary conditions of the north Kośala. Pāṇini too, who flourished in the 5th Century B. C., is silent about Mahākośala though in his *Ashtadhyayi* (IV, i, 171) he refers to north Kośala whose capital was Ayodhyā. He also mentions Kaliṅga at one place (IV, 1,170). The *Mahabharata* in course of its description of the eastern and south-eastern kingdoms mentions a number of them. For example, in the *Sabhaparva* (48,17) are named four peoples of the neighbouring kingdom—the Vaṅgas, the Kaliṅgas, the Tāmraliptas and the Puṇḍras—

वङ्गाः कलिङ्गपतयस्ताम्रलिप्ताः सपुण्ड्रकाः ।

Here the people of Mahākośala are conspicuous by their absence.

It appears, therefore, that upto about the 3rd century B.C. Mahākośala or Dakshiṇa Kośala had not assumed its name as such and the country was generally designated by the term Vidarbha which might have comprised a much bigger area than the present Berar.

In the Dhauli edict of Aśoka there is mention of Tosalī, which is *Tosale* of the Greek geographer Ptolemy. This 'Tosalī' might have changed into 'Tosala' or 'Kosala.' Near Dhauli hill, to the south of Bhuvaneshwar in the Cuttack district, Orissa, there is a river called Kosalagangā. This also lends support to the identification of Tosalī with Kosala. It may be added here that the ancient city Tosalī, which was the headquarter of Aśoka's eastern territories, has been identified with the modern ruined village of Dhauli.

In the Purāṇas, however, the kingdom of (south) Kośala has been mentioned. The *Vayu*, *Brahmanda* and *Vishnu Puranas*, while describing in their usual prophetic tone the dynasties that ruled in the northern India in the 3rd century A.D., after referring to the Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras and the kings of Mekalā speak about the kings of (south Kośala as follows—

कोशलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः।
मेघा इति समाख्याताः क्षुद्रिमन्तो नवैव तु ॥[2]

That is, 'there will be nine kings in the dynasty of Kośala known as the Meghas and they will be very strong and intelligent.' Nothing more is given in the Purāṇas to enable us to know about the names of these nine kings or their reigning periods. But from the context it is evident that these Meghas or Maghas ruled south Kośala in the 3rd century A. D.

There was nothing known about this dynasty from any other source. But recently quite a large number of coins of the dynasty have been discovered at Kosam (Kauśāmbī, Allahabad district) and Fatehpur in U. P. and from some places of Central India. Several inscriptics have also been found at Kosam and Bandhogarh in the Rewa state, whose evidence combined with that of the coins has revealed the names of as many as 8 kings of this dynasty. These kings have been called Maghas, *e.g.* Bhadramagha, Sivamagha and others, in the coins and inscriptions.[3]

Vātsyāyana in his *Kamasutra*, composed at the end of the 3rd century A. D., while dealing with various erotic practices current in different parts of India mentions Kośala or Mahākośala several times. In section 4 of Ch. II of *Kamasutra* he mentions only the names of three countries—Gauda, Dakshina and Mahārāṣtra. But in section 5 of the same chapter there is a long list of different countries in connection with their women's temperaments and the amatory practices current among them. In II,

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2. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 61.

3. For a fuller account of this dynasty of Kosala see Dr. A. S. Altekar's paper—'*The Maghas of South Kosala*' in the *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Feb. 1944, pp. 149-160.

5, 27 Vātsyāyana mentions Kośala along with Strīrājya, The Jayamāngalā commentary of Yaśodhara (Benares ed.) comments—'बङ्गप्रदेशात्पश्चिमेन स्त्रीराज्यम्'. But in the Jaipur edition of the *Kamasutra* Pt. Durga Prasad has—'बज्रवन्तदेशात्पश्चिमेन स्त्रीराज्यम्'. Dr. Hiralal taking the second one as correct reading, identified *Bajravantadesa* with modern Bairāgaṛh in the Chanda district of C. P. This Strīrājya appears to be the same as the 'Eastern Strīrājya' of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang (*Watters*, I, 330), and may correspond to the western part of modern Chanda district. In that case Kośala of Vātsyāyana is to be located on the east or north-east of the Chanda district. It may be added here that Vātsyāyana mentions Vidarbha also twice (V, 5, 34 and V, 6, 36), which tends to indicate that in his time Kośala and Vidarbha were two separate countries.

In the *Brihatsamhita* of Varāhamihira written in the 6th century A. D., Kośala is mentioned a number of times. In Ch. XVII, 22, the country of Kośala has been placed along with Kalinga and Vanga. At another place (V, 70) it is said that if the Lunar eclipse occurs in the month of Mārgaśirsha it brings disaster to the people of Kośala and some other countries—

काश्मीरकान् कोशलकान् सपुंड्रान्।
मृगांश्च हन्यादपरान्तकांश्च ।

In XIV. 7 Varāhamihira while enumerating the eastern countries places Kośala along with Utkala, Kāśi, Mekala, Ambashṭha Ekapāda and Tāmraiipti.

In the *Ratnavalinatika* (act 4) of Srīharsha an interesting episode is described how Udayana; king of Vatsadeśa with his capital at Kauśāmbī, conquered the country of South Kośala.

In the *Kathasaritsagara*, the capital of Mahākośala is given as *Chirayu*. Can it be identified with Amrāotī, (Amarāvatī) now a town in Berar? Both the words Chirāyu and Amarāvatī convey almost the same meaning.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the country of Mahākośala in the 7th century A.D. He says that from Kalinga he travelled some 1800 or 1900 *li* (300 to 317 miles) north-west and then reached Mahākośala. Yuan Chwang describes the

ACHARYA SAMANTBHADRA AND PATALIPUTRA

BY

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Summary of the Paper.

Jain Acharya Samantbhadra's name has been associated with *PATALIPUTRA* and it has been a belief of the scholars till late, that Acharya visited Pataliputra--Patna at present. This belief has a basis in the inscription as follows :—

पूर्वं पाटलीपुत्र मध्य नगरे भेरी मया ताडिता ।
पश्चात् मालव सिंधु ठक्क विषयें कांचीपुरे वैदिशे ॥
प्राप्तोहं करहाटकं बहुभटं विद्योत्कटं संकटं ।
वादार्थी विचराम्यहं नरपते शार्दूल विक्रीडितम् ॥

Learned friend Pandit Jugalkisor Muktiyar and other scholars on the strength of this inscription are led to believe that Acharya visited Pataliputra-Patna during his travel in the country, as referred to in the above inscription.

While I was on tour in South India, on the occasion of the Indian History Congress Session held at Madras and Annamalai University, I came across a town CUDDALORE, which was then known as Pataliputra and hence a doubt arose in my mind to find out whether the reference to Pataliputra in the above inscription as the place to which Acharya visited is referred to this southern Pataliputra, or to the other—Patna.

No doubt that Pātaliputra-Patna was a flourishing city in the times of Chandragupta Maurya, as the capital of Magadha; but it lost its importance after the overthrow of the Mauryan Dynasty, at the hands of Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and King Khāravela of Kalinga Deśa in the 2nd century B. C. and even before that. Thus the city of Pātaliputra was destroyed many times and lost its importance and magnificence, glory and grandeur forever. All these events took place before the Christian Era, and since then there is nothing to the credit of Pātaliputra to show that it had regained its past days, upto the times of Achārya Sāmantbhadra, who is supposed to have flourished in the 2nd century A.D. and under the above circumstances no justified reason can be found out for Acharya to go to Patna, which was not the seat of learning and religious activities. As Acharya was from Tamil land in South India, and there were many big centres of learnings at Kanchipura, Madura and others, he had no reason to go to Patna. Moreover he was not in a sound condition of helth, but was suffering from a dangerous descease

"Bhasmakavyadhi". Therefore it gives rise for the doubt that he might have visited some other Pataliputra in India. This will be clear from the following possibilities.

The town of CUDDALORE, headquarter of the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency was no other than the ancient Pataliputra, refered in Tamil works and literature as "THIRUPADARIPULIYUR" the corrupt from of which is "THIRUPPAPULIYUR". Of this ancient city, the "PETTAI". Thriahindrapuram, Tiruvadikai" etc., are the suberbs, with ancient ruins and relics spread all over the area of 12-15 miles. There are ancient caves, caverns, temples, mathas-monastaries, palaces etc., under utter ruins even today. Panruti town is nearly 15 miles away from Cuddalore and near it is Tiruvadhihal village, in which there is ancient Jain temple, converted in to Siva temple by Mahendravarman and another temple Virateswar suffered the same fate. There are Jain idols in these temples all mutilated and thrown outside the temple Mulagraham. All this was done by Mahendravarman I at the instance of Saint APPAR, who were the converts from Jain religion to Saiva Sect in 6th C.A.D.

Tamil works and literature throw more than sufficient light over the existance of the city of Pataliputra called as THIRUPADARIPULIYUR in Tamil, which was in the ancient THONDAIMANDALAM or THONDAINADU. This country was the country which produced many great men and persons, such as Pandits, scholars, Munis, Yatis, Logicians, Pholosophers, administrators, Naiyaiks, Vedantis, etc., in verious religions and sects that existed then, from time to time.

Let us see how far Thirupadaripuliyur-Thiruppapuliyur means the city of Pataliputra. City was called so, after the tree "PADARI" in Tamil, while "PULIYUR" means a tigar village (*i.e.* Puli—a tigar and Ur-aplace) Puliyur is the suffix given to those places visited by Muni Vyagrapad. (Muni having a tigar like legs with lower body and a human body above) It is said that he worshiped Siva here under the tree "PADARI". This tree Padari also called as "PADALI or PATALI" in Sanskrit and place "PADALIPUTRA or PATALIPUTRA" and the forest round about it as "PATALIVANA".

Archaeological finds such as inscriptions and other material throw sufficient light over the town of Pataliputra. The inscriptions found from the ruins of the ancient temple in Pataliputra, out of which one was in the Garbhagraham of the said temple; which begins with "TALAITY THIRUPADARIPULIYUR———" and states that the temple in the town of PATALI of thick foliage has been found for the diety named "KADAINYALAN MAHA-[illegible]" etc. Thus it is clear that "THIRU" in Tamil means "SRI" in Sanskrit, "PULI" in Tamil means a form of tigar like and "UR" in Tamil means "PURA" in Sanskrit. In short it gives

complete reference to the existance of the ancient Pataliputra in Tamil country.

In the vicinity of this ancient Pataliputra there are good many ancient Jain places still in existance such as Thirunarankunram, Thirukkoilur, Devanur, Tindur, Perumduretc. Round about the villages and the ancient Patalivana there are many Samadhisthanams or Nishadhis of the Jain Acharyas and Munis and Yatis and as such it is a tradition that there were once existed 6000 Samadhisthanams or Nishadhis at THIRIVANNAMALAI and THIRUKKOILUR villages in South Arcot Dist., very near to the ancient Pataliputra the present town of CUDDALORE. There are pre-historical burial grounds spread all over the part in great number round about these Jain villages. Still the natural caverns and caves under most delapidated conditions are at KALARAYAN HILLS, which were the abode of the Jain Acharyas, Munis, Yatis and Saints in ancient days, when Pataliputra was at its absolute Zenith.

While concluding from the above discussion, it will be proved that Pataliputra—the present Patna was not at Zenith and important seat from any point of view in the 2nd century A. D. when Acharya Samantbhadra lived and as such Acharya Samantbhadra might have visited Pataliputra—the ancient Thirupadaripuliyur, the moder Cuddalore, in the Tamil country itself, which was associated with other cities Kanchipuram, Madura, Urayur, Bhaddalpur, Uragapur, etc., where and when Jain religion and culture attended the highest degree of importance in the times of Acharya Samantbhadra.

Thus I have made an attempt to show that it was not the Pataliputra-Patna supposed by the scholars uptill now but in my humble opinion that the refered Pataliputra was in South India—Tamilnadu—the ancient Thirupadaripuliyur and no other city in India. I have given this only with a hope and view that the scholars may again try to find the truth in the light of my observations made in the subject matter as above.

Notes:—Some of the most important notes are given below out of those refered in the article in main.

1. Sravanabelgola inscription No. 54 old and 67 new. It is also called "Mallisenprasasti" which was written in 1050 Sak Samvat *i.e.* 1100. A.D.
2. Ancient India "Vol. No. IV, pages 113, 114, By Dr. T. L. Shah.
3. Mr. Levis Rise in his "Inscription at Sravanabel gola and preface to "Karnatakshabdanusasan" and "Patavali" published in Bhandarkar Oriental Report 1893-84, page 320.
4. Studies in South Indian Jainism page No. 30.
5. Prof. A. F. Rudolf Haernle—Indian Atiquity Vol. XXI. There father Pattavalies of Digambars pages 60, 61.

Notes:—6. Prof. A. F. Rudolf Hornle-Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. No 1906-0-7.

7. Epigraphica Indi. Vol. No. 6 and Vol. 331.

8. Tamil "Periyapuranam, Sthalapurnam, Thevarm Rhiems".

9. South Arcot Distcit Gazettier of Madras Presidency,

10. Tamil "Patalipur Puranam" manuscript No. 1136/5.

11. „ "Puliyur Puranam" in Sanskrit.

12. „ "Parijatakachal Mahatma" mass No. 11303.

13. „ "Kanchi Puranam" all manuscripts from the Maharaja Sarafoji Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore.

14. Tamil work 'Thirupadaripuliyur-Kalambakam" a work verified structure directory by Mr. Tukapiat Tewar.

15. Tamil "Periyapuranam" part II, page 52, under the heading "Tirupuliyur and Tirupuriyurattam" or "Tiruviuttam" from Tanjore library as above.

16. "District History of South Arcot" by Mr. P. V. Jagadisha Ayya of the Archaeological Survey of India page, 35.

17. Mr. Apate's Dictionary page 1049 and "Classical Account of India".

18. The Geogrophical Dictionary of Ancient and Medival India by Mr. Nandalal Day, M.A., B.L.

19. Rao Bahadur A. Chakravarti, M.A. his preface to "KURAL" a Tamil work translated into English.

20. "Swami Samantbhadra" a Hindi publication by Pandit Jugalkisor Mukatiyar.

MAHESHVAR

BY

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Maheshvar is the most important and ancient—place in the Nimar District of the Holkar State and is situated on the right bank of the river Narmada. The name Nimar of the larger province, which, besides the Nimar District of the Holkar State includes portion of the Central Provinces and of the Barwani and Dhar States in Central India, can be derived from the word Narmada-ahara *i. e.* the Narmada valley like the name Karad from Karha-ahara and Varhad from Vardha-ahara.[1] It extends

1. The name of the place Nemaswar in the Holkar State which is situated on the northern bank of the Narmada can also be derieved from the name Narmadapur mentioned in the Asvi plates of Irammadeva published in the Quarterly of Bharat Itihas Samsodhak mandala, Poona, Vol. III and in the Journal Andhra History Society. Vol. by D. B. Diskalkar.

roughly from Hoshangabad in C. P. in the east to Hiranphal in the Holkar State in the west where the two mountains, Vindhyas and Satpudas seem to meet each other.

The peculiar geographical position of the province being situated midway between the Northern India and the Southern India is maily responsible for its always being the bone of contention between the sovereign power in the North and that in the South from the earliest Mahabharat times to the latest Maratha times. The passes in the Vindhyas and the fords on the Narmada being situated in this province the invading armies as also the peaceful travellers from the North to the South and vice-a-versa had to cross the Narmada through the province and generally at Mahishmati.

Mahishmati is mentioned to be the most important place in this province in the early Brahamanical, Buddhist and Jain literatures. According to some scholars this Mahishmati is to be identified with Mandla in C. P. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang states in his account that from Jajhoti he proceeded to the North for 900 Li or 150 miles to Maheshvarpura, the king of which was a Brahmana. The Kingdom was 500 miles in extent. According to Cunningham, if the word 'northern' is a mistake for the word 'southern' Mandla suits the description and Mahishmati can well be identified with Mandla.[1] According to some scholars, Mahismati is to be identified with Onkar-Mandhata, which is said to have been founded by the mythological hero Muchkund, son of Mandhata and which has continued to be a place of considerable religious imoprtance from the early times to this day. Moreover, a copper-plate grant of the Paramara king Devapaladeva of V. S. 1282 said to have been issued from Mahishmati was in Mandhata. This identification is generally accepted by scholars, even by Mahamahopadhyaya Principal V. V. Mirashi who has made a deep study of the history of the province in his latest paper[2] of March 1946. But Mahishmati is no doubt to be identified with modern Maheshvar for the following reasons. Although like Maheshvara, Mandhata and Mandla are situated on the bank of the Narmada and are on the route from Northern India to Southern India, as Mahishmati is stated in the accounts to be it is the place Maheshvar at which the river Narmada is known to have been frequently crossed in the historical period at least during the last one thousand years. The statement in traditional literature that the lines of communication between Paithan and Ujjain and Vidisha pass through the city of Mahishmati suits more to Maheshvar than to Mandla or even Mandhata.

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1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited S. N. Shashtri, p. 559.

2. Journal Indian History XXII—38.

The geographical situation of Mandhata which is rather situated in mountain cliffs shows that it could not be the capital of a big kingdom which Mahismati claims to have been. Although Mandla possesses archaeological remains scattered over an extensive area, they are not of an early period, while the antiquities found at Maheshvar and near shout it are at least two thousand years old. Among others the following reasons leave no doubt about the identity of Mahishmati with Maheshwar. Two copper-plate grants assignable to the fifth century A.D. have been found, one at Barwani and the other in the well-known Bagh-caves which record donations by a king named Subandhu of Mahismati. Barwani and Bagh are in the neighbourhood of Maheshvar. Although the donated villages cannot be identified the fact that the plates were found near about Maheshvar helps us to identify Mahishmati with Maheshvar rather than with Mandhata or Mandla. A more convincing proof about the identification is found in two Sanskrit inscriptions of the sixteenth century A.D. of the time of Akbar found in the temples at Maheshvar itself. They make a definite mention of the place as Mahishmati which clearly shows that the tradition that Mahishmati and Maheshvar are identical was carried down to the 16th century A.D. One of the two inscriptions again, found in the Kaleshvar temple on the confluence of the river Narmada and the river Mahishmati makes a mention of the Agnitirtha and Kalagnirudrakshetra. We know that in the epic mythology Agni is said to reside permanently in Mahishmati on the Narmada.

A Sanskrit account of Maheshvar under the name Mahishmati.—Mahatmya exists. But its authorship and time cannot be ascertained, though it is said to be a portion of the Vayu Purana. The places in Mahishmati which the account enjoins pilgrims to visit can be identified in the neighbourhood of Mahesvar.

In the Vedic literature neither the mountains of the Vindhyas nor the river Narmada nor the place—Mahishmati are found mentioned, which shows that the Aryans might not have advanced so far to the south in the Vedic period.

The earliest mention of Mahishmati or rather of the Mahishak country is found in the Ramayana along with the countries of Vidarbha and Rishika. Mahishak as suggested by Principal Mirashi must have been the name of the country which bordered Vidarbha or Berar and Rishik or Khandesh on the north *i.e.* the modern province of Nimar and Mahishmati must have been its capital.

In the Mahabharat Mahishmati is said to be the capital of the Anupa or Mekala country governed by the Haihaya kings of the Solar race. In this family a king named Mahishmat was born after whom the city was named Mahishmati. His great grandson was Kartavirya king of Talajanghas also called

Sahasrarjuna, who was a powerful ruler and had performed many sacrifices.[1] In the Mahabharat it is also stated that the Pandava brother Sahadeva during his conquering expedition to the south defeated a ruler named Nila of Mahishmati in the Anupa country. But this Nila along with his son-in-law Agni is said to have fought in the great battle on the side of the Kauravas. The king of Mahishmati was a separate ruler from that of Malwa or Avanti. It is also said to be lying on the road to the Dakshinapatha.

The Harivamsh and the Puranas give more or less the same information about the mythological Haihaya kings of Mahishmati. They refer to the Mahishakas as the people of Mahishmati. What truth there is in the tradition recorded by Katyayana that Mahishmati derives its name from the prevalence of buffaloes (Mahishas) in that region cannot be stated with certainty.

In Buddhist texts like the Dighanikaya Mahishmati is said to be the capital of Avanti which was regarded as one of the seven principal countries in the Jambudvipa. But in some other Buddhist texts Mahishmati is said to be the capital of the southern province of Avanti which was one of the sixteen countries of India at the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C.

Coming to historical times we have reason to belive that Mahishmati must have formed part of the Maury empire it being included in its western presidency of which Ujjain was the capital. Nothing is known of the people or the ruling faimly of the place at the time. In my opinion the people Satiyputas mentioned in the edicts of Asoka may be the people of the Satpuda region and the Mahishmandala to which according to the Mahavavansa and Deepvansh Buddhist mission was sent by Moggaliputta Tissa may be identified with the province of Maheshvar. If this opinion is accepted, we can say that Mahishmati was an important place before and in the time of Asoka in the third century B. C. Two inscriptions on the Sanchi Stupa, which make a mention of Mahishmati, show that it was one of the important places of Buddhist worship in those days.

Whether Mahishmati was included in the empire of the Sungas who had Vidisha in east Malwa as their second capital in the second century B. C. is not known. But that it must have felt the power of the Andhras in the two centuries immediately before and after the Christian era can be said with certainty. For coins of the Andhras which are of the Malwa fabric show that they had traversed the intervening territories of Nimar and

1. There is a legend that Kartikeya when visited by Ravarsa attempted to prove his strength by obstructing the course of the Narmada but the mighty river burst into thousand torrents through the spaces between the name and formed the falls of the Sahasradhara, three miles below Maheshvar,

conquered the kingdom of Avanti when they were largely circulated. It must be supposed that Satakarni wrested Ujjaiyini from the Sunga king Pushyamitra or his successor before the numismatic change was effected.

The Andhra rule over the province of Nimar was ousted by the Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman in the beginning of the second century A. D. as the Girnar inscription of 150 A. D. states that the Anupa country (which was older name of modern Nimar) was included in his dominions.

The rule of the Kshatrapas did not last long over the province The Andhras seem to have seized it back and in about A. D. a Saka ruler named Mana at first a subordinate of the Andhras founded a dynasty with Mahishmati as his capital and began to issue copper coins in his own name. As shown by Principal Mirashi it was probably the rise of these Sakas in Central India which led to the disappearance of the Kshatrapas from Malwa and Nimar.

That Buddhism continued to flourish in the neighbourhood of Mahishmati during all these centuries since the time of Asoka probably because of the special patronage of the foreign dynasties can be seen from the fact that among the remains excavated at Kasrawad, which is only six miles to the south of Maheshvar on the southern side of the Narmada a number of Buddhist Stupas are found. Some of the pieces of pottery found in the excavations are inscribed in Brahmi characters assignable to the first century A. D. The language of the inscriptions is Prakrit. One of the pieces of pottery gives the name of a Vihara named Nigata (Nirgrantha) Vihara and another bears the name of the well-known Buddhist place Taxila with which Kasrawad might have some connection in those days. Among the Punchmarked and Ujjain symbol coins found in the excavations is a copper coin of a Magha ruler probably Vijayamagha of Kaushambi which might have travelled to Kasrawad with a pilgrim coming from Kaushambi to Ujjain. A stone slab found in the excavation contains an extremely worn out inscription of about seven lines, a few unconnected letters in which can be read. The name of one Krishnanaga (Kasanagasa) can be read in the inscription.

About the middle of the third century A. D. the Abhiras probably under Ishvarsena subdued the Anupa country and introduced their own era beginning with 249 A. D. which was continued in use for many years even after their disappearance as an imperial power. Unfortunately of such a powerful sovereign family no historical records are found to show how long their rule was continued over the province. The Puranas assign a period of only 67 years to the rule of the ten Abhir kings, which according to Principal Mirashi might have been a mistake for 167. The Saka descendants of Mana were reduced to subjection by the Abhiras and driven to the east Malwa continued

their existence as petty rulers for many generations. An inscription assignable to 351 A. D. found at a village near Sanchi mentions a military officer (Dandanayaka) name Saka Shridharvarman whom Principal Mirahi supposes to be a descendent of the above-mentioned Saka Mana or Saga Mana of the coins, and who like him may have ruled from Mahishmati. According to Principal Mirashi Saka Shridharvarma had a fairly extensive kingdom stretching over Anupa, eastern Malwa and possibly western Malwa also though he does not mention any high sounding royal title in his epigraph. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Mahamahopadhyaya Mirashi the Saka ruler who was defeated by Samudragupta as stated in the Allahabad pillar inscription might have been this Shridharvarma whose family was allowed to rule at Mahishmati until he was dispossessed by Chandragupta II.

Two copper-plate grants of a king of Mahishmati named Subandhu are found which are really the earliest historical records mentioning the name of the place and the rule of a local family. One of the grants found at Burwani and dated in the year 167 probably corresponding to 486 A. D. records the grant of a village by Subandhu to a Brahman and the other found in the well-known Bagh caves and containing an illegible date records a grant by Subandhu towards the maintenance of the Buddhist monks residing in the Kalayana Vihara which is no doubt to be identified with the Bagh caves themselves. Nothing is known of the royal family to which Subandhu belonged nor of the sovereign power to whom he might have acknowledged allegiance though in all likelihood the latter might have been the Gupta emperor Kumargupta. For it is difficult to suppose that the power of the Gupta sovereigns who had held Malwa under them and even more distant countries as far as Kathiawad could not have been felt over the intervening province of Nimar simply because Subandhu does not make a specific mention of the Gupta sovereignty and instead of using the Gupta era in his grant used the old era of the Abhiras which was long in use in the country.

The sovereign rule of the Guptas over Malwa and Nimar seems to have lasted from the time of Chandragupta II from about 400 A. D. to the end of the reign of Skandagupta to about 465 A. D. Unfortunately no Gupta record is found in the province nor one which refers to the province or to its illustrious capital Mahishmati. The hoard of 21 gold coins at Bamnala in the Nimar district not far from Maheshvar contains coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumargupta I. There is one very rare coin of Samudragupta in the hoard which bears the unusual legend of Sri Vikrama with the name of Samudragupta. The discovery of the gold coins of the Gupta emperors in such a distant province and to the south of the Narmada is important. By the end of Kumargupta's reign the Gupta power was endangered by the

revolt of the Pushyamitras a tribe in Central India living in the upper recesses of the Narmada. Nimar seems to have slipped out of the hand of the Gupta emperor Skandragupta in the period of disorder which followed the Huna invasions. The territories between the Jumna and the Narmada which Surasmichandra was governing on behalf of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta as stated in one of the latter's inscriptions seems to be the eastern Malwa rather than western Malwa and Nimar.

The Vakataka king Pravarsena II states in his Balaghat plates that his father Narendrasenss (450-470 A. D.) supremacy was acknowledged by the rulers of Malwa and Mekala. It may therefore be supposed that the local ruler of Anupa whose name is not known acknowledged the power of the Vakatakas in about 470 A. D. soon after the end of Skandagupta's reign. Principal Mirashi has shown that the ruler Punyavarma of Vidarbha mentioned in the Dasakumarcharita, who had incorporated Mahishmati into his dominions and placed one of his sons on the throne may be identified with the Vakataka ruler Harishena II. In that case the Vakataka rule seems to have continued over the province at least upto 550 A. D. when Krishnaraja the founder of the early Kalchuri dynasty, a branch of the ancient Haihayas established himself at Mahishmati. Krishnaraja's son Sankaragana and grandson Buddharaja seem to have continued to rule over the place for about fifty years more. The ruler of Malwa at this time is said to be Devagupta but whether he had any connection with Nimar or with the Kalchuris names above is not known.

In the first quarter of the seventh century the Kalchuris were defeated and driven to the east—towards Jubbulpur by the Chalukya sovereigns of the Deccan probably Pulikeshi II. The Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. states that the Chalukya emperor Pulikesh II had defeated the rulers of Late Malwa and Gurjara. He must have done this after defeating the ruler of Anupa or Nimar. Who the king of Nimar was at the time is not known. The inscription further states that he had also defeated Harsha the emperor of the North and in order to prevent him from invading the south he kept a strong army in the Vindhya region and guarded the passes of the Narmada. The army must have been kept in the Nimar District probably near about Mahishmati.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang is known to have visited in about 640 A. D. But his account of the place and of hi journey to it is confounding. As stated above he states that h journeyed for 150 miles to the north of Jajhauti and went Maheshvarapura the king of which was a Brahman as that Ujjain and the products o which were like those of Ujjan. He not there the existence of the Pasupata sect. Buddhism as show above had been flourishing in and about Mahishmati for man centuries from the third century B. C. to the sixth century A. D. But Hiuen Tsang unfortunately does not speak anything about

it. It seems that Mahesapura which he visited after Jajhanuti was different from Mahishmati or Maheshwar.

Tradition goes that the great Vedanta philosopher, Sankaracharya on his way to the south from the north had visited Mahishmati where he met and defeated in philosophical discussions, Mandanamishra the most reputed pundit of the place. The memory of Mandanamisra is still commemorated by temples in Maheshwar and Mandleshwar which is close to Maheshwar. Unfortunately their account cannot be authenticated by historical sources.

How long Nimar remained under the sovereign rule of the Chalukyas of the Deccan is not known. But it seems that in the beginning of the eighth century when the Pratiharas had risen to be a sovereign power in the North they must have held Malwa under them. They were frequently engaged in warfare against the Rashtrakutas who had succeeded the Chalukyas in their sovereign power in the South. Success favoured them alternately. In the beginning of the ninth century the powerful Rashtrakuta king Govind III directed his attention to the conquest of Malwa and as the Radhanpur plates of 808 suggest, the king of Malwa submitted to him and was allowed to govern his territory. But in a few years Govind thought it better to annex the province and to hand it over to one of his officers for administration.

In the latter half of the 9th century A. D. the Gurjara-Pratiharas under Mihir Bhoja reasserted their power and tried to seize back all the territories. Bhoja overran the tract round Ujjain upto the Narmada river. Then he tried his strength against the Rashtrakutas in the south evidently to take back the province of Nimar but he had to suffer defeat more than once some time before 867 A. D. But his son and successor Mahendrapal was more successful. He seems to have held the intervening territories not only of Malwa but also of Nimar as he is known to have held territories so far away as Kathiawar where his feudatories Balavarman and Avanivarman II were ruling. Mahendrapal's son and successor Mahipal also was a still more powerful ruler and he must have continued to hold sway over all the provinces of the Pratihar empire. But after his death in the middle of the tenth century the vast empire of the Pratihars collapsed. The Paramaras a subordinate family of the Rashtrakuta sovereigns of the Deccan took advantage of this opportunity and with their sovereign's help succeeded in founding a kingdom in Malwa and Nimar. One of their family named Siyak who was an ambitious man and aspired to be independent of the Rashtrakuta sovereignty rebelled against the Rashtrakuta king Khottiga and defeated him in a battle at Kalighatta which is no doubt to be identified with Kha-lghat, an important ford on the bank of the Narmada close to Maheshvar on the modern Bombay-Agra Road. Siyak is said to have advanced as far as Manyakheta. The Parmara power was now firmly established

over Malwa and Nimar. There was a continued warefare between Munja and the new sovereign of the Deccan named Taila in which they were alternately victorious. Munja's successors also entertained the same ambition of pushing their southern frontier forward. The great Paramara king Bhoja, is known from his copper-plate inscriptions to have conquered even the distant province of Konkan. The Yadavas who were ruling in the northern part of the Deccan had consequently to face the attacks of the Paramaras which were sometimes repelled with success. The Yadava ruler Irammadeva is seen to have held Nemawar on the northern bank of the Narmada in 1098. The Paramara rulers Vindhyavarma and Subhatvarma were defeated by the Yadava rulers Bhillam and Singhan. But the greatest enemies of the Paramaras were the Chalukyas of Gujrat, whose encroachments into Nimar and Malwa, the Paramaras found very difficult to repell. Of the two powers the Chalukyas of Gujrat proved stronger and for some years in the time of the Gujrat Sovereigns Siddharaj Jaisingh, Kumarpal and their one or two successors Malwa was reduced to a subordinate position. The large number of Gujrati Brahmins under the sub-sects of Audich, Nagar, Jamou etc. which make up the Brahmin population of Maheshvar and also of Nimar must have migrated during the sovereign power of the Chalukyan. When the power of the Chalukyan began to decline the Paramars regained their independence though they were never able to attain their former greatness, and ultimately succumbed to the irresistible power of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D.

Unfortunately, very few records of the Paramars of Malwa are found in Nimar and none at Maheshvar. Only one copper-plate grant of the Paramara king Devapaldeva of V. S. 1282 which was found at Mandhata was issued from Mahishmati. But some copperplate grants of the Paramars make a mention of several places in the neighbourhood of Maheshvar, like Chilkalda, Khalghat etc. At Un which is on the southern side of the Narmada river and at a distance of about forty miles to the south-east of Maheshvar, an inscription of the Parmar king Udayaditya is found. Similarly a portion of Khandesh is said to have been held by the Parmars of Malwa. All this shows that the province of Nimar with its chief place Maheshvar was under the Parmars.

Some of the ancient monuments found in Maheshvar and elsewhere in Nimar can no doubt be assigned to the Parmar period though for want of inscriptions their exact dates or the names of the rulers who built them are not known. Tradition goes that the Parmar king Munja well-known as a great builder had built a temple and a tank at Maheshvar but unfortunately they cannot be identified. The large tank at Chali near Maheshvar seems to have been built in the Paramar period as the large number of stone sculptures assignable to that period are found near the

tank and in the village. The Brahmanical temple of Kaleshvar and Matangeshvar and some Jain temples in Maheshvar, which were repaired in the time of Akbar as known from the inscriptions, must have been built in the time of the Paramars. Similarly the ruined temple of Jaleshvar to the west of the Kaleshvar temple, the so-called Bhartrahariguphа near the Matangeshvar temple and the foundations of the modern Siddheshvar temple in Maheshvar can be assigned to the Paramar period. The destruction of these temples must have been effected in the time of the Mohamedan invasions of the Sultans of Delhi or during the strong and bigoted rule of the Sultans of Mandu.

Alberuni writing in the eleventh century states that he travelled from Dhar southwards to Mahumuhra (Maheshvar) and from where to Kundaki (Khandwa) and the Namawar (Nemawar) on the banks of the Narwada, but he gives no account of the political rule of the place in his time.

When in 1305 A. D. Malwa was seized by Allauddin Khilji who appointed Ainulmulk as his governor of Malwa, Nimar must have acknowledged his supremacy. With the declaration of independence by Dilawarkhan Gori in 1393, Nimar automatically passed under his rule and the Sultan of Malwa continued to hold these provinces upto 1531 A. D.

Like the Chalukyas of Gujrat and the Paramaras of Malwa the Sultan of Gujrat and the Sultans of Malwa were constantly at war with each other being alternately successful. The Sultan of Khandesh from Nandurbar also sometimes joined in the wars which were waged around Nimar and thereby Nimar was frequently devastated. In those days Maheshvar rose to be the first place, and Satwas now in the Kannod district of the Holkar State rose to be the second place in Nimar. In 1422 when the Sultan of Malwa had gone to Orissa on an expedition, the Gujrat Sultan Ahmed invaded Malwa and captured Maheshvar on 17-2-1422. Maheshvar seems to have obtained the importance of a frontier post on the bank of the Narmada. The result of the contest between the Sultans of Gujrat and Malwa was unfavourable to the Sultan of Malwa who proved weaker. At last in 1531, Bahdurshah the Sultan of Gujrat succeeded in putting an end to the Sultanate of Malwa. But he could not keep his hold on Malwa for more than four years for in 1535 the Mughal emperor Humayun invaded Malwa and defeated him. Humayun's rule over the province was also short lived, for Shershah who had defeated him and seized the throne of Delhi invaded Malwa in 1542 and appointed Sujatkhan as his agent to govern Malwa and Nimar. Sujatkhan's son Baj Bahadur was defeated by Akbar who invaded the country in about 1551 and annexed Malwa and Nimar to his empire. Nimar must have been in complete disorder during all these days.

Akbar's undisturbed rule gave sufficient peace to Nimar and in his time Maheshvar probably because of its strategic position rose to great importance. Three Sanskrit inscriptions are found at Maheshvar which refer to the glorious rule of the Mughal emperor Akbar and to the regime of Khoja Ajij Beg and Khoja Suleman at Maheshvar when Devadasa was the Mandloi of the place. The first inscription found in the modern Kaleshvar temple is dated 1565 A. D. (V. S. 1622, Saka 1487) and records the restoration by the Mandloi Devadasa of the Maheshvar temple called Adilinga at a place called Agnitirtha, Kalagni-rudrakshetra, Dasalakshgtirtha, situated at Mahishmati on the bank of the Narmada, near Mandapachala in Malwa, on the confluence of the rivers Reva and Mahishmati. The second inscription found in the modern Matangeshvar temple is dated 1570 A. D (V. S. 1626, Saka 1491) records the restoration of the temple of Kalavar by the Mandloi. The third inscription found in the Jain temple is dated 1571 A. D. (V. S. 1627, Saka 1492) and records the restoration by Mandloi Devadasa of the Adinath temple. One more Sanskrit inscription referring to the sovereign rule of Akbar is found in the Siva temple at a place called Markati Sangama on the confluence of the rivers Narmada and Veda near Mandleshvar six miles to the east of Maheshvar. It records the restoration of the temple in 1578 A. D (V. S. 1635, Saka 1500) by the Mandloi Jagannath.

Two Persian inscriptions of the reign of Akbar are also found at Maheshvar. One of them records that in 1600 A. D. (1008 A. D,) Akbar went to conquer the Deccan and Dandesh and in 1601 A. D. (1009 A. H.) he passed through the place Maheshvar back to Hindustan. As it is recorded in history that Akbar left Ashirgarh in April 1601 and reached Agra probably in May 1601 his visit to Maheshvar may be fixed in the middle of April 1601. The fact that the route from the North to the South generally passed through Maheshvar or Mahishmati gets support from this inscription. The other inscription records the building of the Dalalwadi mosque by Mian Sahrfuddin son of Ruknuddin. The names of some officers of Akbar, *viz.* Mirza Alif Shah, Amir Sherkhan, Kaji Zabbar, Kaji Moin are mentioned in the inscription.

One of the fords on the Narmada below Maheshvar which was named Akbarpur most probably after the emperor Akbar became subsequently famous in Maratha history.

In Akbar's days Maheshvar was the headquarters of Choli-Maheshvar Mahal in the Mandu Sarkar of the Subha of Malwa, Choli being the administrative headquarters and Maheshvar the military post. The revenue of Maheshvar in his time was 963370 Dams.

The Maheshvar fort which was repaired by Malharrao or Ahilyabai or by both seems to have originally been built by Akbar.

Much is not known about the Mughal rule in Maheshvar in the times of the succeeding Mughal emperors. But it seems probable that Aurangzeb spent some days at Maheshvar and in some places near about. A Persian inscription found at Maheshvar states that Qazi Najib Khan in the reign of Shah Moinuddin (Aurangzeb) built a stately Idgah for the convenience of Muslims in 1112 A. H. The Muhamedan monuments like the Masjid and the Shahi Bath at Kasrawad which is close to Maheshvar might have been built in the time of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb seems to to have specially favoured the place Khargone which is at a short distance from Maheshvar, where the head quarters of the whole Sarkar Bijagarh was moved from Bijagad and Jalalabad, and which was assigned as a Jagir to Shahu by Aurangzeb when the former was in his custody.

An undated Persian inscription found at Maheshvar records that a tomb was built by a Darvesh Husain when he got the place by an order of the emperor Mohemadshah.

Although some Maratha raids over Malwa are said to have taken place in 1696 by the armies of Chhatrapati Rajaram it seems that they began their regular expeditions in Malwa since the year 1715 when Davalji Somavanshi crossed the Narmada at the Akbarpur ford between Maheshvar and Dharampuri and laid waste the territories. In 1729 Sayaji Gujar is known to have collected a tribute of ten thousand rupees from the pargana of Maheshvar and Dharampuri.

In 1781 the Peshwa a-signed Malwa to Sindia and Holkar and Pawar and in 1732 he made a special grant of the Pergana of Maheshvar and nine villages in the pergana of Indore to Malharrao Holkar, which continued to be called Personal Jagir by the Holkar family. Its income was Rs. 263,000 in those days.

When Malharrao took possession of the fort of Maheshvar in 1734 he commenced its repairs. In 1745 he passed a royal guarantee deed to the residents with the object of populating the town. A Persian inscription found in Maheshvar states that during the administration of Rao Malharrao was created a construction by Matkar in 1177 A. H. Maheshvar did not however become a place of importance until 1767 when Ahilyabai because of har religious temparament and the situation of Maheshvar on the banks of the sacred Narmada preferred to stay at Maheshvar rather than at Indore the real capital of the Holkar territories, which continued to possess military importence. Vakils from different courts of the Maratha rulers and other rulers in India attended Ahilyabai's court. Under Ahilyab's auspices Maheshvar rose to great importance both politically and commercially. Many state buildings and palaces of important Sardars were built. A number of temples exceeding seventy were built. Learned men specially from the South were invited to settle there and open their respective schools and keep the torch of learning burning.

For the commercial growth of the town bankers, traders, merchants and specially weavers were invited from outside and were given special facilities.

A persian inscription found in a mosque in Maheshvar state that Muhammad Shariff built the mosque in the year 1187.

Maheshvar continued to decline in importance from the time of Yeshvantrao I who preferred to stay at Bhanpura in the Garoth District rather than at Maheshvar or Indore. But still he added to the magnificience of Maheshvar by building a great Ghat and a Chhatri there. An inscription records that the shrine and Ghat to the memory of Ahilyabai, who resembled the Ahilya of ancient days (*i. e.* the wife of sage Gautama) were commenced by Yeshvantrao Holkar I in V. S. 1856 (1799 A. D.) and completed V. S. 1890 (1833 A. D.) by Krishnabai his wife. Some more Ghats and Chatris of the relatives of the royal family were subsequently built which had improved the appearance of the town. But in recent times Maheshvar has lost all its former importance and looks like a deserted place.

A RARE TYPE OF VISHNU IMAGE IN THE RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

BY

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The image under note represents a deity riding on the shoulders of a fat dwarf, which by its beak-like nose may be recognised as Garuḍa, the carrier of Vishṇu. It is shown in the attitude of flying through the air with its divine master. The god has fourteen hands, of which the main pair are shown in the Dhyāna pose with a rosary placed on them. Other right hands from above show a mace (*gada*), a bunch of arrows (*sara*), a spear (*saкti*), an elephant-goad (*ankusa*), a long staff-like weapon (*musala* ?), and *varada* pose with a lotus held by the stalk. The additional left hands have a discus (*chakra*), a bow (*dhanus*, *sarnga*), a lasso (*pasa*), a weapon, which is broken away, held by the handle, a trident (*trisula*) and a conch (*saṅkha*) in the similar order. The god is heavily bejewelled, but in contrast to the jewelled ornaments, the hair, tucked up with the help of a peculiar band into a matted crown, is worth noticing. The ornament in each of the two ears again is made up of a serpent coiling through a hole in the lower lobe.

That the image is one of Vishṇu admits of no doubt. The carrier Garuḍa, *saṅkha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*, the four distinctive

attributes of Vishṇu, all point to the same conclusion. Images of Vishṇu with more than four hands are known in literature as well as in art. Of these many-handed varieties the eight-handed form is very common. This form, according to all the available texts (*Brihat Samhita*, chap. 57) ; *Hayasirsha Pancharatra*, chap 24 ; *Agnipurana*, chap. 49 ; *Matsyapurana*, chap. 258 ; *Devatamurti-prakaranam*, chap. 5 : etc.) is to have a sword, a mace, an arrow and *varada* or a lotus in the right and a shield, a discuss, a bow and a conch in the left hands respectively. Sometimes the god is described as riding on Garuḍa and of the eight attributes six may be recognised in the present image. The *Agnipurana* (chaps. 49 and 306) and the *Hayasirsha Pancharatra* (chap. 25) describe an eight-handed from of Vishṇu under the name of Trailokya-mohana. Unfortunately the relevant texts are corrupt, but considered together, it can be inferred that the god is to be shown as riding on Garuḍa and to have a discus, a conch, a bow, an arrow, a mace, a staff an elephant-goad and a lasso in his eight hands. It may be seen that the attributes in the hands of the present image closely tally with those of the above list. Six more hands still remain to be accounted for. It should be pointed out in this connection that fourteen is rather an unusual number in the multiple-handed forms of gods and goddesses in Indian iconography. Of the forms of Vishṇu, besides the eight-handed ones, we have a sixteen-handed variety of Trailokyamohana Vishṇu in the *Devatamurtiprakaranam* (chap. 5) of Maṇḍana. Though most of the attributes in that list are identical with those of the image under note, including the pose of meditation in a pair of hands, an identification of the image with this particular variety is seriously precluded on account of the absence of three additional heads, which this particular form of the god is to have. Similarly too, we cannot identify the image as Vishṇu in his Viśvarūpa form, which, as the available texts (*Agnipurana*, chap. 49 ; *Hayasirsha Pancharatra*, chap. 25 ; *Devatamurtiprakaranam*, chap. ? ; *Rupamandanam* ; chap. 2, etc.), is to have twenty hands and four faces.

The crown of matted locks on the head of the present image is a point which cannot be missed. A pair of serpentine ear ornaments is another feature, unusual in the case of an image of Vishṇu. The latter is particularly a distinctive feature of the god Siva, and some of the attributes in the hands of the present image, such as, trident, lasso, spear, rosary, elephant-goad, etc., may also be referred to him. Though the third eye, the bull, the crescent moon on the matted crown, etc. are absent, it is possible to assume that we have here an attempt to some sort of reapprochement between the cults of Vishṇu and Siva, an attempt that was responsible for the evolution of the conception of Hari-Hara (also known as Hari-Sankara, Siva-Narayaṇa, Kṛishṇa-Sankara, etc.). The most common form of this god is that of a four-handed deity showing the attributes of Vishṇu on one side and those of

Siva on the other, the respective mounts, dress and ornaments of the two gods being equally distributed over the image. The *Sabdakalpadruma* quotes from the *Vamanapurana* a *dhyana* of Hari Hara with sixteen hands and it may me presumed that such images with so many additional hands were not altogether unknown. In the *Devatamurtiprakaranam* (chap. 6, verse 58) we are told of the thirty-two different varieties of images formed by the combination of Krishna and Sankara (*Krishna-Sankara-samvogaddvatrimsad-bhedamurtayah*). Sūtradhara Maṇḍana, the author of the *Devatamurtiprakaranam*, flourished in Rajputana, where this image hails from, and it may be that in this part of India many different forms of images resulting from the combination of Vishṇu and Siva were in vogue. Unfortunately these different forms have not been described. It is not impossible that the present image might be the outcome of such varied experiments in combining the two gods, Vishṇu and Siva, into one form, a superior importance being however given to the former in this particular case.

SOHNAG TERRACOTTA SEAL OF AVANTIVARMAN

BY

PANDIT MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

In September, 1945, the Collector of Gorakhpur informed the Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Public Works Department, Lucknow, of the find of a terracotta seal in village Sohnag, Police Station Lar, Tahsil Salempur of the Gorakhpur district by one Tapeshar Rai, while digging in the fields, and this information was kindly conveyed to me by the Additional Assistant Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, United Provinces, in October last. The District Magistrate, Deoria, sent me the above mentioned seal in June last, when I proceeded on leave, adding that it was only a casual find in a field not associated with any ancient ruins. It may, however, be stated that the find-spot, lying within the Gorakhpur district, was well within the Tarai, which marked the northern boundaries of the Maukhari kingdom.[1]

1. The photograph of the image was made over to me for identification in the year 1939 and a note to the following effect was to the Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. This type of images appears to have been rather fairly popular in Rajputana where a number of images of this kind have been found.

1. Cf. Dr. R. S. Tripathi: *History of Kanauj* (1937), p. 55.

The seal is of terracotta but the baking is imperfect, the surface of the inscription having become smoky in a reducing atmosphere in the kiln. It is a plane-convex oval, which including the rim measures 7.3" by 6.6". but the sunk, inscribed portion measures 6" by 5¼". The oonvex reverse rises to 2.6" from the rim but is rather irregular and shows a hole in the thickness just below the inscription for attachment even as seals were attached to land grants. It weighs 184 tolas. A little more than one third of the upper field of the seal is occupied by certain figures showing in the centre a garlanded bull to proper right, behind whose hump rises an umbrella with two streamers flowing backwards like those from a wheel or sunemblem held in his left hand by an attendant to proper right, whose figure is, however, blurred. The man to left holds a *chauri* brush or a stick in his right hand and a long handled axe in his left. These figures appear to be exactly similar to those depicted on the Asirgarh[2] and Nalandā[3] seals of 'Sarvavarma' with this difference only that in the present seal a flowing end of the garment is also shown on the figure to proper right. Explaining these figures, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, "The bull stands for dharma ; वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः। The two male figures are, perhaps, the chāṇḍālas, who want to kill the animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the dharma."[3] This interpretation of the symbols would amount to an imprecation and limit their utility only to the safety of the seal, though it is well known that royal seals in ancient India show varied symbols which could hardly be so explained. On the other hand they had a direct bearing on the religious tendency of a ruler or a particular dynasty.[4] Thus Garuḍa on the Gupta seals[5] refers to their being परम भागवत, the bull on the Sonpat seal[6] of Harshavardhana recalls his title of परम माहेश्वर ; the Bhagavatī on the Pratihāra seals represents the tutelary deity of the dynasty. D. R. Sahni rightly calls "the flying figure of Garuḍa and a conchshell" in the Gāhaḍavāla seals to be "in conformity with the Vaishṇava faith of the king who issued the plates"[7]. This common practice would indicate that the seal symbols had a wider significance than that imagined by Dr. Sastri. Probably the परशु held by the men led Dr. Sastri to call them chāṇḍālas but they might be attendant protectors or Gaṇas of the bull, नन्दि of Śiva, one of whose weapons is परशु. This Saiva interpretation of the symbols is in conformity

2. J. F. Fleet: *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 216-20.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 73-74.
4. Cf. J. N. Banerji, Development of Hindu Iconography. p. 11.
5. Hirananda Sastri: *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey*, No. 66, pp. 64-67.
6. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-30.
7. E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96.

with the Brahmanical proclivities of the Maukhari rulers, also borne out by their assumption of the title परममाहेश्वर while the छत्र (umbrella) may refer to their claim of sole sovereignty of the earth (एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वम्)[8]

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets and may be stated to the latter part of the sixth century A. D. when forms with a profusion of flourishes had already been long in vogue. In this connection attention may be invited to the formation of य in line 3 in जयस्वामिनी, which is entirely different from the same त in all the known seals of Sarvavarman, but is similar to that found in the Aphsad inscription[9] of Ādityasena. The language is Sanskrit prose throughout. In respect of orthography may be noticed the doubling of क and त in conjunction with the following र *e.g.*, in अतिक्कान्त and कीर्त्ति in l. 1, पुत्त्र in different parts of the inscription, and also the doubling of ध in conjunction with the following य as in the work अनुद्ध्यात in different parts of the inscripfion. The orthography is, therefore, similar to that of the seals of Sarvavarman with this diffcrence only that whereas in the Asirgarh seal the उपध्मानीय occurs between उत्पन्न and परममाहेश्वर in l. 7 and विसर्ग in Nalanda seals, neither of these is found in the present epigraph. The omission is probably due to the scribe.

The seal refers to the Maukhari king Avantivarman, who is for the first time known from the present epigraph as the son and successor of Sarvavarman begotten on his queen Māhadevī Chandrabhaṭṭārikā. This information puts an end to the long-drawn controversy as to the successor of Sarvavarman, and Susthitavarman against whom Mahāsenagupta fought, as recorded in the Aphsad inscription,[10] clearly falls out of the Maukhari line. Avantivarman is here described as परममाहेश्वर and महाराजाधिराज exactly as Sarvavarman is described in the Asirgarh and Nalanda seals. It may be noted further that Avantivarman's name also ends with the dynastic title of मौखरि even as Sarvavarman's ends in his seals referred to above. This would indicate that the dynastic name was added at the end of the seal after the name of the issuer, and no special meaning need be read in the association of this title with any particular ruler, as was supposed by Dr. R. S. Tripathi in his History of Kanauj, p. 45.

As the first six lines of this inscription are identical with the text of the known seals of Sarvavarman there seems to be no necessity of translating it, while lines 7 and 8 only give

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8. Cf. Kalidasa रघुवंश, *canto II. verse 47*, where this very expression is used. aiso cf. भरतवाक्य in Bhasa's दूतवाक्यम् where a similar idea is expressed by महीमेकातपत्राङ्काम्।

9. Fleet: *op. cit.*, pp. 203-6.

10. *Ibid*: Tripathi: *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

the name, title and percentage of Avantivarman, the Maukhari The text[11] is as follows :—

l. 1 चतुस्समुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजा (जो) वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन प्रवृत्त

l. 2 चक्रश्चक्रधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः श्रीमह [।] राज हरिवर्म्म [।] [॥] तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादा-नुद्ध्यातो ज ।

l. 3 यस्वामिनी भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्री महाराजादित्यवर्म्मा [॥] तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो जयस्वामिनी[12]

l. 4 भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजेश्वरवर्म्मा [॥] तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात उपगुप्ता भट्टारिका

l. 5 देव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री ईशानवर्म्मा [॥] तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो

l. 6 लक्ष्मीवती भट्टारिका महादेव्यामुत्पन्नो महार जाधिराज श्री शर्व्ववर्म्मा [॥]

l. 7 तस्य[13] पुत्तस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात [शं] चन्द्र[14] भट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्न [×] परममाहेश्वरो

l. 8 महाराजाधिराज श्री अवन्तिवर्म्मा[15] मौखरिः [॥]

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11. It is necessary to state in this connection that of all the Maukha seals-copper or terracotta—the relief of letters in the present seal is very small and at places the text has become more or less blurred. The surface of the seal is also uneven and this has caused greater wearing of certain parts.

12. The mother of ईश्वरवर्म्मन् is हर्षगुप्ता भट्टारिका in all the seals of Sarvavarman, and जयस्वामिनी who in line three of the present record is stated to be the mother of ईश्वरवर्म्मन् is presumably a mistake for हर्षगुप्ता on the part of the scribe.

13. The relief in the last two lines has almost faded and they cannot be clearer on the photograph. In line 7 too many letters have been inserted in a comparatively small space and their size is naturally smaller.

14. There is no doubt as to the reading of the word चन्द्रभट्टारिका in the original. However, there is a possibility of the first letter च being mistaken for इ but form of the letter, as given in line 2, is quite different. The difference is even clearer on the plaqoe.

5. अवन्तिवर्म्मा has become very blurred in the photograph, but in the original it is quite distinct. Here, too, one can see the right hand vertical line of अ quite clearly, व is just a line thickened in the middle, the loop to the left having merged in the thickness, and traces of न्ति are also visible.

GOVINDAGUPTA A NEW GUPTA EMPEROR

BY

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The name of Govindagupta first became known by the discovery of the Basarh clay seal of his mother Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī.[1] In this Seal Dhruvasvāminī is described as the chief queen of Mahārājādhirāja Srī Candragupta and the mother of Mahārāja Srī Govindagupta. Before the discovery of this seal Kumāragupta I was the only son of Candragupta II known to us and as the inscriptions depict him as the immediate successor of Candragupta he was naturally regarded as the eldest son of his father. The discovery of the Basarh Seal (raised the question of the relation between Kumāragupta and Govindagupta. Allan regarded him as a younger brother of Kumāragupta[2] and so did S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who suggested that 'in the absence of Kumāragupta from Vaiśalī, his younger brother Govindagupta had been put in charge of the administration of the province of Vaiśālī but as he happened to be two young, the actual administration was carried on by his mother Dhruvasaminī.[3] In both these views the consideration of the important point why Dhruvasvāminī had been styled as the mother of Maharāja Govindagupta was altogether ignored. Dr. D. R, Bhandarkar with his usual insight into epigraphical problems, duly noted this point and discussed it, in some detail. He remarked, "But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumāragupta was also a son of Candragupta and Dhruvasvāminī his name is omitted and that of Govindagupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was Yuvarāja. For in the seal of a queen it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne."[4]

At the time when Dr. Bhandarkar wrote there were no inscriptions or coins to show that Govindagupta ascended the throne after the death of his father Candragupta II, and the omission of his name in the Gupta genealogies rather suggested the possibility of his having died during the life time of his father. It must be remembered however, that the omission of a name from an official genealogy cannot by itself prove that a particular person did not rule. As Hoernle observed, the official lists are intended to record the line of descent rather than the line of succession.

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1. ASR. 1903-4, p. 107.
2. Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. XI.
3. Studies in Gupta History, p. 60.
4. Indian Antiquary, 1912 p. 3.

Dr. Bhandarkar therefore, rightly assigned to Govindagupta a brief rule between Candragupta II and Kumārgupta from G. S. 93 to G. S. 95, and suggested that he might either have been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta or died a natural death. Dr. Bhandarkar further opined that the gold coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya may be attributed to Govindagupta and that he was identical with Candraprakāśa mentioned by Vāmana as a son of Candragupta.[5]

Ten years after the publication of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article, Mr. N. B. Gorde, Superintendent (now Director) of Archaeology Gwalior, announced the discovery of a new inscription from Mandasor dated Mālava Samvat 524-467 A. D.[6] This inscription contained the names of Candragupta, his son Govindagupta and also of a feudatory ruler Prabhākara and his general Dattabhaṭa. Various views have been expressed with regard to Govindagupta, simply on the basis of the brief summary of the contents given by Mr. Garde. Prof. R. D. Bannerji made the following observations:—

"But the second inscription (*i.e.* Mandasor inscription dated 524) does not mention Skandagupta. Did Govindagupta refuse to acknowledge his nephew after his brother's death in 455 A. D., or had he done so after Skandagupta's death"?[7] It may be inferred from this that Prof. Bannerji regarded Govindagupta as the Viceroy of Mālava, during the rule of his brother Kumāragupta, and that he had asserted his independence either immediately after the death of his brother Kumāragupta, or after the death of his nephew Skandagupta, R. D. Bannerji was not quite sure,[8] whether Govindagupta was alive or dead in 524 M. S., but his suggestion that he was Governor of Mālava has influenced the views of all later writers who have tacitly taken Govindagupta as a Governor of Mālava in 467 A. D. who had rebelled against the the imperial authority after Kumāragupta's death.[9] But this view is absolutely untenable. The principality of Daśapura (Mandasor) was not an imperial province. It was an autonomous State whose rulers acknowledged the overlordship of the Guptas. There can be, therefore, no question of the appointment of a Governor of Daśapura, which was ruled over by an indigineous line of kings—the Varmans. The reference to Govindagupta in the Mandasor inscription must be in his capacity of a suzerain ruler as will be shown below.

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5. *Ibid.*
6. ASR, 1922-23, p. 187.
7. Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 51.
8. *Ibid*, p. 66.
9. Cf. R. N. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, p. 120, R. N. Seletor, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 35, R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 174. N. N, Das Gupta, *B. C. Law Volume*, (Part I) pp. 622.

In the Gupta inscriptions we usually find that the name of the suzerain ruler is mentioned first, and then the name of the provincial Governor or feudatory ruler as the case may be, is stated. But in the present case this convention of the style alone is not helpful to us in determining the status of the persons named. Here Candragupta's name has been brought in because he was the father of Govindagupta ; and the latter is mentioned because it was the son of his general Vāyurakṣita by name Dattabhaṭa who constructed the public works (mentioned in the inscription). Another ruler Prabhākara, who appointed Dattbhaṭa as commander-in-chief, is also mentioned. It is, therefore, idle to talk of Govindagupta's Governorship of Mālava on the basis of the Mandasor inscription. It may also be pointed out here that Govindagupta was not alive in 524 M. S. (467 A. D.), His region has been referred to in the past.[10] The use of the past perfect tense in narrating the happenings connected with Vāyurakṣita, the general of Govindagupta, show that both he and his master lived in the past. This further makes it clear that it was not Govindagupta who was ruling at Daśapura, in 467 A. D.

It may be argued that Govindagupta might have set up an independent kingdom in Mālava after the death of his father Candragupta Vikramāditya But this supposition is barred out by definite epigraphic evidence. From 401 A. D. to 423 A. D. Daśapura was ruled by the Varmans. In 404 A. D. Naravarman was the King of Daśapura, and in 423 A. D. his son Viśvavarmā was ruling there.[11] In the Mandasor Inscription of the Guild of silk weavers dated 436 A. D. Kumārgupta I is mentioned as ruling the earth bounded by the four oceans and Bandhuvarman was governor of Daśapura. After him the sovereignty of Skandagupta over western India is proved by the Girnar Rock Inscription of that emperor himself. Thus the possibility of Govindagupta having set himself up as an independent and rival monarch in Western India is altogether ruled out. It would be equally useless to suggest that Govindagupta held the post of Governor of Mālava first under his brother Kumaragupta I and then under his nephew Skandagupta, for the simple reason that so far as Daśapura is concerned, it was governed by the local dynasty of Varman rulers and there was no room for appoint a Governor by the Imperial power.

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10. Cf.

यस्मिन्नेपरस्तमितप्रतापैः शिरोभिरालिङ्गित पादपद्मैः ।
विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपाहरद्द्दाह ॥
सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वाय्वादिना रक्षितपश्चिमेन ।
यस्यारि सेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां न कस्यचिल्लोचनमार्गमीयुः ॥

11. Vide Mandasor stone inscription dated M. S. 461, and Gangdhar inscription dated M. S. 480.

The reference in the Mandasor Inscription to Govindagupta's name therefore must indicate that he was at one time the suzerain of Daśapura. It has been stated above that the Basārh Seal indicates that he was the eldest son of Candragupta II and had been appointed heir-apparant. The passage from the new Mandasor inscription dated 467 A. D. quoted above, tells us that feudatory kings deprived of their glory touched his feet by their heads. The description clearly indicates that Govindagupta was a sovereign ruler commanding the allegience of several feudatory kings. Therefore we may conclude that Govindagupta who had been appointed as *Yuvaraja* in the life time of Candragupta ascended the throne after the death of his father sometimes about 413. He enjoyed a very short rule, having either died, or been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta in 415 A. D. It is probable that Govindagupta met with a violent end. In the Tumain inscription Kumāragupta is described protecting the earth like a good wife whom he had seized by force.[12]

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently suggested that Kumaragupta and Govindagupta are identical.[13] He argues that no coins of Govindagupta have so far been discovered, but on a variety of the coins of Kumaragupta there are the letter *Ku* and *go* which he thinks stand for Kumaragupta and Govindagupta respectively and their occurance on the same coins indicates the identity of the two names. But that *go* does not stand for Govinda, is conclusively proved by its occurance on the clims of Narasimhagupta[14] also. Evidently we cannot infer that Govindagupta and Narasinhagupta are identical. Moreover the coins of Kumāragupta on which the letters *Ku* and *go* occur are all of the heavier standard of 148 grains, which was introduced for the first time by Skandagupta, and was continued by his successors. The gold coin of the preceding reigns was of a lighter weight—128 grains. Therefore the coins with the letters *Ku* and *go* belong to Kumāragupta II, a successor of Skandagupta and not to Kumāragupta I, the brother of Govindagupta.

The absence of the coins of Govindagupta cannot prove that he did not rule. No coins of Rāmagupta have been found so far, but the literary and epigraphic evidence has definitely established his existence as a ruler. As Govindagupta enjoyed a brief rule of about two years only, the number of coins struck during his reign must have been very small. It is no wonder, therefore, that his coins did not find a place in the hoards buried in subsequent times.

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12. ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीं वीर्यग्रहस्तैरपगुह्य भूमिं ।
13.
14. C. C. G. D., pp. 137-39.

A word may be said with regard to the position of Prabhākara. In the new Mandasor inscription he is described as the destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta Dynasty. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti thinks that 'Prabhakara was the successor if not the son of Bandhuvarma.'[15] This view is quite plausible; but since the familiar name—ending—Varman is absent it is more probable that Prabhakara did not belong to the Varman dynasty. The Mandasor inscription of the Guild of Silk-weavers does not mention any successors of the local ruler Bandhuvarman nor any of the Imperial Gupta overlords. All the kings between 436 and 472 A. D. are summarily dismissed by the enigmatic statement that many kings had passed away during this interval, It appears that after Bandhuvarman, the Varmans fell out with the Guptas, and were defeated. Prabhakara, a strong partisan of the Guptas was then made king of Dasapura. He or his successors ruled over Dasapura, till Yasodhareman re-asserted the Varman ascending and raised his family to higher and greater glory.

"TYPES OF LAND IN NORTH-EASTERN INDIA"

(From 4th century to 7th century A. D.)

BY

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A large number of inscriptions of the period between 4th and 7th centuries of the Chrisrian era reveal an elaborate system of land tenure in ancient India. These inscriptions which are mainly copper plate charters while recording grants of land describe various types of land which can be roughly divided into two groups—communal and individual.

Communal land is owned by the whole community of the village or of the locality for the communal benefit. Such lands can be classed under two heads—land within the village and outside the village. Of the communal lands within the village mention may be made of *Go-margo*, *Go-vata*, *Go-patha*, *Go-chara*, etc. From these terms it is clear that communal lands within the village are particularly associated either with the cattle route or with the grazing fields. Even today in many parts of north-eastern India *Go-patha* and *Go-chara* land are in existence but they are no longer communal lands. *Go-chara* is

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15. E. I. XXVI, p. 131, f. n. 4.

undoubtedly, *Go-charana-bhumi*, *i.e.* the land where the cattle of the community moves and grazes. Existence of *Go-chara-bhumi* has been considered essential for an ideal village by the early writers. According to Kautilya each villa—must be surrounded by the *Go-chara-bhumi* and it has been laid down that the cowherds "shall graze the herds in the forest to which are alloted as pasture ground for various seasons".[1] Similar is the direction given by Manu and Yajnavalkya. Manu says that "on all sides of a village a space, one hundred *dhanuo* or 3 *samya*—throws (in breadth) shall be reserved (for pasture) and thrice (that space) round a town."[2] Likewise the inscriptions as well refer to "*trina—(suti) or trina-puti Go-charana-'bhumi*". In the Nirmand copper plate of Samudrasena we have, "*sva-sima-trina-kashtha-prasvana-yuti*".[3] In the inscriptions from Chamba we however find the mention of "*Go-suti*" which refers to the land where the cattle is tied.[4] In the inscriptions of the latter period also we have the mention of "*trina-puti-go-chara-paryantah*". *Trina*, is the general name for grass and *puti* may refer to a particular kind of grass as it associated trina. The constant association of grass, wood, jungles, etc. with the *Go-chara-bhumi* indicate that such lands are covered with grass, jungles, etc. It is still a common practice with the rural people to the cattle in an area which is covered with grass, jungles, etc. for feeding the cattle. Such lands are no doubt the *Go-chara-bhumi* of the earlier days. Our inscriptions do not tell us anything about the ownership of such lands and the taxes to be paid. It seems that these lands belonged to the state which for the benifit of the people used to preserve and maintain such lands.

Besides, there were other communal owned lands lying outside the village. These lands have been described in the inscriptions as *vana*, *aranya*, and *jangala-bhumi*.[5] It is also clear from the inscriptions that the king is the owner of these lands and we often find him granting these lands for converting them into habitable or dwelling places. This is clear from the Tippera inscription of Lokanatha where we have a reference to the establishment of 211 Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas in "*atavi-bhu-khanda* in Suvvaingu *visaya*."[7] According to Kautilya *Vana* and *aranya* are the properties of the king or the state and such lands can be granted to the Brahmanas for the cultivation of Dharma. How such an *aranya-bhumi* is cleared and made habitable for the

1. Shamasastry, Kautilya's Arthasastra, p. 161.
2. Manu S. B. E. Vol. XXV., VIII. 8. 237, p. 296.; Yagnavalkya. II. 167.
3. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 289; 1. 10.
4. Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba, pp. 167-68.
5. Arthasastra, p. 54.
6. Fleet, p. 289.
7. E. I. Vol. XV. p. 307, 311.

people has been also described by Kauṭilya.[1] It seems that Lokantha's inscription follows closely the principles laid down in the *Arthasastra.*

Moreover in the Maliya copper-plate of Dharasena II (571-72) we have the mention of "*siva-padraka* and *Bhumbhusapadraka*, 100 *padavartas*".[2] There is a good deal of controversy regarding the meaning of the term *padraka.* According to William *padraka* is a fuller expression of the term *padra* meaning a village earth or district.[3] Buhler thinks that it signifes the modern expression paḍr *i. e.*, a grazing place.[4] Wilson however contends that it is a common land left uncultivated.[5] Measurement of land as given in the inscription shows that it is a bigger area and Dr. Saletore thinks that such a extensive area was most probably used for common purposes.[6] Mr. K. Gupta supposes that it refers to village. In support of his contention he has also quoted certain referennces in the inscriptions of Jayabhatta and Daḍḍa where we have the expressions, "*padraka-grama and padrakam-esa-gramah*".[7] Dr. Saletore thinks that *padraka* in these cases does not mean a village which is the lowest administrative unit but a still biger unit in area.[8] He further says that if *padroka* means a common land in a village then there arises difficulty in the expression *dvesa* and *vaidula* lands is refered to in the Nirmand inscription. The passage in question runs as follows—"...(the land) including the *dvesa* land (that had been given) by the cultivator Vakkhalika (whose holding was) on the edge of the newly constituted *vaidula* of the village of Sulisagrama and the *dvesa* land, with *udranga* (and) including the edges of its boundaries (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of Talapura.....".[9] Meaning of both these terms is not clear. Dr. R. Mitra explained the former as a grazing ground and has not quoted any authority for the same.[10] If dvesa land is really a grazing field then it is not certainly a communal land but an individual land as the grant is made by a cultivator. Some take the term Vaidula to be a varriation of *Vidula.* According to Bhagawan Lal Indraji it is "one of the articles leveied from every village in times of war and the grant allows the donee an exception from taking away of arms and ammunations in times of war".[11] But this is not quite in accord with to spirit of the

1. Arthasastra, p. 55-56.
2. Fleet, p. 170.
3. Fleet, p. 170.
4. I. A. Vol. XV. p. 357.
5. Glosary of Indian terms, p. 285.
6. Saletore, Life in the Gupta age. p. 339.
7. I. A. Vol. XIII, pp. 77-79 and 82-84.
8. Saletore, 339.
9. Fleet, p. 289.
10. *Ibid.*
11. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 129.

statement made in the inscription. If we take these two terms to mean waste lands in the village then there is probably no difficulty in the interpreatations of these two terms. It is likely that such lands were originally no man's waste land but became individual land only after it is being cleared and made cultivable or habitable by a particular individual. Such a suppsition is quite in accord with the spirit of the statement made in the inscriptions. *Padraka* may mean a common land in the village used by the people for the common purposes and *dvesa* and *vaidula* lands may mean individual waste land. As to the contention of Dr. Saletore it can be noted that we do not get any reference to the mention of *padraka* as a still bigger administrative unit than the *grama* in any inscription. On the other hand it is more likely that it means common land in the village owned by the king who made a grant of the same land to a Brāhmaṇana for the maintenance of the religious tires and practices.

Of the types of land owned by the Individual mention may be made of *Vastu, ksetra, khila-ksetra, vapaka-bhumi, vastka,* etc.[1] In the Damadarpur copper-plate of Bhanugupta (533–34) we have the reference to three important types of land as "*khila-ksetrasya-vastuna*" According to wilson *vastu* is the site for the foundation of a house.[2] It is clear from all the references that *vastu* is to a kind of land which is mainly used for res-dential purposes.[3] Even today, in Bengal *vastu-puja* is performed with in the area of the home in an eleveted place in the cultivated field on the last day of the month of *Paus*. This observance is considered as a sort of indication to the efect that it is a sort or declaration that the land in question belong to the observer of the rite. In the Baigram copper-plate we have a reference to "*shala vastu-bhumi*".[4] In some inscriptions of the later period such a land is called *vyabhu i. e.*, land for dweling but without any bundary. *Ksetra* is the general designation for all ploughed and cultivated lands from which the coloquial Bengali term *khet* has been derived. Granting of such lands means only the transfer of the ownership of the land in question. Besides there is another class of land which is, no doubt, cultivated land but is not cultivated. It is often a common practice with the peaseants to allow certain land to remain fallow for some times because continuous cultivaton for years together may render the field less fertile. Hence after 3 or 4 years of interval such a land is cultivated. This type of land was most probably called *khila-bhumi*. But *khila-bhumi* as described in the inscription seems to be barren and unfit for cultivation. The Nandapura inscription gives a description how a *khila-ksetra* is

1. E. I, XV, p. 144.
2. Wilson, Glossary of Indian terms, p. 544.
3. E. I. Vol. XV, p. 144.
4. E. I. Vol. p.

to be purchased.[1] Even today in Bengal *khila-jami* or *ksetra* is one which is barren or which is not cultivated *i. e.*, waste land. In the Gunaighar plate of Vanyagupta we have the mention of *hajjika-khila-bhumi i. e.*, water-logged waste land which has been as well described as "*suny-pratikara*"[2] *i. e.*, devoid of any taxation. In the Damodarpur copper-plate of Kumaragupta we have the mention of an other class of land called "*parc-adaprahatta*", and *khila-bhumi* is also refered in the same record.[3] According to Amarakosa *khila* and *aprahata* are identical but Halayudha explain *khila* as a waste land.[4] Though both terms are identical yet it seems that there is difference otherwise these two terms would not have been mentioned side by side. Yadavaprakasa in his work Vaijayanti (11th century) says "*Khilamprahatam sthanusavatyasarenau*".[5] Though it appears that *khila* and *aprahata* are same yet it is clear that the former is no doubt a kind of cultivable land but of inferior quality and most probably allowed the field to fallow for a longer period. This will be clear from the explanation given by Nārada. According to him the land which has not been cultivated for one year is called *ardha-bhumi* and that which has not been cultivated for 3 years called *khila-bhumi* and that which has not been under cultivation for more than five years is no better than a forest.[6] In the grant of Jayabhata we have reference to another kind of land called "*vapaka-ksetram.*"[7] The meaning of the term is not clear. Mr. B. Inraji thinks that it was a "field which by means of irrigation yield a rabi crops of riec, etc." But he has not cited any authority for the same. In the Chamba plate of Yagakaravarman we have the mention of *Kolhika-satka-bhu, Sabdabagga-nama ksetram, Kutika,* etc.[8] Dr. Vogel explains the term *Kolhika* by irrigated land. The word is derived from kuhl (a) meaning a channel. It is the sanskritised *kolhi* which indicate an irrigated field used for rice cultivation and is regularly found in the vernacular porsions of the Chamba title deeds. Bagor bagh means a field. It has been explained as a very fertile land which is meant mainly for cultivation of various important vegitables.[9] As to kutika it may be noted that the term *kut* means "cultivated land lying at a high level, yielding in course of two years only two crops [10] Besides we have also few references to terraced land, land full of pits, etc.

In the Vaigram copper-plate we have the mention of *tala-*

1. E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 54.
2. I. H. Q., Vol, VI, pp. 56-60.
3. E. I. Vol. XV, p. 131. 144.
4. Amarakosa. II, 10. 5.; Halayudha, 2. 3.
5. Vaijayanti, p. 124.
6. Narada, S. B. E, Vol. XXXIII, p. 160.
7. I. A. Vol. XIII, p, 78.
8. A. S. I. R. 1902-3, p. 249.
9. Glossary of Indian terms, p. 44.
10. A. S. I. R. 1902-3, p. 250.

vata. The land which is being purchased is no doubt *vastu-bhumi* for building houses and to live therein. In order to do this he shall also have to find out land and water ways. In Khalimpur plates we have "*tala-pataka*" which seems to be a varriant of *tala-vatka*. Even at present in different parts of north-eastern India the term *vata* is used for the word *patha i.e.*, way or road. *Tala*, no doubt, means below of under-neath. In that case *tala-vata* may mean water drain or *nala* for the drainage of water. We also find mention of the word *al* in the inscription of the 8th century. As the water-drain generally runs along with the way hence we find mention of *tala-vata*. In the inscriptions of the 8th century we also have the mention of "*satalah soddesa* is high land and water-drain. According to some *tala* means also water-logged area.

From this dessertation on various types of land it is clear that the land was grouped into different types according to the production of the soil and the quality of land. It is highly interesting to note that this description of the different types of individual owed land resumable to a greater extent the description of the types of land as given by Abul-Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari. He says that the land which was anually cultivated for each crop and was never allowed to be fallow is called *Polaj* land. This kind of land was under continuous cultivation and yielded revenue from year to year. This seems to be the same as the *ksutra-bhumi* of the earliest days. The land which is cultivated for one or two years is called *Parauti-bhumi*; when such land is not cultivated for three or four years it is called *Chachar-bhumi*, and that which is left uncultivated for five years or for more than five years is called *Banjar-bhumi*. These later classes of land seem to be same as the khila-bhumi of the earlier days.

RELIGOUS HISTORY OF ĀNDHRADEŚA DURING THE POST-SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

BY

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The post-Sātavāhana period *i.e.* the period between 225-625 A. D., constitutes a definite and important landmark in the early history of Āndhradeśa. It saw the rise of the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri to power and imperial dignity in the early years and subsequently the emergence of the Pallavas, the Ānandas, the Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Sālankāyanas, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the Māṭharas, the vāśiṣṭas and a few other families in coastal Āndhra. The country

witnessed in the post-Sātavahana period the revival of the old Brāhmaṇical Hinduism and the rapid decline of Buddhism.

The period of nearly five centuries of Sātavāhana rule (225 B. C. to 215 A. D.) was predominently the age of Buddhism. Though Āndhra Buddhism is distinctly pre-Aśokan, that faith must have received a fresh impetus during the reign of that monarch. Simultaneous with the monastic cells and caitya halls cooped out on hill sides at Nāsik, Nānāghāt, Karle and Ajanta in the west, saṁghāramas and caityagṛhas were excavated in Āndhradeśa at Rāmatīrtham Sankharam, Guṇṭupalli and Korukoṇḍa. Buddhist stūpas and other establishments were also constructed on plains at various places like Āduṛṛu, Guḍivāḍa, Ghaṇṭasāla, Jaggayyapeṭa, Rāmireḍḍipalli, Āmarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Reṇṭāla, Buddhām, Chinaganjam etc. The entire coastal region was dotted with caityas and monasteries inhabited by monks and nuns belonging to numerous sects, while Amarāvati became the centre of this faith and later of the Mādhyamika school. Brāhmaṇical Hinduism also flourished during this period and even found powerful royal patrons. Sātakarṇi I was a staunch devotee of this faith and performed numerous Vedic sacrifices like Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Agnyādheya, Anvārambhaṇīya, Gavāmayana, Bhagaḷādaśarātra, Aptomayana, Gargatrirātra, Trayodaśarātra and Daśarātra. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the zealous protector of Varṇa,āśrama and Dharma and was the Ekabrāhmaṇa. Personal names like Rudraśrī, Sivaśrī and Sivadatta indicate the prevalence of Saivism while the mention of Siva, Paśupati, Gaurī and Gaṇeśa show that several deities of the Śaivite pantheon were worshipped. Similarly names like Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇupāiita and the mention of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Hari, Trivikrama and the reference to Rādhā and the Gopis and the rise of Lakṣmi from the milk ocean in the *Saptasataka* indicate the worship of Viṣṇu and the deities of the Vaiṣṇava pantheon. The cult of Skanda and the worship of the Nāgas were also known at this time.

The Iksvaku period.

The Ikṣvakus of Vijayapuri were the earliest successors of the Sātavāhanas on the east. They held sway for about half a century over the eastern and southern part of the Sātavāhana empire having contracted matrimonial alliances with the Sakas of Ujjain in the north-west and the Ciṭu-Nāgas in the south-west. The commencement of their rule synchronised with a powerful Brāhmaṇical revival. Cāmtamūla I, the first ruler of this line, performed Aśvamedha, agniṣṭoma, agnihotra and Vājapeya. The performance of these sacrifices was not only a direct challenge to the prevailing Buddhist principle of *ahimsa* but also an open proclamation of devotion to the Vedic dharma. The male members of the Ikṣvāku family were ardent followers of this faith. There

is a peculiar sculpture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district which depicts a king with the usual parapharnelia setting his right foot on a *linga* enclosed by the hoods of a cobra with a face indicative of a violent emotional outburst. According to one scholar the king is identical with Ikṣvāku Śrīvīrapuriṣadatta and the scene descriptive of his apostisation from Brāhmaṇical Hinduism. The prevalence of Saiva, Vaiṣṇava, Skanda and Nāga cults at this time can be gleaned from a number of personal names like Rudrabhaṭṭārikā, Viṇhusiri, Kaṁdasiri, and Nāgasiri. Cāṃtamūla I was a devotee of Śvāmimahāsena.

Buddhism too received great encouragement during the Ikṣvāku period. Mostt of the lady members of the royal family were ardent devotees of this faith and the renovation and beautification of the Mahācaitya of Vijayapuri and the construction of numerous caitya halls and monasteries round it was the result of their piety and munificience. It is known that monks belonging to numerous Buddhist sects like the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, Bahusutiyas, Ayirasaṁghikas and Mahisāsakas lived at Vijayapuri during this period.

The Pallava period.

The Pāllavas succeeded the Ikṣvākus in the overlordship of southern and eastern Āndhras. They too were great lovers of the Vaidicdharma and redered signal service to its rejuvenation and progagation. They bore the titles Dharmamahārāja and Dharmamahārājādhirāja. Sivaskandavarman, the first illustrious king of this line, performed Aśvamedha, agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya. Kumāraviṣṇu I, his successor, was also an aśvamedhin. The preambles in the charters of the Pallavas describe them as purified on account of many *asvamedhavabhrtasnanas*, as fiftn lokapālas, as those bent on up-lifting dharma wcakened on account of the evils of the Kali age. The phrase *Kaliyuga-dosavasaṇnadharmoddharana-diksita* is very significant. Probably it indicates that the Brāhmaṇical dharma was weakened on account of the prevalence and predominance of Buddhism and other non-Brahmaṇical faiths for centuries before and that the Pallavas now made the strengthening of this faith their main concern. The prevalence of several Brāhmaṇical cults at the time is proved by a number of place and personal names occuring in Pallava inscriptions. Names like those of Kumāraviṣṇu, Viṣṇugopa and Siṁhavarman indicate the popularity of the Viṣṇu cult while the name Skandavarman occuring frequenly in Pallava genealogy indicates the existence of the worship of Skanda. There are references in inscriptions temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu existing at this time. There was the Kuḷimahāṭāraka temple of good Nārāyaṇa at Dālura, the Viṣṇuhāra temple in the village of Kundukūra and that of Sambhu at Vaṁkeśvaraṁ. One remarkable feature of the religious condition of this period is the building of temples

either excavated in hill sides or raised in the open. There are groups of cave temples dedicated to Siva and Viṣṇu excavated in hills at Bezwada, Mogalājapuram, Uṇḍavilli and Bhairavakoṇḍa in the Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts and independent structures at Chebrolu and Cezerla in the Guntur district. These are not only excellant specimens of early Pallava art but also the earliest Brāhmaṇical temples in Āndhradeśa. On the Indrakīla hill on the bank of the Kṛishna at Bezwada are to be found two sets of caves, one at a lower level and the other higher up. The much worne out sculptures that can still be seen and a reference in a late Eastern Cāḷukyan inscription show that the lower set of caves constituted a Siva temple known as Samastabhuvanāśraya in the Cāḷukyan period. It is not possible to state to whom the upper caves were dedicated but the probability is that they also Saiva shrines. In the village of Mogalrājapuram situated near Bezwada there is a group of eight caves carved in hills and hillocks. The majority of these were dedicated to Śiva and contain important sculpturees and carvignng like those of Ardhanārīśvara and Naṭarāja. There is no mistaking of the authorship of these caves because they contain all the features of early Pallva architecture. On the southern bank of the Krishna is the small village of Uṇḍavilli. There is a small but elegant cave here excavated in the early Pallava style with numerous Vaiṣṇava symbols. Very near it is the famous three storiee cave dedicated to Viṣṇu Anantaśāyi. The sculptures on the pillar and walls in the interior depict the ten avatars of Viṣṇu and scenes from Vaiṣṇava mythology. Hence too the technique of excavation is that of the early Pallava temples. At Cezeralo is a peculiar brick temple with a barrel-vaulted roof dedicated to Siva under the neme of Kapoteśvara. The structure is undoubtedly a Buddhist ciatya hall in the first instance and seems to have been converted, with slight alterations, into a Saivite shrine. Mention has already been made of the temple of Kumārasvāmin at Chebrol in the Guntur district. This temple is now destroyed but there are two others near its site one dedicated to god Keśava and the other to god Bhimeśvara. The pillars and the sculptures on the walls and inner ceiling of both the temples are all of the early Pallava pattern. Thus by building these temples the Pallavas gave a tremendous fillip to Brāhmaṇical Hinduism in and all this sects.

Of Buddhism we hear very little during this period. The excavations at celebrated sites likes Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have not brought to light a single donative record belonging to the post-Sātavāhana period. Nor do the copper-plate charters of this period contain references to Budhism or Buddhist monks. They are all grants made to Brāhmans learned in the Vedid lore, or to Saiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. The description of the Ānanda gotra king Dāmodaravarman as a devotee of Samyak Samkuddha and the mention, in a latter Pallava inscription, of the existence of a temple of the Buddha at Dhānyaghaṭa and sermons on Dharma being preached there are the only exceptional

evidences which show that Buddhism did not disappear altogether. Obviously the people were attracted by the neo-Brāhmaṇism and its mythologies and withdrew their support to Buddhism. The evidence of Hieun Tsang indicates that most of the Buddhist establishments were deserted and decaying. Probably a few monks stuck to important centres like Amarāvati and pursued their faith in an unpretentious manner. Another point of interest may also be mentioned here. It is very curious that in a number of places in Āndhradeśa Saivite shrines of the early Pallava period are to be met with on or mear sites which were formerly celebrated Buddhist centres. Amarāvati, Chebrol and Māḍugula are instances to the point. Probably the same process of reconversion of buildings that was at work at Cezerla was largely in vogue nll over the country.

Salankayanas and Visnukundins.

That part of coastal Āndhra which the north of the Krishna and which constitued the state of Vengī was under the rule of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Sālankāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins while the Pallavas held sway to the south of the river. The rulers of Vengī too were ardent devotees of the revived Brāhmaṇical faith. King Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra who ruled over part of the region, was a *paramamahesvara*. The Sūlaṇkāyana king Vijayadevavarman, the founder of the line, was an *asvamedhayajin* and a *paramamahesvara*. His successor Nandivarman was a *paramabhagavata* and made a gift to god Viṣṇugṛhasvāmin. The expression *Bhagavatcitraratihasvami-padanudhyatah* occurring in the inscriptions of this family indicates that sun worship was a popular cult in those days.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were also great patrons of the Vedic dharma. Their names like Vikramendra, Govinda and Mādhava and titles like *paramamahesvara* and *paramabhagavata* prove their intense love of this faith. Mādhavavarman, the greatest of the kings of this line, performed eleven Aśvamedhas and numerous Vedic *kratus* like Sarvamedha, Suvarṇa, Puṇḍarīka, Puruṣamedha, Vājapeya, Yuddhyāṣoḍasi, Prādhirājya, Prājāpatya, Rājasūya etc. He was in fact the last king in Āndhradesā to have performed a Vedic sacrifice and the later counterpart of the great Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins described themselves as the devotees of the lord of Śrīparvata. Two Śrīparvatas are known to us, one at Vijayapuri, the Ikṣvāku capital and the other the celebrated hill of that name in the Karnul district. Since the former contained a number of Buddhist establishments and since the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were ardent Hindus it cannot be identified with the Śrīparvata of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions. Śrīśailam, on the other hand, was a celebrated Saivite centre from the early middle ages. If Siriṭhana in the expression Siriṭhana-Cakora of the Nāsik inscription of Gautamī

Bālaśrī be taken to indicate Śrīśailam, the antiquity as well as sanctity of the place is enhanced and the place seems to have obtained considerable prominence even by the beginning of the Christian era. It is to be noted further that the dynastic name Viṣṇukuṇḍin is closly allied to Vinukoṇḍa the name of a village in the Guntur district situated very near Śrīśailam. It is very likely that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins hailed from Vinukoṇḍa. No wonder then that they became devotees of the lord of Śrīparvata.

Kalinga.

Kaḷinga, lying to the north of the Godāvary, was brought under the sway of the Sātavāhanas probably about the beginning of the Christian era. Mention has already been made of the existence of Buddhist caityas and establishments at places like Rāmatīrṭham, Sankharam, Āduṛṛu and Kāpavaram. Nothing is known as to what happened to these places after the fall of the Sātavāhanas. A handful of copper-plate inscriptions are the only source of information for the reconstruction of the history of this region in the post-Sātavāhana period. There appear to have been three centres Piṣṭapura, Siṁhapura and Kāṇḍali where numerous chieftains ruled. There are instances of these kings describing themselves *Paramabrahmanyas*, *Paramadaivatas*, *Paramamaheśvaras* and *Paramabhagavatas*. It is rather strange that not one of them performed the aśvamedha or other Vedic sacrifices while their contemporaries in the south were credited with such acts of extra-ordinary piety. There are many personal names like Anantavarman, Umāvarman. Kumāraśarman, Nāgaśarman, Sivabhojaka, Haradatta, Vāsudeva and Keśavadeva proving the existence of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism in this region. Rājā Pṭthvimūla, a ruler in the Godāvary delta, was a protector of the *varnas*, *asramas* and *dharma*. There is no mention of any existing temples of Siva or Viṣṇu in the records available to us nor have any buildings of this period been found so far. The Timmāpuram plates of Kubjaviṣṇuvardhana describe that king as a devotee of the bhagavān residing at Piṣṭapura. Piṣṭapura or modern Pithapuram contains a temple of Mādhava which is very famous. Probably it existed from very early times.

Greater India

It will not be out place to mention here another interesting aspect of the religious history of the post Sātavāhana period. There are several places in Greater India with place names similar to those of important Āndhra towns like Kākulam, Amarāvatī, Kauṭhāra, Kaḷiṅga etc. Inscriptions found in there countries of east Asia are written in a script resembling that of the Śālankāyana and Viṣṇukuṇḍin records. Most of these countries carried on brisk trade with eastern Āndhra. There is a tradition that a certain king named San Lan Krom introduced Buddhism into Burma. An inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa records the

erection of a building for the benefit of monks who converted countries like Kāsmīra, Gandhāra, Cina, Cilāṭa, Tosali, Avaranta, Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Pālūra and the sile of Tambapanni. In view of what has been stated above it is beyond doubt that Buddhism, Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism spread from Āndhradeśa to the countries of eastern Asia.

Conclusion

Thus the four centuries following the fall of the imperial Sātavāhanas witnessed remarkable religious activity in Āndhradeśa. Brāhmanical Hinduism in its Saiva and Vaiṣṇava forms accompanied by the worship of sevaral connected minor deities took field and drove Buddhism into the background. Cave temples and independent structures came to be raised in honour of these eities and an intense religious fervour pervaden the entire atmosphere.

DO THE REFERENCES TO THE YAVANA INVASION OF INDIA FOUND IN THE YUGAPURANA, PATANJALI MAHABHASHYA AND THE MALAVIKAGNIMITRA FORM THE EVIDENCE OF ONE SINGLE EVENT?

BY

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This paper is focussed on the suggestion made by certain scholars that the reference in the Malavikagnimitra to the Sunga-Yavana battle on the bank of the Sindhu provides supplementary evidence to that in the *Yuga Purana* and Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* of the same event, namely, the Yavana invasion of India in the time of Pushyamitra Sunga ending in the siege of Pataliputra in the first phase and of the battle of the Sindhu in the next, under the same leader.[1] This paper purposes to show that the Yavana invasion mentioned in the *Yuga Purana* and the *Mahabhashya* which ended in the siege of Pataliputra was a different event and was separated by a long period of time from the Yavana battle on the bank of the Sindhu, that the two battles were fought under separate Yavana leaders and that the references in the *Yuga Purana* and the *Mahabhashya* cannot be mixed up with that in the Kalidas's drama as the evidence of one common event. References of the Yavana wars in India in the second century

1. Rapson, *CHI* Vol. I, p. 544 and p. 551; Raychaudhri, *PHAI*, 3rd. Edition, p. 259, p. 267.

B. C. during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga are found in the Greek writings of the first century B. C. and 1st century A. D. as well as in the Indian literatures of the second and first century B. C. and in a Sanskrit drama about whose date scholars differ between the first century B. C. and fifth century A. D.[1]

The Greek writers give prominence to two names—Demetrius and Menander—among the conquerors of Indian kingdoms. But the Indian literatures do not name the Yavana leader or leaders who made Indian conquests.

The earliest reference is made in Patanjali's Mahābhāshya (C. 150 B. C.): *Arunad Yavanah Saketam, Arunad Yavan Madhyamikam.* ('The Bactrian Greeks were besieging Saketa (Ajodhy) and Madhyamika (Chittor).

Patanjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. There is a passage in the Mahabhashya which states—*iha Pushyamitra Yajayamah* "here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra." The use of the present tense to denoate an action which has been begun but not fiuished shows that the author of the passage was a contemporary of a Pushyamitra for whom he was officiating in the sacrifice. A passage in the *Yuga Purana* of the *Gargi Samhita* (1st. Century B. C.) refers to the Yavana inaasion of Saketa, Panchala and Mathura and the siege of Pāṭaliputra. The passage is as follows: *Tatah Saketamakramya Panchalamathuram tatha Yavanah dushtavikrantah prapshyanti Kusnmadhvajam*: *"Having invaded Saketa (Ayodhya), Panchāla and Mathura the viciously valiant Yavanas) will reach Kusumdhvaja (Pataliputra)". The names of the places, arranged according to the poetic flow, are evidently not in geographical order, as I shall show latter. The two lines following the above passage indicates that there was a siege of Pataliputra and a fierce battle under the mud walls of the city.[2] A subsequent passage[3] in the *Yuga Purana* further shows that the Greeks had ultimately to to withdraw from Middle India because there broke out a terrible civil war among themselves in their home province.

There is no doubt that the Yavanas referred to here are the Bactrain Greeks. A study of the history of the Bactrian Greeks confirms the truth of the traditions preserved in the Indian literature referred to above. The Greek Satrap of Bactria, Diodotus I, revolted from his master, the Greek Emperor of Syria about 250 B. C. Since then Bactria remained an independent Greek monarchy and defied the power of the Seleucid empire of

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1. Among the scholars who claim the earlier date (B. C. 100) are Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya and Rajvali Pande. The most prominent among those who argued for the latest date (A. D. 400–500) is M. M. V. Mirashi.
2. Jayaswal, J. B. O R S, 1928.
3. Lines 40-44.

Syria, although the house of Diodotus was replaced in Bactria by the house of Euthydemos in the last quarter of the third century B. C. By 208 B. C. Antichus III, the Seleucid monarch of Syria made a determined attempt to recover the lost province of Bactria which he invaded, and ultimately came to terms with Euthydemos, recognising the latter's independence and accepting his friendship which was further cemented by giving his daughter in marriage to Euthydemu's son, Demetrius. [206 B. C.]

Immediately following the treaty with Euthydemus, Antiochus led an invasion to India. Passing down the Kabul valley he found himself in the territory of an Indian raja ruling a kingdom in the country west of the Indus. The Greeks call him Sophagasenos, [Subhagaṣena.] The name indicates that he may have descended from the line of Vīrasena who, according to Tāranātha (*History of Buddhism*, trans. Shiefner, pp. 481) founded an independent western line of the Maurya family, ruling in Gandhāra, perhaps during the reign of Samprati (C. A. I. Vol., pp. 512). The invasion yielded no tangible result except a renewal of the traditional friendship between the two houses of the Seleucids and the Maurys. At any rāte, Antiochus was in no mood to emulate the Indian adventure of Alexander the Great and hurried back to Mesopotamia to meet fresh dangers nearer home.

Euthydemus took full advantage of his treaty with Antiochus and of the lessons of the latter's Indian expedition, which having passed unresisted through the former territories of the Mauryan Empire up to the Indus revealed the weakness of the Indian resistance that could be offered against a properly equipped army. So, the policy of Greek conquest of India initiated by Alexander, and later emulated with ill success by Seleucos Nikator and Antiochus III, was taken up by Euthydemus. He pushed the frontiers of the Bactrian kingdom southwards until they included the whole of Southern Afghanisthan. From this vantage position, he cast his longing eyes towards the land of the five rivers and probably ventured the execution of his ambitious design not before 197 B. C., when Antiochus was hopelessly involved in the moshes of the anti-Roman policy which ultimately proved his ruin. Euthydemus' Indian expedition was undoubtedly left in the hands of his son, Demetrius who had already proved himself to be a worthy deplomat in 206 B. C. when he successfully negotiated a treaty with Antiochus on behalf of his father and married a Seleucid princess. He is described by the Greek writers as 'a comely youth' whose qualities impressed Antiochus. He must have been in 206 at least 17 or 18 years old. So in 197 B. C he was a full grown young man of 24 or 25 years. Demetrius and Menander are often bracketed by Greek writers as the conquerors of India (Strabo XI, 516). But Demetrius was no doubt the elder contemporary of Menander who survived the former by at about ten to fifteen years (*infra*). The romantic career of Demetrius has survived in Chaucer's picturesque description of

the 'grete Emetreus, the King of India'. Demetrius must have made himself the master of the Upper Indus valley and Central Punjab during his father's life time and fixed his capital at Sagala (Sialkot) which he named *Euthydemia* in honour of his father. The death of his father Euthydemus in 190 B. C. occasioned an interruption in his Indian career. He went back to Bactria to be crowned king at the age of 33 or 34. He could not leave Bactria immediately after his accession to the throne and had to suspend his Indian compaigns for some years. He left his eldest son Euthydemus II as his sub-king in Bactria and appointed his second son, Demetrius II, as his satrap to rule the country between the Hindukush and the Indus (Tarn, p. 137).

It is during this final phase of his campaigns in India that he penetrated into the heart of the country as far as Pāṭaliputra referred to in the *Gargi-Samhita* cited above. The route indicated in the passage is confirmed by Patanjali's *Mahabhashya.* It was by way of Chitor (Rajputana), Mathura (Western U. P,), Panchala (Western U. P.), Ajodhya (Eastern U. P.) to Pataliputra. He must have taken the lower Indus route to reach India. The country of the Sauviras in Sind was first conquered by him. He founded a town there and called it *Demetrius* after his own name, since he was the king now after his father's death. A scholian (Weber, *Indische Studien*, p. 50) to the grammarian Patanjali, (p. 146) mentions a town Dattāmitri among the Sauvīras and says it was founded by Dattamitra, who is named in the *Mahabharata* as king of the Yavanas and Sauvīras. A Nasik cave inscription (*Ep. Ind*, VIII, 1905-6, p. 90; *Ind. Hist. Quart.* IV, 1928, p. 743) also refers to the existence of the town of Dattāmitri in Sind. There is thus no doubt that Demetrius, after the manner of the Greek conquerors, founded this *polis* to signalise his victory and also to keep his communications with the rear safe. The region of the Upper Indus was already secure under the rule of one of his brothers or sons. The fact that he called this new Greek *polis* in Sind after his own name shows that this new conquest took place after his father's death and his own accession. There is thus no doubt that in his second and final Indian venture he made Demetrius (Sind) his starting place for further penetration into the heart of India which ultimately led to the siege of Pataliputra referred to in the Indian literature.

The Greek writers unfortunately do not name the places that Demetrius and Menander conquered in India, how far they entered and what places they passed through. That information is obtained from the Indian literature. Demetrius, as argued above, must have started from Demetrius (Sind) and as the geography of the country will show, he had to cross the desert of Rajputana to come straight to Madhyamika (Nagari near Chitor). From there he moved up, perhaps following the course

of the Charmaṇavatī (Chambal) which flows within 100 miles of Madhyamikā to reach Mathurā on the right bank of the Yamunā. From Mathurā he crossed the Yamunā to reach the Pañchāla country. From this point he must have followed the course of the Ganges towards the south for some distance and taken the easterly route to reach Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and then a southern turn to reach Pāṭaliputra. Unfortunately neither the Indian sources or the Greek sources name the leader of the Yavanà invasion of Pāṭaliputra. But a combined study of the two sources leaves little doubt as to the possibility of Demetrius being the leader.

The invasion of Pāṭaliputra must have been timed at the time when prospects of success were most favourable. He became King of Bactria in 190 B. C. when his father died. It must have taken a few years—3 or 4 years at the least—before he could leave Bactria after making satisfactory arrangements for its governance and that of the Paroparisadal. His conquests of Sind and the foundation of a Greek Polis there to make the headquarters for further operations into the interior of the couutry again must have taken considerable time. His conquest of Madhyamikā was not an easy task, in as much as he had to fight a most warlike people, the Sibis who inhabited that country. It was followed by the conquest of Mathurā where he must have consolidated his rule, probably putting Menander at its head. All these again must have taken a year or two in the least. At Mathura he must have watched the political situation in Pāṭaliputra when the *coup d'etat* was successfully carried out by Pushyamitra Suṅga in 184, and timed his march to the imperial city through Pañchāla and Ayodhyā referred to in the *Yuga Purana* and in the *Mahabhashya.*

According to the Greek sources the leader may be either Demetrius or Menander both of whom have been bracketed together as the conquerors of India. It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that many European and Indian scholars have differed as to who was the leader of the Yavana forces fighting against Pushyamitra. Dr. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant. 1911, p. 114) holds that the siege of Pāṭaliputra was led by Demetrius. Dr. Roy Chaudhari holds the same view and says that "Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. It is Demetrius, who should be identified with the Yavana invader referred to be Patanjali and Kalidasa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra" (PHAI. 3rd. Ed. p. 267). Tarn (*GBI*) seems to favour Menander as the leader of the Yavaaa forces invading Pāṭaliputra. Prof. Rapson like Dr. Roy Chaudhuri, mixes up the references in the *Yuga Purana* and *Mahabhashya* with that of the *Malavikaganimitra* as evidence of the same war with Suṅga forces,[1] but differs from Dr. Roy Chaudhuri in ascribing

1. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 544, and p. 551.

the leadership of the Yavana forces to Menander. I do not subscribe to the view that Menander led the Yavana forces which having passed through Madhyamikā, Mathurā, Pañchāla and Ajodhyā besieged Pāṭaliputra. The mistake of those writers who hold this view is primarily due to the mixing up of the references of the *Yuga Purana* and the *Mahabhashya* with that in the *Malavikagnimitra*. The earliest date of the siege of Pāṭaliputra by the Yavana forces cannot be fixed before 184 B. C. when Pushyamitra Suṅga ascended the throne. Demetrius was then in his full manhood, 47 or 48 years old. Even though in his second Indian expedition, Menander and his brother Appolodotus accompanied him as his lieutenants, it is more than improbable that he should have left the supreme task of invading the imperial capital in the hand of one of his younger and less-experienced captains, instead of leading the forces himself. Appolodotus was probably put in charge of the Greek Polis of Demetrius,[1] also of Madhyamikā (near Chitor) from where he may have taken the south-westernly road to conquer Broach (the Barygaza of the *Periplus*) where large numbers of his coins are reported to have been in circulation by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea in the first century A. D., although that region including Surāshṭra had already passed into the hands of the Sakas in the first century B. C. Menander, likewise, may have accompanied Demetrius in his north-easterly march from Madhyamikā to Mathurā. It may be that sometime may have elapsed between the conquest of Mathurā (if effected earlier than 184 B. C.) and the expedition to Pāṭaliputra. If so, like a good general he must have timed it with the great Brāhman revolution and the *coup-detat* led by Pushyamitra Suṅga, before the latter should have time to consolidate his position on the throne, and *when* the feelings of the Buddhist subjects of the Maurya rulers were still running high against the usurpation of the Brāhman *Senapati*. This leads to the strong presumption, I repeat, that the invasion could not have been much after 184 B. C. This is an important consideration which cannot be lightly dismissed, in connection with the correct finding of the leadership of the Yavana forces of the expedition. I shall show later that the Yavana war on the bank of the Sindhu referred to in the *Malavikagnimitra* could not have taken place in 184 B. C. This reference speaks of a second war under a different leadership, when Pushyamitra was an old man celebrating his Aśvamedha sacrifice, perhaps a second one, and when Demetrius was long dead and gone.

There is no doubt that Menander played an equally, if not more, important part in the Indo-Greek history of India, but that part he played after Demetrius I and his immediate successors

1. Numismatic evidence shows that he at a later date must have been transferred to rule the Upper Indus region from Pushkalavati.

died or got killed in action against Eucratides, and after the latter conquered the dominions of the house of Euthydemus in Bactria, Kabul valley and in both western and eastern Gandhāra (Pushkalāvatī and Takshashilā). Eucratides took Bactria in C. 168 or 167 B. C. and supplanted the house of Euthydemus by his own. The fight of Demetrius I against the usurper must have been a long and bitter one in which he, his two sons and his brother were killed.

There are numismatic evidences that Euthydemus II, the eldest son and his sub-king of Bactria, died young. His coins show a very youthful potrait. Demetrius II, his second son, former gove nor of the Paropanisadas replaced his brother as his father's sub-kirng of Bactria and was ruling the country when Eucratide attacked it in 168 or 167 B. C. (Tarn, p. 157 and p. 166), and was probably killed in the early phase of the war. Agathocles, the youngest son of Demetrius I, was evidently ruling the Paropanisandal from Kupiśa, when Eucratides, after crossing the Hindu Kush, attacked and took the city. Agathocles might have met his death early, as all his coins issued from Kapiśa show a young head, and Eucratides' square bronze bilingual Kapiśa coins replaced them. (E. J. Rapson, JRAS 1905, p. 783, No. 1). That Appolodottus, brother of Demetrius I, ruled Gandhāra is evident from the type of his coins. His silver coins bear the types, 'Elephant: Indian bull.' The elephant and the bull are common emblems in Indian mythology and are associated with the deities worshipped by various sects. The bull, as a numismatic emblem, is particularly associated with coins issued from the city of Pushkalāvatī (Charsadda) in the Peshawar District. Eucratides had restruck a large number of such Gandhāra coins of Appolodotus (*BMC*, p. XXXV). This shows that he conquered Appolodotus 'Kingdom of Gandhāra and in the fight Appolodotus probably died about 163 or 162 B. C. which is about the date when Demetrius I also died.[1]

This left only Menander among the companions of Demetrius to continue the fight against Eucratides. He was ruling the small territories east of the Jhelum as the representative of the house of Euthydemus. That the Indian conquests of Eucratides and his house were confined to Gandhāra and did not extend beyond the western bank of Jhelum is clear. The coins of Eucratides or his son Heliocle who succeeded him do not indicate their rule in the central and south Punjab. This shows that Menander had successfully resisted Eucratides and his house. The relationship between Menander and Demetrius I is not definitely known. But that it was a close one is clear. If Rapson is to be believed Menander was his son-in-law, having

1. Tarn, p. 216, CHJI, pp. 447, and 457,

married Agathocleia, the youngest daughter of Demetrius. He was born in a village called Kalasi in the Alasandadripa[1] (Alexendria—under—the Caucasus) the ruins of which have been discovered near Charikar, between the Panjshir and Kabul river.[2] According to Tarn he was not an Euthydemid by birth (Tarn, p. 124). If so, he must have been a man of uncommon merit, and having joined the army of Euthydemus, rose to the rank of a general by the time Demetrius invaded India. After the death of Demetrius and other direct heirs to the Euthydemus line, he probably legalised his position as the head of the Euthydemid family by marrying Agathocleia, and assumed the royal title. He is undoubtedly to be identified with the Milanda of the Buddhist book, who ruled his kingdom from Sagala (Sialkot). His dominions in the east undoubtedly included Mathura. The passage in the *Yugapurana* which states that the Yavanas had ultimately to leave the Middle country on account of a severe fratricidal war among themselves evidently refers in the first instance to Demetrius-Eucratides war in whieh Demetrius lost his life about 162 B. C. and to the loss of all the Greek possessions of the Madhyadeśa except Mathura. Menander who was probably a general governing Mathura was put in charge also of the Central and Eastern Punjab which Demetrius rules himself from the capital of his Indian empire—Euthydemia (Sialkot) before leaving to meet Eucratides in Bactria. Menander's association with Mathura is a long one—as its Governor under Demetrius and then as the Greek king of the Central and Eastern Punjab. The discovery of large number of his coins and a hoard or 96 coins of his son Strato I in Mathura, undoubtedly shows that Mathura remained a part of Menander's dominions till the time of his son. This is an important fact which will help us to identify the river Sindhu on the banks of which a Yavana battle was fought as referred to in the *Malvaikagnimitra.*

There is both numismatic and literary evidence that Menander was a Buddhist. The use of symbol of eight-spoken wheel[3] on one of his bronze issues of coins proves his adherence to Buddhism. In the *Milindapanha* we find that he became a convert to Buddhism after a protracted discussion with the Buddhist Thera Nāgasena, and after his doubts were satisfactorily removed. A convinced convert generally becomes a jealous upholder of his faith. His court became the resort of Buddhist monks whom he sheltered from the persecution of Pushyamitra Sunga. Tārānāth, the Tibetan historian bears clear testimony to this fact. This is borne out by a passage in the *Divyavadana* (of much earlier date) that

1. *Milindapauha*, p. 126.
2. C. *AGI*, p. 550.
3. Tarn, however, does not believe it and thinks that the 'wheel' is the symbol of the Raiachakravartin.

Pushyamitra Suṅga issued a proclamation, settling a price of one hundred dināras on each head of a Sramaṇa living in Sakala. I have shown elsewhere[1] that Pushyamitra Suṅga as the head of the Brāhman reaction against the Buddhist rule of the Mauryas and the leader of the successful *coup-d'etat* which installed the Brāhman Suṅga rule in Magadha had as a mater of logical sequence to events follow a vigorous ant-Buddhist policy. Under this historical back-ground it is not possible to dismiss the testimony of Tārānāth and *Divyavadana* as mere baseless tradition.

With this back-ground it is possible to understand Menander's Indian policy vis-a-vis Pushyamitra Suṅga in clear perspective. The growing empire of the Suṅgas butted on Menander's eastern outpost of Mathurā from Pañchāla in the north and Vidiśā in the south. This was the political motive of his conflict with the Suṅgas. Added to this was his religious affiliation which rallied round his banner the Buddhist elements against the Suṅga rule. He challenged Pushyamitra's imperial claim when the latter was preparing to perform a horse sacrifice and the imperial forces guarding the sacrificial horse were camping somewhere in Central India above Vidiśā and below Mathurā. The challenge was well-timed. It was a resistence to the Horse Sacrifice, bound to invoke enthusiasm of the Buddhist adherents. The nearness of ths Imperial forces to Mathurā, where a strong Greek force always resided, gave him a strategic advantage which he was bound to utilise. According to the *Malavikagnimitra*, the battle took place on the bank of the Sindhu in which the Yavana force was defeated. A close view of the map of that part of the country will show that the reference in the drama as to the battle ground was correct.[1] The highroad from Mathurā down the bank of the Yamunā met at a point, about a hundred miles below the city, where the river Sindhu branched off from the Yamunā as its tributary to flow southward into Central India. There is no doubt that the Yavana force issuing out of Mathurā followed this high-road and met the Suṅga army somewhere on the bank of the Sindhu.

Now I come back to my original thesis, that the Yavana war referred to in the *Malavikagnimitra* and the Yavana war referred to in the *Yuga Purana* and by Patañjali are two different events, independent of each other and separated by a considerable time. The Yavana invasion of Pāṭaliputra through Madhyamikā Mathurā, Panchāla and Ajodhyā as referred to in the Yuga Purāṇa and the *Mahabhashya* took place when Demetrius was alive and Pushyamitra had just sat on the throne. The Yavana war on

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1. Vide my article in B. C. Law Memorial Vol. I 'Did Pushyamitra Sunga persecute the Buddhists ?'.

1. The view of the scholars who identify the Sindhu with the Indus is unacceptable.

the river Sindhu took place when Pushyamitra Suṅga was an old man, having had a grandson of sufficient age to be able to command the Imperial forces guarding his sacrificial Horse. Again it is highly inconsistant that Pushyamitra should celebrate a horse sacrifice to substantiate his claim to suzereinty of the Middle India, referred to in the drama at a time when even the neighbouring privinces of Sāketa, and Pañchāla were in the Greek hands and Pāṭaliputra itself was besieged, as referred to in the *Yuga Purana.*

Patañjali's use of the present tense in his reference to the performance of a horse sacrifice for Pushyamitra and the imperfect tense in his reference to the siege of Madhyamikā and Ajodhyā no doubt proves that the two events were almost contemporary and occurred during his life time. Patañjali's reference to the siege of Madhyamikā and Sāketa certainly corroborates the evidence of the *Yuga Purana* regarding the events which ultimately ended with the siege of Pāṭaliputra, and if the horse sacrifice mentioned in the *Mahabhashya* was a contemporary event, as probably it is, it must have been performed by Pushyamitra, either in celebration of the relief of Pāṭaliputra from the Yavana attack, or as a royal act of the revival of Brāhmaṇical sacrifices, or both, but never as a claim to suzereinty of the Middle India. That claim could only be advanced after he had recovered most of the lost provinces in the U. P. and Central India and built up an empire and consolidated it. The evacuation of the Yavanas from the Madhyadeśa except Mathurā must have helped considerably in his task of empire building. A considerable time must have elapsed between the earlier Yavana movement through Madhyamikā, Mathurā, Pañchāla and Ajodhyā ending in the siege of Pāṭaliputra and now when another Yavana battle was fought on the bank of the Sindhu on the occasion of his horse sacrifice. This was perhaps his second Aśvamedha, after Patañjali was probably dead. For, if he was alive, he would probably have made use of his important historic event to illustrate a grammatical rule. He made frequent use of current historical events for the purpose. An independent piece of evidence, the Ajodhyā inscription (Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54-58). Valuable, though indirect, lends support to this conclusion. The inscriptions contains this significent passage: '*Kosaladhipena dvirasvamedhayajina senapateh Pushyamitrasya.*' This shows that he performed at least two horse sacrifices, the first one as an act of revival of Brahmaṇism not long after his accession to the throne, and the relief of Pāṭaliputra from the siege of the Yavanas under Demetrius, and the second one to uphold his claim to suzereignty of the Madhyadeśa in the evening of his life, probably a few years before his death.

Therefore, it is clear that the horse sacrifice mentioned by Patañjali and that mentioned by Kālidasa do not form the evidence of one Yavana war. There were two Yavana wars

under two different Yavana leaders—one under the walls of Pāṭaliputra, and the other on the bank of the Sindhu, each separated by a long period.

The leader of the Pushyamitra—Yavana war, I have shown, was Demetrius. But he was dead and gone when the second Pushyamitra-Yavana battle on the river Sindhu was fought. The Yavana leader of this war was undoubtedly Menander or one of his generals.

Two circumstances point to the personal leadership of Menander. First, Menander was alive at that time. Pushyamitra died in C. 148 B. C., and the horse-sacrifice was, *ipso facto*, held earlier than this date. The battle on the bank of the Sindhu was in connection with this sacrifice and was fought still earlier. So the event of the battle may be reasonably put 2 or 3 years before his death. Menander's death, according to Tarn calculation based on Greek records of which he is an authority, took place about 150-145 B. C. (Tarn, p. 226). It cannot be said either that he had become a very old man when he died, and as such was incapable of leading an army. The fact that his son, Strato I, was a minor when his father died, points to the fact that Menander had not reached a very old age. His latest coins show the head of a middle-aged man.[1] Secondly, Menander, a Buddhist, knew that his personal command of the army would invoke the enthusiasm of the Buddhist adherents and effect a rally round his flag in his crusade against Brāhmanism and Brāhmanic rule. This well-known war strategy he was not likely to ignore.

BHARADWAJA'S ASHRAMA

BY

M. V. KIBE

The traditional location of the Ashrama of Bharadwaja, as described in Valmiki's Ramayan, is not far away from the Ganges in Prayag or Modern Allahabad. It is near Swaraj Bhuvan. That eminent jurist of Allahabad and now a Minister of a Province, Dr. K. N. Katju, has tried to carry it further up near Rajapur and Shringverpur or modern Singrur. Although he has quoted from Valmiki's Ramayan, his attention does not seem to have been called to passages other than quoted by him.

In 7.45-17 and 18 the Tamasa is described as the boundary of the Kingdom of Ayodhya

विषयान्ते·····तमसातीरमाश्रितः ।

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1. CII, Vol. I, plates VI, 14, pl. 12, 6, pl. VI, 7

After leaving Ayodhya, Rama, Sita and Laxman left Kosala country by a chariot

रथेन पुरुष व्याघ्रः कोसलानत्यवर्तत । (2-50-20)

Then they are described coming to the banks of the Ganges. At not a great distance from those Banks. Rama (and his party) came to an Ingudi tree. It was the country of Guha who was his friend (2-50-33). (This and the few previous chapters are full of pathos and are pathetic, embodying the best type of poetry) Guha asked his Ministers to prepare a boat for the crossing of the Ganges by the party. Rama here parted with his chariot and the chariotior, telling him that he will carry back the chariot, and Rama will go back to the great forest on foot.

रथं विहाय पद्भ्यांतु गमिष्यामो महावनम्—2-52-14

After Rama had crossed the Ganges, he saw the chariot on the other bank of the river, and he shed tears (2-52-100). The next night was spent under a tree away from habitation (2-53-2). Next morning they left for the place where there was the function of the Ganges and Yamuna, after leaving the great forest (2-54-1 and 2). Before they came to Prayag, the place of the junction, they passed many regions (भूमिभागान) and countries (देशांश्चापि —*ibid* 3). Then one evening Rama drew the attention of Laxman to the smoke rising in front, from which Rama surmised that it must be issuing from the huts of some Rishis, who were sacrificing in fire, and from other signs, he concluded that they had arrived at the junction of Yamuna with the Ganges and the habitation of Bharadwaja (2-54-4 and 8). Then when he neared it, he asked Sita and Laxman to wait and himself entered the presence of the Rishi, who had finished giving oblations in the sacred fire. Bharadwaja said "I see you after a long time. I know the cause. of your exile. You now stay here in this beautiful place on the confluence of the Ganges (2-54-21). Rama replied "This place is near habitation and people will come to it and to me. I wish to live in a quiet place. Therefore I do not like to live here. Kindly show me some quiet place for us to live "(2-54-24-26) Bharadwaja replied" Ten Kos from here is a mountain called Chitrakuta, where live ascetics. You go and stay there (2-54-28-29). This distance he also repeals to Bharat, when later he visits the Ashrama. He mentions three and half yojanas as the distance मैरतार्ध तृतीयेषु योजने (2-92-10). A Yojana—is either six or eight miles and so also a Kosha is 2 or 3 miles. According to what he told Rama, the Chitrakuta mountain was ten Kosha, that is 30 miles and the same distance he told Bharat—3 Yojanas=24 miles and half four miles more, total 28 miles. But both these compulations were approximate. The chief thing to remember is that after crossing the Ganges at or near Shringaverpur, Rama crossed a big forest [illegible] many regions (2-[illegible] and 3). [illegible] Bharadwaja [illegible] of the [illegible]

कालिन्दीमनुगच्छेतां नदीं—2-55-4 and

इतिपन्थानमादिश्य महर्षिः सन्यवर्तत—2-55-10

then they went to the place where the river was to be crossed

कालिन्दीं जग्मतुर्नदीम् । अथासाध्यतु कालीन्दीं·····नदीम् (2-55-13)

There they thought of devices for crossing and so (2-55-14).

Later Bharata arrived at Shringverpur for coming to the Ganges (2-84). While Guha had brought one boat for Rama, he gave five hundred boats and one a splendid one for Bharata (2-89-10 and 12). Bharadwaja's Ashrama was also in a big forest

प्रययौ प्रयागवनमुत्तमम् (2-89-21) and महद्वनं विप्रवरस्य रम्यम् (2-89-23)

from there after going a long distance, when his conveyance was tried सगत्वा दूरमध्वानं सुपरिश्रान्तवाहनः (2-93-6)

"This is Citrakuta and this is the Mandakin river" (2-53-8).

All this will show that Rama did not go accross from Shringverpur to the Ashrama of Bharadwaja to the crossing of the Yamuna, but came a considerable distance and then went to the crossing. In Bharat's case the crossing of Yamuna is not described as it was at the same place where Rama crossed it. Directing him Bharadwaja, who had accompanied him some distance, as previously shown, directed Rama "After bearing the influence of the Yamuna and Ganges, you follow Kalindi, *i.e.* Yamuna, going west" (2-55-4). Then he points to a families place

सपन्थाश्चित्रकूटस्य गतः सुबहुशो मया" (*ibid* 9)

He further said in the way "You will see a blue forest, (by blue he means thick) (*ibid* 8). So after all the crossing was at some distance from his place.

The conclusion is that Bharadwaja's Ashrama was at the place traditionally said to be where it is. Close by flows Saraswati, by the side of the house of Dr. Acharya, built by him according to the ancient science ef architecture, as he covers.

In a Khila of Rigveda mention is made of the coufluence in thee words

यत्र गङ्गाच यमुना यत्र याचि सरस्वति । यत्र सोमेश्वरो देवो"·····

It appears that it is later than Kalidas's Raghuvansha. In the 13th Canto of that epic in five graphic stanzas (55 to 58), he confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna is described. But he mentions no Saraswati. So also it will be useful to know the origin and date of the Mantra, which is as follows,

"गङ्गा यमुनयोर्मध्ये यत्रगुप्ता सरस्वति"

and which is recited by the priests at the confluence, when asking pilgrims to bathe on the spot. If Kalidas makes no mention of Saraswati, no wonder Hiuen Sang does not notice it.

THE VRĀTYAS AND THEIR REFERENCE IN BRĀHMANICAL AND BUDDHIST LITERATURES

BY

PROF. L. B. KENY

Magadha is brought into a significant connexion with the Vrātya, in a mystic hymn, which has not been clearly explained as yet. N. N. Ghose describes it as "a very citadel of puzzles."[1] In the 15th book of the *Atharva Veda*, in the so-called Vrātya book, a Māgadha is said to be a friend and adviser, a crony, and a thunder of the Vrātya.[2] In the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* of the *Yajurveda*, the Vrātya is further included in the list of the victims at the *Purusamedha* 'human sacrifice'.[3] A further connexion between Magadha and the Vrātya is evident from the fact that the Srauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana[4] and Lāṭyāyana[5] enjoin that after the *Vratyastoma*, a rite that procured the admission of the Vrātya into the Aryan Brāhmaṇical community,[6] the belongings of a Vrātya or the equipment characteristic of him, had to be bestowed either upon an inferior Brahmin of Magadha 'Brahmin in name only' (*brahmabandhu*), or one who had not given up the Vrātya practices. But this inferiority of the Māgadha Brāhmaṇas is not found in the *Pancavimsa Brahmana*.[7] On the other hand, as the *Kausitaki Aranyaka* states, respectable Brāhmaṇas sometimes lived there.[8] Oldenberg, however, seems perfectly right in regarding this as unusual.[9]

The above data, especially the custom of giving away the habits of the enfranchised Vrātya to a Brāhmaṇa of Magadha, in case a Vrātya were not found at hand to receive it, have

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1. Ghose, *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture* (*Origins*), p. 44.
2. *Atharva Veda*, XV, 2, 1-4, Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* II, p. 116, Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, I, p. 93, Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*', p. 79.
3. XXX, 8; Cf. *Taittiriya Brahmana*, iii, 4, 5, 1.
4. VIII, 6, 28.
5. XXII, 4, 22.
6. Chhatterji, *Origin and Dovelopment of Bengali Language*. I, p. 46; Barua, "Alpines in Eastern India". *Indian Culture*, III, p. 116; Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, I, p. 39; Rangacharya, *Pre-Musalman India*, II, p. 334; *C.H.I.*, I. p. 124; Samaddar, *Glories of Magadha*, p. 10, *Griffith's Translation of Atharva Veda*. II, p. 185 (f. n.)
7. XVII, 1, 16.
8. VII, 13. It is interesting to note that the earlier *Aitareya Aranyaka* does not mention this.
9. Oldenberg, *The Buddha*. p. 400 (f. n.), Cf. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 112 (f. n.).

raised a suspicion in many scholars that the original home of the Vrātyas was Magadha.[1] But as a matter of fact there is nothing to determine the exact native country of the Vrātyas. The *Latyayana Srauta Sutra* states that the *vipatha* "rough chariot" or "cart" of the Vrātyas was called *Prachyaratha* "eastern chariot" only hinting thereby that the Vrātyas were most numerous in the east. But this does not prove that they were confined to the east alone. They were, on the other hand, as the *Atharva Veda* maintains, in every direction. But their expansion in the north was limited by the Himālayas, in the south by the Vindhyas, and in the west by the pressure of other tribes, while in the east they had almost unlimited scope for expansion. It would thus appear wrong to consider the Vrātyas as the Māgadhas, though some of the Māgadhas may be styled as 'Vrātyas' as we shall see later on.

To what stock did the Vrātyas then belong?

Before trying to answer this question it would be advisable on our part to see their social customs.

The *Pancavimsa Brahmana* of the *Sama Veda*[2] states that the Vrātyas rove about in bands in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans and garments with a red border and having fluttering ends, wear shoes and sheepskins folded double, and possess cattle; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver ornaments for the neck. The pursue neither agriculture nor commerce, their laws are in a state of confusion, they call an expression difficult to pronounce, when it is not difficult to pronounce; they speak 'the language of the initiated' *diksitavacam*, though "uninitiated" *adiksita*,[3] and do not observe the rules of *Brahmacharya* 'the principle regulating the Brāhmaṇic order of life.'

The man of Magadha, again is, as we have seen before, brought into close connexion with the Vrātya in some mystical hymns of the *Atharva Veda*, which celebrate the Vrātya as a type of the supreme power in the universe. These hymns with their deification of a wandering Vrātya priest, with his strange paraphernalia and his cortege seem to be a little puzzling. Referring to these hymns Dr. S. K. Chatterji says that "they suggest the presence of a Saiva cult among the Vrātyas, and certainly a cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic

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1. Cf. Bhagwat, "A Chapter from the *Tandya Brdhmana* of the Sama Veda and the Latyayana Sutra on the admission of the non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedic Age", *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIX, pp. 362-63; Sastri, *Magadhan Literature*, p. 9.

2. *Panca vimsa Brahmana*, XVII. 4, 1-9; *Atharva Veda*, XV, 1-4.

3. अदुरुक्त वाक्यं दुरुक्त आहुः .....अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाक्यं वदन्ति ।

world. The extravagant respect paid to the Vrātya in these poems", continues the scholar, "either shows the hand of the followers of Vrātya cults themselves ; or they are the work of Vedic Aryans who felt fascinated by the Vrātyas with their non-Midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the *Atharva Veda* hymns are highly mystic in this connection"[1] But Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, on the other hand, while commenting upon the passage of the *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, maintains that "they were Daiva-prajā worshippers, worshippers and favourites of gods—the same gods as were worshipped by the Vedic Aryans."[2] Prof. Ghose identifies the Eka Vrātya of the *Atharva Veda* with King Pṛthu Vaiṇya of the Purāṇas—the first amongst the rulers of men.[3]

What was then the exact religion of the Vrātyas?

Before giving an opinion at this stage, let us see into their other qualities. As regards their speech, the Vrātyas, though unconsecrated, spoke the tongue of the consecrated. And this again was confirmed by the statement that they called what was easy of utterance, difficult to utter. This only proves that they had some Prākṛit form of speech.[4]

With the above data we could only state at this stage that the Vrātyas were certain people, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, but certainly living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism. To use a modern expression, they were persons regarded as outcasts. But the fact that they had a turban to keep the sun off, and were clad in skins and white garments with red borders, and had silver ornaments rouud their neck, and wore "black and pointed shoes",[5] shows that they certainly were not savages but a civilized people.[6]

Different scholars have identified these Vrātyas with different people. Barua takes them to be the Alpines of Iran or the Magians of the Gangetic valley who spoke the Aryan tongue and migrated to this place centuries before the Vedic Aryans arrived in India.[7] Dutt suspects them to be "Turanians who pressed into Behar through the Himālayas and gradually adopted Hindu language and civilization."[8] Jayaswal, on the other hand,

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1. Chatterji, *op. cit*, I, p. 46; Cf. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, IV, p. 149.
2. *Magadhan Literature*, p. 5.
3. Ghose, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
4. Cf. Chatterji, *op. cit*, I, p. 47; *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 56; Chanda, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38; Macdonell and Keith, *op cit.*, II, p. 343.
5. *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*, XXII, 4.
6. Cf. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, pp. 57, 64, 68-70.
7. Barua, "Alpines in Eastern India," *Indian Culture*, III. pp. 166-67.
8. Dutt, *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 203.

states that "the term Vrātya indicated those who had the tradition of the Jinas and Buddhas amongst them even before the sixth century B. C. Buddha and Jina."[1] But to say the least about these statements they seem to be farfetched and so preposterous, because, as we shall presently see, the earliest reference to the Vrātya agrees with none of them.

The Vrātya book of the *Atharva Veda* describes a Vrātya as a wandering Vedic priest, roaming in the different non-Aryan provinces and converting the people of those places to the Brāhmaṇic fold.[2] So this Vrātya, mentioned for the first time, was an Aryan preaching Brāhmaṇism to the non-Aryan people for the first time. But we find a sudden change in the application of the term 'Vrātya'. The first band of the Vrātyas who went to foreign places to teach their own religious teachings were, it seems, themselves tempted by the non-Aryan teachings and huge wealth. The ninth and the tenth hymns of the Vrātya book hint at this slow progress of the Vrātya towards his own degradation. "He went away", according to the first hymn, "to the people. Meeting and Assembly and Army and wine followed him. He who hath this knowledge becomes the dear home of Meeting, Assembly, Army, and Wine. So let the King, to whose house the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge comes as a guest," continues the next hymn, "honour him as superior to himself." This shows the slow progress of the status of the Vrātya, rising from a mere wandering preacher to a man superior even to a king. And this change in position was due to the huge wealth he made through the conversion rites. "Meeting, Assembly, Army, and Wine followed him" wherever he went. He started by meeting individuals whose number increased to form an assembly. His preachings in assemblies had the necessary effect and his following amounted to an 'army' as it were, meaning thereby, that he had a huge following of the Aryanised non-Aryans. But this position tempted him towards luxury. Wine was introduced, it seems, as a necessity, in the form of fees, along with the number of cows, as we shall presently see.

With luxury started the degradation in the position of a Vrātya. The *Pancavimsa Brahmana* gives us the next stage. "The Gods, forsooth," it states "went to the world of heaven: of them the adherents of 'the God' were left behind (on earth), leading a Vrātya life. They came to the spot where the gods were gone to the world of heaven. (But) they found neither that *stoma* nor that metre by means of which they might reach them. Then the gods said to the Maruts. 'Deliver ye to those that *stoma*, that metre, by means of which they may reach us.

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1. Jayaswal, "Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire," *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 26.
2. *Atharva Veda*, XV, 1 and 2.

To them," continues the same passage, "they (the Maruts) delivered that sixteen-versed *stoma*.... Thereupon, they reached them."[1] This shows that the first Aryan preachers who went to preach to the non-Aryans forgot their own duties of life as the study of the Vedas and other rituals necessary for an Aryan. The same *Brahmana* goes on further to describe the qualities of the Vrātyas. "Those who lead the life of a joined group," states the passage, "are destitute, left behind. For they neither practise the study of the Veda nor do they plough or trade. It is by the sixteen-versed *stoma* that this can be reached."[2] "Swallowing poison are those who eat foreign food as Brāhman's food, who call good words bad, who use to strike the guiltless with a stick, who though being not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The guilt of these may be removed by the sixteen-versed *stoma*."[3] These passages also help to prove the influence of the non-Aryan culture upon the Vedic preachers. The Vrātyas of the first stage remained neither pure Aryas nor pure Anāryas. They not only neglected and so forgot their Brāhmaṇic rituals, but even did not till the land or carry on trade like the non-Aryan Easterners as the Māgadhas, for example. And as it could very easily be found out, this was due to their getting huge wealth from the non-Aryan inhabitants. They never cared for the above things because they were able to settle without them. They enjoyed the non-Aryan dishes and adopted even their language to a certain extent.

To these Vrātyas we may apply very well, the description by the Buddha, of his contemporary Brāhmaṇas, to Ambaṭṭa, a young Brāhmaṇa pupil of Pokkharasādi who was "knowing the mystic verses by heart; one who had mastered the three Vedas, with the indices, the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis (as a fourth), and the legends as a fifth, learned in the idioms and the grammar, versed in the Lokāyata sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man."[4] As the Buddha states in the *Ambattha Sutta*, these Brāhmaṇas "parāde about well-groomed, perfumed, trimmed as to their hair and beard, adorned with garlands and gems, clad in white garments, in the full possession and enjoyment of the five pleasures of sense, ...live, as their food, on boiled rice of the best sorts, from which all the black specks had been sought out and removed, and flavoured with sauces and curries of various kinds,...waited upon by women with fringes and fur round their loins,...go about driving chariots drawn by mares with plaited manes and tails,

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1. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 1, 1 (Tr. by Dr. W. Caland), Cf. XVIII, 1, 7; Cf. Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
2. *Ibid*, XVII, 1, 2.
3. *Ibid.*, XVII, 1, 9.
4. *Dīgha Nikaya*, I, p. 88 (Tr. by Rhys Davids).

using long wands and goods the while,...have themselves guarded in fortified towns, with moats dug out round them and cross-bars let down before the gates, by men girt with long swords."[1]

According to the above passages the Vrātya did not remain the Aryan wandering preacher. The term came to be applied to those Aryans who were outside the sphere of Brāhmin culture, and who were allowed to become members of the Brāhmaṇical community by performance of the ritual prescribed, which would hardly be so natural in the case of the non-Aryans. The first Vrātyas, *viz.*, the Aryas of the first migration, came to stay long in the non-Aryan provinces like Magadha. Naturally they not only Brāhmaṇised several non-Aryans of the Eastern provinces and accumulated huge wealth in cash and kind, but themselves became addicted to luxuries and forgot their own duties of preaching Brāhmaṇism as well as their own Aryan brethren in the west. The latter, on the other hand, tried hard to bring their degraded brethren—who in course of time themselves came to be styled Vrātyas—to their own original Aryan fold. Thus there came into existence two types of Vrātyas. The first were pure Aryans but the second had a great non-Aryan influence upon their culture and habits. The latter even went to the extent of settling with the non-Aryan women, as we shall presently see. The second stage of the Vrātyas was thus that of those people who had left their hearth and home, and had made their brethren and relations assume a contemptuous attitude towards them and the country of their adoption. And consequently the non-Aryan people of the Eastern provinces were also looked down upon and styled by the same denomination.[1] Manu, for example, describes the Vrātyas as persons whom the twice born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the *gayatri*.[2] The *Mahabharata* puts the Vrātyas in the same category of the outcaste classes as the Caṇḍālas and the Vaidyas, and describes them as the progeny of a Śūdra man and a Kṣatriya woman.[3]

There are four kinds of Vrātya-*stoma* which, in the beginning, seem to have been a prayer for the regeneration or readmission of the degraded Aryas into the Aryan fold and later on, for the conversion of the non-Aryans into the same. The first Vrātya-*stoma*, according to the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, readmitted the degraded Aryas into the Aryan fold.[4] The second *stoma* 'rite' admitted the 'base' and the 'censured' into the Brāhmaṇic fold.[5] Bhagwat explains the 'base and the 'censured' as the "guilty of

1. Cf. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 45-46, Samaddar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
2. *Manu*, X, 20.
3. *Mahabharata*. Anusasanika parva, 2621.
4. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, I, 1; Cf. Bhagvat, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
5. *Ibid.*, XVII, 2, 1.

manslaughter," and continues further that "these having fled from justice or being condemned to banishment, after passing some years among alien races, naturally yearned to return to their kith and kin."[1] But to our mind this rite was meant not for readmission but for conversion. The 'base' and the 'censured' here mean the non-Aryans. This is further corroborated by the same passage of the Brāhmaṇa when it states that cattle played an important part in this rite. "It is the cattle that leads the base to superiority,"[2] says the *Brahmana*. And cattle formed the major portion of the wealth of the non-Aryans acceptable to the Aryans. This was thus, the rite which admitted non-Aryan people like the 'Asura Easterners of Magadha' into the Aryan fold.[3] The third Vrātya-*stoma* was meant for the readmission of those Aryans who stayed with the non-Aryans since childhood and were thus 'nearly denationalised.'[4] And the fourth rite was meant to entitle the degraded Āryas to procure a re-admission into the Āryan fold, even in a very advanced age.[5] These old degraded Āryas were, according to Bhagvat, men who had enfeebled their constitutions by undue intercourse with the non-Aryan women.[6]

With the above data at our disposal, we could safely conclude that since the Vedic times the conception of a Vrātya considerably changed. In the beginning the Vrātyas were Aryan nomadic hordes (*vrata*=a 'horde).[7] But in course of time the term came to be applied to those Āryas who forgot their duties and indulged in luxuries with the Ānāryas. This degradation brought in hatred. And the same denomination was applied contemptuously to the latter like the Māgadhas, who were outside the pale of Aryanism. And it is this contempt alone that has given rise to the definition of a Vrātya as the son of a 'twice-born' father and mother, who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, were excluded from the *savitri*.[8] The memory of their having been a contemptuous people was even retained in the same word meaning, later on, those Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas," who, their thread ceremony not being performed for 16, 22, or 23 years respectively, either from birth or from conception, had lost their claim to the honour of being called brethren by the three regenerate castes."[9] "Curiously

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1. Bhagvat, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
2. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 2, 4.
3. Cf. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 71.
4. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*. XVII, 3, 1; Cf. Bhagvat, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 362.
5. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 4, 1.
6. Bhagvat, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
7. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 4. It should be noted here that the Aryans who migrated in the beginning, to the non-Aryan countries, moved always in groups.
8. *Manu Smrti*, X, 20; Cf. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
9. Bhagvat, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

enough," as Bhagvat states, "the word *vratya* is still preserved in the sense of 'naughty, unmanageable, playing pranks' in the everyday language of the Marāṭhā people."[1]

The Vrātyas were thus the few non-Arya ns, so denominated by the Aryans, through contempt, in course of time, though they had a better status in earlier days.

ROCK-CUT CAVES IN THE PANDYA COUNTRY

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In the Pāndy country comprising roughly the present Madura, Ramnad and Tirunelveli Districts, rock-cut caves are found which from a separate class by themselves and yet exhibit a marked resemblance to those found in the Pallava territory. Similar caves Pudukkottai and Travancore states, at Nāmakkal within the old exist in the Chera dominion and in Malabar, the latter being connected with eschatological beliefs. Caves, many therefore, be said to have sprung up throughout South India under different dynasties of rulers, affording an interesting line of research, but in this short paper, it is intended only to indicated the main line of enquiry with out going onto details.

At the outset it is necessary to distinguish a *carvern* from a *cave*, though it is generally taken that the former is a large cave. For our purpose, a *carvern* may be taken as a natural hollow fromed by the disposition of boulders on hills, while a cave is the cereation of art. Some-times caverns were also improved by art by introducing beds, driplines, sculptures ect. Sanskrit and Tamil literatures do not make any distinction between them. In Sanskrit, they are know as *darigriha*, *Silavesma*, *Kandaragriha*, *layana* (lena[1] in prakrit) and *guha*, and in Tamil as *pali* and guhai. Tamil inscriptions describe a *cave* as *tali* excavated in a hill, an excavated temple (*kudaivitta Srikoyil*), or merely, stone. temple (*karrali*).

Caves are found distributed throughout India, but the Bombay Presidency is exceptionally rich in these mounments.[2] The

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

1. In the Pandya country, at Kongarpuliyangulam (Madura District), the word *len* is used to indicated a cavern.

2. According to Dr. Burgess, there are not less than 900 rock-cut excavation of various sorts and dimensions in Western India, the majority of which are within the limits of the Bombay Presidency.

Kailāsa temple at Ellora assignable to the 8th century A. D. is adjudged to be the most extensive and elaborated rock-cut temple in India. The caves may be divided into three classes, according to the sects to which they belong *viz.*, Buddhist, Brāhmaṇical and Jaina. The earliest known examples dating from about the 3rd century B. C. are Buddhist, next come Brāhmaṇic caves connected with the cult of Siva or Vishṇu which range from about the 4th century to about the 8th century A. D. and the Jaina caves which are later extending to about the middle of the 15th century A. D.[1] There are a few insignificant caves beyond India, in Ceylon, Afghanistan and Baluchistan, but an important monument of this type datable before the 3rd century B. C.[2] is brought to notice in Iran by Sir Aurel Stein in his book "Old Routes of Western Iran". This cave is at Deh-i naw and is known as Dā-ū-dukhtar. It is excavated on the precipitous face of a stiff cliff at an inaccessible height.[3]

In India caves were used as residence for monks and as places of worship in which latter category they also sometimes served as art galleries. It has been pointed out that the cave (cavern ?) in Ramagarh hill in Sargūja, a feudatory state in Central Provinces and the so called Queen's cave and that of Gaṇeśa at Udayagiri were used as dramatic halls.[4] According to Kālidāsa, courtesans inhabited these caves and probably they also took part in the performances given there. Luders has pointed out that these also served as residence for *lena -sobhiks* (*i.e.*) cave actresses and *ganikas* and their lovers.[5] In Malabar[6]

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1. 'Buddhist Cave Temple': Burgess : Vol. VI, p. 2.
2. Prof. Herzfeld assigned this cave to the time of one of the predecessors of Cyrus the Great.
3. This cave consists of a rectangular chamber with a verandah in front supported by four columns with quasi-Inoic capitals. The edifice is 19ft, high and about. 18 ft. in length. Though it is taken as a sepulchral monument, there is nothing to indicate this supposition, and it is also devoid of any sculptural decoration. The ascent to it is by a stiff climb of some 500 ft. without any support and it is difficult to account for the position chosen for the excavation of the monument.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 34, p. 199.
5. *Ibid.*
6. The caves are funerary monuments in Malabar. They are hemespherical in shape and are perfect imitations of hut. Within the district such caves are found in the following places: Chattapuramba, Ponmala near Kottakal, Malappuram and Manjeri in the *Ernad taluk*; Kadirur and Pernngulam near *Tellichery*; Padinattumuri in *Calcut taluk*; Taliparamba in *Chirakkal taluk*; Mennapuram in Kannampalli desam, Kolavallur desam, Peringalam and Mailanjanman amsoms and on Puralimala in Mulakkunnu amsom in the *Kottayam taluk* : Parambil desam, Muyippoda, Kokkalur, Velur amsoms and desams and a few other places in the *Kurumbranad taluk* and at Panayur desam near Veman kulam in *Walluvanad taluk*.

these caves were used as rest houses for the dead. One main darwback in the study of 'caves' is the want of external architectural from ; as such, inscriptions, sculptures and embellishments found in them are the only means to judge there age.

It is generally accepted by scholars that the excavation of rock-cut caves was introduced into South India about the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I,[1] whole probably developed a taste in this line from the Buddhists when he lived in the Telugu country at the beginning of his reign. This monarch assumes various *birudas*, among which *Chitrakarapuli*(*i. e.,*) 'tiger among artists' and *Vichitrachitta* (*i. e.,*) 'inventive or curious midded' indicate his interest in art. Dr. Dubreuil has pointed out that by assuming the latter little, the king seemed to take credit for excavating temples in rocks which was curious and entirely a new idea and for passing on this idea to the workmen of the province. It may therefore be taken that these were the earliest extant temples cut in rocks and that there were no caves in South India before the 7th century A. D. [2]. On plan, these caves generally consist of a small shrine with an open hall in front. Figures of *dvarapalakas* guard the entrance to the central shrine and sometimes the interior walls contain in panels figures of gods in high relief. Ordinarily, pillars are either square or cubical in the upper and lower protion and octagonal in the middle. The capitals of pillars are simple corbels or brackets supporting the architrave above. The underside of the bracket is rounded upwards and sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The central shrine if dedicated to Siva, contains a Liñga in the centre, and if to Vishnu, his representation on the back wall.

In the area in which we are at present interested, rock-cut caves are sometimes found side by side with caverns know as *Amanpali* (*i. e.*) Jaina caves resort, as at Tirupparankuṇram, Vīraśikhāmaṇi Kuṇṇakuḍi, Trichinopoly, Sittaṇṇavāsal ect. Besides beds and inscriptions, these caverns have drip-lines, on their brows to prevent rain water from getting inside, thus indicating their occupation by recluses, evidently of the Jaina sect.[3] The

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1. His inscription from Mandagappattu (South Arcot District) states that' this brickless, timberless and mortarless temple which is a mansion for the gods Brahma, Isvara metalless, and Vishnu, was caused to be created by the King Vichitra-Chitt, (*i, e.*) Mahendra .(*Ep. Ind.*) Vol. 17, p. 17).

2. But the rock cut caves of Malabar are dated much earlier and supposed to represent the Vedic age.

3. Some scholars are of the opinion that these caverns were occupied by Buddhist monks, but considering the existence of Jaina images closeby and that Buddhism had little foot hold in south India, it is better take these as Jaina. The argument for their Buddhistic

Pallava king Mahendaravarman I was first a Jaina and was converted to the cult of the *Linga* by the Saiva teacher Tirunāvukkaraśar. Since nearly all the rock-cut caves are Brāhmanic, it may be inferred that the zeal to excavate these caves was the result of the change of faith by the Pallava sovereign and the active propaganda carried on in defence of the faith by the Saiva *Nayanmars*. As a result caves attributable to the Pallavas are found as far south as Trichinopoly and the adjacent Pudukkottai State between the 7th and 9th centuries A. D. in the Pallava territory.

The rise of Saivism found an echo in the Pāṇḍya country which was the *nucleus* of Jainism prior to 7th century A. D. Just like the Pallava monarch, the Pāṇḍya king Niṉṟaśīr Neḍumāṟaṉ (8ht century A. D.) apostized to Saivism from Jainism at the insance of the saint Tiruñāna-sambandar.[1] A vigorous campaign was carried on against Jainism which, amongst others, expressed itself in the excavation of temples for glorifying through externity the new faith, by the use of an imperishable medium. Caverns in South India may therefore be generally associated with Jainism and rock-cut caves with Hinduism. The former were the abodes of recluses while the latter, especially in South India, became places of worship. These cave temples gradually developed a style of their own, full of vitality and eloquent with the message of the new faith.

The chief rock cut temples in the Pāṇḍya country are distributed among the following villages :—

Madura district.

(1) Āṉaimalai	...	Madura taluk.
(2) Tiruppaṟaṅkuṉṟam	...	Ditto.
(3) Kuṇṇattur	...	Ditto.
(4) Ariṭṭāppaṭṭi	...	Melur taluk.

Ramnad district.

(1) Kuṇṇnkkudi.	...	Tiruppattur taluk.
(2) Tirukkaḷākkudi	...	Ditto.
(3) Piḷḷaiārpaṭṭi	...	Ditto.
(4) Mahipāḷaṉmalai	...	Ditto.
(5) Pirāṉmalai	...	Ditto.
(6) Tirumalai	...	Sivagana.

origin (*Ep. Sep.* 1909 p. 70) that the Brahmi characters found in them are not know to have been used in the early Jaina inscription of the south, loses its force after the interpretation of these Tamil records. Somehow the Jains of the south seem to have satisfied themselves with these natural caverns without seeking the help of their patrons to provide them with comfortable cells as their brothers did in north.

1. This saint is best know as the opponent of Jainism and the scene of his most remarkable achievements against this religion was the court of the Pandyan ruler of Madura. He is given the little *Paramandala kolari* (i.e.) lion to enemy faiths and *Aruhasani* (i.e.) thunderbolt to the *arhats*. with him nothing is true but Saivism.

Tirunelveli district.

(1) Tirumalaipuram ... Sankaranayinarkoil taluk.
(2) Malaiyadikuṛichchi ... Ditto.
(3) Vīraśikhṇamani ... Ditto.
(4) Vadikkoṭṭai ... Ditto.
(5) Kuḷugumalai ... Kovilpatti taluk.

From the above list it will be seen that the caves are found in the hills near Madura, Tiruppattur and Sankaranayinarkoyil and that the place names where these caves are found end with "*malai*, *kunram*, *Kurichchi* (*i.e.*) village in the hilly tract, *Kudi* near kuṇṛam (Kuṇṇakkuḍi), *malaipuram* etc., indicating their connection with hills.

Definite land marks for a study of these caves are afforded by those at Āṇaimalai, Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi and Tirupparaṅkuṇṛam. The cave at Āṇaimalai with two pillars cut out of solid rock is a small shrine chamber dedicated to Vishṇu and the two inscriptions in them mention that this stone temple was constructed by Māṛaṅgāri, also known as Madhurakavi, the minister of the Pāṇḍya king Māṛaṇ Saḍaiyaṇ; but since he died, his brother Māṛaṇ Eyiṇaṇ *alias* Pāṇḍimangalaviśaiyaraiyaṇ who succeeded him as minister, completed the construction by adding a *mukhamandapa* bestowed it upon the public[1] on a Sunday in the month of Kārttika of the Kali year 3871 (expired) corresponding to A. D. 770.[2] This is now known as Narasiṅga-Perumāḷ temple and the date of this cave affords a definite starting point. A few yards away from the cave, there is another rock-cut cave temple with an adytum and an outer porch supported on two square pillars with chambered corners and ornamented with the conventional lotus flower design similar to those found on Pallava pillars and on the stone rails of the Amaravati stūpa. In the central shrine is a sculpture in relief of Vishṇu with his consort and within the porch are four figures, two of which apparently represent devotees bringing flowers. Outside this porch, there is a small platform approached on either side by a flight of half a dozen steps. (See plate I). Āṇaimalai is referred to in the *Teveram* by saint Tiruñāṇasambandar as a stronghold of the Jains and vestiges of this faith are even now found on a rock overhanging a cavern closeby. A number of Jaina figures are sculptured on the rock, some standing, some seated, some with sacred triple umbrellas over their heads and some surrounded by attendant figures bearing *chamaras* and other objects. One of these can be identified with the Jaina teacher Ajjaṇandi[3] from a label below it. This cavern

1. *Trav. Arch. Series* Vol. I, p. 157n.
2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, pp. 318ff.
1. No. 67 of 1905. This popular teacher is also noticed in the inscriptions at Aivarmalai (No. 692 of 05); Uttamapalaiyam (No. 729 of 05); Vallimalai (*Ep. Ind.* IV p. 141); Alagarmalai (*Ep. Rep.* for 1909), p. 6?), kongarpuliyankulam (No. 54 of 1910); Kilakkudi (No. 64 of 1910 and Eruvadi (No. 603 of 1915).

must have been occupied by the Jains prior to A. D. 770. We thus have at Āṇaimalai, a cavern occupied by the Jains and rock cut caves dedicated to Vishṇu.

The rock cut cave at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi in the Ramnad district contain early sculptures on its walls and is similar in design to the second cave noticed above at Āṇaimalai. This temple, now dedicated to Kāśi Viśvanātha, contains an early inscription of two lines on a pilaster in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of about the 7th century A. D. mentioning a certain Ikkāṭṭūrukkoṟṟūru [Aiñ] chaṇ who was probably responsible for the excavation of this cave.[1] As at Āṇaimalai, there is also a natural cavern here on the hillock locally known as Kuṉṟameḍu containing writing attributable to about the 13th and 15th centuries A. D.

The sculptured panel of Siva in the Kaṟpagavināyaka temple here, favours comparison in dress, ornaments, pose etc. with similar figures found in caves of the Pallava country.

The rock cut caves at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam near Madura is bigger than those noticed at Āṇaimalai and Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi and it is now known as Subrahmaṇya temple. On the walls of this cave are sculptured in panels figures of Narsiṁha, Vishṇu, Varāha-mūrti, Jyeshthādevī (now worshipped as Subrahmaṇya), Durgā, Pārvatī and dancing Nataraja.[2] Besides these, in two separate cells facing each other in this cave, are found sculptures of Vishṇu and Somāskanda. There is a *linga* in the centre of the cell containing the panel of Somāskanda, as in Pallava caves. In addition, there is a Jyeshṭhā group sculptured on the same rock, but this is not open to view now.[3] An inscription[4] of Māṟaṇ Saḍaiyaṇ[5] dated in the 6th year (C. 8th century A. D.) in the cave

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1. *Ep. Rep.* for 1936, p. 54 Some of the letters used here resemble closely those found in the cavern at Trichinopoly attributable to the same period (See No. 140 of 1937-38).

2. For a discription of the cave see *Ep. Rep.* for 1903, page 58.

3. This group is covered by a modern room and access to it is through a long dark passage. The panel which is in a very good state of preservation, consists of three images seated on pedestals, the central figure is represented with both the legs hanging down, holding a *Nilotpala* flower in the right hand, while the left is stretched and rests on the thigh of the left figure. To the right of this figure, is a bull-faced human being, its right leg hangs down and the left being bent and resting on the seat. In the right hand is a *danda* while the left rests on the thigh. The third figure is sculpture with full breasts and breast-band and with the left leg thrown down, whil the right is bent and rests on the seat. There is a *Nilotpala* flower in the right hand and the left is stretched straight and rests on the seat.

4. No. 37 of 1908: see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 67

5. This king has been identified with Maran-Sadaiyan of the Anaimalai record (*Tra. Achl. Series* Vol. I, p. 156).

mentions that Nakkaṅkoṟṟi the wife of the chief Sāttaṉ Gaṇapati built a temple of the Goddess Durgā and a temple of Jyeshthā. The Durgā image may be identified with the one found in the panel adjacent to the one now worshipped as Subrahmaṇya,[1] which must itself be the Jyeshṭhā referred to in the inscription. The Jyeshṭhā panel occupies a conspicuous place in the cave and it may be pointed out that this image is unknown to Pallava art. In this village there is also a cavern, as at Āṇaimalai and Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi.

At Sittannavāsal in the Pudukkottai State[2] which was included in the Pāṇḍya country in the 9th century A. D. there is a rock-cut temple which has been assigned to the time of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I on account of its similarity and proximity to the rock-cut cave of this monarch at Ṭrichinopoly. Sculptures of Jaina *thirthankaras* found in the cave have led scholars to assign it to the period before the conversion of Mahendravarman from Jainism. This is probably the only rock-cut cave so far known in the Tamil country dedicated to the Jaina faith and its patron might have been a Pāṇḍya king, not necessarily a Pallava king as has hitherto been supposed. The renovations and additions effected to this cave is noticed in an inscription[3] found in it of the time of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha with the title "Avaṇipaśekharan" who may be identified with the king of the name and the predecessor of Varaguṇavarman of aceession 862 A. D. This inscription states that Iḷaṉ-Gautamaṉ who is described as an *asiriyaṉ* of Madurai repaired on behalf of the king, the *agamandapa* of the temple at Aṉṉavāyil and that he added a *mukha-mandapa* in front of it. The provision of *mukha-mandapa* to rock-cut caves is also referred to at Nārttāmalai[4] and Āṇaimalai,[5] but in all these cases, this maṇḍapa appears to have been a separate construction in front of the rock-cut temple which consists only of the *garbhagṛiha* and *ardha-mandapa*.

The unfinished rock-cut temple at Kaḷugumalai in the Ramnad district occupies a unique place in the architecture of the Pāṇḍya country and calls for a special study altogether. It is locally known as Veṭṭuvāṉkoyil, and as usual, consists of a

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1. Vide also 'Elements of Hindu Iconography'; Vol. I, pt. II, p. 392. At some period, this jyesthadevi group was taken as Subrahmanya by confusing the figure to the right with the bovine face as Nandikesvara and that to the right as the firest consort of the god, and the crow banner of Jyeshtha as the cock-banner of Subrahmanya.
2. I am obliged to Mr. K. R. Shreenivasan, Asst. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Madras, for drawing my attention to his paper on 'Cave temples in the Pudukkottai State read before the All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad.
3. No. 368 of 1904.
4. S. I. I. Vol. XII. No. 36.
5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 321.

central shrine with an outer hall. The interior is perfectly plain, but surmounting the *garbhagriha* is a dome rich with sculptures which form the main attraction of the place. The dome is similar to the one in Arjuna and Dharmarāja *rathas* at Mahābalipuram and it may be said to furnish a link between the rock-cut caves and structural monuments in the Pāṇḍya country. Most of the figures sculptured on the *vimana* of this cave are represented in a setting posture. The sculptures exhibit a reasoned restraint of details and include figures of bulls, monkeys, dwarfs with humorous expressions, miniature temples, vignettes, cornice decorated with dormer window ornament, each of which arrests the attention of the onlooker lending a perfect unity to the whole monument. Fergusson assigned this cave to the 10th or 11th century, but Havell is rightly inclined to take it a century earlier. The logical development of this monument is to be found in some of the early structurul monuments now found in the Pudukkottai State.

Not far away from the temple are sculptured on rock, figures of *tirthankaras*, over a hundred in number, with labels in old Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters explaining their identity. Considering the existence of these images in the vicinity and the absence of any *linga* in the central shrine, a Jaina origin is ascribed to the rock-cut temple. But the images of Dakshiṇāmūrti, Umāmaheśvara, Vishṇu, bulls etc. found on the *vimana* prove that the cave is Hindu and not Jaina.

We may next take up for consideration two caves situated far away from the Pallava territory and yet bearing a strong resemblance to their Pallava counterparts. One is at Tirumalapuram about 12 miles from Teṇkāśi in the Tirunelveli district. There are two caves here, one is unfinished and therefore of little importance, but the other is of interest as exactly resembling the rock cut cave of the Māmalla period (see plate II). The facade here is similar to that of the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram and on plan, it resembles the upper cave temple in the rock at Trichinopoly. The cubical portions of the pillars here are decorated with lotus medallions and the underside of the corbels, with roll ornament as in the Mahendra temple at Trichinopoly. The resemblance is so great that Mr. Longhurst is forced to conclude that it must have been excavated by the Pallavas.[1] But Pallava rule did not extend so far south.

The other cave is at Kaviyūr in the Travancore State.[2] This, as usual, consists of the central shrine with a verandah in front

1. Memoirs of the Arch. Suavey No. 3 :-Pallava Architecture-pt. II, p. 49.

2. In the Travancore State there are rock-cut caves at Tirunandikkarai and on the top of Madavurpara about 10 miles north of Trivandram. The latter is a crude piece of excavation, but the former cousists

supported by two independent pillars with a pilaster at the extremities. The corbels surmounting the pillars are simple and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. One of the *dvarapalakas* is an exact replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahendravarman's cave at Trichinopoly. Another similar cave is also found at Vilŭngam in the Trivandrum taluk of the same State.

Similarity to Pallava architecture extends even further south into the island of Ceylon. At Anurādhapura is an unfinished Gānga (Ganges) memorial similar to the one at Mahābalipuram. The selection of the site, the cleft and terrace on top of the rock, the tank below and the group of unfinished elephants at the water's edge, these details alone, according to Mr. Longhurst, indicate that the monument was started by the Pallavas from Mahābalipuram.[1]

This statement takes us to a consideration of the question as to how far the caves in the Pāṇḍya country were inspired by Pallava influence. As pointed out above, the Pallava territory did not extend beyond Trichinopoly in the south. But from Trichinopoly down to the extreme south, we find rock-cut caves similar to those found in the Pallava territory. As explained before, the zeal for the propagation of the new Saiva faith after the conversion of the ruling king from Jainism was present both in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya territories. The Saiva *Nayanmars* and Vaishnava *Alvars* were moving from place to place preaching Hinduism among the masses and condemning Jainism. These *bhaktas* drawn from all classes of society exercised a strong influence over the masses.

The Pallavas under Narasimhavarman I captured and retained for some years the western Chalukya capital Vātāpi (*i.e.*) Bādāmi in the Bombay province containing rock-cut caves dating from 578 A. D. Further, this monarch claims to have vanquished the Cheras[2] and also to have assisted Mānavamma the prince of Ceylon when the latter sought refuge under him, with a naval expedition to regain his throne. Subsequent Pallava monarchs won victories over the Pāṇḍyas and the latter in their turn, were

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of a central shrine with a verandah supported on two pillars and two pilarsters. It contains inscription assignable to the latters half of the 8th century A. D. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201). Mr. Vasudeva Poduval, Director of Archaeology in the State informs me that there are rock-cut caves at Kallil is North Travancore, and at Chittaral in southern Travancore.

1. *Ceylon Arch. Rep.* 1936, p. 19.

2. Narasimhavarman's predecessor Simhavishnu is credited with the conquest of the Pandyas and the Keralas (*S. I. I.* Vol. II, p 356)

not slow to retrieve their fortunes. The Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha I[1] (c. 740-765 A. D.) won many successes against the Pallavas and the Koṅgu kings.

Further, the monuments of this class in the Pudukkottai State bordering on the present Madura and Ramnad districts may be said to form a connecting link between the Pallava and Pāṇḍya art in rock-cut monuments. Inscriptions of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I and some attributable to his period and a few others to a later period, are found in a number of rock-cut temples in this state.[2] There is an inscription of Śrīvallabha, the predecessor of Varaguṇavarman in the cave at Sittaṇṇavāśal indicating the inclusion of the State under Pāṇḍya control before 862 A. D. But perhaps the strongest influence in this direction must have been exercised by the Muttaraiyar chiefs who were first vassals under the Pallavas in the region comprising the present Pudukkottai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, and later under the Pāṇḍyas when the latter invaded their territory. A Muttaraiyar figures as one of the nobles greeting the newly chosen Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla in an inscription from Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. Chiefs of this family have excavated the rock-cut temples at Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi and Nārttāmalai in the Puḍukkottai State. The title 'Māṛaṇ' assumed by Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ (8th century) styled 'the Lord of Taṇjai' indicates that he was either of Pāṇḍya descent, or was a chief subordinate to that family. The peculiar script known as 'Pallava-grantha' used by the Pallavas, is also found at Nilaiyūr in the Madura district.[3] Thus there were several influences at work in importing the technique of Pallava art in excavating rock-cut caves into the Pāṇḍya country. This special art found, at first, a congenial soil in the new land but it remained static and imitative without any advancement. Most of the sculptures in the Pāṇḍya caves reveal by the lack of delicacy of treatment that they were executed not by Pallava artists but by others deriving inspiration from them. Some of the distinctive Pallava features, such as *kudus* on the projecting cornice, embellishments of facade, capitals, pillars etc. are absent

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1. The Madras Museum Plates call this Pandya king Pallava-bhanjana and the Sanskrit portion of the Velvikudi grant states that he defeated Pallavamalla field from the who field of battle.

2. Some of the important rock-cut temples assignable to 7-9th centuries A. D. are found in the state in the following places: Tirugokaranam, Kudumiyamalai, Sittannavasal, Malayakkoyil, Tirumayam, Malaiyadipatti, Devarmalai, Puvalaikkudi, Kunnandarkoyil, Mangudi, Kottaiyur, Rayavaram and Narttamalai.

3. No. 223 of 1941. In the rock-cut caves at Namakkal (Salem district which lay outside the Pallava terrtory, this script is found (No. 7. of 1906 and 328 and 329 of 1939).

in Pāṇḍya caves. The tendency to introduce portrait sculptures in caves is in evidence. Cave art in the Pāṇḍya country bursts to a unique height at Kaḷugumalai and stops there leaving its vestiges in the early structural monuments now found in and around the Pudukkottai State. It will thus be seen that the rock-cut caves of the Pāṇḍya country reveal a phase in the migration of Pallava art which extended even beyond the limits of India greatly influencing the culture of the new land.

SECTION II

Ancient India

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me in asking me to preside over the deliberations of Ancient India, Section II of the present session, and I hope that it will be possible for me, with your help and cooperation to hold up the standard of work attained by the distinguished scholars who preceded me as the Presidents of this section.

To begin with, I should like to say a few words about the scope of this section, as there appears to be some uncertainty regarding the exact limits of the period within its purview. The section is comparatively recent in its origin, and though it is said to embrace the period extending from A. D. 711 to 1206, the temptation to trespass its limits appear to have been so strong that some of my predecessors had ignored them deliberately and made incursions into the fields beyond its jurisdiction. This is only natural, as they are fixed arbitrarily without any regard for the internal history of the country. The year A. D. 711, the upper limit of our period, no doubt, marks the arrival of the earliest Muslim invaders to our country; but their activities were confined to the small province of Sindh, and produced no effect on any aspect of our national life. Outside the tiny province of Sindh, the conditions remained unchanged; and the Kingdoms and empires of the country pursued their careers without interruption. Similarly, the choice of A. D. 1206 as the lower limit of our period has not much to recommend it. True, it marks the establishment of the first Indian Muslim State with Dehli as its capital; but the power of this Muslim State was not great; it was torn with dissensions; and it encountered stern opposition on all sides. Though the Mussalmans succeeded in establishing their supremacy practically over the whole of Northern India by the end of the thirteenth century, their authority was unknown in the Deccan and South India, and they exercised no influence over the life of the people. For these reasons, the dates fixed as the limits of our period must be rejected as unsuitable. Dr. M. H. Krishna in his Presidential Address of this Section in the fourth session

of the Congress held at Hyderabad in 1941, suggested 550 and 1310 as the upper and lower limits respectively of our period; and Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, in his presidential address at the Madras Session of the Congress in 1944 endorsed his views; but this demarcation also is not quite satisfactory, as it bifurcates, on the one hand, the history of the Pallavas who exercised a profound influence over the political, cultural, and colonial history of the South, and stops on the other with the beginning of the Muslim penetration into the Deccan and South India. I believe that it would be far more satisfactory to adopt A. D. 250 and 1323 as the limits of the period; for, about the former date the Sātavāhana empire fell and gave rise to a large number of small states both in the north and the south; and the latter marks the completion of the Muslim conquest of India from the Himālayas to the Kanyākumari and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. This is a mere suggestion, and it may be accepted if it finds favour with the learned body of scholars assembled here.

The period of Indian history that comes under the purview of our section is generally considered as backward and unprogressive in character. The late Dr. V. A. Smith expressed the opinion that with the death of Harsha the partial unity of Indian history vanished; and that the medely of petty states which came into existence were engaged in unceasing internecine warfare; and that in the period that followed "everything declined, and polity literature, and religion sank into mediocrity." This view has been accepted as correct more or less by all the writers on Indian history; and as a consequence no serious attempt has been made till recently to investigate the history of this period and present a true picture of the conditions which shaped its course. This is far from the truth. It was, as a matter of fact, one of the most glorious periods in our history, marked by great progress in almost every aspect of our national life. The statement that Indian history lost even the partial unity after Harsha's death cannot be accepted; for the bonds of unity which hold together the different people of this subcontinent did not snap at any time since the beginning of our history. Political unity or the allegiance to a common state, though desirable, was not considered essential. The lack of political unity did not impede in any way the nation's progress. An Indian to whichever part of the country he belonged felt that he was in the midst of his own people in all parts

of the land from the Himālayas to the Cape, and from eastern to the Western Sea. Whether he was in Gandhara or Pandya, in Maharashtra or Kāmarupa, he never felt that he was in an alien atmosphere. No doubt, the language and the government, varied from place to place; but the social, religious, and economic institutions, and the cultural heritage were the same; there was some strong unbreakable bond hidden deep down in the structure of the various communities inhabiting this vast land which drew them together, and separated them at the same time from the peoples of other countries. This fundamental unity of the Bharatakhaṇḍa was never lost sight of; and consequently the frequent political changes that came over our country never retarded the progress of our national life.

The partial political unity, the absence of which Dr. Vincent A. Smith deplores so much, was not unknown in the age that followed the death of Harsha. The whole of the Deccan and parts of Central India were under the Karṇāṭakas for several centuries. Three Karṇāṭaka dynasties, the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, and the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi, held sway successively over this vast area, so that notwithstanding the frequent wars which disturbed the land, it was politically united without a break from A. D, 600-1260. Further South, the Pallava empire (250-890) embraced the bulk of South India; and the Pallavas were succeeded in power by the imperial Cholas who controlled the destinies of the Peninsula from 890 to 1220 A. D. Large Kingdoms were not altogether unknown even in North India. The Chalukya inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries refer to a Sakal-ottarāpatheśvara, or the lord paramount of the whole of Northern India. The Gurjara Pratīhāras of Kannauj and the Palas of Bengal established their sway over large tracts of Northern India and attained to the imperial position in the succeeding centuries. These Kingdoms were by no means petty, and though they frequently indulged in warfare on account of the accepted idealogy of the age, they never failed to promote the welfare of their subjects and encourage the arts of peace.

The age which followed the death of Harsha was indeed one of the most creative epochs in our history. In every field of human activity,—government, society, science, art, religion—it witnessed far reaching changes. Monarchy, no doubt, was the usual type of government; its character

remained unchanged. It was the same limited type of Hindu monarchy which was functioning in the previous age. The King and his ministers carried on their work pretty much in the same manner as before; but the system of administration underwent a change. The polity developed in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra gradually transformed itself into a new system of administration, which may be termed for the sake of convenience as the niyoga system. All the employees (niyogins) of the State were divided into a number of classes, according to the kind of service which they had to perform; there were seventy-two such *niyogas* under the Chāḷukyas of Kalyaṇi each with its own adhipati; and the whole organization was subjected to the authority of a single officer called *bahattara-niyog-adhipati* who was also the prime minister and the supreme head of the administration. The niyogas are scarcely noticed in the available works on Arthaśāstra. In the days of Kautilya, the only writer who gives an account of the administrative organization, the niyogas, in the sense understood in later ages, were practically unknown. The later writers laid exclusive emphasis on the duties of the kings and ministery, and the principles of inter-state relations; and ignored completely the administrative organization, and the regulations governing the conduct of the Government servants.

Another aspect of Ancient Hindu Polity, which demands investigation, is the growth of the popular institutions in the South Indian Kingdoms. Students of South Indian history had long been familiar with the ūr and the Sabha, the two classes of Village assemblies in the Tamil Country under the Cholas; but they were neither peculiar to the Cholas nor confined to the limits of the Tamil Country. There is good reason to believe that they were common to the whole of South India and parts of Southern Deccan. Popular institutions, other than the village assemblies, have hardly received the attention which their importance deserves. The Hindu monarchy, in South India at least, was not a centralised autocracy, but a decentralised type of Government under a monarch whose power was limited not only by law as laid down in the Dharma Sāstras but by the existence of Popular bodies enjoying considerable autonomy. Besides the Sabha and ūr already mentioned there was the nāṭṭār that is the assembly of nāḍu, which played an important part in the administration of the nāḍu. They had certain specific rights enjoined by custom and recognized by the State; and the King and his ministers had to carry on the

administration with their help and cooperation. How these district assemblies were constituted cannot be definitely ascertained. The available evidence however seems to indicate that it was a representative body consisting of delegates of the village assemblies within the jurisdiction of the nadu.

In addition to these there were communal and commercial bodies which looked after their own affairs, generally without the interference of the State. Of the former the Panchanas or the Panchalas, and the Kaikkolas are the most important. They were craft-guilds and managed not only the business matters concerning their crafts but also their social and religious affairs. The Nagara or Nakara mentioned frequently in the records of the period was a merchant guild, which had an assembly of its own, presided over by an elected president called Setti-pattana-svami. Besides nakaram several other mercantile bodies called manigramam, anjumanam, Ayyavoles, Nanadesis, Svadesis, Paradesis, Svadesa-paradesa-nanadesis, Salumulais etc., are referred to in the inscriptions. They were powerful mercantile corporations engaged in international commerce to which local trade guilds all over the Country were affiliated. Each of these corporations was controlled by the General body of the merchants connected with it. Business was carried on sound democratic lines, the affairs of common interest being decided at the meeting of the general body which usually assembled in the mukhamantapa of a temple. Though engaged in peaceful avocations, they were obliged, by the conditions under which they transacted business, to transform themselves into quasi-military organizations. The roads were very often mere tracks passing through hills and jungles infested with robbers. To protect themselves and their properties, they had not only to learn the use of arms but to maintain a military force under capable Officers.

Reference must also be made in this connection to the numerous temple sthanas which served as schools in the art of local self-government. Very often they consisted of the representatives of the temple priests and servants; but instances where outsiders were also admitted are not unknown. The temple especially in the Deccan and South India, was not a mere place of gathering for religious worship, but a centre where the social, economic, and the cultural life of the community focussed itself. It was the meeting place of communal assemblies: it served as a bank

advancing loans to needy farmers; it maintained a school and imparted education to the young. Above all, it offered employment to a large number of people, and encouraged the arts of dancing, music and allied fine arts. Most of our information on the subject lies scattered in inscriptions and literary works of the period. This has to be gathered together and collated before we can form a clear idea of the system and the circumstances under wnich it had taken shape.

The Ancient Hindu society which was thrown into confusion by the activities of the Buddhists and the Jains was completely overhauled. This was mainly due to the Hindu revivalist movement which appears to have begun as early as the middle of the 5th century A. D. A sustained attempt was made by Kings and religious teachers to reclaim the people who strayed away from the path of ancient Dharma and reorganize Hindu society in a manner suitable to the changed circumstances of the age. The Pallava Kings of Kāncht, who traced their descent from the Brahman epic Warriors, Droṇa and Aśvatthāman, championed, like the Sungas and the Guptas, the cause of the ancient faith. They assumed the title of Dharma Mahārāja, performed Vedic sacrifices, and offered protection to the Hindu dharma, which, being assailed by the evils of the Kali was on the brink of destruction. The Kadambas, the Chāḷukyas, the Cholas and the Pandyas who succeeded to their political power continued their work, and by their generous patronage and magnificent donations to Brahmans and temples, the two symbols of Hinduism, infused fresh vigour into it, and made it once again the religion of the masses. More important still was the work of the reformers and religious teachers. They laboured hard to divert the people from the heretical creeds and focus their attention on the new type of Hinduism which they propagated. Their work was two-fold. In the first place, they provided a philosophic background to the reformed faith by fresh interpretations of the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Gita in which they laid emphasis, while accepting the old ritualistic religion, on faith and devotion. Of the religious reformers of the age, Kumārila, the implacable foe of the Buddhist and the Jains, deserves notice at first. He is said to have mastered the philosophy and theology of the heretical faiths, and defeated their advocates on their own ground. He was a strict adherent of the Vedic religion, and propagated the old sacrificial creed in which he had great faith. He wrote an important

commentary on the Purva-Mimamsa which served as a stimulant for thinkers in later ages. Ths most important of the religious teachers was, of course, the great Sankara who toured the whole Country holding desputations with the Buddhists, the Jains, and the other heretical sects defeating them in philosophical discussions, and reconverting them into the Hindu faith. Sankara was a great philosopher and reformer of Hindu society. He wrote several commentaries and treatises expounding the Advaita Vedanta, and established a monastic system with branches in every part of the Country. According to tradition, he also reorganized the Hindu society, and established 18 castes in the place of the old four to accomodate the various communities that rose to prominence in the course of centuries that elapsed before his time. The ashṭadaśa varṇas of the later Hindu Society are frequently referred to in inscriptions, and are spoken of still today in the South. The centuries which followed Sankara saw the expansion of the bhakti cult. Though it had its origin in the north, it spread to the South, under circumstances not known at present, and became the popular faith in its new home.

Several new creeds, specially among the Saivas, made their appearance for the first time in this age. Of these the Kālamukhas, the Pāśupatas, the Siddhas, and the Kapalikas are the most important. They vied with one another in propagating an aggressive form of Saivism, which anticipated in some respects Basava's Lingayatism by a few centuries. Each of these new sects, notwithstanding its general resemblance to the others, differed from them in essential particulars. Very little is known at present about the contribution of these Saivite sects to our religious and philosophical thought. An attempt, no doubt, has been made in recent years by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to estimate the value of these systems; but his account is neither complete nor satisfactory. Bhandarkar was a pioneer in this as in many other fields of research. His work has to be supplemented by others. The field is rich; and labourers are few. It promises very good returns to all who care to exploit it.

Apart from their contribution to religion and philosophy, these Saiva sects played an important part in the intellectual and social life of the community. They took lead in intellectual matters. They not only expounded theology and philosophy but contributed richly to the literature on these subjects. Besides, they cultivated

belles-letters, and wrote authoritative works on all secular subjects. More important than this was their work as educators. They established schools and colleges in their monasteries, and imparted education to all who cared to learn. They not only established dispensaries but rendered medical aid to the sick and the wounded, and distributed food and medicine, all free of cost. They patronised fine arts and offered protection to those who needed. They took care of the poor and the maimed and provided them with food and raiment. The part played by them is very well illustrated by an inscription dated A. D. 1162, which gives an account of Koḍiya-maṭha, one of the establishments in the Kerṇāta Country of the Muvarakoṇeya Santati of the Sakti-Parushe, of the Parvatāvaḷi a branch of the Kālāmukha Church. It is said that the Koḍiya-matha was the place where the four Vedas, Rig, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharvan, were studied ; where the four kinds of grammar of Kumāra, Pāṇini, Śākaṭāyana, and Abhinava Śākaṭāyana, and the six Darśanas, *viz*, the Nyāya, the Vaiseshika, the (two) Mimamsas, the Sānkhya, and the Baudhā, were commented upon ; where the Eighteen Purāṇas, Dharma Śāstras, the Kāvyas, the Nāṭakas and the Nātikas, as well as all kinds of arts were studied and taught ; where the poor, the helpless, the lame, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the ministrels, the songsters, the musicians, flutists, the naked, the maimed, the Kshapaṇakas, the eka daṇḍins, tri-daṇḍins, the hamsas, the Paramahamsas, and the beggers of all the Countries were fed freely without interruption ; where all the destitute and sick people were cured by medical treatment ; and where all creatures were offered asylum. The Koḍiya-maṭha was one of the numerous Saiva-maṭhas engaged in similar activities found all over the Country. It is evident that these monastic establishments were not abodes, where recluses spent their lives in idle contemplations but centres of light and learning which actively helped people to lighten the burdens of life. They not only catered to the spiritual needs of the people but shouldered the responsibilities of educating the people, and making provision for the indigent section of the community, thereby taking upon themselves some of the most important duties of the State.

The religious reformers and teachers were no less busy in the extreme South. The Saiva Nāyinmars and the Vaiṣṇava āḷvars rooted out Buddhism and Jainism from the Dravida Country, and laid the foundations of their respective faiths ; and famous thinkers came in their wake and provided the bhakti cult with a philosophical basis. The

closing centuries of our period witnessed a fresh religious revival, thanks to the activities of the famous reformers such as Rāmānuja in Drāvida, Madhva and Basava in Karṇāṭaka, and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya in Andhra. The teachings of these reformers deserves special mention; many of them, specially Rāmānuja and Basava, disregarded the distinctions of caste and threw open the portals of heaven to every one who bore the hall-mark of bhakti. The activities of these great leaders of religion who exercised a profound influence on our national life are practically unknown to us. Thanks to the efforts of the great savants like Sir. S. Rādhakrishnan and Das Gupta, the veil of obscurity hiding the past is just lifted. Much hard and patient work is still necessary before we can gain a complete knowledge of their work.

In the fields of art and literature the contribution of our period was indeed remarkable. Two schools of Indian architecture, the Dravidian and the Chalukya, not only had their origin but attained their perfection during this age. In the pre-Pallava times, the temples were probably built of timber and other perishable materials. The great Pallava monarch Mahendravarman adopting the practice of the Buddhists, scooped out rocks and hills, and provided the Gods with permanent abodes in the form of cave temples. This was a laborious and costly undertaking; and the hard rock did not offer sufficient scope for the development of the builders' art. Soon this impediment was got over; and the architects of the time of Narasimhavarman I freed the South Indian temple builder from the tyranny of rocks and hills by erecting structural stone temples surmounted by Vimanas in the same material. An improvement was introduced later perhaps during the reign of Rājasimha; brick was substituted for stone in order probably to lighten the burden on the body of the temple. It became massive and elaborate in the age of Cholas; the extensive prakaras and the huge gopuras made their appearance for the first time under them. The evolution of the Dravidian temple thus attained perfection and it assumed its characteristic shape which it retains until today.

The history of the Chalukyan temple is not so clear. Its origin is lost in obscurity. Probably it is older than its Dravidian prototype, and dates back perhaps to the later Satavahana times. The Talagunda Pillar inscription of the time of the Kadamba Kakusthavarman refers to a temple of Siva in the place which was formerly worshipped

with Great devotion by Sātakarṇi and other Kings. It is not unlikely that the Chāḷukyan temples of the 7th century A. D. were directly connected with the temples known earlier in Southern Deccan under the Sātavāhanas; but as the links connecting the two are completely lost, it is not possible to trace its early history. Its later development can be studied in detail, though no systematic attempt has been made so far owing to the peculiar difficulties of the task. Most of the territory over which the Chālukyas, Rashtrakuts and the Kalchuris ruled is now included in the Hyderabad State: and no aceouut of the Hindu monuments in the State is available for study; nor is it easy for the non-Mulkis to tour the Dominions of His Exhalted Highness, the Nizam, if especially he happens to interest himself in the past history of the country. Nevertheless, with the scanty material at his disposal Cousens and more recently Percy Brown have been able to present a fairly accurate account of its development. Though it has the same general design as the Dravidian temple, it presents certain important peculiarities which demand attention The Chālukyan temple differs from the Dravidian in its decorative detail and the shape of its Sikhara One important problem connected with its history which deserves investigation, is its relation with the later Hoysala temple. Some are of opinion that the latter evolved from the former, whereas others assert that there is no connection between them. It is not possible to arrive at a final conclusion unless all the Chalukyan temples hidden in the Hyderabad State are properly surveyed, for temples in the Hoysala style are said to be found in certain parts of the State.

The study of sculpture is much more important than architecture, both from artistic and historical points of view. Hindu sculpture reached, in the period under consideration, a degree of perfection unknown before; moreover it throws considerable light on the social and religious conditions, which a student of our past history can hardly afford to neglect. In spite of the wealth and excellence of the material, much is not known about the history and development of sculpture in our period. The treatises on Indian art devote, no doubt, some space to it; but the account is meagre and does not throw any light upon it. This has perhaps to be attributed to the general indifference of the people, and their failure to grasp its importance in the reconstruction of our past history. Apart from its artistic value, sculpture affords us a glimpse into the Social

and religious practices that were current in our period. Two classes of sculpture, the Virakals, and the mastikals, may be mentioned here by way of illustration. Their artistic value is not perhaps very great; but as historical documents of a by gone age, they are invaluable. The Virakal, as its name signifies, is a stone set up in memory of a hero who fell in a fight with the enemy. Usually it contains an inscription eulogising his prowess, accompanied by a carving representing his likeness on the eve of the battle, or actually engaged in the combat. Very often the carving on the hero-stone is divided into three or four panels, representing various stages of his passage from the field of battle to Svarga; the lowest shows the warrior proceeding with his retinue to the battle-field; the second the fight between the hero and his enemies; the third the hero surrounded by apsaras engaged in singing and dancing; and the last and topmost the hero seated in a worshipful posture in front of a linga or some other symbol of the deity as suited to the creed of the hero concerned. These panels give us an insight into the social and military practices. They show us how men and women dressed, adorned and amused themselves. We also see how the warriors were accoutred and armed, and how they rode and fought. The mastikals or stones set up to commemorate the Sahagamana of great ladies or mahāsatis present another aspect of the social life. They are divided into two panels, the lower containing the images of a man and his wife or wives, the latter holding her or their right fore-arm uplifted; and the upper the same images in a sitting or standing posture in front of the symbols characteristic of the deity to whose creed they belonged. Besides the two classes of the carved memorial stones, there are others which are equally important. These represent common people and Vellaikkars sacrificing their own lives in fulfilment of some religious vow or promise given to their master or mistress. Monuments such as these must be carefully examined and studied, before we can think of writing a satisfactory history of the people in this period. A monumental survey of India, conducted on scientific lines, is bound to be immensely helpful; but such an undertaking is beyond the means of individual scholars and research institutions. We look, in vain, to the Government Archaeological Department for help and guidance. Our Archaeologists are neither historians nor lovers of art. They neither understand their historical value, nor appreciate the artistic beauty where such exists. They

are shackled by routine, and shy at anything new or original.

The contributiou of our period to literature, both Sanskrit and Prakrits as well as the vernacular languages of the Country is immense. The main lines on which the Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures developed during this period are fairly well-known. I do not propose to touch upon the subject. The case of vernaculars, especially those spoken in the South, is somewhat different. It was in this age that some of these languages attained a literary status. In Tamil, the oldest of them, literature grew up early; the poetry of the Sangam ages goes back perhaps to the opening centuries of the Christian era. Literature both in Kannada and Telugu made its appearance comparatively late; but it grew up rapidly, and by the time of the Muslim conquest of the Deccan it became mature and prolific. In the early stages the Jains played an important part in the development of the Southern languages; they produced works on grammar, prosody, and rhetoric; and initiated the composition of Puraṇas and Kāvyas on Sanskrit and Prakṛit models. Their contribution is greatest in the case of Kannada and least in the case of Telugu. The Jains soon lost ground; and the Hindus who took up their place continued their work and produced masterpieces which remain models of poetic composition for all time.

The foregoing survey of some of the main currents of our national activity brief as it is, is enough to show that the age succeeding the death of Harsha was not one of decay and disintegration, but of remarkable progress in every direction. In the field of military enterprise, government, religion, philosophy, art and literature it rivalled the Golden age of the Guptas which preceded it. Unfortunately, the achievements of this age are not yet fully known and appreciated. No doubt, a good deal of valuable work has already been done to reconstruct the history of the dynasties that flourished in this period. The valuable researches of Drs. R. C. Majumdar, A. S. Altekar, R. D. Banerjee, H. C. Ray, R. S. Tripaṭhi, D. C. Ganguly in the north, and of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the South deserve special mention in this connection. Much more has yet to be done. The work of these scholars, valuable as it is, is necessarily incomplete, as they have laid emphasis more or less exclusively on Political history. The picture presented is dimly visible, distinct only in its

main outlines; but political history, however important, is only sectional, and it does not provide us a full account of the progress of our people in the course of ages. It may however be asked whether it is possible to write such a history as the one adumbearated here. The answer is in the affirmative. True, no contemporary account of the conditions of life in the age under consideration has come down to us; but relevant historical material on which such an account can be based is available in plently, embedded mostly in the innumerable inscriptions one meets with in all parts of the country. The inscriptions, however, have to be copied and deciphered in the first instance by specially trained experts before the material embodied herein can be utilised for historical purposes. The work involves heavy expenditure of money which is beyond the means of private individuals and institutions. The Government of India maintains, of course, a department specially for copying and publishing the inscriptions; but the work of the department has been slow and on the whole unsatifactory, owing to certain facts which hamper their activities. In the first place, the niggardly financial policy of the Government is not a little responsible for putting a break on the activities of the department. Certain schemes of publication originally adopted by them during the time of Hultzsch had to be modified on account of the lack of funds in such a manner as to make the publications thoroughly useless to people not conversant with the languages in which the records are written. The progress of epigraphical research in the Southern Native States—with the exception of course of Hyderabad—offers a perfect contrast to what obtains in British India. In Mysore, Travancore, and Pudukota all the available inscriptions have already been copied, and published in handy volumes so as to enable scholars interested in historical research to utilise the information contained therein in their work. British India and Hyderabad with their larger resources find it difficult to be more open handed in organizing the work of this department. A more serious impediment to the work of the department is its association with the department of Archaeology, where it is assigned the position of a subordinate. This is indeed unfortunate. Our archaeologists, with the honourable exception of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, generally take no interest in Epigraphy. Some of them regard it, as a matter of fact, an inferior kind of work with which they need not soil their hands. The Director General of Archaeology who is the head of both of the

Archaeological and Epigraphy departments is naturally biassed in favour of the former, and is inclined to allot as small a sum of money as possible to meet the needs of epigraphical research. The policy adopted by the authorities of the department illustrates this clearly. The offices of the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy which had fallen vacant have not been filled up; the same is the case with Assistant Epigraphists who retired from service; tours for the collection of inscriptions have been practically abandoned. The Archaeological Department, on the contrary, is treated with special consideration. Although the activities of the department remain pretty much what they were before, its personnel has increased vastly. In the place of one Director-General we have now two officers of the same rank, drawing equal salaries. Several new posts have been created; nearly a dozen officers of the rank of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, not to speak of numerous subordinate staff of Surveyors, Supervisors etc., have been recruited. To Justify these new appointments, as it were, new circles are being created. These facts speak for themselves. So long as this unequal partnership between the two departments continues, the cause of epigraphy is bound to suffer. In the interests of historical research, this partnership must be dissolved, and the department of Epigraphy must be placed on an independent basis. Moreover, the large collection of inscriptions which still remains unpublished, must be made accessible to scholars who are interested in historical studies. The permanent headquarters of the Epigraphy department is located on the summit of Dodabetta. After a good deal of agitation a branch was opened in Madras in charge of one of the Assistant Superintendents. Later the office of the Superintendent was also shifted to the same place. During the recent World War II, these offices were taken back again to the Nilgiris, and were temporarily located in Ooty. Though the war is over and all the officers have come back to Madras, the Director-General of Archaeology is still unable to make up his mind in the matter. It is rumoured that he is contemplating the possibility of transfer of the headquarters of the Epigraphy Office Calcutta to somewhere in North India. This would be nothing short of a calamity, for eighty per cent of inscriptions comes from South India and the Deccan; they refer to Southern dynasties and are written mostly in South Indian languages. It would be a great hardship for researchers in this field

most of whom live in the South to make frequent pilgrimages to Simla or some such remote place to consult the documents dealing with their past history collected from their own Country. I hope that it will be possible for the National Government to pay some attention to the working of these departments and reorganize them in such a manner as to enable them to speed up their work, and help actively scholars engaged in historical research.

THE CHERA EMPIRE IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES A. D.

BY

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Introduction.

It is said that after the Sangam Age "a profound night" overtook the Cheras and that we have only a few general references to their wars and defeats before their conquest by the Imperial Cholas.[1] In this paper a brief study is made of the history of the Cheras in the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. An examination of the evidence available tends to establish that a powerful Chera Empire flourished in the west coast during these centuries. Its history cannot fully be traced. Its chronology is largely uncertain. Yet it is possible now to give at least in outline, the history of this Empire, its extent and its resources.

Extent of the Empire.

This empire may be designated the second Chera Empire, the first being the empire that flourished during the Sangam Age in the early centuries of the Xian Era.

The capital of this empire was Thiruvanchikkulam, also called Mahodayapuram, Mahothai, Vanchi. The emperors exercised authority over the whole of the west coast excepting the extreme south, comprising nearly the whole of Modern Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Trivandrum was the southern limit of this empire till about 925 A. D.[2]

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1. R. Sathianatha Iyer. Indian History, Vol. I, p. 284-5.
2. The Paliyam Plates of Varaguna. The date of this inscription is not 868 as fixed by Mr. Swami Kannu Pillai. Karunandadaka came to the throne in 857. Inscriptions belonging to his reign till the 22nd regnal year have been found. His reign must have extended

In those days Venad was one of the principalities into which the Chera Empire was divided. It was ruled by a Samanta or dependent. In the time of Stanu Ravi Venad was ruled by Aryyanatikal, a samanta of the Emperor. It comprised Quilon, the capital, and its neighbourhood.

When the Ay Kings disappeared from south Travancore, Chera empire extended further south so as to include some more districts south of Trivandrum. The extreme south of Travancore came under Chola rule as is evidenced by the discovery of inscriptions of Parantaka Chola (907-53) in various places in Nanchinad in south Travancore.

Relations with the Cholas and the Pandyas.

As a rule the Cheras were on friendly terms with the Cholas till about the middle of the 10th century. We know from Tillai Stanam records that cordial relations subsisted between Sthanu Ravi and Adity I and the same relationship continued even in the days of Parantaka. He and his queen Kokishanatikal have offered gifts to the temple as Thiruvalla,[1] in the Chera country. But the relations were becoming strained because of the extension of the Chola Empire to south Travancore and the protection afforded by the Chera Emperor to the Pandyan King, Rajasimha II, who was defeated by Parantaka. This hostility resulted in the gradual conversion of the Vedic Colleges (Salais) into military settlements by the Chera Emperors. The Kantallur[2] Sala, which served as the model of all the other Salas in later days, is transformed into the most important military settlement in the south.

In the 8th century the Cheras and the Pandyas were rivals for political supremacy in the south. The Cheras are mentioned as allies of one Adigan who was defeated by Varaguna Maharaja (Parantaka Nedun Chadayan) on the north bank of the Kaveri. His inscr ptions also mention invasions of Venad, and the capture and destruction of Vilinjam. But the conquest was never final and we have evidences of the rapid recovery of Vilinjam and later invasions of the place by Pāndyas and Cholas. But from about the middle of the 9th century relations became more cordial. Parantaka Viranarayana Sadayan had for his queen Sri Vanavan Mahadevi, a Chera princess, and Raja Simha II,

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up to at least 879 A. D. Varaguna could have come to the throne only after 879 at the earliest. The date has been settled with the help of astronomical evidence by Mr. P N. Kunjan Pillai in his History of Ay Kings in Malayalam. He gives 925 as the date of the Paliyam Plates.

1. T. A. S. Vol. II The Huzur Treasury plates, pp. 131-207.
2. T. A. S. Vol. I Huzur Office Plates No. 1, pp 1-14.
3. T. A. S. Vol. II page 67.

a son by this marriage, sought refuge in Kerala after his defeat by Parantaka Chola. The fact that the Chera kings were sought as allies and were feared as adversaries is an indication of the strength and resources of the Chera Empire.

The beginning of the second Empire.

Almost all the Emperors of this imperial Chera line use the title Kulasekhara. Prabhakara the famous mimamsaka of Kerala was patronised by a Kulasekhara of Mahodayapuram (Thiruvanchikkulam). Vasudeva Bhattathiri who is the author of the four Yamaka Kavyas was the court poet of another Kulasekhara of this empire. Sankaranarayana, the commentator of Lakhubhaskariya was the court astronomer to Sthaṇu Ravi Kulasekhara. The famous author of the three Sanskrit dramas Tapatisamvaranam, Subhadra Dhananjayam and Vichunnabhishekam was a Kulasekhara of Mahodayapuram. The titles Kulasekhara perumal, Kulasekhara Chakravartikal, Kulasekhara Koylathikaikal[1] etc. are found used in inscriptions of this period. Thus we find that almost all the rulers had the title Kulasekhara added on to their personal names and it is likely that the empire might have been founded by the earliest and most famous among the Kulasekhars, Kulasekhara Alwar.

Political History.

The earliest Chera inscription so far discovered belongs to the reign of Rajasekhara,[2] the Chera Emperor whose reign may be fixed on paleographic and linguistic evidence somewhere about 800 A. D. This Rajasekhara may in all probability be identical with the Rajasekhara mentioned in literature as a Contemporary of Sankaracharya.

The next sovereign about whom we have definite information is Sthaṇu Ravi. His reign began 844 A. D. and he must have been ruling till about 880 A. D. because he is mentioned as a coutemporary of Aditya I (871-907) whom he helped with an army to fight against the Pallavas.[3] Vijayaraga who is mentioned in Tarisapalli Plates of 849 A. D. was the son-in-law of Sthaṇu Ravi Kulasekhara. Vijayaraga's daughter Nili was probably married to a Chola prince. We get a good deal of information about the splendour of his capital, the prosperity of his reign from the unpublished commentary of Sankaranarayana. His inscriptions[4] also testify to his power and prestige.

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1. T. A. S. Vol. V, pp. 37-40, pp. 40-46.
   T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 145.
2. T. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 8-12.
3. Tillai Stanam Record T. A. S. Vol. II page 76-77.
4. T. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 60-86.

Ramavarma Kulasekhara, son of Sthanu Ravi succeeded him to the throne, about whom reference has been made in the Sankaranarayaniyam. Vasudeva Bhattathiri, the author of the Yamakakavyas referred to before, refers to his patron as Ramavarma Kulasekhara, and there is every probability of this Ramavarma Kulasekhara being identical with the Rama Varma the son and successor of Sthanu Ravi. The principle of succession to the throne in the Chera dynasty during this period was the same as that of the Cholas and the Pāndyas. The sons succeeded to the throne of their father.

The next powerful king about whom we have evidence is Indukotha Varma. His inscriptions[1] have been found in many parts of Cochin and Travancore and they range up to the 17th regnal year of his reign. He was the immediate predecessor of Baskara Ravi, a fact which is clear from the names of the witnesses occurring in the inscriptions of these rulers.

The date of Bhaskara Ravi has been for long a knotty problem. It has now been established with the help of epigraphic and astronomical evidence, that his reign commenced in 962[2] A. D. and he ruled for about 58 years. His inscriptions, copper plates and lithic records, have been discovered in all parts of Kerala. From the inscriptions[3] of this period we can learn that the empire was divided into a number of principalities ruled over by provincial governors or feudatories called Samantas. Venad, Nantalainadu Munjunadu (near Kottayam), Kilmalainadu, Vempalanadu, Kalkarainadu, Paraikilunadu, Nadupuraiyurnadu (Palakkad), Valluvanadu, Ramakudam etc., were some of the divisions of the Chera empire mentioned in the inscriptions. The rulers of these provinces recognised the Chera Emperor as their sovereign and they used the regnal years of the emperor in all their records. There is also reason to believe that many of these feudatories were appointed by the emperor with the approval of the people. In one of the Thrikkadithanam[4] inscriptions Govardhana Marthanda who was the ruler of Venad was appointed by the Koilathikari of Bhaskara Ravi in the year 976, as the ruler of Nantuzhainadu. This practice seems to have been followed in other cases as well. These provincial governors were directly under the control of the royal representative Koiladhikarikal and they were also responsible to the popular assembly called Munnuruvar.

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1. T. A. S. Vol. V, pp. 33-34,
2. Elankulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai. Beginnings of Travancore History.
3. T. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 31-52, Introduction, and Vol. V.
4. T. A. S. Vol. V, pp. 176-178.

The Chera Empire continued as a strong power until the close of his reign. But with the accession of Rajaraja the Great in the Chola Empire the situation changed. The Cheras had now to meet a more formidable rival Raja. Raja decided to extend his dominion over the whole south India, by conquering the Cheras and the Pāṇḍyas. But the strength of the Chera Empire induced him first to turn against the Pāṇḍyas and the Simhalas before he attacked the Chera Empire.[2] Having subjugated the Pāṇḍyas and the Simhalas he turned against the Cheras. He sent his navy to the west coast to fight the Chera navy and his land army marched into the Chera country. One division invaded from the south and the other marched to the capital through the Palghat gap. The naval victory at Vizhinjal and Kantallur temporarily brought the southern part of the Chera Empire under Chola rule. In the north the success was not so easy and after a prolonged campaign extending over some years, the capital was captured and an army was stationed at Uthakai. The success of the Cholas in the wars did not result in the permanent conquest of the country as we find from inscriptions that Raja Raja himself and his successor Rajendra had to undertake expeditions to conquer the Chera Country again and again. But there is every reason to believe that in the reign of Rajendra the Chera Empire was shattered beyound recovery and the empire breaks up into autonomous units and the subsequent struggle with the Cholas was carried on by them though not in a concerted way, till the close of the 11th century. During all this long period of struggle we do not find that the Cholas exercised any authority over the region north of Trivandrum. The amount of opposition the great Chola Emperors had to meet in Kerala is proof positive to the power and influence of the Chera Empire of this period. The statement in the Thiruvalangad plates is a conclusive testimony to the strength of the Chera Empire.

Though the struggle with the Cholas ended in the break up of the Chera Empire, Kelasekhara Chakravartikal, the last of the Chera Emperors who ruled at Thiruvanchikulam, organised the Chaver (suicide squads) of Kerala who played a prominent part in the later history of Kerala, and they were responsible for the final expulsion of the Cholas from Kerala, and the permanent annexation of south Travancore north of Kottar, to Chera Empire.[3] The final defeat of the Cholas at the hands of the Chavera might have contributed to the decline of the Chola Empire after Kulottunga.

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1. Suchindram Inscription of Rajaraja T. A. S. Vol II, pp. 1-8.
2. The Cholas by N. Sastri.
3. Cholapuram record of Kulottanga, T. A. S. Vol. VI, pp. 14-20 and Kulottanga Cholan Ula.

THE ACCESSION OF THE WESTERN CĀLUKYAN KING JAGADEKAMALLA JAYASIMHA II
(1015—1042 A. D.)

BY

V. VENKATARAYAN.

Jayasimha II, the last brother of Vikramāditya V, of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, appears to have succeeded to the throne some time in A. D. 1015, and assumed the titles 'Mallikāmoda' and 'Jagadekamalla'. There appears to have been a gap of at least two years between the last known regular date of Vikramāditya V and the earliest of Jayasimha. The last known date for Vikramāditya in Saka 935 Srāvaṇa, equivalent to July, 1014 A. D. (S. I. I. IX-I, 79). But the record is damaged and does not give the cyclic year. Even the figure 6 in the date appears to be doubtful. The last clear and regular date is Saka 933 Parīdhāvi, Pushya, Su. 13, Monday, corresponding to Monday, the 29th of December. 1012 A. D. (Local records Vol. 25, p. 47). There are no records bearing the cyclic years Pramādin and Ānanda, either for Vikramāditya or Jayasimha whereas the earliest known record of the latter is in Saka 937 Rākshasa (E. C. VIII Sb. 16).

The name of Ayyaṇa, another of Vikramāditya's brothers is given in some lists of the reign of Someśvara I and his descendants between the names of Vikramāditya and Jayasimha (Insns of Nagai, Hyd. Ar. Series 8 B, 1. 28). Hence it is to be supposed that Ayyaṇa ruled for a short period between these two kings. This view is further strengthened by the statements in the records that he was King and was a great warrior (S. I. I. IX-I. 153, 1. 11; Ibid 118, 1. 14; B. K. 109 of 1929-30). But unfortunately this Ayyaṇa 'Kshitīśvara' is nowhere mentioned in the records of his immediate successor and brother Jayasimha. Neither the Daulatabad plates nor the Miraj copper grant mention the name of Ayyaṇa who is mentioned for the first time in the records of his nephew Someśvara I. This omission of Ayyaṇa's name in the genealogical list of his immediate successor call for an explanation, as the records of Someśvara could easily be relied upon and memory of Ayyaṇa could not have faded away so soon. It is also clear that Ayyaṇa was alive after the death of Vikramāditya as he is mentioned after the latter. Hence it is likely that Ayyaṇa lived for some time after the demise of his brother but died soon after without being able to crown himself, for if he had really crowned himself and ruled even for a few months Jayasimha's records would not have omitted his name. It cannot be argued that Ayyaṇa ruled for a year or more between Vikrama and Singa for there are no records directly referable to his reign

found so far. The mention of his name in Someśvara's records may be due to an attempt to complete the royal genealogy and the terms 'Kshit iśvara' and 'Nṛpa' should simply be taken to mean that he was only of the Royal family but never ruled.

It is not clear why Ayyaṇa was not able to crown himself. But these facts create in our minds a genuine suspicion whether there was any trouble at home of the Kingdom was disturbed by some foreign invasion which ended the life of Ayyaṇa and delayed the peaceful accession of Jayasimha. There is no direct evidence to shew that there was any trouble at home about the succession but it is clear from the Coḷa records that the Coḷas invaded the Raṭṭapādi, the dominions of the Cāḷukyas, during the latter part of the reign of Vikramāditya V and continued their hostilities with Jayasimha immediately after his accession. The "Tirumanni Vaḷara" prasasti of the third year of Rājendra Coḷa, refers for the first time, to his conquest of Iḍaiturainādu, Vanavāsi, Kollippākkai and Maṇṇaikkadakkam (451 of 1908; Colas Vol. I p. 236). Rājendra Coḷa was associated with his father in the administration of the Kingdom from about 1012 A. D. and thus his third year corresponds to A. D. 1015. Hence this Coḷa invasion appears to have taken place before 1015 A. D., and exactly touches the period in question.

The statement of Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri that this Coḷa account is a retrospective version of Rājendra's invasion of Rattapādi of the year 1004 A. D., described in the Hoṭṭur inscription of Satyāśraya, cannot be accepted. For we see nowhere there in Kollippākkai mentioned. The imperial position of either the Coḷas or the Cāḷukyas in the Deccan and the South depended upon their influence over the Vengi Kingdom and Kollippākkai (modern Kulpak in the Hyderabad State) was a convenient base of attack for the Cāḷukyas against Vengi. It is noteworthy that Satyāśraya's forces were staying in A. D. 1006 at Che'rolu (in the modern Guntur district of the Andhra) after burning two fortresses Dannāda and Yanmadala. (S. I. I. VI 102). In the year 1007 A. D. his subordinates were in possession of the Telingana country (modern Warrangal district and a vast territory around, in the Hyderabad state). A record found in the village of Ponnavolu on the Waradannapeta road in the Warrangal district mentions a Tantrapāla Annapayya ruling the country around. (Unpublished record in the collection of the Lakshmaṇarāya Paṅiśodhaka Maṇḍali of Hyderabad). It is clear that Kollippākkai was not affected in the campaigns of the reign of Satyāśraya and the records of Rājarāja 'roundly assert that he captured by force the Rattapādi Seven and a lakh country' (Coḷas Vol. I. p. 210). The Coḷa attacks of 1004 A. D. were conducted from the Mysore country right across the Karnataka to Donur in the Bijapur district and the western Cāḷukyan attack upon Vengi in 1006 was not only a retaliatory measure but a

clever attempt of the Karnatakas to divert the attention of the Coḷas. It is also evident that the Cāḷukyas left Vengi after 1006, but retained their possessions in the Telingana and the Karnataka. Thus it is clear that this campaign of Rājendra to Kollippākkai and Maṇṇaikkadakkam was conducted most probably against Vikramāditya V and in no way refers to the events before 1008 A. D. of the reign of Satyāśraya,

The reasons for this attack of the Coḷas on Malkhed and Kulpak are not quite clear. But the position of Vengi offers the clue. Vengi at the time of the accession of Vikramāditya V was being ruled by Saktivarman I, and there is reason to believe that Vikramāditya led an expedition against its ruler, troubled the country to the east of the Godāvary and created confusion in the Eastern Cāḷukyan dominions. Ghatiyankakāṛa Brahmādhirāja Veṇṇayabhattāraka, the brahman general of the Noḷamba feudatory Ghatiyankakāṛa styles himself as 'Malayamardanam', the destroyer of Malaya. (Local Records Vol. 25, p. 44). The Malaya referred to here was a subdivision of Vengi. (S. I. I. IV, 1177) situated very probably in the eastern ghats popularly known as the Papikondalu. [In the records of the Vishṇukundin rulers of the Āndhradeśa Madhavavarman II (c. 458-488 A. D.) is mentioned as the lord of Trikuta Malaya of Vengi and this place is identified with the same Malaya of Vengi by Sri. B. V. Krishna Rao in his 'Dynasties of the Andhradeśa p. 405-428']. As this record is dated, Monday 9th May, 1010 A. D., exactly one year before the coronation of Vimalāditya, it appears as if the reign of his predecessor Saktivarman I did not end in peace. Though the coronation of Vimalāditya is said to have been performed on the 10th May, 1011 A. D., (E. I. VI p. 349). No record of his is found in Vengi until his eighth regnal year (his last year). Curiously enough a record (215 of 1894) dated, the 29 h year of the Coḷa king Rājarāja I (A. D, 1014) records the gift of some silver vessels to the S va Temple at Tiruvaiyaru in the Tanjore District by Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Vimalāditya. This record indicates clearly that Vimalāditya was living very probably as a refugee in the Cola court. At any rate, it is doubtful whether he was staying at Vengi during this period of four years or more. Hence it is possible that Vimalāditya unable to maintain his authority in Vengi on account of a troublesome enemy in the neighbourhood, left the Kingdom soon after his accession and retiring to the Coḷa Court; induced the Coḷa monarch, his own father-in-law, to invade the dominions of Karnatakas. It is thus likely that the Coḷa expedition against Kollippākkai and Maṇṇaikkadakkam was undertaken in connection with Vengi in the interests of Vimalāditya.

As we do not know exactly when the reign of Vikramāditya ended and when Jayasimha ascended the throne, it is not possible to say definitely whether it was Vikramāditya Ayyaṇa or

Jayasimha that was ruling at Malkhed when the Coḷas attacked it. But certain facts alluded to in the Caḷukyan records of the subsequent years seem to indicate that the Coḷa invasion had taken place almost at the fag end of Vikramāditya's reign and delayed or troubled the accession of Jayasimha a little. From the references made by the Cāḷukyan generals and officials it is also clear that at the time of the Coḷa invasion the Cāḷukyas were preoccupied with the Kosalas on the north and that Jayasimha had to be enthroned with some difficulty. These records further state that the fortunes of the Cāḷukyas had to be protected by their generals and their very capital safeguarded. In a damaged inscription found at Gadag (B. K. I-I. 72) a certain brahman general Kesavarāja and his son Mādhavarāja appear to have fought successful battles in the Konkaṇa country and on the Banks of the Godāvary and won the admiration of Tailapa. This definitely refers to the reign of Ahavamalla Tailapa 973-997 A. D. The record further states that the generals pleased Vikramāditya by their conquests in the Kosala country and Mādnavarāja is said to have won the admiration of Singanaṛpati, definitely Jayasimha by leading a cavalry force against the Coḷas and had established somebody on the throne of Vikramāditya. (Though the record is much damaged and the date lost, certain important lines are still visible line 12 reads'...Kramādityanaviditam rājyavibhūtiyoḷe nilisi tatpādabjada'. Besides this Mādhava, Kundamarasa, the able general and warrior appears to have won a fight against the Kosalas, protected Mānyakheta and the fortunes of the Cāḷukyan empire for he is called 'a thunderbolt to the Kosalas, a strong protector of the fortunes of the Cāḷukyan empire (B. K. 124 of 1932-33) and 'Katakada Gova' a protector of the Kataka (E. C. VII B. K. 125) Kataka means a capital city and it is clear that Mānyakheta (Maṇṇaikkadakkam) is meant.

An identification of the Kosalas is necessary in this connection. Kosala was situated to the north-east of the Karnataka far beyond the river Godavary. Kaḷingarāja, one of the seventeen younger sons of Kokkalla I of Cedi, conquered the country about the beginning of the 11th century A. D., and established himself at Tummāṇa which became the head quarters of the family. (Dynastic History of Northern India by Prof. H. C. Rav Vol. II, p. 802). Another Kālachuri King, Lakshmaṇarāja, son of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri is said to have conquered a Kosalanātha or King of Kosala about A. D. 1010 (Ibid I. p. 404). These two princes probably joined together in effecting the conquest of Kosala. However, that may be, Kosala passed into the hands of the Cedis and a junior branch of the family ruled the country ever since. Kaḷingarāja was most probably, the Kosala King whom the Cāḷukya generals seem to have defeated.

It is interesting to note this Kosala expedition and the accession of Jayasimha are synchronistic with the Cola invasion

of Rattapāḍi. The date of the Cola invasion may roughly be fixed as between 1014 and 1015 A. D., as it was in 1014 that Vimalāditya was at Tiruvaiyar and in 1015 the Coḷa-war is mentioned in the Coḷa records. It is also likely that the Coḷas finding the Cāḷukyas preoccupied with the Kosalas invaded their territory and restored Vimalāditya at Vengi. But what happened to Vikramāditya and Ayyaṇa in the wars cannot be said. It is likely that being be set by two enemies on two fronts the Cāḷukyas had to protect their Kingdom and safeguard their very existence. Under such circumstances the Coḷas seem to have invaded the Calukyan capital and several other places around while the Kosalas were attacked by the Cāḷukyan generals. The reign of Vikramāditya appears to have come to a close soon after the Kosala war as the next event is said to have happened under Jayasimha, when Mādhavarāja led a cavalry force against the Coḷas. This war was over before 1015 A. D., as Jayasimha is seen ruling from Saka 937 Rakshasa—1015 A. D. (E. C. VIII Sb. 16). It is likely that the career of Ayyaṇa came to a close during period of the Coḷa attack and Jayasimha ascended the throne immediately after the Coḷa war. Curious enough there is a verse in the Beḷagave record of Kundamarāja which states that Jayasimha ascended the throne after defeating his enemies. 'Dispersing the overspreading darkness and causing his greatness to shine forth into all the world, as the morning sun mounts up above the mountain of the East, so, subduing the growing power of the Kaliyuga, leaving it no place and revealing to the world the delicate virtues of the Kṛta Lakshmi, he mounted upon his throne of splendour, the King Jayasimha'. (E. C. VII S. K. 125).

A NOTE ON TIRUKKĀMAKKOṬṬAM

BY

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In a paper contributed to the All India Oriental Conference Nagpur (1946) Mr. K. R. Srinivasan said: 'In the South Indian temples, Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam is the name given in inscriptions to the separate shrine dedicated to Pārvatī or Devī installed and consecrated as the consort of Lord Siva, the presiding deity in a South Indian temple unit'. He further proceeded and remarked that only in the period of the Imperial Cholas the Tirukkāmakoṭṭam was introduced as a new member and later on grew in importance. The conclusion arrived at, is based on mere references in the inscriptions, and perhaps also from a study of the temple architecture, and the tentative definition of a 'temple unit'. According

to him till about the eleventh century A. D. there was no place for a separate Amman shrine or shrine for the goddess.

We are afraid that this theory of a separate Amman shrine as a later addition and that from about the eleventh century cannot be readily admitted. This is to ignore all tradition, literary and oral. We must first examine the term Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam or simply Kāmakkoṭṭam, tiru meaning sacred. The origin of this expression will be indeed significant for our investigation. It may be a very ancient one but it became very much popular certainly after the Ādi Sankarāchārya. Tradition avers that Ādi Sankara in the course of his digvijaya established mutts at different places and one such place was Kāṅchī, the modern Conjeevaram. The current belief is that at Kāṅchī. Sankara founded what is known as Kāmakoṭipiṭha. This Piṭha of Kāmakoṭi was flourishing here till at least A. D. 1686,[1] and in this connection the temple of Kāmakshī in Conjeevaram is said to be the one erected or renovated by Sankara and his disciples. Even to-day a figure of Sankara is to be seen in this temple, evidently a figure of the first ācnārya.[2] And Kāmakoṭi is written in inscriptions as Kāmakoṭṭam. Kāmakoṭṭam means the shrine dedicated to the goddess Kāmakshī. The cult of Kāmakshī must have become popular after Sankara and shrines in her honour were erected and dedicated by kings and pious devotees. As time went on, the Kāmakshī amman koil became generally known as Amman koil. For Pārvatī or Umā, Minākshī and other names are the names of one and the same goddess. So whatever be the name of the goddess enshrined in a temple, the common people call it even to this day Amman koil.[3] The revival of Devi worship as Kāmakshī must be therefore due to Sankara who founded the Kāmakoṭi piṭha in Conjeevaram for the first time. Hence the Kāmakoṭṭam which we find in the inscriptions. If Kāmakoṭṭam is the same as Kāmakoṭi, then the institution of Kāmakoṭṭam must at least go back to the age of Sankara.

Unfortunately we have no definite evidence to clinch the date of Sankara. Many scholars have gone into the question and dates ranging from B C. to the ninth century, A. D., have been assigned. But it is just possible that he lived towards the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth century A. D. If this were to be accepted, then the origin and spread of Kāmakkoṭṭam in Southern India must be at least placed from

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1. See the introduction to T. A. Gopinatharao's Copper-plate inscriptions of Sri Sankaracharya of Kamkotipitha (1916).

2. See in this connection the Gururatna malika stotram by Sadasivabrahmendra Sarasvathi. Though a work of the 17th century it contains some reliable facts.

3. The Devi was conceived in different forms and worshipped by different names such as Durga, Lalita, Lakshmi, Rajarajeswari.

the ninth century. Any new cult could not spread in a day and hence we see after one or two centuries a number of shrines with the name of Kāmakkoṭṭam. This does not preclude the possibility of the existence of such shrines earlier. The absence of mention of the term in earlier inscriptions cannot be trotted out as a serious argument for the later introduction of such Amman shrines.

Apart from this the Purāṇas speak of Kāmākshī temple as very ancient, as ancient as Daśaratha, the king of Ayodhyā. Whether Daśaratha visited Kānchī Kāmākshī or nōt, need not deterus.[1] These references show unmistakably the ancientness of the shrine. Again Aḍiyārkunallār, the celebrated commentator on the Tamil classic Silappadikāram, quotes from a text (unfortunately the name of the work is not given in his gloss) on line 95 of Canto V of the Silappadikāram. The gist of the commentary is that Karikālaccholan whom we assign to the first century A. D. roughly took the śeṇḍu, a weapon held in his hand by Sāttan who was guarding the Kāmakkoṭṭam of Kācci or Kānchī. (Swaminatha Aiyer's edition p. 162). This was on the occasion of Karikūla going on a northern expedition as far as the Himalayas. If this later version of the legend can bear any mark of veracity, the Kāmakkoṭṭam of Kānchī was a great centre of religion even in very ancient times. At least the shrine of Kāmakshi was in existence even in the first century of the Christian era.

This raises a question. In ancient South India, as it stands even to-day, there were separate temples to the chief deity Siva or Vishnu, and separate temples for Pārvatī or Lakshmī. There were again temples, where, in one and the same compound both the principal deities were housed, but in different quarters and with separate entrances, but all enclosed by the same Tirumadil or compound walls. For instance, the Ekambaranātha temple at Conjeevaram has no Amman shrine. The Kāmakshī Amman koil has no principal Siva shrine. From this we cannot generalise, and say that each of the principal deities has its own independent shrine. Sometimes they were combined and sometimes, were separated. In some places prominence is given to the god and in others to the goddess. In the case of Bhagavatī Amman koil in Granganore, prominence is given to the goddess. So also prominence is given in Madura to the Mīnākshī shrine.

This is the position we should take in regard to the Tevaram and the Prabandam which are songs sung in honour of Siva and Vishnu respectively. In some we have a distinct mention of the goddess enshrined in the temple and the name by which

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1. Br: IV. 40. 88. The Brahmanda Purana mentions in several places the Kamakoshta and Kamagiri being a pitham cared to Kamakshi in Kanci, (Br. IV. 40. 1 ; 44-94 : 63-104. The Bhagavata Purana refers to Kamakosni being the deity presiding in Kanci. (X. 79. 14).

the goddess is popularly known in the locality and neighbourhood is furnished. In other cases the Devi is given the general appellation. For example, Sambandar in his Tevāram on the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple begins with the name of the goddess Uṇṇāmulai Umaiyāl. Even to this day the Amman in this temple goes by the same name Uṇṇāmulaiyāl. This gives the indication that there was the shrine of the goddess Uṇṇāmulaiyāl in the time of this Saivasamayāchārya, roughly seventh century A. D. Let me take another example from the Prabandam. Nammāḷvār who invokes the deity of Venkaṭa in the Tirupati hill refers to Alar matarmangai urai mārpa, literally, possessing Alarmalimangai in his heart. What is of interest to us is the name Alarmaimangai which is in common parlance Alamelumangai. It is well known that the Venkaṭa shrine is up in the hills, and the Amman temple is down the hills and even to this day the goddess goes by the name Alamelumangai. The fact that Nammāḷvār speaks of the consort of Venkaṭa as Alarmalarmangai shows that this goddess was venerated by that name even in his days roughly seventh century A. D. Hence the assumption that a separate shrine for Amman was antecedent to our Vaiṣṇavāchārya. If we take into account the circumstances in which a reference is made to the local goddess, we have to infer that the shrine existed previous to the age of these mystic poets of the Tamil land.

If we stretch a little further and examine the temples not in the distant north like the shrine of Kailasa in Ellora which is assigned even by specialists to the eighth century, we definitely find in this place a separate shrine for the Amman goddess. After all the plan of these temples does not differ much from the south Indian temples. In both of them the central shrine is dedicated to Siva which is surrounded by sub-shrines, a feature, universally noticeable in South Indian temples. The fact seems to be that the central axial group was very much the same in all temples. But deviation from the accepted plan in also noticeable. We are not in a position at this stetch of time to explicitly mark out either the original plan, or change in the plan. It is no use therefore to dogmatise that only the same features prevailed or persisted. Such theorising on a slender basis would neither be tenable nor acceptable.

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1. Fergusson, History of Indian Architecture, Vol. I, p. 327 and pp. 343 ff.

TRADITIONS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT KERALA

BY

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An examination of the political and social conditions of Kerala in the ancient and mediæval periods will give us ample evidences to prove the wide prevalence and popularity of self-governing institutions in the country. The *Keralolpathi* attributes the origin of these institutions to Parasurama himself. It makes a frequent mention of popular assemblies called "Kūttams".[1] There were three kinds of "Kāttams"—the village Kūttam, the District Kūttam and the all-Kerala Kūttam.

The village "Kūttam" was constituted by the elders of the village called 'Pramanis'. All the affairs of the village were discussed and settled in the 'Kūttam'; and the 'Kūttam' had the management of the village temple, pasture lands and tanks. Social ostracism was the powerful weapon in the hands of the 'Pramanis' for enforcing their decisions. The hardships of an ostracised person were so great that people dreaded social ostracism even more than capital punishment.[2] The District 'Kūttam' or the 'Nadu Kūttam' discussed matters which were of general importance to all the villages of the Nadu. "The Nadu or country", says Mr. Logan, "was a congeries of 'Taras' or village republics and the Kūttam or assembly of the Nadu was a representative body of immense power which when necessity existed set at naught the authority of the Raja and punished the ministers when they did unwarrantable acts." The existence of these 'Kūttams' or 'Sabhas' even in the medieval period is proved by references to them in some of the inscriptions of this period. A Vatteluthu inscription at Manalikara dated 27th Medom 410 M. E. (1236 A. D.) makes a direct reference to "the Sabha of Kodainalloor".[3]

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1. "Paravur Kuttam", "Ayranikulam Kuttam", "Iranjany Kuttam" etc.

2. "Like Ishmail of old his hands were against all and the hands of all were against him. Every one shunned him. He could not attend the village temple or bathe in the temple tank; no barber would shave him, no washerman would wash for him. He became a social leper and a political non-entity." History of Kerala, K. P. P. Menon, Vol. I, pp. 260-61.

3. It begins thus:—
"Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in a consultation duly held among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Sravi Kerala Varma

The advice of the "Sabhas" in matters relating to the agricultural population of the villages was invariably respected by the rulers. These "Sabhas" appear as permanent and well constituted public bodies acting as a buffer between the people and the Government.[1]

The "Kūttam" of all-Kerala met for the discussion of affairs of national importance. This was "the grand Parliament of the nation" where important questions like the change of Government, succession of Kings, etc., were discussed and decided upon. These national assemblies continued to be a regular feature of Kerala administration even as late as the 18th century. Visscher the Dutch Chaplain at Cochin speaks of "the great national assembly of the Malabars collected in the open air to deliberate on the affairs of the state".[2] He speaks of two kinds of national assemblies—one assembled under the orders of the Raja and the other by the spontaneous will of the people.[3] The *Keralolpathi* says that the All-Kerala Assembly used to meet at 'Tirunavaye' on the banks of the River Ponnani once in 12 years. The meeting of the Assembly synchronised with the famous "Mamamkam" festival.

Side by side with these assemblies there were popular organisations called "the Five Hundred" "the Six Hundred" "the Five Thousand" etc. Probably these names represent the number of members of these organisations.[4] The nature of the relationship between these organisations and the "Kūttams" is not quite clear. Nevertheless from the various inscriptions of the medieval period they appear as having played an important part in Kerala polity.

The power and influence wielded by the kings in matters of administration were very insignificant. The people were keenly

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Tiruvadi graciously ruling over Venadu. the *the members of the Sabha of Kodainalloor* and the people of that village as well as Kandan Thiru Vikraman of Marugatacheri entrusted with the right of realising Government dues....."

1. "Early sovereigns of Travancore", Sundaram Pillai.
2. Visschers Letter No. 3.
3. *Ibid*,
4. "The six hundred" is mentioned in the Syrian Copper Plate (No. 3 of Mr. Logan's Collections) as giving sanction to the deed. The inscription says, "With sanction of the palace.....and with the concurrence of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, His Excellency Rama, the ministers and officers, "*the Six Hundred*").....carry out this unrestricted possession right in the manner described by this copper deed for the time that earth, moon and sun exist".

"*The six Hundred of Venadu*" is mentioned in inscription No. 9/60 of Mr. Sundaram Pillai's collection,

In the Tirunelli copper plate mention is made of the "Five Hundred" and "Five Thousand". It says "This is placed under (the control of) the *Five Hundred* and *Five Thousand* of Puraigilnadu".

conscious of their rights and liberties and they strongly resented any encroachment on their rights by the rulers. There are ample evidences to show how jealously the people guarded their rights. Instances are many when people refused to pay the taxes as a protest against the arbitrary actions of their rulers. The entire class of ryots used to put forward an undivided front of opposition to any encroachment on their privileges and if any one attempted to betray the cause of the people and join sides with the Rajas, he had to do it at heavy risks. A notable instance of this passion for popular rights may be seen in the resolutions passed by the Nattars of Nanjinadu protesting against the illegal impositions of the Raja of Travancore. A resolution passed by the Nattars in December 1713 enjoins on the people to make a united and bold stand against the imposition of the "Kottappanam and other unusual taxes". "We should honourably keep up all the privileges or rights which our ancestors enjoyed in old days", says the resolution "In thus asserting our rights, if any pidigai or village or any single individual is subjected to loss by acts of Government we should support them by reimbursing such loss from our common funds. If at any time any one should get into the secrets of Government and impair the privileges or rights of the country, he should be subjected to public enquiry by the Nattars."[1] Flight to the mountains abandoning cultivation seems to have been the common method of retaliation against excessive taxes. A resolution passed by the ryots at Kadukkara in 1722 says, "On account of the heavy taxes imposed on us and the cruel treatment we were subjected to till the Kumbam harvest of 895 M. E. (1720 A. D.) we were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during the whole year 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains". These bold resolutions of the ryots of South Travancore indicate the great zeal of the people for their rights. The Rajas of ancient and mediæval Kerala were mere feudal chieftains who had to depend upon the people for their own maintenance and protection. They had no standing armies of their own. They were never law makers; they were only the guardians of the law. The main duty of the King was to preserve and protect the ancient "Acharam" and "Maryada" (customs and traditions) of the people and to uphold the "Dharma" of the country. The King could expect the allegiance and loyal support of his people only if he was within the limits of law. Writing about the middle of the 18th century, Gollenesee (the Dutch Commander at Cochin) observes, "One point must be observed here which is of great importance in the company's service *viz.* although the kings and princes exercise great authority over their subjects, affairs are so regulated by the laws of

1. Quoted in the Travancore State Mannul, Volume I, Ch. VI, pp. 319-323. (Nagam Ayya).

Cheraman Perumal that their rule can in no way be called despotic. Subjects obey their king ungrudgingly as long as he remains within the limits of law". A similar observation has been made by Van Rheede, another Dutch Commander of Cochin, in his Memorandum.[1] He says "Subjects are not bound to observe any orders, commands or whims and council decisions of the king which are not in conformity with their laws, welfare or privileges, and have not been approved in their own district and ratified at the meeting of their district and ratified at the meeting of their district assemblies". Van Rheede again observes: "No king of Malabar has the power to make contracts which are prejudicial to the interests of the land lords, noblemen or Nairs; such a king would run the danger of being expelled and rejected by his subjects." If we examine the early treaties between the Dutch Company and the Malabar prinees, we will find that they have been concluded with the consent of the chief nobles.[2]

The complete destruction of self-governing institutions and popular power and their replacement by monarchical absolutism are events of comparatively recent history in Kerala. The success of Maharaja Marthanda Varma in his schemes of political unification of Travancore and the annihilation of the feudal nobility, marks the beginning of royal despotism in Kerala, The example of Marthanda Varma in Travancore was followed by the Rajas of Cochin and thus by the close of the 18th century all institutions of self-government disappeared from the country. The European merchants who had established trade settlements on the west coast played a prominent part in strengthening royal power. They assisted the Rajas by supplying them with arms and ammunition and soldiers trained in new methods of warfare. They realised that popular assemblies and village "Kūttams" were hindrances to the advancement of their commercial interests in the country. They knew that the Malabar princes were willing to give them the monopoly of trade in the country and that these popular "sabhas" and chieftains were standing in their way. In 1723 the English at Anjengo "resoved inspite of money expenses to put down the enemies and subject the country to the king." The European powers "prefered to have on the throne a despotic sovereign unaided by council or clergy who would of his own accord assign them monopolies of the produce they come in quest of and enforce the same with a strong arm". A new system of administration entirely alien to the political traditions of the country was introduced and all traces of popular Government were eradicated. The observations of Murdoch Brown

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1. Memorandum of Van Rheeds, Para (11).

2. Refer to the treaties between the Cochin Raja and the Dutch in 1674, 1679, 1682 etc. "The Dutch in Malabar" by Dr. P. C. Alexander, p. 142, note 2.

to Dr. Buchanan are worth quoting in this connection. "By this new order of things the Rajas were vested with despotic authority over the other inhabitants, instead of the very limited prerogative that they had enjoyed by the feudal system under which they would neither extract revenue from the lands of their vassals nor exercise any direct authority in their districts.....The Raja was no longer what he had been, the head of a feudal aristocracy with limited authority, but the all powerful deputy of a despotic prince, whose military force was always at his command to curb or chastise any of the chieftains who were inclined to dispute or disobey his mandates."

THE AGE OF STHĀNU RAVI THE CHERA EMPEROR

BY

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The regnal year of Sthāṇu Ravi has been mentioned in the well known Tarisappalli plates[1] by Ayyanadikal, one of his vassals. But the question of fixing his date has proved a knotty problem of Chera history. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao has arrived at the conclusion that this King flourished in the 9th Century A. D. on the evidence of Tillaisthānam and Tirruvottiyūr records[2] and this has now been confirmed by other sources recently discovered.

A manuscript copy of the unpublished commentary on Laghu-bhāskarīya is available in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Trivandrum. It was written by one Sankāranarayana, a court astronomer of Sthāṇu Ravi. It throws considerable light on the history of the period. In the first verse Sankaranarayana praises Sthāṇu (Siva) in words which are applicable by virtue of *double intendre* to the Emperor as well.[3] It is stated in this work that the King put a question to Sankaranarayana regarding a solar eclipse.[4]

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1. T. A. S. Vol. II, page 67.
2. T. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 76-77.
3. व्याप्तं मूर्त्तिभिरष्टभिर्जगदिदं यस्याखिलं दृश्यते स्रष्टाराजसभागवस्थिति विधौ सत्वाश्रितश्शाङ्ग॰ धृक् संहारे तमसायुतो हर इति प्रोक्तो य एकस्त्रिधा सस्थाणुर्जयति त्रिरूपसहितो लिंगेपि लोकार्चितः।
4. अंगत्वंबरनन्दवेदमनुभिर्याते दिनानां गणे ग्रस्ते तिग्ममयूख मालिनि तमोभूते पराह्णेदिवि। पृष्टं प्रग्रहणाद् द्वितीयघटिका ग्रास प्रमाणं रवेः भर्त्रा श्रीकुलशेखरेणविलसद्-वेलावृतायाभुवः॥

The date of the eclipse is given as अगंर्वबंर नन्दवेदमनु भिर्यातेदिनानां गणे, *i.e.* after the expiry of 1449066 days from the beginning of Kali Yuga. This corresponds to the 25th of Mithunam 41 M. E. (June[5] 866 A. D.). The incidence of the solar eclipse on that day and its visibility in Kerala are authentically corroborated. In another place Sankaranarayana says that Jupiter and Saturn were in Dhanus (Sagittarius) when his patron completed his 25th year,[6] certainly regnal year as the Emperor appears to be an aged man from other remarks found in the work. These planets were together in Dhanus only in 44 M. E. and in no other year in that century. It is thus evident that Sthāṇu Ravi came to the throne in 19 M. E. (844 A. D.). As the Tillaisthānam record shows that Sthāṇu Ravi was a contemporary of the Chola Āditya I (871-907) it has to be presumed that he ruled over Kerala at least during the early years of Āditya and that his reign extended over 30 years beginning with 844 A. D. As the Tarisappalli plates are dated the fifth regnal year of this King the actual date of the record must be 849 A. D. Vijayarāga, the Koyiladhikāri mentioned in the plates was a son-in-law of Sthāṇu Ravi. It could not be inconsistent if Nīli, Vijayarāga's daughter *i.e.* grand daughter of Sthāṇu Ravi is found to be living in the year 935, the date of the Tiruvottiyūr record.

Kulasekhara-dynastic title. It is seen that the full name of the King was Sthāṇu Ravi Kulasekhara, Ravi *i.e.* Ravi Varma being his name and, Sthāṇu and Kulasekhara titles. The word Sthāṇu is seen to have been used only in the first verse and in the body of the text the King is referred to either as Ravi or as Kulasekhara or as Ravi Kulasekhara. Many of the rulers of this dynasty have been mentioned as Kulasekharas.[7] It is, therefore, but natural to infer that this was a dynastic title and that the empire was founded by one Kulasekhara, most probably the celebrated author of Perumal Tirumoḷi and Mukundamālā.

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5. Anga 6; Rtu 6; Ambara 0; Nanda 9; Veda 4; Manu 14. The Kali dates are always read in the reverse order. Hence the figure 1449066. The date of the Huzur Office plate of Karunandadakkan is 1449087 *i.e.* 21st day after this eclipse.

6. श्री रविवर्मदेवः कदाचिद् ग्रहयुद्ध विज्ञानप्रकटनाथमाह—

'चापप्रविष्ट गरुसौरि समत्वकालम्

.....

.....

इत्युक्तवान् रविरशेषनृपाभिवन्द्यः ॥'

तदा पञ्चविंशति वर्षाण्यतीतानि देवस्य ।

7. The author of three Sanskrit dramas and the patrons of Vasudeva Bhattatiri and Prabhakara Bhatta were Kulasekharas. Inscriptions also mention more than one Kulasekhara.

Vanchi the Capital. The capital of Sthāṇu Ravi and other Sovereigns of this Empire was Thiruvanchikulam (Vanchi). It was commonly called Mahodayapuram in Sanskrit works and Mahotai in inscriptions. Kottakkakam, Senamukham, Bālakrīdesvaram, Jayarātesvaram, Kodungalloor etc., were parts of the City. The City was protected by high fortresses. The science of astonomy had reached great heights in Kerala at that time and the system of Aryyabhata was generally being followed. The Emperor was himself proficient in Astronomy and a patron of Art and Science. He had a well equipped Observatory at Mahodayapuram about which many a detail is given in the aforesaid commentary.[8] It is interesting to note that there were satisfactory arrangements for recording correct time and for announcing it to the public by the tolling of bell at intervals of a ghatika (24 minutes) from different stations.[9]

The King has been mentioned in many places as belonging to the Kerala dynasty.[10] The term Kerala is only a sanskritised form of Chera and so the reference may be to his being a descendant of the Early Cheras.

The system of inheritance in Kerala was Makkattaya even at that period. The matriarchal system began only after the Chola war which lasted for about 100 years from 1000 A. D. onwards. The compulsory military training which resulted in the formation of the Chāver[11] army (suicidal squads) might probably have been the cause of this change.

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8. "गेलान्महोदयपुरे रविवर्मदेव
संबन्धियन्त्रवलयाङ्कित राशि चक्रात् ।"
"....समममण्डलरूढसूर्य—
च्छायावशात कथय शक्र जलेशसूत्रम् ।
"मुरपति दिशिदृष्टं गोलयन्त्राद्विलग्नम् ।"

9. "बालक्रीडेश्वरस्थैरधिकृतघटिका स्ताडिताः....." ।
..... "—विंशति ताडितासु घटिकासु" ।

10. 'उक्त केरलवंशकेतुरविणा'
'केरलवंश प्रदीपेनकुलशेखरेण'

11. Kulottunga Cholan Ula; and Cholapuram record. T. A. S. Vol. VI, pp. 16-20.

ĀYIRATTALI—A COLA CAPITAL

BY

PURAVRITTAJYOTI K. R. VENKATRAMA AYYAR

It is claimed for old and forgotten cities that there is a glamour in the unfolding of their stories, but the glamour is mingled with a sense of adventure when the unfolding is done for the first time, as it is in the present instance, and has to be done by piecing together scrappy references from the inscriptions and contemporary literature. The smaller Leyden grants[1] are perhaps the first to acquaint western scholars with the name of Āyirattaḷi, also called Paḷaiyāṟu and Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram, one of the capitals of the Coḷas.

Āyirattaḷi means the 'thousand temples', and the city must have contained several groups of shrines numbering in all a thousand.

The inscription of Rāja Rāja I (C 985-1014) in the Tanjore temple[2] refer to two places known as Āyirattaḷi. To differentiate between the two, one is referred to simply as Āyirattaḷi, while the other as Niyamattu Āyirattaḷi or Āyirattali, *a quarter* of Niyamam. Niyamam and Candralekhai Catuvedimangaḷam, now known as Sendalai, both to the northwest of Tanjore, came into prominence in the 7th century during the time of the early Muttaraiyar vassals of the Pallavas

Now to the other Āyirattaḷi, also called Paḷaiyāṟu. Its correct name is *Palaiyarai*[3]. The earliest reference to Paḷaiyāṟu is in the *Devaram* songs of Appar and Nānasambandar. When Appar visited *Vadatali* or the 'northern shrine' of Paḷaiyāṟu, he found the central shrine of Siva obscured by a new *vimanam* put up by Jains, who had obtained possession of the place, and with the help of the chief of the place, probably the Muttaraiyar chief, he had the temple cleared of the Jains and caused a new *vimanam* to be built for Siva[4]. Nanasambandar also visited this shrine, the *Merrali* or western temple and the Paṭṭiśvaram temple[5]. Amarnīti Nāyanār, one of the sixty three Śaiva saints, flourished in Paḷaiyāṟu.

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1. *E. I*—XXII, pp 267-81.
2. *S. II*—II No. 66.
3. *Arai* is a Tamil word meaning a place situated on a river (*aru*). Palaiyarai = the old town on the river. It is also referred to as *Tiru-arai* or the holy town on the river.
4. *Periyapuranam. Tirunavukkarasarpuranam* VV, 294-300.
5. This temple which was renovated in the 16th century by Govinda Dikshita was formerly included in Palaiyaru.

Early in the 8th Century, Paḷaiyāṟu Āyirattaḷi was named Nandipuram[6] after Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (c. 725-789)[7], who was besieged here by a pretender to the Pallava throne and the Dramila (Tamil) princes, and was rescued by his valiant general Udayacandra[8]. There is a Viṣṇu temple at Nandipuram, which is reputed to have been built by Nandivarman Pallavamana[9]. One of the quarters of Paḷaiyāṟu took the name of *Avani narayanapuram* after Nandivarman III[10]. From there facts it is clear that Paḷaiyāṟu was an important city under Pallava rule, probably one of the capitals of the Muttaraiya Viceroys of the Pallavas, who ruled the country round Tanjore.

With the defeat of the Muttaraiyars and the conquest of Tanjore in the 9th Century by Vijayālaya Cola, Paḷaiyāṟu passed under Coḷa rule. Inscriptions of Parāntaka I[11] (c. 907-953) mention Āyirattaḷi as a town in the Kiḻārkūṟṟam.. That Paḷaiyāṟu was a Coḷa capital in the 10th century is borne out by an eulogy composed in praise of Sundara Coḷa Parāntaka II (c. 956-973), who is hailed as the king of Nandipuram. It was a tribute to the high standard of civic administration and the commercial prosperity of Nandipuram (Āyirattaḷi) that the old scale of taxes and the ancient standard measure prevailing in that city were adopted in several other towns such as Melappaḷuvūr and Tiruchengodu during the reigns of Sundara Coḷa and Rāja Rāja I.[13] Uttama Coḷa often resided at Paḷaiyāṟu[14].

Rāja Rāja I made Tanjore his capital, but he did not neglect Paḷaiyāṟu, which continued to be as renowned as ever before. He enlisted dancing women for service in his famous Tanjore temple from six temples at Paḷaiyāṟu.[15] *Tentali* or the southern shrine, *Vadatali* or the northernt shrine, *Araiyerumantali*, *Mullurnakkantali*, (a temple built in honour of Mullurnagai, mother of a Cola queen), *Mallisvaram* and *Sangisvaram*. Rāja Rāja's elder sister,

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6. For the identification of Nandipuram with Palaiyarai Ayirattali see *ARE* 145 of 28 (and 30 of 31, which mentions Palayarai Nandipuram).

7. These dates are based on the revised chronology of the Pallavas that the present writer has discussed in a forthcoming publication.

8. *Udaynediram Plates: S. I. I.* II, No. 74.

9. *Periyatirumoli*—V. 10-8 *Nandipaniseita Vinnagaram* or the Visnu temple erected by Nandi.

10. *S. I. I.* II No. 66 Avaninarayana was a surname of Nadivarman III.

11. *ARE* 164 of 28; 249 of 11; 145 of 28.

12. Commentary on the *Virasolivam*.

13. *ARE* 265 & 367 of 24., *S. I. I.* III 212.

14. *ARE* 141 of 28. Parakesari here is indentified as Uttama Cola—see *ARE* 28 II 3.

15. *S. I. I.* II. 66

Āḷvār Parāntakan Kundavai, resided in the royal palace at Paḷaiyāṟu, and her orders issued from this palace were engraved and promulgated by the town assembly. Her grants included gifts and donations to the *atulasalai*[16] or free hospital, that she founded at Tanjore. Among the temples[17] that were built during this reign may be mentioned *Arumolideva Isvaram*, named after one of Rāja Rāja's surnames, to which Tirunaraiyūr was granted as a *devadanam* village, and a *pallipadai* or temple erected over the tomb of Pañcavan Mahādevī, also called Nakkan Tillaiyaḷagiyār, one of Rāja Rāja's queens, the affairs of which are said to have been supervised by Lakuliśa Paṇḍita, obviously of the Kālamukha Saiva sect,

Though Rājendra I (c. 1012-1044) founded a magnificent capital at Gangaikoṇḍaśoḷapuram, he made Paḷaiyāṟu one of his subsidiary capitals. Inscriptions[18] from the third year of his reign refer to his frequent residence at Paḷaiyāṟu. Rājendra gave it the proud name of Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram[19]. The Tiruvālangāḍu Plates[20] mention grants made by Rājendra while he was staying at Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram; the Tamil portion of the detached plate mentions the *Śanimantapa*, and of the main record the secret apartment (*maraividu*) on the southern side of the upper storey called *Madurantakam* in the royal place. Two inscriptions from Kaṇḍiyūr[21] mention grants to two temples at Paḷaiyāṟu, *Vanavanmahadevisvaram*, built in honour of one of Rajendra's queens and *Parantakadevisvaram*, built in honour of the princess Kundavai.

An inscription of the reign of Rājādhirāja I[22] (c. 1018-1054 places Paḷaiyāṟu in the district of Ambarnāḍu of the newly constituted Uyyakkoṇḍānvaḷanāḍu. Vīrarājendra (c 1063-1069) gave the city the additional name of *Ahavamallakulakalapuram*,[23] and Kulotiunga I (1070-1120) of *Minavanaivenkandasolapuram*[24].

With the later Colas Āyirattali held a high priority among the imperial and provincial capitals, and its place was the scene of

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16. *ARE* 112 of 25 ; 248 and 249 of 23 ; also 350 and 351 of 07.
17. *ARE* 157 of 08 and 271 of 27.
18. Cf. *ARE* 463 of 08 and 585 of 46.
19. *ARE* 271 of 27 : *Mudikondacola* was one of the surnames of Rajendra I.
20. *S. I. I.*—III—No. 205.
21. *ARE* 22 of 95 (*S. I. I.*—No. 578) and *ARE* 23 of 95 (*S. I. I.* No. 579.)
22. *ARE* 124 of 22
23. Smaller Leyden grants. Ahavamallakulakala was one of the surnames of Virarajendra. It means 'he who is Death to the line of Ahavamalla, the western Calukya king Somesvara'.
24. *ARE* 233 of 16 meaning 'the city of the Cola who was victorious over Minavan or the Pandyan king'

events of considerable political importance. The smaller Leyden Plates[25] of Kulottunga I, dated A. D. 1090, record the arrival of two ambassadors from the Ruler of Kaḍāram (Srī Vijaya). Rājavidyādhara and Abhimāṇottunga to Kulottunga's court at Ayirattali. They solicited a royal grant confirming all previous grants made to the Buddhist *Viharas* at Negapatam constructed by Māṛavijayottungavarman, a former Ruler of Sri Vijaya. Kulottunga (c 1070-1120) not only renewed the old grants but endowed more villages. Kulottunga's political and diplomatic relations with the kingdoms of the Far East are testified to in his longer *prasasti*,[26] which mentions that at the gate of his palace stood rows of elephants showering jewels sent as tribute from the island kingdoms of the wide ocean.

The Leyden grants mention that Kulottunga received the ambassadors from Srī Vijaya while seated on his throne *Kalingarayan* in the *tirumanjanasalai*[27] within the palace. On another occasion[28] Kulottunga seated on the throne *Vanadhiraja* in the hall *Rajendrasolan* received a Nuḷamba chief in audience. An order[29] issued from this hall registers a gift of land to the temple at Gangaikoṇḍaśoḷapuram.

Vikrama Coḷa (c 1118-1135) resided periodically at Ayirattaḷi, and one of his orders[30], issued from this city, is recorded in an inscription dated A. D. 1122. A Tiruccātturai inscription[31], dated in the 14th year of this reign, refers to a street at Āyirattaḷi, called the *Vikramasolaperunderu*, where the nagarattār or wealthy merchants lived.

An Elavasanuūr inscription[32] records an audience that Rāja Rāja II (1146-1173) granted to a Malaiyamān chief in one of the halls of the palace at Paḷayāṛai. An inscription[33] from Palla-

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25. *E. I.* XXII, pp. 267-81.
26. *S. I. I.* III, p. 146.
27. Prof. Sastri has pointed out (*Colas* II. p. 29) that this does 'not mean that the king heard petitions while he was bathing.' 'To our notion', says the learned Professor, 'it seems a strange mode of receiving a foreign embassy to hear them while you are bathing.' The Sanskrit equivalent of this term is *abhisekhamantapa* (cf *S. I. I.* III 73 Conjeeveram). The reference must obviously be to the Coronation or anointment halls in the different provincial capitals where the emperor repeated the anointment ceremonies so that people belonging to the provinces might witness these royal functions and participate in them.
28. *A. R. E.* 93 of 10
29. *A. R. E.* 51 of 10
30. *A. R. E.* 168 of 06
31. *A. R. E.* 194 of 31
32. *A. R. E.* 163 of 06
33. *A. R. E.* 433 of 24.

varāyanpeṭṭai' dated in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II, describes the disturbances in the kingdom immediately after the death of Rāja Rāja II, and how one of his feudatories, the Pallavarāyar of of Kārigaikuḷattūr saved Rāja Rāja's children in the harem of Āyirattaḷi and also his treasures.

Rāja Rāja II and Kulottunga III (1178-1223) further enhanced the architectural glory of Āyirattaḷi, by building two of the most outstanding Coḷa temples. Rāja Rāja II constructed a temple to the northwest of the city, which was called after him *Rajarajesvaram* (now unfortunately corrupted beyond recognition into Dārāsuram), and Kulottunga the *Kampaharesvaram* at Tirubhuvanam, some miles to the north-east.

The invasion of the Coḷa country by Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in 1216-17 was a blow to Coḷa power. When Sundra occupied Āyirattaḷi, he summoned Kulottunga III as a suppliant for favour, and restored him his crown. In the words of his longer *Prasasti*[34] Sundara Pāṇḍya, who "in all grandeur, that cannot be described in song, performed his *virabhisekham* in the coronation hall (*abhisekha mantapa*) of the Vaḷavan (Coḷa) in Āyirattaḷi, the golden enclosure of which touched the solar regions, and spread his fame, was seated in all grace, along with Ulagamuḷuduyāḷ, his queen, on the *virasimhasanam*, with gracefully rising fly-whisks on either side, worshipped and attended by the royal women wearing glittering ornaments".

Māṛavarman Sundra Pāṇḍya I knew that Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram, was in the 13th century the hub of Coḷa political power, and that he had only to strike at it to bring about the fall of the empire. Fifteen years later (about 1230-31) Sundara again invaded the Coḷa country, again captured Āyirattaḷi and performed a *Vijayabhisekham* within the Coḷa palace.

With the fall of the Coḷa kingdom and its annexation to the Pāṇḍya empire by about A. D. 1258 the glory of Āyirattaḷi faded. An undated Munnūr record[35], dated in the reign of Rāja Rāja III (1216-1257), registers a gift of land after purchase by an oilmonger from Muḍikoṇḍṣolapuram for the formation of a new street. This is perhaps an indication of merchants emigrating from Āyirattali during the reign of Rāja Rāja III when the Coḷa power was tottering.

The poet Sekkiḷār [36] always refers to Paḷaiyāṛu as the "glorious city", and in one place he describes it as the city of

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34. cf. *P. S. I.* 256, 290, & 323 and *S. I. I.* V 431; VI 372 & VIII 394.
35. *ARE* 56 of 1919.
36. Author of the Periyapuranam; a contemporary of Kutottunga II *Periyapuranam* : *Amarnitinayanarpuranam* V I.

hoary renown in the Cola country watered by the Kāverī, nestling amidst tall and beauteous groves fragrant with flowers, with its broad streets well paved for chariots to play. To the service of its innumerable temples were pressed all the contemporary learning and arts of the Tamil country. Place names of hamlets all round the site of this old city, such as *Manappadaividu*, *Puduppadai vidu*, *Ariyappadaividu* and *Pambappadaivid*[37] are reminiscent of the strength and extnt of the fortifications that guarded the city. The city assembly included smaller townships (*ura* and *mangalams*) and merchant guilds. The Pallavas and Colas associated the city with their royal names—*Nandipuram*, *Avaninarayanapuram*, *Mudikondasolapuram* *Ahavamallakulakalapuram* and *Minavanaivenkundasolapuram* a proud record indeed. Its natural situation on the banks of an old branch of the Kāverī gave it the name *Palaiyarai*. Its wealth of temples earned for it the appellation *Ayirattali*. The city with all its wealth and magnificence, and even its memory have disappeared into the abyss of time. A straggling village, about four miles to the south of Kumbakonam, in the midst of hamlets, one of which still preserves the name of *Solamaligai*, and a few temples in different stages of decay, which even in their desolation are remarkable for the outstanding style of their architecture, are all that stand to-day to tell the tale of the vanished glory of an imperial city.

SOME NEWLY DISCOVERED COPPER AND STONE INSCRIPTIONS IN MAHĀKOSALA

BY

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For the Benares Session of the Oriental Conference, I contributed a paper on the Lodhiā plates of Mahasivagupta Bālārjuna of Sripura (Mahākosala). Lodhiā is a village with relics of olden days in the Sarangarh State, where these plates—three in number with seal and ring intact, were discovered in July 1942. Being dated in the 57 regnal year of the king—the donor, and having been recorded in the box-headed script, this find was hailed with joy as a very important one. As is well known this ruler of Mahakosala (Mahāsivagupta) was the son of *vasala*, the daughter of the Maukhari ruler Suryavarman of मगधाधिप line, who felt himself much honoured by bestowing her daughter upon king Harshadeva—the supreme lord of eastern region (प्राक्-परमेश्वर). Harshdeva's father was Chandragupta of Somavaṃśa.

37. *Padaividu*—is a Tamil expression meaning a garrison.

Since then, (1942), the Mahākosala Historical Society has been able to bring to light some more copper and stone inscriptions in the Sarangarh State and in the Bilaspur and Raipur districts, which have greatly added to our knowledge of ancient history of Mahākosala.

I briefly describe them here. In order of the dates of their find, they stand as shown below :—

(*i*) Kauwālāl plates of Mahāsudevarāja issued from *Sripura* and not Sarabhapura like other charters of the same king.

(*ii*) Daikoni copper plates of Chedi era 890.

(*iii*) Bilaigarh plates of Prithvideva II dated 896 Chedi era.

(*iv*) Bardula plates of the 9th regnal year of Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna of Sripura.

(*v*) Koni temple stone inscription of Chedi year 900.

(*i*) Kauwātal (कौवाताल) is a village in the Sarangarh State adjoining the village of Thakurdiyā, where a few years ago, a set of three plates with ring and seal was found through the instrumentality of a member of the Mahākosala Historical Society. In 1944 another member of the same society rescued from a possesser, another set of copper plates which is named as the *Kauwatal* plates of Mahāsudevaraja. This charter was issued from *Sripura*, and not from Sarabhapura as is the case with other two or three charters of the same king. The Thakurdiya plates were the first find giving *Sripura*, as the place of issue of the charter by Mahā Pravararāja belonging to the Sarabhapur family, whose name was quite unknown uptill the discovery of these plates. Our present charter is very interesting for having been issued from *Sripura* and for the mention of the name of the donor's father महादुर्गराज, and is the 2nd record of the family having *Sripura*, as the place of its issue.

Thus these two records—the Thakurdiya plates and the present Kawwatial plates—brought to light by us, lay before scholars inscriptional *data* towards making a correct and authentic genealogy of the Sharabhapura kings namely :—

श्रीप्रसन्नमात्र (*i*)

श्रीमानमात्र (*ii*)

महाजयराज (*iii*)

महादुर्गराज (*iv*)

महासुदेवराज (*v*) and महाप्रवरराज (*vi*)

I need hardly refer here to my own discovery during my visit to Sirpur (old Sripura of the copper plates) in 1929. of the

damaged Sripura plates and its seal, the legend on which runs as follows:—

'प्रसन्न'-तनयस्यैदं विक्रमाक्रान्त विद्विषः
श्रीमतो जयराजस्य शासनं शत्रु-शासनम् ॥

This proved it beyond doubt that Mahājayarāja's father was प्रसन्न or श्रीप्रसन्नमात्र whose gold-polished silver coin[1] our Society possesses. It was again in the share of researches led by us to have recovered two circular silver coins of श्रीप्रसन्नमात्र with legend in box-headed script, within Mahākosala area.

Although our Society has not yet been successful in ascertaining the location of '*Sarabhapura*',[2] through our attempt a copper charter of an unknown king, Mahārāja Srī Narendra,[3] issued from '*Sarabhapura*', was brought to light which I jointly with Dr. D. C. Sircar of Calcutta University, published in the I. H. G.

Apart from these, what is of most outstanding importance in our new discovery of "*Kauwatal*" plates is the clear mention of इन्द्रबलराज as Mahāsamant and दूतक and the simultaneous mention of Sripura, from which place the charter was issued as stated elsewhere. This proves beyond doubt that महासुदेवराज and इन्द्रबलराज were contemporaries. This fact will be most useful in fixing the dates of Sarabhapura kings. I may point out here that महासामन्त इन्द्रबलराज was the grandfather of महाशिवतीवरराज of श्रीपुर who belonged to पाण्डुवंश vide his Rajim and Baloda plates (C. P. Inscriptions by R. B. Dr. Hiralal).

(*ii*) The 3rd copper plate inscription of महाशिवबालार्जुन came from a village named बरदूला in the Sarangarh State. It was in this state that we came across the 2nd inscription—the Lodhiā plates referred to above. The 1st inscription of this king was discovered at *Mallar* or Malar in the Bilaspur district, which was published in the Epi. Ind, Vol. XXIII Part IV, p. 124-34 No. 18.

The Bardula plates mention a विषय (district) called कोशीर-नन्दपुर to which the donated village वटपद्रक, was attached. In the Chandrapur tract of Bilaspur district there is an old village named कोशीर with relics of the past, which can safely be identified with कोशीर-नन्दपुर of the record. This कोशीर is within 6 miles from the find-spot (Bardula village) of this charter. We can take this बरदूला to be the donated village वटपद्रक of the plates.

(*iii*) Daikoni plates of Chedi era 890 refer to a donation of a village made by Prithvideva II to a Brahman on 15th of Kartika

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1. Ref.—my paper—A silver coin of king Prasannamatra, the grand-father of king Mahasudevaraja of Sarabhapur. I. H. Q. Vol. IX—1933, p. 594-95.
2. My paper 'Ancient Sarabhapura' I. H. Q. XV. 1939, p. 475-476.
3. Pipardula copper plate inscription of King Narendra I. H. Q. for June 1943.

when there was an eclipse[1] of the moon that year. Language Sanskrit in Nagari characters.

The circular seal has a *four-armed* figure of Lakshmi who is seated cross-legged on an expanded lily and is flanked by two elephants one on either side. It has 18 slokas and ends with संवत् ८६० मार्ग वदि 99 रवौ

(*iv*) The Bilaigarh plates also belong to पृथ्वीदेव II and bears the date 896. The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet—nagari. I quote some '*slokas*' from the text which are of sufficient historical value :—

तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः
श्रीमान्समाहृत समस्त नराधिपश्रीः ।
सर्व्वक्षितीश्वरशिरो विहितांघ्रिसेवः
सेवाभृतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥
पुत्रस्तस्य प्रथितमहिमा सोऽभवत् भूपतीन्द्रः
पृथ्वीदेवो रिपुनृपसिरः श्रेणिदत्तांघ्रिपद्मः
यः श्रीगंगं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रकोटोपमर्दी
क्षिन्ताक्रान्त जलनिधिजलोल्लंघनैकाभ्युपायः

This shows that पृथ्वीदेव II was as great a warrior as he was a bestower of villages and builder of temples.

This charter records the grant of a village named पंडरतलाई in the 'मेवडी' *mandal* or district, to a Brahman when there was an eclipse of the Sun.

(*v*) The Koni temple stone inscription is dated in the year 900 (Chedi era) in the reign of पृथ्वीदेव II.

The following *slokas* in the text refer to geographical names which are of enough interest.

उप्तत कालिङ्गभङ्ग प्रथम गुहरति प्रौढ़ कीर्त्तिप्रतान
षट् विशंभ्यस्तविद्या स्वधिक परिचयः प्रौढ़दोर्दण्डदर्पः ।
प्रोप्सद्भपालरक्षः क्षयकरणमहासिद्धमन्त्रो धरित्र्यां
राजा श्री रत्नदेवक्षिभुवन विदितस्तस्य सूनुर्व्वभूव ॥६॥

× × × × × ×

1. राहुग्रासे रजनितिलके कार्त्तिके पंचदश्यां the character has श्लोक 16th.

खिम्मिडि मण्डल हरत्तलहारि हारि—

कर्त्ताऽथ दण्डपुर दण्डन चण्डबाहुः ।

खिञ्जिङ्ग-भङ्ग चतुरो हरवो ङ्ग-हन्ता

यो दन्तभुक्ति-पतितर्ज्जन दुर्ज्जयश्रीः ॥२६॥

तं वीक्ष्य कोशलपतिर्नृ प रत्नदेवः

सर्व्वैरमात्य गुणराशिभिरभ्युपेतं

सर्व्वाधिकारपदमद्वयमस्य दत्वा

निष्कण्टकं भुवि चकार चिराय सम्सम् ॥२३॥

'खिम्मिडि' is the present day खिमण्डी in Ganjam we know तलहारि मण्डल from another stone inscription 'दण्डपुर' is to be identified, so also 'दन्त भुक्ति' 'खिञ्जिङ्ग' may be खिञ्जली in the Bond State, Orissa. '*Harwonga*' is a new name about which we have no information.

Ratnadeva II (sloka 9) was pleased to bestow '*all powers*' upon one of his chief ministers. The sloka 26th quoted above refer to the exploit of that minister.

A village by name सलोणी was bestowed upon a Brahman by पृथ्वीदेव II when there was a solar eclipse. To quote the text:—

राहुमुखस्थे भानोः पृथ्वीदेवेन शासनीकृत्य

एष सलोणी ग्रामःपुरुषोत्तमधीभृते दत्तः ॥

Sloka No. 35 of the text.

Two पंचायतन सदन—one of Lord Siva and the other of Lord Vishnu—were constructed at Koni.

त्रिभुवन तमस्तोमविध्वंशहेतोः

शम्भोः पञ्चायतन सदनं कारितं चाहरूपं ।

Sloka 32.

Again

इदमयि पंचायतनं कमलादयितस्य कारितं तैन

यश्चक्रे निजभूपैरवनितल द्वारकाद्वैतम् ॥३३॥

There are altogether 38 slokas in the text.

SEX IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN ART

(With special reference to Bihar.)

BY

LAKSHMAN JHA

It is unfortunate that in spite of his ceaseless efforts Man has not been able to strike a balance between the Sexes in life as in Art. In as much as Art is the representation of life, it has ever been an arena of conflict between the sexes. When sage Nārada in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[1] declares "Verily the Son is the light and daughter, miseray itself" (Jyotirha putraḥ Kṛpaṇaṁ ha duhitā) he places man above women though he might be said to have certain justification based on the conditions of life prevalent then. Without going into the metaphysical aspect of the question, it may be said that, judged by the modern ethical conceptions of life-values, the author of the statement quoted above was putting a premium on his sex. The constant racial conflicts, however, required persons having more than ordinary physical strength which has generally been the monopoly of male sex and that makes man declare himself as superior to women. The woman was inferior to man because she could not fight side by side with him with the enemy ; she was a source of trouble because very often conflict arose for her. When these racial conflicts subsided and people got settled on land, they began giving more time to thinking which paved the way for the different philosophical theories and the schools based on them. Woman again creates difficulty for man. She invades his mental realm and disturbes his pursuits after knowledge, the way out of all human miseries. He is disgusted and declares her existence itself as useless[2]. The further this search for knowledge leading to the final cessation of sorrows of life advances, the greater becomes the disgust and man declares: "What is a woman ? Her breasts are nothing but lumps of flesh which have been compared to pitchers of gold ; her face that is compared to the moon is nothing but the abode of cough ; what about her thighs said to vie with the trunks of big elephants ? Thighs covered over with urine flowing down from the *sustem* ? The whole sight of her is disgusting but the poets have elevated her out of proportions"[3]. Darker picture of woman would be difficult to draw. That is how Brahmanic literature depicts sex up to the seventh century A. D.

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1. Aitareya Brahmany (Hariscandropakhyanam.)
2. Pancatantram (Mitrabhedah.)
3. Vairagyasatakam (Bhartrhari) Sloka 19.

The Buddhist literature presents no better picture, for life which is represented in Art, literary or plastic, had been the same for the Brahman and the Buddhist. In the Suttapiṭaka we have the story of Mahāpajāpatī Gautamī's conversion to Buddhism. Gautamī, the sister of Buddha's mother, wanted to enter Samgha but Buddha said no because she was a woman. When Ānanda insisted on her being admitted, Buddha put forward certain conditions, very hard and very humiliating, for the entry into Samgha of Gautamī and other women. Buddha was sorrry to have allowed women to enter the Samgha and he prophesied to Ānanda that the Dhamma he propounded was to have lasted long but the entry of women into the Samgha would obstruct the practice of Brahmacarya, the basis of the Dhamma, and decay would come in after five hundred years.

The literary productions, Brahmanic or Buddhist, up to the seventh century as well as the plastic art of which very few examples of sex have been so far available, picture life as trying to escape sex. This attempt for escaping sex is the moving spirit behind all art up to the seventh century A. D. This is then the background against which we have to view sex in the medieval Indian Art. In the ancient and early medieval days they denounced 'woman'. There is reason for it. Man's knowledge had not sufficiently advanced and he had no easy methods to earn his livelihood. Economic conditions were hard because the means of production was meagre and exploitation of the weak by the strong was rampant. Very much like the poor worker of to-day, he had therefore to engage himself in almost ceaseless efforts for food, clothing and housing. He had naturally no time for sexual indulgence. Not only that, he experienced certain disturbances because of his attraction for woman and he denounced her.

Now, why this denunciation of woman? Surely Man's lack of knowledge of woman's faculties other than that of satisfying his sexual desires was the cause. Modern age has discovered these other faculties and in all the advanced countries efforts are taken for their utilization for social uplift.

Before we proceed to consider sex in Indian Art, literary and plastic, during the period extending over six centuries (800 A.D.—1,400 A. D.) we would better take an account of the social conditions of the age. People were well settled with agriculture as the main source of their livelihood. There was no paramount power in India. The whole country was divided into numerous kingdoms often fighting and supplanting each other. The aristocracy made up of the wealty individuals of the three dvijātis—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaisya—had lost all hold over the administration of the land and had given up all hope of regaining the same. They had amassed vast wealth which provided facilities for luxury. The people in general had reached the depth of poverty and having completely lost confidence in themselves

offered themselves to the petty Rajas as the different aristocrats holding each a tract of land corresponding to a district or a sub-division of to-day, called themselves. These aristocrats utilized these poor folk driven to desperation by the absence of any secure means to keep their body and soul together for fighting their battles and providing things for their enjoyment of an indulgent life. Whenever free from battles the Raja would retire to his court and would give himself up to a life of enjoyment, attended by dancers,—male and female, mostly female-songstres and a host of others who would have no business in a place where problems of life are taken seriously. The Raja was the centre of all activities. He had to be satisfied. His wishes must be fulfilled. And his wishes were many and unreasonable, at times revolting. Sex being one of the primary instincts in living beings came in most often for the Raja's indulgence. In the court, songs must be such as to create sexual excitement in the Raja ; if a temple is to be erected, it must have sculptures in relief or images that create sexual passion in him. The Raja had no worries about his food and cloth and house which were all there for him in abundance. And the next thing after this he yearned tor was sex. While he was making sex an ideal of kingship in fhe north Bihar, in the south the Buddhist monasteries provided the breeding grounds for sexual preachings and practices that speak boldly of a society on the verge of ruin.

Buddha's prophecy came true, though late. The later Buddhists ceased to be inspired by the noble life of Buddha. Life ceased to hold an ideal for them—the ideal of self-sacrifice for the service of the suffering beings. The duḥkham (Misery) was there—rather in larger amount than in previous ages—but the noble eight-fold paths were no more. They were replaced by another path, the surest—Vajrayāna—as they claimed and the easiest, Sahajayāna, as they proclaimed. This new path, the salvation through 'Sādhanas' practices in sexual indulgence, was in fact the rationalization of the Buddhist monks uncontrollable sexual behaviour. They would have proved to be great men indeed if not great as Buddhists if they had declared the old path of Buddha either as wrong or unsuited to the times they lived in and had taken to the house-holder's life. But that required boldness and character which very things they lacked. The stream of life flowed through a thousand channells. It had lost its strength and fixity. Human personality, wavering and divided, lost its vitality and groped in the dark. It was tormented by a thousand rival inclinations. In this overwhelming uncertainty, he clings to sex which being instinctive provided the easiest path forward to where no body knew ; though 'to salvation' they claimed, but out of ignorance or hypocrisy is yet to be ascertained.

"The word 'Vajrayāna' means the vehicle of obtaining Nirvāna through the medium of vajra which is another name for Sunya, so called because it is a thing which cannot be

destroyed, cannot be cut, cannot be burnt. The position of the priests, the Gurus, and Vajrāchryyas in the Vajrayana thus became very much magnified, because they invented other methods for the mass to attain an easy salvation. The mass could not master the sacred writings and could net even recite them. The Dhāraṇīs which were mostly meaningless strings of words, were composed for them and the recitation of these Dhāraṇīs promised them great merit. These Dhāraṇīs were later on shortened into equally unintelligible mantras and vijamantras. Individual mantras were assigned to individual deities who were held to take their origin from the vijamantras or mystic syllables. How the deities originated from particular syllables is a matter for independent investigation. Those votaries who could not worship their Gods in accordance with the prescribed procedure (Sādhana) were promised by the Gurus perfection only through the muttering of the mantras. Thus the position of the Gurus becamc paramount and as they showed the easy way or the adamantine path for Nirvāṇa they were called vijracāryyas.

— "It was an evil day for Mahāyāna when Asaṅga in the sixth century went up to heaven and brought the Tantras down to earth and introduced the much-expected aid of gods, the want of which was keenly felt,-into the religion of the Mahāyanists of his time; they had already lost faith in their own exertions and required the help of the gods for their salvation, nay more, they even stooped so low as to crave for ordinary worldly perfections (Siddhis) and were not satisfied if they could not secure them."[4]

These Sādhanas were nothing but sexual practices in different forms. Even if we assume that they were union of male and female in different amorous poses as pictured in mind rather than actual practices in sexual indulgence yet they show unmistakably how much of their time, energy and attention, they devoted to thinking of man and woman as the two agents of sexual enjoyment. But the Sādhanas are not gone from our land and if present can give an indication of what existed in the past, it can be assertrd that these were only confined to mental gymnastics as the Sādhakās claimed them to be but which were in fact the mental luxury of a sexually starved human being. There have been Tāntrikas in the present age even up to a few years ago.—I do not know if there exists any such even to-day—who have practised the Sādhanā on the persons of females. The five M's (Pañcamakāras—Maithuna, Matsya, Madya etc.) which they declaredly adopted for their salvation include sexual intercourse as the chief means of attainment of the Good and the other 'makāras' are mere accessories for the materialization of the great one, the Maithuna.

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4. Benoytosh Bhattacheryya, M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' (Oxford University Press 1924, p. p. XVII-XVIII.)

The Buddhists in the four centuries that preceded the Muslim invasion of the country which led to the destruction of their monastries—Nālandā etc.—and their extinction in the land as a sect, developed a very elaborate process providing avenues for their sexual inclinations. Sex was now an obsession to them. They could think of nothing else. Therefore the whole energy was spent in thinking out various ways of indulgence and carrying them into practice. These processes were later on collected together and formed a book 'Sādhanamālā'. "The earliest manuscript of the 'Sādhanamālā' belong to the year A. D. 1167, and many of the latter developments have been incorporated in the work, entitled Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha by Pandita Amṛtānanda[5]" of Nepal in the last century.

While the Buddhists called their new path to salvation the 'Vajrayāna' or the 'Sahajayāna' the Brāhmaṇas gave it the name 'Tantravāda' round which developed a huge literature dating as late as the last century. As regards practices there was no difference between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas. The same 'union of male and female energy'[6] was here in Tantravāda as in the Vajrayāna. The Tāntrikas called their sect the Guhyasamāja ; "in working it out theories are indulged in and practices enjoined, which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of, and compared to which the worst specimen of Holi-well Street literature of the last century would appear absolutely pure".[7]

We have so far dealt with the literary side of the picture,. Let us have a view of the sculptures—in stone, bronze and ivory—of the period (800 A. D. to 1200 A. D.). Even here we have to divide our materials into the Buddhistic and the Brahmanical. The Brāhmaṇas who made Siva-Pārvatī as the vehicle of the expression of their sex in Art were more generous towards their highest deity, Viṣṇu than the Buddhists who dragged Bhddha himself down on the earth to pose in a thousand abject ways to give food to their sexual obsessions. Buddha in this new role they called 'Vajradhara' the holder of the Vajrayāna, the surest way and united him with a female, his Sakti as the Vajrayānists call her and named her 'Prajnāpāramitā. Several images in stone, bronze and ivory as well as paintings and drawings have been discovered in Nepal where Buddha (Vajradhara) is shown in an embrace with his Sakti (Prajnāpāramitra). This poss they call Samputayoga[8]. It was strictly enjoned in the

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5. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' (Oxford University Press 1924, p. II.)

6. Haraprasada Sastri M. A. 'Introduction to Modern Buddhism' p. 10.

7. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra 'Sanskrit Buddhist Literature' p. 261.

8. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' Plate VI (a). (b) Plate IX (c). (d). (e).

Sādhanamālā to conceive of the female partner in the Samputa-yoga as a young woman of the most exquisite beauty. They always insisted on her being a divyakumārī[9] (the bright maid), dviraṣṭavarṣākṛtith nānālaṅkāradh arā[10] (aged sixteen, twice eight, and decked with numerous ornamen ts), Saumyā[11] (the attractive and submissive), navayauvanavatī[12] (in the beginning of her youth) and navayauvanā sṛṅgārararasā[13] (in the beginning of her youth and full of sexual exube rance). That came to be the ideal of the followers of Buddha in the centuries after the death of Harṣa and they acheived it. Man is nowhere more successful than in degradation and his efforts more effective than in hypocrisy.

Why should the Brāhmaṇas choose 'Sivapārvatī' for the expression of their sexual inclinations ? Viṣṇu, their highest deity, is saved the indignities. Viṣṇu is found in hundreds of images of the period with his consort Lakṣmī either as Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa or as 'Seṣaśāyī, and even his images have been found at several places where he stands with his four arms bearing Saṇkha (Conch), Cakra (wheel), Gadā and Padma (lotus) with female attendants having chamars in their hands. No where is he presented in the amorous pose. Even Durgā, Sarasvatī, Kālī and othe female deities have been conceived of without amour. And though Bhairava and Tāṇḍava aspects of Maheśa are well known, the most popular form of the combination of Siva and Pārvatī is that in which Siva is seated with Pārvatī on his lap. Such images are found in all parts of the eastern provinces."[14] The medieval Indian Art presents certain difficulties in its proper understanding ; while pictures in literature have their counterparts in the plastic art eg. Sculpture, there are some anomalies one of which is the absence in sculpture of Rādhākṛṣṇa in amsor so lavishly pictured by Jayadeva (1100 A. D.) in his Gītagovindam and Vidyapati (1400 A. D.) in his songs. The Siva-Pārvatī theme in sculpture plays as it were the counterpart of Rādhākṛṣṇa in literature though Matsyapurāṇa (Adhyāya 260, 12-19) gives a detailed prescription for the carving of the image of Siva-Pārvatī in amour.

"Caturbhujam dvibāhum vā Jaṭabhārendubhūṣitam
Locanatrayasaṁyuktamumai kaskandhapāṇinam
Dakṣiṇenotpalṁ śūlaṁ vāme kucabhare karam

9. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' p. 106.
10. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' p. 108.
11. Binoytosh Bhattachrayya M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' p. 109.
12. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. 'Buddhist Iconography' p. 110.
13. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. Buddhist Iconography' p. 111.
14. R. D. Banerji, M., A. 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Soulptures' p. 111.

Supratistham suveṣam ca tathārdhendukṛtāsanam
Vāme tu samsthitā devi tasyoram bāhuguhitah.
Sabalikā-kṛṇabatīlalāṭalilkojjvalā
Maṇikuṇḍalas amyuktā karnikābharanā kvacit.
Hāra-keyūrabahulā haravaktrāvalokinī
Vāmanisam devadevasya esperśaṇtililayā tatah
Dakṣinant bahih kṛtvā bāhum dakṣi-ṇatastathā
Skndhe vā dakṣine kukṣau spṛśanty angulijaih kvacit
Vāme tu darpanandadyadutplam vā suśobhanam."[15]

The reason of Siva having been chosen as the medium of expression of the sexual aspect (the predominant aspect in those days) of the people is deeper than we may ordinarily take it to be. It may be seen far-fetched, but still we have to associate it with the non-Aryan origin of the deity so long, of course, as another more convincing explanation is not forth-coming. If we take into account certain customs in our society of to-day especially in North Behar such as playing sexual pranks with persons dressed as Siva and Pārvatī on the new years day (Vaiśākha') and various descriptions of Siva's associates (Gaṇas, Bhūtas, Pretas) in the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa, many things connected with Siva may be traced back to their origin in the non-Aryan society of pre-historic age. Nay, many of the descriptions of Siva's gaṇas bring to the reader's mind the non-Aryan races in hill-tracts of India of to-day. If Hanūmān, Bāli, Sugrīva and others described as monkeys and other animals in the Rāmāyaṇa can be taken for the non-Aryans who are given animal forms in the descriptions by the Aryans because of their dislike of them (the non-Aryans), we may well identify these associates of Siva with the kinsmen of his original worshippers, the non-Aryans. Perhaps the Brāhmaṇas were aware of the indignities associated with unrestrained sexual enjoyment and hence they chose Siva, the non-Aryan deity for the purpose and spared their own deities. This point may be looked upon as refuted by the treatment of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in the medieval literatures but the very absence of the motif in sculpturs may be cited in support of it. Siva was and is still held in high esteem, no doubt, but when man is out to rationalize what he takes to be the undesirable in him, he is sure to associate it with whatever be held high and be as far as possible something other than what he may call his own.

The late Prof. Rakhal Das Banerji in his monograph 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculptures'[16] has given reproductions

15. R. D. Banerji, M. A. 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculptures' p. 112.

16. R. D. Banerji, M.A., 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture' Plate LV (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) Plate LIV (*d*).

of four images of Siva-Pārvatī from different parts of Bengal and Behar. In these images, Siva-Pārvatī have been conceived of strictly in accordance with the prescription of Matsyapurāṇa quoted above, Pārvātī is seated on the left lap of Siva; Siva's left hand is touching her left breast from behind and his right hand is on her chin. Except in very minor details the description applies to all the four images. They are all carved out of black Gaya stone.

Four images of the same deities are exhibited in Patna Museum gallery of sculptures. In the one from Monghyr, Pārvatī is seated on the left lap of Siva as in images referred to above; her right foot is placed on the lion below; Siva's right foot is placed on the back of the Nandī; his left hand is touching Pārvatī's left breast from behind; his right hand touches her chin; Pārvatī encircles Siva's neck with her right hand; Siva holds a Gadā in one of his right hand. The three other images—one of them comes from Saran and the remaining two from certain other places (not mentioned on the label) in Bihar—also have Siva-Pārvatī as deities in the same pose as described just above. The images are carved out of black Gaya stone. An examination of these sculptural remains leads one to the conclusion that deterioration had come in not only with regard to the theme and approach to it but also with regard to the technique of Art so much so that neither in the materials selected nor in finish the artist of medieval India approaches the standard established by his predecessors in the days of the Mauryas or even in the days of the Guptas.

We have reproductions of two images of Siva-Pārvatī given by Sri T. A. Gopinath Rao in his "Hindu Iconography". In one[17] of the images (in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere) all the three deities of Hindu Trinity (Hari-hara-Pitāmaha) are represented, Siva and Pārvatī are again here in the same pose as in images discussed above. In the remaining image[18] from Bagli, Bellary district in the south, Siva and Pārvatī have been depicted in the same way as above with slight variations. Both these images are in stone with finish the same as in those dealt with above.

It is to be borne in mind that while the technique of the sculptural art in the North has been discussed in the Purāṇas especially the Matsyapurāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa, that in the south has been treated in quite another set of books like the Purāṇas called the Āgamas. They are "a special class of works

17. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., Plate LXXIV Vol. I 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' face, p. 253 Part I.

18. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. M.A., Plate LXXIV 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' Vol. II, Part I. p. 135.

inculcating the mystical worship of Siva and Sakti like the tantras. The traditional definition of the Āgamas is

Āgataṁ pañcavaktrāttu gataṁ ca girijānane
Matañca vāsudevasya tasmādāgamucyate ||

They are encyclopaedic works like the Purāṇas whose ultimate object is also to discuss the worship of the triad. The Purāṇas, however, deal with all the three deities forming the holy Trinity, although Viṣṇu has received preference and to his worship fourteen of the Purāṇas are devoted. The Āgamas on the other hand deal mostly with Siva. Obviously they are intended to represent the Purāṇas of South India. These Āgamas of Dāksṇātya are in fact more extensive than the Purāṇas of Āryāvarta. There are as many as twenty-eight recognised Āgamas, while the number of the great Purāṇas is not more than eighteen or nineteen'.[19]

So far we have dealt with the religious theme of the Art only, we would now better have a look at the secular aspect of it too. Though all arts except very few of course in medieval India centered round the temple as in medieval Europe they did round the church, the secular aspect of life was not altogether neglected. The door-frames of temples of the period mostly dedicated to Siva, the number of those dedicated to Viṣṇu and other deities of the Hindu Pantheon coming next, are full of sculptures in relief depicting the Life in general. And as sex was upper-most in the mind of those aristrocats that financed the constructing of these temples, the artist devoted more space to representation of the sexual aspect of life than to others. As in literature of the period so here too the artist has given up all restraint and exhibited Man in his perfectly brutish nackedness. The door-frame (1000 A. D.) from Belwa, Saran, kept in the Patna Museum has two representations of 'man-woman' in embrace on either sides of the frame. So far as technique of the artist is concerned, they are admirably finished and would receive a thousand applauses from a critic of the school that propagates 'Art for Art's sake'. But Man through the long course of his history has seen the disastrous results of such an absence of all control over sexual exuberance as depicted in the Saran door-frame sculptures and has well banned its public exhibition; for sex, though one of the vital things in life, is not the whole of it; one can for instance live without a companion of the opposite sex but none has ever lived without food. He has to look to this great problem of food that has defied human endeavours so far. Life, therefore, must have an ideal where sex is not eschewed altogether—that is, however, not possible even—but is subordinated to the supreme problem of life, Food which means directly the preservation of our race.

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19. P. K. Acharya, M.A., P.Hd., D. Lt., I.E.S., 'Indian Architecture' Allahabad, 1927, p. 23.

The two sculptures in relief on the Saran door-frame discussed just above are matched by another set of two representations of 'man-woman' in embrace in relief on a door-frame (black Gaya stone) lying in ruins of Siva's and Viṣṇu's temples at Bhagawanpur in the district of Darbhanga. The huge sculptural remains here have not been so far noticed in the journal of any learned society. The theme and the finish as well as the material are all surprisingly similar to those in the Saran door-frame sculptures. According to an inscription (Om Sri Malladevasya..) on the pedestal of the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa image, the sculptures may be assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century A. D. The inscription mention Malladeva who was the son of Nānyadeva who came to Mithilā by the close of the eleventh century A. D. and established his rule there. Malladeva's elder brother Ṣangadeva ruled from 1134 A. D. to 1148 A. D. Malladeva must have therefore flourished in the first half of the twelfth century. The script of the inscription is of the north-eastern variety of the medieval Nagarī, the precursor of modern mithilākṣara and the Bengali script. The script also thus points to the date of the inscription and hence of the image being the twelfth century. This Malladeva is described as an ideal hero in the Yuddhavīrakathā which forms a chapter of Puruṣaparīkṣā by Vidyāpati who flourished in the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century.

The sculptural remains having sex as their motif have a marvellous counterpart in the songs of Vidyāpati. He has been as unrestrained in his treatment of the theme as the sculptors of Siva-Pārvatī images and the Saran and Darbhanga (Bhagwanpore) door-frame reliefs of 'man-woman' in embrace. The love-songs of Vidyāpati give pictures exactly similar to those given in the sculptures referred to. The detailed description of woman in a thousand amorous poses in a language at once sweet and intelligible to even the man in the street is well matched with the exquisite care and delicacy and the masterly finish of the medieval plastic art. But behind all this display of gaity, there was that Life's eternal possession, the misery wrought by poverty which found expression now and then in the artistic creations of the age. The 'mother and child' in relief on the Saran and Darbhanga door-frames side by side with the 'man-woman' reliefs and the last song of Vidyāpati (Prārthanās and Nàcārīs) as against his love songs speak clearly of the hold the Misery had over the people whose efforts to hide it behind sexual festivities failed and Life's pathos gained view of the discerning mind.

EASTERN EXPANSION OF GURJJARA DOMINIONS

BY

ADRIS H. BANERJI.

The purpose of this contribution, is to discuss the new light that has been thrown, on one of the most interesting periods of Indian history, by the discoveries of certain votive records at Nālandā. The extension of Gurjjara dominions in eastern India, which has been made possible by the publication of Dr. H. Sastri's '*Epigraphic Materials in Nalanda*'. It would however be in the interests of the very point to go into the history of Gurjjara empire with greater detail. So few people realise that, Harsha was not after all the last Hindu emperor of northern India, and within few centuries, northern India was privileged to witness a spectacle, which probably it had not seen, since the Mauryan legions left the north Indian marches unguarded, and allowed the Bactrian Greeks to occupy Gandhāra and the Punjab. These were the Gurjjaras—better known to the Indian historians as Gurjjara-Pratihāras whose descendants possibly still survive as Gujars and Padihars in the Punjab, and U. P. They were probably barbarians, of Hunic origin, were converted and became zealous supporters of decadent Hinduism. Throughout the ninth, tenth and possibly a part of eleventh centuries of the christian era, they were one of the most dominant powers in the whole of northern India. Their valour and their organisation was spoken of in respectful terms by the Arab historian and travellers. As long as their cavalry was strong enough, and did not degenerate into that rabble that faced the Turki invaders of Ghazni and Ghor, quite able to fight amongst themselves and to be immortalised in vainglorious terms by paid poets and bards, but unable to perform the most sacred duty that falls upon man—to defend his hearth and home against foreign invaders, so long the proud crescent of the Caliphs, victorious in every land from Granada to the Indus; and from Gibraltar to the portions of Mongolia, did not cross the Multan frontier, in which city the famous temple of Sun, was maintained as a hostage against any attacks by the *Kafir* army. The Rāshṭrakuṭas of Mānyakheṭā might seek their alliance, the Pālas in Bengal may repeatedly attempt to curb the haughty upstart of Mohodaya; Chakrāyudha might have run like a shuttle between Gauḍa and Kanauj; the valour and power, of these Hinduised barbarians, were appreciated by the only first class military power in the world and were respected. Then, in natural course, decay set in, the qualities that made possible the greatness in heyday of their glory, in spite of the mortal enmity with two other first class powers—the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakuṭas, decayed—and with it vanished the glories of Kanauj. It was sacked by Mahmud, and in the place vacated

by them, the Chāhamānas, the Paramāras, Haihayas, Chāndellas, Gāhadvālas and Senas led a wild ghost dance, to their hearts content. That was an age of decay and decomposition. Even then the name was respected so that the Gāhadvālas proclaimed in their records :—*Asid=asita-dyuti-vamsajata-Kshmapala-malasu-divam-gatasu.....*

Such in short is the history of the achievements and failures of the Gurjjara-Pratiharas. Originally inhabitants of Bhillamal, modern Bhinmal in Jodhpur State; they conquered and were dispossessed; and reconquered the whole of northern India. Driven to the deserts of Gujrat (the province owes its present name to the Gujars, Gurjaratrā=Gurjjararāshṭra=Gujrat) and Rajputana, they overcame their disastrous defeat, wrested practically the whole of northern India, and established their capital at Kanyākubja (*i.e.* Kanauj). They would have ventured into Dakhan too had they not been prevented by the able and redoubtable governors of Rāshṭrakuṭas. The whole history of this dynasty, was taken up by constant war they had to wage against Pālas of Bengal and Rāshṭrakuṭas of Deccan (Dakhan), both of whom were allies and the former aimed at the paramount sovereignty of northern India. (If his court poets can be believed he was annointed by the elders of the Pāñchālas, gladly).[1] In spite of this powerful coalition, these Gurjjaras were able to annex Bihar and portions of Bengal temporarily, if not permanently.

The idea of Gurjjara occupation of north-eastern India, was first mooted by late R. D. Banerji as early as 1915.[2] Naturally however, his findings were based upon meagre epigraphic materials, which was then opposed by the patriotic school of the Bengal historians, led by the late Raibahadur R. Chanda. It was however fated that, he would be able to give the most conclusive proof of his theory, by finding a small votive record of the reign of Mahendrapāla at Paharpur. Since, the epigraphic material has continued to increase, and an evaluation of these is essential for a proper understanding of the extent of the Gurjjara dominions in the height of their power. In fact Mahendrapāla's reign in eastern India was limited, and the surging tide of the Pāla power must have regained these territories. The earliest inscription testifying to the occupation of Magadha is the Bihar Sharif image inscriptions found by late Hirananda Sastri. It reads :—

1. [*Om*]*Samvat 4 Chaitra Sudi 10 Sri-Mahi*(*e*)*n drapaladeva-rajye Saindhavanam.*

2. *dana*(*a*)*rthe Kumarabhandre*(*dre*)*na deyaddh*(*dh*) *armma*[*h*] *Pratipadi*(*i*)*tah.*

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1. Khalimpur Plates of Dharmmapala—A. K. Maitreya, *Gaudalekhamala*, p. 14.

2. Pratihara occupation of Magadha—*Indian Antiquary*. Vol. xlvii, pp. 109ff.

"In the year 4, on the 10th day of the bright half of Chaitra during the reign of Mahendrapāladeva (the image, was set up by Kumārabhandra as a gift of the Saindhavas (the residents of Sindh)."[3]

There is an undated record mentioning Mahendrapāla found by the same scholar at Nālandā.[4] The next record takes us to the ancient Somapura Vihāra founded by Dharmmapāla, the first great monarch of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The find spot is significant, as it shows that peaceful intrusion cannot explain the occurrence of the name of the most powerful monarch of the rival dynasty, in the dominions of the descendants of Gopāla and Dharmmapāla. The inscription reads :—

1. *Om Samvat 5 Sravana Dine 7*
2. *Sri Mahendra-Pala-deva-rajye*
3. *Bhichhu (kshu) Ajaya-garbhena Buddha-*
4. *Bhattarakana pradatta(h) sta-*
5. *mbho=yam satv-artha-hetoh.*

The year of Mahendrapāla in which this inscription was engraved is somewhat early in his reign, but there can be no doubt about the reading. The figure has much resemblance with the modern Bengali 5 and, therefore, I take that its value is undoubted. The figure for 7 is exactly similar to modern Bengali 7.

"Oṁ Saṁvat 5 on the seventh day of Srāvana during the reign of Mahendrapala the pillar was set up in honour of Buddha-Bhattaraka, for the benefit of all beings by Bhikshu Ajeya-garbha."[5]

The next inscription is found in Gaya district and is dated in the 8th regnal year of the King. It reads :—

1. *Samvat 8 Sri-Mahendrapala rajyabhishe-*
2. *Ka Saudi Kishi putra Sahadevasya.*

"Oṁ the year 8 (from) the coronation of Mahendrapāla. (The gift) of Sahadeva, the son of the Rishi (ṛishi) Saudi (Sauri)."[6]

The next inscription found at Guneriya in the Gaya district reads as follows :—

Text

1. *Samvat 9 Vaisakha.*
2. *Sudi 5 Sr-iGuna.*
3. *Charita Sri-Mahendrapa*
4. *la-deva-rajye deva-dha*
5. *-rmn(o)yam Paramopasaka*
6. *-vantka Haridatta putra Sri(?).....*

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3. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, pp. 105-06.
4. *Ibid*, p. 106.
5. *Ibid*, No. 55, p. 75.
6. *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. p. 3, 64.

"In the year 9 on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, in the reign of the illustrious Mahendrapāla, at the illustrious Gunacharita, the pious gift of Srīpā(? la) son of the merchant Haridatta".[7]

Another image inscription not yet properly edited takes the Gurjjara dominions to the hill tracts of Hazaribagh district. This image supposed to be that of a Tārā was found in the village of Itkhori, and was noticed by late R. D. Banerji and Dr. R. S. Tripathi.[8] Two other inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla are supposed to be in the British Museum of London but they have not been properly edited nor their estampages are available to me now. According to Dr. R. S. Tripathi they are dated in the year six and year two of the king.[9] The greatest proof however is forthcoming from the Dighwa Dubauli grant of Mahendrapala of V. S. 955=898-99 A. D.

The political situation is easy to sum up. The period probably saw the greatest internecine struggle between ambitious dynasties, vainly trying to stem the inevitable establishment of a centralised imperial government, either by the Pālas or by the Gurjjara-Pratihāras; and then struggle between these two ensued for the *rajachakravarttin* ideal. In social matters, a new Hindu society, bereft of the virility that marked it in the precedding epochs, came into being, with heterogeneous ethnic elements composing it. This is quite clear from the racial names mentioned in the pāla epigraphs. The rigidity of the caste system and loss of catholicity probably commenced from this age.

Politically we know that in the earlier part of the 9th century A. D., the Gurjjara-Pratihāras established an extensive empire in northern India. In Bengal Devapāla succeeded Dharmmapāla and in fact the Pāla empire. But, his successors Vigrahapala I and Narayanapāla were not so fortunate; and probably Magadha and northern Bengal the ancient 'Puṇḍravarddhana' were wrested from them by Bhoja or his son Mahendrapala I. The next Pala monarch whose records have been found in Bihar is Rājyapāla. I therefore have no hesitation in agreeing with the view that it was in the reign of Rājyapāla, and not in the time of his son and his successor Gopala II, that the Gurjjara Pratihara empire lost eastern India. According to R. S. Tripathi an echo of the Gauḍa wars of Mahendrapāla is probably to be found in the Chatsu inscription of Guhila where a reference is made to the king of Gauḍa.[10]

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7. *Indian Antiquary*, xlvii, pp. 109-10.
8. *Annual Report of the Patna Museum*, 1920-21, p. 44. *R. D. Banerji's History of Bengal*, Vol. i (3rd edition), p. 231; *Dr. R. S. Tripathi History of Kanauj*, p. 249.
9. See however *Nach richten Von der* Konig lichen Gesschsch aft der wissenschaftun Zu Golsing, etc. 1904, p. r10-11.
10. Epica Indica, Vol. xii, p, 15; verse 23.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE GANGAS OF KALINGA

BY

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1. The Gangas of Kalinga style themselves as Gangeyakula Tilaka or as Ganganam Kulam alankar'sinch, in their various inscriptions. They do not state any details about the origin or the foundation of this Gangeya kula till the 11th century, though the rule of the Ganga dynasty seems to have commenced very early in the sixth century.

2. The larger plates of Codagaṅga[1] (1077-1148) for the first time speak of the origin of the Gangas ruling power. The Gangas claim of lunar descent, and Yayāti is said to be fifth in descent from the moon. Yayāti's son was Turvasu. He had an issue Gangeya, born out of the grace of the Ganges. From his time onwards the line was named Gangeya vamsa. The eighth after him was Citrangada. Eighth after him was Kolahala[2] who built a temple for Hara. After him ruled eighty-one Kings and then Virasimha. He conquered Cola, Pāṇḍya, Konkan, Kerala, Karnāṭal, and Lāṭṭa kingdoms. He had five sons Kamarnava. Danarnava Guṇārnava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta.

3. The brother of Vīrasimha forcibly usurpred the throne. The eldest son of Vīrasimha, Kāmārnava left his ancestral kingdom and with his brothers set out to conquer the earth, and came to the mountain Mahendra. Having there worshipped the God Gokarnesvaraswamin, he obtained the Vrishabha-lanchana through his favour. Assisted by his four brothers, he then conquered, king Bāladitya[3] and took possession of the Kalinga countries. Kamarnava made the city of Jantavūru his capital. Having decorated his younger brother Dānārṇava with necklace (kaṇṭhikā) of loyalty, as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom, he gave to Gunarnava the Ambanadi viṣaya, to Marasimha the Seda mandala, to Vajrahasta the Kantaka vartani. He reigned over the Kalinga countries for 36 years. From him sprang up the rest of the Ganga line.

4. This legendary account of origin is given only in some of Codaganga's inscriptions. In the Korin and the Vizag plates which are found in two sets, one gives a long genealogy and the other a shorter one. The plates which contain the long genealogy give the account of the origin. The shorter genealogy agree

1. Dated A. D. 1112, 1134, 1048.
2. Kendupatnam and Puri plates J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 237.
3. Sometimes read as Saladitya.

with the genealogy given in all the plates of Vajrahasta III (1038-70), the grandfather of Anantavarman. Hence the genealogy which finds credence in the plates of these two rulers should be taken as more authentic, the plates with this shorter account are more helpful than those giving the legendary account of the origin of the dynasty. All the information that the long genealogies give us is that the Gangas thought that they were immigrants into Kalinga, and that the Gangas believed themselves to have been born by the divine grace of the Ganges.

5. It is difficult to identify where Kolahalapura could have been situated. It has been identified with the village of Kolala in Ganjam district, by one Scholar.[1] But to suggest that Kolāhalapura is in Kalinga itself is to deny the evidence of the inscriptions which give us the knowledge that Gangas came to Kalinga and were not indegeneus to the country. Kolahalapur has been more appropriately identified with Kolar in Mysore.[2]

6. Another dynasty which is associated with Kolāhalapura, and which claims such a hoary origin is the western Ganga dynasty. There are three inscriptions which either mention or elaborate such a lengthy descent. Two are those of Ganga Peramandi, a later Western Ganga chief. The first one[3] at the Rumesvara temple at Tattukere (Shimoga dt.) bears a date which corresponds either to A. D. 1079 (Thursday 23rd May) or to A. D. 1082 (Tnursday 19th May). This gives a geneology which varies a little from others. The second is a stone inscription[4] lying in front of the Vira Somesvara temple at Bidare (Hubli Dt.) It gives a long genealogical list of kings of the "Iksvāku vamśāvatāra". Another[5] is that of Nanniya Ganga, d. A. D. 1122. This gives a very elaborate account of kings who were the earliest to rule. The western Gangas belong to the Ikṣvāku race.

7. The son of Hariscandra, the inscription narrates, is Bharata. His queen Vijayamahādevī begot a son after bathing in the waters of the Ganges. He was therefore named Gangādatta. In his line was born Viṣnugopa whose wife was Prithvimahādevī. To them were born the sons, Bhagadatta and Srīdatta. Viṣnugopa gave away to his elder son, Bhagadatta, the kingdom of Kalinga. He later on ruled in peace over that country. Srīdatta was ruling the ancestral kingdom.

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1. R. Subbarao.
2. It is interesting to note that the western Gangas also think of Kolahalapura as their traditional capital Kolahalapura varesvara nandagiri nadha. The banas appear to have this title earlier than the Gangas.
3. E. C. VII Shimogi 10.
4. E. C. VII Shimoga 64.
5. E. C. Nagar 35 Kallurugedda Inscription.

Later in the dynasty was born Padmanābha. He had two sons—Rama and Lakshmana. The ruler of Ujjayanīpura besieged the kingdom of Padmanabha in a dispute for some ornaments. Padmanābha refused to yield but for security sent away his two sons and his maiden daughter Alabbe[1] to a safe place, along with forty-eight chosen Brahmans; when they were going to the South, Padmanabha gave his sons the names of Dadiga and Mādhava. As they were proceeding South they came to Ganga Perur. There they met the great sage Acarya Simhanandi. He was struck by Madhava's strength and made him king of a land which was later called Gangavadi. From the dynasty of Madhava sprang up the Western Ganga line.

8. The two sets of inscriptions—of the Eastern and Western Gangas—have all to be dated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a period when such legendary accounts came into vogue among the several royal dynasties in South India. It is curious to note that in this period the establishment of a fresh kingdom was considered an easy affair to the Heroes of these stories wherever they happened to go.

9. Many attempts have been made to find similarity between these two accounts; at first sight the differences and incongruities are more glaring than the similarities. From the way in which the Western Ganga inscriptions narrate that Visnugopa parcelled his kingdom into two, giving Kalinga to the elder son, it would appear as if Kalinga was part of their imperial dominions. If that was so it is strange that Padmanābha did not send his two sons to Kalinga, where one of their kinsmen was ruling. The division of the kingdom, and the statement that a Western Ganga monarch was the founder of the line of kings at Kalinga are not borne out by the later journey of the Gānga princes into the far south, to places like Ganga-Perur in Cuddapah district and Kalahalapur in the Mysore state. Moreover the genealogies do not agree or cross at any point. Not even one name in the list bears any similarity to those in the other. The Western Gangas belong to the Solar line and are Kānvāyana gotris, the Eastern Gangas belong to the Lunar line and are Atreyagotris. Moreover the Eastern Gangas considered that their original home was somewhere the west of the Mahendra mountain, as it is stated that Kamarnava had to proceed eastwards and came to Mahendragiri. The Western Gangas had in mind for their origin a place somewhere in north India, near enough to be attacked and besieged by the ruler of Ujjain Dadiga and Madhava came into the "South," and travelled south wards to come to Ganga Perur. This disparity in their original abodes, becomes evident in a close scrutiny of the plates.

10. One thing that is common to both the accounts is that the Gangas left their ancestral home. Foreign conquest in the case of the Western Gangas and internal usurpation in the case of the Eastern Gangas drove them both to a new habitation. Another is that the remotely associate themselves with the river Ganges; both the dynasties bear the name Gangas.

11. This name "Gāngeyavamśa" does not occur in ancient Indian literature. The one well known Gāngeya is Bhisma, but he was a lifelong bachelor. But we have in the writings of early Western geographers and travellers a name Gangaridae that is akin and is probably formed out of Ganga.

12. A tribe Gangaridae is mentioned by Diodorus.[1] He gives an account of the information Alexander obtained from Pheglaus an Indian prince. "Beyond this (river called Ganges) were situated the dominions of the Braisio and the Gandaridae, whose king Xandrames had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 4000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Porus assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the Gandaridae was a man of worthless character, and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber."

13. The same writer, who is considered a contemporary of Julius Caesar, gives us to understand that both the tribes Braisioi and Gandaridae together had a king, who was referred to as the man with the worthless character. He names him the king of Gandaridae and was impressed with his military strength. He speaks in another passage of Gandaridae as "the greatest of all-the very many nations of India" against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of their elephants."

14. Quintus Curtins Rufus again speaks of the Gangaridae and the Pharasii whose king "Agrammes kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry besides 2,000 four horsed chariots, and what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of 3,000 elephants."

Here again we are given to understand that both Gangaridae and Pharasii appear to have only one king. But Plutarch speaks of two kings for the Gandaridai and Praissi. They were reported to be waiting for him Praisioi (Alexander, who was then at Hyphasis) with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants.[2]

15. He appears to have taken two kings as ruling over the two tribes (nations ?) and increased the number of forces as if to make it a combination of two equally powerful rulers.

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1. Diodorus XVII—93 McCrindle.
2. Alex 62

16. Strabo (1 century) goes a step further and drops out Gangaridae. He describes Palibothra, and then says that "the people in whose country this city is situated is the most distinguished in all India and is called the Prasii.[1] While describing the course of Ganges he mentions only Palibothra.

17. Pliny the elder, in a chapter on Indian geography in his work Historia Naturalis narrates: "The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea and higher up are the Mandaei and the Malli. The river (Ganges) is never if less deep than twenty paces (100 feet) in the final part of its course which is through the country of the Gangaridaes. The royal city (Regin) of the Calinga is Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horsemen and 700 elephants keep watch and ward".[2] Whatever reading is accepted whether it be "Gangaridum Calingarum Regin" or "Gangaridum Calingarum Regia", the association of Calinga and Gangaridai is common to both. Pliny is one of the writers who speaks of the Calingae and the Gangaridae as one and the same. They had a common capital Parthalis. He then refers to the Prasii also and says that "the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra.[3] He then gives their impressive military figures.

18. Another writer of the middle of 2nd century A. D. is Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy). In his outline of Geography he deals with "India within the Ganges".[4] He speaks of the Prasiske, though he does not place Palibothra at the confluence of Ganges and Son, but far to the south-east and lower down the Ganges. He then deals with the lower part of Ganges and says that "all the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridai with the city Garge, the royal residence. He shows that Gangaridai were in the lower part of the Gangetic region, and that their capital city was Gange at 146—19—15.

19. This city is further referred to by "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea". This is believed to be the work of a Greek merchant of Berenice in Southern Egypt who carried on business with India in the latter part of the first century A. D. He says "there is a river nearly called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market town with the same name as the river Ganges. Through this place are brought Malabathrum and Gangetic spikenamed and pearls and muslins of the finest sorts which are called Gangetic. Having

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1. VI 35-6.
2. Book IV Ch. 22.
3. Bk. VI Ch. 22.
4. P. 172 Mccrindle India Ptolemy.

been a merchant he speaks of the trade of the port, with so much specific reference. The Gangaridae might have been expert weavers of fine muslin cloth, for the export of which their capital and chief part Gange was famous.

20. The information supplied by the Greek writers is that there were two tribes at the time of Alexander. Both were very powerful, and perhaps were under a common king. The Gangaridaeis were in the lower part of the Gangetic delta region. They had a prosperious capital called Gange (given by some as Parthal). They traded in very fine textile material. The author of the Periplus of the Erethrean sea might have himself visited the port of Gange. He associates that par of the country with the export of cotton cloth. He speaks generally of the civilised and prosperous tribe, Gangaridae.

21. Pliny as we have noted introduces the Calingae and joins them with Gangaridae. He treats them as one and the same. Thus he speaks of the Macco-Calingae and Gangaridae-Calingae.

22. The Gangaridae along with Mado Kalingae are supposed to be a part of Calingae. The Gangaridae-Calingae lived at the furthest extremity of the Ganges region, as is indicated by the expression "gens novissima" which he applies to them. But having regard to the imposing army which they had, they could have been hardly confined to the farthest extremity of the Gangetic region—the modern Sundarban region. Their territory must have comprised a considerable portion into the interior portion of the eastern and was part of the Gangetic delta, along the sea coast.

23. Thus the Gangaridae Calingae and Modo Calingae appear to have been two divisions of a larger whole Kalingae. Many of the associations and characteristics of Gangaridae are those of the Kalingas and vice versa. Two instances can be seen here.

24. The textile skill of the Gangaridae went far and wide, as reported by Periplus. He speaks of the "muslins of the finest sort which are called Gangetic" Gangetic is the name which the foreigners used for the cloth of this region, manufactured by the people called Gangaridae. The Arthasastra used the word Kalingam for cloth of a fine variety. So do the Tamil classics. They so intimately connected fine textile workmanship with the Kalingas, that they named the cloth produced in that region after that country. This similarity cannot escape notice, and the inference is evident. The Gangaridae, who are a part of Calingae exported cloth which in India is known as Kalingam and in the foreign lands was known as Gangetic. The people who gave these two names appear to be one and the same.

25. Another feature of the Gangaridae is their impressive elephant force. Quintus Curtius Rufus refers to their elephant

force as "what was the most formidable force of all." This striking association with the elephants is one of the characteristics of Kalinga. The Kalinga country was proverbially famous for its elephants. The inscriptions of the Gangas[1] wherever possible give the strength of the elephants as one of the distinguishing attributes of their Kings. The Tamil classics speak of Kalinga elephants. Pallavarasu, the general of Kulottunga returned to his master with a booty of mighty elephant forces. The Muslims always claimed a tribute of elephant forces from the Ganga monarchs. Thus from the beginning of Ganga history to the end their elephant force was their strong point. We only gain additional information from the Greek writers, that even before we know of the Ganga dynasty as such, the Gangas possessed a vast elephant force which they must have obtained from the dense forests of Kalinga.

26. The position of the Gangas in Kalinga is easy to see. They were a part of the 'Calingas' themselves, though they perhaps had a distinct name for themselves. Since Kalingas are the larger whole the Indian writers always spoke of Kalingas alone. They must have extended to a part of the Gangetic region. But the Indian writers supposed their definite territory to be near the river Vamsadhara, a little near Mahanadi. In course of time the Kalingas settled themselves in a limited region. By the beginning of the sixth century when the Ganga history begins their territory does not appear to have gone beyond the river Mahanadi.

27. The Ganga rulers of the eleventh century who give an elaborate account of their origin have completely lost touch with their origin, and first abode. They give a legendary descent, in tune with the common practice of the age, of the divine origin and there credibly sudden acquisition of kingdoms. But the name Ganga itself and the way in which the classical writers make special mention of them as part of "Calingae" and some common attributes between the two, forcibly suggests that the origin of Gangas can be sought in the Gangaridae—who are after all a part of Kalingas.

28. The Gangas are a very ancient race powerful and living in all prosperity even in the early decades of the Christian Era. But we do not get any connected narration of their history from the early times A. D. 548, when we find an inscription of the Gangas. The gap is a long one, but the Gangas should be considered as surviving all these centuries and when an opportunity arose, they asserted themselves and came into prominence.

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1. The Nadagam plates speak of Vajrahasta the son of Kammarnava having been very liberal in giving away elephants to the needy.

ROLE OF THE DĀMARAS IN MEDIAEVAL KASHMIR

BY

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Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is professedly a chronicle of Kings. But the Chronicler has narrated the incidents from the middle of the eighth century to the end of his period, *i.e.*, 1149-50 A. D. in such a way as to leave the impression on the mind of a careful reader that the Dāmaras were as much interested in anarchy as the nobles of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There was indeed no council of nobles imposing constitutional restrictions on the King, nor there was any liberum veto, but the substance of power was more often enjoyed by the nobles than by the King. This is proved by the quick succession of ephemeral kings one after another. Between the death of Lalitāpiḍa a and Jayasiṁha there were forty-seven kings out of whom as many as thirty were either puppets or ruled for a short time. Among the puppet kings Chippatajāyāpiḍa-Bṛhaspati,[1] Gopālavarman,[2] Pārtha,[3] Chakravarman,[4] Sūravarman II,[5] Abhimanyu,[6] Nandigupta,[7] Tribhuvana(gupta),[8] Bhīmagupta,[9] Samgrāmadeva[10] were minors. Others like Vajrāditya Bappiyaka,[11] Lalitāpiḍa,[12] Ajitapiḍa,[13] Anaṅgapiḍa,[14] Sugandhā,[15] Unmattāvanti,[16] Kṣemagupta,[17] Bhikṣācara,[18] were unable to a rule themselves because of their low instincts and acted as mere tools in the hands of unscrupulous relatives or ministers. Besides these, rulers like Utpalapiḍa,[19] Sugandhā,[20] Nirjitavarman,[21] Sūravarman I,[22] Chakravarman,[23] Diddā,[24] Saṁgrāmarāja,[25] Salhaṇa,[26] were incapable of asserting their power due to the existence of the Tantrins, Dāmaras and sometimes powerful ministers or commanders-in-chief.

As the quarrel between Stephen and Matilda for succession to the English throne offered the golden opportunity to the feudal nobles to increase their power, so also did the almost incessant struggles for succession enable the Kashmirian nobles to strengthen their position.

Wars of succession between rival claimants to the throne were chiefly responsible for the rise and maintenance of the

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1. IV. 676. 2. V. 220-22, 228. 3. V. 264. 4. V. 288.
5. V. 445, 449. 6. VI. 188. 7. VI. 310. 8. VI. 312.
9. VI. 326-28. 10. VI. 115. 11. IV. 396. 12. IV, 661, 665-70.
13. IV. 689-707. 14. IV. 707-09. 15. IV. 243. 16. V. 421-23.
17. VI. 151-87. 18. VIII. 867-75. 19. IV. 710. 20. V. 249.
21. V. 287. 22. V. 292-94. 23. V. 291. 24. VI. 333-65.
25. VII. 7-117. 26. VII. 415.

position of the unruly Dāmaras. The only instance of quarrel between the King and his brother in the Kārkoṭa dynasty is noticed in the use of witchcraft on the part of Tārāpīḍa against his brother King Chandrāpīḍa.[27] From the Utpala period the quarrels in the royal family increased in number. Pañgu the father fought with his son Pārtha,[28] Unmattāvanti justified his name by destroying all the members of his own family[29]—of course instigated by his evil counsellor Parvagupta. Parvagupta was moved by the unholy ambition of seizing the throne.[30] Unmattāvanti did not hesitate even to kill his father, Pārtha.[31] In the first Lohara dynasty, Vigraharāja, nephew of Diddā, made an unsuccessful attempt to drive away Ananta from the throne.[32] When Ananta took away the treasures, arms and horses from Srīnagara for a short time from his licentious son Kalaśa, a quarrel, again, between the father and son broke out.[33] Kalaśa did not hesitate even to set fire[34] to the town of Vijayeśvara, where his parents were living. Just as Kalaśa quarrelled with his father, similarly his son Harṣa contested[35] with him. The next King Utkarṣa had also to meet the enmity of his half-brothers Vijayamalla[36] and Harṣa. [7] The next King Harṣa had to fight his own brothers Vijayamalla[38] and Jayarāja,[39] and his relative Dhammaṭa.[40] He also killed Tulla, Vijayarāja, Bulla and Gulla, grandsons of Tanvaṅga,[41] and Jayamalla, the son of Vijayamalla.[42]

Thinking that Uccala and Sussala, his relatives might claim the throne, Harṣa plotted to murder[43] them, and consequently the struggle between the two brothers on the one hand and Harṣa on the other began. A third claimant to the throne was Ānanda,[44] maternal uncle of Uccala. Uccala came out successful in the contest and became King. But he had to take up his sword against Sussala,[45] his relative Bhikṣācara,[46] grandson of Harṣa,[47] a son of King Kalaśa. Ambitious and energetic Sussala marched[48] against his brother Salhaṇa. When Sussala became King, he had to meet a considerable opposition from Bhikṣācara and had also to fight against Sahasramaṅgala, son of Uccala.[49]

Kalhaṇa gives plenty of evidence to show that the part played by the Dāmaras was similar to that of the feudal nobles in European states before the centralisation of authority. The term 'Dāmara' in St. Petersburg Dictionary has been interpreted as

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27. IV. 112, 114. 28. V. 280. 29. V. 427. 30. V. 421, VI. 121-25.
31. V. 428, 431-36. 32. VII. 139-41. 33. VII. 366-68.
34. VII 403-415. 35. VII. 622-653. 36. VII. 764-70, 810.
37. VII. 737-829. 38. VII. 899. 39. VII. 1014-1037.
40. VII. 1013-1049. 41. VII. 1065. 42. VII. 1069.
43. VII. 1248, 1251. 44. VII. 1317-18. 45. VIII. 191.
46. VIII. 224. 47. VIII. 209, 212-13, 48. VIII. 388,
49. VIII. 500-05.

'riotous, rebel."[50] But the Dāmaras could not have been in a state of perpetual rebellion against any and every ruler. Some of them supported a King, while others tried to raise a rival to the throne. The decisive factor behind their action was chiefly the amount of power and influence which they could hope to wield under a particular King. This is amply illustrated by Kalhaṇa. The members of the family of Sūryavarmachandra supported the royal house of Malla for a long time,[51] but, as soon as they found that the King was making serious effort to reduce the Dāmaras to a state of impotence, they deserted him.

Sūryavarmachandra[52] had persistently championed the cause of Ananta against Kalaśa and even followed him to the new capital at Vijayeśvara. But his eldest son Janakachandra deserted the cause of Harṣa, the grandson of Ananta, because Harṣa severely repressed the Dāmaras. He joined[53] Uccala, a pretender to the throne and saved him from death by inducing him[54] to retreat after his defeat. He was chiefly instrumental in defeating Harṣa[55] and in raising Uccala to the throne after a series of struggles. Owing to his arrogance he fought a duel with Bhīmadeva and was killed by the latter.[56] Gargachandra, younger brother of Janakachandra,[57] became a favourite[58] of Uccala shortly after his brother's death. He routed[59] Sussala when the latter tried to wrest the kingdom from his elder brother, Uccala. Uccala was killed by Chuḍḍa and Raḍḍa, the latter's brother became King. But within a day Gargachandra avenged[60] the death of his master by killing Raḍḍa and his followers. Kalhaṇa here pays a glowing tribute to his loyalty." Garga, when he had accomplished his task and appeased his wrath threw himself down on the throne and lamented long over his lord."[61] He then raised Salhaṇa,[62] half-brother of Uccala, to the throne. He also repulsed the invasion[63] of Sussala. He played the role of the King-maker and served his protegee with faithfulness only so long as his own authority was not questioned by the King. When, however, the King tried to dislodge him from power, he went over to the side of Sussala, and soon made the latter King of Kashmir. Difference of opinion with the King and his chagrin at the raising Mallakoṣṭha to greater power, drove him to rebellion. Pañcachandra son[64] of Gargachandra, agreed to join Sussala the executor[65] of his father, in opposing the rebel Dāmaras. Just as his father had made Salhaṇa and Sussala Kings of Kashmir, similarly Pañchachandra made Jayasiṁha, son of Sussala, a King. It was he who advised[66] Jayasimha to fight for the throne against Bhikṣācara. It was by his military aid[67] that Jayasiṁha was able

50. Sanskrit Worterbuch, Vol. III, p. 125. 51. VIII 2780.
52. VII 357. 53. VII 1263-64. 54. VII 1338.
55. VII 1548, 1553, 1565. 56. VIII 15-32. 57. VIII 33.
58. VIII 37, 43-44. 59. VIII 196, 60. VIII 354. 61. VIII 361.
62. VIII 376. 63. VIII 390. 64. VIII 1121. 65. VIII 615.
66. VIII 1364. 67. VIII 1393-1400.

to defeat Bhikṣācara and enter the capital without opposition from any quarter. For the safety of the King, Pañcachandra was brought forward by Rilhaṇa[68] to oppose Sujji, the powerful Commander-in-Chief of Jayasiṁha. Saṣṭhachandra, younger brother[69] of Pañcachandra also rendered valuable services to the King. He joined the King in the expedition to Sirahśilā castle,[70] in which Loṭhana Vigrahāraja and Bhoja had taken refuge. Rājavadana, the discontented officer of Jayasimha, had raised a rebellion in favour of the pretender Bhoja.[71] Saṣṭhachandra fought against him vigorously and defeated Bhoja.[72]

The career of Bimba, the Dāmara of Nilāśva affords another exemple of loyalty of his class. He was deeply attached to Harṣa. When Uccala invaded Srīnagara, Harṣa being deserted by his friends and soldiers alike roamed about in the country seeking shelter, Kalhaṇa comments:

"While treason was ripe, this honourable man had alone kept faithful like a true wife never turning his eyes towards anyone else (but his lord)".[73] The powerful Damaras took sides with rival claimants to the throne. While Bimba supported Harṣa, the mighty clan of Lahara upheld the cause of Uccala. The latter got the upper hand and Bimba was drowned[74] in the Vitastā at the instigation of Gargachandra. In the reign of Jayasiṁha nobles of Nilāśva remained loyal to the King for a long time, but they went over to the side of Bhoja when the latter rose up in insurrection[75].

The Dāmaras did not belong to a particular tribe. Some Dāmaras have been called Lavanyas[76] and from this Wilson[77] concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north or Kashmir. But the geographical distribution of the chief Dāmaras shows that they were mostly settled in the Valley of Kashmir. Had all the Dāmaras been identical with the Lavanyas, the latter would not have been mentioned for the first time in the reign of Harṣa. In the numerous references to the Dāmaras in the earlier reigns, they had never been called Lavanyas. The Levanyas figure prominently in the regime of kings succeeding Harṣa. Stein[78] thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people

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68. VIII 2077. 69. VIII 2505. 70. VIII 2505, 2556.
71. VIII 2751, 2785. 72. VIII 2844 73. VII 1630-31.
74. VIII 424-25. 75. VIII 3114.
76. Damaras designated as Lavanyas VII 1228 and 1229; VII 1236 and 1237 (*ii*) Prasastaraja the Lavanya VII 1255 (*iii*) Prthvihara as Damara VIII 591, 627 and as Lavanya VIII 90, 1127 (*iv*) Kosthesvara as Damara VIII 2009, as Lavanya VIII 2012.
77. An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir, pp. 51.70 sqq. His view has been blindly followed by Lassen: Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. III.
78. Rajatarangini, Vol. I. Note VII, 1171.

inhabiting the Kram named Luni. He suggests that "from the way in which Kalhaṇa employs the name in the passages referred to, and from numerous others in which Lavanyas are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of the Dāmaras was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for".[79] Moreover it seems that the Lavanyas had come from the Lavaṇa Parvata, which is contigous to Kashmir. Pṛthvihara, and his son Koṣṭheśvara have been referred to as Lavanyas and Dāmaras. Trillaka, a Dāmara and a Lavanya,[80] was a relative of Koṣṭheśvara. It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana Parvata and settled in Kashmir.

The Dāmaras were really a nobility of wealth. Their wealth is referred to in unmistakable terms in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Koṣṭheśvara is said to have attracted the attention of women of Srīnagara by his noble bearing, youthfulness and gorgeous apparel.[81] When the Dāmars were pacified after the rising and consequent flight of Bhikṣācara[82] they appeared in Srīnagara with horses, parasols and horsemen. Kalhaṇa puts this fact thus: "In Srīnagara, at this time owing to the equippages of the arriving Dāmaras glittering in splendour it seemed as if it was the season for procession of bridegrooms which abound when there is the auspicious conjunction of the constellations".[83] "And Srīnagara was without dwelling houses, the citizens bereft of resources and the Kingdom swarmed with innumerable Dāmaras who emulated the King".[84]

Land was the chief source of wealth of the Dāmaras. A prosperous cultivator acquiring wealth seems to have been able to enter the rank of the Dāmaras. The earlier powerful kings of Kashmir tried their best to check the rise of this class of unruly nobles. Kalhaṇa, never very friendly to the pretensions of the Dāmaras, ridicules them by saying:

"Dāmaras from the outskirts of the capital who bear arms but are like tillers of the soil".[85] The Dāmaras sometimes took recourse to clever subturfuges to hide their wealth.

Jayyaka "had the soil dug and he continued to fill it with piles of Dinnāras and on the surface he had rice sown".[86] Lalitāditya said,

"Action should be taken repeatedly so that the people in the villages should not possess grain for consumption and bullocks for the area of the fields in excess of annual requirement". For if

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79. *Ibid*, Vol. II, Note G, p. 306.
80. VIII 1682, 1707, 2730, 2740, 3284.
81. VIII 1537. 82. VIII 1513-30. 83. VIII 1535.
84. VIII 1546. 85. VIII 706-10. 86. VII 496.

they were to have excessive wealth they might become very terrible Dāmaras in a single year able to violate the authority of the King".[87]

The enterprising Dāmaras, however, were not contented with the profits from cultivation alone. They took recourse to trade and commerce also. Jayyaka is described to have augmented his wealth by engaging himself in the trade of foodstuffs which he exported to far off regions.[88] It seems probable from the instructions of Lalitāditya that the Dāmaras also carried trade in woollen blankets.[89]

Being landholders and merchants the Dāmaras attained the position of local chieftains. As we speak of a prominent zamindar as Rājā of such and such locality, so does Kalhaṇa invariably refers to a Dāmara in association with the place where he exercised his authority. Thus he speaks of Abhinava of Samālā,[90] Dhanva of Lahara,[91] Sobha of Degrāma,[92] Vāga and Pāja[93] of Samālā, Lakkanachandra of the Dugdhaghāta[94] fort, Dāmaras in Kramarājya[95] and Maḍavarājya,[96] Dāmaras of Utrāsa,[97] Bimba of Nilāṣva,[98] Loṣṭaka of Selyapura,[99] Dāmaras in Samāṅgāsā,[100] Dāmaras of Khadūvī, [01] and Holaḍā,[102] Mankha of Naunagra,[103] Sukharāja of Vadossa[104] etc. The rule of a Dāmara, however, was a source of terror to the neighbouring people. Dhanva did not feel any scruples in usurping the land dedicated to God Bhuteśvara, and the result was that the people could make offerings of the poorest quality to the deity. They had not the courage to protest against the sacrilegious action of the Dāmara.

The exact status of a Dāmara has not been indicated by Kalhaṇa or Jenarāja,[105] Kṣhemendra[106] or any other writer.[107] But the Dāmaras of Kashmir who lorded over agricultural tracts, acquired wealth by selling victuals and carrying on trade in other commodities, cannot but be regarded as feudal lords. Stein[108] as well as Kern[109] maintain this view. Dr. U. N. Ghosal[110] gives the meaning of the Dāmaras as "territorial lords".

Like the mediaeval barons of Europe, these feudal chiefs of Kashmir had also their own castles. Probably the term 'Upaveśana'[111] designated by Kalhaṇa as the seats of Dāmaras, means

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87. IV 347-48. 88. VII 494-95. 89. IV. 349-52.
90. VII 159. 91. V. 51, VIII 38. 92. VII 266.
93. VII 1022. 94. VII 1172-73. 95. VII 1240, VIII 40.
96. VII 1240, VIII 41. 97. VII 1254. 98. VII 1630-31.
99. VIII 202. 100. VIII 651. 101. VII 1228.
102. *Ibid.* VIII 733. 103. VIII 995. 104. VIII 1306-07.
105. Rajatarangini 96 sqq. 466 sqq.
106. Samayam II 21 sqq.; Weber, Indische Studien, XVIII, p. 307.
107. Jaina Rajatarangini of Srivara (editio princeps, Cal. Ed. 1835), IV 264, 414-595, 606 etc; Prajyabhatta and Suka 39, 44, 53, 72.

little castles. Thus, the Dāmara Lakkanachandra was the master of the castle. After his death his widow offered it to the King. This proves that such castles did not belong to the State but were regarded as private hereditary possessions of the Dāmaras.

Living in fortified castles as petty princes the Dāmaras attached to themselves bands of infantry. The chronic disorder in the kingdom coupled with acute economic distress, enabled them to recruit the services of many poor but sturdy persons. As early as 855-56 A. D. in the reign of Avantivarman, Dhanva, a Dāmara appeared before Sura, with a regiment of infantry.[112] Jayyaka of Selyapura had a considerable force.[113]. But upto the accession of Uccala to the throne we do not get any positive evidence of the possession of cavalry by the Dāmaras. With the increasing weakness of the central authority in the subsequent period the Dāmaras further strengthened themselves by recruiting cavalry also.

Their wealth and military strength heightened their social importance so much that even the Kings of Kashmir did not disdain to form matrimonial alliance with them. This made them more haughty and turbulent than ever, just as the marriage alliance of Edward III with the nobility of England made the feudal baronage uncontrollable in the fifteenth century. Sussala received Rājalākṣmi[114] and Gunalekhā,[115] daughters of Gargachandra as his own wife and his son Jayasimha's wife. Two daughters of another Dāmara were married[116] to Parmandī and Gulhaṇa, sons of King Jayasiṁha. Bhikṣācara married[117] one of the daughters of the family of Prthvīhaṛa. There is however, no instance of a Dāmara having married a King's daughter.

Feudalism, as a form of government, however, does not seem to have arisen in Kashmir. No Dāmara is known to have assumed the right of issuing coins, nor of deciding cases in his local court. They did not acquire the right of being exempted from payment of taxes, the characteristic privilege of the European nobility. The Dāmaras tried to make the King a tool in their own hands but did not claim the exercise of sovereign authority.

The Dāmaras had in their possession places of great strategic importance and controlled the fertile portion of the Kashmirian Valley, In greater portions of the Valley of Maḍavarājya we find the Upaveśanas of the Dāmaras in Khaḍuvī, Holaḍā, Samāṅgāsā, Utrāsa, Devasarasa, Kalyānpura, Naunagara and Degrāma, In the Kramarājya below Srīnagara, there were important Dāmaras at Selyapura, Samālā, Lahara and Rājavihara.

The valley of Kashmir is surrounded by mountains on all sides. They can be divided into three ranges. (1) The Pir Pantsal

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112. V 57. 113. VII 498. 114. VIII 458-59, 1444.
115. VIII 459, 1607. 116. VIII 2953. 117. VIII 878.

Range guards Kashmir on the south and south-west. Nature has provided a number of passes for communication between the Punjab and Kashmir. Dāmaras had their strongholds at Kalyāṇpura and Lohara. Regarding Kalyāṇpura Stein[118] says "being on the high road from the Pir Pantsal Pass to Srīnagara it was repeatedly the scene of battles fought with invaders from that direction".[119] Lohara was situated on the north-west of the independent principality of Rājapurī. Mereover it lay on the route and close to the Tosamaidan Pass. This Pass was the easiest and safest route to the Punch Valley and the Western Punjab lying between the Jhelum and the Indus. Mahmud of Ghazni in 1021 and Ranjit Singh in 1814 attempted to enter Kashmir through this route. Selyapura if identified with Silipor, lay on the direct route connecting the Tosamaidan Pass and Lohara. (2) One great range of mountains without any marked break encloses Kashmir in the north-west and north. The Pass of Dugdhaghāta was a line of communication between the north shore of the Volur lake and the upper Kishangangā Valley. This Pass "guarded the mountain route leading into Kashmir territory from inroads of the Darads".[120] The castle of Sirahśilā, seat of the Dāmara Alamkaracakra[121] was an important one for strategy. Stein opines that "the ridge presents to the north towards the river, a narrow strip of precipitous and unsealable rocks. Some of these rocks are over-hanging the river (Kishanganga) and all along this face of the ridge there are spots where an attempt at descent might land even a trained mountaineer in a dangerous situation".[122]

The nobles of Kashmir were emblems of anarchy and diorder, rapine and plunder. They did not seek to root out the evils of administration, which would have been suicidal to their own interests. They did not try to restrain the King from cruel oppressions not to remonstrate against his indulgence in vile pleasures. Their interest lay in maintaining weak kings on the throne. They set up Salhana a king who had neither valour nor political wisdom. In his reign the *de facto* sovereign was Gargachandra."

"As a result, for two or three days people appeared as if shaken by fever."[123] When the people were in such a disturbed condition, robbers did not hesitate to plunder the people even in the King's palace at mid-day. "What need to speak more, of the traffic on the roads."[124] Similar was the condition of Kashmir in the reign of Bhikṣācara. During the early part of the rule of Jayasiṁha, when the Dāmaras had just been conciliated the city of Srīnagara was stripped off of all its splendour and citizens

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118. Op. Cit. Vol. II, p. 472. 119. VIII 1261, 2814; Srivara IV 466.
120. Op. Cit. Vol. II, p. 406. 121. VIII 2492.
122. Op. Cit. Vol. II, pp. 341-42. 123. VIII 439. 124. VIII 418.

deprived of their belongings. They carried on seditious endeavours and hence.

"All the servants (of the King) were chiefly bent on unlawful acts and perfidy was their sole practice."[125]

They did not hesitate to give up the cause of their own nominee, the untiring Bhikṣācara, as soon as they saw that he could protect the troops in critical position and bear up fatigues.[126] In the reign of Jayasiṁha the Dāmaras offered their help to Somapala. They knew that Somapala on account of the defects of his person and character would allow them to have "the pleasures of the rule entirely for themselves."[127]

There are numerous other instances to show that much of the misery of mediaeval Kashmir was due to the spirit of rapacious self-aggrandisement of the Dāmaras. Instead of protecting the common people, landholders assumed an attitude of a goat becoming the gardener, as a German proverb runs. Spengler explains this attitude. "There is a natural distinction of grade between men born to command and men born to service, between the leaders and the led of life. The existence of distinction is a plain fact and in healthy periods and by healthy peoples it is admitted (even if unwillingly) by everyone. In the centuries of decadence the majority force themselves to deny or ignore it, but the very insistence on the formula that 'all men are equal' shows that there is something' here to be explained away."[128]

In Kashmir common people were pressed hard between the intermittent hostility between kings and landholders, and oppression of bureaucracy (officials known as Kaysthas) and heavy economic depression. They were reduced to such straits that Kalhaṇa says."

"While the courtiers ate fried meats and drinking light wine delightfully cooled and perfumed with flowers."[129] the common people partook of rice and.

"a wild growing vegetable of bitter taste called Utpalaśāka."[130]

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125. VIII 1547. 126. VIII 1021-27. 127. VIII 1492.
128. Man and Technics, p. 67 (1932). 129. VIII 1866-67.
130. V 49. The meal of the common people has been suggested by R. S Pandit in his "River of Kings", Invitation, XXVIII.

HOW WAS THE SIDDHA HAIMA VYAKARANA COMPOSED ?

BY

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Students of the Rajput period of Gujrat History are aware of the many-sided achievements of Jaya Sinha Siddha Raja. Not only did he make a name by his splendid conquests, equally he proved himself to be a great patron of art and culture. Conquest of Malwa after a tedious campaign, enabled him to get possession of Bhoja's splendid library which he transferred to Anhilavaḍa. One day, while turning the pages of a novel work, he enquired about its name and the scholars of his court designated it as 'Sarasvati-Kaṇtha-Bharaṇa' or 'Necklace of the Goddess of learning", a grammetical work composed by Bhoja Paramara of Malwa who was a connoisure of literature and was acquainted with diverse subjects, *e.g.*, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Palmistry and the art of Building (Vastu-vidya) and had produced many works on them.[1]

The king then enjoined that a work on Sanskrit Grammar vying with that of Bhoja was lacking in his library and he turned his anxious eyes to the galaxy of scholars in his court and enquired of them whether anyone was prepared to undertake the writing of such a work. They, too, in their turn, pointed to a young Jain scholar who was best fitted to take up the work.[2]

Siddha Raja in his turn requested Hema Chandra, as the Jain scholar was named, to fulfil his heart's desire by taking up the work and thereby winning universal applause, and helping to diffuse his king's glory far and wide.[3]

The young Jain scholar gave his consent and sent for standard works on Grammar from the different parts of India. Thus he succeeded in securing a collection of 18,000 works on Sanskrit Grammar.[4]

This vast material was fully utilised and within a year, Hema Chandra completed a work known as Siddha Haima Vyakaraṇa complete in five parts and containing rules, a lakh and a quarter in number.[5] Then by the king's directions the noble Grammar was brought to the palace library in a procession

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1. Prabhavaka-Charita Slokas 75, 76, 77
2. " " " 79
3. " " " 80, 81, 84
4. " " " 86, 87
5. " " " 96

Hirananda Shastri Edition pp. 300 & 301 Jina Vijaya Edition page 185.

being put on an elephant with an umbrella covering over it and simultaneously being fanned with Chauris or Chamaras.[6]

The Grammar was then introduced in all the schools of learning within the Chaulukya Empire.[7]

Jina Mandana Gani in his Kumūra Pāla Prabandha notes a special point. The learned orthodox Brahmans of Siddha Rāja's realm refused to keep the new Grammar in their library for teaching purposes alleging that it should first of all be dipped in the reservoir or Kunda before the image of the Goddess of Learning in Kashmere and if it could be taken out without being drenched in water, it would then be entitled to be termed as 'pure'.

The proposed experiment was tried and the new Grammar emerged unpolluted from the ordeal. Exceedingly glad at heart, the noble monarch sent for 300 copyists and for a continuous period of three years got many copies of the splendid work issued and sent them to 18 provinces of India. Twenty copies were sent to Kashmere which was then the centre of learning.[8] Thus at the king's behest, the grammar was circulated everywhere and was taught in every temple of learning. Every student reading in schools was presented with a copy.

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6. "ततोराज्ञश्च यान्यानि व्याकरणान्यपहाय तस्मिन्नेव व्याकरणे सर्वत्राधीयमाने ।"
Merutanga Jinvijaya Siddharaja Episode, pp. 60-61.

7. 'राजवाह्यकुम्भिकुम्भे तत्पुस्तकमारोप्य सितातपवारणे धियमासे चामरयुग्मवीज्यमानं नृपमन्दिरमानीय प्रोज्यवेर्यपूजापूर्वं स्वसरस्वती कोषे स्थापितम् ।'

—Merutanga as above.

8. 'शुद्धादि परीक्षा तदा स्याद्यदा काश्मीरदेशे चन्द्रकान्त श्रीब्राह्मीमूर्तेः पुरः स्थित-जलकुण्डे क्षिप्यते । कुण्डाच्चयत्र किलन्नो निर्गच्छति पुस्तकस्तदा ज्ञायते शुद्धोऽयम् । ते च तत्र तत्रत्य नृप विद्वत्समक्ष सरस्वतीकुण्डमध्ये मुक्तः घटिकाद्वयम् ।..... परमशुद्धित्वात् यथावस्थितोऽक्लिन्न एव निर्गतः.....। ततो राज्ञा विस्मितहृदयेन लेखक शतेत्रयं मेलयित्वा वर्षत्रयं यावत् श्री हेमचन्द्रव्याकरणप्रतयो लेखिताः, अष्टादशदेशेषु च.....प्रहिताश्च । ततो राजाज्ञया सर्वः कोऽपि पठति पाठयति चं ।'

—Jina Mandana, p. 16.

SECTION III

Early Medieval India from 1206 to 1526 A. D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE SECTIONAL

Meeting of the Indian History Congress
Patna Session 1946.

BY

SH. ABDUR RASHID.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for having done me the honour of electing me the President of this Section. Though I do not belong to that class of eminent historians of Medieval Indian History who have occupied this chair with distinction in previous years, I claim to have devoted more than twenty years to the study and the teaching of Indo-Muslim History, and I take the liberty of placing before the distinguished gathering my views as a teacher and student of history.

This session at Patna is being held under the shadow of a tragedy unprecedented in the history of our country both as to the area affected and the number of persons involved. At no other time has it become more imperative for the student of history to pause and ponder over the causes and consequences of such events and the contributions we all can make to prevent the reoccurance of such tragedies. One of my predecessors, the distinguished scholar Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi Saheb closed his brilliant presidential address with the following exhortation.

"Historians of India. Do not merely write history of India, but make its history by your noble examples." How far have we lived up to this passionate exhortation? How far have we lived up to this great ideal? Are we making the history of India or ruining it? For much that has contributed to the destructive suicidal bitterness, poisoning the currents of our national life, the histories of the last four generations are responsible. They have made the study of history a public calamity. This is a bitter truth; and we should realise our full responsibility and our duty to the coming generations. The one great and incontrovertible lesson of our history is that physical force and violence do not and cannot hold human society to-gether. The

use of force in every from is destructive and brutal; it destroys, it can never create. Its only consequence is to intensify that cycle of hate which causes very often both parties to perish. All the permanent achievements of man—have been the result not of conflict but of co-operation and good-will among men. Unfortunately, in history as it is written and taught—specially in India—the merely scenic element of wars and battles has totally hid from both teachers and pupil that element of civil endeavour, of moral and spiritual effort which in the course of ages has absorbed ninety per cent of the energies of our people.

One great deficiency in the historical literature of India is the absence of really good histories of the peoples. As far as I am aware there is not a single history of India written from the standpoint of the Indian citizens or the Indian worker. Imperial India or princely India, or the India of the Communalists—the vision of our histories goes no further. Most of our histories are treatises witten against the people and in them the people are either ignored or are by implication, proved to have been ignorant, superstitious, worthless. We are told something about the life of the people in the cities but nothing about those in the villages. We know of the wealth and the splendour of places but have no idea of the humbler dwellings of the less privileged people. Our historians are, consequently, far removed from the realities of the life of our peoples; instead of creating a feeling of national pride in our culture and civilization, they have sapped the very foundations of our national self-respect, we have to re-read our past history and to re-interpret and write it in a manner that may evoke new faith and pride in our rich heritage and a new hope for the future.

No other event in Indian history has so profoundly affected the history of this country as its conquest by the Musalmans, yet the history of this conquest, the establishment of Muslim rule in India and its continuance for over six hundred years has been dwarfed and dehumanised by the simple mental trick of telling the story of the professional destroyers and then complaining that the whole story was one of destruction. The Kings are represented as "crowned executioners" who succeeded in maintaining their despotic government by coercing some people by violence and debauching others with spoils. No attempt has been made to study the history of the Musalmans who came to India in their original homelands, or of their

religion, culture and their institution, of their fath, hope and fear, FAITH AND EXPECTATIONS. Nor has a proper study been made of those world events the pressure of which made the conquest of India inevitable by a foreign race. A closer study of the history of the Indian peoples is the imperative need of modern times. History is essentially the story of the relations and interaction of social groups. The function of a historian is not merely to record facts; he has to interpret them critically and rationally. He has to do with potentates and with mendicants, with saints and sinners, with scholars and scoundrels. He has to study their character with its endless complexities and the reaction of their character upon the social environments. Conscientious study, industry, love of truth and freedom from prejudice are the qualities demanded by the task. The new History of India which is being compiled under the suspices of the Indian History Congress will, let us hope, satisfy this need.

Without being presumptuous and with due deference to the Editorial Committee of the Comprehensive History planned by the Indian History Congress, I would like to strike a note of caution against the co-operative system of writing this history. This system may be in some ways convenient. It affords the possibility of satisfying the vanity of a larger number of writers and securing their cooperation in the success of such a venture, but it is not certainly without its defects. A very serious drawbook in the system is the lack of unity in style and treatment of different topics apportioned to different writers whose knowledge and experience would necessarily be different. "Every man whether he like it or not is himself and not another. He has and cannot help having, the tendencies, the pre-suppositions, the outlook on life, the moral principles and the standards of honour and conduct which he owes to his pedigree, his up-bringing, his education and his status in life....In the case of a single writer the reader soon learns his idiosyncrasies and makes allowances for them. But it is impossible for him to adjust his mental focus as to take the mean of the idiosyncrasies of a dozen men."

The study of the history of this period 1206-1556 presents very serious difficulties. Firstly, there is not that wealth and variety of historical literature which we possess for the study of the history of the Mughuls. Many important works to which the medieval Indians writer refers have been lost and there is little or no hope of their recovery. Secondly,

the coins, inscriptions and buildings of this period have not been studied with the same care, and interest as those relating to the Mughal period. Thirdly all available evidence, literary, numismatic and epigraphic, is in a language with which the modern student of Indian history is not conversant. Added to it is the difficulty of reading and interpreting a foreign language in a language equally foreign to us. Our failure to have a history of the people of India written for the Indian people is thus due on one hand to the fact that all material which exists has not yet been made available and on the other to the difficulty of the language in which it exists. Finally, we have all along searched for a history of the culture, institutions and religious movements of this period in works which were intended to be political histories only. We have failed to recognise the fact that the history of India is the history of her cultural and religious movements. In this respect our records are not deficinet; our misfortune has been that we have not studied them with the care and industry which their intrinsic worth demands.

Foreign writers as well as Indians have complained of the absence of constitutional and institutional records of this period. This is due to an ignorance of the conditions of the Indian people—in fact of all people, during the middle ages. Politics as a separate social science was unknown. It was a sub-section of divinity or of law and political theorists were theologians or legists. It is in the works of theology and ethics that we have to look for the material for the history of cultural religious and political institutions of India.

The people of Medieval India found an escape from the injusties of the social system, the cruelty and hardships of a despotic government based on the violance of the violent, and the soul-destroying formulee of dogmatic theology, in popular mysticism of the time with its neighbourly warmth; its insistence on good works and good faith and its simple straightforward approach to the problems of life and death. The teachings of the mystics never became revolutionary. They did not contribute to the discontent with the social and religious system but to a submissive fatalistic conciliation of the restless rebellious spirit to the hard and pitiless realities of life. The literature of this period is rich in books of mystic doctrines, of lives of the saints, of collections of their letters and of their conversations recorded by their disciples. There malfuzat have preserved for us in a very attractive form the daily conversation of men who lived four or five

hundred years ago about the daily affairs of life. No one who is acquainted with them will complain that we are unable to know about the life of the common people during the middle Ages. Some of the most important of these books still await printing. Others have been printed but are difficult to find. The great mystics of Delhi and some of the provincial towns gave a wide berth to kings and their courtiers, but they did much to soften the rigours of materialists rule. They brought light and warmth on one side and cohesion and unity on another, to a society which was rapidly disintegrating. The Chishti saints became precursors of Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya.

I can only briefly mention some of the books a study of which seems to me to be very urgent and important for rectifying our impression of the period.

In the Fawaidul Fawaid Amir Hasan Sijzi faithfully recorded the characteristics of the teachings of his great master Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. Written in a direct and lucid style, it is a faithful and accurate record of the conversations of the saint. Next to Amir Hasan, as a recorder of mystic conversations, comes Hamid Qalandar. He was one of those persons who had to emigrate to the Deccan in the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. He attached himself in Gulburga to Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib and after the later's death he returned to Delhi and proceeded to prepare a record of the conversations of Hazrat Nasiruddin Chiragh (of Oudh). These recorded conversations, covering one hundred days, constitute the famous Khairul Majalis. It throws copious light on the mystic outlook of the period. There is an atmosphere of sadness about it, as if the spirit of man would not be up to its moral stature as also a grand determination that will not give way to despair. All sorts of people come and chat with the Sheikh in the Khanqah. But it seems to have been a conversational convention that no king or high officers of the day should be referred to either directly or indirectly.

Sayad Amir Khusrau son of Sayad Mubarik also returned from the Deccan to write his famous work, Seirul Auliya, in Delhi. This book though very informative does not come up to the simple and straightforward composition by Amir Hasan and Hamid Qalandar. The book is, however, indispensible for the history of the Saints of the Chishti *silsilah*.

Besides these three books Fawaidul Fawaid, Kahirul Majalis and Seirul Auliya, there are several others which

came be perused with profit and pleasure. Amongst the more important of these may be mentioned Siyarul Arifin of Shaikh Jamali, the Kashful Mahjub of Shaikh Ali Hujwaivi, Misbahul Hidaya of Shaikh Izuddin Mahmud, Maktubat of Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya of Munir, Miratul Asrar of Abdur Rahman Chishti and the Matlubul Talibin of Muhammad Bulaqi. There is yet another class of mystic literature which owing to the difficulty of understanding has hardly been touched even by specialists, like the Lawaih and Lewami of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagori, and the Mulhimat of Shaikh Jamal Hasavi. A very large number of mystic manuscripts will, I hope, be discovered in the days to come. But here a word of warning is necessary. The press has also left us a large number of fabricated works, such as the Diwans attributed to Shaikh Muinuddin and Shaikh Bakhtiyar Kaki as also the malfuzat supposed to have been the composition of the great Chishti Shaikhas of India. Discriminatory judgment will be needed to distinguish the true from the false.

The translations of some of the important historical works have made the work of the present day historian very easy, but at the same time it has made his responsibility greater for most of the translations are faulty in extreme and exhibit pitiable ignorance of Persian and Arabic. The critical study of the orignals is the first requisite of sound historical scholarship. Every written document is a little scrap of human nature and it records certain facts and transactions known to or ascertained by, the writer. He has transmitted his experience through writing to posterity. A close examination of such documents is essential to the proper understanding of the ideas and reactions of the author and his time. The historian has to employ his critical faculty rigidly and without mercy to ascertain the vevacity of every writer and his opportunities as well as his desire for knowing the truth. A translation draws a screen over the original and makes the critical faculty less critical and less active.

A large number of the historical documents of the period are still in manuscripts and efforts should be made to put them in print. Historical manuscripts after a little time begin to exert an extraordinary fascination over a student, due primarily to the individuality of a hand made produce as compared with the machine made. A page of manuscript may annoy and drive one to despair, but it has in it a life and reality which is not to be found in the

printed page. To read manuscripts needs training and practice, but it is a training and practice which is both instructive and profitable. Even if some of the manuscripts are printed, there will always be a large number of documents which will have to be studied in manuscript. The following books deserve immediate attention of the scholars. Munshat-i-Mahru .of Ainul Mulk Multani; Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, Waqiat Mushtaqi, Makhzane Aghanan, Tarikh Daudi, Dasturul Albab, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi of Abbas Sherwani and Fatwa-i-Jahandari of Ziauddin Barani. Munshati Mahru of Ainul Mulk Multani is a veritable mine of information on all topics about which the orthodox historians are silent. Only one manuscript of it is known to exist. The letters are addressed to all sorts of people princes, theologians, government officers friends and relatives in which ethics, politics, theology and rules of administration are casually discussed. These letters bring to light the social and economic conditions of the time and the changes effected by the Muslim Administration and Muslim ways of life in the social and economic structure of Indian Society. Some years back I translated five letters from Munshat-i-Mahru and published them in Islamic Culture. One of our research students is at present engaged in translating and editing the Munshat.

The Sirate-i-Firoz Shahi is a most valuable document for the history of Firoz Shah Tughluq. A part of it was translated by a member of the Arachaelogical Department some years back and certain portions were translated by Prof. Basu. The book should be printed as early as possible. It is full of information on the history of this period, the political institutions, medicine, hunting etc. and contains an interesting chapter on the Shia doctrines and their refutation by Sunni theologians. The Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi has been subjected to a detailed study by another pupil of mine, Dr. Riazul Islam who has recently obtained his Doctrate by his excellent thesis on Firoz Shah Tughluq. He has prepared a subject analysis of the Sirat and proposes to publish the text with an introduction. Dr. Halim has made an extensive and careful study of the Makhzan-i-Afghani and can very well edit this book.

The other gentlemen at Aligarh are engaged in the translation of Tarikh-i-Daudi and Tarikh Sher Shahi. The translation of Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Ziauddin Barni, of Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah of Shamshi Siraj Afif and a chapter of Dastural Albab are ready for the press. Another research

student is engaged on the translation of Tarikhe Masumi. Dr. Mohammad Saleem of our University has written an excellent thesis on the "Indo-Muslim Saints." Yet another student has recently started work on the historical material in the works of Hazrat Amir Khusrau and this work when it is completed will be of great interest to the historian of Medieval India.

The Tarikh Firoz Shah of Ziauddin Barni deserve a more patient and detailed study than has yet been devoted o it. There are few books on this period which exercise a reater fascination. The more you read the book the greater he fascination grows and one feels closer to the writer.)ne of its defects is incoherence but the very inco-erence of the book is one of its merits. The author is ways thinking aloud and reveals all his moods untroubled fear of self-contradiction. He mirrors faithfully the edley of ordinary human weaknesses and of virtues. He ows us pre-eminently one characteristic of his time, the phasis on privilege side by side with law and some time privilege even above law. He accepts the distinction classes as God ordained. He looks upon it as a social ndal that "bondsman's bairns" should occupy high sitions in society.

Elsewhere I have dealt in detail with Barni's life and s Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and I do not propose to take up ur time with a dissertation on Barni whom I consider e of the greatest Indian historians.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the patient hearing you ve given me. Limitations of time and space do not rmit me to speak in detail about the historians of Medieval dia and their works. I have only indicated the works hich require to be studied in greater details and the lines n which that study should be conducted. My appeal to you gain is to study the history of our people in a spirit of etachment and understanding. The past should not conjuve p reactions "which dim our vision, dull our judgment, isturb our intellectual equilibrium and make it difficult for s to assess the true value of historical date." Our history hould be a cohesive force and not a disruptive agency in ur society.

BEGINNINGS OF RATHOR RULE IN MARWAR

BY

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The chronicles of Marwar are unanimous in tracing the descent of the Rathor rulers of Marwar and Bikaner from the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. I do not propose to join the controversy[1] regarding the historical value of this tradition. It is, however, significant that all available facts relating to the Rathors of Marwar are quite consistent with the bardic point of view. An unpublished inscription[2] of Rai Singh of Bikaner, dated V. S. 1645, describes Siha, the founder of the Rathor family of Marwar, as the great-grandson of Jayachandra, the famous Gahadavala ruler of Kanauj. The *Ain-i-Akbari*[3] describes Siha as a nephew of Jayachandra. An inscription[4] dated V. S. 1686 found in the temple of Ranchhodji at Nagor near Josol in Mallani in Jodhpur State describes Siha as *Surija-bamsi* and *Kanojiya-Rathoda*. Tod describes Siha in different places as Jayachandra's nephew, son and grandson. Tod's contradictory statements about Siha's relationship with Jayachandra are probably due to the confused versions he found in different chronicles. For instance, we find in some chronicles[5] that Siha came to Marwar in V. S. 1196 or A. D 1139. This date is quite inconsistent with the traditional relationship between Siha and Jayachandra. As the latter was killed in the battle of Chandwar in A. D. 1194, his decendant could not have come to Marwar in A. D. 1139. Fortunately the Bithu inscription[6] conclusively proves that Siha died in V. S. 1330 or A. D. 1273. Thus the bardic tradition about his arrival in Marwar in A. D. 1139 deserves no credence.

The Bithu inscription says nothing about the relationship between Siha and Jayachandra. But it contains some statements which may be said to confirm the bardic tradition. In the first place, this inscription describes Siha as a son of Seta, *i.e.*, Sitaram whom all Rathor chronicles describe as Siha's father. Secondly,

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1. See: (1) Pandit Ramkaran, "History of the Rathors", Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes (Calcutta University), Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2, pp. 259-261. (2) Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *Glories of Marwar and The Glorious Rathors*, pp. ix-x, 34, 38-47.
2. Quoted by Pandit Ramkaran, *Ibid*, p. 266.
3. Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 191.
4. Referred to by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, July 1911, pp. 181-183.
5. Referred to by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*
6. Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*

while Siha is called simply *Rathada, i.e.*, Rathor, Sita is called *Kumara, i.e.*, prince. It is probable that Siha was never a reigning prince, but his father was the son of a reigning prince. If this interpretation is correct, it may be surmised that Seta was the son of Jayachandra. This surmise is quite consistent with two known dates—Jayachandra's death in A. D. 1194 and Siha's death in A. D. 1273. Pandit Ramkaran presumes Sitaram to be the grandson of Jayachandra,[7] but this is hardly consistent with the available chronology. In any case, there is no difficulty in taking Siha as a descendant of Jayachandra.

Our information about the fortunes of the Gahadavalas after the battle of Chandwar is scanty and unreliable. According to Pandit Ramkaran, they continued to rule at Khod (Shamshabad) till it was occupied by Iltutmish. Then they moved towards Mahui *via* Modha, and built a fort there on the river Kali. From this place also they were driven by the Muslims.[8] This story is also accepted by Pandit Reu.[9] We know from Muslim sources that Iltutmish had to fight against the Rajputs in the Ganges-Jamuna region, but details about Jaychandra's successors are not available.[10]

According to bardic tradition quoted by Tod and Reu[11] Siha came to Marwar in A. D. 1212. We are told that he was going on a pilgrimage to Dwaraka; a different tradition tells us that his aim was "to carve his fortunes in fresh fields".[12] However, on his way he helped the Brahmans of Bhinmal against some Muslim invaders. He continued his journey to Dwarka, halted at Anhilwada on the return journey and came back to Marwar, where he helped the Brahmins of Pali against marauding aboriginal tribes like the Menas and the Mers. Pali was then an important commercial centre. It was inhabited by the Pallival Brahmans and its ruler was a Brahman Chief. Siha settled at Pali, and some years later died fighting against the Muslims in defence of this city.[13]

Dr. Bhandarkar[14] has given us a *Pallivala-Chhand* collected from the manuscripts of the *Dadhi* of a Pallival family in Kuli in Shergarh in Jodhpur State. We gather from this *Chhand* several important facts about Siha. We are told that he became minister of the Brahman ruler of Pali in V. S. 1292 or A. D. 1235. This date is not inconsistent with the bardic tradition that he

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7. *Ibid*, p. 267.
8. Ramkaran, *Ibid*, p. 267.
9. Reu, *Ibid*, pp. ix-x.
10. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 102-103.
11. Reu, *Ibid*, p. x.
12. Tod.
13. Ramkaran, *Ibid*, p. 269.
14. Bhandarkar, *Ibid*.

came to Marwar in A. D. 1212, for the intervening period may have been covered by his operations at Bhinmal, pilgrimage to Dwarka, halt at Anhilwada, and operations against the aboriginal tribes near Pali. However, the *Chhand* tells us that after 26 years, *i.e.*, in 1261 A. D., Nasir-ud-din, Sultan of Delhi, invaded Pali. The Brahmans fought for 12 years and then opened the city-gate in V. S. 1330, or A. D. 1273. With them fell many Rajputs, among whom was Siha, with his 5,000 Rathors. Although this *Chhand* is not very old, its authenticity is established by an old *doha* quoted at its end. That *doha* tells us that in V. S. 1330 a fearful battle took place, as a result of which the Pallival Brahmans left Pali and went towards the west. Moreover, the Bithu inscription indirectly confirms the date of the disaster—V. S. 1330. Muslim sources do not help us in verifying the story of Nasir-ud-din's attack on Pali, but there is nothing improbable in it, for we have references to Ghiyas-ud-din Balban's operations against the Rajputs during Nasir-ud-din's reign.[15] Abdul Fazl's story[16] that Siha was killed in a battle at Shamshabad deserves no credence, for it is contradicted by tradition and epigraphic evidence alike. Nor can we accept Tod's story that Siha occupied Pali by killing the Brahmans[17] a story contradicted by the *Chhand* referred to above. Moreover, had he made himself master of a rich city like Pali, the Bithu inscription would not have called him simply *Rathada*.

We may conclude, therefore, that Siha died in A. D. 1273 without being able to establish a Rathor principality in Marwar. It was his son Asthan who captured Khed after killing the Gohil chief of that principality with the support of the latter's minister. Later on he killed the Bhil chieftain of Idar and put that principality in charge of his brother Sonag. Aj, the third son of Siha, captured Okhamandal near Dwaraka. According to Pandit Ramkaran[18], Asthan died in V. S. 1348. Pandit Reu[19] says that he met his death at Pali while repulsing the attack of an army of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji.

Dhuhad, the eldest son of Asthan[20], is said to have occupied 140 villages. A struggle against the Parihars of Mandor cost him his life. The date of his death is uncertain, but an unpublished and undeciphered inscription found at Tirsingharin[21] in the Pachbhadra *pargana* gives us a date for him—V. S. 1366.

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15. Habibullah, *Ibid.* pp. 145-148.
16. Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 271.
17. See Reu, *Ibid*, pp. 34-36.
18. Ramkaran, *Ibid*, p. 270.
19. Reu, *Ibid*, p. xi.
20. Bhandarkar (*Ibid*, December 1911, p. 301) wrongly describes Dhuhad as the grandson of Asthan.
21. Bhandarkar, *Ibid*,

With regard to the successors of Asthan the chronicles of Bikaner do not agree with those of Marwar. According to the former, Asthan was succeeded by his eldest son Dhandhala, who was succeeded, in turn, by his sons Nabhal and Udala,, and his grandson Asala; Dhuhad was the second son of Asthan, and he occupied his father's principality after Asala.[22] We need not enter into the details of the controversy regarding the alleged seniority of the ruling house of Bikaner. It may be noted, however, that the date given in the Tirsingharin inscription for Dhuhad hardly leaves sufficient time for four reigns intervening between Asthan and Dhuhad. Between Siha's death in V. S. 1330 and Dhuhad's reign (V. S. 1366) we have to place Dhandhala, Nabhal, Udala, and Asala. If we take V. S. 1366 as the date of Dhuhad's death, for which, however, we have no direct evidence, we have to squeeze five reigns within 36 years. Without solving this chronological difficulty it is hardly possible to accept the Bikaner version of Rathor succession.

In any case, there is no doubt that Asthan was the real founder of Rathor rule in Marwar. Siha died as the loyal minister of the Brahman ruler of Pali, but he left for his son political influence and, probably, wealth, which the latter utilised in occupying Khed and Idar. This small Rathor principality was raised to the dignity of a kingdom by Chunda in the 15th century.

JAJNAGAR FROM EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY SOURCES FROM ORISSA AND BENGAL

BY

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Credit goes to N. N. Vasu for discovering interesting historical references found in the Ganga inscriptions[1] from Orissa which were elaborately discussed subsequently by M. M. Chakraverti.[2] As Chakraverti had not the opportunity to know the contents of the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar, he could not correctly identify the person described by Minhaj as "the son-in-law of the Rai" of Jajnagar. Corroborative reference to the writing of Minhaj is found from this inscription of Bhubaneswar and I have discussed in a separate paper called "Three Bhubaneswar Inscriptions" sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of

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22. J. A. S. B. 1919, pp. 38 ff.

1. J. A. S. B. 1896, pp. 232-34.
2. *Ibid*, 1903, pp. 123-24.

Bengal. The editor of the *Cambridge History of India*[3] Vol. III seems to have not utilised—Chakraverti's paper which is very authentic even now. R. D. Banerji utilised the materials of the Muslim history, the findings of Chakraverti and the text of the Royal Asiatic Society inscription of Bhubaneswar in his History of Orissa Vol. I., but he did not make any new contribution. His thorough study in the inscriptions of Orissa enabled him to criticise freely some statements of Minhaj.[4]

Dr. H. C. Ray also referred to Muslim sources in his book entitled "Dynastic history of Northern India" like M. M. Chakraverti.

Mr. R. Subba Rao in his paper on the *History of the Eastern Ganges of Kalinga* has discussed the Muslim references in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Chakraverti, Banerji, Dr. Ray and Mr. Subha Rao have cited references to the Muslim history of Jajnagar only from inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Orissa and not from *Rajamala*, the traditional history of Tripura which does not mention any war in the 13th century with Muslims of Lakhnauti.

During the period from 1211 to 1281 A. D. we find the following Sultans of Delhi and their Governors of Lakhnauti.

(A) Sultans of Delhi.

(*i*) *Sultans of Delhi.*[7]

1.	Shamsuddin Iltutmish	...	1210 A. D.
2.	Ruknuddin Firoz I	...	1235 A. D.
3.	Raziya	...	1236 A. D.
4.	Muizzuddin Bahram	...	1239 A. D.
5.	Allauddin Masaud .	...	1241 A. D.
6.	Nasiruddin Mahmud I	...	1246 A. D.
7.	Ghyasuddin Balban	...	1265-87

(*ii*) *Governors of Bengal.*[8]

1.	Giyasuddin Iwaz	...	1211-1226 A. D.
	× ×		×
2.	Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan	...	1233-1244 A. D.
3.	Qamruddin Taimur Khan	...	1244-1246 A. D.
4.	Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbeg	...	1246-1258 A. D.

3 Cambridge History of India Vol. III, pp. 65 and 132.
4. History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 258-87.
7. H. Nelson Wright's Catalogue of Coins of Indian Museum. Calcutta, Vol. II. p. 2.
8. *Ibid*, p. 130.

(B) **Ganga Kings of Orissa.**

1.	Anangabhimadeva III	... 1211-1245[9] A. D. or 1211-1238.[10]
2.	Narsinmhadeva I	... 1245-1246[9] A. D. or 1238 1264[10]
3.	Bhasudeva III	... 1264-1279 A. D.

If the period of rule of Anangabhima and Narasimha from 1211 to 1246 are accepted, Minhaj's description of the leader of the Jajnagar forces as the son-in-law of the Rai is untenable and in that case the wars with the Rai of Jainagar are to be accepted during the life time of Anangabhimadeva. But if R. C. Mazumdar's date is accepted no such difficulty arises.

Minhaj writes that 'Jajnagar' sent tribute to Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. From this we can assume that Anangabhimadeva III sent tribute to him. This is the one sided version of the Muslim chronicler. Let us see what the contemporary inscriptions of Orrissa record on Anangabhima's relation with Muslims of Lakhnauti. The Chatesvara inscription[11] was written in Circa 1220 A. D. according to Chakraverti's calculation. In this inscription the conquest of the Tuhmana country (modern Bilashpur District in C. P.) and that over the Yavana king by Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhima have been described in verses 14 and 15. The victory over the Yavana king certainly refers to the Muslim Governor of Lakhnauti and no one else. On this point R. D. Banerji states that "there is no truth in the statement of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri that Iwaz had made Ganga kingn tributary to him, because both sides claim the victory"[12] Mr. Suba Rao also supports Banerji.[13] Hunter is of opinion that" this raid, for it cannot be called a conquest, yielded no permanent result."[14]

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri records that "in the year 641 A. H. (1243 A. D.) the Rai of Jajnagar commenced molesting the Lakhnauti territory, and in the month of Shawwal 641 A. H. (Nove. 1243) Tughril-i-Tughan Khan marched towards Jajnagar country. The Muhammedans sustained an over throw and a great number of these holy warriors attained martyrdom and Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhnauti".[15]

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9. (1) B. C. Mazumdar, Orissa in the Making, p. 202.
   (2) R. Subba Rao J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII, p. 182.
10. (1) J. A. S. B. 1903, p. 141.
    (2) J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII, p. 233 and 240.
12. History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 260.
13. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII, p. 234.
14. Hunter's Orissa. Vol. II, p. 4.
15. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 738.

"In the same year likewise (642 A. H.) the Rai of Jajnagar × × × having turned his face towards Lakhnauti territory, on Tuesday the 13th, of the month of Shawwal, 642 A. H. the army of Jajnagar, consisting of elephants and Paiks (footmen) in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhnauti. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory, first took Lakhnor × × × and after that appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti."[16]

The leader of Jajnagar is thus described :—

"The leader of the forces of Jajnagar was a person by name Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rai, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhnauti, and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalman forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhnauti. In Malik Tughril-Khan-i-Yuzbak's time judging from the past he (the Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated."[17]

From above it is clear that the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Rai of Jajnagar was continuously carried on from 1243 to 1247 A. D. and the army of the Rai of Jajnagar was always victorius until the death of their leader, the son-in-law of the Rai. This period falls within the period of rule of Anangabhima III and Narasimha I. Let us see as to how the inscriptions of the Anantavasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar help us in corroborating the statement of Minhaj who was the eye-witness of these events.

"In Chodaganga's lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his horses the speed of which surpassed that of the snake's foe or Garuda. He made an end of that war by defeating Yavanas with impetuousity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier."[18] The last sentence of this verse reminds us Minhaj's statement." The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhnauti." This event took place in November 1244 A. D. when Anangabhima was ruling Orissa, and his son-in-law was the leader of the forces of Jajnagar. The temple of the Anantavasudeva was built by Chandra Devi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva who was given in marriage to Paramardi Deva of the Haiyaya lineage (v.7) In the verse 20 of the inscription the poet Umapati writes:—"The valient Paramardi Deva having found the enemies of the battle loving king Vira Narasimgha Deva to be dwelling in the world

16. *Ibid*, p. 739-40.
17. *Ibid*, pp, 762-63.
18. E. I. Vol. XIII. p. 153. V. 2.

of Gods, went himself thither in fury[19] to conquer them, with full display of glory." This passage reminds us the line written by Minhaj that "he (Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated." This fight took place when Malik Yuzbak (1246-1258 A. D.) was the Governor of Lakhnauti and Narasimha Deva was on the throne of Orissa.

The Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar was written in 1278 A. D. when Chandradevi, the wife of Paramardi Deva was living and so the poet described the valour of Paramardi Deva in the War with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti in its true colour. Minhaj described him as a *Sabanter* which perhaps a corruption of Samantaraya. N. N. Vasu has written that Minhaj by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law[20] of the Rai of Jajnagar. M. M. Chakraverti[21] rejected this suggestion on the ground that Sabantar was a different person from Narasimhadeva ; but R. D. Banerji[22] has written that "The Commander of the Army of Orissa was the son-in-law of Narsingha Deva I." Chandradevi was the daughter of Anangabhimadeva and sister of Narasimnghadeva I and so Minhaj correctly described him as the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva which relation is corroborated by the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar.

In the verse 84 of the copper plate of Narasimhadeva II of the year 1295 A. D. mention is made of the conquest of Radha and Varendra belonging to Yavanás by Narasimhadva I. The English translation of the verse is quoted below :—

"The (white) river Gnagāblackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanas of Radha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by his astonishing achievement was now transferred, by the monarch into blackened watered Yamuna."[23]

Apart from these epigraphic corroborations of the relations of the Ganga kings of Orissa with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti and Sultans of Delhi as written in Persian by Minhaj, the contemporary Sanskrit literature gives a number of references to Muslims of northern India.

The period of rule of Anangabhimadeva and Narsimhadeva I is the most glorious period in the history of Orissa according to the Madalapanji and copper-plate grants, when art, architecture and literature too were well developed. Two Sanskrit works on Alaṅkara namely *Ekabali* and *Sahityadarpana* were composed

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19. *Ibid*, p. 155.
20. J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 20.
21. *Ibid*, 1903, p. 123-24.
22. History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 265.
23. J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 232.

by Vidyadhara and Visvanatha respectively and have survived. These works mention many other Sanskrit works which have not yet been unearthed. The date of Ekabali was assigned to the period of rule of Narasimghadeva I by M. M. Chakraverti. As no reference to Ekabali is found in Sahityadarpana, Chakraverti was of opinion that Ekabali was a later work." In Ekabali Narasimhadeva has been described to have fought with the Mahammedans and to have fought in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. The battles with the Mahammedans are indicated in the examples having words:—'Yavanavanindu Samere' (p. 202) Sakadhisvara (326) and Hamira. Then again, the fight with the Bengalis Banga-Sangara-Simani (p. 203) and the reference to the waves of the Ganges, Ganga-taranga-Dhavalani (p. 136) apparently speak of Narasimha's fight with Bengal Viceroys of the Delhi Sultans."

According to Chakravarti the date of Sahityadarpana was earlier than that of Ekabali, but P. V. Kane[24] in his introduction to Sahityadarpana has written that "Sahityadarpana was composed at some time between 1300 A. D. to 1384 A. D." Visvanatha's grand-father and grand uncle were reputed scholars and his father Chandrasekhara was a minister as well as a Sanskrit scholar. So it seems that he quoted verses as examples of his works which were written by them in praise of king Narasimhadeva I to illustrate the rules of Sahityadarpana, the two following of which, it seems, have direct reference to the Muslims of Bengal. Minhaj writes that the leader of Jajnagar forces advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhnauti and certainly this river is the Ganges. The verse of Chapter X quoted below seems to have a reference to the hasty retreat of the Muslim army which had to cross the Ganges with great difficulty.

"Gangāmbhasi Suratrāṇa tava niśāna-nikvaṇa

Snātivarivadhu varga-garbhapātana-patakī."[25]

"Oh Sultan, the sound of the drums beaten at the time of your marching were guilty of causing abortion of the wives of thy foeman, bathe as it were in the Ganges." Kane remarks that "sinners bathe in the waters of the Ganges. Here the coming in contact with the waters of the Ganges on the part of the sound is represented as bathing which is an action".

The other verse runs as follows:—

Sandhausarvasva haranam vigrahe prāṇanigraha,

Allāpadinanṛpatauna sandhirna cha vigraha".

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24. Sahityadarpana 1923, p. CXXIII.
25. Sahityadarpana, p. 142. *Suratrana* is a sanskritised form of Arabic Sultan.

With Allapadina peace means usurption of all the wealth and property and war means sure death and so no peace or war is possible with him.

The author Visvanatha notes that out of four methods when two namely peace and war are not possible with him there remain the other two namely Sama (alliance) or Dana (tribute) which were adopted by many for their safety.

The Sanskrit eulogists were fond of describing the high qualities of the opponent of their hero for the purpose of a contrast to the higher qualities of their hero and as the above verses seems to be selected from the *Prasasti* (eulogy) of Narasimhadeva I, the real meaning of the verses is to be taken in the opposite sense according to the rules of Alankara Sastra. The first verse in the plain English gives the meaning that the Muslim army which attacked Jajnagar was fully perished and the Sultan only heard the news of their defeat which reached Lakhnauti after crossing the Ganges. The meaning of the second verse is this that all other kings either offered tribute or made alliance with Allavadina (Allauddin) but on the contrary Allavadina had to do the same thing with the Rai of Jajnagar. These hyperboles from the pen of the penegyrists are corroborated by Minhaj's bold and true statement of the defeat of the Muslim army in Jajnagar from 1243 to 1245 A. D. when Alladdin was the Sultan of Delhi.

Visvanath has coined the Sanskrit words 'Suratrāṇa' and "Allapadinanrpati'. Suratrana means the protector of gods but of Allapadina *Dina* is a Sanskrit word but Allapa is not a Sanskrit one. The Palam Baoli inscription[26] of 1276 mentions good many sanskritised Persian words—such as Alavadina and Gayasadina and the epithets used in connection with these names are all Sanskrit like Allapadinanrpati here. The Ganga copper-plates mention *Gayasudina*. So it appears that the Sanskritised form of Persian names was different in Orissa from northern India. The Coins of Shamsuddin Altamash *Suritana Sri Samasuddina*' and that of Allauddin Masaud Shah give *Suritana Sri Alavadina.*[27]

The copper-plates of Narasingha[28] Deva II, Bhanu Deva[29] II and Narasingha[30] Deva IV do not mention the expedition of Tughril in 1279 to Jajnagar as recorded by Barani and so it seems that it was only a mere raid which was not given any importance by the Oriya historians or poets, but Barani's account of Ulugh Khan's expedition to Jajnagar in 1323 A. D. from Warrangal is corroborated by the inscriptions.

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26. J. A. S. B. 1874. pp. 104-110.
27. Catalogue of Coins of Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 22 and 30.
28. J. A. S. B. 1896.
29. Orissa in the Making, p. 202.
30. J. A. S. B. 1895.

Barani writes:—

"The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilong. These he sent to his father."[31]

The copper-plates relate the following verse describing the reign of Bhanu Deva II (1306-1327 A. D.)

"Rajno yasya Gayasadina Samara
Prāravdha—śauryakṣata
Praudhāneka narendra kandha-
ragalat kilala pūrnavanih."[32]

This Gayasudina is no other than Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq I (1320-1324) whose son Ulugh Khan conquered Telengana.

Thus we see that important events of the Muslim history are corroborated from the inscriptions of the Orissa and these corroborations clearly prove that Jajnagar mentioned by Minhaj and Barani, was another name of Orissa and Afif's mention of 'Jajnagar—Udisa removes all doubt regarding the identity of Jajnagar with Orissa.

Now the question arises as to how Minhaj the first Muslim historian came to know the name of Jajnagar in 1243-44 during his stay at Lakhnauti. There is no doubt about it that he came to know it from some definite sources which he has not noted in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Jajnagar as the another name of Utkala, Odra or Kalinga is not found from any inscription of Bengal during the 12th century or earlier,

The only source of Minhaj's information in Bengal is Dhoyi's *Pavanaduta* in which we find the description of a city called Yayatinagar "khyatam Jagati nagarimākhyaya tam̃ Yayāteh" which is situated on the north of Kalinganagar and south of Vijayapura in Radha or Suhma in south-western or western Bengal. In the city of Yayatinagara, the poet of *Pavanaduta* describes that the courtyards (Prangaṇa) were adorned with betelnut trees twined with the creeper of the betel leaves. This description locates the city of Yayatinagara of *Pavanaduta* in the seaboard district of Orissa and not in the hilly tract in upper valley of the Mahanadi.

Mr. H. P. Sastri noticed the discovery of the manuscript of *Pavanaduta* in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1898 pp. 190-92 and after identifying Yayatinagar with Jajpur he writes that "From the capital of Utkala, the invisible messenger blows to the country of Suhma, or what is known as the western Bengal" Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakraverti published

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31. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 294.

the text of *Pavanaduta* in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. I. new series, (1905) (p. 44. He identified Yayatinagara of *Pavanaduta* with Yayatinagar mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions of Mahasivagupta Yayati and Mahabhavagupta Bhimaratha.[33] These inscriptions record that Yayatinagara was situated on bank of the Mahanadi and Hiralal has suggested that Binka in the Sonepur State was called Yayatinagar. In the Terumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola Yayatinagar, wrongly written as Adinagara, was the capital of the Somakuli kings. The Somakuli dynasty of the inscriptions popularly called the Kesari dynasty in the *Madalapanji*, was ousted by Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty in 1118 A. D. No inscription of Chodaganga or his successors mentions Yayatinagara, but in the *Madalapanji* there has been described a place called Abhinava (New) Yayatinagara during the reign of Anangabhimadeva with whom Muslims of Bengal had several fights. In absence of any epigraphical evidence on Yayatinagar we can safely rely on the Madalapanji supporting the popularity of Yayatinagar during the reign of the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva and Minhaj's Jajnagar is the corrupt from Yayatinagara which can be identified according to *Pavanaduta* with Jajpur.

Almost all the village astrologers of Orissa possess the copy of the *Madalapanji* which they read before the public on the *Dola-purnima* day. I got a copy of such a *Madalapanji* from an astrologer of the village Kesarpur near Chaudwar and in this copy of the *Madalapanji* it has been recorded that Chodaganga Deva the first king of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, established his capital "Jajnagara Kataka". According to this tradition it seems that there existed a city called Jajnagara the corrupt form of new Yayatinagar which was the capital of the Somakuli Kesari kings in eastern Orissa. The poet Dhoyi, the author of *Pavanaduta*, lived before 1200 A. D. and described Yayatinagar which was transformed into Jajnagar in 1260 A. D., when Minhaj wrote his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Stirling's version of the *Madalapanji* printed in 1825 A. D. narrates that Yayati Kesari's "Court was held at Jajpura where he built a palace[34] and a castle called Chaudwar."

Rajendralal Mitra's note on Jajpur runs as follows:—

"Again it was said that as Yayati Kesari × × × first established his metropolis at Yajapura, he must have built the city and named it after himself Yayatipura which now survives in the abbreviated form of Yajapura. The derivation, however, is questionable. Under the phonetic rules of the Prakrita language Yayati would not change into Yaya; whereas Yāj, the radical

33. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India Nos. 1568-70.

34. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, p.

of Yajna, even in Sanskrit yields the noun Yaja or Yaga, sacrifice and thence Yajapura is an obvious and legitimate derivation."[35]

Nandalal Dey's notes on Jajpur run as follows:—

"Jajpur is a contraction of Yayatipur. The temple of Biraja at Jajpur is one of the fifty two pithas where a part of Sati's body is said to have fallen. Brahma is said to have celebrated the horse sacrifice ten times at Dasasvamedha ghat on the bank of the Baitarani river, and hence the place obtained the name Jajnapura.[36] × × According to Dr. Fleet Yayatinagara is the ancient name of Kataka (in Orissa)[37]. As Yayati established a city called Yayatinagara after his own name in the upper valley of the Mahanadi, it is plausible that after occupying Utkala, he changed the name of Jajapura into Abhinava Yayatinagara. The mention of the river Baitarani in Mahabharata clearly proves the antiquity of Jajapur, the corrupt form of Jajnapura through Jagapur. So the name Jajnagara seems to have been abbreviated from two names of the city, Jajapura and Yayatinagara."

The name Yayatipura suggested by R. L. Mitra and N. Dey does not find corroboration from the epigraphic or traditional account of Orissa, but the popularity of Jajnagara as the another name of Jajapura continued upto the middle of the 18th century in Orissa which is proved by literary evidence. On the other hand the popularity of the more ancient name Jajpura in Bengal in the 16th century A. D. is known from *Chaitanyacharitamrita* and *Chaitanya Bhagavata.*

According to Saraladasa's Oriya Mahabharata (Svargarohan parva) Judhistira with brothers first arrived at Jajnagari on the Baitarani from the north of Orissa. From Jajanagar he came to Amaravati Kataka (now Chhatia in the Cuttack District) and then crossing the river Chitrotpala (the Mahanadi) came to Ekamratirtha or Bhubaneswar, and on his return journey he came to the Baitarani after crossing the Chitrotpala. So it seems that during the time of Saraladasa Jajanagar was more popular than Jajapura (15th century A. D.)

The pilgrimage of Chaitanyadeva in Orissa is described in the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and *Chaitanya bhagavata.* In these works Jajapura on the Baitarani finds mention but in *Jagannatha Charitamrita* an Oriya work describing the pilgrimage of Chaitanya, Jajanagara on the Baitarani finds mention; and the mention of Varahanath at Jajanagar was the another name of Jajapura. The date of *Jagannatha Charitamrita* belongs to the same period as that of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* or *Chaitanya Bhagavata i.e.* the 16th century A. D. Sikhara Dasa's Nilasundara

35. Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 157.
36. Geographical Dictionary, p. 214.
37. *Ibid*, p. 216.

Gita is another work in Oriya which contains the traditional past history of Orissa in the form of prophecy and from the mention of Kapilendra Deva as one of the kings of Orissa, it seems that he lived in the later part of the 15th century or the earlier part of the 16th century A. D. The following lines from *Nilasundara gita* remind us the verse beginning with 'Gangambhasi' of Sahitya-darpana quoted below :—

Sāma-dāna chhādi narendra nripati Samara Kariva jai,
Hasti-asva-vaḷa vahuta padive dharmi na padive Kehi ||
Diganta hoi paḷāive pāpie Gajapati leutiva ;
Gangāre Khandāpakhāliva narendra Yayanagare Vasiva.||

The King (Narendra) would fight by giving up the principles of Sama and Dana, and a large number of forces of elephants and horses will be fallen in the battle, but not a single virtuous man. The enemy would retreat without knowing the direction and the Gajapati will come back to Jajanagara after washing the sword in the Ganges."

Sikhara Dasa mentions that the deity named Viraja resides at Jajnagar and this fact is another evidence in support of the identification of Jajanagara with Jajpur.

The latest mention of Jajnagar is made by the poet Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara of the 18th Century A. D. in his poetical works called *Premakala*. The couplet containing Jajanagara runs as follows.

"Jamvudvipe-bharata khandeesāra mahī
Mahodadhi Jājanagra madhye ramyatahim."

As Mahasivagupta Yayati ruled towards the close of the 10th century A. D., the date of Yayatinagara cannot go beyond the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. but in the early 13th century A. D. it was contracted into Jajnagar which has been recorded by Minhaj ; and Afif's text of Jajnagara Udisa in *Tarihk-i-Ferozshahi* clearly proves that during the 3rd quarter of the 14th century A. D. Udisa was gaining popularity. Let us see how the name *Odisa* has been derived.

Leaving aside the Pauranic references discussed by Pargitar[38] the epigraphic records of Asoka and Kharavela before the Christian era mention capitals at Tosali and Kalinganagar which were situated in those days in modern Orissa. Kalidasa mentions Utkala which was situated on the south of Banga (Bengal) and north of Kalinga. During the 7th century A. D. Yuanchuang mentions Odra lying south-west of Karnasuvarna and north of Kongada and Kalinga. The copper-plates of Soro[39] mention *Odravisaya* and Uttara Tosala and that of Midnapur[40] mentions

38. J. A. S. B. 1897, pp. 98-104 and 110.
39. E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 201-02.
40. J. A. S. B. Letters, Vol. XI 1945, p. 8.

Utkala. Odra also finds mention in the epithet *Gaudodradi Kalinga kosalpati*,[41] of Harsadeva of Kamarupa. In this area the Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Tosala and Utkala and Daksina Tosala[42] and Kongadamandala was included under Daksina Tosala. Rajasekhara[43] mentions '*Kalinga-Kosala-Tosala-Utkala.*' The copper plates of Gayada Tunga[44] mention Odravisaya. Rajendra Chola's inscriptions[45] mention in 1025 A. D. Kosala, Yayatinagar and Oddavisaya. The Dirghasi inscription[46] mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oddavisaya in the Telugu text. The Ganga inscriptions from the time of Choda Ganga to Narasimha deva[47] IV *e.g.* from 12th century A. D. to first quarter of the 15th. century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 13th and and 14th. centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnagar. Towards the end of the 14th century Shamsi-Siraj Afif has described at one place *Jajnagar-Udisa.*[48] Kapilendra Deva's Jagannath temple inscription[49] dated 1443 A. D. mentions his Odisarajya. Saraladasa in his Oriya Mahabharata (Adiparva) writes that Odisa is the another name of *Odarastra.* In Ferishtah's account on the other hand relating to Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III (1461-1482) of Bahmanis of Kulbarga, "Jajnagar and Odisah are mentioned as totally separate territories," but in Nizamuddin's Tarikh-i-Akbari[50] only Odisa finds mention. So Ferishtah's account of two separate kingdoms does not find corroboration even from the contemporary history.

The above references go to prove that Odra-visaya of the 7th. century A. D. was popular as Oddavisaya in the 11th century A. D. Odavisaya was changed into *Odavisa* which form has not been found from any inscription but Taranath the Tibetan historian mentions *Odavisa* which he wrote perhaps from some earlier account. We do not know when *Odivisa* form was current but this form was certainly earlier to 1360 A. D. when Odisa was written by Afif. So it appears that Odisa was derived from Odravisaya through the following phonetic changes *Odravisaya-Oddavisaya-Odivisa-Odisa.*

The Pauranic from *Utkala* is still popular. Those who maintain that Utkala is derived from *Uttara Kalinga* have not produced any evidence on the use of Uttara-Kalinga from any

41. I. A. Vol. IX 1880, p. 179.
42. Bhauma kings of Orissa by Pandit B. B. Misra, p. 86.
43. Kavyamimamsa, p. 93.
44. E. I. Vol. XII, pp. 291-95.
45. E. I. Vol. IX.
46. E. I.
47. J. A. S. B. 1895 and 1896.
48. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 592 n.
49. J. A. S. B. 1893, p.
50. Vol. III, pp. 86 and 102.

inscription or literature. The mediaeval names such as Kalinga, Kongada, Tosala, Kosala and Yayatinagar (or Jajnagar) are no longer in use. The Trikandasesa mentions that Odra is the same as Utkala. Stirling derives the word Orissa from *Ordesa* or *Oresa*. In Hobson and Jobson the Sanskrit form of Orissa is given as Odra-rastra—the land of the Odras. Under the word Oriya it is written there that "the proper name of the country is Odradesa or *Ordesa* whence Oriya or Uriya." None of these Sanskrit words Odra-rastra or Ordesa will give us Odisa through phonetic changes according to Prakrit grammar.

THE SIEGE OF CHAMPANER-PĀWĀGADH BY SULṬĀN MAHMUD I BEGAḌA

In A. D. 1482-1484.

BY

DR. H. GOETZ, PH.D. BARODA.

The siege of Champaner-Pāwāgadh by Maḥmūd I Begaḍa is generally accepted as one of the most important military events in the history of late Mediaeval Gujarāt. Only after its fall the sulṭāns of Aḥmadābād could regard themselves truely sovereigns of Western India, a fact which Maḥmūd acknowledged by the foundation of a splendid second capital at its foot.

The siege which lasted twenty months, centred round the only spur which does not break off in insurmountable cliffs, but comes down on the South-Eastern side in a series of broad terraces and soft slopes. The neck of this spur is protected by two deep gorges. Into the northern gorge falls the rivulet of the Viśvamitri, near the traditional hermitage of Viśvamitra, the great Vedic rishi; the southern gorge separates the lower-most plateaus from another, forbidding spur to its West, with the so-called palace of the last Chauhān rājā Jai Singh. The inaccessible cliffs surrounding these two gorges, however, are connected by a not so high, but still sufficiently difficult cliff-band across the neck of the South-Eastern spur, separating the Lower from the Middle Fort. The lower-most plateau, finally, is separated from the plain and the softly rising forelands by a slope the height of which varies on the southern and south-western sides between hundred and two hundred feet, on the eastern and north-eastern, however, between only twenty and fifty whereas towards the north it breaks off into the Viśvamitri gorge.

This lower-most plateau forms the Lower Fort, accessible at its weakest, E. N. E. side by the Atak Gate. The Middle Fort

is reached by the Mahotī Gate, a system of gateways and bastions partly cut into the rock in an inner angle of the cliffband across the spur neck. To the south another narrow neck leads to the else completely inaccessible spur with the so-called palace of the Patai Rāval Jai Singh. Towards the west and then north-west, however, the road climbs up over steep, but passable slopes past several gates at specially difficult spots, to the uppermost band of cliffs surrounding the "Maulīya" plateau, the Upper Fort, protected by the Naqqar Khāna Gate, likewise partly cut into the rock.

Considerable time must have been lost by Maḥmūd Begaḍa in surrounding the mountain-stock and finding out its vulnerable points. Trenches and batteries were pushed forward towards the "Western" wall of the fort, not far from the main gate. From here the sultan could overlook the walls and observe what the Rājputs inside were doing. Probably from this position an assault party under Malik Āyāz Sulṭanī stormed the battered walls on the 21st November 1484 and took possession of the main gate. At the break of dawn the same day another party under Malik Sarang Qiwām-ul-Mulk scaled another section of the walls when most Rājput guards had for a moment left their posts for their ablutions. The Rājputs vainly tried to dislodge Malik Āyāz by throwing a large canister of powder against his position; but the wind blew this canister back to the Rāval's place where it exploded harmlessly. Thereupon the Rajputs committed jauhār, burned their wives and children in the Rāval's palace, the majority sallied out of the gate and fell fighting, some retired to the Upper Fort, but surrendered some days later.

The above account is anything but clear; to details the Mirat-i-Sikandarī and the Tabakāt-i Akbarī, as well as the English accounts by J. W. Watson[1] and M. S. Commissariat[2] contradict each other. This is not surprising if we keep in mind the rather complicated formation of the terrain which makes an exact description difficult, and also its present desolation where the jungle obliterates the vestiges of the past and where, therefore, local traditions tend to be transferred to those ruins which are still accessible. As Champaner can easily be reached from Baroda by motor car, I made a number of excursions to check the historical accounts on the spot and to reconstruct the siege in terms of modern military science.

The first question to be decided is which fort the Sulṭān actually attacked. As the Maulīya was first fortified by Maḥmūd himself, the choice can be only between the Lower and Middle Fort. But already Watson has pointed out that this could only

1. Historical Sketch of the Hill Fortress of Pawagadh in Gujarat, Indian Antiquary VI, p. 1 ff., 1877.
2. History of Gujarat, Bombay 1938. p. 186 ff.

be the Lower Fort, as even from the highest siegework it would have been completely impossible to overlook the cliffs of the Mahotī Gate.

But then we come to the next contradictions: The breach through which Malik Āyāz entered the Lower Fort and occupied the main, *i.e.*, the Atak Gate, is said to have been in the western wall. The batteries which battered open this breach, however, must have been mounted on the same earthworks from which the Maḥmūd could overlook the town, and which must also have shielded the massed assault troops of Malik Āyāz. But the valley on the west side is much too deep to have rendered it possible to construct earthworks or to bring up guns there, nor are there any vestiges left in this lonely valley. Besides, the guns would have been dominated by the Middle Fort, and the assailants would have been forced to traverse the whole Rājput town before they could reach the Atak Gate. As a matter of fact, the real point of attack was the Eastern wall, to the left of the Atak Gate up to the E. S. E. corner of the town. Here the level difference between the plateau of the Lower Fort and the softly falling hill-side outside is not more than twenty feet. Whereas everywhere else the Rājput wall of basalt rubblework is still standing, here it has been replaced by much better Muslim fortifications in yellow sandstone, a sign that here the old walls had been completely destroyed before the sulṭān could take possession of them. In the area outside there are irregular mounds pointing out the sites of the deserted siege works. Inside, a row of strange basalt platforms accompanies the wall, at a distance of about ten yards from it and from each other. At the first moment one is inclined to regard them as the ruined towers of the original Rājput wall, or shelters. But both explanations are untenable as these structures are open in front and on the backside, and have primitive bracket ladders to the top. They must be catapult platforms intended to strengthen the wall. But even then one is puzzled. The platforms are so carefully constructed that they cannot be the last-moment improvisations, and they are so low that one wonders how the artillerists could aim at any target beyond that high wall. But during the long negotiations with Maḥmūd and Ghiyāz-ud-dīn of Mālwa, the Rāval must have had sufficient time to construct these catapult platforms. And as already observed, the present walls here represent the repair work undertaken by Maḥmūd Begaḍa after the siege, and the platforms actually are on a level with the top of the original Rājput fortifications where they still are standing. For the Rājput ramparts were not very high on the inner side (ca. 8 feet), and their strength against the enemy lay in the hill slope in front of them or, on this,—weakest,—side, the broad moat. It is obvious from the earth-works and the debris of the crumbling walls that the moat had soon been filled up, and that when the walls here had been stormed, it must have been easy for Malik Āyāz to occupy the adjoining Atak Gate.

It now remains to explain how this actually eastern fort wall has been confused by the chronicles with the western one. Champaner was besieged from the east and south. Any position lying to the left of the main target *i.e.* the Atak Gate, could easily be regarded as lying to the west by anybody not acquainted with the local situation. But another reason may also be advanced: There actually took place an attack also from the west, *i,e.*, that of the surprise party under Malik Sarang Qiwām-ul-Mulk. According to one version this aimed at a sally post which the Rājputs had left open when making their ablutions in the early morning. Now, such a sally port, not very strong, lies at the upper end of the valley between the Lower Fort and forbidding cliff spur with the co-called palace of Jai Singh. As this valley shows not the least signs of human occupation, it seems always to have been covered by jungle. For this reason the Muslims had been unable to discover it and for the same reason the Rājputs must have become careless in its protection, and the Muslims would have finally reached it at a quiet hour without being readily discovered. However, this sally port was of the greatest strategical importance. At the neck between the Middle and Lower Fort. from here the Mahotī Gate could be reached by surprise, and the retreat of the garrison from the Lower Fort be cut off. And as the western half of the Lower Fort shows not the least vestiges of former buildings. it seems always to have been covered with jungle. Thus the intruders could not only occupy the small tank near this gate, but also reach the Medī Talāo which supplied practically all the water to the Rājput town. These two facts explain the sudden collapse and the jauhār of the Rājput defenders.

Commissariat tells us that this jauhār took place on the high spur south of the Middle Fort, in the ruin now called "Jai Singh's Palace." Presuming the above hypothesis to be correct, it would be impossible to explain how even a part of the Rājput army could have reached the palace. In that case we shall have to assume that Malik Sarang's party must have intruded still further west either *via* Viśvamitra's hermitage or through the gorge to the west of the high cliff. But this is so difficult that at the best a handful of first-class mountaineers could have accomplished it. And such a party would have been so diminutive that the Rājputs would have massacred it easily. But the whole identification is impossible and must be of recent origin. For this palace is built in the yellow sandstone and with the ogival arches used only by the Muslims whereas all the Rājput architecture of the place is constructed in basalt and in the trabeate style. This palace must be part of the building programme of Mahmūd Begada who first began really to occupy also the Middle and Upper Forts. For barring the temples, only the Sadan Shāh Gate and two other modest and, for defense purposes useless gates testify to the Rājput occupation of the area above the Mahotī Gate.

As a matter of fact the Rāval's palace must have been situated

near the Atak Gate. For as already demonstrated, the main gate taken by Malik Āyāz could have been only the Atak Gate. However, the large canister thrown against Malik Ayaz's party was blown by the wind towards the Rāval's palace. Neither from the Atak nor from the Mahotī Gate this would have been possible, in case that palace might have been identical with the Muslim ruins on those high cliffs. Also Major J. W. Watson speaks of the "ruins of the Rāval's palace *on the lower spur*." During an investigation of the jungle near the Atak Gate I found, not far to the right of the road, the foundations (2-4 feet high) of a great quadrangle, with a large and two small courts and four corner towers, in the plain basalt style of all Rājput buildings of the place, with trabeate lintels and simple brackets. This must have been the horrible site of jauhār of the last Chauhāns of Champaner-Pāwāgaḍh: A strong building, representative as a palace, but much too cramped as to be the last retreat of a desperate garrison, and above all, without water.

Now we have all the necessary details in order to reconstruct the siege. The imposing hill fort, the ruins of which even to-day are so impressive, was first constructed by Mahmūd Begada, though his original plan seems never to have been completed. The Rājput fort not only occupied the strategically weakest spot of the whole mountain stock, but was also as a work of military engineering far behind contemporary Muslim fortifications. Its strength lay not in its basalt rubble walls with simple gates, but in the shortage of the really vulnerable defence line. On this defence sector the Rājputs could concentrate almost their whole garrison, and the system of catapult platfroms behind it made an escalade almost hopeless. But the other sides, though better protected by nature, were insufficiently fortified and hidden from control by the jungle to the west of the Medī Talāo. The Mahotī Gate then had in spite of mighty bastions, probably only *one* gateway, and both the Middle and Upper Forts lacked sufficient housing and storage accommodation.

Maḥmūd Begada planned the siege in the orthodox manner, by constructing high earthworks with assault bridges and batteries against the weakest point of the wall, south of the Atak Gate, and by filling up the most in front of it. Nevertheless the fierceness of the Rājput defence might have frustrated his efforts. But the surprise onslaught on the lonely and badly guarded sally port at the end of the valley west of the Lower Fort permitted Malik Sarang Qiwām-ul-Mulk not only to cut off the connection with the Middle and Upper Forts, but also to penetrate to the Medī Talāo. The appearance of the Muslim soldiers from the jungle everywhere west of the town must have created consternation, and part of the Rājput soldiers must have left the breaches in order to eject the intruders. This, again, permitted Malik Āyāz to storm the breaches and to penetrate towards the Atak Gate. The population fled to the northern part of the town in

the hope to reach the Upper Fort. But the occupation of the Medi Talāo by the soldiers of Malik Sarang forced them back into the last stronghold, the Rāval's palace near the Atak Gate. There they committed suicide. The few people on guard or accidentally in the Middle and Upper Forts, threatened by starvation and obviously too weak as to hope for any prolonged resistance, surrendered.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE HINDUS UNDER THE KHALJIS

BY

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In Islamic State a non-Muslim is not accorded full status of citizenship in so far that he cannot expect protection of life and property as a matter of course; but only against payment of *Jaziya*, or poll tax, may he receive "protection of life and exemption from military service",[1]—military service being incumbent on every Muslim.[2] The protected non-Muslim is known as *Zimmi*. Although according to both Abu Hanifa and Abu Yūsuf *Jaziya* could be imposed on all non-Muslims without distinction, yet some later and more fanatically inclined jurists do not give the concession of *Jaziya* to idolaters and leave them only a choice between conversion to Islam and death.[3] In India, however, with a population of about cent per cent idolaters, any extreme measures were impossible; and Muslim rulers here were tolerant from the very beginning of their rule as they accorded the status of *Zimmi* to the idolatrous Hindus. The *Zimmis* had certain other disabilities also besides their paying the *Jaziya*, *e.g.* import duty for the Muslims was 5 per cent of the commodity, for the Hindus it was 10 per cent[4]; the Muslims had complete liberty to build and visit their places of worship, not so the Hindus. Again the non-Muslims were not to wear fine clothes or ride horses.[5] In this country Muslim rule lasted for about ten centuries and the treatment meted out to the Hindus by various rulers was based neither always on the dictates of the *Shariat* nor on any uniform policy. Some monarchs were constitutionally bigoted, others were

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1. Aghnides: Muhammedan Theories of Finance, London, 1916, pp. 399, 528.
2. Quran IX. 29: جهادفي سبيل الله
3. Abu Yusuf: Kitabul Kharaj—French Translation by Fagnan cited in Tripathi: Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p. 340.
4. Aghnides: p. 318.
5. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, pp. 958-59.

emperamentally liberal. Besides other influences their attitude as rulers was to a very great measure also determined by the attitude of the Hindus as a subject people. In the following pages it is proposed to study the political condition of the Hindus under the Khalji Sultans (1290-1320 A. D.).

To disprove the medieval concept that a good warrior made a successful king, Jalāluddīn Fīroz ascended the throne of Delhi in 1290. His administration was lax. The barons asserted their rights. Even adventurers began to aspire for the throne. No surprise, then, that the Hindus also asserted their former rights of worshipping idols openly and riding on horses; it is doubtful if they had ever been denied them before. At least now they passed by the ramparts of the royal palace blowing conch-shells and ringing bells as they went to the Jumna for idol worship.[6] The religious-minded septagenarian writhed at this audacity of the Hindus, but he felt himself incapable of putting a stop to such indecent display of their worship. "What is our defence of the Faith", cried the Sultan, "that we suffer these Hindus, who are the greatest enemies of God and of the religion of Muṣṭafā (هندوان كه دشمن ترين دشمنان خداوندين مصطفى اند), to live in comfort and do not flow streams of their blood?" Jalāl must have crushed them had he strength enough to do so, and justifiably, for according to the Law no offensive publicity of the *Zimmis* was to be tolerated.[7]

It is interesting indeed to note that both Jalāluddīn Fīroz and 'Alā'uddin Muḥammad referred with indignation to the Hindus wearing fine clothes and riding on horseback.[8] According to the Law the non-Muslim "must distinguish himself from believers by dress, not riding on horseback or carry weapons and by a generally respectable attitude towards the Muslims".[9] Jalāl's complaint was that "the Hindus chewed *pan* unmindful of anything, dressed in white and moved among the Musalmans with comfort and ease".[10] The ripe old Sultan knew the Law, but it is doubtful if 'Alāuddīn knew it. One fact, however, is certain. The affluence as also the self assertion of the Hindus was gall and wormwood to both of them. Jalāluddīn only smarted under a sense of indignation but 'Alāuddīn took definite steps to see that so much was not "left to the Hindus as to admit of their wearing fine clothes, and indulging in sumptuous and luxurious habits".[11] During the reign of Jalāluddin the Hindus could not be crushed. Neither the

6. Ziya Barani: Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Bibliotheca Indica Text, (indicated as Barani hereafter), pp. 216-17.
7. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol I, p. 958.
8. Barani, pp 217, 291.
9. Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol. 1, pp. 958-959.
10. Barani, pp. 216-17.
11. Barani, p. 287.

Sultan was so strong nor the Hindus so weak, that persecution of the non-Muslim could have been possible. But the monarch made a distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims, and once, after a victorious battle, "whatever live Hindu fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musalmans, who were Hindi's (country-born), had their lives spared."[12]

Fortunately for the Hindus, 'Alāuddīn refused to lend his ears unblushingly to the orthodox *'ulama* from the very beginning of his rule, for had he done otherwise, the lot of the Hindus under such a strong and implacable sovereign can only be imagined. Under him the temporal power eclipsed the ecclesiastical. He decreed only what he conceived to be for the best interests of the state.[13] Towards that end he undertook numerous measures which affected all sections of the population especially the Hindus, who formed the bulk of it. Naturally his curiosity was aroused to know the position of the Hindus in Islamic state. Qazi Mughīs was consulted but he painted a very dark picture. "The Hindu", said he, "should pay the taxes with meekness and humility coupled with the utmost respect and free from all reluctance. Should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, he should open the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it..... The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part..... is to show the extreme submissiveness incumbent upon this race (غایت اطاعت ذمی است). God Almighty Himself (in the Qurān) commands their complete degradation[14] in as much as these Hindus are the deadliest foes of the true prophet. Muṣṭafā has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith, or else be slain or imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated."[15] 'Alāuddīn was not very much concerned about the Law. His wide experience, however, had impressed upon him the belief "that the Hindu will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalman".[16] The experience of Jalāluddīn was also the same. 'Alāuddin, therefore, determined to strike at the very root of contumacy and "directed that only so much should be left to his subjects (رعیت) as would maintain them from year to year.....without admitting of their storing up or having articles in excess." And 'Alāuddīn felt justified in taking such a step. He knew that the Chiefs and Muqaddams used to lead

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12. Miftahul Fatuh, Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. III, p. 539.
13. Barani, pp. 295-96.
14. The Qazi quoted from the Qurans عن يدوهم صاغرون Sale's Quran, p. 152. See also Blochman's Translation of Ain-i-Akbari, p. 237 note. 1.
15. Barani, pp. 290-291.
16. *Ibid.* p. 291.

a luxurious life and yet never paid a *jital* of their taxes.[17] The measures of 'Alāuddīn had the desired effect and if Barani does not exaggerate the Hindus were impoverished to such an extent that there was no sign of gold or silver left in their houses, and the wives of Khūṭs and Muqaddams (Zamindars and Headmen) used to seek jobs in the houses of the Musalmans, work there and receive wages.[18]

It is obvious, therefore, that the lot of the Hindus, was hard under 'Alāuddīn. But a thorough study of the Sultan's character clearly shows that religious considerations did not prompt him to oppress the Hindus in any way. If the bulk of the population of the country as well as most of the landholders and cultivators were Hindus it was but natural that the Hindus would suffer most from his economic and revenue regulations. If the kingdoms 'Alāuddīn invaded belonged to Hindu Rajas, if at the time of warfare fanaticism was let loose, temples were razed to the ground and the Hindu subjects underwent, untold sufferings, it was not because 'Alāuddīn was a bigot. 'Alāuddīn's vigorous measures and extensive conquests, however, created misunderstanding both at home and abroad. In India people thought him a persecutor of the Hindus[19] and foreigners also had the same impression. Maulana Shamsuddīn Turk, a divine from Egypt, was happy to learn that 'Alāuddīn had made the wretchedness and misery of the Hindus so great and had reduced them to such a despicable condition "that the Hindu women and children went out begging at the doors of the Musalmans".[20] The same impression is betrayed in the writings of Isāmī and Vaṣṣāf.[21] Yet there is not a single instance to prove that 'Alāuddīn oppressed some people simply because they were Hindus and favoured some others only because they were Musalmans. If under his vigorous administration traders suffered it was not that only Hindu traders suffered, if the revenue regulations were offensive to the people they were not enforced against the Hindus only, and if the nobility were suppressed it was not that only Hindu noblemen were crushed. In fact 'Alāuddīn's treatment of the nobility was perhaps most severe and there were very few, if any, Hindu noblemen in his days. The charge of bigotry, so uncritically levelled against him, is not warranted by historical facts. One thing, however, is certain. The Hindus had been sufficiently suppressed during 'Alāuddīn's reign. While summing up the achievements of 'Alāuddīn the contemporary chronicler mentions

17. *Ibid*, p. 291.
18. Barani, p. 288.
19. *Eg.* Barani. Also Isami: Even Amir Khusrau was inclined to believe that.
20. Barani, pp. 297-98.
21. Isami—*Fatuhus-Salatin*, Agra Text. pp. 569-70; *Tarikh-i-Vassaf*, Bombay Text Book IV, p. 448; Bk. V, p. 646, 647.

with due emphasis that by the last decade of his reign the submission and obedience of the Hindus had become an established fact. Such a submission on the part of the Hindus "has neither been seen before nor will be witnessed hereafter."

Under the next king Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Khaljī the Hindus seem to have regained their lost position to a very great extent, firstly, because the king rescinded all the thousand regulations of 'Alāuddīn and "*tankahs* and *jitals* began to ring in men's pockets", and secondly, because Mubārak Shāh had gained the throne through efforts of Hindu foot soldiers (Pāiks). They became so domineering that Mubārak Shāh could only crush them by dispersing them into various districts and then decapitating them. It clearly indicates that the Hindus, down trodden during 'Alāuddīn's days, had sufficiently recuperated. Quṭbuddīn was young, foolish, arrogant and debauch. He took the title of the Khalīfa to himself and was enthusiastic about converting Hindus to the Muhammadan faith by various temptations.[22] He was also very cruel to the Hindu princes whom he defeated.[23] But he fell a victim to his lisence and the crown was snatched away from him by a favourite of his, Khusrau Khan. Khusrau was a convert from Hinduism and he again got the throne through the help of his Barvārī relations and followers from Gujarat. Naturally the Hindus were in the ascendant and Nāṣiruddin, because of his obligations to them, had to overlook some of their excesses. The Barvāris took possession of Muslim maidens and began the worship of idols inside the palace. Copies of the Qurān were torn to pieces and used as seats for idols which were placed in the niches of the mosques.[24] But the narrative of the contemporary chronicler suffers from gross exaggeration. It was a political stunt of Ghayāsudcīn Tughlaq to declare a *Jihad* against Nāṣiruddīn, whom he accused of establishing Hindu Raj. Again, the suggestion of a modern historian that if the Hindus would have rallied round a leader, Delhi would have come under them once again,[25] also lacks historical support. What the Hindus did was only a retaliatory measure to all that the Muslims were wont to do. They had known the Muslim conquerors breaking temples and destroying religious books of the Hindus. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Barwārīs used the copies of the Quran as seats for idols. There was no question of establishing a Hindu Raj nor any effort made towards that end.[26]

Thus it would be seen that if the Hindus could not be a real

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22. Ibn Battutah Def. and Sang. Vol. III, pp. 197-198.
23. Barani, p. 390.
24. Barani, pp. 410-411.
25. Dr. Ishwari Prasad: History of Medieval India. Fourth Edition, p. 251.
26. See my article "Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah" in Journal of Indian History, Madras, December, 1944.

danger to the Sultanate, they were also in no way prepared to submit to the political and social disabilities imposed upon them by the Muslim State. They indulged in idol worship under the very, nose of Sultan Jalāluddīn. Their suppression under 'Alauddīn was only a temporary phase. They always tried to get back their lost prosperity and position and Malik 'Alāulmulk gave a correct picture of them to 'Alāuddīn when he said, "If they (the Hindus) do not find a mighty sovereign at their head, nor behold crowds of horse and foot with drawn swords and arrows threatening their lives and property, they fail in their allegiance, refuse payment of revenue, and excite a hundred tumults and revolts."[27] Obviously the Hindus had to be dealt with severely and even to be debarred from Government service. That is why we hardly find many, if any, talented Hindu officers being appointed to high administrative posts in Alauddin's time. Favour was shown to the Muhammadans in every way while the Hindus were accorded a step-motherly treatment. Naturally a sub-conscious feeling developed with the pampered class that they dominated over the Hindus.[28] But for the temporary grounding down under 'Alāuddīn the Hindus were economically well off. They held parties, fought duels, wore white garments and rode on horses. Nor were the Hindus morally degenerated. Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, a comtemporary saint, confesses that the Hindus were not prepared to renounce their faith under any circumstances. In the whole of the *Favaidul Favad* there are only two cases of conversion mentioned, and in both the cases the renegades were poor and illiterate curd-sellers.[29] In fact the Hindus were in a position even to pay back the excesses of the Muslims in the same coins as is obvious from the events of the reign of Nāṣiruddīn. But this is perhaps the only instance of Hindus' desecrating Muslim religious books and places of worship in the whole history of Muslim rule in India. If they did not do so it was because of their religious training and spirit of toleration.

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27. Barani, p. 268.
28. Amir Khusrau: *Deval Rani*, Aligarh Text, p. 50.
29. *Favaidul Favad*, Lucknow Text.

CLASSICAL MUSIC SONGS AS SOURCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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It is strange to find that little attention has been paid to Classical Songs; and no historian, has tackled them for the Reconstruction of Indian History. The reason for this indifference is evident. Most of these songs even now remain unwritten and are on the lips of the Musician Masters (Ustads) who communicate them to their selected pupils by word of mouth only. These songs were composed from the point of view of music and as such rarely contain flourishes of Rhetoric and elegances of Classical Vernacular Poetry. Often they are uncouth and for the requirement of musical contrivances even the meter is sacrificed and the sense is often far from clear. They have thus remained mostly unnoticed by the connoisseurs of Literary Criticism. They are set to different Ragas and Raginis, and are sung as Dhurpads, Khayals, Tappas, and Thumris. But as a source of History they occupy the same position as coins; and will be found of immense use in throwing light on obscure personages and events and will be a good source of corroborative evidence. They supply valuable information about Social History and can be employed for Philological purposes as they reflect the language of the times in which they were composed.

These songs cover a wide range. The earliest specimens go as far as the Khiljis, and they come down to the times of the last Moghal Emperor, Bahadur Shah. They refer to Provincial kingdoms also like those of Malwa, Gujarat and the Maharashtra. They tell us not only about kings and personages connected with the court, but they also inform us about the life of the people. For instance they tell us how Id, Bakrid, Dashehra, Holi, the Jashnas, the Victories, the coronations, the birth-day celebrations of Kings, the Urses, the annual celebrations of the saints were held. They mention the names of various musical instruments, the articles of food, the various kinds of firework and many other things.

Amongst the names frequently to be met with are those of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjehan, Aurangzeb, Shah Alam, Azam Shah, Sikandar Shah, Salim Shah Sur, Wajid Ali Shah, Raja Ram Chhatrapati, son of Shivaji, Raja Ram Baghela, Sulaiman Shah, Baz Bahadur, Rupmati and Birbal. Among the saints reference is made to Qutub-uddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Farid Ganj Shakar, Nizam Uddin Aulia, Nasir Uddin Chirgh Dehlvi,

Ghaus-i-Azam. The names of musicians are many. Among the well known ones are Tan Sen, Birbal, Sadarang Adarang, Bilas Khan, Sujan Khan, Rasul Bakhsh, Khusru. A few Illustrations are given below.

Origin of Celebration of Basant.

Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad in his Nigaristan-i-Faris attributes the celeberation of the Basant festival in Delhi to an incident in the life of the saint Nizamuddin. The latter was in deep grief over the death of a nephew of his named Khwaja Taqiuddin Nuh. and was passing his days in great mental anguish One day he went into ecstacies on hearing a song from the celebrated musician poet Amir Khusrau.

The biographers of Amir Khusrau and Nizam Uddin do not mention exactly what the particular song was. But some two years back the famous old musician Muzaffar Khan of Delhi came to Benares to sing at a party at the palace of Babu Kishori Raman Prasad. He sang the famous song given below in Basant Rag, and then it occured to me that this must be the song sung by Amir Khusru on the occasion mentioned above. It clearly mentions the names of Khusrau and the Saint and so will at once convince one of its authenticity.

Rag Basant

सकल बन फूल रही सरसों
अमुआ मौरे टेसू फूले
कोयल कूकत डार-डार
गोरी करत सिंगार
मलिनिया गड़वा ले आई हरसों
सुन्दर-सुन्दर फूल सजाये
ले गड़ुआ हाथन में आये
निजामुद्दीन के दरवाज़े
आवन कह गये आशिक रंग
और बीत गये बरसों

(दोहा) खुसरो रेन सुहाग की जागी पी के रंग।
तन मेरा मन पहू का, सो दोनों एक ही रंग॥

The custom of celebrating Basant is Hindu. It has been borrowed by the Muslims from the Hindus. It dates from the time of Amir Khusrau and Nizamuddin Aulia and since then Basant is taken regularly to the various Dargahas, (درگاہ) and the custom is known as '*Basant Charahana.*'

The following piece written in the reign of Shah Alam besides indicating the names of flowers also suggests the manner in which it was celebrated at that time and brings out clearly the identity

of the theme and imagery as is to be gleaned from the songs of Amir Khusrau :—

(भटियार होरी)

फूलन के हार चार जूही चंबेली चम्पा सोसन,
राबेल देख कोकिला की बानी जीत-जीत के करे।
सरसों पाये लो फूल रही मुख गुलाब नैनन नरगिस,
अधर दस कवलन की साम्ता करे।
बेली सी नवेली बाल जाके बात-बात में सब दादर,
केवरा केतकी मोतिये सुगन्ध फूल झरें।
आप बन आई कामनी रुत गडवा देन आई,
शाह आलम बादशाह के घर भरे।

Below are given the names of musical instruments that obtained in the time of Shah Alam

प्रथम बसन्त बहार को गड़वा बनाए
गुनी लाये हजरत रसूल के दरबार
दफ़ दाइरा बीन रबाब कानून मृदंग
मुहचंग और बजावत है सब नार
सुख सम्पत हो नित पुत्रन सहित दीजे
दुख और दारिद बिडार
गाय बजाय के माँगे मुरादे
शाहे आलम को दिला दीजे मुल्क माल गंज हजार

The Rag Kedara beings out the variety of fire works :—

फूलजरी हतफूल अनार छूटे घन चक्कर और हवाइ,
चदर जाही जूही महताब सितारे की अतरी ज्योति सुहाई।
झार भुचंपे छूटे घनचक्कर हाथन में करके रोशनाई,
देते सबे शाह आलम को शबबरात की रात को लोग बधाई।

Just as the Rag Hammir gives a list of eatables :—

सरसती के पूजने को सब ले ले आई भर-भर थाली,
पूरी कचोरी समोसा पापरी और करीं नीकी सुहाली।
आनन्द सू गाय बजाय सभी नर नारी देदे ताली,
क्या नीकी मचोरी आजमाई कनी बन की बनी हार दिवासी।

In the Ras Kalpdrum has been reproduced a song (Rag Todi) in which are enumerated names of ornaments worn in the time of Akbar on the occasion of the celebration of the Nauruz festival :—

सीसफूल माँग टीको बेसर मोती डोले करण फूल,
झवणन . मदरोख · मानो जुगरवि करत किलोल।

कटि किङ्किनी भुज बाजूबन्द रखरी
नैनन अञ्जन मन्द हसत नख छोल
बीरबल प्रभु रीझ थकित भये रस
बस कर लीने मोहन नागर रस घोल।

That the Muslim poet Sujan could pray to god Shiva indicates the extent of Hindu Muslim Unity in the Medieval period.

जालिम अजब एक जोगी जहर खाय करता
कहत है गले रुण्ड - माला
आस में मस्म लगाय विजय धतूरा खाय
जपता रहता दोनों दीन मगन ज्वाला
डमरू लिये हाथ गौरा लिया साथ रहता है मुश्ताक
लोचन विशाला
कहे है सुजानखाँ जिया से निश्चय मान
मेरे निगहबान हो बैलवाला

The love of Baz Bahadur Rupmati has been immortalised in the following two pieces :—

(*Rag Vihag*)

श्याम बिना उमगेरी दोऊ बदरा
रूपमती के बाजबहादुर तज दियो गोकुल
मिट गयो झगरा

(*Rag Gandhar*).

तूं जो अब तो मुखदेखन कहत एतो गुमान गुस्सो करे रीझो ललना भावे
बाद ही बकबो करत पूँछत ते उत्तर न देत कञ्चन कीसम काच क्यों भावे
साही कसोटी के माह मेरे जान ताही की महिमा जिसे मन में रहे आवे
रूपमति कहे ताही को लहनो बाज बहादुर को रिझावे।

Musical pieces mentioning the names of Kings are in hundreds. One referring to Aurangzeb is the following :—

बागे की कहूँ के सीधे की छवि कह न जाय
तखत बैठे साह औरंगजेब मोरे नयनन रहे समाय

Another piece associated with Tansen refers to Akbar.

मुरारे त्रिभुवनपति इन्द्र सुरनपति धनेश धनपति
शेषनाग फलपति
क्षीर अब्धि सलिल पति कौस्तभ मणि रतनपति
दिनकर दिनपति नारायण कमलापति

शशि उडगणपति हनुमन्त बलपति कौस्तभ मणि
रतनपति वीणा मृदंग वादनपति
कर मिनत कहे श्रीपति चिरञ्जीव रहो छत्रपति
अकबरशाहे नरनपति तानसेन तानपति

The following piece was composed by Shah Alam in praise of Fariduddin Ganj Shakar and Moinuddin Chishti :—

तुम्हीं हो कुत्बे दीं गञ्जेशकर
सुल्तां मशायख के
नसीरे दीने यज़दां इज़रते ख्वाजा मुईन उद्दीं ॥

Thus a perusal of Music literature can throw a flood of light on the Social condition of the Medieval period.

THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF REWĀ
(Under the Lodī Sultāns)*

BY

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Bhaidachandra, Bhaidachaṅdra was a powerful ruler. His dominions extended from Kālińjar in the west to Chunār in the East. He had the daring to raid the holy places of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā with a view to free the people from the exactions[1] of Muhammadan rulers. As the Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya would have us believe his expeditions were crowned with success for he built palaces, took up residence and placed his agents in the conquered cities.[2] Bhaidachaṅdra married (Uddha) Raṇa Devī, a Bais lady, daughter of (Ba) sātanadeva, the "Lord of Bagīsara" (Baksar).[3] Certain families, forming part of her dowry, escorted the Bais princess to her new home. They were employed in subsequent years for several generations to garrison the fort of Bāṅdhogarh and also acted as scouts. They still reside in the vicinity of the fort and are known as Baksarias. They have developed a caste of their own.[4] From this queen was born to

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*For early history : Paper read by author at the 13th session of the All-India Oriental Conference Nagpur, 1946.

1. Probably pilgrim tax : Virabhanudaya Kavya—I., 56,
2. I., 56-57.
3. Baksar in Baiswara, Unao district, U. P. and not in Bihar.
4. For Baksarias in Bilaspur district, C. P. see Russel-Tribes and Castes. IV.. 436.

him his eldest son, Vāhararāya, who predeceased him and his three wives became sati. According to State genealogies Bhaida chaṅdra had a younger brother, Kūdīdeva, who married in the Chaṅdela family of Bijaigiri (Bijaigarh, Mirzapur district, U. P.) and got an elephant as a part of his bride's dowry. It would appear that some Chauhān chief, probably of Mainpurī, U. P., invaded the Baghela territories and established his thānās but his thānās were ejected by the Baghelas.[5]

Bhaidachaṅdra, whose inscription[6] dated S. 15311=474 A. D. has been found, was a contemporary of Bahlol Lodī and Sikaṅdar of Delhi. As the Baghelas were allied to the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur they naturally invited the hostility of the Lodī monarchs who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with their Sharqī rivals. About the year 1484 A. D., as stated by Niāmatullah Sultān Husain Shāh of Jaunpur fled before Bahlol Lodī and retired to the country of Bhatha (Gahorā). The Rājā (Bhaidachaṅdra) "came out to meet him and presented him with some lacs of TANKAS and 100 horses and elephants after which he sent his own soldiers with him as far as Jaunpur."[7] In this game of power-politics between Delhi and Jaunpur, the Baghela State was a power to reckon with. Bhaidachaṅdra of Gahorā and 'Rai Tilok Chaṅd' of Baiswārā were ranged on opposite sides. No wonder that Bhaidachaṅra raided Bagīsara (Baksar), the capital of his Bais adversary.[8] When Sultān Bahlol ousted Husain Shāh from Jaunpur and appointed Mubārak Khān as governor, Bhaida-chaṅdra, after the chivalrous manner of the Rājpūts, continued to support the Sharqī Sultān. When Mubārak Khān was expelled by the people from Jaunpur in 1492 Bhaidachaṅdra imprisoned him. Sikaṅdar Lodī, who was now on the throne of Delhi, advanced into the territories of Bhatha-Gahorā. Bhaidachaṅdra released Mubārak from captivity but did not desert the Jaunpur cause. Sikaṅdar entered the Baghela territories and marched into the parganā of Kaṅtit, south of the Ganges (Mirzāpur district, U. P.), where Bhaida met him and offered submission. Sikaṅdar restored his sovereignty over Kaṅtit but the Sultan's movement towards Arail,[9] in closer proximity with the Raja's capital, did not inspire confidence. Bhaidachaṅdra suddenly abandoned his camp and fled. Thereupon Sikaṅdar looted his property.[10] In 1495 Sikaṅdar led his second expedition against the Baghelas. At Khān Ghāti, identified by Cunningham with Kathaulī GHAT,[11] Vīrasimha, the grandson of Bhaida, put up a stout resistance but,

5. State genealogies.
6. Preserved in the Lucknow Museum, No. E 37.
7. Makhzan-i-Afghani—E & D., V., 89.
8. Kavya—I., 62.
9. Opposite Prayaga, on the southern bank of the Ganges.
10. *Ibid*, p. 94.
11. C. A, S. I., XXI., 108.

unable to hold his own against the royal forces, fled pursued by Sikaṅdar. Bhaidhchaṅdra himself made his way towards Sargujā but, being advanced in years, died on the way. The Sultan is said to have advanced as far as Papauṅdh in the interior, 20 miles north of Bāṅdhogarh, but reduced to straits for want of supplies, had to retreat to Jaunpur. Lakhmī Chaṅd, a son of Rājā Bhaida, communicated the news of the Sultān's difficulties and retirement to Husain Shāh who prepared to attack him.

Salivahanadeva. State genealogies record the names of six sons of Bhaidachaṅdra of whom the eldest had predeceased him.[12] Of the surviving sons Lakhmī Chaṅd (or Lachhmī Chaṅd) is mentioned by Muslim historians.[13] Another son, Chaṅdra Sen was given the fief of Kasautā while the eldest living, Sālivāhanadeva, came to the throne. Sālivāhana had a short reign. His son, Vīrasimha, had made an unsuccessful stand before Sikaṅdar Lodī in his last expedition to Bhatha whereupon Husain Shāh Sharqī had advanced to attack Sikaṅdar. Sikaṅdar conciliated Sālivāhana and with his help managed to defeat Husain.[14] Sikaṅdar now asked the hand of Sālivāhana's daughter in marriage but the proposal was rejected. This stern attitude of Sālivāhana invited one more raid of Sikaṅdar in 1499 when the country was sacked.

Sālivāhanadeva had, from his queen Arthadevī, a son named Udayakarṇa who was given the fief of Muruka[16] but the prince, abandoning his property, proceeded to Orissa and, marrying the daughter of Puruśottama,[17] the son and successor of Kapilendra (1435-69), settled there. It should seem that the Baghela chief of Nayāgarh State in Orissa is a descendant of Udayakarṇa. Other sons namely Nāgmaldeva and Bhīmamaldeva (called Janakdeva by the bards) got the fiefs of Keotī and Lūk respectively.[18] The eldest son, Vīrasimha, whom we have seen commanding the Baghela forces against Sultān Sikaṅdar, was born to Sālivāhanadeva from his queen Kalyāna Devī, daughter of Pūran Mal, the Chauhāna chief of Bhūgāon[19] (Mainpurī district, U. P.). Due to the prolonged war with the Lodis, Sālivāhanadeva, as stated by

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12. Op. Cit.
13. Op. Cit.
14. E. & D., V., 94.
15. *Ibid*, IV., 463.
16. S. G. The learned translators of the Kavya are mistaken in making Udayakarna the son of Vira Simha.
17. Kavya I., 86-87.
18. State genealogies.
19. Ajbes—*Dr.* Hiranand Shastri was wrong in identifying Puran Mal with the son of Silahdi "the Gehlot defender of Raisin," for the Kavya definitely states that he was a Chauhan and the [illegible] corroborate the statement—Introduction to the Virabhanudaya [illegible] 18.

the bards, seems to have fixed his capital for a time at Bandhā, a place near Rāmpur-Baghelān in the Raghurājnagar Tahsīl of Rewā State. Sālivāhana founded, after his name, the town of Sālivāhanapur on the banks of the Jumna and laid out a beautiful garden there a vivid description of which is contained in the Kāvya.[20] The town grew to be a good mart and Virasimha chose it for planting a garden of his own. State genealogies give S. 1492 =1435 A. D. as the date of Sālivāhana's birth. Thus he was already sixty when he came to the throne of Gahorā (1495) "Bent down with age" he now invested his heir apparent, Virasimha, with sovereignty and lived in retirement. He met his death by offering his body to the sacred Yamunā.

HUSAIN SHĀH, THE LAST OF THE SHARQĪS,— AN ESTIMATE.

BY

DR. A. HALIM, M.A., PH. D., Aligarh.

Like Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, Bāz Bahādur king of Mālwa, and Wajid 'Alī Shāh of Oudh, Husain Shāh Sharqi was an inventive genius and like them ended his life as an exile. His elevation to the throne in 862/1457, gave no fore-bodings of a tragedy; on the other hand his reign opened with great promises. He had inherited from his father Mahmud Shah, a kingdom at the height of its glory, whose frontiers stretched from Bengal on the one side, almost upto the gates of Delhi on the other, from the foothills of the Himalayas in the north upto the borders of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Baghel-khand in the south. The king of Orissa was a Sharqi feudatory ; and Buhlul, the Lodi usurper of Delhi stood in awe of him. He was the lord of a huge army which out-numbered that of any other contemporary in northern India. He had the support of the nobles on his side, and the wise guidance of his mother Bibi Raji[1], a woman with the heart of a strong man. Nor was Husain Shah ill-equipped for the position he was called upon to fill. He was experienced in the art of government, having as a prince commanded armies and fought wars. He was a man of un-bounded ambition, and the kingdom of Jaunpur which he inherited appeared to him but a small appanage. From the time

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20. III, 16-50.

1. For Bibi Raji, Vide my Article "Harim influence in the 15th Century Politics of India", published in the Muslim University Journal, Aligarh, Oct., 1939.

of his accession to the throne till his exile in Bengal he did not allow his sword to rust in his scabbard. He was a chivalrous and resourceful general and a popular king. Why did he then, prove to be the last representative of his dynasty ?

To answer the above question, we must examine the extent to which he himself was the architect of his own misfortune, as also the circumstances to which he fell a victim.

His reign may conveniently be divided into two periods. In the first (862-882/3 A. H. 1457-1477/8), we notice him marching from victory to victory. This unbroken record of success may to a large extent be attributed to the wise guidance of Bibi Raji, who after the death of her husband Mahmūd Shāh had wedded himself as much to a life of piety as to deep interest in the governance of the state. She left Husain Shāh free to lead expeditions and subjugate kingdoms. The Sultan amply proved his military worth. He reduced Orissa to submission[2] conquered the strong fort of Gwalior, compelled Ahmad Khān Mīwāti to pay him homage and forced Aḥmad Khān Jilwani the chief of Biāna to accept his vassalage. This was followed by his triumphal entry into Ētāwa, which had lately been ceded to Buhlul Lodi. He then marched to the west conquering Kol and Bulandshahr, intent on recovering Delhi, the heritage of his favourite wife, Malka Jahān Bībi Khunza, daughter of 'Alāuddīn 'Alam Shāh, the last king of the Syed dynasty, still holding a shadowy court at Badāun. He fought two engagements, at Bhatwāra and Sikhera, (both in Bulandshahr District, U. P.) both of which appear to have been inconclusive owing to the advent of the rainy season,

The second period opened with the death of his mother after which he fell under the influence of his wife Malka Jahān Bībi Khunza whose vanity and obstinacy was to a large extent responsible for Husain Shah's ruin. Being pressed by her he occupied Badaun in 1478 after ejecting his brothers-in-law. Next year, at the instigation of his wife who threatened to lead herself an army in case her husband hesitated to do so he invaded Delhi. Buhlul was reduced to a desperate plight; but at the mediation of Qutb Khan Lodi the Sharqi ruler agreed to conclude a truce and withdrew his army. When Husain and his men were resting at the night and were off their guard, Buhlul fell upon them captured their baggage, stores and camp equipment and drove thousands of them to perish in the Jumna. Among the prisoners were 40 Husain Shāhī nobles including the Wazīr and the Malka Jahān Bībī Khunza, Husain Shāh's wife.[3] This was the beginning of the end of the Sharqi dynasty.

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2. Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. III, 284.
3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, III, 285.

Before the Sharqi Sultan could repair his defeat, he renewed the war, staking his all like a reckless gambler. The treachery of Buhlul had touched his soldierey pride to the quick. Moreover the Malika Jahan importuned him to avenge her honour and that of his other chiefs?[4] Thus when everything seemed to be against him, Husain embarked upon a perilous venture spurning aside the advice of Shaikh Ghāni his spiritual guide tendered on behalf of moderation and conciliation.[5] His fate could not be otherwise. He was defeated at Kanauj and he fled to Gwālior. On the way his camp and equipment were plundered by the turbulent Bhadauriyas of Hatkānt.[6] From Gwalior he was escorted upto Kālpī by Raja Kirat Singh[7] who supplied him with cash, tent and horses and beasts of burden. Buhlul meanwhile had seized Etawah and he forced a battle on Husain Shāh.[8] The Sharqi Sultan suffered a defeat mainly because of the treachery of Raja Tilok Chand of Buxar (Unao District, U. P.) Now he fled to Bāghelkhand to seek assistance from his vassal, the Bhat Rāja, who escorted him to Jaunpur. Buhlul once more defeated Husain on the banks of the Kāli Nadī near Kanauj, seized his stores and his chief wife Bībī Khunza. This battle decided the fate of Jaunpūr which Husaia Shāh quitted as soon as the victorious Lodi forces entered its out skirts. By the year 888/1483, the Lodi occupation of Jaunpūr was complete.[9] During the next eleven years (888 to 900), Husain Shāh remained in the eastern part of his kingdom, having chosen Bihar Sharif as his capital ruling over Bihār and Tirhūt, with a revenue yield of 5 krors of dams.[10] He involved himself in a clash with Sultān Sikandar Lodī, son and successor of Buhlul, by giving refuge to Jūgā, the Bachgotī chief who had captured Jaunpūr from the hands of the Lodī officers. He took the initiative in attacking the Lodīs by advancing upto Benares, but he was defeated disastrously and driven to take refuge with 'Alauddīn Husain Shāh who treated him generously and assigned to him Kuhlgāon (Colgong on the E. I. Ry., Mainline) in practical sovereignty, privileged even to coin money. He died probably in 910/1510.[11]

Even in defeat Husain has impressed the historians by his

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4. Makhzan-i-Afghani Niamatullah Herati, Muslim University Ms. p. 88.
5. Khairuddin, Jaunpurnamah, M. U. Ms.
6. Hatkant in Bah Tahsil, Agra District, U. P. is the stronghold of the Bhadauriya Rajputs.
7. Tab Akb I, 311.
8. Tab Akb, I, 311.; Makhzan M, U. Ms. p. 88.
9. Cf. Nelson Wright, Sultans of Delhi their coinage and Metrology, p. 245 for the first coin of Buhlul struck at the Jaunpur mint.
10. Tab Akb, III 286.
11. Vide Nelson Wright, Cat of coins, Ind. Mus. II, p.

tenacity of purpose and courage in fighting against heavy odds. Even so it will, not be far too wrong to say that the death of his mother Bibi Rāji, removed one of tne main props of the Sharqī dynasty. But the baneful influence of Malika Jahan precipitated the end. Nevertheless the worst enemy of Husain Shah was himself. There is not the slightest doubt that he was a brave and chivalrous warrior who was moved by the sad plight of his enemy. But he was a warrior only. He thought too much of his own strength and resources, and utterly failed to measure those of his enemy. Hence conquests proved to him mere mirage which receded as he approached near them. He was at a dis-advantage in his struggle with Buhlul Lodi the sworn enemy of his dynasty with whom plighted words meant nothing. But no sane man can support Husain Shah's rash conduct in opening an agressive war on the Lodis before he had time to retrieve his disastrous defeat on the banks of the Jumna in 884/1479. Revenge and not statesmanship was the guiding motive of his policy and he headed the Sharqi kingdom to a sudden crash. That Husain Shah was perverse, irritable and rash cannot be denied. He could easily be dominated by masterful personalities like his mother and after her death by his wife. Had Buhlul been succeeded by a less able son than Sikandar, there would her been some chance for Husain Shah to maintain himself in the solitary nook of Bihār. But the contemptuous letter that Husain Shah wrote to his chivalrous opponent Sikandar offering him the kingdom of Bihar only if he surrendrered Jūgā the Bachgoti chief who had murdered so many Lodi officers and had sacked Jaunpur, is a striking proof of the fact that he had not yet given up his foolish pride and obstinacy.

And lastly, something was lacking in the Sharqi military machin,e which accounts for its failure at crucial moments in the field of battle. It was formidable in number alone. It lacked dash and daring and an in-ordinate passion to win a battle. The root cause of it was this that the Sharqi army consisted mainly of mercenaries recruited from the Pathans, Rajputs and Abyssinians,[12] a mixed rabble having no interest in maintaining the reigning dynasty. The soldiers fought for their money, and were never inspired by any noble or patriotic motive. Even a cursory reader of the Sharqi history is puzzled with the ease and speed with which the Sharqī army retired many times from the gates of Delhi. Some dash and drive, some keen determination to win military honour were lacking in the Sharqī army. It proved itself as no match for a national army fighting for the support of its tribal king.

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12. Farishta Newalkishore Vol 1

A COIN FROM ELLORE

BY

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The Coin with which this paper deals weighs 2·914 grams[1]. It is a copper coin, (perhaps some silver also in mixed with copper). It is a coin of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah of the Khilji dynasty.

We may now deal with the connection between Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah and the Telugu Country. He sent his favourite, Khusrau Khan or Khusru Khan, on an expedition to Madura. Khusru Khan went to the South. Having collected much booty in the Madura district, he returned to Telingana where he was detained by the rainy season.[2]

There are three reasons to suppose that the coin is a coin of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah. Firstly, the legend on the obverse of the coin is the same as the legend on the obverse and reverse of another copper coin[3] of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah. Secondly, it is also the same as the legend on the obverse of another copper coin[4] of the same King. Thirdly, it is also the same as the legend on the obverse of some other coins[5] of the same king.

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1. The Coin was brought to my notice by A. Satyanarayana Rao, a student of the Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy, Municipal College. He said that he got it from some labourers who found it in the area of the local Municipal High School when they were digging the earth. The local Municipal High School and other schools near it are in the area in which the Muslims built a fort in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, (See H. Morris', The Godavari District, p. 35). There were some remains of the fort about 1878 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 35).

2. See, Cambridge History of India, Vol. iii., page 121.

3. Coin No. 153 mentioned in Edward Thomas', The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 183.

4. A. E. No. 268 mentioned in H. N. Wright's Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. ii, pts i & ii, page 46.

5. AE No. 417 mentioned in H. N. Wright's, The Sultans of Delhi, Their Coinage and Metrology, p. 102; see also the description of other coins given in this book of Wright and also in his other book mentioned above.

TULUVA NARASA WAS NO USURPER

BY

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The year 1491 A. D. opened dismally for Sāḷuva Nṛsimha, for he knew he would not live much longer. So he sent for Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka, gave him all the royal treasures and his two sons as wards, with the request that whichever of them proved worthier be raised to be king. About the Cyclic year Virodhikṛt, which began 10th March 1491 A. D., when Sāḷuva Nṛsimha died,[1] Tuḷuva Narasa, the Regent, 'raised up the prince to be king.'[2]

Great changes were then rocking the Bahmani empire. Yūsuf Ādil Khan was fast rising to independent power in Bijapur. Qasim Barīd, the *de facto* ruler under the Bahmani Sultan, had entertained hopes of founding his own kingdom at Bijapur. He now invited Vijayanagara to invade Yūsuf's territories. Most eagerly Narasa responded and both Raichur and Mudgal came under the sway of Vijayanagara.

This victory added greatly to Narasa's prestige and strengthened his position beyond compare. But this was shortlived, for early in 1493 A. D., according to Ferishta, 'dissensions prevailed in Beejanuggur, and Yūsuf 'marched to retake Rachore.'[3]

The nature of these dissensions, I have discussed elsewhere. A brief description may here be given. The prince was suffered to be king. There is no indication of the coronation of the prince though he had been designated king. Narasa was still 'retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.'[4] The meteoric rise of Narasa must have created for him numerous enemies among the nobles of the realm, in whom the Prince, chafing under Narasa's Regency, must have found a source of his own strength to demand that he should be King in reality. The Capital was torn with dissensions and Yūsuf's invasion threatened the very security of the empire. Taking advantage of a short illness of Yūsuf, Narasa Nāyaka 'composed his disputes with the Young Ray of Beejanuggur'[5] and advanced at the head of an army to Raichur.

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1. See my Paper 'When Tuluva Narasa became Regent': Proceedings, I. H. C., Annamalai, 1945.
2. Nuniz, For Emp., p. 308.
3. Briggs, III, p. 11.
4. Nuniz. For. Emp., p. 308.
5. Briggs, III, p. 11.

The battle was fought on a Saturday in Rajab (April, 1493 A. D.) and it went against Vijayanagar. The young King of Vijayanagara died under highly suspicious circumstances and Narasa's enemies exploited the situation to blame him for the death of the King. Himself innocent,[6] Narasa Nāyaka strongly suspected Captain 'Tymarsa' of this great act of treachery. But he couldn't do him harm, for he was strong and powerful. So he bided his time and in the meanwhile, to prove his *bonafides*, Narasa Nāyaka 'raised up another brother of the late king to be king...' But irony of fate made that very 'Tymarsa' the confidante of the new monarch. So Narasa elected to leave the city for Penukonda. Thence he returned to Vijayanagara at the need of a large army and denounced the King's favourite as traitor and murderer of the late king. The king saw that resistence was futile and he yielded to open-force. The Captain 'Tymarsa' was put to death and his head was sent to Narasa Nāyaka. The Tuluva chief greatly rejoiced and he 'sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.'[7]

'Some days and years had passed.' The Regent entrenched himself in the affections of the people. So immense was his influence with the king that by 1498 A. D. Narasa Nāyaka came to be spoken of as a *partner* with Immaḍi Narasingarāya in the sovereignty of Vijayanagara.[8] Various officers of the empire vied with one another in making gifts for the merit of Narasa Nāyaka.[9] The king himself was no exception.[10]

But according to Nuniz, as days passed and years rolled by, and as Narasa got more and more caught in the trammels of power, his character underwent a seachange. He determined 'Himself to govern the kingdom, for it had been entrusted to him by the king his lord so to do.' He kept the young king in the city of Penukonda with 20,000 guards to make safe his person and gave him 20,000 cruzados of gold a year for his food and expenses. 'Timapanarque' in whom Narasa Nāyaka greatly confided, was sent to Penukonda as Captain. He was commanded that 'he should not allow the king to leave the city and that he should carefully guard his person against treachery.' Narasa

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6. According to Ferishta, the Prince died on his way to Vijayanagara of wounds received in the battle (Briggs, III, pp. 13-14). Nuniz blames Captain 'Tymarsa' for the assassination of the king in the city of Vijayanagara (For. Emp, 308-9). Narasa is thus altogether absolved of the crime.
7. Nuniz, For. Map. 309-310.
8. 386 of 1904; dated Saka 1420 Kalayukti.
9. 355 of 1912; 445 of 1913; 511 of 1928-9; 593 of 1929-30.
10. 615 of 1907; E. C. Nagar. 73.

now began to make war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted.

It was then that treason was whispered into Narasa Nayaka's ears. Its agent 'Condemarade' at first evoked no response. But the suggestion worked and Narasa Nayaka soon succumbed to it. Condemarade so managed the whole affair that the king was slain without the very murderers knowing who their victim was. The king's disappearance was now widely talked about, the people believing that he had fled to make war on the Regent. Narasa secretly made all preparations to meet any emergency but openly feigned much sorrow. Soon Condemarade brought him assuring reports. 'And since there was no news of the king and he holding everything now under his hand, he was raised to be king over all the land of Narsymgua.'[11]

If Nuniz were not seriously mistaken, all apearances are that Narasa Nāyaka ended his long loyal career as a usurper and regicide. But eminent historians such as H. Krishna Sastri, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and Mr. Sewell, have all contended that the available epigraphical evidence gives a lie to the observations of Nuniz. Not all of them, however, are agreed over the details. The question of the authorship and time, if only of the usurpation, is seriously disputed but hardly settled. Recently Dr. N. Venkataramanayya joined issue stating that not only the theory of murder but even of the deposition of Immaḍi Nṛsimha by Narasa Nāyaka cannot be maintained.[12] He seems to support Nuniz' account of Tammarāya's assassination but would attribute it to Vira Nṛsimha, son of Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka.[13]

Robert Sewell concluded on the basis of epigraphical evidence that Immaḍi Nṛsimha was alive 'till at least February 28, A. D. 1505.'[14] However much he might try to qualify it,[15] his faith in the infallibility of Nuniz about Narasa was implicit. He wholly believed that Narasa Nāyaka seized the throne immediately after the murder of Immaḍi Nṛsimha[16] and that the 'usurpation probably did not take place till A. D. 1505 at the earliest.'[17] Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on the other hand, was certain that Narasa was not a regicide, for, according to him, Narasa died about the end of Saka 1424 (A. D. 1502).[18] But he did not make up his mind

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11. Nuniz, For. Emp., pp. 310-314.
12. 'Dharmaraya and Vira Nrsimha', Proceedings, I. H. C., Allahabad, p. 180.
13. *Ibid.*
14. 'The Kings of Vijayanagara', 1486-1509, J.R.A.S. 1915, p. 392.
15. *Ibid*, p. 393, 'if the story of Nuniz is correct'.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid*, p. 389.
18. M.A.R. 1913. Pt. II. p. 121; A.S.R., 1908-09, p. 171.

who should be regarded the usurper.[19] He is, however, positive as was Mr. V. Venkayya before him, that the Tuluva usurpation of the sovereignty of Vijayanagara was an accomplished fact by 1501-02 or immediately before that date.[20] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is definite that Narasa was never sovereign on the throne of Vijayanagara.[21] Yet he would agree with Sewell that in all probability Narasa Nāyaka died in 1505 A. D.[22] He would, however, maintain that the probabilities are that Vīra Nṛsimha, son of Narasa, set aside Immaḍi Nṛsimha completely and even got rid of him in the manner described by Nuniz.[23]

If Narasa Nāyaka were the usurper, then the usurpation must have occurred before the end of 1503 A. D. For an inscription from Bāchahalli in Mysore with its date corresponding to December 13, A. D. 1503 states that a gift was made to a temple 'when Narasanna Nāyaka died.'[24] The same event is referred to in a record from Devikāpuram[25] in North Arcot District, dated in Saka 1425, Rudhirodgāri (A. D. 1503-04) which registers a gift 'for the merit of *Swami* Narasa Nāyaka who went to the Siva-loka.'

Mr. Sewell admits that both the above epigraphs may refer to the same personage. But he observes 'In the first of these, no titles of any sort are prefixed to the name, and in the second, the title 'Svāmi' certainly does not indicate a ruling sovereign.[26] So he sees nothing in these inscriptions to show that they refer to Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka for he argues 'If a usurper became king, he would certainly insist on his royal title.'[27] Like Sewell, but for different reasons, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar also believes that Narasa of the Devikāpuram grant was not the great general at all.[28] Of another grant[29] which mentions 'Svāmi Narasa Nāyaka,' he remarks, 'Svāmi (Lord) does not imply necessarily ruler. Every one is Svāmi to his servants.[30]

Surely 'Every one is Svāmi to his servants.' But Tirumalai Nāyaka and Iśvara Nāyaka, both donors of the gift registered

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19. A.S.R., 1908-09, p. 168.
20. M. A. R. 1906, para 58 and *ibid*, 1908, para 81.
21. 'A little known chapter...', p. 67.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 67, 70.
23. *Ibid*, p. 71.
24. E. C. IV, Krishnarajapet 64. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar translates it to have been for the merit of Narasa Nayaka *'when he should die'*: ('A little known chapter, p. 92, app. No. 61). The original *'astamana-vadaga'* is more correctly rendered by the epigraphist as 'when (he) set.'
25. 357 of 1912.
26. J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 391.
27. *Ibid*, p. 390.
28. 'A little known chapter..., p. 67.
29. 445 of 1913 from Aragalur in Salem District, dated Saka 1434 (A. D. 1512).
30. 'A little known chapter', p. 67.

in the Devikāpuram grant, could not be the subordinates or 'agents' of any Narasa Nāyaka. They were the sons of one Ettappa Nāyaka and they held sufficiently important positions in the state to have figured in several inscriptions of the realm.[31] The phrase 'Svāmi Narasa Nāyaka' is not peculiar to grants from North Arcot alone. One from the Salem District is already referred to. Yet another appears in Vāndalur in Chingleput District, its date corresponding to March 2, 1500 A. D. It registers a gift by one Koṇḍaya-Nāyinār who was administering Vāndalur, situate in the territory of Bāmu Nāyaka, the 'Dalavāyi of Svāmi Narasa Nayaka.'[32] It is idle, therefore, to argue that this Svami Narasa Nāyaka of the inscriptions of about the same period and from several districts could be any other than the Great Tuḷuva Regent.

A copper plate grant from Dhāreśvara[33] dated in Saka 1424, Durmati, in the month of Bhādrapada, registers a gift by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Devarasa Veḍeya for the *'longevity, health*, wealth, kingdom and victory' of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Sāḷuva Narasanna Nāyaka, son of Yīsarappa Nāyaka, who is also styled 'Medinīmīsara' Gaṇḍakaṭṭāri, Trinetra Sāḷuva. Mr. Sewell, however, hesitates to accept this document as a record of Narasa Nāyaka. He admits that later Tuḷuva kings of Narasa's family were accorded Sāḷuva titles but feels that this was only a later practice which was not true of Narasa Nāyaka's times.[34] But this is not a correct position to take. For as Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has pointed out, Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka was known as Sāḷuva Nṛsimha as early as 1497 A. D.[35] Another and a stronger objection to accepting the document as of Narasa Nāyaka is, according to Mr. Sewell, that Narasa is therein styled a mere Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and not king which he would be entitled to as the usurper who became king. But the pity is, Mr. Sewell prefers to suspect the authenticity of epigraphical evidence, instead of questioning Tuḷuva Narasa's claims to royalty.

The trouble has been with most of the writers and with Mr. Sewell above all, that they virtually deny to others the possibility of mistaking one for the other among so many kings, all so similarly styled. Before Kṛṣṇadevarāya four Nṛsimhas ruled over Vijayanagara successively, *viz.* Sāḷuva Nṛsimha and his son Immaḍi Nṛsimha, both of the family of Guṇḍa ; and Tuḷuva Narasa and his son Vīra Nṛsimha, both of the house of Iśvara. The name Nṛsimha applied to them individually. As has been pointed out above, even Tuḷuva Narasa was known as Sāḷuva Nṛsimha and he took all the Sāḷuva titles. Nor were the titles, 'Bhujabala,'

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31. 355 of 1912 ; 395 of 1912.
32. 35 of 1934-35.
33. 32 of 1905-06.
34. J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 390.
35. M. 44 of 1928. I. H. C. Proceedings, 1938, p. 181.

and 'Bhujabalarāya' in any way distinctive. They preceded the names of Sāḷuva Nṛsimha,[36] his son Tammayyadeva which is another name for Immaḍi Nṛsimha,[37] and Tuḷuva Narasa's son Vīra Nṛsimha[38] the grandson of Iśvara would assume even the prefix 'Immaḍi' as did the scion of the Sāḷuva royal line.[39] And when so much reason there was for confusion, why take Nuniz's story to be scrupulously true in every detail ?

The truth is that Nuniz, a foreigner that he was, got perplexed. His story reveals a Narasa of two minds, one who would harm his master's son but would keep a guard to save him from treachery; and the other surreptitiously scheming his assassination for motives of self-aggrandisement. These two contradictory traits in one and the same person are not rare. Yet is it so impossible that Nuniz was depicting here the workings, not merely of two states of mind, but of two different individuals—of Narasa Nāyaka and of his son Vīra Nṛsimha ? This suggestion is not so fantastic as it may appear. For whatever his errors had been, Nuniz was quite clear in his mind that Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka was never the King of Vijayanagara, but that his son became one, after him. While describing the last moments of Sāḷuva Nṛsimha, Nuniz writes, 'At his death, he left two sons, and the Governor of the Kingdom was *Narsenaque* who was *father of the king who afterwards was king of Bisnaga.*'[40]

We may, therefore, conclude that Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka died at least a year and a half earlier than Immaḍi Nṛsimha. He was no regicide, nor usurper. He was a strong disciplinarian. He seized all power but not the throne. He took no royal titles, for he took no crown but contented himself with all the governing there was in the empire of Vijayanagara.

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36. 25 of 1919 and 281 of 1931-32.
37. 264 of 1909; 122 of 1918; 47 of 1916; 195 of 1924.
38. E. C. IV, Gu 67.
39. 54 of 1915; 541 of 1920.
40. For. Emp., p. 308. Mr. Sewell remarks that 'this account of the second Narasa and the family relationships differs altogether from the results obtained from epigraphical study.' (*Ibid*, p. 11). I am unable to know how. For at the time when Narasa was the Governor of the kingdom, his son was not a king. Narasa was not alive when Vira Nrsimha, his son, attained that position.

"PEDAKOMATI VEMA BHUPALA" (1403-1420 A. D.)

BY

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Peda Komti Vema Bhupala was the last great Reddy ruler of Kondavedu. We get a fairly good account of his reign from the writings of poet Srinadha—the greatest poet of the age and from "Vemabhupaliyam" or "Viranarayana Charita" of Vamana Bhatta Bana and from the inscriptions of the Reddy and the Velama rulers of the period. Peda Komati Vema was a great warrior, a good scholar and a great patron of letters.

About the early life of Peda Komati Vema we know little or nothing except that he was the son of Macha, an elder brother of Prolaya Vema Reddy, the founder of the Reddy kingdom of Kondavidu. He came to the throne in 1403 A. D.

But it did not prove to be a bed of roses. The Kingdom of Kondavedu had been considerably reduced in size and was surrounded by formidable enemies. The first task of the new ruler was to recover what had been lost in the early years of his predecessor Kumargiri's reign. The war of succession in Vizianagar gave him the opportunity, he succeeded in recapturing all those territories which had been seized by Vizianagar He captured "Udayagiri and the districts of Pottapinadu and Pulugulanadu" (Treveni Vol 6. No. 3). Devaraya was unable to Check Komativema's aggression, luscaur of lathis unholy alliance with Firozshah Bahmani who had invaded Vizianagar.

Pedakomati Vema Bhupala next turned his attention to the Reddy kingdom of Rajahmundry. He thought that he had been unjustly deprived of the territories which righty belonged to him by inheritance. Thereupon Kataya Vema Reddy secured the help of Devaraya I who attacked the southern frontiers of Kondavedu. The ruler of Vijaynagar entered into an alliance with the Velamas of Rachakonda the traditional enemies of the Kondavedu Reddies. To counteract the design of his rival, Peda Komati Vema allied himself with Firozshah and some of the enemies of Kataya Vema. Bitter was the struggle which issued; the casualties on either side being many. Whereas the Velamas kept Komati Vema occupied on his Western frontier, Devaraya reconquered all the territories which Komati had recovered in the early part of his reign and then advanced to the north to help Kataya Vema.

During the first phase of the war Devaraya and his allies suffered many reverses. Kataya Vema appears to have been

defeated and killed in one of these engagements. A similar fate befell Vedagiri II, the Velama ruler ; and it is said that the victor took a terrible revenge on the Velamas who had treated his brother Macha brutally.

Just about this time the Bahmini Sultan Firozshah was defeated by Devaraya in the famous battle of "Pangal." The Sultan's army was routed and "he was chased almost to the gates of his capital." Komati Vema was now left friendless and all alone. Allada Reddy, the able commander and relation of Kataya Vema attacked him from the north and inflicted a defeat on him at Rameswaram. The Velamas with a view to taking revenge for the death of Vedagiri, attacked him from the west under the command of Madaya Lingaprabhu, a younger brother of Vedagiri II. "Both the armies joined battle at an unknown place and after some fighting, Vema Bhupala was defeated and seems to have lost his life. The Velugotivari Vansavali says that Linge carried away the sword of Vema as trophy. The death of Komati Vema occasioned disastrous consequences to the kingdom ot Kondavedu and within four years after his death, the Reddy rule at Kondavedu came to an abrupt end, Rachavema who had neither the skill nor the strength of his father to keep the kingdom in tact, was assassinated.

Komati Vema Bhupala as a Scholar and as a Patron of letters.

The Reddi rulers have immortalised themselves by their services to the Sanskrit and Telugu Literature. Many of the rulers were not only patrons of Literature but themselves great Scholars and poets. In the galaxy of great patrons and scholars, Peda Komati Vema occupies a high and an honoured place. He was not only a great patron of letters but a distinguished scholar too. He was the author of "Sringaradeepika," a commentary on "Amarusatakam." Though there are many commentaries on this work, Komati Vema's commentary takes the first place. His next work was "Sapta Sati Saratika." Vema selected 100 pieces from Hala's Sapta Satti and wrote a commentary on them. He wrote "Sahitya Chintamani" a monumental work on Alankara Sastra. He has been called "Sarvagna Chalnavarti," by Vamana Bhatta Bana in his "Vema Bhupala Charita" and Srinadha also calls him so in the Ponnupalli Inscription.

Famous poets and scholars adorned the court of Peda Komati Vema Bhupala. Vamana Bhatta Bana wrote "Vema Bhupala Charita" in Sanskrit prose. In this work he gives an account of the exploits of his patron. In the Bhupala Charita he says that "as there had been no noted prose writers after Bana, he undertook to make up that deficiency." Another great court poet was Srinadha, popularly known as "Kavi Sarvabhouma." He was the greatest poet of the age. It is no exaggeration to say that Srinadha owed his rise to Vema, and he acknowledges

with gratitude his indebtedness to Vema. Srinadha wrote many works. He dedicated "Panditharadhya Charitam" to Pragadanamatya, the commander of Vema and "Sringara Nishadham" to Simganamatya, the minister of Vema. Singanamatya was not only a patron of poets and scholars but was himself a great scholar and wrote a commentary on "Somasidhamta." In his Sringara Naishadham, Srinadha gives a graphic account of the court of Simganamatya "poets, scholars, philosophers, doctors and scholars in every walk of life sought his patronage and received it." If that was the splendour of Singana's court, what should have been the grandeaur of his master Vema's court? An old adage says "as the master so are the servants." Vema was a great patron of Art and Letters and no wonder that his officers followed in his footsteps.

Though constantly preoccupied with warfare, Vema still found time to undertake works of public utility. The Phirangipuram Inscription gives an account of the construction of a tank called "Santhanasagara" by Suramomba, the queen of Vema Bhupala. The Inscription says that the tank was as vast as the sea. The Aminabad Inscription speaks of the construction of a canal called "Jaganobbaganda Kaluva" by Suramamba's son Racha Vema in order to feed the tank and to utilise its waters for irrigation purposes.

With the death of Vema Bhupala about 1420 A. D. vanished the greatness of the kingdom of Kondavedu which had played an important role in the History of The Andhras for nearly a century.

THE REDDI KINGS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANDHRADESA.

BY

SRI R. SUBBARAO, M. A., L. T., M. E. S., (Retd.)

According to the Kaluvacheru Inscription, after the fall of Kakatiya Empire in 1323 A. D., the Trilinga Desa or Andhra Desa fell into the hands of the Yavanas (Muslims) and two Chiefs *i. e.* Cousin Brothers, Prolaya who ruled Rekapalli in East Godavari District and after his death Kapaya who ruled Arumanagallu, North East of Warrangal, rescued the country from out of their hands and restored the Agraharams to their former owners, *i. e.*, to Learned Brahmans and to Temples etc. They were helped in this task by several Nayaks whose resolve was to establish Vedic Dharma in the country. New Temples were built as old

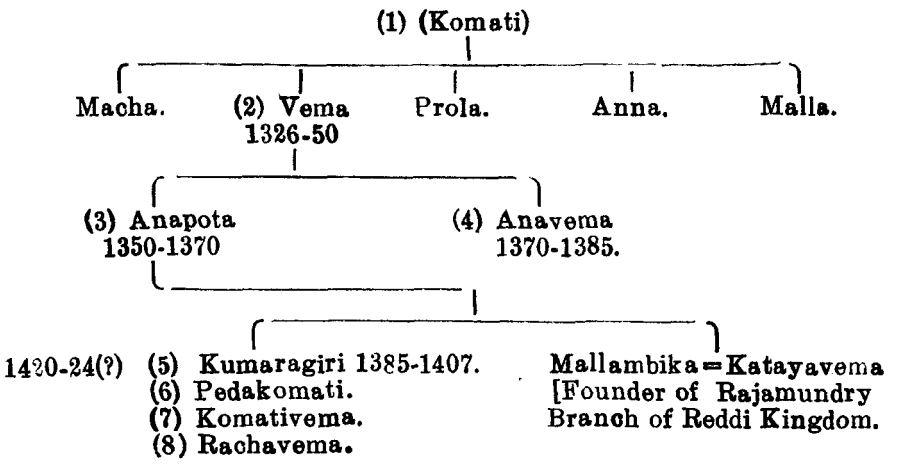
temples were destroyed and former lands were restored to them. The Brahmans and cultivators who suffered most were restored to their former position. Peace and security were established. Kapayanayaka ruled over Warrangal area from 1330-1368, his original capital being Arumanagallu. He was served by 72 or 77 Nayak chiefs called Padmanayaka who enjoyed small feudal fiefs paying tribute and helping the over-lord in times of war. After his death, they became independent in their own areas. In fact, he was killed in a battle by the Padmanayak chiefs Anapota and Madava, sons of Singamanayak, and Warrangal was occupied. With this, the Reddi Kingdom in Telingana ended.

The Reddi chiefs were employed as Nayaks or military chiefs under the last of the Kakatiya Kings and they helped in extending their Empire especially over the whole of the East coast upto Simhachalam. Between them *i. e.*, Padmanaik chiefs and descendants of Prolaya Vema (Addanki Branch), for half a century, there was strife for power over the Krishna-Godavari valley and finally the Reddis were successful.

Kingdom of Kondavidu.

The first Reddi chief Mushnumuri Prolaya Nayak, as we have already noted, was helped by 72 Nayaks of whom Prolaya Vemareddi was an important and powerful member. He established himself in S. Andhra in Pungi-Desa. His grandfather, Vema I helped Kakatiya Queen Rudramadevi in extending her power over the Northern Sarkars. But after the down-fall of Kakatiya power and after rescuing the country from out of the hands of the Turushkas, Vema I set up his power but not in any Kingly way. It was his grand-son who became a *King.* His several titles show that he was a powerful ruler. He employed a large army with the gold amassed by his father. He was helped by Gangadeva, an influential and clever politician who became the Guru of Vema, and who helped him in founding a Reddi Kingdom. He and his successors in office acted as Royal Purohits for the Kings of Rajahmundry Branch and received many Royal grants and favours. They were the chief ecclesiastical statesmen of the times. He was a Saivite and spread Saivite faith and Vedic culture in Andhradesa. He was responsible for many a land gift to Temples, learned Brahmins and faithful servants. By the middle of the 14th century, Prolaya Vema ruled over the whole country extending from Srisailam in the west to the East coast and from Nellore in the South to Krishna in the North. His capital was Addanki. Later on, Kondavidu was made the capital. He ruled from 1326-1350.

The following Genealogy and chronology may be accepted for this Reddi Dynasty which ruled over Andhra Desa with Kondavidu as capital.



While Prolayavema's Kingdom comprised only of Guntur District and did not extend beyond the Krishna, Anapota conquered the lands lying between the Godavari and the Krishna. He transferred the capital to Kondavidu and strengthened it. He conquered Konasima, the Deltic land at the mouth of Godavari. He reorganised the port of Motupalli and gave freedom to the merchants by removing restrictions on trade. He abolished vexatious customs duties and removed the tax on gold and other imports. He published an Edict fixing customs duties. As a result, there was brisk trade between the E. coast andthe foreign countries, and this brought much money into the treasury. During the last years of his reign, he was opposed by the Padmanayak chiefs and also by Bhakti Raja who defeated him near Suravaram and drove him out of the W Godavari District. Till the death of Bhakti Raja in 1367, Godavari District was not included in Reddi Kingdom. It was Annvema who conquered it.

Vema was helped in his extension of the Empire by his brothers who were all learned, valourous, religious and generous, minded The youngest brother Malla' was the Patron of Yerrapragada who soon became the court poet and compossd Ramayanana and Harivamsa, Andhra Bhartam (Aranyaparvam) and other works. Vema was a great warrior. He was a prominent commander under the last Kakatiya Emperor Pratapa Rudra. He was well versed in archery and other arts of warfare. He was a great devotee of Parameswara and built many temples and gave rich land gifts to them. Being guided by his Guru Ganga, he established Vedic religion in Andhradesa. He had a rich treasury full of gold, his treasurer being Avachi Setti. Having conquered Motupalli, a sea-port and having got rich customs-duties on all out-going and in-coming vessels, he amassed a fortune which helped him not only in raising a powerful army but also in building temples and steps leading to R. Krishna Srisailam, Ahobalam and other pilgrim centres. He built many tanks,

temples, choultry garden and canals for helping cultivators and others. His Deva and Brahmana Agraharams are too numerous to mention. Several poets like Bala Saraswati, Bhatta Bana Sreenadha, and Yerrapragada were give rich presents by these Reddi Kings. Though a Saivite, he showed a great toleration to Vishnu cult and daily listened to Harivamsa and Ramanayana.

He was adept in conquering as much his subjects' hearts as his enemy's forts. Hill-forts, forest-forts, plain-forts, Lake-forts all numbering 40 were constructed and garrisoned by faithful troops under close relatives. During his time, friendly relations were established with Vijayanagar, and one or two moslem Bahmini raids were repulsed. Like his father, he was also noted for his charities. He not only restored to learned Brahmins and poets the lands and villages taken from them by the Muslims but also gave new ones to encourage the spread of Vedic learning and Saivite faith in the country. His court was graced by poete like Yerrapragada, astrologer, Vidwans and Pandits like Balasarasvath who composed many of his Edicts, Ministers like Mallana and Somaya and commanders like Malli Vemana who restored Amaravati Temple and gods to their former glory and position. The merchants and cultivators who had suffered by the Moslem invasions received generous support and monetary help.

Anavema. succeeded Anapota and ruled from 1370—1385. He is called Dharma Vemana. Though Anapota had a son called Kumaragiri Reddi, he did not succeed to the throne being a minor. Anavema was a great warrior. It was really this King who conquered the country lying between the Krisha and Simhadri. He collected a large army and over-ran in 1372 the whole of the Godavari valley. He also conquered the country lying to the north of the river Godavari upto Oddadi. He made many land gifts to learned Brahmans, poets and ministers and to temples. He built Vira Siro Mandapam at Srisailam. He and his sister Vemasami made several gifts to temples.

After his death, his brother Anapota's son *Kumaragiri* Reddi came to the throne in A. D. 1385 and ruled till 1407 A D. He was helped in his administration and conquests by his brother-in-law Kataya Vema whom he appointed as his commander-in-chief and Premier and to whom he set the task of conquering the E. Region upto Simhachalam. The rulers of north, west and south were well disposed towards him. Hence, Vatayavema left Kondavidu with a large army and reached Rajahmundry and after worshipping Sri Venugopalswamy in the fort, left to conquer the rulers of the E. Region in 1385 A. D. He defeated Koppula Reddis and took their forts Bendapudi, Kootam and Panchdhavla. A part of Veerkotam in Vizag District was also conquered. After offering certain presents to Narasimha of simhachalam in 1386, he reached Kondavidu safely in 1387. This newly conquered E. Region with its capital at Rajmundy was ruled by Anapota Reddi II, son

of Kumaragiri and he was helped by Allada Reddi, his minister-commander. In 1399, Kalinga Ganga King Narasimha IV was defeated by Anapota with the help of Katyavema and the Reddi power extended over Vizag District also. During the reigns of Kumaragiri and Anapota, a great Tulapurushadanam (weighing one-self against gold and distributing it to the public) was done at Draksharamam in the presence of God Bhimeswara by both father and son. Anapota also gifted the villages of Anaparti to God Gopinatha in Rajamundry fort. Katayavema, a poet, soldier and statesman made several gifts of Agraharms called Kumaragiri purams for the welfare of Kumaragiri whom he loyally served. With the death of Anapota about 1402—3 and his father's death about 1405—6 a new Epoch commenced *viz.* the decline of Kondavidu.

As he son had predeceased him, Kumaragiri made his brother-in-law Katayavema——— the real conqueror of the E. coast—— the Viceroy of the E. Region with the capital at Rajahmundry and hence from 1405—6 onwards, the Rajahmundry Viceroyalty increased in power while Kondavidu declined under the weak successors of Kumaragiri, *viz.* Pedakomati, Komati Vema and RachaVema (1420-24).

The reign of Kumaragiri is a great landmark in Andhra History. His contemporaries— Vijayanagara, Bahmani, Padmanayak and E. Ganga rulers— were great and powerful and they surrounded the Reddi Kingdom on all sides. He succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with all except E. Gangs from whom the lands lying upto Simhachalam were taken away. Rajahmundry was fixed as a Northern capital just to secure these new conquests which were rich and powerful. Peace and security were maintained and hence internal trade increased while the freedom granted to foreign ships and traders(as seen in Motupalli Edicts) brought new wealth and glory to the Reddi Kingdom. The Vasanta and Tulapurusha ceremonies were the results. Also, fine arts, education, dancing and music, temple-building and development of public works all received patronage. Numerous land-gifts were made to learned scholars, faithful ministers and to different Temples. The four different classes of forts were built and garrisoned. People were given military training so much so that till this day the Reddis all over the country look fine in body and spirit. Saivite and Vaishnavaite worship, Vedic learning and all arts and crafts were spread. Agriculture and trade received great attention and encouragement. One of the richest merchants, of the times, Avachi Tippayasetty was known to be trading with Ceylon, Java, China, Persia and other countries and he was the high treasurer of the Kingdom. Coastal as well as foreign shipping came to be protected and extended much to the prosperity of the people and the kings. Above all, the country which fell under the heels of the Muslim invaders (Tughlaq) after the downfall of the Kakatiya Empire was able to secure

independence in every respect. What the foundations of Vijayanagar did to Central Deccan after 1323 A. D., the origin and growth of Reddis did to E. Deccan from Nellore to Simhachallam and from Sreesailam to the E. coast. Most of their works *viz* Agraharams, Temples and Tanks as well as cultural and social changes are still outstanding in Andhra Desa. Several of the Raddi kings wrote commentaries on Kalidasa's Dramas and other works.

SECTION IV

Later Medieval India from 1526 to 1764 A. D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. P. SARAN

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE OF AKBAR

I am here in response to the call of the organizers of the Indian History Congress and I wish to express my appreciation of their kindness in inviting me to preside over the section on the Mughal Period of Indian History. Judged by the conventional method of dynastic change and political revolution this period may be said roughly to extend utmost over three centuries, *i.e.*, from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth. But culturally and socially the age which found its fullest fructification under the patronage of Akbar had its beginnings much earlier.

At this stage we can ask the question whether there was any problem of bringing about a unity of Hindus and Muslims at that time and of welding them into a nation as is generally supposed. Regarding this question the whole position and problems of our people in that age, I submit, have been fundamentally misunderstood. True, that the texture of our society was extremely complex. It was composed of many and variegated social and cultural strands. Hence no superficial view which takes account only of the political institutions and the deeds of the rulers can help us to comprehend the main features of the very complex pattern that the Indian Society of that age presents to the student. To comprehend its real character we must probe deeper. A detailed and critical examination of its various aspects will reveal certain prominent strands in its texture. First it will be observed that the ruling class had gradually become more and more Indianised and nationalised both in blood and sentiment. A healthy but a very gradual change towards that ideal which implies the identity of the interests of the people with those of [illegible] sovereign and enjoins upon him the service of the [illegible] as a primary duty did come about, but it was [illegible] spirit of the [illegible] that its aims and ideals [illegible]

Now it should be noted that except in abnormal times those rulers made no difference between their subjects on the ground of their different beliefs and faiths. The even tenor of the day to day life of the people, however, remained almost entirely unaffected by the policies of their rulers or even by the frequent political revolutions which had become the order of the day.

Moreover it should be remembered that the bulk of the Muslim population were Indians in every sense of the term. It is unthinkable that a nominal change of faith, which in most cases was due to the tyranny of the Hindu priesthood rather than to personal conviction or compulsion by the rulers, could have brought about any appreciable change in their mode of life, their social habits and relationships or their beliefs and superstitions. If one would want an evidence of this, one has only to turn to the life of our village folk to be fully convinced of this fact. Their bodies were made of the products of the soil of this land even as their spiritual and moral corpus was the product of its hoary culture and immemorial traditions which had gone into their bones and blood. Moreover, their interests and pursuits were common and inseparable and have ever remained so. Their time honoured relationships, their business partnerships, their political co-operation, their joint literary, social and artistic efforts and their festivals and enjoyments, continued to be shared in common. Both Hindus and Muslims were disciples and devotees of Sufis as well as Hindu saints, and both scrupulously respected each other's sacred books and places. The mutual affection and fellow feeling between the Hindus and Muslims is shown by an incident mentioned by Khafi Khan. When the Emperor Aurangzeb imposed a duty on the Hindu merchants alone in A. D. 1667, the Musalmans passed the goods of the Hindu merchants in their own names. Instances like this can be multiplied without number. Their ties of blood and culture, habits and manners, pursuits and interests, eternal oneness of geography and history, and in fact, the whole of their life process—all these were too deep and too strong for such disruption as was sought to be brought about by the narrow-minded, short-sighted and self-seeking priest-hood who also influenced the policies of their rulers.

The common people also united on the political plane.

The story in the political sphere was also the same. Ever since the invasion of the Ghaznavids the armies

comprised both Hindu and Muslim warriors, and when Ahmad Niyaltigin threatened rebellion, it was Tilak, a Hindu, who with his Jat soldiers was sent to curb the rebel's insurgence and put thousands of his Muslim soldiers to the sword. The alliance of Sheikh Hamid Lodi of Multan with the Shahi King Jaipal against Mahmud, the rise of the Indian party led by Imad-Uddin Raihan against Balban, the revolt of the neo-Muslims against the generals of Alauddin Khalji, the unbreakable loyalty of Muhammad Shah Jalori to Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor are links in the same chain of political events which we find continuing in the alliance of Hasan Mewati and other Afghan Chiefs with Rana Sanga against the foreign invader Babar.

Again in the sphere of art and literature, architecture and poetry, speech and writing, how the two cultures had coalesced by long association and mutual assimilation and yet without loosing their individualities, scarcely needs to be dilated upon. Thus we see that the points of difference between the various sections of society were too few and of no consequence as compared with the points of contact and association. The fact that the immemorial spiritual and material bonds of unity and brotherhood cementing the Indian social fabric could for centuries successfully bear the strain of the pernicious doctrine of isolation and scornful class distinctions, constitutes a great tribute to the intrinsic soundness of the broad human principles upon which the edifice of our social organism was built up. It is no exaggeration to say that the manner in which our people preserved their solidarity despite the nefarious activities of the priests and kings in conclave, was their proudest achievement, their crowning glory and their moral victory over all forces of destruction and disintegration.

The mission of the saints: its character.—Hence the widely prevalent belief that the mission of Kabir and Nanak and other reformer saints on the one hand and that of Akbar on the other, was to bring about Hindu Muslim unity and to build up an Indian nation out of the mutually antagonistic sections of the Indian people. I

dispelled by the light of unbiased and scientific investigation of our past.

It need scarcely be stated that Kabir and Nanak and their predecessors addressed their teachings equally to the Muslims and Hindus both. These saints fearlessly condemned their ignorance, and their many vices and superstitions and by hard and relentless knocks tried to rouse them to a consciousness of good and evil. They openly denounced the depravity and narrow-mindedness of the Pundits and Mullahs, and it was this class whom they exhorted to give up their dogmatism and exclusiveness and to understand that the broad and basic truths of theology and religion were similar in all faiths. Ramanand (1300 A. D.—1398) who stands at the head of this movement in Northern India, was born and bred in the old and conservative atmosphere. But he broke the shackles of orthodoxy and admitted all men without distinction of high and low, to a status of absolute social equality and to the privilege of studying the scriptures. The portals of free and unrestricted education and study were thrown open to all men. In the following century Chaitanya (born 1485 A. D.) did the same work of uplift of the fallen people in the East.

But in the South the movement had started earlier in the 13th century A. D. and it had spread over the North in the 14th and subsequent centuries.

Namdeo who in the 13th century preached in Maharastra says :—

हिन्दू अंधा तुरकू कांना, दुहुँते ज्ञानी सयाना ।
हिन्दू पूजे देहुरा, मुसलमान मसीत ।
नामा सोई सेविया, जहं देहुरा न मसीत् ॥

Trans :—

The Hindu is blind and so is the Musalman,
The Hindu worships in the temple and the
Muslim in the mosque.
But Nama offers his worship to Him who
needs neither temple nor mosque.

Dadu Dayal in a similar strain says :—

कुछ नाहीं का नावं धरि, भरम्यां सब संसार ।
सांच झूठ समझे नहीं, ना कुछ किया विचार ॥
कोई दौड़े द्वारिका, कोई काशी जाहिं ।
कोई मथुरा कौं चले, साहिब घट ही मांहि ॥

Trans :—

The world is deluding itself by giving a name to Him who is nameless (*i e.* cannot be defined). Men do not understand Truth from falsehood, nor do they think properly. Some go to Dwarika, some run to Kashi, some to Mathura, (in search of God) but they do not realise that the Lord resides within themselves.

Raidas the cobbler (a disciple of Ramanand) who mainly worked in Rajputana says :—

पांति तोड़ पूजि रचावै, तरन तारन कहै रे ।

मूरति मांहि बसै परमेसुर, तो पानि मांहि तरै रे ॥

Trans :—Thou plucketh leaves to offer worship
and calleth it liberator ;
But if God were in the idol, it should
itself float on the water.

Garibdas also expresses the same sentiments when he says :—

ज्ञान विचार न ऊपजै, क्या मुख बोलै राम ।

संख बजावै बादई, रटेन निर्गुन नाम ॥

Trans : —

What is the use of your repeating Ram by mouth or blowing the Conch, if it does not give you real knowledge.

The relentless onslaught of Kabir against idol worship is a matter of common knowledge. I shall, therefore, confine myself to only to one quotation from him in this connection.

पाहण केरो पूतलो करि पूजैं करतार ।

इही भरोसे जे रहे तैं बूड़े काली धार ॥

Trans :—If you depend on the stone image which you worship as God, you will sink in mid-ocean.

Maluk Das in the 17th century repeated almost the same words :—

पाहन पूजे हरि मिलें तो मैं पूजूं पहार ।

ताते यह चाकी भली, पीस खाय संसार ॥

Trans :—If God could be reached by worshipping a stone, I should worship the mountain. Far better than the idol is the grinding stone, whereby we can grind corn to eat.

Referring to the profound ignorance of the Pundits, Kabir says :—

पंडित और मसालची, इनकी याही रीत ।
औरों को करें चाँदनी, आप अंधेरे बीच ॥

Trans :—It is characteristic of the Pundit and torch-bearer that while they show the light to others, themselves they remain in the dark.

No end of such quotations from the teachings of these saints can be multiplied. But they criticised with equal vehemence other faults of formal worship, for instance

माला तो कर में फिरे, जीभ फिरे मुख मांहि ।
मानवां तो दहुं दिसि फिरे, सो तो सुमिरन नांहि ॥

Trans :—The rosery moves in the hand, the tongue in the mouth, but the mind is moving in all ten directions: this surely is not worship.

I will now reproduce a few of their sayings in which the Pandits and Mullahs have come in for open censure.

Guru Gorakhnath who is said to have flourished in the 10th century explained to the Muhammadan Qazi that the sword that Mohammad weilded was not of iron or steel, but of spiritual love or the word (कलमा).. He says :—

महमद महमद ना कर काजी, महमद का विषम विचार ।
महमद हाथि करद जे होती, लोह गढ़ी ना सार ।
सबदै मारे सबदै जिलावै ॥

One of the mantras of Himalayan Magic clearly says that Ghorakhnath admitted both Muslims and Hindus as his disciples which fact shows that the Muslims and the Hindus were living as brothers and had no antagonism against each other :—

हिन्दू मुसलमान बाल गुदाई, दोऊ सहरथ लिये लगाई ।

Kabir openly denounced the Maulvis just as he did the Pundits and said that the Maulvi who preaches the Kalima in the Kali age does not himself understand the secret of God's mystery. He showed that degeneration was equally manifested among the Muslims.

जिन कलमा कल मांहि पढ़ाया ।
कुदरत खोज तिनहूँ नहिं पाया ॥

Trans :—He who taught me the Kalima yesterday, himself has not found the Diety ; and again :—

यहु सब झूठी बंदगी, बरियां पंच निवाज ।
साचै मारै झूठ पढ़ि, काजी करै अकाज ॥

Trans:—The five prayers which the Musalman offers are all useless, because their prayers are a mere outward show and sham while they have some other thoughts all the time in their mind, but by making a show of religious deeds the Qazi deceives the poor people and does them harm instead of good. Further:—

जे सब माहि खुदाई कहत हो तो मुरगी क्यों मारे।
वेद पुराण पढ़त अस पांडे, जस खर चन्दन भारा॥
वेद पढ़ियां का फल यहु पांडे, सब घट देखहु रामा।
जीव बधत अरू धरम कहत हो, अधरम कहाँ है भाई?
आपन तो मुनिजन ह्वै बैठे, कासौं कहौं कसाई?॥

Trans:—Addressing the Mullah he said:—'If you say that God pervades all things why do you kill foul?' And the Pundit he addressed thus:—'O Pundit the study of Ved is only a burden to you as sandal-wood to the donkey: the result of your reading the Ved ought to be that you should see Ram in all life. On the contrary you act as a butcher and call it piety or religion. What then is irreligion or impiety brother?' At the same place he says: '*Do not say that the Ved or Quran are false*; the false is one who does not think':—

वेद कतेब कहहु मत झूठे, झूठा जो न विचारे।

These saints were great Humanists and preached non-violence and kindness even towards animals:—

क्या बकरी क्या गाय है, क्या आपना जाया।
सब को लोहू एक है, साहिब है फरमाया॥
पीर पैगम्बर औलिया, सब मरने को आया।
नाहक जीव न मारिये, पोसन को काया॥

and again:—

मांस अहारी मानवा, राक्षस परतछ अंग।

and further:—

तुरकि धरम बहुत हम खोजा, बहु बजागर करैं ये बोधा।
गाफिल गरब करैं अधिकाई, स्वारथ अरथि बधैं ये गाई॥
जा को दूध घाई करि पीजे, ता माता कौं बध क्यों कीजे?

Trans:—Whether it be a goat, cow or our own child, they have all the same life, so sayeth the Sahib (God). The saint and the prophet and the recluse, are all mortal; Take not life unnecessarily only to feed your body. The meat-eaters have the body of the Rakshas and [illegible]

I have searched the Dharam of the Turks, who are very vain, but they kill cows for sheer selfishness; why kill that poor cow on whose milk you are nursed.

In another place Kabir gives expression to his utter disgust with the current forms of Hindu and Muslim religions:—

हिन्दू अपनी करै बड़ाई, गागर छुवन न देई।
वेश्या के पायंतर सोवैं, यह देखो हिन्दुआई॥
मुसलमान के पीर औलिया, मुरगी मुरगा खाई।
खाला केरी बेटी, घर ही में करे सगाई॥
बाहर से एक मुरदा लाये, धोय धाय चढ़वाई।
सब सखियाँ मिल जेवन बैठो, घर भर करे बड़ाई॥
हिन्दुन की हिन्दुआई देखी, तुरकन की तुरकाई।
कहै कबीर सुनो भई साधो, कौन राह ह्वै जाई॥

Trans:—The Hindu is full of praise and pride for his religion, but he would not allow his water-pot to be touched by any one. They lie at the prostitutes' foot, such is their Hinduism; The Pir and Auliyá,- (saints of Islam) eat cocks and hens, and marry their own cousins. They bring a dead body, roast it and all sit together to eat it with great relish.

O Kabir I saw the Hinduism (as it is practised) of the Hindus and Islam of the Musalmans, but I do not know which path to adopt because both these seem to me to be full of corruption.

Another powerful element leading to the debasement of Hindu Society were the Shakta's who were commiting and preaching all sorts of vices in the name of religion: Kabir censured them also as follows:—

चन्दन की कुटकी भली, ना बबूर की अबराऊं।
वैश्नौं की छपरी भली, ना साषत का बड़ गांव॥

Trans:—A small piece of sandalwood is better than a whole forest of Acacia trees; similarly the humble cottage of a '*Vaishnava*' is better than a big settlement of *Shaktas*. Again:—

साषत बाह्मन जिनि मिलै, बैसनौ मिले चाण्डाल।
अंक माल दै भेटिये, मानूँ मिले गोपाल॥

i.e. The follower of Shaktism, even if he be a Brahman is not good, but a Vaishnav, even if he be a Chandal by

caste, is acceptable to me and I shall embrace him as if God himself.

In another place Kabir has criticised the meat-eating of the Shaktas, and other vices—

पापी पूजा बैसि करि, भषैं मांस मद दोई ।
तिन की दिष्या मुकति नहिं, कोटि नरक फल होई ॥
सकल वरण एकत्र ह्वै, सकति पूजि मिलि खांहिं ।
हरि दासन की भ्रान्ति करि, केवल जमपुर जांहिं ॥

Trans :—The sinners eat meat and drink wine, in the name of worship, all the *Varnas'* assemble together and worship Shakti and eat and drink ; these people are simply under the delusion of being the servants of God (Hari), they cannot attain salvation, the fruit of their deeds is eternal hell (कोटि नरक).

But the meat-eaters and killers of life were not the only ones to be censured : the believers of non-violence, the Jains also were equally denounced for their hollow forms of religion—*e.g.*,

पण्डित भये सरावगी, पाणि पीवें छाणि ।

i.e. the Jains (Saravgis) think that by straining their drinking water, they become Pandits.

These quotations from the teachings of the reformer saints at the head of whom stand Kabir and Nanak, are supported by the whole manner of the lives of these saints. The intrepidity with which Nanak and Kabir gave expression to their views and criticised both Hinduism and Islam as they were preached by the priests and practised by the masses brought them both under the wrath of the Muslim rulers as well as the orthodox monopolists of sacredotal authority who feared the loss of their ascendancy as a result of the influence of the saints. It was owing to the hostility of the Pundas that Kabir had to leave Benares.

The above discussion will serve to elucidate the real character of the mission of the reformer saints of what is known as the period of Bhakti movement. Their mission I maintain, was not directed to bringing about reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims or a communal unity, for the simple reason that no communal problem at all existed at that time. There is nothing in the teachings of these saints which contemplated the need of the Hindu-Muslim unity. Indeed such hard and merciless [illegible] as they hurled at both Hindu and Muslim

orthodoxy, would rather have caused a rupture between the two communities. It speaks volumes for the solidarity of our masses, that these reformers entertained no such fear of endangering communal relations by their relentless censure of the vices of both communities. As I have pointed out above, however, the comparatively small number of those Muslims who had come from outside had been absorbed in the Indian population beyond recognition, and they had inevitably to adopt the indigenous way of life and the customs and manners of those among whom their lot was cast. It hardly needs any proof to say that the Hindus and Muslims were living not only as good neighbours, but as children of the same motherland. The fact that Nanak himself, according to some authorities, was educated by one Mohammad Hasan, a neighbour of his father, who was childless and loved Nanak as his own child, bears testimony, if that were needed, to the above statement. But the most significant fact which has a bearing on this question is that these reformers made no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims and assailed the vices of both, which is the strongest evidence of the fact that the masses of the country, to whichever sect or faith they paid mental allegiance, were all sunk in similar superstitions and formalisms and bound in senseless social restrictions. Indeed a very large section who had nominally changed their faith never gave up their former beliefs, customs and ceremonies. A mixture of Hindu and Muslim rites were observed on occasions of nativity, marriage, death and other sacrements. Many a saint and Pir and holy shrine were worshipped by both in common.

The real problem was therefore, of saving the masses from the clutches of the debasing form which religion as commonly practised had assumed and from the multifarious vices which were being practiced by the people in the name of religion.

I will now try to sum up the aims and objects of the mission of the reformer saints. (1) Their aim was to emancipate the soul of man which was imprisoned by shackles of an utterly irrational religion and to free the common people from the fetters of myth and superstition in which they were kept bound by the priesthood.

(2) They exposed the futility of all forms of idolatory and polytheism, of sacrifices, pilgrimages, rituals and

ceremonies, and preached the worship and love of one God and the efficacy of sincere devotion.

(3) Their basis of popular religion was essentially ethical. They placed the necessity and importance of virtuous conduct, both individual and social, as the highest and noblest form of religion.

(4) They therefore denounced all class and cast distinctions and social tyrannies which were prevalent in the name of religion and preached the equality of all human beings. With a singleness of purpose and dauntless determination they proclaimed their human ideal in the inspiring words which still ring in our ears.

जात पात पूछे नहिं कोय, हरि को भजे सो हरि को होय।

Nanak and Kabir, Ramanand and Chaitanaya raised their voice against the injustice of social discrimination and casting aside their pride of birth welcomed into their fold all men without distinction of caste, creed or sex, not excluding even the so-called Chandals. In the words of Ranade, they asserted the dignity of the Human soul as residing in them quite independently of the accident of its birth and social rank.

(5) They also denounced a life of renunciation and taught that the true path of salvation lies through practical life.

(6) They fearlessly condemned the hypocrisies and pretensions of the Pundits and the Mullahs and told the masses that a class of people who were themselves sunk in all sorts of vices and depths of ignorance could never be the spiritual guides, much less the saviours, of mankind.

(7) They democratised religion, roused the people to the consciousness of their innate ability to save themselves by their own efforts, and rehabilitated the dignity of man as man who had the right to think and act for himself.

I turn now to an estimate of the contribution of Akbar to the mission led by these benefactors of humanity. The advent of Akbar, as if by the design of Providence, synchronised with the dawn of a new era of stir and awakening which took place throughout the length and breadth of the land. It prepared the way for the *integration and higher synthesis of all the dynamic and progressive forces which the work of the saints had released.* At this [illegible] moment the young Akbar found himself at the [illegible] affairs of the country. He was confronted

with the superhuman task of forging a new humanity, of recasting the shape of things, of radically changing or modifying the values of life. The stupendous and many-sided activity of his life answered the enormity of his task. Among modern writers L. Binyon, one of the keenest students of Oriental History and art, has drawn the most realistic picture of Akbar the man; 'Contemplating the favourites of fame (whose laurel is bestowed like fortunes smile, not always according to desert) mankind is willingly credulous. Magnified by time and distance, these farseen personages gather round them an air of fable.....but in Akbar, one of the greatest conquerors, and greater ruler there is something which spontaneously rejects the legendry. It is true that his historians have dutyfully made some little attempts to surround him with superhuman glory..... But the fictitious aureole fails to cling. It is as if the man himself shook off the fetters with impatience. Not that he had no appetite for glory; far from it. But the reality, he would have felt, sufficed'.

Two aspects of Akbar have the deepest bearing on the study of his character and life, *viz., his policy towards his subjects and the development of his religious views* Much confusion has been caused by scholars in respect of either of these aspects. They are, however, all one in defining his policy as one of broad toleration, although Smith, relying on his European favourites the jesuit authorities, has discovered a reprehensible hypocrisy in many of his professions and actions and has readily accepted Badayuni's testimony, without examining it critically, to accuse him (Akbar) of persecution of Islam. These accusations have been ably refuted by the researches of learned scholars like Professor S. R. Sharma and M. L. Roychoudhry.

Let us now discuss the nature of Akbar's policy in its various aspects, civic, religious and administrative. His administrative policy may be dismissed with the brief remark that a thorough efficiency calculated to ensure the safety and prosperity of the people was the hall-mark of his administration. As regards his civic and religious policy, I venture to say, that it has not yet been properly understood. It has been characterised as a policy of tolerance. But I maintain that it is fundamentally wrong to define it as such. I will presently discuss and analyse the real character of Akbar's religious policy, but before coming to it I must explain the *different religious policies*

of the Muslim rulers of India prior to Akbar. The Turks and Afghans tried to follow a policy of conscious sectarianism and religious intolerance sometimes bordering on fanaticism, but their actual behaviour was modified and moulded by the pressure of circumstances, into one of sullen acquiescence to the exigencies of leaving their non-muslim subjects free to follow their own creeds, while of course in their administrative ideals they became increasingly more liberal and efficient in practice.

Babar and Humayun were the ideal products of a noble and lofty culture. As men they were too refined and liberalised to enforce on non-Muslims the strict letter of the Islamic law as it was understood or perhaps misunderstood by the Pundits of the Holy writ. They established a tradition of refined and graceful toleration of their non-Muslim subjects in conformity with the injunctions of the most liberal school of Islamic legists.

Sher Shah was in a sense constitutionally different from all his predecessors. Born and bred in the land as a mere commoner, who had laboriously to work his way up from the bottom of the political pyramid to its summit, he had thoroughly observed the essential conditions on the basis of which alone could be erected a popular and stable political structure. Nursed in this atmosphere of live and let live, the great Suri ruler never allowed religion to over-ride politics. He handled his problems and policies like an astute statesman and reduced to a minimum, in actual practice, the inequalities and invidious distinctions between his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. But it was not given to him to alter the legal basis by which these distinctions had been maintained. We have reasons to believe that while the Jeziah was not legally withdrawn, it was not realised with any degree of strictness. His uniform justice, his public works and his sarais furnished with provisions and equal amenities for all his subjects without distinction, and his care of the peasantry—all these constitute an eloquent testimony to the liberal spirit of his rule.

Nevertheless *this policy did not* alter the legal and civic status of the non-Muslim subjects of the state. It was still in theory a policy of tolerating the latter as a necessary evil under a Government which had not constituted the existence of non-Muslims as its subjects, [illegible] dead, though not the actual disabilities

imposed upon the non-Muslims had to be maintained. By religious conviction Sher Shah was not prepared to concede to the non-Muslims that complete and perfect equality of status or of citizenship to which the Muslims alone were entitled. Sher Shah was a far sighted statesman and a wise and humane ruler. But that was all. He had his limitations. It was beyond his comprehension to rise *to the height of the ideal of equality of all men.*

In striking contrast Akbar's policy emanated from an innate moral conviction that no religion, certainly not Islam as he understood it, could warrant such unjust distinctions between man and man. It was neither the product of political expediency nor an unconscious outcome of a liberalized and cultured character. Akbar's policy implied a recognition of humanity as a manifestation of God's will. He could see beneath the superficial diversities a harmonising thread of unity and oneness. Abul Fazl has translated the thoughts of Akbar in his memorable words:

'Wise enquirers follow out the same principles, and the people of the present age do not differ in opinion from those of the ancient times. They all agree that if that which is numerous be not pervaded by a principle of harmony, the dust of disturbances will not settle down and the troubles of lawlessness will not cease to rise. It is so with the elements, as long as the uniting principle is absent they are dead..... Even animals form unions among themselves and avoid wilful violence; hence they live comfortably and watch over their advantages and disadvantages..... But men from the wickedness of their passions stand much more in need of a just leader ....for, their inclination to that which is evil, teaches their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even causes them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command. To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses a just King..... ...to quell the strife among men by his experience, intrepidity and magnanimity and thus infuse into them new vigour.' The Emperor Akbar himself says thus: 'Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration..... All strife is caused by this that men neglecting the necessities of their state, occupy themselves with extraneous concerns' and again 'A king should make a distinction in his watch over the goods, the lives, the property and the religion of his subjects.' (Jarrett III, 399).

It is, therefore, fundamenta'ly wrong to define Akbar's policy as one of toleration which term implies a conscious superiority, a patronising pity, a condescending charity towards something which must be tolerated because it can not be dispensed with. It was based on the radically different principle of equality of all men. Akbar tolerated the Hindus and Hinduism not as necessary evils but because, in his view, they had as much right to live under the Pax Mughalica as the Muslims and their creed. In Akbar's Islam there was room for all. By his interpretation Islam was raised from the status of a communal creed which it had been in the view of the Islamic jurists, to the higher level of a universal faith. Akbar's attitude therefore, based as it was on this principle of extending equal status and treatment to all his subjects was nothing more than a logical culmination of a process of evolution which the expositions and commentaries of the various jurists had followed. The history of all religions shows one very important feature, the far-reaching influence of which is very often missed. Few even among the professed devotees of a creed try to find out the real truth about its teachings. It is often smothered in the various interpretations and expositions of those who are regarded as authorities on it. Islam was no exception to this rule. Realising this Akbar said 'It is strange that in the time of our prophet no commentaries on the Qoran were made so that differences of interpretation may not afterwards arise. '(Jarrett, III, 390). Thus we find that the commonly accepted and widely known view of the Jiziyah and Jehad is the one given by Al-Sarakhsi and later preached by such divines as the well-known Qazi Mughis of Bayana. But if we carefully study the different views held by the jurists themselves we find a gradual liberalisation of the interpretation of the common law, until we have the humane Abu Yusuf, the greatest commentator on the Hanifite law and chief justice of Khalifah Harun-ar-Rashid (786-809), advising his master gentleness (*rifq*) in the treatment of the Zimmis. If we, however, were to cast a glance over the 29th verse of Chapter IX of the Qoran on which the doctrine of the Jiziyah has been based, in its proper context, I have no doubt that we will find that the Qoran does not warrant any such thing as Jehad or Jiziyah of the kind preached by the legists who have commented on that verse. Their interpretation at best can be understood to have been intended to suit the political circumstances of their own age and not for universal or permanent application. The

interpretation which Akbar made of the teachings of the scriptures and applied it in practice, was the last and the highest stage of a process of liberalisation which had been going on in the hands of the jurists. Akbar's step was only the end of the line. Be it said to the undying credit of Akbar that it was his singular genius which boldly made such an application of the creed from the very start of his political career.

The first step in this direction was taken as early as 1563, when the emperor was hardly nineteen and had not yet even heard of the Faizi brothers or their father Shaikh Mubarak, to whose influence the liberal views of Akbar are generally ascribed. Akbar has been accused of partiality to Hinduism and other religions including Christianity and of persecuting Islam. But we know that he also denounced Sati and a host of other evils of Hindu society in no uncertain terms. The range and variety of his programme of social reform will show that he cared neither for the Hindus nor Muslims where he found a social vice or a harmful custom prevailing in any community. In the comprehensiveness of his reforms—religious, social, political, educational, cultural eugenic—history can hardly show a parallel to Akbar among the crowned heads of any age or country. The far-reaching reforms which the emperor from time to time sought to introduce, such as the marriage laws, intended to elevate the status of women and to save them from such barbarities as Sati or enforced widowhood, the forbidding of infanticide or polygamy, early marriage etc.,—all these must have caused among the Hindus as much holy horror and pious indignation as some of his humane and scientific reforms are said to have caused among the Muslim theologians. For instance the adoption of the Solar year, discouraging polygamy and marriage between cousins, prohibition of the slaughter of animals and so on.

This systematic programme of all round reforms undertaken by Akbar ran parallel to his life long endeavour to elevate the priesthood, specially the Muslim theologians and Ulema of the Court, to that plane of enlightenment and broad-mindedness from where they could view life and its philosophy in a proper perspective. This was essential for the sake of providing the intellectual background and religious sanction for the changes he preached in the behaviour of society. But he might as well have expected the stones to melt or the ocean to dry up. The

orthodox never make any distinction between essentials and non-essentials, between the form and substance of religion. The reforms of the current practices and customs of both the Hindu and the Muslim society which Akbar carried out never touched the essentials of religion, and this the obtuse minded priesthood would simply not understand. The greatest problem of Akbar was that he was several centuries in advance of them. A great gulf yawned between the two. The priesthood being utterly immobile a reapproachment between them and Akbar was impossible. The manner in which the emperor, since his very youth, adopted an enlightened policy in defiance of age-long orthodoxies, leaves no room for doubting the fact that he almost instinctively understood the fundamentals of the true religion. He did not confound them with the current superstitions or outworn practices and conventions. This work of uplifting a fallen society and freeing it from mental and social slavery, which Akbar carried out was a counterpart of the renaissance and reform led by his contemporary saints and reformers.

Side by side Akbar was trying to satisfy his unquenchable thirst for a knowledge of the reality of existence and of the ultimate problems of the universe. In this attempt he tried successively the Muslim Ulema, and the best known authorities of the other great faiths. His respectful attitude, the attitude of a real seeker after truth, who approaches it with a mind to understand the merits of the subject of his study, was much misunderstood. This it was which roused hopes in the small minds of the Christian Fathers that he would become a Christian. Some modern writers have not hesitated to accuse him of hypocricy when he acted as a Muslim and of heresy when he seemed to depart from the orthodox view-point. His acting as the Imam and reciting the Khutba himself, an office to which he was perfectly entitled; the Muhzar, misnamed and mistranslated by Smith as 'Infallibility Decree', which was no more than his assuming the final authority to interpret the Qoran whenever there happened to be an irreconcilable divergence of opinion among the doctors of the law, have been regarded by superficial students as only the manifestation of his unrestrained egoism and overweening ambition. Finally, the founding of that 'Cultural Order or Association' which the emperor [illegible] name as the Din-I-Ilahi and which has been [illegible] misunderstood as a new religion, has been [illegible]

an uncontrolled ambition to become both, prophet and king. It is hardly necessary for me to show the utter baselessness of the idea that the Din-i-Ilahi was in any sense a new sect or religion. But to compare this enlightened project which was the result of the life-long study and the mental effort of a seeker after truth, with the foolhardy and puerile attempt of the Khalji Sultan and then to dub it as a monument of the folly of its author, is an almost incomparable model of superficiality and thoughtlessness on the part of a scholar. The Din-i-Ilahi was the consummation of a whole life time's earnest and intense endeavour in search of a formula which should satisfy all and hurt none, and contain all that was good and true and beautiful in the great faiths of the world. Nearly half a century before Smith, Max Muller, a profound and disinterested student, had pointed out that Akbar was 'The first man who ventured on a comparative study of the religions of the world'.

Thus it is on the background of this vast canvass of the many-sided activities of Akbar the emperor and Akbar the man, that we can form a correct estimate and true picture of his policy. It was not a negative policy of simply enduring an evil which could not be cured. It was positive in aim and content and constructive in its execution. The difference between the policy of Akbar and the Muslim rulers was not of degree but of kind. It was a thing apart and above. The principles thus set up by Akbar constitute an essential characteristic of his age and have a very important bearing on our present problems.

Akbar was followed by men who, however high their culture and refinement, were intellectual pigmies before him. 'He was a citizen of the world'; they were Muslims after the manner of the Ulema. Their religious policy was moulded by a variety of circumstances. They found themselves involved in a conflict of conscience and culture. The deep and well laid traditions of Akbar's policy besides their own education and culture and above all their active interest in and patronage of things anathema to the orthodox, pulled them in one direction, and their suppressed yet conscious sentiment that they must conform to the injunctions of the Sunni creed drew them in the opposite direction. Thus they became a battle ground within themselves. It is obvious that in the first stages the forces of culture and tradition were far too powerful. Jahangir could not have broken away from the policy and traditions set up by Akbar without seriously jeprodising the solidarity

of the state and disturbing the equanimity of his own mind. But a slight departure, a thin cleavage is clearly visible in some of his acts which of course were occasioned by unusual incidents. It is, however, far from being the normal practice of the emperor. Under Shahjahan, however we notice the beginnings of a conscious and deliberate departure from the straight ideal set up by Akbar. The cleavage gradually widened, although it effected only a small fraction of the people. Apart from a few acts of intolerance which betrayed their inner struggle the stream of the royal benevolence towards their subjects continued to flow unabated. The real difference between the policy of Akbar and that of his successors is that while Akbar boldly established the principle of the equality of citizenship for all his subjects, Jahangir and Shah Jahan withdrew that equality to an increasing extent in actual practice, and Aurangzeb completed their work by abrogating that principle legally also.

Aurangzeb and his policy :

Coming to Aurangzeb, we observe a clean and wide departure from Akbar's sound policy and principles. Whatever the motive of the emperor might have been he commenced a reactionary and retrograde policy in full force. The stream of advancement was turned backward. Two sets of circumstances will be obvious to the careful student. The high class Muslims had become greatly degenerated. Power and pelf had told upon their character. The soft life of comfort and ease which they had long enjoyed had enervated them. They had lost their manhood, their vigiour and intelligence and even their aspirations. Many of the key positions in the army and most of them in the finance and other important departments of the state were occupied by the Hindus. Aurangzeb saw that as a community the urban Musalman's were falling backward and lagging behind their Hindu compatriots.

The emperor, therefore, strove his utmost but by methods which were surely too abrupt and immoderate, to infuse life among the Muslims and to put them again on the path of progress. In this respect, so far as his motive was concerned, Aurangzeb may be said to be the [illegible] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The [illegible] difference between the two lies in their [illegible] and methods. The emperor used his [illegible] to [illegible] the Muslim [illegible]

to cause to the interests of the Hindus. In his orders such as those dismissing Hindus from the department of Finance etc., we may not question his motives, but the method was certainly unstatesmanlike.

Secondly, it is necessary to notice certain important facts brought to light recently by some writers which tell us that certain religious centres such as the temples at Benares were being used as rendezvous of seditious conspiracy by the Hindus, and this provoked the emperor to take steps which have been regarded as an evidence of his bigotry. But may it not be pointed out that this was hardly any justification for the ruthless demolition of temples carried out by him even before he had become emperor, and further for taking the various other discriminatory steps which he did against the Hindus. Then again may it not be questioned whether it was necessary or wise to visit the sins of a group of men on the sacred places which were the objects of veneration of a vast community throughout the whole country? Could not the miscreants be otherwise suitably handled without offending the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus? While Aurangzeb's motives must be judged by the new set of problems which confronted him, his policy and method cannot be regarded as based upon a constructive or far-sighted statesmanship. Nor did they set a healthy example for the subordinate and other lower functionaries of the governments.

In recent times attempts are being made to show that Aurangzeb was very liberal minded towards the Hindus. A number of Farmans have been discovered by which the emperor bestowed favours upon Brahmans and jagirs on temples. Even without the discovery of such documents it would be quite unfair to suppose that the day-to-day administration was materially affected by certain special measures which were prejudicial to a particular class of people. A very unfavourable impression however has been created by the early western historians of our country and their Indian disciples, concerning the rule of Aurangzeb. The new light that has been thrown on his history has certainly rendered a great service in not only correcting that impression but also showing that in his normal dealings with his people he was quite humane and considerate. There is no doubt that the utterly wrong notions which have gained a wide currency in regard to the history of this period need to be corrected so that justice may be

rendered to those aspects and personalities of our past that have been misunderstood and misrepresented and have caused unnecessary heart-burnings.

The past is not dead. It cannot die. The historian of today is on his trial. He has not only to read and write history but to make history by bearing aloft and straight the torch of the living past, its lessons and its precepts, its blessings and admonitions, its experiences and examples, and by showing the path to the generations to come, steering clear of the many shoals and crags which are in the way. He has to get behind appearances and capture the soul of men and things; he has to comprehend the laws that govern man's progress in the group and to translate them faithfully to others. In the performance of this sacred duty let him not be daunted or deterred by favour or frown from any quarter. Let him not hesitate to dislodge from the tripod the ideals of yesterday which have become the idols of today. Mankind has been the victim of a habit of converting its once dynamic ideals into dumb, lifeless idols. Living forces have been petrified into dead formulae by the folly of a society which suffers from mental lethargy. Many a delusion and misconception has been dearly cherished and garnered as unimpeachable truth even by students of history. They have not been free from the tyranny of widely accepted but entirely baseless ideas about the past. We must, therefore, unlearn our wrong notions and do justice to history. For if we allow ourselves to be swept away by such misconceptions, conscious or unconscious, we cannot escape history. Should we misuse it, it will not fail to recoil on us. Our recent history has borne ample testimony to this law. Hence the historian of Mughal India has a difficult task to perform. The new vistas and the new logic which are opening up every day before him demand that what he has to give to society must be fresher and younger and in every respect closer to human thoughts and human needs. He has to show that the essential note of the representative men who stand at the head of that age, is *freedom and self-reliance* for the common man. In view of these considerations I appeal for a more thoughtful, more dispassionate, and more sympathetic study of the people, and the culture and civilisation of the [illegible] by the rule of the great Mughals, an era [illegible] as rich and glorious as that of any other [illegible] history of our motherland.

7. Letters of Sheikh Ahmad.

(A NEW SOURCE OF HISTORICAL STUDY)
[1563—1624 A. D.]

BY

HASAN MURTAZA, DEPUTY MAGISTRATE, (PATNA).

The letters of Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind popularly known as Imam-i-Rabbani and Mujaddid i-Alf-i-Sani form a very important source of the history of India during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir which has remained untapped so far. In order to be able to estimate the historical value of these letters, a brief reference to their author, his times and the conditions in which these were written, is essential.

Sheikh Ahmad was born in Sirhind in the Patiala State of the Puhjab in 971 A. H. (1563 A.D.) and died in 1031 A. H. (1624 A. D.) Thus he lived for about forty years during the reign of Akbar and for about 33 years in the time of Jahangir. Throughout his life he remained in contact with great nobles of the Moghal Empire and for many years was in very close touch with Emperor Jahangir. The policy of Akbar the Great had alienated the sympathy of the Orthodox Muslims and they regarded the State policy unislamic and even hostile to Islam. This feeling coupled with the influences created by the Mehdavi and Roshnia Movements led to the birth of a Puritan Revival which was almost a Risorigimento by the Orthodox party against the policies and principles of Akbar the Great. Sheikh Ahmad became leader of this Puritan Revival. Like the contemporary movement in Europe, Sheikh Ahmad tried to meet the aggressiveness of Akbar's Reformation towards Islam and also to reform the religion from within. His whole life was a continued crusade to destroy the new order produced by Akbar and he succeeded to a considerable extent.

Sheikh Ahmad was a renowned scholar of his time and to the Orthodox Muslims he is the undisputed Renewer of the second Millenium of the Hijri era. He is the founder of the Mujaddidya Order of the Sufis and his conception of Tawhid or unity of God is regarded as the most remarkable contribution to the religious literature after the famous mystic and scholar of Egypt Mohiuddin Ibn-i-Arabi.

One of the methods of the Imam to achieve his object was to carry on a vast correspondence with men of eminence throughout the country. He wrote innumerable letters either of his own accord or in reply to his disciples, friends and acquaintances,

His disciples included nobles and generals like Khan-i-Azam, Khan-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Khan Khaman, Mirza Darab, Qulich Khan, Khaja Jahan and Nawab Sayyad Fareed. He sometimes corresponded with Emperor Jahangir himself.

These letters have not been traced out by me for the first time. These have been widely known throughout the Muslim world for the remarkable force of their language and fine representation of the deep truths of the religion. These were written in Persian. Some of these were written to men in Persia and Arabia. These became very popular in Iraq, Syria and Turkey as well. These were translated into Arabic in Egypt and have deeply influenced subsequent works of mysticism and theology. These have been translated in Urdu also and printed copies of both the Persian and Urdu versions are available easily.

The authenticity of these letters cannot be questioned as the Sheikh used to keep a copy of every letter he wrote and took particular care to preserve the copy. I have seen 536 letters of the Imam in all. These cover three volumes. All these volumes were compiled in his very life—time, under guidance and with his permission by three of his chief disciples. The first volume contains 313 letters and is known as Durul Marifat which means the Pearl of knowledge. The second volume contains 99 letters and is known as Nurul Khalaiq or light for the people. The third volume contains 124 letters. The volume is called Marifet-ul-Haqaiq or the knowledge of truths.

Little historical study of these letters however has been made. These have generally escaped the notice of the scholars of history so far because, mostly, these letters are either replies to questions of religious character put to the Imam and through which the Imam wanted to remove the misconceptions of the religion current in his time or pieces of his advice given to his followers and disciples primarily and mainly in mystical subjects. Evidently these cannot be treated as history and have all the limitations of a letter.

But the Imam being the leader of a great movement and reformer of his age, every word which he has written must have its background and must have been inseparably related to the existing circumstances and influences. Moreover, every literature is the mirror of the age in which it is written and it is all the more true of the literature of one who is a typical product of his time and who is shaped specially by the environment and influences of his age. But we can read the times only by going behind the letters and by drawing inferences from the remarks and ideas which the writer has expressed here and there regarding different political, social and religious subjects of the age. When read in this perspective, those letters give a rather sufficiently clear picture of the conditions of Muslim India in the time of Akbar and Jahangir. As it is not possible to discuss the letters at length

or quote all the relevant letters, I simply refer to some of these letters which to my mind are of historical importance and give us fresh material and sometimes throw new light on the socio-religious history of Akbar's and Jahangir's India. For obvious reasons I have decided to simply quote or refer to the letters without making practically any comments.

Letters referring to the Court.

Letter No. 47 Vol. I, addressed by the Imam to Nawab Fareed ;

" The king is to the mankind what heart is in the body. If the heart is well, the body also is healthy. If the heart is diseased, the body is also spoiled. In like manner the reform of the world depends upon the reform of the king and his unhealthiness leads to the unhealthiness of the whole world You are aware of the hardships that fell to the lot of the Muslims in the 'past age.' In the 'past ages' when Islam was extremely helpless the worst calamity and trouble was not more than this that the Muslims stuck to their religion and the heretics to theirs. These words of the Quran that " you shall have your religion and I shall have my own," refer to this state of affairs but in the 'past reign' the heretics having obtained supremacy, used to issue orders of heresy in the land of Islam but the Muslims could not dare to issue orders of Islam, and if they did they were put to death. What a pity it was that the testifiers of the beloved of the Great God, the holy prophet Mohammad (peace and blessings be on him and his family) were down-trodden and insulted whereas those who disbelieved him were honoured and relied upon. The Muslims mourned with wounded heart the decay of Islam and their enemies sprinkled salt on their wounds with ridicules and sarcasm. The Sun of Guidance was wrapped in the clouds of misguidance and the light of Truth was covered by the veil of Falsehood. This day the news of the fall of the hinderance to the religion of Islam and the accession to the throne of a " King of Islam " having reached in the ears of all, the Muslims have taken a vow to assist and help the King and guide him in strengthening the Religion and popularise the Law. The help may be with the tongue or with the hand".*

2. *Letter no. 48, Vol. I addressed to Nawab Fareed* :— " The greatest of all virtues is to strive for the enforcement of the Law and revive any of its commands specially in the present age when the signs of Islam have been completely effaced."

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* 1. In this letter " Past reign " and " Past age " mean the reign of Akbar and it appears that this letter was written either on the day of the accession of Jahangir or immediately after it.

3. *In letter no. 53 Vol. I, the Imam writes to Nawab Fareed* :— " I hear that the " Emperor of Islam," out of the good intentions which he has for the religion, has asked you (*i.e.*, Nawab Fareed) to select four religious ulema who may be employed in the Imperial Court and whose duty will be to describe the laws of the religion so that no order against the Law may be passed."

4. *Letter no. 194. Vol. I addressed to Sadri-Jehan.* " The great God may keep you in peace and comfort. The hearts of the aggrieved Muslims gladdened and their spirits refreshed at the news of the insult of the enemies of the Faith of Muhammad and the enforcement of the laws of the religion. Praise be to God for this ! It is His Kindness ! It is now reported that the 'King of Islam'[1] wants (the company of) the ulema out of his pro-Islamic disposition. God is to be praised for this."

You are aware that in the past age whatever trouble had appeared, had been created on account of the misfortune of the ulema. (It is therefore hoped) that great care would be taken in selecting the religious ulema....."

" My second submission is that some considerations urge this Fakir to go to the Army[2] but on account of the approach of the month of Ramzan, I have come to stay in Delhi. God willing, after this holy month is over, this Fakir would present himself before you gentlemen. Peace be on you "

5. *Letter no. 195, Vol. I addressed to Khan-i-Jahan* :

"Men follow the religion of their rulers and past history justifies such a conclusion. Now that change has taken place in the kingdom and enmity and turmoil have spoiled the men of religion, it is imperative for the leaders of Islam, that is, on the great Ministers, nobles and saintly ulema to apply all their resources to the progress of the Right Law and first of all to erect the decayed pillars of Islam for it does not appear safe to delay matters and the hearts of the poor are restless at this delay. The Muslims still remember the hardship of the last reign. It is apprehended that amends may not be made and Islam may become all the more neglected. If the King be not enthusistic in the uplift of the traditions of the Prophet (Peace and blessings be on him) and the favourites of the Emperor too keep themselves aloof in the matter and value their transitory lives, then it will become very hard for the helpless Muslims.....One of the symbols of the Islamic state is the institution of Qazis in Muslim towns which system has been abolished during the past reign. There has been no Qazi in Sirhind which is a big Muslim town since the last several years.....The ancestors of the bearer of this letter named Qazi Yusuf have been Qazis of Sirhind since the time it was peopled. Consequently he possesses many sanads of

1. *i. e.* Emperor Jahangir.

2. Imperial Army.

various Kings.* He is also decorated with Piety and Saintliness. If you consider fit, he may be entrusted with this important job ....."

6. *Letter No. 28. Vol. II:* This letter is in reply to some questions. In it the Imam has denounced in strong terms the theory of the Transmigration of Soul which Akbar and his courtiers were inclined to accept. Its denunciation is more forceful and vigorous in letter No. 58 of Vol II.

7. *Letter No 43 of Vol. III addressed by the Imam to his sons Mohammad Sayeed and Mohammad Mosoon*: It was written from the Imperial Camp. It shows that the Imam was held in esteem in the Imperial Court, used to attend it daily and by his daily debates there used to counter-act the beliefs and doctrines prevalent in court. It almost gives a list of the beliefs and doctrines which were discussed, criticised and ridiculed in the Court. This list includes the subjects which were related to some of the important movements of the age. It runs thus:—

"Praise be to Allah and peace on his virtuous creatures! The affairs and practices of these days are worthy of praise (to God). Strange and extraordinary meetings are taking place and by the grace of God I have not exhibited the slightest slackness or weakness in my talks on religious subjects and doctrines of Islam. By the grace of Allah the Great, those very ideas are expressed (by me) in these debates which were discussed in private sittings and meetings. It would take a volume to describe the details of any one single sitting. In particular, on this date, the 17th of the month of Ramzan I spoke at length on the subjects of Prophethood of the Prophets (peace and praise are due to them), the unreliability of Reason, faith in the Day of Resurrection and the proofs of the Reward and Chastisement, Sight of the Great God, the Prophethood of Mohammad who is the last of the prophets (blessings be on him), the Renewer of every century, the following of the examples of the Orthodox Caliphs (God be pleased with them), of Trawib (*i.e.* prayer after the night prayer in the month of Ramzan) being the Prophet's example, the untenability of the doctrine of Transmigration of Soul and the affairs of the genii and their Rewards and chastisements. The Emperor listened to these with great pleasure.

Besides these many other topics were discussed. A talk was given (by me) about the Aqtabs, Autads and Abdals (these are grades of the sufis according to their spiritual developments) and their affairs. It is a Kindness of Allah the Great that the Emperor accepted all that I said and remained in one state and no change in him took place (which might indicate that he was annoyed). May be that God has willed some inner meaning (*i.e.* advantages) in these meetings and events which perhaps contain some secrets.....when I return from these meetings at night, I busy myself with the performance of Trawib prayer."

8. The above is a typical letter of the Sheikh. There is another of this kind. It is *No. 67 of Vol. II.* It covers 16 printed pages. It is a reply to some letter written to the Imam by Khan-i-Jehan. In this letter the Imam has described, very briefly of-course, the articles of faith of the Sunnis, asked the addressee to correct his views in the light of his discussion and then to act upon these. He has mentioned 25 articles of faith in all in order of importance. The twelvth article emphasises that Mohammad was the last of the prophets and his religion repealed all the previous faiths and will not be repealed by any other religion and the expected Masiha after his appearance will follow the religion of Mohmmad and will not find any new Din.

Articles Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 describe the Sunni point of view about the-then existing controversy of the Caliphate and Imamate.

In the 25th article, he has discussed the signs and indications of the approach of the Day of Ressurection according to the Prophet's traditions and has in clear and definite terms denounced the Mehdavi Movement.

In the beginning of this letter the Imam has observed that "the time" in which he lived "was one of suspicions and rumours." At the end the Imam writes: "The wealth with which the High God has distinguished you (*i. e.* Khan-i-Jehan) and which people have neglected and perhaps you have also forgotten is this: There has been a Muslim Emperor since the last seven generations. He belongs to the Sunni fold and follows the Hanafi creed. It is only for the last few years that some students out of the misfortune of their greed which has been produced by the meanness of their self, have obtained access to the nobles and the King and out of the flattery to them have raised doubts and objections in the clear religion and found faults with it and are misleading the fools and simpletons. When such a great King can listen to your advices and accept these what a grand achievement it would be if you put in his ears, either in details or only casually, the word of Truth, that is dogma of Islam according to the belief of the Sunni sect. You should present to him as much as you can the words of the men of truth rather you should remain on the look out of such opportunities which might lead to a talk of religion and nationality so that you might be in a position to explain the truth of Islam and denounce the falsehood of heretics and heresy."

"Now I come to the main point. You know that a King is like the soul and all human beings like the body. If the soul is healthy, the body is healthy too. The disease of the soul causes disease of body. Thus to reform a King is really to reform the whole mankind. The reform of the King consists in telling him the word of Islam in all possible ways which may suit the times. Next to the dogma of Islam the doctrines of

the Sunni Sect should also be told from time to time and the opposing religion should be denounced. If you achieve this gem, it is really the magnificent heritage of the Prophets (peace and blessings be on them). This jewel is in your possession for no labour. You should value it. What more emphasis is required although the more it is stressed the better it is. The praise—worthy God is the inspirer of action."

9. In *letter No. 192, Vol. II* addressed to one of his chief disciples, the Imam has deprecated the practice of Sijda as introduced by Akbar.

IMAM AND THE ULEMA

The Imam has critised the degenerate ulema in very scathing terms and held them responsible for most of the evils of the age. He calls them "worldly ulema" in contrast to religious ulema or true Sufis and Darvishes and attacks them in a language which is difficult even for a modern writer to adopt. He also gives an outline as to how to make a distinction between the two.

1. *Letter No. 33 Vol. I.* "To the ulema the love of this world and inclination towards it is an ugly scar on the face of their beauty ..... These ulema are like touchstone and copper and iron which come in its contact turn into gold but the touch-stone itself remains an ordinary stone .....Imparting of education and giving of Fatwas are useful only when these are out of piety and love of God and free from the desire of gaining influence, position, rank and wealth. The sign of this freedom is that they are righteous in this world and have no liking for this (low) world and whatever it contains. But these ulema who are in the clutches of this calamity are prisoners of the love of this wretched world and are worldly and bad. *They are worse than the ordinary man and are thieves of religion* although they regard themselves the religious leaders and better than other men. Verily God has said, "They suppose that they have some worth in them. Beware! They are liars. The Devil has dominated them and has made them negligent (of their duty) of remembering God. They are followers of the Satan. Beware as the followers of Satan are losers ..... A certain gentleman who is dear to me saw (in vision) that the condemned Satan was sitting idle and had no anxiety to mislead and misguide the people. The gentleman enquired the reason thereof. He replied that the *bad ulema of the age had become his assistauts and had relieved him of his obligation* (to mislead) ..... In fact whatever slackness and negligence in the commands of the law and the mischiefs in the enforcement of the Faith have appeared in this age are due to the mis forture of the bad ulema and the change of their motives for the worse ..... This world and the world after are, as it were, two wives of a man. If one is happy the other is displeased. If this world is dear, the

one after death is displeased and if this world is looked down, the other appears dear. To combine together both of them is to combine two opposites"

2 *Letter No. 47 of Vol. I addressed to Nawab Fareed.* "Whatever calamity befell Islam in the past was all due to the misfortune of this very group (*i.e.* worldly ulema). It were they who misled the Emperor. The seventy-two seats which have followed the path of misguidance are led by these leaders and guides. Outside the class of ulema there are very few persons who are misguided and their misguidance has affected others also."

3. On hearing that the Emperor had ordered Nawab Fareed to select four saintly ulema to be employed in court for consultation in religious matters, the Imam wrote letter No. *53 of Vol. I to Nawab Fareed* :

"..... There are very few such religious ulema who have no desire of rank and position and whose only object is the enforcement of the law and strengthening of the Muslim nation. If there is desire of rank, every Alim will pull (the Emperor) towards himself, would try to prove his superiority, would bring in controversies and thereby make these his sources of access to the Emperor. It would result in frustrating the object entirely. The differences of such ulema in the past threw the world in chaos and (I find that) again the same company is sought ..... It would be better to select one single Alim for the purpose. It would be very fortunate if an Alim who prefers the next world to this is available..... If such a man is not available, one who is best of the whole lot may be selected after due consideration and care ..... The best of the ulema is better than all the mankind and the worst of them is worse than the rest of the human beings because it is they who can lead or mislead the humanity".

3. *Letter No. 260, Vol. I addressed to* Mohammad Sadique the son of *Imam.* "..... *The* careless ulema try to popularise the performance of Nawafil (The Optional) and deprecate the Compulsory." After this, the Imam quotes instances in his support and then remarks: "When this is the plight of the leaders of Islam, what shall I describe the state of the common-folk! Weakness has appeared in Islam on account of this misfortune of action and due to the gloom arising out of this action, innovations have appeard (in religion)."

IMAM AND THE SUFIS

1. *Letter No. 47. Vol. I.* "Many important persons having assumed the garb of Sufis in this age have entered the category of bad ulema. Their mischief also was infectious."

2. *In the Letter No. 266, Vol, I* the Imam has described the tenets of Islam and denounced very bitterly the indulgence of the Sufis of his time in Sima, that is, hearing of music for sake of bringing about ecstasy and Raqs, that is, dance of the mystics during ecstacy brought about by music and has in this connection observed thus. "No jurist has at any time declared Music to be permissible nor has sanctioned the legality of Dance..... The conduct of the Sufis is not an authority in matters of Commands and Prohibitions."

3. The Imam stressed that although Islam does not denounce the belief in miracles, it does not make it essential either for prophethood or saintliness, *In letter No. 221, Vol. I he* writes: These exercises and practices which the mystics do and are not sanctioned by the Prophet's example are unreliable and valueless .....The genuineness and admissibility of these experiences (*Ahwal* and *Kaifiyat*) can be determined by judging if there has been complete abstinence from the Forbidden and Doubtful and if these are in complete agreement with the injunctions of the Law.....The conduct of the Sufis is no authority in declaring an act Permitted or Forbidden.....In this matter the sayings of Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Yusuf and Imam Mohammad* (God may bestow his mercy on them) are worthy of reliance and not the conduct of Abu Bakr Shibli and Abu Hasan Nori. §

4. *Letter No. 63, Vol, II*—"The Piri-Muridi[1] of the present time is in particular merely a matter of fashion and convention. When the spiritual leaders of these days are ignorant of their own self and have no idea as to what is heresy and what is true religion, what trace of the Great God and guidance they can impart to their disciples."

5. *Letter No. 29 of Vol. I addressed to Sheikh Nizam of Thanesar*:—"Some reliable persons have related that the disciples offer Sijdah to some of your Khalifas or Agents[2] and that they do not stop at ground-kissing. The evil of such a conduct is more evident than the sun. Forbid them to do so and insist in it. It is essential for every one to avoid such practices and in particular for one who is the leader and guide of the people."

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*Famous Jurists of Islam.

§ Two famous mystics of Islam who were condemned by the Jurists.

1. Piri-Murili is the mystical training of a disciple by a spiritual leader.

2. Agents are those who have reached a certain stage in mystical development and are appointed as such to train others.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATION DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD 1526 TO 1707 A. D.

BY

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The Mughals[1] were Muslims by conversion; yet, for a long time, they retained many of the elements of their home culture—the culture of Central Asia. That culture was eclectic elastic. After conversion the culture of Arabia supplied a fresh stratum in their culture. In spite of their reluctance to admit any foreign intrusion into their social regions, the virility of the religion of the Prophet of Arabia more unconsciously than consciously penetrated into various aspects of the social life of the Mughals. Again, after they had come in touch with the soft culture of Iran, especially after the entry of larger number of Persian ladies into their harem, the influence of Iranian culture became prominent in the development of their society. When they conquered and settled in Hindustan, they adopted the manners and customs of the country of their adoption. Few of the Chagtais had any extra-territorial patriotism. They looked upon themselves as Indians, specially after their matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs. Thus the Mughals in India were Central Asian by birth, Arabian by religious association, Iranian by culture and Hindustani by adoption. Naturally the currents and cross-currents of their social and religious associations made them something more than mere Muslims as is understood by the connotation of that term.

Through their arteries ran the blood of diverse nationalities fused into one. The blood of the Turks was mixed up with that of the Mongols in Timur. Humayun's blood was the result of a mixture of the Central Asian with that Maham Begam possibly a Persian lady. Akbar's mother was a trans-Oxiana lady, Hamidah Banu Begam, daughter of Mirza Akbar Jami. Now the last link in the process of fusion was supplied by the Rajput when the princess of Jodhpur gave birth to Shahzadah Salim. Thus the Mughals in India could claim a peculiar genealogy and filtration of blood which could not fail to produce a peculiar psychology, unlike that of the early Arabs who always disliked

[1]. We use the word 'Mughal' deliberately; the correct denotation of the Indian Mughals should be 'Chagtai Turk.' The word 'Mughal' has been used to refer to the Chagtais in India. To avoid confusion, we stick to the inaccurate nomenclature, though the repetition of a wrong cannot make it right.

intermarriage with non-Arabs. In India, the infusion of Hindu blood in many instances made them accommodate tendencies which were not entirely Muslim.

In language, the Mughals had their native tongue Turki. Then Arabic became their language of religion. When they came to Persia, a third language, Persian, was adopted by them. Finally, in India, the language of Hindustan became their spoken language, while the language of Persia remained their court language. This linguistic fusion was of supreme importance in the formation of their character.

Wherever they went, the Arabs converted the country *en bloc*, and Islamisation was swift, thorough and almost wholesale. The Arabs fought battles generally with non-Muslims in the course of their expansion. But in India the Mughals conquered the country from Ibrahim Lodi, a Muslim Sultan, with the indirect help or rather connivance of the Hindus, and there was thus no question of an infliction of Islam on them *en masse*.

Further, intermarriage put the Rajputs, who were essentially a ruling community, on a par with the conquerors and practically raised them to the position of the "King's caste." Thus, the expected did not happen and the unexpected did take place: a process of fusion not always sanctioned by the Shari'at followed. Our investigation will pursue the lines along which the Mughal Government moved consciously or unconsciously. In fact, the Mughals in India were Muslims no doubt, but their Government was not just what an orthodox theologian would plead for.

The spirit of the times was in favour of a cultural fusion. A wave of Renaissance was passing over many parts of the civilised world for over a century preceding the Mughal advent into India. The European Renaissance, the Mahdi movement in Islam, the Ming Revival in China, the eclectic Sufi movement and the soft Bhakti cult of India were unconsciously facilitating the process of fusion. The Mughals appearing on the crest of the wave of that current did not miss any of the undercurrents that formed the billows beneath.

The gradual disintegration of the Abbasids in Arabia at once gave rise to new religio-political pretensions in the Islamic world. Of these, the 'Uthmanlis in Constantinople and the Timurids in India were the most pretentious though the scope of the former was wider. The growth of different political interests in different parts of the Islamic world had broken the solidarity of a common Muslim State. The new races that entered the arena of Islam, with different cultural outlooks and social backgrounds, naturally struck a serious blow against the idea of pan-Islamism which was the fond hope of the Arabs. The Timurids in India took full advantage of the absence of a strong Khalifah and of the disintegrating factors inherent in a wide and heterogeneous theocracy if it can be so termed. The develop-

ment of a new political synthesis was the direct result; the status of a subject was not to be determined by the acceptance of the religion of the conqueror but the offer of loyalty to their throne. This had a profound influence on the religious structure of the Mughal Empire in India.

Ethnological structure, cultural eclecticism, social environment and political necessity ultimately compelled the Indian Mughals to attempt some experiments which have given them a distinct position amongst the great rulers of mankind.

Let us examine how these experiments influenced the cultural contact between the Hindus and Muslims in the Mughal period. The subject may be discussed under the following heads :—

(*i*) Hindu right to personal security and freedom from personal violence ;

(*ii*) Their freedom of religious worship ;

(*iii*) Cultural approaches.

I. Hindu right to personal security and freedom from personal violence.

It goes without saying that the Dhimmis [1] who submitted to the rule of the Muslim Chagtai Turks were allowed to live in the country with all that 'Aman' (Peace of State) meant. It is significant that Babur conquered Hindustan from a Muslim Sultan, Ibrahim Lodi, with the passive help of non-muslim, Rana Sangram Singh of Chitor. So the question of applying the laws and traditions of the Arabs regarding the *Dhimmis* did not influence his dealings with the Hindus. The enemies of the Chagtais were the Lodi Afghans. The Arabs had not to conquer a Muslim country *en masse*, so no exhaustive precedents were created by the Arab conquerors in relation to the conquered Muslims. If anywhere they had to deal with the Muslims along with the non-Muslim conquered subjects, they included all the people in one category[2]. In their struggle for political existence, services and alliances of non-Muslims were invaluable to the Mughals. Babur conquered Hindustan with Rajput help ; pursued by Sher Shah, Humayu saved himself and his wife Hamidah Banu through the grace of the Hindu Rana Wansal of Amarkot; Akbar escaped the highhandedness of Bairam and conspiracy of Maham Anaga through the help of the house of Jodhpur. In the creation, extension, preservation and consolidation of the Timurid Empire of Akbar, the services of the Rajputs

1. Dhimmi is a non-Muslim subject in a Muslim State who has accepted the Muslim Soverignty but not Muslim religion.

2. Maqrizi, *Khtl'at*, I. 200. This point may further be studied under the following subdivisions :— (1) Muslim subjects in a non-Muslim State such as a Muslim subject of Shivaji in relation to the Mughal Empire at Delhi, (2) Muslim subjects of a different Muslim State such a the subjects of Bijapur or Golocọnda in relation to Delhi,

cannot be estimated too highly. So the question of the right of the non-Muslims to stay in the *Darul Islam* could not arise in Mughal India. The early Mughals were conscious that the antagonism of the Hindus, sepecially that of the Rajputs, was often responsible for constant strife in Sultanate India with all its attendant evils. During the formative period of the Mughal Empire in India, the usual disability attached to the position of a *Dhimmi* was confined more or less to the payment of the Jeziah only.

So far as freedom from personal violence was concerned, the Prophet said, "Whosoever kills a *Dhimmi* will not scent of paradise—its scent spreads a jounrney for forty years," and again, "the blood of *Dhimmi* is the blood of a Muslim," though Ali said, "A Muslim must not be killed for murder of a non-believer." [1] But in actual practice, freedom from personal violence in an age of chivalry and war depended more or less on one's own power to protect himself. In villages, the *chowkidar* was a servant of the village and was not directly connected with the government, while the *Panchayet* was responsible for the maintenance of peace. The caste organisation in India was so compact that almost all cases of delinquency came within the scope of the caste *Panchayet* whose decisions in social matters were final. Cases of personal injuries were decided by the caste heads. In litigations where big people were involved, matters might be taken to the *Qadis* or *Kotwals*. The payment of royal demands through Patwari, Amin, Quanungo or Karori was the only connection between the subjects and their rulers in ordinary times. The Turko-Afghan system was not interfered with by the Mughals at the out-set. The judiciary of the Turko-Mughals was based on the model of Arabia, and the structure of their courts and the nomenclature of the officers were planned on the Arabic model.[2] The Muslim law in general was applied to the Muslims in both civil and criminal matters, as well as to the Hindus except in cases of inheritance, marriage and *Sati* and *Devadasi*. The tradition of murdering an infidel because he is a non-believer, as was done by some over-zealous Muslim rulers elsewhere, could not be repeated in Mughal India.

The legal position of the *Dhimmis* during the early Mughal period was not a problem, because the right of existence depended on the capacity of wielding a sword. The Hindus were "left alone and whatever they believed in," except in cases where religion was directly concerned. When the Mughal Empire was established thoroughly by 1570 A. D. through the efforts of Akbar, the Mullas wanted to assert their rights of giving their decisions in the secular affairs of the State. But the Muslims at that time were so much divided amongst themselves, there were so many

1. Kindi, *Book of Governors & Judges*, pp. 351, 390. Ameer 'Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 248.

2. Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of Mughal Empire. p. 304.

schools of theologians, the Mahdi movement had created so much flutter in the orthodox circles, that the Mullas had no time to look after the matters concerning the *Dhimmis* very critically. Already Sher Shah had given a new orientation to the Islamic rule in India by guaranteeing 'Peace of the State' to every citizen irrespective of caste, creed and colour, and he had recognised the position of the *Dhimmis* as members of the State. The criterion of State protection was loyalty to the throne and not loyalty to the religion alone. Generally, allegiance to the King and not to religion was the guarantee for protection. Of course murders for apostasy concerned more the Muslims because a believer who had apostatised was a greater criminal than one who did not believe at all.[1] Further, Akbar had already contracted marriage with the *Dhimmis* and the fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law and their relatives were Mansabdars of very high rank and sometimes governors of important provinces. So the question of depriving the Hindus of the right of freedom from personal violence did not arise. The marriage of the Chagtais and Rajput officially and not always unwillingly[2] brought in new social formulas and standards wihch were of supreme importance in determining the status of 'the infidels' in the Mughal Empire. There were of course instances of royal wrath during the Mughal times when the personal equation got the better of the rule of law. Jahangir became so furious at the refusal of Raja Dalpat Rai to surrender his Muslim wife that he was unceremoniously put to death and his body was dismembered.[3] Two Kahars (palanquin bearers) had their feet cut off because they obstructed a royal hunt at a time when Jahangir was taking an aim.[4] Once Jahangir killed eight dancing girls summarily because they failed to appear at the appointed time. Thsse instances prove that the religion was not the deciding factor in the dispensation of justice always.

Shah Jahan inherited from his father and grandfather a high sense of justice and personally meted out justice irrespective of caste and creed. He spent 4½ hours every day in dispensing justice as 'Abdul Hamid Lahori says. At the Jharokha-i-Darshan usually, justice was dispensed in the presence of the *Mutasaddiyani-'adalat* (officers of justice and theologians), *Ulama* and *Mufti*. A very interesting instance of litigation has been mentioned by Manrique[5] regarding the accusation of killing a domestic

1. The school of Badauni held such view openly and supported the murder of Shi'as and heretics. See Contributor's Din-i-Ilahi. p. 273.

2. Hindu marriages in the earlier period of Muslim rule were almost always under compulsion. So the social benefit arising out of such unions was much less than it would have been otherwise.

3. Lahori, *Padshah Namah*, Vol. I pt. II, p. 57.

4. *Tuzuk*, p. 79, (tr. p. 164).

5. Manrique, Account of Missions and Travels. (Hukbyat Society) pp. 108-114.

peacock belonging to a Hindu by a Muslim. The Muslim pleaded that he could not be accused of killing an animal which is sanctioned by Islam. But the Shiqdar in charge retorted, "The Emperor who conquered these lands from heathens had given his word that he and his successors would let them live under their own laws and customs; he therefore allowed no breach of them." This spirit of liberalism in a subordinate officer in the matter of personal rights of the non-Muslim subjects must have radiated from the centre. The rights of existence of the non-Muslims in the land of the Muslims in India was an automatic and spontaneous matter sanctioned by usage and not always a matter of individual caprice and concession of a particular monarch.

When Mughal princes were found guilty, they were generally handed over to noblemen for dealing with them.[1] Mirza Kaiqobad, son of Mirza Hakim Akbar's half-brother, was handed over to Jagannath for punishment.[2] Prince Khusru was kept in charge of Ani Rai and then of Asaf Khan.[3] So the nobility was looked upon as a class. Distinction between men on religious grounds was not always perceptible.

Aurangzeb too was not unconscious of his duties as a lord of Justice.[4] There is an instance to show as has already been noted before, that even men from lower classes were presented before him so that he might hear their grievances. Even the Hindus could not be punished for non-religious offences without a trial.[5]

II. THEIR FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

One of the political functions of a Muslim State is "protection of the *Dhimmis*." This "protection" in the liberal sense of the term includes freedom of religious observances as enjoined by the Qur'an.[6] If this were to be given effect to, the *Dhimmis* should be allowed the right to worship in their own way, to build their own places of worship and to attend their own pilgrimages and fairs. In India the observance of Hindu religious practices ordinarily and in the popular sense consists in the worship of plural gods which in Islam amounts to idol worship *i.e.* commission of "*Kufr*" and "*Shirk*." Carrying processions of idols and exhibition of deities are strictly prohibited in Islam, but with the Hindus it is a part of their religious practices. We shall now proceed to describe the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards these religious practices.

1. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 106-107.
2. *Akbarnamah*, III, p. 528.
3. *Tuzuk*, (tr.) p. 336.
4. Faruki, Aurangzeb and his times, pp. 100, 419.
5. Faruki, *op. cit.* p. 433.
6. Surah CLX. v 6 "To you your faith and to me mine".

In the Sultante period the Hindus were allowed to offer worship to the gods, to take baths in the sacred rivers and to carry images in procession, but only by sufferance. As has been already mentioned, the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* quotes a speech expressing the sincere regret of Jalaluddin Khilji at the sight of the Hindus going to bathe in the Jumna. The Hindus continued their age-long forms of worship sometimes contending against opposition, sometimes unnoticed, often making compromises in the chief centres of governmental influence by purchasing concession on payment of *Jeziah* and other financial contributions.

Babur found in India temples, religious fairs. *Jeziah*, and the pilgrim-tax, He had declared his love for Islam on the eve of the battle of Khanwaha by renouncing wine and declaring *Jehad*. He justified his declaration of faith by allowing the conversion of a Hindu temple at Sambal into a moqueh [1] as well as the destruction of a temple at Chanderi through Shaikh Zain, his Sadr [2] and of another temple at Ayodhya through Mir Baqi. It seems that there was a dual personality amongst the Timurids. Consistency was hardly a virtue with them ; the personal equation was a great factor in their direction of politics, religion and administration.

Humayun was essentially a mystic and there is not any instance of destruction of a temple or interference with the worship of the *Dhimmis* under his rule. But his reign did not mark any perceptible departure from the traditional line either for better or for worse, so far as religion was concerned.

Akbar's reign at the beginning witnessed destruction or desecration of temples at Kangra in 1572 in which the umbrella of the goddess was riddled with arrow. [3] A temple at Benares was converted into a Maktab.[4] Jain idols were destroyed by a Mughal Governor in Gujarat against Akbar's orders.

Akbar had formally abolished the piligrim-tax while he was scarcely twenty during his stay at Mathura. [5] He removed the restrictions on building of places of public worship and immediately afterwards numerous such places of worship were constructed. [6] Christians built their churches at Agra, Thatta Lahore and Cambay. [7] Jain temples were built at Satrunjaya

1. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XII. pp. 27-28.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Babur*, 145 f.
3. Badauni, Muntakhab (tr. by Lowe) II p. 165. Badauni (Vol. III p. 118) cites an instance where Haji Sultan of Tahneshwar was punished for killing a cow there.
4. Abdul Latif, *Travels*. p. 51.
5. *Akbarnamh* (tr. by Beveridge) II. p. 190.
6. Du Jarric, (tr. Payne). p. 75.
7. *The Annual Report of the Jesuit Mission in 1597*,

and Ujjain.[1] Man Singh constructed at a cost of 5 lakhs of rupees a very beautiful temple at Brindaban, which has been very highly extolled by Abdul Latif in his Travels.[2]

Regarding fairs and festivals, the ideas of Akbar were cosmopolitan. Many festivals were permitted to be celebrated in the Empire by Akbar, *e. g.* Shivaratri, Dashara, Holi, Basant.[3]

On the whole Akbar's rule had a purpose, a policy and a plan. Events whether spiritual or secular moved more consistently than they did at any other period of Mughal administration before and after him. Of course the orthodox section grudgingly suffered the grant of concession to non-Muslims in religious matters.

So far as the building of temples was concerned, Jahangir continued his father's practice of permitting non-Muslims to build places of worship. Benares, the city of temples, added three score and ten temples during Jahangir's reign. Bir Singh Bundela built a magnificent temple at Mathura. Christians were permitted to build churches at Ahmadabad and Hooghly, and burial grounds were set up at Lahore and Agra.[4] But at the same time Jahangir demolished temples at Mewar, Ajmer and Kangra,[5] and churches were closed at Agra.[6]

Jahangir was more a mixture of opposites than not. He is credited by the orthodox Muslims with restoring the festivals and fairs of the Muslims.[7] He refers in his autobiography to his celebration of Muharram. Ramadan, Shab-i-Barat, as well as that of Rakhi, Shivaratri, Dussera, and Dipavali festivals in which he himself took part.[8] Christians were allowed to enjoy celebration of the Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter festivals and sometimes payments were made for these celebrations The *Kotwal* had direct regulation of these fastivals.[9] Roe says, "The Hindu pilgrims at Hardwar numbered about five hundred thousand a year.

The first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign were decidedly marked by orthodoxy, and events moved on theological lines. Soon after his accession, Shah Jahan revived the pilgrim-tax, though it was remitted at the instance of the *Kavindracarya* of Benares whom Shah Jahan revered so much. He forbade the

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1. *Jaina Sasana*, Benares. Bir Samvat, 1410.
2. Abdul Latif, *op. city.* pp. 33, 50 51. Man Singh also built a beautiful mosque at Rajmahal in Bengal which stands to-day, and Nazam is offered there every Friday.
3. *Din-i-Ilahi*, pp. 147, 151, 155, 156n, 16, 304.
4. Memoirs, J. A. S. B. 1961 pp. 174-76
5. Tuzuk Tr., I. pp. 183-184.
6. Roe, I. p. 312.
7. Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, pp. 75.
8. Badauni, (tr. Lowe) II, pp. 203, 204, 212.
9. Ibid. p. 112.

completion of temples begun in his father's time.[1] He caused the destruction of about seventy-two temples in and near Benares, four in Allahabad, three in Gujarat and some in Kashmir. Beautiful temples of the Orchha faimly were not spared by Shah Jahan. Hindu officers under him were too imbecile or too unwilling to protest against this wholesale reversal of the policy and practice of the previous reigns. Shah Jahan did not allow the Christians the right to offer worship in churches publicly, though he would not interfere with private worship.

The latter part of Shah Jahan's reign was not characterised by the iconoclastic activity which marked his early days, and it was possibly due to the increasing influence of Dara in politics. Dara personally presented a stone railing to the temple of Keshav Rai at Muttra.[2] Jai Singh was given the full control of Man Singh's temple at Brindaban in 1639; Hindu temples of Gujarat were restored to the Hindus after 1644.[3]

Aurangzeb, the "Zindapir" (living hero of Islam), was a complex personality. He had already demonstrated his iconoclastic zeal as a prince.[4]

The year 1669 A.D. is a memorable year in the history of iconoclasm in India. In this year the Governor of Orissa was ordered to destroy all temples old and new, including those built during the previous decade. For the fault of a Brahman in Benares who used to attract both Hindu and Muslim students, Aurangzeb ordered the closing of all schools and stopped attendance of the Hindus and Muslims in the same school.[5] The governors were only too glad to carry out the instructions of their master. News reached the capital that the temple of Malarina in Ajmer, the temples of Visvanath and Gopinath at Benares, the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura built by Bir Singh Bundela, had been destroyed.[6] Hindus, out of fear, began to remove their idols to places of comparative safety. The famous deity of the Govardhan temple was first removed to Jodhpur, thence to Udaipur and installed there under the protection of Rana Raj

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1. Lahori, *op. cit.* I. p. 452. Farman dated Jan. 1633, Qazivin M. S. p 405.

2. Akhbarat dated 14th Oct. 1666. Akbar is said to have offered a golden umbrella to the temple of Jwalamukhi. The worshipping utensils in the temple of Seringapatam bear inscriptions showing that they were gifts of Tipu Sultan.

3. Akhbarat, dated 7th Aug. 1639.

4. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III. pp. 319 324.

5. Orme's *Fragments*. p. 85.

6. The stones of this temple were brought to Agra and were placed [illegible] Mosque. Manucci, ii. p. 116.

Singh (March 1672)[1] This was one of the causes of the estrangement between Udaipur and Delhi. In Gujarat, safety of idols was purchased on payment of cash to Qadis of Muhtasibs.[2]

Out of despair came courage of the Hindus and at Ujjain a Muslim officer of the State who was sent to destroy a temple was killed. In Gujarat Hindus offered so determined a resistance that Friday prayers had often to be stopped in public mosques. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions that royal orders were sent to provincial officers to secure the use of some mosque for Friday prayers.[3] The determined resistance of the Hindus possibly cooled the fury of Aurangzeb for some time, but soon after the death of Jaswant Singh in December 1678, the storm burst forth once more.

As a corollary to this anti-Hindu drive Aurangzeb reimposed the pilgrim-tax.[4] From an economic point of view it was rather a gain because one solar eclipse bath brought Rs. 100,000/ to the state.[5] The Holi and the Dipavali were stopped in 1665.[6] According to the Akhbarat of 11th Dec 1694 the cremation of dead bodies on the banks of the river Jumna was prohibited. The Hindu were not allowed to dress like Muslims according to the injunctions of the Mullas.

The iconoclastic zeal of the Muslims was so much satisfied by the measures of Aurangzeb that there was no more zest left in them for about a quarter of a century for revival of iconoclastic activities. Moreover, confronted by a spirit of defiance amongst provincial governors, by the rise of the militant religiosity amongst the Sikhs and by the awakened consciousness of Hindu *Pad-Padshahi* amongst the Mahrattas under Baji Rao, the weak Mughal rulers could hardly afford to continue the same crusade against the Hindu temples.

To summarise the position of the non-Muslims in respect to the right to worship, to build temples, to attend pilgrimage and fairs, Babur was just a beginner in the art of iconoclasm ; Humayun was a mystic and there is no evidence to brand him as an iconoclast. Akbar was by nature an universalist and offered the widest latitude to all his peoples in religious matters. Jahangir was as great as he was small ; he was not too much of an iconoclast ; much can be said of him on either side. With Shah Jahan a new policy was initiated and was continued for the first ten years of his reign, but the politician ultimately prevailed

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1. G.S. Ojhah, *History of Udaipur* I. pp. 34-36. Ojhah gives interesting details of the refusal of the installation of the idol by the Jodhpur State officials and of the romantic adventures of the priests during the removal.
2. *English Factories in India* XIII. pp. 140-41.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmad*: I. p. 261.
4. Manucci, II. pp. 82; III. 288-289.
5. Bernier, p. 303, The rate at Allahabad was Rs. 5/4/- per head.
6. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*-I. 261. Manucci, II. p. 154.

over the theologian in him. Dara and Jahanara relieve the gloom which otherwise envelopes the *Dhimmis*. Aurangzeb's attitude towards everything non-Hanafi, judged by the events, leaves hardly anything to say in his favour. The later Mughals were mere shadow of the great Timurids and deserve no specific mention, because they had no policy of their own, and if ever they had any, they could not enforce it.

III. CULTURAL APPROACHES.

In the domain of culture, the Mughals were much less orthodox than they were in religion. It was on this plane that both the communities attracted each other. The process of fusion was facilitated by intermarriage fiirst between the Turks and the Persians, and finally between the Mughals and Rajputs. These intermarriages resulted in the fusion of three languages—Turki, Persian and Hindustani. There is no doubt that the Persian language was Indianised during this period. It was enriched by the addition of Indian words, idioms and diction so much so that the Persian writers of Iran interdicted the Indian Persian as bastard.[1] Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi of the Calcutta University has collected a list of Indian words used in the *Humayunamah* of Gulbadan Begam which was written as early as mid 16th century.[2] On the other hand in couplets of Behari's *Sat Sai*, there are about a hundred Arabic and Persian words which have been noticed by Mr Dewhurst.[3] We have shown in our work called the *Din-i-Ilahi* that Indian poets like Amir Khusru and 'Abdur Rahim Khankhana mixed up Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu and Persian hemistiches in the same couplets. The custom of using 'Pen-name' (*Takhallus*) in poetry, though not heretofore absolutely unknown, became more common among Hindu poets. The Muslims, on the other hand, introduced their book on Hindu subjects by invoking the names of Hindu gods. To mention a few of them :—

'Abdur Rahim began his 'Madanastak' with the name of 'Ganesh'.

Ahmadullah opened his '*Nayikabhed*' with *Sri Ràmji Sahaya*'; as he proceeded, he adopted '*Atha Saraswati Stuti*' and *Ganesh ki Stuti*'.

Y'aqub Khan in his '*Rasabhusan*' invoked blessings not only of 'Sri Ganesh', but also of a series of Hindu gods and goddesses—'Saraswati', 'Sri Radha', 'Krishna', 'Sri Sankar'.

1. Wala Dagistani in *Riyazatush Shu'ar'a* refused to include the Indian writers amongst the Persian writers.
2. See Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi's article on the same subject in *Jha Com-*

Ghulam Nabi in his '*Anangadarpan*' used the name of 'Sri Ganesh'.[1]

'Azam Khan began his '*Singardarpan*' after offering obeisance to the Hindu Saint 'Ramanuj'.

On the other hand, Hindu writers like Chandrabhan, Kishan Chand Ikhlas and others, while writing on Muslim subjects, invoked the name of Allah or began with the usual '*Bismillahir Rahman-ir Rahim*' in the orthodox Mnslim fashion.

Hindu writers adopted the Persian style of composing *Mathnavi*. To name a few of such writers, we may mention Kishan Chand Ikhlas, Benarsi Das Wali, Siyal-Koti Mal, Jasowant Rai, Munshi Tika Ram and Brindaban Das.

The Hindus were not in the habit of recording historical events in the way in which the Muslims did—in short the science of modern historiography was not so much cultivated in Hindu India. But during the Mughal period Mahesh Thakur wrote his famous '*Sarvadesa Vrttanta*' in Sanskrit (1650 A. D.). No less than a dozen more histories were compiled by Hindus in Sanskrit and Hindi besides scores written by Hindus in Persian.

On the other hand, Muslims took up Hindu subjects and themes in their works while they translated eminent Hindu works into Persian. Faidi composed a Mathnavi on *Nala and Damayanti* of the *Mahabharata*. Shaikh Nur Muhammad and Mir 'Askari Radi versified the tale of *Madhu Malati*. Murad composed the story of *Kamrup and Kamlata*. Amanat narrated the stories of Sri Krisna. Badauni translated *Battish Singhasan*. Faidi translated the *Bhagabad-Gita* and the *Katha Sarit Sagar*. Naqib Khan, Badauni and others jointly undertook the translation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Tajuddin took up the *Hitopadesa*. Ghulam 'Ali Azad introduced the famous *Nayika Bheda* to the Muslim literary circles.[3] By the time the Mughals were on the throne of Delhi, the Hindu cults of Rama and Krisna had already entered into themes of Muslim poetry. Rahim is only an expression of the tendencies that began from the time of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. The patronage of the Mughal Emperor, princes and grandees was of immense value in the cultural fusion of the two peoples.

In the field of higher music which is the eternal language of man, the Hindu-Muslim fusion was on a plane where the limitations of society and religion hardly restricted the mutual *rapprochment*. Mutual reactions of Hindu-Muslim music may form

1. 'Ganesh' was the traditional Hindu God who wrote the Divine book of Brahma, the Creator.

2. For details see my article in Hindi in *Biswin Sadi*, pp. 11-16, Jan. 1937. Also see Sri Ram Sharma's Bibilography. pp. 154-65.

3. See my article on 'Sufism in, *Udbodhan*', 1340 B. S. Calcutta and *Din-i-Ilahi*, pp. 20- 23.

a separate volume of considerable interest. Bakshu collected one thousand "*Dhrupad*" in the time of Shah Jahan. Mirza Roshan Damir translated '*Parijataka*', Faqirullaha translated '*Man-Kautuhal*, of Man Singh. Raichand of Ahmadabad collected the principles of Hindu music under the name of *Usul-i-Ghina*."

On the still higher plane of *Sufism*, Hindus and Muslims drew near to each other through the saints. The *Yoga* system of the Hindus had already filtered into the Muslim life for centuries. Nazamuddin Hasan described the Hindu method of meditation in his famous book *Risala-i-Sattariyah*.' '*Rayaelul Basatin*' is another work in which the ideas of *Nirvana* (Annihilation) have been described. Dara Shukoh in his '*Majm' ul-Bahrain* tried to show the similarity of Islam and Hinduism.[1] The *Sufi* cults of the Roshaniyas, Tanasukhias, and Ilahias received a good deal of their inspiration from the Hindus.[2] We have discussed elsewhere the reciprocal influence of Islamic mysticism and Hindu Vedantism.

In the domain of literature and science, the mutual action and reaction between Islam and Hinduism has been very well described in the lectures of Sulaiman Nadvi in his *Arab aur Hindustan ke ta'alluqat*."[3] Amongst the treatises translated into Persian were Bhaskaracarya's '*Siddhanta Siromani*' in four parts, namely '*Lilavati*', '*Bijaganita*' '*Grahajanita*' and '*Goladhyaya*'. The '*Lilavati*' was translated by Faidi and the '*Bijayanita*' (Algebra) by Abdullah Rashi. Medini Mal also translated the '*Lilavati*' under the name of '*Badai ul Fanun*'. *Zubdatul Qawanin* by Hursukh Rai gives an account of Hindu Arithmetic. Bahauddin Ayub in his '*Khulasat ul Hisab*' has borrowed the Rule of Nine for checking the accuracy of multiplication from Hindu treatises. Dr. Tara Chand in his learned work, "*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*" has mentioned a few more instances of such translations. Babur and Humayun were believers in astrology, and Humayun may be called 'an astronomer-king' as 'Umar Khayyam was known as an 'astronomer poet'. Akbar had the great astronomical work '*Zich-i-Mirzai*' translated into Sanskrit by Hakim Fathullah Shirazi, Jahangir's interest in astrology is proved by his having a horoscope cast for every one of his children. Calculation of auspicious days was a common custom of the Muslim nobility. Hindu astronomical works of this period like *Siddhantatattvaviveka* of Kamalakara, and *Jyotisasiddhantasara* of Mathura Nath Sukla bear definite traces of Arabic influence. Mirza Raja Jai Singh

1. Prof. Mahfuzul Haq has published an excellent edition of this work in the Bib. Ind. Series.

2. Sardar Iqbal in his *Islamic Sufism* has discussed the background of the different sects of Sufis.

3. Allahabad Hindustani Academy publication in Urdu. Mm. Hara Prasad Shastri in introduction of his '*Totaramanjari*' has also given a few instances of Indian influence on early Muslim culture.

who is so famous for his observatory "*Jantar Mantar*", had several Arabic works on Astronomy translated into Sanskrit. Pandit Jagannath translated Ptolemy's *Almajasti* into Sanskrit and Nayansukh Upadhyaya rendered Euclid's Geometry into Sanskrit from Arabic. Nasiruddin Tusi's famous work on circular instruments was translated into Sanskrit and is known as *Katara*. The cultivation of Arabic and Persian became so common amongst the learned scholars that dictionaries of Arabic-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Persian had to be written under the titles of *Parsi Jatakam* and *Parsi Prakash*, and Faidi wrote a grammar for the Persian students who wanted to learn Sanskrit.[1] *Tohfatul Hind* by Mirza Khan bin Fakhuruddin Muhammad gives an excellent description of *Koka* and *Samudrikasastra* of the Hindus.

In medicine, the influence of Hindu science was most prominent during the Mughal period of Indian History.[2] A list of Hindu surgeons and Physicians have been given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fadl. In the Bodleian collection, there are numerous Sanskrit works on medicine in Persian translations. Bhuva bin Khawas in his *Madan-ush-Shefa-i-Sikandari* described the Indian science of medical aphorism, anatomy and pharmacology. Hindu Shah (Qasim Farishtah), though commonly known as a Historian, also compiled a work on the Indian systems of medicine under the name of *Dastur-ul Atibba*. *Tahftul Mumuun* mentions many well known Indian medical writers such as Caraka, Susrute, Bhojadeva and Bhagbat. Indian drugs were freely used by the Muslims. Books on Indian drugs were written by Mulla 'Ali bin Husain al Ansari, by Nafe'ul Siddiqi al Jayasi and by 'Abdul Fateh Namkin. Hindu works on Veterinary Science translat d by Ibn Sayyid 'Abdul Husain Hashmi, 'Abdullah. *Gajrajnamah* and *Filnamah* are two eminent books on the treatment of elephants, and on women and their diseases respectively. Muhammad Quli wrote his famous *Koka Sastra* during the early period of Shah Jahan's reign. But the Hindus were not slow in utilizing Persian works. Mahadeva Bhatta compiled *Himmat Prakash; Todarananda* (*Rasaratnakara*) was written by Pahar Sayyad, *Vaidyaka* by Lullmas, *Ilaj-e-Parasi Prakash* by Tika Ram. The medicines used by the Muslims in their desert homes were not much efficacious in the climate of Hindustan. This was specially the case with Turks and Mongols whose physical constitution was unsuited to desert remedies. Hence they had to use Indian medicines or such medicines of Arabia as were acclimatised to the new

1. A MS. of this grammar *Samskrta-Parasika-padaprakasa* exists at the Royal Asiatic Society's Library in Calcutta. Similar MSS (Nos. 911-913) can be found in Khoda Baksh Library, Patna.

2. In *Sisu Bharati* (Allahabad Nos. 38-43) I have described the position of Hindu medicine in the court of the Abbasides, specially during the Barmeki period.

environment. So in Mughal India a uow Indo-Arabic Pharmacology was developed.[1]

Restrospect.

The Hindu Muslim relation in Mughal India considered from different angles offers a very interesting study. Unalloyed Arabian principles could not be applied in India; precedents had been created by the Turko-Afghans; the Chagtais had their own traditions; Hindus had their own heritage; Iranian culture had its ow n contribution to make, marriage and blood connection tended to bridge the gulf between the conquerors and the conquered. Had not a European power intervened, the Mughals might have left a legacy no less brilliant than that of ther Romans and the Macedonians in the ancient world. The wonderful assimilative tendencies of the Hindu culture were as much responsible as the eclectic Mughal spirit of accommodation for this brilliant episode of world-History.

BABUR'S POST-WAR SETTLEMENTS IN THE DOAB, MALWA AND BIHAR.

BY

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All the historians have spoken in glowing terms of Babur and his reign. He is represented as a great ruler and an equally great artist, scholar, biographer and war tactician. In fact his advent in India is put down as the dawn of Modern India. Most of this praise he fully deserves. But while appreciating, his greatness we must not be blind to his failings.

Babur's weakness lay in the fact that while a judicious general in war time, he had no long-sighted plans for the normal peace time. An adventurer as he was, his eyes were ever fixed on the immediate goal and no sooner was it achieved, than he relapsed into vacuous inaction.

We shall consider below the three periods that immediately followed his three signal successes at the battles of (1) Panipat (2) Khanwah and Chanderi and (3) the Ghagra to see how far he was a great administrator.

1. Dr. P. C. Ray in his *History of Hindu Chemistry* has given some [illegible] adopted by Hindu Chemists.

Let us consider the first picture of Bubur after his signal victory over Ibrahim Lodi. Babur proceeded to win over the inhabitants of Delhi by his visits to the tombs of the preceding kings of Delhi and its Muslim saints, introduced peace and order in Delhi by the appointment of a *Shiqdar* and a *Diwan* and next proceeded to Agra, already secured by his son, Humayun.

On reaching Agra, instead of conserving his financial resources, Babur let loose the full flood of his generosity. Not only was he extravagantly lavish on his sons and favourite nobles, but went on squandering Indian money on the rest of Muslim Asia. Let us take up the details in order to realise the full enormity of his proceedings. He gave Humayun 70 lacs[1] in cash besides a treasure-house just as it was, without ascertaining and writing down its contents' and then went on bestowing with equal lavishness gifts on his other sons, nobility great and small, on different groups 'Afghan, Hazara, Arab Biluch ; on every trader and student, indeed every man who had come with the army' and also on those not in the army. But he did not stop here. He sent gifts to his relations at Kabul, Samarqand, Khorasan, Kashghar and Iraq and to holy men of Samarqand, Khorasan, Macca and Madina and finished with a Shahrukhi[2] for every soul in the country of Kabul and the valley-side of Varsak, man and woman boud and free, of age and non-age ! Similarly he was generous towards the Indian Afghans. He writes that 'he gave to Firuz Khan Sarang Khani one crore forty-six lacs five thousand *tankas* from Jaunpur, to Shaikh Bayazid, one crore forty-eight lacs and fifty thousand *tankas* from Oudh, to Mahmud Khan ninety lacs and thirty-five thousand from Ghazipur, and to Qazi Jia twenty lacs'. Ibrahim's mother was also granted a *Pargana* worth seven lacs.

It is an apt illustration of Babur's *qalandari* nature. He did not wish to hug to himself all that came into his possession. He was rather eager to bestow it on others and hoped that while his lavishness would bring him spiritual satisfaction, he would gain good-will and recruits from all corners of Muslim Asia. Similarly he had, doubtless, hoped that the large largesses would tempt the sullen Indian Afghans to forego their ill-will and join his standard and thus solve his political problem so far as they were concerned.

So much may be said in favour of his extravagance. Now let us turn to other considerations. We all know that a ruler's first duty as an administrator is to take full stock of his resources and as far as possible to utilize them for state purposes. On this ground, historians while condemning Alauddin for his inhuman treatment of his subjects, fully approve of his policy of

1. Whether dam double, dam or tanka, we have not been told, Erskine surmises 70 lacs equal to £56, 700.

2. A small silver coin.

stinginess which made him the mightiest monarch of his time. In Babur's case it may be noted that (1) some of his enriched Turki followers having obtained wealth beyond their imagination desired to withdraw from India altogether. Babur coaxed them to change their mind but his confidant, Kawaji Kalan, refused to be won over and was allowed to withdraw to Ghazni (2) the Afghan nobles did not always prove loyal to him. Shaikh Bayazid may be specially mentioned for he was the most refractory, Ibrahim's mother too rapaid his kindness by an attempt to poison him. Though the other three Afghans mentioned above remained in Babur's service, the gifts appear to be on too lavish a scale.

The lavishness landed Babur in financial difficulties within three years ; for he himself writes, on October 22, 1528, 'By this time the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrahim in Delhi and Agra was at an end' and he was forced to tax his stipendiaries 30 percent of their allowances to be used for war-materials and appliances, for equipment, for powder and for the pay of gunners and matchlockmen'.

Thus it will be clear that Babur created a crisis by his foolish extravagance and to that extent failed as as administrator.

BABUR IN RAJPUTANA.

Let us next turn to his actions after the battle of Khanwah. Instead of crushing Rana Sanga and the other Rajput Chieftains of Rajputana, he is content to give up the plan because of the little water and much heat on the road' with the result that the Rajput problem remained postponed till Akbar's reign. Babur, who had shown his iron determination after the battle of Panipat succumbs now to the rigours of the Rajputanna climate.

BABUR IN MALWA.

We find Babur next paying his attention not to any neighbouring king but to Medini Rao, one of the principal dignitaries of Malwa. The province presented a confused skein of intrigue and party politics. The ruler, Sultan Mahmud Lodi, was controlled by either the Sisodia Rajputs headed by the Rao or by the local Muslim nobles. In 1527-8 the Rajputs had gained an ascendancy and so Babur proposed a campaign against them and when the Rao refused Babur's offer of an exchange of Shamsabad for Chanderi, he was killed and his headquarters were captured.

Let us examine Babur's attitude towards his Rajput foes and also his measures after Medini Rao's death. We may begin by pointing out that after Rana Sanga' defeat, a declaration of *Jihad* (holy war) was wholly unnecessary especially when he was aware of clash of interests among the clannish caste-ridden

Rajputs and when he himself had no intention to play the demolisher of temples like Sultan Mahmud Ghazna or Amir Timur. It may also be remarked that Babur did not proceed on his Malwa campaign with any clear conception of the problem or its solution, for we notice no negotiation with its ruler or the Muslim nobles. If he went against Medini Rao in the interest of Islam his first step after the declaration of the *jihad* should have been to rally all local Muslims including the Sultan. He did nothing of the kind and took no notice of the ruler.

He is still more unintelligible after Medini Rao's death. He made no settlement with the Sultan, who was responsible for the government of the province; instead Babur was content to give Chanderi to the obscure, Ahmad Shah, the Sultan's nephew. Remembering of the kaleidoscopic changes in the Malwa politics, we may question the soundness of arrangement, for it only weakened the state by adding to its number of chiefs.

We are next cold that Babur left an army of 2 or 3,000 men to support Ahmad Shah and that he made '*khalsa* of land worth 50 lacs.' These arrangements were of a trivial character and nothing came of them. We neither hear again of Ahmad Shah nor of Mulla Afaq, the Mughal officer, nor of the Mughal territory in Malwa. The *khalsa* land situated far away from the Mughal base, Delhi or Agra, could not be properly linked with the rest of the empire and actually would have been instead of source of strength, a cause of anxiety to the Emperor, and we hear no more of it: The only effect that the settlement, had was to weaken the Sultan, add to the complication of the Malwa politics and ultimately lead to its annexation by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat in 1531.

BABUR IN BIHAR.

If we turn to Babur's post-war arrangements in Bihar, we have again few words of commendation for him. Let us picture to ourselves Babur after the battle of the Ghagra, May 6, 1529, which broke the Bihari Afghans. His next step should have been to bring to a satisfactory conclusion his relations with them and their ally, the ruler of Bengal. But he considered the latter to be out of his ken and so was content to make some perfunctory arrangements with him, though the actual terms have not been described in his memoirs.

Next Babur turned to his Afghan foes and made the following settlements with them :—

(a) He made land worth one crore *khalsa*.

(*b*) He gave land worth 50 lacs to Mahmud Nuhani who was a co-commander of one of the Mughal divisions under Askari Mirza at the battle of the Ghagra;

(*c*) He gave the remaining land in Bihar to Jalaluddin Nuhani, who before Sultan Mahmud Lodi's arrival among the Afghans had been their acknowledged chief;

(*d*) Muhammad Zaman Mirza received the Jaunpur province with his head-quarters at Jaunpur and possibly Muhammad Junaid Birlas was posted at Chunar.

This settlement seems unsatisfactory from several considerations. First the *khalsa* land is vaguely mentioned and though Mulla Ghulam *Yasawal* is mentioned to have been sent to collect 'this tribute', there is no further mention of it in Babur's or Humayun's reign. Actually the whole of Bihar remained with the Afghans. Secondly, Babur did nothing for Jalaluddin Sharqi, a scion of the defunct Sharqi dynasty of Jauupur, who had faithfully served him as a full commander of one of Mirza Askari's divisions. Thirdly, Mahmud Khan Nuhani, who got land worth 50 lacs does not appear to have rendered any conspicuous services to his master afterwards. Fourthly, Jalaluddin Nuhani was a wholly incompetent person and a few months later he deserted the Afghans and went over, not to the Mughals, but to Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal. Fifthly, Babur had loudly proclaimed that his main object was to punish the Afghans. Actually he did nothing of the kind and made no compact with Nusrat Shah about them but freely allowed them to take shelter with the latter. Those who like Shaikh Bayazid and Biban, had refused to take themselves to Bengal, freely roamed in the Mughal territory and long continued to be a thorn in its side.

Thus both his campaigns in Malwa and Bihar appear inconclusive and the task of their complete subjugation was left to others. The incompletion of his task may have been due to his short-sightedness or to his growing age. Whatever it may be, his son, Humayun, took his cue from him. He went to both the regions, waged wars and conquered them and then followed his father's policy of indecision with the result that he lost both of them.

Hence we may conclude by saying that however glorious Babur might appear to the historians as the founder of the Mughal empire, he failed to make lasting settlements after his Malwa and Bihar compaigns and what was worse, left an inane policy for his successor, Humanyun's guidance and in following it the son met with a direr consequence than the father had ever to face, *viz.* the expulsion from the throne and the empire.

MAHARAJA ABHAYASINGH AND THE MUGHAL COURT TACTICS.

BY

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Introduction.

In our paper, submitted to the Madras session of this Congress, we reproduced a letter of Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur, which gave some facts about his compaign against Sarbaland Khan. But here we reproduce a letter from the same Maharaja which shows that, apart from the defeat inflicted on Sarbaland, other successes were achieved by him and that said Maharaja was disappointed by the intrigues of the Imperial Court.

We learn from this letter (1) that Maharaja Abhayasingh killed Pilaji Gaekwad and captured Baroda with 24 other fortresses ( ) that at that time the country was so devastated by the forces of the enemy and nature that the food for men and animals became scarce and a havoc was caused to them, and (3) that all these successes were achieved by the Maharaja with his own men and money, while no attention was paid by Nawab Shamsamuddaula, the minister of Emperor Muhammadshah, to relieve the Maharaja of his difficulties.

Further the letter also gives a forecast of the invasion by the Maharattas in near future to avenge the loss of Pilaji and his territory. This prediction came true when an invasion of Umabai, the widow of late Khande Rao Dabhade and Damaji Gaekwad, the son of Pilaji, took place.

(*Translation of the letter*).

(Top lines in Maharaja's own hand writing)
May God help us.

Before this, successive orders have been sent, which might have been noted by you. Now you should tell them clearly as ordered and that whatever they want to do, they should do. You should soon secure the Jagir for us as well as for our retinue. It is better to do immediately whatever is to be done. We have written you about Surat, so get this work done. It is our command.

(*Contents of the Royal seal.*)

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, King of Kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhayasingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun, and Vinayak—may these five deities always bestow favours.

(*Approval of the letter in Maharaja's own calligraphy*).

It is our command.

(Letter.)

By command of the illustrious, sovereign ruler, King of Kings, Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghji and his heir apperent Shri Ram Singhji Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours. That we have already issued successive orders. Hence inform us of the result after discussing the matter with the Nawab and give the enclosed letter to him. Further inform him, that, at his behest, we marched to this side with such big arrangements, and after killing the enemy, captured Baroda together with 24 fortresses. Pilu, (Pilaji Gackawad), who could not have been killed even at the expense of lacs of rupees and with the help of lacs of horse, was killed. We have turned out the enemies and cleared the province of them. How much we have striven here uptil now is known to everybody. It was very difficult for the previous Governors to hold Gujerat, while by the grace of God, we faced the enemy boldly and made it free from them But no attention was paid to it. We took the Governorship of the province only relying on the Nawab, and he promised us so many things, which he knows fully well.

We have carried out our words of gaining this victory, but no heed has been paid by the Nawab. Our coming over to this side, at this time, has put us to a great loss. By the stringency of money all of our men had to face great hardships. The prices soared so high that grain is not available even at the rate of one rupee per seer, while the grass was quite unobtainable. Nearly all the horses of our army died as they were being fed on mango leaves, and one who had fifty horses, could barely save five of them. People of infantry also passed their time on vegetables and leaves. But they all stuck to their duties as long as the enemy was not crushed. As they were all from my native land, my honour was saved. Had they been from other provinces, my honour would not have been maintained, and the Imperial work would have suffered. As long as there was work to do they remained here, but now they are ready to disperse. But we owe them 30 lacs as their pay, and they are clamouring for it. Therefore we are unable to prolong our stay here without the

army. There is no hope of the Nawab's favourable consideration, which may hearten (army men). It is now the third year that we have been serving the Emperor. People have lost their brothers or nephews, and themselves suffered several hardships. In their absence the Jagirdars are extorting money from their relatives. Therefore how can they remain here? Five thousand of our horses have come from the districts of Ajmere province and the rest from Marwar. We haven't got any direct revenue yielding land as our own, so that we may give them as they were all serving in the hope of getting Jagirs and therefore they are now prepared to leave. We do not want to lose our good name by staying here without (sufficient) forces. We have undergone so many hardships and yet, no attention has been paid to us. What more we should write. (in this connection). Now the province should be handed over to some one else, who would not demand any expenditure, as well as Jagir, and who would pay money to the Jagirdars with-out asking for any help. We are leaving for our native land, after visiting "Shri Dwarakanath. We" have left no stone unturned at the risk of our life and money. In this province there is nothing but loss, whereas the Imperial authorities have given no attention. They say that he who performs even one duty, his work never goes unappreciated. We have, on our part, carried out four equally important tasks, yet nothing has been done for us. Therefore on what hope the people of our native land should remain here. Now tell the Nawab that the men are clamouring for their pay, therefore he should help us, so that we may be free from their dues. He should also meet our demand for Jagir. We would take it as a great favour of the Nawab. He may hand over this province to whomsover he likes, and if he does not want to take it from us, he should meet our demand for Jagir, pay the expenses incurred uptil now, and send sufficient amount of money for future expenses. Get all these works done personally and if the Nawab simply wants to get his own work done, then tell him plainly that he should arrange for everything, and he is the only man to do it, as there is no source of income left here. The Nawab thinks that Baroda, etc. yields an income of 30 lacs, but we have handed it over, with great difficulty, to Babi Astan by promising him one lac of rupees, which will be borrowed by us. The previous income of the land is well known; after two months, an invasion of the enemy is also expected. Therefore it is difficult to maintain our honour, as he would squeeze out the money from each and every person by whatsoever means, depriving the Jagirdars from their revenue and the Nawab would hold us responsible, but this would serve no purpose. Therefore either he may arrange for everything, or permit us to leave the place. If he keeps us here, he should support us. Try this and if he neither makes full arrangements nor takes away the province from us then no money would be paid to Jagirdars and he would in that case, find fault

with you. Therefore, you should try your best. You should get the districts of the province even after paying some money for them. The Nawab may be made directly responsible for the deputies, who can be found out after search. At present Mulla Teg Begh Khan. etc. have taken Surat from Sohrab Khan. Therefore get it granted to Mustaqi Khan and tell the Nawab to give us orders to take possession of it. Though it is difficult, yet we would take it forcibly. Take special care of this work and after discussing the matter fully with the Nawab, let us hear the result soon. It is our command Dated the 1st day of the dark half of Bhadon, 1789 V. S. (27th July, 1732 A. D) Camp Kherda.

PIRATICAL ACTIVITIES IN JAHANGIR'S TIME

BY

PROF S. P. SANGAR, M. A. (HONS.), D. A. V. COLLEGE, LAHORE.

The Mughal Emperors of India failed to realize the importance of a strong naval power. This was a serious flaw which could always be exploited by European merchants, trading in India. It was never the policy of the Mughals to discourage India's foreign trade and it could never pay them to displease India's foreign traders. As a matter of fact strict orders were issued to local authorities from time to time to provide adequate facilities to them. Strict observance of law, however, was not possible and irregularities occurred here and there. The European merchants might, at one time or another, run across some local authorities, who for selfish motives, placed certain disabilities in their way. This would enrage them and they would resolve on the capture of Indian vessels on the high seas. They sent regular instructions to their respective commanders for systematic plundering of Indian ships. For them it was a regular weapon to have their rights recognized and their wrongs redressed. The commanders would rifle the ships of their contents and take into custody prominent persons among the crew as hostages. These methods did not always yield happy results as the Mughal Government could not be owed into acceptance of their demands. If the pirates escaped the clutches of Mughal officials, their fellow-countrymen in India could not.

Besides, there were seasoned pirates who did serious damage to Indian shipping and incalculable harm to Indian trade. The might and majesty of the Mughal Emperors inspired no awe in them. On the other hand, in their audacity they even laid their hands on ships carrying Muslim pilgrims or looted vessels belonging to members of the royal family itself. They escaped invariably

the hands of Nemesis which would recoil, again on their fellow-countrymen in Indi a.

In the 16th century, it was only the Portugese who held undisputed command of the Indian seas, and controlled all traffic from the Persian Gulf to Mozambique, and from Mozambique to Malacca. The king of Portugal held a monopoly of trade in certain goods and on certain routes. To ply trade outside of these limits licenses, on payment, had to be obtained. Unlicensed ships were 'treated as prizes of war, sunk, burnt or captured as circumstances might determine.' Corruption in administration, however, was a loophole almost always exploited by the Indians. They could pay for the privilege otherwise denied to them.[1]

The situation underwent a change in the 17th century. The Portugese power received a rude setback at the appearnace of the English who proved serious rivals. The Mughal ships were now subjected not only to the raids of the Portugese but also to those of the English and the Dutch. The three European nations, although engaged in mutual rivalries and disputes, seemed to vie with one another in ruining Indian trade and shipping. The main culprits in the 17th century hailed from England and the burden of punishment fell naturally on the English merchants in India. Law had to run its course and they had to pay for the misdeeds of their brethren. Subsequent inquiries, however, proved that the pirates were not always Englishmen. They could be Dutch or Portugese. This provided the English with a fresh excuse for piracy: this time, of course, to force the Mughals to let off their prisoners. This step might result in counter-reprisals from the other party.

The Mughal authorities thus always took a serious view of the situation and never took it lying down. "If they were not strong on sea, they were not 'weak' on land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the Government compelled the members of that nation, living in India, to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishman, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra,

1. Moreland: India at the Death of Akbar, p. 201.
De laet: 116, 244-45.

Ahmadabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed"[1]

Normally it was not profitable for European merchants to encourage looting of Indian ships. The fear of prison life and of financial loss and commercial breakdown held them in check. Even rumours of piracies sent a shiver through them as they feared to be 'kept fast, and their goods seized upon.'[2] The East India Company had issued specific instructions to the pirates against robbing of Indian ships[3], although such a warning remained ineffective. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Jahangir's court, strongly condemned the senseless activities of the English pirates as they served no useful purpose. On the other hand, the possible disastrous consequences weighed heavily on his mind. He complained to the Company against the pirates 'for whose faults they may be engaged'. He warned the Directors that 'your goods and our persons' would have to answer for the nefarious activities of the sea-rovers, 'there must be no traders' and consequently 'your trade in India is utterly lost'.[4] Not only this. Sometimes effective steps had to be taken against the pirates. Roe refers to the activities of two Englishmen, Sir Robert Rich and 'Phillope Bernerdoe,' who, although they set out against pirates, turned out pirates themselves. They chased the Queen Mother's ship and could have looted it but for the timely arrival of an English fleet from India. Roe 'ordered the seizure of the ships, prizes and goods and converted them to your use'.[5] During his interview with Jahangir, Roe assured him regarding this incident that the captains were made prisoners 'in our ships, kept in irons; and that I would soe send them home to His Majestie, who would make them an example of such bouldness to dare to disturbe the allies of his crowne'.[6] Kerridge, the English president at Surat, and his Council sent instructions to Captain Clevenger (April 9, 1625) that ships belonging to the Great Mughal's dominions must not be molested.[7]

The strong position of the Europeans on seas placed a powerful weapon in their hands. If, on the one hand, they could harass the Mughal ships, on the other, they could offer them protection on payment basis. The Mughals on various occasions applied for safe conduct of their ships to different nations. We learn on the authority of De Laet that the Portugese exacted huge sums from the Indians (including even the magnates and the King's

1. Cf. Present writer's article on Piracy during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1944, pp. 381-82.
2. English Factories, 1618-21, p. 339.
3. The Embassy, 390-391.
4. *Ibid*, 451-52.
5. The Embassy, 451-52; Latter Received, Vol, VI, 173-74,
6. The Embassy, 422-423,
7. De Laet: 116,

sons) for safe-conducts (commonly called pass-ports). For these pass-ports huge sums of money ranging from three to eight thousand mahmudis were demanded. William Finch, who was in India from 1608 to 1611, holds testimony to the fact that the Portugese wielded great power on seas and without their pass 'none may passe'.[1]

The Dutch also took advantage of the weakness of the Mughals and did not lag behind the Portugese. They also sold passes to the Mughals assuring safe-conduct and provided convoy to the Indian vessels when approached.[2]

To the English, the system of issuing passes seemed to provide an opportunity for commercial advantage. 'No ship dares go out the river of Surat without our pass', boasted the English representative at Ahmadabad in November, 1613: Roe shared this opinion and held the belief that to convoy native traders on payment basis 'may help in the establishment of trade'.[3] He wrote to the Company (February, 1618) that the 'feare of us' had compelled the Mughals to apply for passes.[4]

In January, 1618, Ikhlas, the Captain of the '*Jahangir*' applied to Roe for safe-conduct to the Red Sea. The English ambassader sent instructions to all English merchants to refrain from molesting the vessel and its mariners.[5]

Next month, Roe assured I 'timad-ud-Daula that the English stood by their promise to safe-conduct Indian ships to the Red Sea.[6]

In March, 1625, the English vessel '*Eagle*' left Swally, being under orders to convoy a Surat junk 'on part of her way to the Red Sea.'[7]

In March, 1626, the English ship, '*Discovery*', was ordered to Surat Bar to protect a junk belonging to the Governor of Surat, bound for the Red Sea.[8]

In 1617, at the entreaty of the merchants the English at Surat gave passes to two ships of 'Danda Raspone' for the Red Sea.[9]

The pass system, however, failed to provide adequate safeguard against the nefarious activities of the pirates. The loss caused by them to Indian trade and shipping was not negligible.

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1. Early Travels, 135, 203; The Embassy, XXV; Letters Received I, 300.
2. English Factories, 1624-29. 192, 356.
3. English Factories, 1618-21, 3; 12.
4. The Embassy, 439.
5. English Factories, 1618-21, 2.
6. English Factories, 1618-21, 5.
7. Ibid, 1624-29, 54.
8. Ibid, 166.
9. Ibid, 192.

In a letter written to the Company in February, 1618, Sir Thomas Roe expressed fear that the English might not succeed in procuring a suitable port from Indian Government. The reason, he said, was 'that they are weary of us as it is, and indeed wee see wee have empoverished the ports, and wounded all their trade, soe that by much perswasion of the Governors the marchant goes to sea'.[1]

India had been enjoying a lucrative trade with the outside world from time immemorial. It was quite profitable even before the advent of the European merchants in the Indian commercial arena. The Dutch Pelsaert who wrote his account of India in 1626 bears testimony to this fact. By that time this trade had been reduced to only a fraction of its past greatness. And the major portion of blame for this damage, according to the same authority, must be borne by European traders whom the Indian merchants termed as the 'scourges of their seas and of their prosperity'. The leading native merchants would frankly lay bare their hearts before the European traders when they told them to their very face that 'they heartily wish we had never come to their country'.[2]

Sir Henry Middleton, an English Captain, robbed a number of Indian vessels in the Red Sea in 1612. His activities were seriously resented by the Mughal authorities who were keen on restitution for the alleged losses. His fellow-countrymen in India had to pay for his misdeeds as they were put into prison and their goods confiscated, obviously to compel them to make up the loss.[3]

The advent of the English in India and the favourable reception accorded to them was resented by the Portugese here. They made vain efforts at persuading the Emperor to expel them from the country. Reduced to despair at the lack of success, they resorted to violence by seizing an Indian vessel near Surat. It had a rich cargo of coral, silver, gold and other articles, amounting to one hundred thousand pound sterling. After having robbed the ship they burnt it. Moreover, they took captive 700 persons whom they carried away to Goa, to turn men into slaves and convert women and children to Christianity. This was done in spite of the fact that the ship had a Portugese pass and that the Queen Mother had a large interest in the cargo.

On receipt of the news, Jahangir got incensed and issued orders to imprison immediately all the Portugese in his dominions and seize all their goods. 'He hath likewise sealed up their church doors and hath given order that they shall no more use the exercise

1. English Factories, 1618-21.
2. Palsaert's Jahangir's India, 39-40.
3. Letters Received, 1602-13, Vol. I, XXXIV, 279; Early, Travels, 197, 203, 307.

of their religion in these parts'. Mukarrab Khan, the Governor of Surat, was given a horse and an elephant, and a dress of honour and ordered to proceed to Daman and lay siege to the city. The war came to a close after two years' fighting and a preliminary treaty between the two parties was signed in June, 1615. The Portugese agreed to make compensation and to grant certain additional passes to native vessels, proceeding to the Red Sea.[1]

Early in 1617, Elexander Childe, 'master in the "James" ' and a 'chief minister of the prince's, receiver of his rents', surprised a Surat vessel laden with timber in the Red Sea. He detained it for three months and spent 'the one half of her lading'. The Company was required to make compensation for it.[2]

Soon after, the Company's fleet seized yet another ship belonging to the same owner. The occupants, who were Banyans, clamoured for liberty. At night six of them leapt over-board and swam to the shore to apprise the Surat Governor of the situation. The latter sent for Kerridge, the English President, and expressed his rage in so many words. Kerridge, however, satisfied him by his assurances. The subsequent news of the capture of some Indians by the Captain of the same ship obliged the Surat Governor to adopt a strict attitude. Their broker was kept in irons in order to force the English to make compensation.[3]

Early in October, 1621, the Surat President was informed by Captain Waddel at Swally that some English pirates had taken an Indian ship and sunk it along with its passengers. Property including two tons of gold and invaluable treasure fell into their hands Waddel feared that their action 'will fall heavy upon us' if they were allowed to carry away the spoils. He was sensible of 'future inconveniences.....and the great disturbance of our long continued commerce in these part'.[4]

In the beginning of January, 1622, the President of the English Factory at Batavia informed the Company that the '*London*' and other English ships had taken, on the coast of India, three prizes worth 80,000 rials and a Chaul ship. They offered, he said, to restore them, if satisfaction could be made for 'your lost caphila', which had been taken earlier by the soldiers of Malik Ambar.

In March, the English Factors at Ahmadabad were made to appear before Mohd. Taqi, the Divan of the Suba, to make compensation for the alleged loss. They pretended ignorance and shifted the blame on to the Dutch. The Mughal official did not

1. Early Travels, 203 ; The Embassy, xxv, Letters Received, I, 300, 305 ; Ibid, II, xvii, 06 ; Ibid, III, xxxvii ; Jahangir's Memoirs (Bev.) I, 255.
2. Letters Received, V, 206-7.
3. Letters Received; V, 206-7.
4. English Factories, 1618-21, 300-01.

think it advisable, to settle things in a hurry, and postponed the case till a further date.

They were again sent for after a fortnight. They refused to plead guilty whereupon they were remanded to custody and kept in the Governor's house for four days and nights. The 'Hell-bound Governor' called them 'Ransadoes' and commanded the kotwal to keep a strict watch on them. Then he called them before the assembly of the big merchants of the city. The English reiterated that they had nothing to do with the crime and that the Dutch were the real culprits. It was necessary to make investigations. An Indian merchant, Gurdas, furnished security for the English President and so orders for their release were issued. The kotwal, however, demanded 'something to eat betle' for which he had to pay Rs. 25, including the tips to his 'followers', 'it being a custom that all which come in the common prisone must paye or have their clothes torne from their backs'.

The English had to suffer in Agra as well where they were kept in prison for over 5 months, first in their own house and then in the 'common castle'. It appears from a letter of the Surat President that the Ahmadabad factors were in prison even in May, 1622. He suggested 'that eadeavours should be made by all possible methods including bribery to get certificates from this Governor in our favour'[1].

It seems that this incident enraged the English who determined to resort to force to get their grievances redressed. The consultations held by them in February and October, 1622, and March and April, 1623, throw a flood of light on this. They came to the conclusion that the only method to bring pressure to bear upon the Mughals was to seize their ships. The Company was prepared to run the risk of their Indian trade and the factors were ready to endure any hardship likely to result from the action. Accordingly, the Surat President issued instructions to Captain Hall to carry out the project into action. He was to seize all Indian junks returning from Jiddah and Mokha and to hold the principal officers, merchants and chief passengers in custody.

His instructions were followed to the letter and acted upon. By the beginning of October, 1623, the *'Dolphin'* and the *'Blessing'* had captured seven Indian junks. The former had seized *'Toklie'* and *'Tawrie'*, two Surat vessels. Maqsud Ali and Shive Ji Vaniya were their respective 'nakhudas.' The *'Blessing'* had captured the Prince's junk from Gogha, a vessel of Dieu, and a small junk belonging to pahlwan Shafi. Their next prizes were the *'Ganjawar'* and the *'Shahi.'* They anchored near Daman where they had under their command seven junks and 'a world of people to mayntaine with water and victualls.'

1. **English Factories, 1922-23, 18 ; 68-69 ; 71 ; 72 ; 74 ; 79-80.**

This action of theirs, however, failed to produce the desired effect. The Indians showed no concern over the capture of seven ships as they had about 'forty Englishmen in their hands as hostages.' They could not expect a kind treatment at the hands of the Mughal Government. At Surat a strong guard was placed in and outside of their factory. Their broker 'Pangue' was severely whipped with hundred koras which practically tore his flesh. At 'Izapoore' a similar treatment was meted out to them. They were made prisoners in their factory, provided with one meal a day and forced to sleep on bare earth with nothing to cover them. The Indian Government, however, was not in favour of precipitating a crisis. John Hopkinson at Surat urged upon the English President who was at Swally to accept the gestures of peace shown by Saif Khan, the Mughal official. On 10th November an agreement was signed by which the English got most of their grievances removed.

Upto now this question had failed to engage the serious attention of the Mughal authorities who were busy in quelling Shah Jahan's rebellion. The native merchants were not sitting idle in the meantime. They made strong representation at court regarding the conduct of the English who were accused, among other things, of detaining goods seized in the junks 'above satisfaction of our former losses.....to the pretended value of 10,000 pound sterling.' Their act was an affront and challenge to the authority of the great Mughal. Feelings ran high at the court and Jahangir issued 'four severall firmanes.....to the apprehending of our persons, restitucion of our recoveries and lastly our expultion out of his countries.' Consequently, the English merchants at Surat were seized and put in irons (21st February, 1624), their residence and warehouse ransacked and their goods confiscated. "Theire wanted not that mallice, terrour, reproach or disgrace that the spright and renckour of an offended multitude could either invent or inflict." They became 'shameful subject of daylie threts, revilinges, scornes, disdainful derizions of whole rabbles of people, whose revengeful eyes never glutted themselves to behould the spectacle of our mizeries.' Even threats of torture were extended to extort confession of hidden treasure.

They complained that they were packed and stifled together into 'close and airless and unholesome corners.' The Surat merchants were not the only sufferers; this treatment was meted out to English merchants in other places also. They could stand this no longer and their resistance-power collapsed. No assistance was possibie from any-side. At last President Rastell and his companions signified their willingness to come to agreement with the Mughal Government. They got ready to make compensation for all that had been taken from the Surat merchants on condition that they should accept payment in goods on rates prescribed upon. Even during the negotiations an unsuccessful

attempt to force the issue was made when they tried to capture three Indian junks going to Arabia.[1]

Thus, even if, the English could harm Indian shipping on the high seas, it was not a paying adventure for them. Although 'all the forces of the Mughal Empire were powerless against a single European ship,' no European nation could afford to offend the Mughal Emperor in the interest of its trade.

IS RAMCHANDRA PANT AMATYA THE AUTHOR OF ADNYAPATRA ?

BY

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A sound constitution is the basis of a state. Without such a basis the governmental structure would be unstable, totter and eventually collapse. For some time, people believed that the Marathas never cared to frame a constitution. They thought that the Maratha rule was the rule of a swordsman who paid little or no attention to the theory of government. Fortunately however, a band of patient scholars is working ceaselessly to throw light on the hidden aspects of the Maratha rule.

Because of such efforts a number of documents found their way out of dingy rooms and moth-eaten 'Rumals'. Thanks to these Savants, now we have quite a mass of material. Comparatively, however, there are very few documents throwing light on the constitution of the Maratha State. Of these two deserve special mention (*i*) 'Rajniti' by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, and (*ii*) Marathe Shahitil Rajniti or Adnyapatra a work attributed to Ramchandra Pant Amatya.

The 'Rajniti' of Malhar Ramrao Chitnis is obviously based on Sanskrit works of similar nature. It deals with the theory of State in general. On the other hand Adnyapatra gives a graphic idea of the constitution laid down and followed by Shivaji.

The authorship of this work is a matter of dispute. There is a great controversy on the question, whether Ramchandra Pant Amatya composed the work or someone else composed it and asked Pant Amatya to act accordingly. In the following pages an attempt is made to discuss the authorship of the work.

About this book Sir Jadunath Sarkar says "A book of good counsels, but not a genuine document by a contemporary of

1. English Factories 1624-29, 36; 55-56 ;

Shivaji. Throws no real light[1]". It is, therefore, evident that Sir Jadunath refuses to believe that the author of the book was a contemporary of Shivaji.

After reading Adnyapatra carefully, I feel that though the year of its composition is 1715, quite a large part of it must have been written during Shivaji's time, or written from notes made by a person who saw from close quarters Shivaji's administration. Through every line of the work we have a glimpse of the policy laid down by Shivaji. For instance the Adnyapatra says that even a grainful of land should not be given by way of Inam. Many such illustrations can be given but the aim of the present paper is simply to discuss the authorship and not the contents of Adnyapatra. After studying the whole case I have come to the conclusion that in view of the evidence available today, Ramchandra Pant Amatya is the author of Adnyapatra.

Before I give my reasons for this belief, it is necessary to give a brief biographical sketch of Ramchandra Pant. This will enable us to consider the case and pin our points.

Ramchandra Pant was born about the year 1650[2]. In 1668 his father Nilo Sonadev did a great service to Shivaji in the naval campaign of Barselore. By way of reward Shivaji appointed Ramchandra Pant as Sabnis of Sindhu Durga (Malvan)[3]. He was appointed Amatya jointly with his brother in 1672.[4] Evidently he acted as Amatya at the time of Shivaji's coronation in 1674. In 1677, Raghunath Pant Hanmante was given the post of Amatya.[5] After the execution of Annaji Datto, Sambhaji appointed him Sachiv.[6] In 1693 Rajaram once again made him Amatya.[7] The great services he rendered while Rajaram was at Jinti have been referred to in the Adnyapatra itself.[8] After Rajaram, he was with Tarabai. Shahu tried his best to win him over.[9] but he preferred to be with Tarabai. He then came over to Sambhaji II. He completed the Adnyapatra on 19th November 1715 in accordance with the wishes of Sambhaji II. He retired from office sometime between 19th November 1715 and 9th March 1716; because he has been mentioned as Amatya in Adnyapatra, while on a letter dated 9th March 1716 his son Bhagwantrao is called Amatya.[10]

1. Sarkar—Shivaji and his times, 3rd Ed. p. 414.
2. Sardesai—Sthirbudhi Rajaram, p. 157.
3. Bavada Daftar, Part I, p. 6 and 95.
4. Sen—Shiva Chatrapati, p. 108.
5. R. B. Vad—Sanada Patratil Mahiti, p. 186.
6. Adnyapatra—Ch. II.
7. Patwardhan and Rawlinson—Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I. p. 40.
8. Sardeshi—Sthirbudhi Rajaram, p. 156.
9. Jedhe Shakavali, p. 37.
10. Sardesai Gharanyacha Itihas, Vol. I, p. 89,

The original of the Adnyapatra is not available. The manuscript from which 'Vividh-Dnyan-Vistar' first publised it in 1875 is also lost. The only manuscript now available is the one at 'Samarth Vag-devata Mandir', Dhulia, but this is a copy and not the original. The year of copying is 1843.

There being no mention of the author in Adnyapatra, the question of authorship must be decided from internal and external evidence.

(1) A point that strikes a reader first after going through the Adnyapatra is that its author must be a person who has seen and taken part in Maratha administration right from Shivaji to Sambhaji II. This can clearly be seen from the short historical sketch in the Adnyapatra.

(2) Again the writer must be a person who has not only seen the above mentioned regimes, but has played a leading role therein ; because every line of the Adnyapatra shows the touch of a master who has followed and experienced, what he preached.

(3) It must be the work of a person who has received training from Shivaji himself. A number of chapters very vividly show the lines of policy on which Shivaji laid such a great stress. A few illustrations may be given.

(*a*) A warning is sounded about the foreigners carrying on trade in India. The author reminds that these foreigners have their own rulers; and every ruler always has a covetous eye on land in a foreign country.

(*b*) A very strict warning against granting of Watans. The writer clearly says that the Watandars are enemies of the state.

(*c*) Very great importance is attached to the forts. The forts are described as the essence of the whole state.

(*d*) Importance of the navy is not over-looked. The navy is mentioned as an important department of the State.

Now if we apply all the above-mentioned tests and try to find out a person who (*i*) saw the regimes from Shivaji to Sambhaji II, (*ii*) played a leading role in politics throughout and (*iii*) got training under Shivaji himself, the only name that strikes us is that of Ramchandra Pant Amatya.

Prof. V. B. Kolte mentions the name of Nilo Moreshwar the son of Moro Trimbak Peshwe[1]. But Nilo Moreshwar became Pant Pradhan after the death of his father in 1681. There is again no mention of Nilo Moreshwar holding any office, or doing any independent work under Shivaji.

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1. Kolte—Rajniti Amatyachi Kashi ? Sardesai Smarak Granth, p. 66,

(4) But possibly the most important internal evidence is the discourse on Navy. It is evident that in the year 1715 there was no statesman other than Ramchandra Pant, who had any maritime experience. The discourse on Navy in the Adnyapatra shows the deep experience and vital touch which the author had with the Maratha Navy. It is, therefore, quite conclusive that this could be written only by a statesman like Ramchandra Pant, who had worked as Sabnis on Sindhu Durg, and thus had direct experience of the Navy.

This Adnyapatra or Rajniti has been mentioned very often by Bhagwantrao Amatya, the son of Ramchandra Pant. Bhagwantrao feels sorry that the Marathas do not act according to Rajniti[1]

From all the above discussion, I think that till definite proof to the contrary is available, we have to accept Ramchandra Pant Amatya-as-the-author of Adnyapatra.

EXTENT OF HASAN SUR'S JAGIR IN SHAHABAD

BY

One of the knotty problems in the early history of Sher Shah, concerns the extent of his paternal jagir...the jagir that was given by Jemal Khan to Hasan Sur in district Shahabad of Bihar, and where the revenue and administrative reforms of young Farid were first tested.

The initial difficulty comes in the identification of the exact limits of the Jagir. All chroniclers are definite only about one Pargana...Sahasram. But about others they vary considerably.

Abbas Sarwani mentions two more parganas ..Tanda and Hajipur.[2] Nizamuddin does not mention Hajipur, but prefixes Khawaspur to Tanda, making it Khawaspur Tanda.[3] Ferishta has Sahasram and Tanda[4] but Badaoni eliminates Tanda from Khawaspur, thus leaving only Sahsaram and Khawaspur.[5] Niamatullah makes a surprising but incredible statement that "Jemal Khan assigned to Mian Hasan support for 500 horse and settled moreover pargana Sahasram on him."[6] It can be hardly

1. P. D., Vol. XXVI, Letters, 83, 124, 127, 129, 131, 135, 136, 137.
2. Elliott, IV, 310.
3. De's trans, II, 141.
4. Briggs, II, 99.
5. Ranking, I, 466.
6. Dorn 81.

believed that the pargana of Sahsaram was in addition to the jagir intended to support 500 horse...if so then why was it at all given to him ?

About location they are equally vague. Abbas Sarwani calls them situated near Benares. Nizamuddin and Badaoni call them dependencies of Rohtas, while Ferishta and Niamutulla do not give any location.[1]

Among modern authors, only Dr. Qanungo has attempted to give a definite outline of Hasan Sur's Jagir. Erskine following the statements of Badaoni and Nizamuddin, has called Sahsaram and Tanda, places dependent on Rohtas.[2] Stewart merely mentions Tanda and Sahsaram without any attempt at identification, in his History of Bengal.

Dr. Qanungo while he admits that no exact and definite boundary line can be chalked out, yet attempts a rough outline. According to him, the jagir was situated in the present district of Shahabad and in Rennel's map they (both parganas) fall within the district of Rohtas which coincided with Abul Fazl's Sarkar of Rohtas. To the south of the jagir lay the outskirts of the Rohtas hills...on the east was the Soanne river... to the west was the pargana of Chaund which belonged to Muhammad Khan Sur, the future enemy of Sher Khan;.. and to the north it was bounded by a line from Hariharganj on the eastern bank of the Soanne along Rennel's boundary line of Rohtas district, upto 15 miles. It comprised roughly the Baraong, Tilothu and Sahsaram Thanas of the Shahabad district.[3]

This outline seems to be based more on approximation than on definite facts. For Dr. Qanungo has not tried to trace the two other parganas that have been mentioned by Abbas Sarwani.

We have already noticed the variations about Tanda in the different authorities. The confusion is between Khawaspur and Tanda. The reason is that there were two Tandas near about each other—one more important and the other less so. The more important was called Khawaspur Tanda and mentioned in the Ain as a pargana of the Sarkar of Jaunpore.[4] At present it forms a part of the Tanda pargana Fyzabad district being a comparatively important centre.[5] Originally belonging to the Bhars, it was colonised by successive waves of Muslim colonists who displaced the original inhabitants, and in Akbar's time and earlier, it was a place of considerable importance.

The less important pargana is the Tanda pargana, now called Barah pargana, in Chandauli tehsil, district Benares. It

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1. Ibid—all authorities quoted back.
2. Erskine II, 112.
3. Sher Shah p. 11-12—Red dotted line on the accompanying map shows the boundary according to Dr. Qanungo.
4. Ain II 163.
5. Fyzabad Gazetteer 276.

stands on the high right bank of the Ganges, 17 miles from Benares,[1] (25°29' N 23°11' W). On the authority of the District Gazetteer we can say that it was the headquarters of a pargana in those days though we do not find it mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, nor in Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh or Chahar Gulshan.[2]

"This Tanda" says Benares District Gazetteer, "has the reputation of having formed the Jagir of the Suri family of Afghans from which came Sher Shah",[3] and again it says, "Sher Shah who had hitherto been a jagirdar in Shahabad, had also held pargana Barah, then known as Tanda in this district."[4]

We can be reasonably certain that this is the Tanda mentioned by Abbas Sarwani and meant by other chroniclers when they miscall it either Khawaspnr or Khawaspur Tanda. It is specially clear considering that Abbas specifically mentioned "—— Sahsaram Hajipur and Tanda near Benares."[5]

The confusion has arisen because the well-known place was substituted in place of the less known. Even if we disregard the tradition that Tanda has behind it and take our stand on Khawaspur alone, we cannot think of the latter as coming in Hasan Sur's jagir, due to the geographical difficulty. The vast tract of land which the two points envisage, is more nearly a princely domain than a mere jagirdari grant. And secondly such widely separated parganas are impossible when we consider Farid's administration and Abbas Sarwani's remark 'near Benares'.[6]

The third place mentioned—Hajipur—which has been mentioned by Abbas Sarwani alone—is unfortunately untraceable. In the Imperial Gazetteer and in the district Gazetteers we find only Hajipur[7]—which is north of Patna and was the headquarters of the Bengal Governor for north Bihar. To associate it with Hasan Sur's jagir would be wrong for apart from the distances concerned, Hajipur did not fall into the territory of Delhi, but belonged to the king of Bengal.

Thus the only thing we can say about Hajipur is, that either it is a mistake of Abbas Sarwani or another place of such a name existed in the districts of either Benares or Shahabad, and has been completely obliterated by time.

It is possible therefore that Hasan Sur's jagir instead of being formed of one homogeneous compact pargana, as has been supposed by Dr. Qanungo, was formed of two distinct parganas,

1. Benares Gazetteer 371-372.
2. India of Auranzeb—Sarkar.
3. Benares Gazetteer 372
4. Ibid 192
5. Elliott IV 310
6. Elliott IV 310.
7. Muzaffarpore Gazetteer 144.

connected only by a narrow corridor. One was the Sahsaram in the Shahabad district and another was the Tanda pargana in the district of Benares. This is further made evident by the duel which Sher Khan had with Muhammad Khan Sur one of the chieftains of the tribe of Sur and the pargana holder of Chaundh.

Pargana Chaundh, lay west of Sahsaram.[1] In Akbar's time it was nearly double of Sahsaram. For while the latter had an area of 31,220 bighas and a revenue payment of 2,370,790 dams, the former with an area of 45,250 bighas, paid a revenue demand of 4,440,360 dams.[2] In even earlier days, the assignment was considerably larger than Sahsaram and Tanda, for while Hasan Sur was given this jagir to maintain 500 horse, Muhamad Khan Sur maintained 15,00 horse in his pargana of Chaundh.

We cannot definitely say in which direction the pargana of Chaundh expanded. But it seems clear that south and west were the only possible avenues for east and north lay the territories of Hasan Sur. As such he must have cast covetous eyes at the fertile Indo-Gangetic pargana and when the occasion came, intervened in the paternal quarrel with the passive sanction of Muhammad Lohani Sultan of Bihar.[3]

The Shiqdar of Tanda Sukha, who held Tanda for Sher Khan had orders to resist the invasion. But though, with him were the greater forces of Sher Khan, he was defeated and slain, and Sher's scattered forces fled to Sahsaram.[4]

Parganas Tanda and Malhu[5] were snatched away from Sher Khan. But Sher Khan soon turned the tables round, and enlisting the aid of Junaid Birlas, Mughal Viceroy at Jaunpore, chased Muhammad Khan out of Chaundh even, and occupied several other parganas besides. Then he magnanimously forgave Muhammad Khan Sur and returned him his pargana.

Several facts stand out clearly from this quarrel. Firstly that only Tanda and Balhu were taken away from Sher Khan and handed over to Sulaiman. Sahsaram was left intact and throughout the whole quarrel, there is no mention of taking away

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1. Dr. Qanungo identifies it with Sant 43 W of Sahsaram in Rennel's map. According to him there is no doubt in its identity. It is identified also by Hodivala as lying in the same area (Page 447). It also exists today and is called Chand.
2. Ain II 157 ; Abul Fazl calls it Jaund.
3. For greater details see Elliott IV Pp. 326-328 and Qanungo Sher Shah Pp. 36-40.
4. Elliott IV 327-328 for details.
5. Dr. Qanungo's mes. reads Balhu. I have not been able to identify it. It has a curious resemblance to Balhu, the nominal pargana was given to young Farid by Umar Khan Sarwani, See Elliott IV P. 309.

that pargana from Sher Khan. Even during Sher Khan's brief sojourn at Jaunpore with Junaid Birlas, it is likely that Sahsaram remained, in the possession of Nizam, Sher Khan's younger brother. There is no mention in any chronicler to warrant that Sahsaram too was taken away from Sher Khan.

This leads us to the fact that these two were separate parganas, detachable and independent with only a slight link between them—and the total whole was not a compact well knit pargana. That they were some distances apart from each other is clear from the flight of the defeated troops to Sahsaram, even where they could not rally and be strong enough to take back Tanda from Sulaiman and his patron Muhammad Khan. But in the hilly and difficult territory that comprised the Sahsaram pargana, they yet remained strong enough and Muhammad Khan dared not molest them there, even if he had wished so.

Yet another fact illustrates this. We know from Abbas Sarwani that the greater part of the forces of Sher Khan were with his shiqdar Sukha in Tanda.[1] I think it was the distance from the headquarter and the vulnerability of the Gangetic plain parganas that made Sher Khan keep the majority of his forces at Tanda and only a small part with himself. If Tanda had been a contiguous pargana to Sahsaram, it is more likely that Sher Khan would have taken the field in person without dividing the forces, for he then, need not have kept divided commands; and lastly in the case of defeat, his forces would have fled to any other place but Sahsaram which would have been the direct objective of the invading forces.

Thus we can see that these were distinct parganas. But in estimating their area we are faced by lack of information, for no definite information is available. We can form an estimate based only on the natural outlines and demarcations of the area and on the meagre internal evidence which is available from the authorities.

Basing our estimation on Rennel's map[2] of south Bihar..... the earliest map of the period available to us, we see that Sahsaram was situated in the south-east corner of the jagir, and Tanda[3] in the north-west. The jagir must have run in a north-west—south-east direction. The dividing line was the Karmnasa river.

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1. Elliott IV Page 328, 2nd para line 3.
2. Rennel's A Bengali Atlas, published 1781; map No. 3; a copy of the map is attached.
3. Rennel calls Tanda Zarah; the mistake is due to the fact that Tanda has come to be called Barah now (Ben. Gaz. 371) in other maps Tanda stands exactly where Zarah of Rennel stand. See Benares Gazetteer map.

The Sahsaram pargana contained the northern part of the Tilothu thana of the Shahabad district the central part of the Sahsaram thana and the southern parts of the Baraong and Karangja thanas of the same districts. Soanne formed the south-eastern, or eastern boundary. In the south, it was bounded by a line from the Tilothu to the Coodra nala crossing the hilly range and from there the boundary ran along the Coodra and Gourreah nala till the latter joined the Karmnasa river[2]. The north boundary was most likely formed by Rennel's boundary line from Hariharganj to where the line met the Karmnasa.

The corridor formed on the Karmnasa river connected Sahsaram with the trans-Karmnasa, Gangetic pargana of Tanda. It is even more difficult to define this pargana as no natural boundaries are traceable in the plain. It is likely that the northern line after crossing the Karmnasa near Gudeara met the Ganges at Zermany (modern Zamania) while the southern boundary ran from Commissary on the Karmnasa to a little below Zara to join the Ganges. Ganges naturally formed the northern boundary of the jagir. Thus the jagir must have contained, the modern Tanda pargana of the Chandauli tehsil Benares district and parts of Mahwari and Barhwal parganas together with the major portion of the Mahaich pargana[3] in the same tahsil.

JIZYAH IN THE POST-AURANGZEB PERIOD

BY

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The Jizyah has long been a subject of interest to students of Medieval Indian history inasmuch as it is an important indicator of the attitude of the state towards its Hindu subjects. In this paper some new light has been thrown on the vicissitudes of this tax in the confused period following the death of Aurangzeb. The Jaipur Records have been utlized for the first time, access to them having been very kindly given by Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh in his library at Sitamau.

The first reference to the abolition of the Jizyah occurs as early as the reign of Bahadur Shah. We are told that Bahadur Shah had actually passed orders for the abolition of Jizyah, but

1. Martin's—Eastern Indian-map facing page 390, copy attached.
2. Rennel's—A Bengal Atlas, map No. 3, copy attached.
3. Benares Gazetteer map.

that before the order could come into effect, he died.[1] Apart from this doubtful entry, there is no definite evidence that Bahadur Shah abolished the Jizyah or forebore from collecting it. It does not seem to have been collected in Mewar.[2] It was collected in Marwar, and, by implication, in the whole of India, at the beginning of his reign, but he may have contemplated abolishing it towards the end, as asserted by Vir Vinod.[3] This is quite probable because such a policy would be in keeping with his cautious but consistent policy of compromise, and because Zulfiqar Khan, who had considerable influence in the state after the death of his rival, the Wazir Munim Khan in 1711, was definitely inclined to a far-reaching policy of compromise and concession.

It was at Zulfiqar Khan's instance that Jizyah was formally abolished in the reign of Bahadur Shah's successor Jahandar Shah—a puppet of the all powerful Wazir Zulfiqar Khan. An entry dated 29 Safar, Saneh 1/7 April, 1712 (N. S.) in the Akhbarats of Jahandar Shah (Jaipur Records) reads, "Amir-ul-Umara Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan Bahadur (Asad Khan) submitted a petition to the Emperor that since he had become the Sovereign of the Realm, it was hoped that the Jizyah would be abolished. The Emperor consented and ordered that the news-writers should enter it in their letters to the provinces."

It is extremely significant that this important step should have been taken at the instance of Aurangzeb's wazir and life-long favourite, Asad Khan, barely nine days after the accesion of the new monarch. Taken in conjunction with certain important concessions to the Rajputs which were made at the same time, this step suggests that Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan were determined to controvert the policy of Aurangzeb at the earliest

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1. Vir Vinod iii-935.

2. Tod i-419 quotes from a Persian paper stipulating a treaty between Rana Amar Singh and the Emperor that "the Jizyah shall be abolished—that it shall no longer be imposed on the Hindu nation ; at all events that none of the Chaghtai race shall authorize it in Mewar." Tod places this just before the death of the Rana, which, however, he wrongly places in 1716. (Correct date 10 Dec. 1710). As Jizyah was definitely abolished in 1713, the treaty, if true, could have been concluded only with Bahadur Shah, perhaps in 1709 when the latter was returning from the Deccan. In 1709, the Rana also occupied Pur, Mandal and Bidnur ceded in 1681 in lieu of Jizyah. They were sought to be sequestered again in 1711, perhaps for not paying Jizyah separately as in 1690. (See Ojha's Udaipur ii-588-611.)

3. K. K. 606 says when Ajit Singh submitted in 1708, he agreed to let the Emperor "commission officers to collect the Jizyah." An obscure passage in Warid p. 6 (A. U. L. Ms.) says, on the other hand, that in the reign of Bahadur Shah the Jizyah 'became an old amanac"—(fell in disuse بیدہ کردہ تقدیم یارین V. V. iii 947, Vakil's report d. 12 S. Bhadon, 1768/ 17 July 1711, however, states that Ajit Singh killed a Jizyah Collector in Jaswantpur in Delhi in this year.

opportunity.* The Sayyid brothers are usually given the credit of being the first to make a decisive break with Aurangzeb's policy by abolishing Jizyah. It is clear, however, that they only followed in the foot-steps of Zulfiqar Khan, and, very likely, even directly imitated him.

There are three different accounts of how Jizyah was abolished in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, who succeeded Jahandar Shah after defeating him in battle. According to some authorities, the Jizyah was abolished by Farrukh Siyar on 16th January, 1713, at Agra, six days after his victory.[4] Abdullah Khan had gone to Delhi at the time, Hussain Ali was absent from court on account of his wounds, and the credit for this measure is given to Raja Chabela Ram Nagra, a family servant of Farrukh Siyar and his father.[5] Shiu Das tells us that in a petition to the Emperor Mohammad Shah in 1720, Girdhar Bahadur, the nephew of Chabela Ram, stated that his uncle had "requested the Martyred Emperor (Farrukh Siyar) before the war against Jahandar Shah, that if God granted victory to his arms, the burden of Jizyah should be removed. According to this agreement (qarar-dad) the Jizyah was abolished."[6]

The second account is an entry dated 17 Rabi II, Saneh 2/12 April, 1713, in the Akhbarats of Farrukh-Siyar, which reads as follows:—[7] "The Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik, Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur (Hussain Ali) brought to the Emperor's notice that prior to the Imperial victory, in the subah of Bihar, alias Azimabad, it had been ordered that Jizyah was excused to the Hindus. It was now hoped that a parwana would be sent to the Daftar-i-Diwani (confirming the order). The Emperor consented, and ordered that for the welfare of the kingdom, the Jizyah was excused."

Vir Vinod, giving a third account of the abolition of the Jizyah, states that Bihari Das, the Vakil of Udaipur, "gave friendly advice to Abdallah Khan that the Hindus were alienated on account of the Jizyah.....If you abolish Jizyah, your foundations will be strengthened, Abdullah Khan agreed, and got the Emperor to excuse Jizyah."[8]

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*Further elaboration of this interesting point is outside the scope of this paper. The inference is that Asad Khan did not agree with Aurangzeb's policy, which would thus appear not to have found full acceptance even among his closest advisers.

4. Br. Mu. 1690 fol. 163 (In Irvine i -246)—This Ms. is a portion of Ijad's official history of the reign. Also, Kamwar 390 (Sitamau Ms.) Khush-hal 99 (Amritsar Ms.). No mention in J. R., K. K., or M. M.

5. Khush-hal 99.

6. Shiu Das, Br. Mu. Ms. (Patna Copy) p. 329.

7. Jaipur Records.

8. V. V. 935. Tod ii-935, again uncorraborated, says Jizyah was abolished at Khemsi -Bhandari's instance, after Hussain Ali's invasion of Marwar.

The foregoing accounts, it will be seen, do not contradict, and may be taken to supplement each other. Hence, it may be concluded that the Jizyah was abolished at the instance of the Sayyid brothers even while Farrukh-Siyar was in Bihar, that this order was re-affirmed at the instance of Chabela Ram after the victory over Jahandar Shah, but was, perhaps, not given effect to until the Sayyid brothers made a formal request about it. The original order was, perhaps, passed in direct imitation of Zulfiqar's abolition of Jizyah at Lahore, so as not to be outbidden by the latter in securing the sympathy and support of the Hindus.

Farrukh-Siyar's order abolishing the Jizyah, passed largely due to the exigencies of the Civil War, did not continue in force for long. In April 1717, it was abrogated at the instance of Inayatullah Khan, the ex-Munshi and blind admirer of Aurangzeb.[9] Explaining the reimposition of Jizyah, Farrukh Siyar wrote to Raja Sawai Jai Singh on 4 Jamadi II, Saneh 6/15 May 1717. "Inayatullah Khan has placed before me a letter from the Sherrif of Mecca that the collection of Jizyah is obligatory according to shara. In a matter of faith, I am helpless (I cannot interfere)."[10] The real causes, however, were different. At the time, Farrukh Siyar was engaged in building a bloc against the Sayyids. By consenting to Jizyah, he won over Inayatullah Khan to his side, and also hoped to rally orthodoxy to his cause. Apart from his devotion to the laws of Aurangzeb, Inayatullah Khan was also motivated by pecuniary considerations in urging this step upon the Emperor. The treasury was empty, and the Jizyah yielded a substantial revenue.[11] Abdullah Khan was opposed to the measure, but in spite of that, amils were appointed, and the Jizyah collected.[12]

Immediately after the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, Jizyah was abolished once more on the prayer of Maharaja Ajit Singh, Raja Bhim Singh of Kotah, and Raja Ratan Chand.[13] The

9. K. K. ii-772, M. M. 70a, Yahya quoted in Irvine i-334, 336.

10. Jaipur Records, Sitamau, Add. Pers. Vol. ii-3. A farman with similar purport was sent to Rana Sangram Singh. (V. V. ii-954-5, Ojha ii-9?4).

11. Mirat i-334 says on the basis of official papers that the total annual yield of the tax from Gujerat was Rs. 5 lakhs. Also, see Aurangzeb iii-268-274. Acc. to Shiv Das (B. A. Ms. Patna p. 309) it yielded four crores in 1720.

12. Akbharats, entries dated 30 Moh. Yr. 6,14 Rabi I Yr ; Mirat ii-14.

13. Kanwar 442, K. K. 816, Irvine i-404, Tod i-424, Mirat ii-23 gives copy of hasb-ul-hukm abolishing Jizyah sent to Nizam Gujerat. The Marathas lost no opportunity of gaining the sympathy of their fellow religionists by seeing that this order about Jizyah was immediately obeyed, at least in the Deccan. In March 1719, Mahada ji Daji Jamna is issued a stern injunction to the (Hindus) Deshmukh and Deshpandes of Chanawad district to stop collecting Jizyah. (S. P. D. XXX-21*

Maharana of Udaipur wrote to Ajit Singh congratulating him on getting the Jizyah and the Pilgrim Tax abolished.[14]

By abolishing the Jizyah at the request of these nobles, the Sayyids openly avowed a policy of appeasing and conciliating the Hindus. The two Alamgiri nobles, Md. Amin Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, heading a rival party, took their stand against the "violation of religious practices", *i. e.* the abolition of Jizyah etc., although they had not shown any opposition to such a step till then[15]

Hence, in 1720, when the Sayyids were overthrown, the new wazir, Md. Amin Khan, revived the Jizyah, and appointed amils to collect it. The Hindus, led by Raja Jai Singh and Raja Girdhar Bahadur, protested.* The shop-keepers shut up their shope—(an interesting example of political action by the middle class)—and even Abdus Samad Khan** joined in opposing the tax. The two Rajas laid arzisbefore the Emperor protesting against the tax[16]. The arguments advanced therein are interesting, and may be summarized as follows :—

(1) The economic condition of the people was bad—"on account of the distress which they had suffered from the operations of the army, and because grain was dear."[17] "During thos days the condition of the people was extremely confused an distracted owing to the prevalence of disorder in the realm."[18]

(2) "That the Hindus were the ancient inhabitans of th country, that His Majesty was Emperor of Hind (Not one/sect that men of both religions were equally loyal. Indeed it might b said that the Hindus were more so, as they depended upon th Emperor for protection from his fellow religionists."[19] That is t

14. Jodpur Records, quoted in M. M. V. Reu's "Histroy. of Marwar" p. 314.

15. In 1701 Firoz Jang the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk had petitioned Aurangzeb to abolish Jizyah from his mother's tomb across the river Bhima so, as to "increase the population of the place and thereby cause much provision to arrive at the camp. "The petition had been rejected. (Ahkam 72).

16. K. K. 936, Warid 2, Shiu Das 309, Irvine ii-103. Kamwar's entry d. 24 Safar, Yr. 2/24 Dec. 1720, mentions abolition of Jizyah at request of Raja Jai Singh.

17. K. K. 936.

* Girdhar Bahadur, nephew of Chhabila Ram Nagar—an old family servant of Farrukh Siyar. He was Governor of Oudh at this time.

** Abdus Samad Khan a Turani Chief related by marriage to Md. Amin Khan. He was at this time Governor of Punjab in his own name and of Kashmir in the name of his son Zakariya Khan.

18. Shiu Das, Rampur Ms. p. 132 This version is slightly different from the Br. Mu. Ms. It carries the story down to the 28th year of Md. Shah's reign. A copy of the Rampur Ms. exists in Patna.)

19. Shiu Das, Rampur Ms. 132, Br. Mu. Ms. (Patna Copy) p. 309.

say, for these reasons there should be no discrimination against the Hindus, and no additional burdens laid on them.

(3) Precedent—"Chabela Ram had obtained the same favour from the late Emperor Farrukh Siyar after his victory over Jahandar Shah."

(4) Arguments of a personal nature—"He (Jai Singh) had bound himself to ask first of all for the abolition of the Jizyah[21]. (If not fulfilled, his prestige would suffer, and he would not be able to serve the Emperior effectively etc. etc.)

In addition to these, the Rampur Ms. of Shiu Das's Iqbalnamah[22] advances other argument-representing, probably, the author's own opinion :—

(5) Formerly, the Jizyah was laid on "the people of the enemy countries which would not accept submission and obedience," and because it was" found to suffice for the fulfilment of many (monetary) requirements. To-day, by grace of God, all the people of Hindustan are obedient to Islam." (Hence, its continuation is unnecessary.)

The emperor too was opposed to the tax.[23] In the face of all this opposition, the Wazir gave way, and "the collection of Jizyah was deprived until the recovery of the prosperity of the raiyat, and the settlement of the country."[24]

On his assumption of the wazir's office in 1722, Nizam-ul-mulk tried, once again, to revive the Jizyah, one of the demands submitted by him to the Emperor being that "the Jizyah upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb."[25] All sections of the court seem to have united in opposition to the proposal, although Warid ascribes its rejection to "the instigation of the sect of Hindus who had full sway over (the minds of)

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20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. The Rampur Ms. states Ibid. that Abdus Samad Khan also recommended to the Emperor the abolition of Jizyah, and that Jai Singh "presented most of the mahals of his jagir and zamindari in lieu of Jizyah, out of regard for the shara." Unlikely, in view of the silence of other Persian authorities, who would hardly have missed such an important concession on the part of Jai Singh.
23. "H. M. could not bring it to his ocean like mind that such money could be regarded even as good as pebbles." (Shiu Das, Rampur Ms. p. 131).
24. K. K. 936 Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, (A.U.L. Ms.) p. 304, Irvine ii—103, on the basis of Shiv Das (B.M. Ms., Patna Copy p. 309) states that the Jizya was abolished "permanently". The Rampur Ms. of Shiu Das does not support this, and it is unlikely for in February, March 1725. Md. Shah himself revived Jizyah (See F., n. 27).
25. K. K. 947, Warid 6, Shiu Das (Rampur) 153, Khush-hal as quoted by Irvine ii-132.

umra and the wealthy, like greed and avarice, (and) the nobles who had become lax in matters of faith and religion.....were persuaded to make representations to the Emporor, individually and in groups.....that the purpose of Nizam-ul-Mulk's request was only to create confusion in administration, and sow discord and hate between the employees of the state."[26]

This was the last serious attempt made for the reimposition of that tax which had aroused so much controversy and bitterness, the Jizyah. A nominal restitution in 1725, soon after the departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk from the court, made, no doubt, with the primary intention of securing the support of the orthodoxy in the forthcoming fight with the Nizam was never given effect to.[27] This was the last heard of the Jizyah in India.

The foregoing account shows the rapidity with which Jizyah, considered a religious duty by Aurangzeb, was abandoned by his sons and successors ; the persistent efforts of some champions of orthodoxy and admirers of Aurangzeb to revive it ; the rapidly increasing strength of the Hindus and the section which stood for compromise with them, as evidenced by the failure of these efforts ; and lastly, the close link of the entire question with what was an outstanding characteristic of the Later Moghula, the factions and party politics of their court.

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26. Warid p. 6.
27. Kamwar, Irvine ii—127

SECTION V

Modern India

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

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Friends,

I thank you very much for electing me to preside over the deliberations of the Modern History section of the Indian History Congress this year. While I am aware of my limitations I feel inspired by the confidence you have reposed in me and the honour you have conferred upon me. With all humility I would, therefore, say this, that in the midst of a galaxy of scholars that I see before me, it would be my pleasure and privilege to serve you in the best manner I can.

Generally it has been regarded as the function of a Sectional President to summarise the work of research done on the period and suggest points of view or problems that might be taken up for further study. My predecessors like Dr. Dutt, Dr. Bishweshwar Prasad, and Dr. Banerji have performed this function so well and so thoroughly that I feel I would rather pass it over to avoid repetition and, if possible, only advert to some points of view and problems, pertaining to Modern India which appear to me either useful or interesting.

It was Goethe who said that "History must, from time to time be rewritten, not because many new facts have been discovered but because new aspects come into view, because the participant in the progress of an age is led to stand-points from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner." That is a very correct view of the task that always awaits the historian. For, as the time passes, it is not merely a new mass of historical materials that is brought to light by the patient work of research, but side by side new problems of social, economic and political character emerge into view, and they call for a satisfactory correlation between the facts of the past and the needs of the present. They force upon the historian new points of view or suggest new methods of approach. They emphasize new values and insist upon a reassessment

of the old values. The claims of the kings and conquerors, the lawmakers and rulers, the people and the politicians, when considered in this light receive a new orientation and appear to be very different from what they have been. We often come to realise that so much of our so-called history either has never happened, or so much has happened of which we know nothing. This periodical disillusionment, more than anything else, is the outstanding service that the historian is capable of rendering his people and his country, and nothing can be more patriotic than this. For, it is this disillusionment, that helps us in forming a correct estimate of our national character and achievements in the past, of our present endeavours and future possibilities.

Therefore, the task of the historian assumes an importance, which can be hardly underestimated. But it is always attended with difficulties about which the historian cannot be overcautious. Very often personal preferences and prejudices, parochial pride, national antipathies, communal considerations, or political exigencies influence our views and the entire perspective gets coloured, distorted and vitiated. These may appear as extremely commonplace to a gathering of eminent historians like this. But I have deliberately chosen to draw your attention to these hurdles and pitfalls that beset the path of the historian in general and of the historian of the Modern Period of Indian History in particular. Every one present here is fully cognisant of the extensive scope of the period that we have chosen to call Modern India. It covers the history of the British rule in India in all its phases, the rise and fall of the Marathas, the rise and fall of the Sikhs, the history of all those territorial entities which are known as the Indian States, the history of the affinities betwen India and her neighbours, like Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Persia etc. and many significant aspects of this history. You will agree with me when I say that the scope of the period is as vast, and varied as the task of exploring it by the historian is tremendous. The task is tremendous no doubt, but, the pity of it is, that the magnitude of the task has not evoked an adequate response from competent Indian scholars in this country. Even the British Scholars who have worked on this period, have contented themselves with the study of one or two aspects only—mostly the political and administrative aspects, as to how the British conquered India, how the British rule was established in India, what

contributions the British rulers have made towards the well-being of India etc. They have often made an honest effort to present the history of their achievements and failures in India, and of the strength and weakness of their Indian subjects in the best manner and not very often in the most impartial manner they could. Perhaps it was difficult for them, for a race of rulers to be impartial or just in their estimate of a people whom they had conquered and ruled. It is natural. And I do not think I am the first person to have said this. But what I mean to point out, is, that if they have not been able to present the history of this period in a manner that would do justice to the national character, strength and weaknees, failures and achievements, of Indians or present the various aspects of Modern Indian history in their proper perspective, the responsibility of the Indian scholars and historians becomes all the greater. Already the period has attracted very little attention of the Indian scholars, whose explorations into the avenues of its history are very limited. If that is combined with an attitude of mind that accepts without scrutiny or challenge the work of the British historians writing on this period we will be failing in our duty as historians and refusing to render that service to our country which as I have indicated before we are in honour bound to render.

An illustration as to how the work of the British historians has represented the character and achievements of the Indians in a wrong perspective may be given here. Writing about the transfer of authority from Sirajuddaula to Mirjafar in Bengal P. E. Roberts of Oxford said that "the revolution of 1756-57 was not primarily or solely the conquest of an Indian province by a European trading settlement. It was rather the overthrow of a foreign (Muhammadan) government by the trading and financial classes, native (Hindu) and British ; both the latter gained commercially, though the British took a predominant part in the actual events, and alone succeeded to the political sovereignty." It is true that the British alone succeeded to the political sovereignty, but it is doubtful how far the Hindus gained commercially along with the British. Subsequent history clearly shows that the trade and commerce of the country like the political power passed into the hands of the British. Similarly it is a glaring travesty of truth to say that the revolution of 1756-57 was really "the overthrow of a foreign (Muhammadan) government by the trading and financial classes native (Hindus) and British,"

Prof. Roberts thinks that the Hindus who were the traders and financiers of Bengal combined with the British to overthrow the Muhammedan government which was regarded foreign by the Hindus. This is not merely wrong but mischievous. But Roberts only has adopted the views of Hill expressed in his Introduction to "Bengal in 1756-57" Vol. I. There with an appearance of cogency, and perhaps on the basis of memoirs of Mons. Law in which he says that "every one longed for a change, and many flattered themselves it would take place" (Hill—Vol. III P. 173) Hill came to the conclusion that the cause of the revolution was "the discontent of the Hindus towards the Muhammedan government" (Vol. I, P. Iii) The implications of this statement or theory are obvious as also the glaring falsehood that it embodies. This is no place to adduce evidence for the purpose of discussing it and discarding it as wrong and mischievous. I have done it elsewhere, in a different work. But you see how false theories are propounded and get currency. When Mr. Hill wrote that, he was perhaps convinced that he was correctly interpreting the facts of the history of Bengal in 1756-57, and when Prof. Roberts and others reiterated his views in their works, they too were perhaps convinced that Mr. Hill had given a correct interpretation. As I have said before it cannot bear the light of the day. But nevertheless it has reinforced the theory that has obtained unchallenged in the field of Indian Politics for quite a long time. The theory is, as you know, that in the initial stages of the British rule in India, the Hindus always supported them. That is why the Hindus were always favoured by the British and thus had a good start and decisive advantage over their Muhammedan neighbours in all the walks of life, in administration, education, etc.

This reminds me of a famous statement of Trotsky. He said "it is impossible to play with history." It is a piece of grim truth, the grimness of which is hardly realized by those who treat history in a mood of flippancy or irresponsibility. Trotsky was a revolutionary, and a profound student of history. He knew how Marx had evolved his economic determinism by turning and twisting the panoramic facts of human history, and how Trotsky and his collaborators were themselves seeking to realize the ideal of Marx through the terrible technique of Russian Revolution and the Third International. It is easy to treat historical facts as a series of disjointed vistas, with variations

of light and shade of which the colour and texture could be modified at pleasure by conscious and purposeful interpretation, but as we have seen in Germany under Hitler, the effort may come by a terrible nemesis (of history) in the end. And so it has happened in our country today. If Hill and Roberts held that the Hindus were helpful to the British in overthrowing the foreign Muslim government, in the initial stages of their rule in India, Graham in his Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan suggested that Muslims were long held in disgrace during and after the fateful period of the Mutiny. "During and for long after the mutiny" he wrote (p. 40) "the Muhammadans were under a cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of the terrible time." Was he convinced that the Muslims were alone responsible for all the horrors and calamities of the mutiny ? One has to read only the British authors like Kaye (Vide his History of the Sepoy War) to get disillusioned. But these prejudices, these mischievous theories die hard, and they have often most disastrous repercussions. It was because of such impressions that Muslims were mostly responsible for the munity and the atrocities associated with it that a man like Sir Syed Ahmed had to take up the cause of the defence of his community when he wrote in 1859 "Asbab-i-Baghwati-Hind," (Causes of the Indian mutiny). He wanted the British opinion to change towards the Muslims. And efforts like his emanating from a laudable desire to rectify the wrong notions about the Muslim community based on a misinterpretation of the history of the Modern period have resulted today in the rise of much misunderstanding about the political destiny of the two Communities—Hindu and Muslim, in India. That is why I repeat you cannot play with History without bringing its nemesis upon you.

But at the same time it must not be forgotten that the task of the historian of Modern India is far more difficult than that of any other period of Indian History. The historian of this period lives in a whirlpool of heat and passion, and yet he is called upon to keep his balance of mind. There is so much about him with which he is intimately associated. The facts which he has to interpret, the personalities he has to discuss and the tendencies he seeks to analyse and explain have often profound affinities with the texture of his own social and political life. They have a deep influence upon his mental makeup; they have

imperceptibly coloured his own outlook. And yet he has to detach his mind and outlook from all those associations and affinities, in order that his judgments may be impartial and his historical insight may not be blurred and distorted. That is a task, which has proved to be always difficult, and sometimes dangerous. Indeed the difficulties are apparent. But I do not know whether you can visualise the dangers that lie concealed in the atmosphere in which we in India have been living. I mean to say that a historian of this period may discover facts, which to him may appear vital in the best interest of historical truth or may express judgments, which to him appear unimpeachable. But these facts and judgments may adversely affect the interests of the people in certain quarters or the powers that be. They may reveal some horried spots in the character and pedigree of some respectable persons and their families. They may even expose some ghastly sores in some parts of our body politic. Then it is that the historian finds himself in a situation which is always unenviable and sometimes explosive. I would give you an instance of it, of which I have personal knowledge. That was the case of a friend of mine. He was a government servant and had a reputation for literary pursuits, and historical research. He wrote profusely, and one of his well known works was on the Mutiny of 1857. He also wrote some research articles, in one of which he gave certain facts, which threw new light on the character of and activities of an old historical family. The character and activities of the family that he depicted could not be regarded praiseworthy. Immediately the articles were brought to the notice of Government and the writer was punished. It is well known for example what part the brother of Raghoji Bhonsla II of Nagpur played during the diplomatic negotiations of H. J. Colebrooke immediately preceding the Second Maratha War. If a historian were to dwell at length on the activities of Raghoji's brother, I do not know how it will be liked by his descendants or by those who have been benefited thereby.

Take the case of what an Indian historian has written about the Mutiny. He says that "the Indian Mutiny could not have been suppressed but for the help given to the British by the Sikhs and the Gurkhas" (R.C.P. in India, P. 956). But how was it that the Gurkhas and the Sikhs were induced to participate in the suppression of the Mutiny? "During the Nepal War" he wrote

"Oudh was made the base of operations and its sovereign advanced money to Lord Hastings to prosecute the war against the Gurkhas. This was rankling in the breast of those mountaineers, and so on the out-break of the Indian Mutiny, the sturdy highlanders crossed their frontiers to carry fire and sword through Oudh. Sir Jang Bahadur boasted of having "massacred five or six thousand" subjects of Oudh on his way to Lucknow. If that was what induced the Gurkhas to help the British, "the murder in cold blood and with inhuman atrocities" writes the same historian "of some of the Sikh Gurus at Delhi by the order of the degenerate Mughal Sovereigns made the Sikhs take the vow of revenge on that Capital of the Mughals. The loot of Delhi was a day-dream with the followers of Guru Govind and Banda. Sir John Lawrence took advantage of their day-dream and dispatched them in numbers to that unhappy Capital to realize it. "Because of such outspoken statements, the book had been proscribed for a long time. Such are the dangers to which the historian of this period is exposed. And it is the apprehension of these dangers, which has damped the spirit of Indian historians to work on this period. Those who have ventured on the task they have often concentrated on and chosen safe subjects and kept at a respectable distance from the danger zone. Few have dared to write on the affairs of Jhansi or Nagpur state in the manner Major B.D. Basu wrote about Satara. There are numerous topics of this period that await a more thorough and impartial treatment; there are numerous avenues that have not yet been explored. The history of the ruling dynasties, for example, has attracted very little attention. The history of the Mysore, Maratha and Sikh Wars has yet to be written from a fresh point of view. The new tide of nationalism and freedom that is sweeping over the country will, I hope, enthuse more and more scholars to study this period in all its aspects and throw light on many an obscure corner of our history. The functioning of popular governments in all the provinces and the dawning of a new political destiny for the country will soon induce them to shake off the apprehension of the dangers hinted above. They will carry on their work in a spirit of freedom and in an atmosphere of security, both of which are essential conditions for the pursuit of research.

This leads me to an examination of the work of research on Modern Indian History that is being done in the

country at present. The volume and substance of that work will be evident from the list, that I give below of the subjects, taken up for study by Indian scholars, at the various seats of learning. The following is the list for 1946 :—

(1) The Development and structure of the administrative system in the Gwalior state.

(2) The Indian Reform movements with special reference to Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dayananda Saraswati.

(3) The structure and organisation of Civil services in India from 1833 to 1919.

(4) The Later Mughals.

(5) The Relations of the East India Company with the Mughal Emperors.

(6) The Role of Women in Maratha History.

(7) Changes in the Social life of India in the period 1800-1870 with special reference to Northern India.

(8) The Zamorins of Calicut.

(9) The Revenue administration of the East India Company 1765-1805.

(10) The History of Greater Gujarat.

(11) Sind under Sir Bartle Frere.

(12) History of the Maratha Navy.

(13) Ranoji Sinde—Founder of the Dynasty.

(14) Trimbak Rao Mama Pethe-A Biographical study.

(15) Portuguese-Maratha struggles on the Goa Border.

(16) History of the Konkan in the Maratha period.

(17) The condition of Maharastra on the downfall of the Peshwas—Economical, Political and Social.

(18) Visaji Krishna Biniwale—a biographical study.

(19) The Punjab under the Lawrences (1846-58).

(20) European Travellers in Sind, 18th and 19th Centuries.

(21) The Talpur Mirs of Sind.

(22) The Last Phase of the Peshwas (1815-1819).

(23) The Fall of the Sikhs as a Political Power (1839-49).

(24) An Account of Shah Alam II and his court.
(25) British Relations with the Rajputs 1800 to 1858.
(26) India under Lord Mayo.
(27) History of Mysore from 1760 to 1800.
(28) Political Trends in Modern India.
(29) History of the Later Peshwas 1740-1818.
(30) The Problem of the N. W. Frontier.
(31) Orissa under the E. I. Company.

For 1945 the list is as follows. :

(1) Relations between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General, and Council and the Courts of the Company in Bengal between 1774 and 1803.
(2) History of Bundelkhand, 1772-1856.
(3) History of the N. W. Provinces from 1803-53.
(4) British Relations with Bhutan.
(5) India under Lord Amherst.
(6) Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the 17th and 18th Centuries.
(7) The Rani of Jhansi.
(8) The French in Southern India.
(9) Maratha Imperialism.
(10) Fall of the Sikhs.
(11) Origin of Sikh Militarism.
(12) British Judicial Administration from Wellesly to Dalhousie.
(13) Maharaja Gulab Singh, Founder of Kashmere State.
(14) Social and cultural movements in Modern India.
(15) Tara Bai.
(16) History of the Carnatic Rulers.
(17) The Maratha Expansion in the Carnatic.
(18) Lord Bentinck.
(19) Shujaud Daula Vol. II (1765-75).
(20) Social History of India in the 16th and 17th Centuries.

The subjects given above by no means exhaust the

scope of Modern Indian History. As you will see, they leave many aspects untouched. It is surprising that the list for two years contains only 50 subjects, which are being studied throughout India with its twenty Universities and numerous Colleges. But far more surprising is the fact that during the years 1943-45 only ten thesis bearing on the Modern History have been written and have secured Doctorate degrees. They are as follows :—

(1) History of Indian Educational Policy 1854-1904—Allahabad, 1943.

(2) Indian Administration under Lord Hardinge 1844-48—Allahabad 1945.

(3) Oudh under Wellesly—Bombay 1944.

(4) The Swiss Party in the Deccan—Bombay 1945.

(5) An Historical Introduction to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal—Calcutta, 1944.

(6) British Beginnings in the Malaya Indies—Lucknow—1944.

(7) History of the Sikhs 1769-1798—Punjab, 1944.

(8) The Problems of the North Western Frontier of India—Punjab, 1945.

(9) British Relations with Bhutan.

(10) India under Lord Amherst—Allahabad, 1945.

One other point that occurs to me is the lack of Local or Provincial Histories. Bengal in this field has already led the way. But other provinces have been very slow to take up the idea. As far as I know in the Central Provinces and Orissa, efforts are being made to write their local history. To my mind the writing of local histories should have been undertaken long before the Indian History Congress and other bodies planned the writing of a Comprehensive History of India in several volumes. Indeed the task of writing Indian History on a comprehensive basis could have been facilitated if the history of the provinces had been compiled before. There are no doubt, Provincial and District gazetteers ; but these have been compiled many years, nearly half a century back. In my Province, as well as elsewhere even the Government have felt the need of revising them in the light of latest researches. How perfunctorily the District gazetteers have been written, you will realise if I tell you that one of the highly placed European civilians of my province, who had been put on special duty in the secretariat to examine the old historical

records of the government and who was himself interested in research expressed doubt whether the District gazetteers had been compiled on the basis of government records in the District offices and the Secretariat. I hope it has not been so in other provinces. If it is, I think the rewriting of the District and Provincial gazetteers, specially pertaining to this period is a task that must be immediately taken up. General History of India has so much fascinated our mind all these years that we have completely forgotten and even ignored our local history. It is needless to point out what a mass of raw material in the shape of Government records would be available for the purpose, if only our scholars were to show their inclination for it.

While speaking about it I cannot pass over the most praiseworthy but strenuous efforts Dr. S. N. Sen the Director of Archives has been making during the recent years to place at the disposal of the historians of India the raw material for their history. The scheme of the publication of records that he has induced the Government of India to undertake, will when fully accomplished, have fulfilled one of the most vital needs of the historians of the Modern Period and will have rendered a piece of signal service to the cause of Indian Nation. Similar schemes may be formed in the provinces and efforts may be made for the co-ordination of such schemes, in a manner that will facilitate the writing of local histories of this period as well as the history of India.

There are many other aspects that I would like to discuss, but I would stop short lest I tire your patience. I thank you once again for the honour you have done me on this occasion.

SOME ASPECTS IN THE HISTORY OF PENANG FROM 1786 TO 1805.

BY

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Macpherson considered the acquisition of Penang as one of the chief glories of his otherwise brief, uneventful and condemned administration. Lord Cornwallis was averse to involving the Company in fresh liabilities in the embarrassed state of the Bengal finances, but the plan had gone too far to be hastily retracted. He therefore thought it his duty to promote the success of the settlement "consistently with the rigid economy which our present circumstances so loudly call for", and gave his sanction on December 13, 1786.[1] He prudently resolved not to spend considerable amounts on defensive works, when Captain Francis Light began the construction of a small fort for the protection of the British detachment against external attacks. The Court of Directors were, no doubt, anxious to secure a convenient corridor to the China seas and a productive midway island which should serve the double purpose of a halting station for refreshments of the China vessels and yield exchangeable commodities for the Indian products. The expansion of British trade and power in India demanded freedom of action outside the limits of India more essential. The occupation of Penang, was indeed an outcome of the feeling in British official circles that the Dutch claims to supreme influence and their irritant monopolistic assertions in the archipelago must be resisted. The admiralty, on the other hand, were intent on procuring from the eastern islands naval requirements, more especially fine qualities of timber for masts and also a strategic naval station which might be extenisvely utilised by the King's ships. Cornwallis was diffident of the capabilities of Prince of Wales Island in this respect; he was meditating even whether Bombay and Bencoolen, with their heavy charge on the administration were of substantial use to the Company and whether it will not be judicious to replace them by some less expensive harbour in neighbouring countries and islands. The survey and settlement of Diego Garcia and the Andamans were the results of such sentiments.[2] The adverse

1. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Straits), December 13, 1786.
2. Wisset, Memoir on P. W. I., Unrecorded Paper No. 114, Straits II.

report of his brother Admiral Cornwallis, on Prince of Wales Island,—that it could never be of any utility as a port for ships of war,—seemed to confirm the feelings of the governor-general ; and the idea of forming Prince of Wales Island into a marine port was for a time given up under a belief that the Andaman was a preferable station.[3] Dundas, however, was strong in his assertions that Penang "ought to be cherished both for naval and commercial purposes", though he was not inclined to agree that it should be an instrument "to retard the increasing amity between this country and Holland". The principal object of Captain Kyd's visit to Prince of Wales Island in 1794, was to clear up the strong doubts respecting the comparative merits of the Andaman and of Penang as a port of refitment and refreshment for the navy of Great Britain.[4] It was only subsequent to the perusal of the report of Captain Kyd ayd Peter Rainier's approval of the facilities afforded to the vessels of his squadron during the French Revolutionary Wars that opinions, both in India and at home, veered round in favour of Penang. The Wars of 1793-1815, necessitated operations against the Dutch colonies in the east and against French privateers, and the naval expeditions starting from or halting at Penang confirmed the utility of the island as a vital strategic station in time of war. The settlement thus entered on a new phase after 1793.

Penang grew from wilderness into a well-populated town. When it was first occupied in 1786, the island was an entire forest "without a rood of cultivation, or an inhabitant, with the exception of a family of two migratory fishermen".[5] Out of these unpromising materials, Captain Light evolved a self-supporting community and a stable administration. Slaves from Fort Marlborough cleared up the jungles ; supercargoes at Canton were ordered to encourage the industrious Chinese to settle there [6] ; a later infiltration of convicts from Bengal was utilised for labour. By November 1786, the population of Penang had increased from 58 to 220 and by the end of 1788 it shot up to 500, a strange racial medley of all nationalities[7]. To meet the needs of the community an adequate machinery of administration and justice was essential, and Light's appeal to the Supreme government for setting up of courts of justice[8] led in 1801 to the establishment of a complete judicial administrative system with John Dickens as first judge and magistrate. In the meantime Light had introduced "some regulations" for the peace and safety of individuals, prohibited

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Crawfurd, Dictionary of the Indian Islands, p. 331.
6. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Straits), January 22, 1787.
7. Ibid.
8. Light to Cornwallis, May 7, 1787 ; Ibid, June 13, 1787, Separate Proceedings relative to Penang.

gaming houses, suffered no unlicensed arrack shops to continue. Severe whipping, for thieving, was recommended. Penang was intended from the first to be a free port. During the first ten weeks of its occupation 21 ships and 5 prows arrived and 13 departed. But Cornwallis was not willing to accept Light's suggestion of granting free passes to Malay traders or to authorise any vessel to hoist English colours because "the proposed measure will involve us in dispute with the Dutch."[10] Light emphasised on its necessity in view of the dependency of Penang on Quedah for supplies. The prospect of opening a beneficial commerce between the Company's settlements in India and Manilla through Prince of Wales Island was entertained[11]. In the first few years of its existence import duties were imposed "to reimburse for the unavoidable but heavy expense" of the settlement.

Light was authorised to receive such colonists as he might judge expedient. A vague and indiscriminate order seems to have been given at the moment of settling, "entitling every person, able to handle an axe, to the possession of such ground, as his personal exertions or his hands might enable him to clear"; [12] no further obligation was stipulated; "to cut down heavy timbers and to raise a little paddy among the roots was deemed sufficient"[13]; the only tenure upon which land was held was the superintendent's grants; "land was a superabundant commodity, considered of little value, to ask was to have or to appropriate without asking was equivalent to legal justice,"[14] Such free grants of land, with undisturbed possession was a necessary factor for developing the settlement and the orders of the Supreme government relating to this matter is unique in its communistic conceptions:

> "We think it would be proper that any land applied for by the settlers should be proportioned into lots and divided amongst them.....that these lots of land do not exceed the ability of the persons and their families to cultivate them; by which no part of the island will in time remain uncleared and we are further of opinion that such land should be exempted from tax or rent of any kind for a given period which should terminate when the possessor can conveniently pay from the produce of his labour. It would also be proper that the land to be distributed, should be as contiguous as the nature of the country will admit;

9. Ibid.
10. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Straits) December 13, 1786.
11. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Sep. Proc. re. Penang) April 2, 1787.
12. Ibid, August 28, 1787.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

so that the inhabitants may be kept as much as possible in one society and separated only as the land is cleared away"[15].

On August 1, 1794, an order from the Supreme government directed that sufficient quantity of land "in the most eligible situation" should be reserved for the purpose of erecting public buildings or other public uses and that "no allotments in land be made in perpetuity or upon leases exceeding five years"[16]. The order was "wisely suppressed" by Captain Light and it was rescinded on August 22, 1796[17]. A general survey was taken towards the end of that year to ascertain "the number of inhabitants, the claims of individuals and the actual state of cultivation"[18]. The Supreme government declared on March 20, 1800 : "It can never be advantageous to the public interest that the government should retain any considerable tracts of land in its own possession. It will be proper, however, to reserve a sufficient quantity for all public purposes". In 1801-2, there were 72 persons who possessed landed property and 1200 slaves were employed in the clearing of the lands and the cultivation of pepper and spices[19]. When Penang became a presidency in 1805, the Court of Directors enforced that lands "if not brought into a state of cultivation within a fixed period" should revert to the Company. The employment of slaves was condemned and clearance or cultivation in future were to be carried on by free people[20]. Extensive tracts of the finest land were seized upon "or acquired by trifling purchases" by Europeans ; effectual check to practices of this nature was recommended, all future grants of lands to Europeans were "to be made subject to our approbation" and instead of being granted in perpetuity, they were to be granted on long leases, "renewable on a certain fine and on payment of a quit-rent increasing with the increase of cultivation and a fine on their being transferred". [21] No European, resident in Europe, was to hold land through an agent; a condition was added in the leases that "it shall not be obligatory on the Company to permit the relations, in Europe, of Europeans who may die possessed of leases, to go out in order to succeed to them"; it was likewise a condition of the grants " that no large trees applicable to the purpose of ship-building shall be cut down....."[22]. The Company reserved the right "of resuming such portions thereof as it may be deemed necessary to convert to public

15. Ibid, January 14, 1790.
16. Beng. Sep. Cons., Aug. 1, 1794.
17. Beng. Pub. Cons., Aug. 2, 1796.
18. Ibid, Aug. 28, 1797 ; March 20, 1800.
19. Appendix to the Second Report from the Select Committee 1808-12, No. 68, p. 346.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.

purposes or such as may be found to contain mines of any description whatever." No grants of land were to be made to Europeans "exceeding in quantity 300 oorlongs unless upon very special reasons stated to us and approved by us"[23].

Light had to struggle against forces which were strong hindrances to the peaceful growth of the settlement. The Dutch were an irritating source of trouble to the external safety of Penang. They were "much grieved" at the British occupation, and intrigued with the Malay piratical princes not only to destroy the infant settlement but wreck vengeance on the king of Quedah for the inconsiderate cession[24]. Proposals for an Anglo-Dutch alliance in 1787 and Dundas' efforts to secure the cession of Trinkomali fell through. The king of Quedah realised that he had not only lost Penang but, with the growing trade of Penang, he had lost the customs duties of his own port. On the other hand, his fear of an attack from his northern boundary was still present. In May 1787 Siam once again troubled Quedah and threatened invasion. The repercussions of Siamese threat on Quedah were visible on Panang. The destruction of Quedah by the Siamese would mean the less of supplies and probably a war in self-defence against Siam. Light pleaded for "timely assistance" on behalf of Quedah.[25] He did not either entertain the idea of friendly intrusion of any other foreign power into Quedah, and estimated the king's friendship at 10,000 Spanish dollars per annum.[26] The instructions from the Supreme Government of date January 25, 1788, did not empower Light to "suggest hints of promises which may be constrained into an obligation to defend the king of Quedah" and decidedly declared against "any measure that may involve the Company in military operations against any of the eastern princes." Cornwallis, however, agreed to pay the king an annual sum not exceeding 10,000 Spanish dollars but noted that "the payment be confined to seven or ten years."[27] The failure of the English to satisfy either his demands for monetary compensation or his desire to break the power of Siam with the assistance of English forces induced the king to solicit the assistance of the French at Pondicherry and the Dutch at Malacca. Three Dutch warships were actually despatched to Quedah ; an embargo was laid on rice and other provisions carried to Penang and under cover of organising the invasion of Siam on scientific lines, the Dutch made an imperceptible effort to convert

23. Ibid. The usual grant to native settler was from 50 to 100 oorlongs ; the Court, however, recommended not more than 15 to 20 oorlongs.

24. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Straits), December 13, 1786; January 22, 1787.

25. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Sep. Proc. re. Penang), June 13, 1787.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid, January 25, 1788.

Quedah into a Dutch protectorate. But the consciousness of a future expensive war with Siam, the king's sudden fright of Dutch encroachment and the timely presence of a British man-of-war frustated the prospects of an anti-British alliance between Quedah and the Dutch.[28] Still, the long-anticipated Malayan Armada numbering 200 large vessels, carrying 240 guns and 8000 men did arrive outside the Penang harbour on the night of November 25, 1790. An embargo was laid on 30,000 Spanish dollars worth of property in the English trading vessels at anchor, in Kuala Quedah. The presence of Admiral Cornwallis released the tension for a short period of four months and after his departure Light sent an English expeditionary force and dispersed the invading Armada (May 1791). Light's 'vigourous measures' were appreciated by the Supreme Council as essential for the safety of the settlement.[29] The treaty of May 31, 1791, confirmed the cession of Penang. In return for an annual impost of 6,000 Spanish dollars on Penang, the king gave the English permission to export provisions to Penang duty free, and bound himself not to allow Europeans, other than the English to reside in Quedah.[30] Captain Light found it expedient to conclude the agreement previous to the receipt of the orders of the Supreme government, forbidding him to conclude a treaty of alliance. This order dated April 29, 1791, was received by Light on June 7, 1791. On July 15, 1800, the cession of a tract of land on the mainland was obtained, comprising a district 18 miles in length and 3 miles in breadth.[31] This strip has since been known as Province Wellesley, after the Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General of India. Sir George Leith, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang from 1800 to 1805, agreed in general terms to protect the coast of Quedah from all enemies, robbers and pirates. Quedah was to receive an annual subsidy of 10,000 Spanish dollars "as long as the English shall continue in possession of Pulo Penang and the country on the opposite coast".

For a time Penang was used as a penal settlement for Bengal. The benefits of settled administration and laws and justice were denied to the island settlement and the government appointed was considered "merely, as of a temporary nature". But in 1802, when Napoleon renewed his war against Britain, a plan was laid before the Court of Directors, at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty in the ministry of Lord Aberdeen, for "making the island a naval arsenal for the building and repairing His Majesty's ships".[32] It was then that a new orientation was given to the adverse view-points hitherto cherished as regards the settlement. The Directors were "fully impressed

28. Ibid, August 21, 1789.
30. Ibid, September 14, 1791.
31. The treaty was ratified on November 18, 1802.
32. Appendix to the Second Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company 1808-12, App. No. 68, p. 340, para 6.

with the great national advantages of the object proposed by the First Lord of the Admiralty", entertained "sanguine hopes of its practicability" and most willingly agreed "to afford the utmost aid in our power in carrying into execution the measure proposed by His Majesty's Government".[33] The renewal of war evinced the indispensable necessity of new-modelling the government of the island and taking measures for "putting this important station into a state of security from the attacks of our ememies"[34].

In the course of deliberations on the subject, the attention of the Directors was drawn to a general consideration of British interests, political and commercial, in the countries on the eastern side of Bengal. Besides Prince of Wales Island, the company then possessed, in the Straits of Malacca, the town and fortress of that name; and on the south-west coast of Sumatra, Fort Marlborough and its dependencies. The great expense incurred in the administration of Malacca, without any corresponding benefit either from the revenues or commerce of the place, led the Directors to signify their determination to the Governor of Madras to withdraw the Company's garrison from the place and evacuate Malacca. But previous to its abandonment, the fortifications, arsenals and public works of all description were to be destroyed and demolished "so as to render it of least possible value to the enemy's government in case the Batavians should hereafter turn their attention to the occupation of that station".[35] The garrison and public stores were to be transported to Prince of Wales Island and, to "such inhabitants, natives of India or China, as may be apprehensive of remaining at Malacca, after the Britis sh garrison shall be withdrawn.....every aid and encouragement should be afforded them for the safe and convenient removal of their persons and effects, inviting and assisting them to establish themselves under the Company's protection at Prince of Wales Island...".[36] Instructions were laid down to grant the evacuees, under specified conditions, "moderate portions of land to clear and cultivate for their own use and benefit".[37] Malacca was restored to the Dutch under terms of the Treaty of Amiens.

The practical importance of Bencoolen, too, was gradually declining. As a commercial establishment it "has become of no importance". Its only produce, pepper, was a losing concern to the Company and pepper could be much better supplied from the growing plantations of Prince of Wales Island as well as from the Malabar coast. Bencoolen had no political value either. Evidently no other European power could turn it to much

33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, para 5.
35. Ibid, p. 341, para 1.
36. Ibid, para, 12.
37. Ibid.

account or think of standing the expenses which must be incurred in maintaining a settlement there.

The only danger spot whence Britain's enemy possessed the means of infesting the Bay of Bengal with his ships, was the inviting port of Acheen on the west coast of Sumatra ; and here, during the last two wars, the French were enabled "to refit and supply their ships and speedily to resume their depredations"[38]. The port of Acheen, properly fortified might command the southern shores of the Straits of Malacca as far as the Prince of Wales Island ; and in the possession of the French might prove "the means of great annoyance to our trade". To have the full command of the Straits of Malacca, therefore, it appeared to be very desirable that the port of Acheen should be in the hands of the British. The importance of the subject has been recognised at different times. In 1781, the Bengal government was directed to make efforts to acquire a settlement there ; the effort was repeated in 1782 and again in 1784, without any other success than the admission of a Commercial Residency which was withdrawn in 1785. Penang had not been then acquired and for a time it seems to have been thought that in obtaining the settlement of Penang the Company had done all that was requisite for the security of the national interests in those seas. But the gentlemen entrusted, from time to time, with the administration of the island appear to have seen the value of an alliance with the King of Acheen. In 1798, Col. MacDonald, then Superintendent of the Island, submitted to the governor-general-in-council propositions for a treaty with Acheen. Correspondence being opened with the government of Acheen, the King expressed a desire to be supplied with two armed cruisers. It was apparent also that the king of Acheen had an intention of utilising the British connection for securing the monopoly of the trade of his own country against his subjects. The only alluring offer held out to the Company was a profitable supply of pepper. Possibly a political connection might have developed from that source. But the governor-general-in-council declined to give their consent "to the adoption of any measures which had a tendency to implicate the British nation in the local policy of any native government, which might probably involve us in distant petty hostilities, to the great injury of the commerce carried on between Bengal and the coast of Sumatra".[39] Failing Acheen, the Directors also contemplated the establishment of the influence of the Company at Mergui—"where the French are said to have of late resorted for provisions"—with a view to deprive the French of the resources of that coast. The decision on the subject, however, was left to the governor-general-in-council.

In view of the above considerations, the political and com-

38. Ibid, para 7.
39. Ibid, para, 8.

mercial importance of Penang with a sudden force as it were pressed upon the minds of the Directors. The position of the island, its climate, its fertility, its harbours, its produce of large timber, its contiguity to Pegu, which contains the most abundant teak forests in Asia, pointed Penang out "as an acquisition of very great importance.....being placed in a most favourable situation for an emporium of commerce in the eastern seas and for becoming a commanding station for the rendezvous, rofitting and supply of that portion of His Majesty's Navy required for the protection of the Company's possessions and affairs in the eastern parts of Asia"[40]. Though imperfectly administered, industry, enterprise and improvement were moving satisfactorily on the island and its commerce, produce and population as it appeared from the reports of the superintendents were "already very respectable". The growth of the colony, as a matter of fact, was being impeded in many ways by the want of regular government and laws and "as the inhabitants have become more numerous, that want has been more felt and complained of"[41]: The status of the colony was therefore raised in 1805, when it was made a fourth Indian presidency under Philip Dundas as governor, subject to the governor-general in Bengal. It is interesting to note that Thomas Stamford Raffles came as assistant secretary to Dundas on a salary of 6,000 Spanish dollars per annum (about £1,500).[42]

From the first acquisition of Penang, the administration of the island was carried on by persons not in the Company's regular civil service, appointed by and acting under the immediate orders of the governor-general-in-council of Bengal. The Bengal Government appointed Captain Francis Light to be "Resident" there with a salary of Rs. 6,000, increased in 1787 to Rs. 12,000, per annum and T. Pigou "a young gentleman of known honour and integrity" was assistant to Light, with a salary of Rs. 3,600 per annum.[43] These salaries were paid in Bengal; they appear as charges in the Bengal accounts against the names of Francis Light and T. Pigou, with their designation and a statement of the salary attached to their posts. Light was confirmed "in the entire and sole management of Prince of Wales Island, under the title of Superintendent" in January 1787. In 1795, the establishment was increased by the Bengal Government by the addition of two more assistants to the Superintendent. The salary of the Superintendent was fixed at Rs. 24,000 per annum, whereas the three assistants were to receive Rs. 6,000, Rs. 3,600 and Rs. 3,000 p. a. respectively. The increase of establishment and salary was appreciated and approved by the Court of Directors in a despatch sent out

40. Ibid, p. 339, para, 3.
41. Ibid, para, 2.
42. Ibid, p. 341, para, 15.
43. Beng. Pub. Cons. (Sep. Proc. re. Penang) Jan. 25, 1788.

in 1796. In 1800, Sir George Leith was appointed Chief Officer with the title of Lieutenant-Governor on the same salary but with an allowance for expenses; a secretary was appointed with a salary of Rs. 12,000 p. a. The appointments were made by the Bengal Government. The Company at home made no objections to the salaries but they objected to the appointment of Sir George Leith on the ground that he was not "one of our civil servants," directed his immediate removal and the appointments of "a senior civil servant on your establishment fully competent to the charge" as Superintendent.[44] But since the appointment of Sir George Leith was made 'a considerable time previous to the order of your Honourable Court" and since the administration of the island was conducted by Sir George "with great integrity and propriety", the governor-general-in-council at Bengal were "apprehensive that any sudden change in the Government might produce an injurious effect upon the interests of the Company in that valuable settlement". The Supreme Council in Bengal, hence, pleaded with the Directors "to suspend the execution of your orders on this subject until he (Leith) shall have submitted to your Honourable Court a full view of the state of affairs at Prince of Wales Island."[45] The letter from the Court of Directors to the governor-general-in-council at Bengal is dated August 28, 1800, and the reply of the governor-general-in-council to the Court is dated July 31, 1801. Since 1800, however, none of the officers at the Prince of Wales Island have been entered in the accounts of the Bengal establishment as part of it. The reasons why they were omitted are nowhere stated. In 1802, the Court of Directors reiterated their orders for the removal of Sir George Leith and remarked that "on receipt of information therein referred to, the whole establishment would be carefully revised." Early in 1805, the Court found it expedient to establish "a regular Government in Prince of Wales Island.....in the model of the Company's other Indian Governments subject immediately to the Company as the other subordinate government of India are....."[46].

The founder of the settlement, Captain Francis Light, died of malarial fever on October 20, 1794. Light was a man of comprehensive views and foresight, with commanding abilities as a colony builder and a worthy precursor of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. It is a strange, unexplicable irony of history that the man who was responsible for laying the germs of the British Empire in Malaysia has been a neglected figure in the list of the empire builders. As Francis Steuert, his sketchy biographer rightly comments: "Francis Light is a name which is unfamiliar

44. App. No. 66, Second Report, p. 339.
45. Ibid, No. 67, p. 339.
46. Court of Directors to the governor-in-council at P. W. I., April 18, 1805, Second Report, App. No. 68, para 4.

to most English ears and it is wanting from most of our biographical dictionaries".[47] Indeed, the classic Dictionary of National Biography contains no reference to Francis Light apart from a passing reference in the review of the career of his more illustrious brother William Light, colonel, and surveyor-general, South Australia. The student of history feels puzzled at this want of appreciation of "a free-trading, interloping captain," who deserves to be ranked with the highest type of British statesman and practical administrator.

COMPARISON OF HAIDER ALI AND TIPU SULTAN WITH THE URARTUS.

BY

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A certain research student concluded his thesis on the Fall of Tipu Sultan with the following paragraph :—

"Tipu Sultan was a man of indomitable ambition but no statesman. He had no foresight, always under-rated the strength of his enemies and over-estimated his own power. It was truly said of him that 'Hyder was born to create an empire and Tipu Sultan to lose one'. The Muhammadan Kingdom of Mysore thus appeared and disappeared like a shooting star, reminding us of the history of Urartu in the Tigris-Euphrates valley in the ninth century before Christ."

I should like to examine only the statement of comparison in the last sentence of this quotation.

First of all let me give a summary of the history of Urartu kingdom. The Van dynasty which raised Urartu to the status of a kingdom or an empire consisted of five or six rulers, the first three of whom were great conquerors and empire-builders and all others enjoyed power and disappeared. The genius of the dynasty lay in building cities and temples, constructing canals and encouraging metallurgy. Their attachment to religion was almost fanatical. They displayed some political and diplomatic ability, but on the whole their prosperity was due to the adversity of Assyria and helplessness of Armenia. Their rise was due to accident, and their fall was not unexpected. The total length of their rule was about two hundred and fifty years (840-609 B. C.)

On the face of it Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan differ from the

47. A. Francis Steuert : A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light, p. 3.

Urartus as cheese differs from chalk. Both of them were men of international reputation and extra-ordinary intelligence. They understood the meaning of modern civilisation and were most fashionable in their lives. The Urartus, on the other hand, were men of the mountains and lived in the dawn of human civilisation. A glance at the geographical conditions of the Taurus mountains region where Urartu (Ararat) lies will show why cities, temples and canals were constructed by the rulers of that area, and it is not possible to compare the motives of these rulers with those of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the administration of Mysore. Vainglory was the whole and sole aim of the Urartus while it was only a small part of that of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.

The Urartus had more than 200 years of history, but Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were conspicuous only for forty years. It would be wrong to describe the former while it would be more nearly correct to call the Mysoreans as a shooting star (although it would be yet clearly a misapplication of the word.)

Further the Urartus were the rulers of their own dominions. Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were, however, not kings. They were only chief ministers of the Hindu Kingdom of Mysore which was established in 1399 and is still in existence. To describe the kingdom of the Wodeyars as a Muhammadan Kingdom simply because Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan excersied conspicuous power and even enjoyed supremacy in the administration is not only not constitutionally correct but also historically untrue.

There is one respect in which Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan resemble the ancient Urartus. They embarked on military conquests and territorial aggrendisement far beyond the natural frontiers of Mysore and their own resources, entered into treaties with powers without any great principle or sincere (mutual) feelings of attachment or mutual regard and built a power which was more like a castle in the air than a house in which they could live. In both cases, nothing succeeded like success and nothing failed like failure. If any one should like to institute a proper and really good comparison between Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and the Urartus it is better to say that they were more like South-West Monsoons than like shooting stars.

A FORGOTTEN AGITATION AGAINST THE AMALGAMATION OF OUDH WITH THE N. W. PROVINCE.

BY.

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In the course of my examination of the old district records of Lucknow, I came across a file containing some interesting particulars regarding an organised agitation started in Lucknow in 1877 by some influential people of Oudh against the scheme of amalgamation of Oudh with the Agra province. This episode, now forgotten, appears to have been of considerable public interest at that time, for it compelled the authorities to make detailed enquiries all over the province of Oudh with a view to judge how far the oppositionists truly represented the popular opinion.

From the records it appears that the move against the scheme of amalgamation first started from the Anjuman-i-Islam of Lucknow, and then got the support and patronage of Raja Muhammad Amir Hasan, the vice-president of the British Indian Association and a prominent Taluqdar of Oudh. The interested parties headed by the aforesaid Raja submitted a long memorial to the Government objecting to the scheme on the plea that the incorporation of Oudh with the Agra province would entail "serious loss to the people of Oudh". The memorial was signed by as many as 27,750 people who professed to represent the interests of "the Taluqdars, zamindars, noblemen, merchants and householders inhabiting the province of Oudh".

Under orders from the government (No. 208A-1877, dated 29th May, 1877), the Commissioner of Lucknow got every signature carefully verified and the profession of each signatory ascertained so as to find out whether the memorial was a genuine emanation on the part of the persons in whose names it was set forth, or merely the production of Raja Muhammad Amir Hasan!

The results of the enquiry did not prove favourable to the oppositionists and their memorial was in consequence rejected. The following facts emerge from a study of the records :—

1. "The vast majority of the names were those of persons in the city of Lucknow and not of the province generally", and they were mainly "owners of property" or "businessmen", who feared "that their interests might suffer from Lucknow ceasing to be a provincial capital and the seat of government".

2. The memorial lacked the backing of the majority of the Taluqdars and zamindars of Oudh, for among the signatories there were only three Taluqdars and eighty-three zamindars.

3. A fair number of signatories were "persons of inferior classes", many of whom later declared that they had signed they did not know what !

4. The two organised bodies that lent their support to the memorial—the RIFAH-I-AM, and the ANJUMAN-I-ISLAM were found "to have sprung into existence some few months ago" with members drawn from amongst the inhabitants of Lucknow alone.

The oppsition at Lucknow appears to have evaporated after an official pronouncement made by the Viceroy during his visit to Lucknow on 4th April, 1877, that the amalgamation had been decided upon for administrative convenience alone.

HOLT MACKENZIE'S MEMORANDUM.

BY

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When a comprehensive history of the administration of the North Western Provinces, under the East India Company comes to be written, the remarkable document—Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum—will acquire for itself a deserved recognition, which it has failed to receive at the hands of the historians. This document was one of the greatest land-marks, veritably a turning-point, in the history of the Provinces. It heralded a change in the Government from a period of misery and slothful inactivity to a period of purposeful legislation, which aimed at redressing the grievances of the people. In fact, it formed the basis of the future policy of the Government. Baden Powell spoke of it in such glowing terms, "This remarkable state paper, it is hardly too much to say, not only laid the foundation of the modern settlement system which now prevails in Upper India and the Central Provinces, but is the starting point of our knowledge of North-Indian tenures".[1] This report is available in its printed form in the Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1818-1820).

The occasion was the realisation on the part of the Government of the necessity of investigating into the exact state of agriculture, its resources, and the various tenures attached to it. In a proclamation, which was later embodied in the Regulation XXVI of 1803, issued[2] on 14th July 1802, the Government held out a promise that a permanent settlement will be granted to

1. The Land Systems of British India by B. H. Baden Powell, Vol. II.
2. The Regulations of the Government of Fort Williams in Bengal.

land-holders in the year 1812 for such lands as may be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation, on such terms as Government may deem proper and equitable. The Regulation X of 1807 reiterated the promise with the proviso that approval and sanction was necessary of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. The promise, however, was rescinded and by the Regulation IX of 1812, as the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had withheld their sanction and approval to such a measure. Meanwhile, the Hon'ble the Court of Directors raised doubts whether the exact state and extent of agriculture in the Provinces was known to warrant the granting of a permanent settlement; and that the Government might not be permanently deprived of its just share of produce in the land. Hence, an investigation was ordered to be carried out in regard to the existing condition of the land, and the various tenures attached to it.

No better choice could have been made than Holt Mackenzie's to collect the requisite information, and to opine on it, as is evident from the brilliant document that he produced. He was an officer of singular ability, honesty, and insight. He occupied a position of high trust and responsibility—secretaryship of the Central Government. He, thus, had free access to all the available Government correspondence. He suffered from the obvious limitation of not being able to conduct the investigations personally. For his judgments and conclusions he had to depend exclusively on the reports of the Commissioners and the Collectors of the various districts. And the extent of his difficulties may be realised by the fact that the latter usually suffered from ignorance and prejudices of their own; nor did they possess adequate resources, which might have enabled them to submit correct and comprehensive reports. Therefore, Holt Mackenzie should be given all the credit that is his due for arriving at conclusions, and laying down suggestions, which formed the basic principles of the future policy and attitude of the Government.

That there was an imperative need of the adoption of such a measure may be easily proved. Vesting of the zamindars and talookdars with proprietory rights in the land to the exclusion of all other tenures, ignorance of the various tenures prevalent in the country, exorbitant and increasing demands of revenue on the land-holder, abuse of the Sales Law, rescinding of the promise of a permanent settlement, iniquitious assessment of revenue, corrupt and inefficient administrative system, unsatisfactory survey, and all such factors combined, resulted in one of the worst landed upheavals known to the Provinces. Discontent, unrest and confusion prevailed allover. Forsome time the Government was not

*Government Revenue Records in the N. W. Provinces 1818-20.

even aware of the extent of havoc that was being wrought. A reorientation in the policy and attitude of the Government was imperative. For this it was also necessary for the Government to acquaint itself fully, as a preliminary step, with the conditions prevailing in the country. Hence the report. One only regrets that such a step was not undertaken at the very inception of the Government, which might have obviated most of these mistakes. Therefore, considering the limitations with which he suffered, the arrangement of data and details given is remarkable in its clarity, lucidity, scope and straight-forwardness. He allows the facts to speak for themselves; and his conclusions are statesman-like and convincing. What greater tribute can be paid to his honesty and insight than that his Memorandum formed the basis of future administration; and even today it is indispensable to the scholar for the study of the early history of the ceded and conquered Provinces?

The Memorandum opens with the details of the first three revenue-settlements—the two triennial and the third quarternial arrangement; and proceeds to describe how the Hon'ble the Court of Directors withheld their sanction and approval of granting a permanent settlement, giving out the plea that neither the agricultural resources of the country, nor the rights attached to the various tenures, were fully known or clearly established to warrant the promulgation of such a measure. Then, it gives particulars of conditions prevailing in each district of the Provinces, based mainly on the observations of the late Commissioners, and the Board of Commissioners, detailing the amount of revenue levied, the outstanding balances, the method of assessment, the extent of cultivated, uncultivated and uncultivable land, and of general conditions prevailing. It is full of revealing facts which are set forth frankly and fearlessly. It says* in regard to the district of Cawnpore, "Much too great an anxiety was manifested in this, and other instances from the country, suddenly to draw the utmost revenue which it would be supposed to yield. Large deductions became necessary as a consequence; but even after these concessions were made the assessments in particular mahants was far from moderate." In regard to the district of Allahabad, it points * out, ..." If information obtained through private channels can be relied upon, the first settlement was in a large measure fictitious. The lands were never regularly assessed. The district was let out in farm to three or four individuals, and all the errors and irregularities of the first settlement were extended to the second ....." Next, it discusses the various important problems confronting the Government—the advisability of granting a permanent settlement, modes of assessment and survey, the landed tenures,

* The Memorandum Revenue Records of the North West Provinces 1818-20.

the rights attaching to the village communities, the sales of lands' short-term settlements and so on ; of which the most momentous and pressing problem was the first one. On the strength of the facts and figures embodied therein, he arrives at his own conclusions and suggestions.

We may summarise some of Holt Mackenzie's outstanding conclusions and suggestions.

(1) He held—fully supported with evidence, that the revenue levied was excessive and uneven; and advocated moderate and uniform assessment.

(2) He pointed out the inadequacy of survey and demarcation of boundaries between estates ; and suggested the use of field maps and a standardised system of measurement.

(3) In regard to the most outstanding question of permanent settlement, he was frankly critical of the attitude of the Government. He maintained that, firstly, the Government was bound by its promise to land-holders to grant them a permanent settlement. He observed "The letter of 28th August 1804 seems to convey as distinct an acquiescence as possible in the scheme of a permanent settlement, as promised by the proclamation—the expression can, with scarcely any frankness be interpreted to mean as conveying an adequate restriction of their concurrence in the pledge to cases in which such information be before them."

Secondly, that the withholding of the promise, and short-term settlements created sufficient commotion which hindered the Government from deciding as to which were the lands fit enough to be granted a permanent settlement.

Thirdly, that the Government did not at all possess adequate data to justify the immediate fulfilment of their promise.

Fourthly, that the measure be deferred, and a long term settlement be instituted instead.

Fifthly, that as a pre-requisite to the final fulfilment of the promise,

(*a*) He observed, "I cannot but be strongly impressed with the vast importance of fixing the extent and limit of every village for which a settlement is concluded ; and of preserving either in the form of a survey plan or otherwise, such a record of them as may enable the officers of the Government, hereafter, to lay their hands on the land that constituted the estate to which the engagement of the Government and the malgoozars refer." He reasoned, "Without some such measure, we must, as in Bengal, be content to conclude a loose bargain without knowing the subject matter of the contract, and may rather be said to tax the individual than the land."

(*b*) He advocated the maintenance of an accurate rukba of the lands.

(*c*) He suggested "Having determined the extent of cultivated lands.....accura tely.....it will remain to notice all the circumstances which must necessarily lead to a different rate of assessment on different descriptions of lands, or lands of the same description with different productive powers, or variously situated, or lands corresponding in all other respects but held by different discription of occupants."

(*d*) He finally concluded, "It is only, I am persuaded to believe, that by proceeding pergunnah by pergunnah, and village by village that a real insight into the circumstances of the country can be obtained, the just dues of the Government secured, and the general system of administration be fitted to the frame of society."

(4) Hitherto the knowledge of the Government in regard to land-tenures was scanty and incorrect. Holt Mackenzie's observations must have served as a ray of light to dispel their prejudices. He voiced his opinion in favour of an investigation into, and preservation of, the rights of the village community. He observed,* "I cannot help thinking that the benefits which will flow from ascertaining and recording the rights of the village community are far more important". His analysis of the causes of the deterioration of the village community was four-fold. Firstly, he pointed out the incorrectness of the attitude of the Government of vesting in the Zamindar full proprietorship of the land, which, in fact, did not belong to him. and which had to be shared by other members of the community. He commented,* "Talookdars, zamindars, istemerardars, or for any other denomination, care must be taken to mark the real nature and extent of the interests possessed by them. Otherwise the acknowledgment of a prescriptive right of management would be taken as the declaration of sole and unrestricted proprietorship—It appears to me, therefore, of unspeakable importance to unite, with the revision of the existing settlement the most minute enquiry into the circumstances of the various classes of the agricultural community." Secondly, he observed, "In almost all the reports of the collectors, the words possession and property are used without a definition of the nature of possession and property". Thus, for instance, he corrected a grave ommission when he pointed out, "Talookdar appe ars seldom to have pretended to be more than a mere collector of revenue of

*The Memorandum Revenue Records of the North-West Provinces 1818-20.

the Government, claiming, indeed, sometimes a hereditary interest in the advantage of the office but urging no pretentions to a proprietorship in the soil". Thirdly, he drew the attention of the Government towards the evil effects of the defective regulations—for example the Regulation XXVI of 1803. Lastly, he pointed out the baneful influence exercised by the subordinate officers. He said*, "There seems reason to believe that Canoongoes and other local officers in some instances designedly misled the officers of the Government in regard to the nature of interests possessed by individuals in the various villages with a view to bringing forward the zemindary claims on behalf of themselves and their relations."

(5) He focussed the attention of the Government on the abuse of the sales law which had paralysed the administration. Detailing at length how the sales of lands were illegally brought about, he described, "Its (sale's) immediate effect has been to disjoint the whole frame of the village societies, to deprive the multitude of rights and property which their families had held for ages, and to reduce a high spirited class of men from the pride of independence to the situation of labourers on their paternal fields."

Thus, the Memorandum of Holt Mackenzie eminently fulfilled the task assigned to it. It correctly and graphically revealed the existing state of affairs in the Provinces. It was upto the authorities now to profit by the report, and remedy their past errors. That it did succeed in awakening the Government to its sense of responsibilities is evidenced by the legislation which followed. Thereafter the soundness of his suggestion is proved by their incorporation in the subsequent policy of the Government. The Regulation I of 1821 attempted to redress the ill-effect of the sales law. The resolution of the Government of India of August 1822 echoed the suggestion of Holt Mackenzie, when it laid † down "They (the Honourable the Court of Directors) have expressed their full approbation of the plan of proceeding leisurely village by village, for the purpose of uniting with the revision of the Government assessment, the careful ascertainment and record of rights and interests of all classes owning and occupying the land." In fact, the great Regulation VII of 1822, which has been hailed as the Magna Charta ‡ of the village communities by Charles Raikes, breathes the very spirit of Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum. Thus, this remarkable document proved to be the most outstanding land-mark in the early history of the North Western Provinces.

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*The Memorandum Revenue Records of the North-West Provinces 1818-20.

†Government Revenue Records in the N. W. Provinces 1822-32.

‡The Economic History of India under early British Rule by Romesh Dutta.

THE ELEVENTH SIKH INVASION OF THE UPPER DOAB

BY

DR. G. N. SALETORE, M. A., PH. D., ABU

This invasion occurred in 1783. In the battle of Ghausgarh, the Sikhs were allied with Zabita Khan. They were defeated, but Zabita Khan was subsequently restored to the government of Saharanpur. The Sikhs considered this as his defection, and made reprisals by raiding his country annually during mid-March to June, when the Jumna was in low tide at several points between Hardwar and Farukhabad.[1] In April, 1782, however, Zabita Khan concluded an alliance with the Sikhs, armed himself at Ghausgarh and opened secret negotiations with Faiz Ullah Khan.[2] He simultaneously encouraged the Sikhs to invade Rohilkhand, a project which they had not yet seriously contemplated. He then renewed his claims to Najibabad, taken from him by the late Vazir and prepared to lead an attack against his successor. He also endeavoured to defeat Khwaja Ain-ud Din. It was the time when the annual accounts were rendered at Lucknow. Ain-ud-Din was about to depart for this purpose, when Zabita Khan proposed that his absence was likely to be advantageous to the Sikhs, who had appeared with hostile intentions on the Vazir's frontiers. At this Ain-ud-Din obtained the Vazir's permission to postpone his tour and instead proceeded to Daranagar. He received at this time certain overtures from Karam Singh. Ain-ud-Din's former colleague named Imam Singh, an apostate from Islam, had inspired the Sikhs with his character. They were 20,000 strong, but required his aid in executing their designs. To this Ain-ud-Din agreed and was invited by Karam Singh for secret deliberations. Other circumstances were favourable to the Sikhs.[5] Up to this time they were kept in awe by Mirza Shafi. But in 1782, when he succeeded Najaf Khan, Mirza Shafi withdrew his army from the Vazir's frontiers in order to safeguard his own position at Delhi. The Sikhs had amassed in sufficient numbers to threaten the tranquility of Rohilkhand. But the subsequnet events in the Mughal court and the disputes between Mirza Shafi and Muham-

1. Browne, J, *India Tracts* (1788) II : *An history of the origin and progress of the Sicks*, p. 29.
2. India Courier Extraordinary, III 55-N. Middleton to the G. G. in Council : 15 April 1782.
3. *Ibid.* II, 138—J. Morgan to G. Stibbert : Oct. 1782
4. *Ibid*, II 150—J. Bristow to the G. G. in Council : 13 Nov. 1782
5. *Ibid.*

mad Beg Hamdani caused a further depletion of the Mughal troops on the Vazir's frontiers.[6] In 1783 there swept over the Punjab the *Chalia* famine, which raged with fury and annihilated the harvest. Wasted by hunger, the Sikhs left their homes, swarmed over Saharanpur up the Ganges and even entered Dehradun from Hardwar.[7]

Led by four well-known chiefs, the Sikhs suddenly appeared, on 17th January, at Karamkasghat, Ramghat and Rajghat, where the Jumna was fordable. Upon this Mirza Muhammad Kasim, the Vazir's *Amil* in Rohilkhand, despatched some infantry and cavalry to prevent their crossing. Securing all boats on their side of the river, they kept the enemy at bay till sunset and no casualties occurred on either side. On the next day however the Sikhs tried to ford at Rajghat, four *cos* from Rajpura. Early that morning Muhammad Kasim threw his baggage at Rajpura, in the custody of Mirza Sadr-ud-Din, and marched with an inconsiderable party towards Rajghat, where 20,000 Sikhs were seeking to cross the river. Their attempt was frustrated, though it kept Muhammad Kasim busy till the nightfall. Despite a strenuous day's fight his troops kept overnight vigil on the enemy. On the following morning the enemy moved off towards Khurjah and Shukapur. The Gosains =though in good numbers, offered but little resistance to the invaders. They speedily took cover in their forts, leaving their master's Jayadads to the mercies of the invaders, who completely ravaged them. Encouraged by this success, the invaders formed designs of conquering Rohilkhand. On hearing this the inhabitants of Sambhal, Chandausi and Moradabad, were frightened and departed to other places of safety. Before the Sikhs committed any depradations there, Muhammad Kasim reached with 2 or 3 guns and dispersed them.[8] The Sikhs then emerged at Garhmuktesvar and Anupshahr.

They laid waste the country about Anupshahr on 23 January and were inclined to cross the Ganges. Had this been accomplished, their presence in Ghetul must have meanced the collections. The petrified local people magnified their numbers and attributed motives which they had not.[10] Pahasu, in Anup-

6. *Secret Proceedings* (I. R. D.) 23 Jun. 1783, pp. 2641—4 ; I. C. E., III, 67—Bristow to Morgan : 5 Mar. 1783 ; *ibid* 61-9-Bristow to Cummings : 5 Mar. 1783 cf. also *Ibid*, II, 241-Morgan to Bristow : 22 Jan. 1783.

7. Franklin, *History of Shah Alam*, p. 95 ; Williams, G. R. C., *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab, Calcutta Review*, July, 1875, pp. 39-40 ; *Ibid, Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon* (1874), pp. 98-9 ; Griffin, L. H. *The Rajas of the Punjab* (1873) p. 54.

8. *Secret Proceedings*, (I. R. D.), 23 Jun. 1783, pp. 2619-2622 ; I. C. E. III, 64-5-Letter from Mhd. Kasim Khan ; 20 Jan. 1783.

9. *Ibid*, II, 241-Cummings to the Vazir : 23 Jan. 1783.

10. *Ibid*, II, 241-Cummings to Bristow : 23 Jan. 1783.

shahr, within four *cos* of Delhi, they plundered on 24 January, and attacked the Jaydad of Himmat Bahadur, compelling him to retreat. At this time the Sikhs were about 15,000 strong.[11] The impression gained ground that they intended attacking the Vazir's dominions and Rohilkhand as well.[12]

Measures for the protection of the Vazir's frontiers were devised, and several possibilities of a military station examined, since November 1782.[13] Col. Sir John Cummings was stationed at Fatehgarh with a detachment, especially intended for the protection of the Vazir's dominions. The regiment under Major Nicols was at Farukhabad. The situation of Sir John Cummings beyond Karrah and Oudh however prevented his receiving orders in time from Col. James Morgan at Cawnpur. To obviate this the latter directed Sir John Cummings to act upon the Vazir's orders issued through Mr. Bristow. As the Governor-General in Council had advised Col. Morgan against detaching any part of his force except in emergency, the latter proposed that when Sir John Cummings was required to proceed against the Sikhs, the regiment at Farukhabad was to occupy Fatehgarh. As regars the Vazir's preparations to meet the Sikh danger, his cavalry was kept in readiness to act with the detachments. Almas Ali Khan's forces, if disposed off judiciously were expected to be of considerable use. The detachments under Khwaja Ain-un-Din were occupying Nangal, Daranagar, and Thay, while some were in the south of Daranagar. Muhammad Kasim, whose initial efforts had prevented the Sikh incursions in Rohilkhand expected a fresh attempt by them, in about April, with a numerous army. Troops had been posted by the Amils of Rohilkhand at many fordable parts, though it was impracticable to guard the whole extensive frontier. The force in Rohilkhand was 1,740 cavalry and 6,492 infantry-quite insufficient if the Sikhs swooped down and retreated before the arrival of the Vazir's troops. The Vazir was also apprized of the British policy of not detaching any troops except when expedient. Due to this no outpost was established in Rohilkhand, though it was felt necessary to overawe Almas Ali Khan.[14] In fact Cumming's detach-

11. I. C. E., 211-Bristow to the G. G. in Council : 24 Jan. 1783.
12. *Ibid*, II, 221-Cummings to the G. G. in Council : 27 Jan. 1783.
13. *Ibid*. II, 220-Bristow to Cummings: 12 Nov. 1783. Khanpur, Farukhabad and Ramghat or its neighbourhood were considered for this purpose. The first one, while controlling an area of 50 *cos* on all sides, left the frontiers exposed towards the north-west for 300 miles. Farukhabad likewise exposed a stretch of 200 miles, and the entire Rohilkhand, to enemy attacks—Ramghat or its neighbourhood appeared convenient—first it rendered free movement of troops to reach the frontiers within 5 or 6 days ; secondly, its-way situation between Delhi and Faiz-Ullah Khan's country prevented his co-operation with the trans Jumna powers ; and thirdly, it provided the Amils in Rohilkhand with the means to raise collections in times of need.
14. I. C. E, II, 241-Bristow to the G. G. in Council : 24 Jan. 1783.

ment was deemed sufficient to protect the Vazir's dominions.[15] At this stage Zabita Khan and the Sikhs prevailed upon Faiz Ullah Khan to reject certain proposals of the Vazir, promising him help in case of a rupture. Major Palme had not confirmed these details, although it was expected that Faiz Ullah Khan was likely to prevent any news from reaching him at Rampura. To counteract this alliance Cummings suggested that 4 Regiments of Sepoys and the company of artillery were to take the field immediately, and Major Grant with 8 Regiments was detailed to cover the officer's baggage, magazines etc. The troops were bound for Anupshahr, a measure which was expected to compel the Sikhs from crossing the Ganges and disperse to their homes. This army was scheduled to be in the field till April.[16] On 23 January Cummings informed the Vazir that he was ready, if required, to march with his troops to Anupshahr[17]. . .

In February the enemy made an irruption in the direction of Daranagar. They forded on 7 February, near Baluwallughat, on the side of Tujaghat. Tek Chand Rai, the Naib of Daranagar, sent a Chopdar and a Hirkarah to Mir Muhammad Hussain at Baluwallughat with instructions that his battalions, with 2 field pieces were to be kept ready to join him. The Mir was at Raipur, but failed to come when Tek Chand Rai was passing through that place, excusing himself on the plea that his men were fatigued.

By that time the Sikhs crossed and encamped near Sambhalwallughat. They were attacked by Muhammad Amjad Khan's battalions, of whom 2 were killed and 4 wounded. The invaders being strong, they repulsed the Vazir's troops up to Gharri Turja, where the garrison retired behind the fort walls. The Sikhs pursued and captured the outer encampment. Then dismounting, they broke up into 4 divisions and laid seige to the small fort which was defended by 3 companies.

On hearing this news Amjad Khan hurried from Bummaud. He was equipped with an artillery park with which, on reaching

15. *Ibid*, II, 241-Morgan to Bristow : 27 Jan. 1783.
16. *Ibid*, 241-Cummings to the Vazir
17. *Ibid*. II, 241 Cummings to the Vazir : 23 January 1783.

Bristow objected to this procedure, which he characterised as " unadvised and most unwarranted," especially because Cummings had been informed that there was " little reason to be alarmed " about the Sikh movements (*Ibid*. 241. Bristow to the G. G. in Council : 28 January 1783). Cummings explained his action by stating that he had written solely on account of the menacing appearance of the Sikhs in the upper part of the Doab, and their possible attempts on Rohilkhand, and that he would not have proceeded to Anupshahr without obtaining the Vazir's orders. He justified his procedure, by following the instructions of the Board, had he marched even immediately "to guard againt the evil effects of delay in waiting for instructions from Lucknow." (*Ibid*, II, 221-2-Cummings to the G. G. in Council : 1 February 1783).

the encampment, he charged the enemy with grape and musketry. Many were wounded and numerous men and horses killed on the enemy's side. That night the Sikhs encamped on a neighbouring plain. But when Amjad Khan entered the fort, the Sikhs invested it.

Tek Chand Rai had meanwhile started from Narnal, accompanied by cannon and also by Mir Muhammad Shah, Muhammad Hussain Khan, Fazl Beg and the cavalry of Beni Bahadur. Seeing this host, the Sikhs raised the seige and prepared for a fight. They were then attacked and driven across the Ganges, in the course of which they threw their dead in the river and, gaining the other side, pitched their camp at Canuheri, 5 *cos* away. Tek Chand Rai then encamped at Tujaghat, where later Mir Muhammad Hussain and Khwaja Ali Beg joined him[18].

The Sikhs then devastated Surin and Baddhiram, on 25 February, when they clashed with the *Thanadar* of Muhammad Azim-ud-Din, the *Naib* of Kasganj. Thereafter entering the districts of Saklian, Kasganj and Gargari, they destroyed the harvest, took away the cattle, captured 200 inhabitants, including women and children, killing and wounding as many. Azim-ud-Din applied for help on the same day to Raja Saveram of Atya. But the settlement of Sheokoabad being in agitation, for which an English battalion had been requisitioned there, the Raja promised to send assistance as soon as the collections were realised. [16]

On 26 morning some 20,000 best Sikh horse invested Kasganj. Azim-ud-Din engaged them with 2 field pieces, but the enemy charged furiously and drove his infantry up to his fort walls. They were however repelled by nightfall to their camp, about 3 *cos* up the river, with a loss of 5 men and horses. Among the killed was the Sikh Sardar Jaiharan, a brother of Jessa Singh. As a result of these attacks the country was turned into a desert for 40 *cos* around, the collections were in abeyance and no reinforcements or ammunition were available.[20]

The fact that the inconsiderable troops of the *Naib* of Kasganj were able to resist the Sikhs indicated that the enemy was not formidable. Ain-ud-Din had entertained additional troops, on the first appearance of the enemy. But he was immediately ordered to disband them. He however suggested that a regiment be stationed in the ghats which were unguarded, as these troops were also useful in the collections.[21]

The reverse at Kasganj compelled the marauders to march on 27 February from Badereah to Garhsire, 4 *cos* from Kasganj. They laid waste the villages of Surin, Badereah, Badgebatta and

18. I. C. E., III, 61. Tek Chand Rai to Khwaja Ain-ud-Din ; 6 Rabi-ul-Awwal.
19. *Ibid*, III, 68. Azim-ud-Din to Almas . 26 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1197.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid*, III, 66-Bristow to Cummings : 5 Mar. 1783

Gargari destroying the Rabi seed and stopping the collections. They set ablaze and dismantled the houses at Badereah, carried destruction at Fatehpur, the taluka of Selimpur and the neighbouring villages except Madagur, and took 2,000 cows, killing and imprisoning many men.[22] About this time a party of Sikhs 3 to 4,000 strong burnt the village of karowli and the Sejawal of the place appealed to Capt. Hawkins to march to his aid.[23] Then presently, before 1 March, they retired from Aliganj creating some havoc in Almas Ali's district.[24]

The Sikhs marched past Kasganj on 1 March, with the idea of plundering the Etawah district. They were at Mau, 15 *cos* from Kasganj, three days later, with 5,000 horse and 8,000 infantry. They plundered every house there, exacting Rs. 2 in lieu of a bullock for conveying grain which they took, whether new or damaged. With the exception of Secundera and Bareha, that region contained no villages with houses or food. The people were badly shaken and bereft of their habitations. The Rabi crop was destroyed, owing to the lack of men to water the fields[25].

It was at this period that Zabita Khan ceded to the Sikhs the fort of Shukartar with the idea of favouring their designs against the Vazir's frontiers, while relieving his own country from their onslaughts[26]. The fort was indefensible and weak, though to the Sikhs it proved convenient to make attacks upon the opposite country. Zabita Khan probably gave up the fort because he was obliged by the Sikhs, although it was unlikely that he desired them to be established in his territory. Lying 18 *cos* off Daranagar, this fort was but a former Rohilla encampment of no consequence[27].

Quitting the banks of the Ganges near Daranagar on 6 March the Sikhs headed towards Anupshahr, Aligarh, Kasganj and Khurjah. Tek Chand Rai, crossed the river with a strong detachment, attacked them and returned with 3,000 head of cattle from the Gujars[28].

When the Sikhs were moving towards Anupshahr, Khurjah and Kasganj, Afrasiab Khan crossed the Jumna at Agra and proceeded with his army to join the Gosains for ousting the Sikhs from their country. Mirza Shafi also intended to

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22. *Ibid*, III, 72-Azim-ud-Din to Alams Ali : 29 Rabi-ul-Awwal.
23. *Ibid*, III, 66-Cummings to Bristow : 4 Mar. 1783
24. *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid*, III, 69-Azim-ud-Din to Almas Ali : 29 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1197.
26. *Ibid*, III, 67-Bristow to Cummings : 5 Mar. 1783.
27. *Ibid*, III, 68-9-Cummings to Bristow : 7 Mar. 1783 ; Morgan to Bristow : 7 Mar. 1783.
28. *Ibid*, III, *Extracts of intelligence from the News-papers arrived from Delhi : Daranagar : 6 Mar.* 1783.

attack them. His brother Mirza Zain-ul-Abedin proposed to join Zabita Khan at Ghausgarh in a combined operation for ousting the Sikhs from the region opposite Daranagar where they wrought havoc in league with "the Purrachat Gur Man," who was disaffected towards Zain-ul-Abedin. Afrasiab and other chiefs were also anxious to recover their estates from the enemy. In Delhi, Mirza Shafi and Muhammad Beg Khan were reconciled and settled their differences, leaving the former to attend to the situation in the Doab[29].

For combating the Sikh intentions at Shukartar it was recommended that a party from Cummings' detachment should be stationed to watch them and remain there until the river was in floods so as to prevent their crossing[30]. As regards the protection of the Vazir's frontiers the orders of the Governor-General in Council were the following. A force was to be kept in readiness for opposing any sudden attempt of the enemy to disturb the upper provinces and also to help the Vazir in "the internal administration of his own dominion," when it did not clash "with more important views." Three Regiments were recommended for this purpose.[31]

Cummings also proposed the following for the Vazir's consideration : first, that a single Regiment was required near Ramghat on the east of the Ganges, as on the other side a small force was likely to be exposed to the mercies of the Sikhs, if they appeared in large numbers, and the quickness of their movements would make it impossible for him to give timely aid : secondly, 2 Regiments with 4 six pounders were to be sent under Lt. Col. Knudson and stationed a few *cos* above or below Anupshahr on the west of the Ganges, for protecting Rohilkhand. This force could hold on till reinforcements reached them from the other side. If the latter proposal was accepted, and the Sezawal of Farukhabad still required assistance, Cummings proposed to relieve the 11th Regiment with 5 companies. If 2 Regiments were unequal, it was further proposed to be ready with 2 more at a moments notice from Knudson. In this case Cummings wuld be obliged to withdraw 1 battalion from the Sezawal, so that he could leave a Regiment there. He had 5 Regiments, and any one could be spared, if required by the Vazir, the minister and Ain-ud-Din, leaving 4 with him, including the one with the Sezawal, while if 2 were needed, he had still 3—a force equal to prevent any adverse effects from the resentment of Almas Ali. Thirdly, cavalry was preferable to other components of the army, but the best horse was wanted, as the common Hindusthani horse would merely plunder, instead of protecting the country.[32]

29. *Ibid*, III, Morgan to Bristow : 7 Mar. 1783.
30. *Ibid*, III, 68-9-Morgan to Bristow : 7 Mar. 1783.
31. *Ibid*, III, 69-Cummings to Bristow : 9 Mar. 1783
32. *Ibid*.

Almas Ali was favourable to the stationing of a Regiment at Anupshahr, since in protecting Rohilkhand it would protect his country too.[33]

The Sikhs left the vicinity of the Koil (Aligarh) district and moved towards Farukhabad when Afrasiab reached his Jaydad.[34] On 8 March they encamped at Barari, assaulted and burnt Malikaganj, and also Sabjimandi, and killed some men at Mughalpura.[35] That day an army under Jessa Singh, Thossa Singh, Karam Singh (Chamban), Diwan Singh and other chiefs, marched from Shamsheen and plundered 8 towns in the Panipat district. Reaching Barari, on the Jumna, 7 *cos* from Delhi, they made an encampment and hoisted their flags. One party then crossed the river and plundered on its western bank Sarai Ruk Awla Khan and Badrpur. The inhabitants of these places fled to Delhi in confusion.

The city of Delhi was now imperilled. The Nawal-Majd-ud-Dowla took out 12 pieces of ordnance from the Royal artillery yard, disposed them off in the main avenues of the city, and threw up entrenchments at different places, with guards posted in them. Karam Singh despatched a pair of *Hirkaras* to the Nawab demanding the *Rakhi* for the city. Orders were issued by the Nawab to Mirza Shafi and Afrasiab Khan to march immediately to Delhi. The Sikhs then proceeded to Najafgarh, 10 *cos* from Delhi [36].

The Sikh peril had taken a serious turn, threatening the total destruction of Delhi and everything between their occupied areas and the Vazir's territory. The Mughal emperor had time and again ordered Amir-ul-Omra in vain to proceed from Agra to Delhi. Financial embarrassments, his distrust of Muhammad Beg Khan and Najaf Khan, and the failure of his Jat expedition, in which his troops under Dawood Beg Khan were routed and one of his English generals Sowan killed, all of these prevented Amir-ul-Omra in acting immediately.

By supporting the Emperor and his ministers, the British and the Vazir would have kept the Sikhs to their natural frontiers. If, in view of the small cost involved, they rendered no help, then it was certain that a permanent establishment of the Sikhs on the Vazir's frontiers would ensue, compelling the British

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33. *Ibid*, the Sikh tactics were to come rapidly and attack any part of the country which was undefended or contained infantry only. Hence a good cavalry was needed for the use of Cummings.

34. *Ibid*, III News Letter : 8 Mar. 1783.

35. *Delhi Chronicle* (By Courtesy : Sir Jadunath Sarkar). See also Sarkar, J. N.—*Delhi during the Anarchy 1749-1788, as told in contemporary records*, I. H. R. C., progs. III, p. 8. The date is however given here as 1782.

36. *Ibid*, III,.....: 8 Mar, 1783.

to wage a defensive war or conclude an alliance with the Sikhs. Major Brown therefore exhorted Bristow to move the British and the Vazir's troops to the frontiers of Anupshahr and Daranagar, a move which committed the British to nothing, while it was expected to protect the Vazir's dominions and encourage the chiefs of Delhi to exert themselves. He further urged that once the "character and united authority of Najaf Khan formed a barrier between the Sikhs and the Vazir's country." But it being removed, a substitute for it was required before it was too late[37]. On 13 March the news reached Zain-ul-Abedin that the Sikhs had arrived, upon which he crossed the Jumna from Baghpat and encamped on the furtherside of Mahadar Khan's garden to contact them. But the enemy retreated, without fighting, to Panipat[38].

At last a force was sent under Col. Knudson to Anupshahr for stemming the tide of the Sikh invasion beyond Kasganj and Saharanpur in the direction of Daranagar. Anupshahr was reached on 31 March. On the way Col. Knudson noticed the havoc perpetrated by the Sikhs as they passed. The people were under the apprehension of a second attack. But this fear was caused by the rumours of self-interested Zamindars. When their fears were allayed, the inhabitants returned from the forts, where they had gone for safety, and resumed work.[39]

On 31 March the Sikhs again assembled near Delhi in large numbers ; Afrasiab Khan was encamped near Dampur, 4 *cos* from Delhi, with 3 battalions of sepoys, 1,500 horse and a park of artillery.

C. Knudson noticed the grain scarcity when passing Ramghat on his way to Delhi. His daily supplies were obtained with great difficulty, in small quantities and at incredibly high prices. This scarcity was due not so much to the poor crops of the year or to the damage done to them by the Sikhs, "as to the large exportation of grain from these parts to the Westward of the Jumna." Agents from Delhi were "employed all over the Doaub and Rohilcund to purchase grain for the exigency of that city and vicinity."[41] Even in April Mr. Bristow speaks of "the alarming consequences likely to arise from the drought on the frontiers of the Vazier's dominions."[42]

The vicinity of Knudson's detachment near Delhi created some uneasiness there, as the emperor already

37. *Delhi Chronicle* (By Courtesy : Sir Jadunath Sarkar).
38. *Ibid.* III, 78-Knudson to Bristow : 31 Mar. 1783.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid*, III, 78-Kundson to Bristow : 8 Apr. 1783
42. *Ibid*, 77-Bristow to the Hon. W. Hastings : 14 Apr. 1783

distracted by his court intrigues, feared that the force had been summoned rather for supporting the political measures of Government than as a defence against the Sikhs.[43] Major Browne however assured the Mughal court of their proper object.[44] The conduct of Afrasiab was perplexing. He had moved westward and encamped near Khurjah, 12 *cos* from Knudson's camp. The Sikhs made a fresh advance in the east.[45] In this month William Hodges observed that as his intentions of visiting Delhi were frustrated "by the movements of the army under Mirza Shafi, it appeared improbable to reach the capital" under the sanction of Major Brown's embassy" and "The country being over-run by hostile armies, as well as by marauding parties from each, and invaded by the Seiks from the province of Lahore" he went towards Gwalior.[46] On his way near Shekoabad he found that cultivation had been given up, several villages were in ruins and "the whole presented almost one uninterrupted scene of desolation." Some people migrated to the provinces, to ward off starvation, begging their way.[47]

The Sikhs intended passing into Rohilkhand if it was not well-guarded. Afrasiab Khan was following the movements of Knudson's detachment from Ramghat to Jahangirabad, keeping at a distance of 4 to 5 *cos*. He announced that he was "devoted to the King's interest," and proposed to support him in" "effecting a change in the Government". He, however, simultaneously recruited volunteers and carried on "a close correspondence" with Nawab Nazib-ud-Dowla, thereby indicating the side to which he was inclined. It was rumoured that his detachment would move to the capital. Afrasiab Khan had taken up a position on the road to Delhi in order to watch Knudson's advance[48]. At Daranagar Ain-ud-Din had assembled an army of 1,070 cavalry, 4 battalions of sepoys consisting of 2,087 infantry, besides other troops acting with him. When leaving Lucknow he appeared confident of being able to defend his district against the Sikhs[49]. The force at Daranagar was sufficient to meet the danger and hence the Minister's plea that more reinforcements were needed appeared immaterial as Cummings' detachment was most needed in the countries held by Muhammad Kasim[50]. The Vazir accepted these proposals and agreed that Cummings' detachment should march without delay, it being required till the bursting of the monsoon[51].

43. *Ibid* 78-Knudson to Bristow : 8 Mar. 1783
44. *Munshat-i-Husaini*, I. H. R. C. Progs, XXI, pp. 53-4
45. Same as 38 above.
46. Hodges, W, *Travels in India*, p. 134
47. *Ibid*, p. 111.
48. I. C. E. III, 83-Knudson to Bristow : 12 April 1783
49. *Ibid*, III, 84-Knudson to Bristow : 17 April 1783.
50. *Ibid*, III, 72-3-Bristow to Cummings : 14 March 1783.
51. *Ibid*.

In April, Mirza Muhammad Shafi, Afrasiab Khan and the sister of Najaf Khan having inquired about the cause of the presence of Knudson's detachment, and the impending arrival of another English battalion at Jahangirabad, the Resident at Lucknow stated that the main object of the movements of these troops was to safeguard the Vazir's dominions against the Sikh onslaughts[52]. Afrasiab Khan also informed Mr. Bristow that he was convinced about the best intentions of the British, and that his suspicions about the movements were nothing but casual. He further stated that Knudson had not confirmed about the contemplated Sikh invasion of that part of the country[53]. Mr. Bristow also reminded Ain-ud-Din about the necessity of keeping Knudson well-informed of the situation[54].

An allegation was made against Mr. Bristow that, on the advise of Mirza Ismail Khan and others he desired to remove the Vazir's Amils, and dismiss Almas Ali and certain other old Officers. Haider Beg Khan therefore requested for orders whether it was desirable to vest these appointments in the Vazir or with the Resident at Lucknow[55].

A fresh irruption of the Sikhs occurred in the second premiership of Afrasiab, when British detachments were sent from Allahabad and Cawnpur. On this occasion Major Browne allayed the fears of the Sikh Sardars Saheb Singh and Karam Singh, and endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Afrasiab and Zain-ul-Abedin, persuading the latter from sympathising with the Sikhs[56].

In May it was reported that these Sikh incursions caused "a grain scarcity in and around Shahjahanabad." Thereupon Major Browne, at the instance of the Mughal emperor, wrote to the Vazir to transport grain form the east[57].

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52. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* VI, p. 283 : 18 April. 1783; *Munshaat-i-Hussaini* I. H R C., Progs. XXI, p. 53.
53. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, VI, pp. 288-9 : 18 April. 1783.
54. *Ibid*, p. 289 : 18 April. 1783.
55. *Ibid*, VI p. 289 : 18 April 1783.
56. *Ibid*, VII, p. 315.
57. *Munshaat-i-Hussaini, op. cit*, p. 54.

THE FORGOTTEN ACT XI OF 1836

BY

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The administration of Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe marks the beginning of a new era. Free from the dangers of war and the responsibility for costly campaigning; they were in a position to liberalise the tone of the system which since the time of Cornwallis had been in a state of virtual disorganisation. Bentinck initiated new policies in the spheres of finance, justice and education and this new spirit permeated the administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Auckland. The latter's work in the sphere of administration of justice is particularly noteworthy, although it has so far failed to attract the attention it deserves. The Act XI of 1836 which was passed during the regime of Lord Auckland and is now forgotten, formed in those days an extremely important measure indicative of vital change in the spirit of administration, and as such, is of particular interest to a student of Modern Indian History.

Uptil the time of Bentinck the Europeans, who were considered to be a privileged class, enjoyed a special right of appeal to the Supreme Court at Calcutta, notwithstanding the jurisdiction of the Company's 'Adalats' or Courts. It was this special privilege of the Europeans which was abolished in 1836 by an act of the Governor General in Council known as the Act No. XI of 1836. The act was passed on 9th May, 1836, and came into force with effect from the 1st June of the same year.

The act consists of two sections. The first section repeals "the 107th clause of an act of Parliament passed in the 53rd year of King George the 3rd," by virtue of which certain exclusive privileges granted to the East India Company for "establishing further Regulations for Government" of British Territories in India and "the better administration of Justice within the same (Territories), and for regulating the trade to and from the places within the limits of the said Company's Charter," were withdrawn.

The second clause of the act enumerates the courts from whose jurisdiction, no person, by reason of place or birth or descent was to be exempted. It is laid down, "And, it is hereby enacted, that from the said day and within the said Territories, no person whatever shall, by reason of place or birth or by reason of descent be, in any civil proceedings whatever excepted from the jurisdiction of any of the Courts hereinafter mentioned: that is to say :—

"The Court of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut of the Zillah and City Judges of the Principal Ameens—and of the Sudder Ameens, in the Territories, subject to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

The Court of the Sudder Adawlut—the Provincial Courts—the Courts of Zillah Judges—of the Assistant Judges—of the Registrars and of the Native Judges in the Territories, subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George. (Sudder Ameens and District Moonsifs were added by Act 3 of 1850.)

The Courts of Sudder Adawlut—of the Zillah Judges—of the Native Judges—and of the Principal and Junior Native Commissioners in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay".

By Acts 24 of 1836, 3 of 1839, and 6 of 1843, similar provisions were made in respect of the jurisdictions of Assistant Judges, Revenue Courts and that of the Courts of the Moonsifs.

The Act is significant, as it marks the beginning of a new trend in the administration of justice in British India. It lays down, officially for the first time, the principle of equality before the laws, which was hitherto tacitly understood, but not officially observed or enforced. As a matter of fact, it is the first step in the process which finally culminated in the famous Ilbert Bill of 1883. It is, therefore, rather strange that historians have skipped over this important enactment—one which laid down the fundamental basis on which justice was to be equitably administered in future.

The circumstances which justified and called for the aforesaid enactment may be summed up as follows. Firstly, the system hitherto in force under which the Supreme Court exercised jurisdiction over the Europeans wherever they happened to reside was thoroughly unsatisfactory, for the authority of the Company's Courts was thereby considerably impaired. If an Indian outside Calcutta filed a suit against a European, the latter was free to exercise the right of having the suit transferred to the Supreme Court. This gave Europeans an unfair advantage over the Indian subjects of the Company, and particularly over those who lived in the interior of the Province. Secondly, after the withdrawal of the previous restrictions against the immigration of Europeans by the Charter Act of 1833, the danger of the ill-treatment of Indians by European settlers became all the more serious. Thirdly, it was undeniable that there could not be good government in India, until one uniform system of law was made applicable to all the subjects. Lastly, the Charter Act of 1833 embodied a new spirit and necessitated a new outlook in the administration by the emphasis it laid on the necessity for a fair administration of justice.

The despatch from the Board of Directors, dated 10th

November 1834, laid down the following principles of a new policy :—

(1) The Indians were to be offered all possible protection from acts of outrage or insolence on the part of the Europeans.

(2) It was necessary to place the Europeans under some check, for, in India, they were likely to abuse their power and superiority of position and race.

(3) The existing administration of justice in the interior of the Country needed reform, for it was not "adequate to ensure to the injured native the means of due and prompt redress."

(4) "..... all British-born subjects throughout India should forthwith be subjected to the same tribunals with the natives."

(5) " There can be no equality of protection where justice is not equally and on equal terms accessible to all."

(6) " Justice is to be distributed to men of every race, creed, and colour, according to its essence, and with as little diversity of circumstance as possible."

It was in compliance with the ideas mentioned above, and in harmony with the spirit of the Charter Act of 1833, that the Act XI of 1836 was passed to abolish one of the special privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Europeans.

The Act which won the approbation of all Provincial Governments gave rise to serious opposition from the Europeans of Calcutta, and created a state of affairs that has a faint resemblance to the agitation following the introduction of the famous Ilbert Bill, The enactment was violently criticised by European settlers who submitted a petition against it. "The firmness with which the Government withstood the idle outcry of two or three hundred people about a matter with which they had nothing to do," wrote Macaulay in his Minute, " was designated as insolent defiance of public opinion. We were the enemies of freedom because we would not suffer a small white aristocracy to domineer over millions." Macaulay concludes, his minute thus, " We have now in defiance of misrepresentation abuse, and calumny passed a law, which is considered by ourselves, by the late Governor General, by the Governor in Council of Madras, by the Governor in Council of Bombay, by all, or almost all the civil servants of the Company, as a law beneficial to the great body of the people." It is indeed interesting to note that the selfish opposition of the Europeans of Calcutta proved to be of no avail and the Act XI of 1836 survived their persistent clamour.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT UNDER CARTIER WITH THE POWERS OF HINDUSTHAN.

(December, 1769—June, 1771).

BY

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Whatever might have been the permanent effect of the Third Battle of Panipat upon the Maratha power, there is no denying the fact that the immediate result of the battle was a temporary eclipse of that power in the north.

Before the end of 1769 Peshwa Madhav Rao succeeded in restoring order among the Maratha leaders and asserting his mastery over the Poona Government. It became, therefore, possible for him to devote his energy to the reconquering of his lost territories in Hindusthan. Early in 1770 a vast Maratha army under Ram Chandra Ganesh, the Peshwa's deputy, who was to be assisted by Visaji Krishna Biniwala, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia, advanced to the north of the Chambal for recovering the lost Maratha estates in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamuna.[1] Consternation seized the native rulers of Northern India at the approach of the vast Maratha army.

The English in Bengal could not look with equanimity upon the increasing power of the Marathas in the north. The Court of Directors advised the Bengal Government not to take part in operations which might 'weaken the few remaining chiefs of India that (were) in condition to oppose (the Maratha) encroachments'. Since the second administration of Clive, the Select Committee had been carrying on negotiations, relating to the cession of Cuttack, with Januji Bhonsle, the Maratha Raja of Nagpur. In one of the intended treaties with Januji it was stipulated that the English forces should join Januji, whenever required, to assist him in his offensive and defensive wars against any power, even against the best allies of the English. The Court of Directors could not support the treaty as in pursuance of a treaty of this nature, the English might find themselves engaged in wars against those powers whom they in their own interests ought to have helped against the Marathas [2]. As the advent of the Maratha army in the north completely changed the relation

1. Fall of the Mughal Empire-Voll II. p. 406.
2. General letter from Court, 15th September, 1769—paras 28 & 29.

between the Bengal Government and the Maratha power, the Select Committee on the suggestion of Mr. Cartier discontinued negotiations with Januji Bhonsle [3].

The Poona Government apprehended that Mr. Cartier and his Council would not look with favour at the advent of the Maratha army in the north. They, therefore, decided to send a Maratha Vakil* to Calcutta to assuage the apprehensions of Mr. Cartier and his Council. The Maratha Vakil left Poona in December, 1769. The letters which the Vakil brought from the Maratha Government contained 'expressions of friendship for the English'. He assured Mr. Cartier that the Marathas had no intentions of levying Chauth from the English and that they had come only to settle the 'confused state' of Hindusthan. Mr. Cartier was advised by the Select Committee at Fort William to write a letter to the Poona Government expressing the Company's desire to live in peace with all the powers of Hindusthan, but at the same time informing them that the Company would give protection to those allies whom they were bound by treaty to protect [4]

With the approach of the Maratha army in Hindusthan, Mir Qasim, the ex-nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, came out of his hiding place in Rohilkhand and proceeded towards Gohad (near Gwalior) where he got a plot of land for his residence from the Rana of that place. In this place he had ample opportunities of stirring up the Marathas against the English. The English were frightened at the reappearance of Mir Qasim after his long absence in Rohilkhand. It appeared that he still cherished the hope of recovering his lost kingdom [5]. Being lured by the promise of reward the Marathas and the Sikhs promised to help him. Najib-ud-daullah, Hafiz Rahamat Khan and other Ruhela Chiefs also promised to join hands with them. It was decided that they should meet at Koil (modern Aligarh) to form a plan of operations against Bengal[6]. It was suspected that Mir Qasim carried on secret correspondence with the French at Pondichery and Hyder Ali of Mysore in order to draw them into his fold[7]. The English suspected even the Emperor who was at Allahabad and Shuja-ud-daullah of having secret alliance with Mir Qasim andhis associates[8]. The Bengal Select Committee apprehended that Allahabad would be attacked

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3. Sel. Com, Prog—9th May, 1770– President's Minute.

*The name of this Vakil was Rao Hari Amanji Pandit—*vide* C. P. C. Vol. III (*a*) Letter from Madhav Rao, 27th September, 1770 p. 110 (*b*) Letter to Madhav Rao—7th November, 1770 (p. 123).

4. Sel. Com. Prog, 5th October, 1770.

5. Foreign Department—Select Committee—O. C. 28th January, 1770—Letter (in French) from Le. H. Wandel, Agra, the 28th December, 1769.

6. Sel. Com. Prog., 16th February 1770, The President's Minute.

7. *Ibid* 17th February 1770, Letter to the Sel. Com. at Fort St, George, the 17th February 1770.

8. *Ibid*, the 16th February 1770, the President's Minute.

by the confederates and consequently ordered Colonel Gailliez who was in charge of the magazine at Allahabad to remove it to the cantonment at Bankipur[9]. During the first two months of 1770 it appeared as if all the native powers of Hindusthan had been united by the intrigues of Mir Qasim to attack Bengal. It was a critical time for Mr. Cartier.

The Confederacy, however, dissolved without making any attempt to invade Bengal and Bihar. No sooner had the allies of Mir Qasim 'discovered his inability to satisfy their demands' than they left him alone. By the middle of 1770 the Bengal Government became free from the anxiety of an invasion by the confederates[10].

Suja-ud-daullah gave public quietus to the suspicions of the English by renewed professions of unsullied friendliness. He declared before Captain Harper in the most solemn manner that, since his treaty concluded with them at Benares on the 29th November, 1768, he had never 'entertained one single thought tending to their prejudices'[11]. He even wrote on the back of the holy Koran that he would maintain friendly relations with the English as long as he lived. He promised therein to 'oppose and chastise' Qasim Ali if he dared to create any disturbance in future[12].

The fear of Mir Qasim vanished, but the fear of the Marathas remained. The advent of the Maratha army alarmed not only the English but also the Ruhela Chief Najib-ud-daulah who was instrumental in bringing about their downfall in the Battle of Panipat. He knew very well that the Marathas would not forgive the Ruhelas for their past misdeeds. He was advanced in age and was not keeping good health. Knowing it well that it would be difficult to prevent the Maratha hordes from wrecking vengeance upon the Ruhelas, Najib-ud-daullah decided to buy peace with them by offering his co-operation in their conquest of the Doab. Ram Chandra Ganesh and Tukoji Holkar welcomed Najib's offer of co-operation, while Mahadji Sindhia objected to it. The Peshwa supported Ram Chandra Ganesh and Tukoji Holkar. So the Marathas formed an alliance with Najib. Najib-ud-daullah, the Ruhela Chief, was at the head of the administration at Delhi when the Emperor Shah Alam II was passing his days in Allahabad under the tutelege of the English. He was also in charge of the Imperial family residing in the Delhi Fort. Najib wrote to the Emperor's mother who was in Delhi requesting her to allow her grandson to join him in the Doab. He hoped that the presence of a royal prince would enable

9. *Ibid* (i) 28th January 1770 (ii) 16th February, 1770.
10. *Ibid*, 13th March, 1770, Letter to the Sel. Com. at Fort St. George, the 13th March, 1770.
11. *Ibid*, 28th March, 1770, Letter from Harpar, the 5th March, 1770.
12. *Ibid*, The Wazir's written protestation on the Koran.

him to have 'the pageant of a king' in the Ruhela-Maratha army. It would also induce many chiefs of Hindusthan to join them. Above all, it would create misunderstanding among the three powers, for the Vazier and the English would think that His Majesty was at the bottom of the scheme [13]. Najib at the same time requested the Queen mother to urge her son, the Emperor, to join the Maratha army [14]. The Queen mother asked her son to come to Delhi and join the Marathas [15]. The Marathas too 'made the most dutiful professions to the King (*i.e.*, the Emperor) and had proposed a conference with him at any place His Majesty would appoint' [16]. But the fear of Ghazi-ud-din who was at this time in the Maratha army, prevented the Emperor from acceeding to the request of Najib and the Marathas [17]. However, the Emperor acquiesced in his son's joining the army of Najib-ud-daulah, as it 'was not in his power to prevent it' [18].

The alliance of Najib-ud-daulah with the Marathas unnerved Shuja-ud-daulah. He advised the English to check the growing power of Najib who would carry everything before him when joined by the Marathas and other Ruhela chiefs. He therefore, proposed a combined movement of the Imperial and his own forces towards the frontier of Kora and he was willing to put into execution the proposal if he could be assured that 'it would not be disapproved by the English Sardars'. The Select Committee asked Captain Harper to assure Suja-ud-daulah that this 'design of advancing to the frontier' was approved by them 'as a spirited resolution calculated to intimidate the Council of the confederates'. Captain Harper was permitted by the Select Committee to accompany Suja-ud-daulah to the frontier 'with the 19th battalion but no farther'.[19] Two battalions of sepoys were also ordered to be detached from the brigade stationed at Patna and to canton at Buxar with a view to intimidate Najib and the Marathas.[20]

Najib's intention from the very first appearance of the Maratha army in the north was to divert their attention from the pessessions of the Ruhela Chiefs in the Doab to those of the Jats. Unable to resist the constant demand of the Marathas, Najib-ud-daullah allowed them to take possession of that part of the Doab which had belonged to them before the Battle of

13. C. P. C., Vol. III, Letter No. 285.
14. *Ibid*, Letter No. 269.
15. *Ibid*, Letter No. 288.
16. Sel. Com. Prog., 28th April, 1770, Letter from Harper, the 10th April, 1770.
17. C. P. C., Vol. III, Letter No. 271.
18. (*i*) Sel. Com. Prog. 28th April, 1770, Letter from Harper, 10th April, 1770, (*ii*) Sel. Com. Prog., 3rd May, 1770, Letter from Harper, the 16th April, 1770.
19. Sel. Com. Prog., 3rd May, 1770, Letter from Captain Harper, the 16th April, 1770.
20. *Ibid*, Letter to P. Galliez, 3rd May, 1770.

Panipat and which then formed a part of the territories of Hafiz Rahamat Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash, the two famous Ruhela Chiefs. These territories bordered on the province of Kora which then belonged to the Emperor.[21] It seems Najib-ud-daulah wanted to save his own possessions at the cost of those which belonged to the other Ruhela Chiefs. By the first week of May, 1770, the Maratha army advanced as far as Etawah.[22] They took possession of a major portion of the territories in the Doab belonging to Dundi Khan, Hafiz Rahamat Khan and Ahmad Khan, the three famous Ruhela chiefs[23]. Shuja-ud-daulah felt uneasy at the advance of the Maratha army towards the Kora frontier. He told Captain Harper, as he had done previously, that it was 'absolutely required to move a force towards the Corrah frontier to oppose' the Marathas, but he was 'prevented from (that) measure by his ignorance of' the opinion of the Bengal Government.[24]

Instead of moving his forces towards the frontier of the Kora province, Suja-ud-daullah went out to hunt tigers. To Captain Harper Shuja-ud-daulah was an enigma. He suspected that Shuja-ud-daulah was on terms of friendship with the Marathas. Otherwise, he could scarcely have gone to hunt tigers at the time when Najib and the Marathas were knocking at the door of the Kora province.[25] What was an enigma to the English was a plain thing to the others. Shuja-ud-daullah was unwilling to undertake any action against the increasing power of the Marathas and Najib-ud-daulah unless he was actively assisted by the English. He clearly perceived that the English wanted only to intimidate the Marathas and Najib and that the English army would not help Shuja-ud-daulah when he would come to grips with the Marathas.

In the month of June, 1770, Dundi Khan, the Ruhela Chief, proposed an alliance amongst the Jats, the Ruhelas and the English. He thought that such a formidable combination would be able to drive the Marathas from the Doab. Colonel Gailliez was asked by the Select Committee to induce Dundhi Kahn 'to some active operations,' but he should not give Dundhi Khan 'room

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21. *Ibid*, 26th May, 1770, Letter from Captain Harper, the 2nd May, 1770.

22. *Ibid*, 26th May, 1770, Letter from Captain Harper, 9th May, 1770.

23. Sel. Com. Prog.-9th June, 1770. Letter from Harper, the 14th May, 1770.

24. Sel. Com. Prog.-26th May, 1770, Letter from Harper, the 9th May, 1770.

25. Sel. Com. Prog., 9th June, 1770, Letter from G. Harper, the 14th May, 1770.

to expect any absolute engagement', as it was far from their thought to enter into any new treaty.[26]

A few days later, the Bengal Government heaved a sigh of relief at the prospect of a separation between Najib-ud-daulah and the Marathas. Mahadji Sindhia intercepted a letter from Najib-ud-daulah to other Ruhela Chiefs instigating them against the Marathas. The Marathas demanded from him the money he had collected from the conquered Jat territories.[27] The Government of Bengal could not allow to let slip the opportunity of separating Najib-ud-daulah from the Marathas. The Select Committee expected that as Shuja-ud-daula had been 'long connected with (Najib-ud-daulah) in ties of friendship' he would 'separate that chief totally from the confederacy.' But Shuja-ud-daulah did not take the trouble of widening the gulf between the Marathas and Najib-ud-daula.[28]

The failure of Shuja-ud-daulah and the English to separate Najib-ud-daulah from the Marathas was followed by the patching up of the quarrels between the Marathas and Najib-ud-daulah. The latter advised Hafiz Rahman Khan and Ahmad Khan to give up the territories which they had conquered in the Doab after the Battle of Panipat.[29] Fearing that Jats might be persuaded to form a coalition against the Marathas, the latter were eager to make a peace with them. On the 8th October, 1770, Najib-ud-daulah concluded a peace between the Jats and the Marathas and fixed the tribute to be paid by the Jat Rajah to the Marathas.[30] Thus the English suffered a diplomatic defeat at the hands of the Marathas.

On the 31st October, 1770, Najib-ud-daulah breathed his last on his way to Najibgar, his capital. With the passing away of Najib-ud-daulah the Marathas were freed from the restraint which that great diplomat might otherwise have put on their conquest in the Doab. By the month of November, 1770, the Maratha army marched towards Akbarpur, a place only six miles from the frontier of Kora, plundering the territories of Hafiz Rahamat, and Ahamad Khan on their way [31]. The English expected that Suja-ud-daulah would now enter into a treaty with the Ruhela chiefs and send an army to the frontiers of Kora to

26. Sel. Com. Prog., 19th July, 1770, Letter to P. Gailliez, the 19th July, 1770.

27. *Ibid*, the 11th August, 1770, Letter from Capt. Harper, the 15th July, 1770.

28. *Ibid*, Letter to Capt. Harper, the 11th August, 1770

29. Sel. Com. Prog, 25th Sept, 1770, Letter from Capt. Harper, 22nd September, 1770.

30. Sel. Com. Prog., 7th Novr., 1770, Letter from Capt. Harper, the 17th Oct. 1770.

31. Sel. Com. Prog. 29th December, 1770, Letter from Sir R. Barker, the 30th November, 1770.

oppose the Marathas. But he did nothing of the sort. The timid disposition of the English and Shuja-ud-daulah encouraged the Marathas to advance further. By the next month two detachments of the Maratha army entered into the Kora province and laid 'claim to some districts formerly granted to them by Shuja-ud-daulah's father' [32]. Shuja-ud-daulah quite frankly told Captain Harper that as he knew that the Bengal Government would not allow their forces to pass the borders of the Kora province which might be necessary in case of an engagement with the Marathas, he did not send his army to the frontiers of the province. He also added that the Bengal Government were greatly mistaken in expecting him to repel the Marathas with the help of the Ruhelas who had been defeated by an insignificant detachment of the Maratha army a few days ago. Moreover, he could not rely upon the Ruhela troops who, a few days ago, mutinied against Hafiz Rahamat Khan and pelted him with stones [33]. The underlying policy of Shuja-ud-daulah's not fighting the Marathas without the assistance of the English was that he knew that the English were as afraid as he of the increasing power of the Marathas. The invasion of his kingdom by the Marathas would endanger the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. So, the English were as much interested as he was in opposing the Maratha advance. Why should he then alone undertake the task of chastising the Marathas?

Even at this critical moment when the territories of the Emperor were actually invaded by the Marathas and the English were bound by the Treaty and enjoined by the positive orders of the Honourable Company to give their allies assistance, the Select Committee thought of only warming up the Emperor and his Wazier Shuja-ud-daulah by ordering a Company of artillery and two battalions of Sepoys stationed at Dinapore to march to the bank of the Karmanasha and further ordering one of the battallions stationed at Buxar to proceed to Allahabad [34]. Mr. Cartier was fully aware that 'in the interest of the English nation in general and of the Company in particular,' a coalition of the northern powers should be formed and the full aid of the English arms should be given to the coalition to drive back the Maratha hordes to the Deccan. But this action was 'directly opposite to the plan or policy inculcated by the Company.' Mr. Cartier knew that the timid disposition of the Company encouraged the Marathas to invade the frontier of the Kora province. He told the Select Committee, "There is one thing I must beg leave to remark that the Marathas, though

32. *Ibid*, Letter from Gailliez, the 15th December, 1770.
33. Sel. Com. Prog., 29th December, 1770, Letter from Capt. Harper, the 1st December, 1770.
34. Sel. Com. Prog. 29th December, 1770, Letter to Sir R. Barker, the 29th December. 1770.

sensible, I do suppose that we have guaranteed to His Majesty and the Vizir, the secure possession of their respective countries, and are engaged by Treaty to assist in repelling any attack made on the same, have on a full certainty of our pacific disposition, invaded the frontier of that province, and have plundered the town of Bittoor and several villages in its neighbourhood"[35].

With Maratha army on the frontier of the Kora province, the Maratha leaders tried to induce the Emperor Shah Alam II to leave the English protection at Allahabad and joined them. The Emperor had also been sighing for his return to Delhi. The English had promised to escort him to the capital as early as 1765 and they repeated their promise year after year without making any attempt to fulfil it[36]. On the other hand the English through Munir-ud-daulah, their agent at the Court of the Emperor, tried to convince the Emperor that it would be hazardous for the Emperor to leave Allahabad and proceed towards Delhi[37]. The motive of the English in keeping Shah Alam II under their protection at Allahabad was to get his sanction in all their dealings, legal or illegal, with the European and native powers. To allow the Emperor to proceed to Delhi was to lose all these advantages. The Emperoror became convinced that the English would not escort him to Delhi. He, therfore, looked for help at other quarters. The Marathas came to his rescue. They wanted to use the name of the Emperor in the same way as the English had been using till then. With the Emperor in their clutches the Marathas wanted to go on conquering territory after territory in the name of the Emperor.[38]

So long the Emperor could not make any final decision of leaving Allahabad and marching to the Capital escorted by the Marathas whom he could not trust. But the death of Najib-ud-daulah (31st Oct., 1770) compelled his wavering mind to make the final decision of marching to the capital. Najib-ud-daulah was the guardian of the Emperor's mother Zinat Mahal and his heir Jawan Bakht who were staying in the Delhi Fort. The duty of protecting the Emperor's family in Delhi fell upon Zabita Khan, son of the deceased Najib-ud-daulah. The inexperience of Zabita Khan and the supreme authority which the Marathas got on the death of Najib-ud-daulah in northern India led the Emperor to cherish some doubt the safety of the Imperial family. A rumour which was afloat at that time gave an additional impetus to form his decision to leave Allahabad immediately for

35. *Ibid*, 29th December, 1770 (I. O. Copis Vol. 20B, pp 381-383), President's Minute.

36. Sel. Com. Prog., 9th August. 1770, Letter from Gailliez, the 8th July, 1770.

37. *Ibid.*, 15th September, 1770, Letter from Sir R. Barker, the 19th August, 1770.

38. Sel. Com. Prog., 28th April, 1770, Letter from Captain Harper, the 10th April, 1770.

Delhi. It was given out from the Maratha camp that a movement was afoot for seting up some other person of the Imperial family on the throne of Delhi as His Majesty Shah Alam II was unfit to be the Emperor of Hidusthan by reason of his particular attachment to the English.[39]

The Marathas were carrying on secret correspondence with the Emperor and offered their services to escort him to Delhi provided their expenses were borne by the Emperor. Their attempt bore fruit. Knowing full well that neither the English nor Shuja-ud-daula would do anything to re-establish him in Delhi the Emperor determined to depend upon the Marathas.

The Emperor now prepared for his march from Allahabad to Delhi. Shuja-ud-daulah became anxious to prevent the Emperor from joining the Marathas. He clearly percieved that if the Marathas could secure the person of the Emperor they would at once set up another Wazir in opposition to him. He wanted the English to do this business for him. He told Sir R. Barker that when it would be known that the Marathas had taken away the Emperor from the protection of the English, it would lower the prestige of the English nation in the eyes of the Indian powers. Moreover, the Marathas would at once attack 'Kora and his own dominions' in the name of the Emperor. He, therefore, suggested to Sir R. Barker that a show of opposition from the English would stir up the powers of Hindusthan against the Marathas who would then be compelled to give up these designs.[40]

The Select Committee had no intention of detaining any longer the person of the Emperor as they were not authorised to do so by the Court of Directors. If they had recourse to such a step it would have little effect on the conduct of the Marathas. In that case they would have put another prince of the Imperial family upon the throne and the incensed Shah Alam would have troubled the English by his intrigues. They, therefore, came to the decision of parting with him cordially. The Select Committee expected that the favourable impression which the Emperor would carry in his mind regarding the English might render him averse to taking part in any movement which might endanger in future the English possessions.[41]

The Emperor marched out of Allahabad on the 15th April, 1771. He left behind his two sons under the care of the English 'as the best pledges of his faith'. Sir R. Barker, the Commander-in-chief, escorted the Emperor 'to within seven coss (fourteen miles) of (the) boundary' of the Kora province when he took leave

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39. Sel. Com. Prog.-9th June, 1770, Letter from Col. Gailliez, the 19th May, 1770.

40. Sel. Com. Prog., 1st March, 1771, Letter from Sir R. Barker, the 12th February 1771.

41. Bengal Public Letter to the Court (Home), the 31st August, 1771, para 2.

of His Majesty on the 30th June, 1771. Sir R. Barker, 'left with the King the two Royal battallions after withdrawing the European officers, 4 pieces of artillery and 800 rounds of ammunition'.[42] The Emperor made a demand upon Shuja-ud-daulah also for a body of troops to escort him to Delhi. The Wazir acceeded to the demand of the Emperor on the following grounds :—

First, a force was necessary to remove any obstruction that might be given on the way to the progress of the Emperor by any hostile army.

Secondly, on the refusal of the Wazir to supply troops to the Emperor, the latter might appoint another Wazir in his place.

Thirdly, as the second son of Shuja-ud-daulah would accompany the Emperor on behalf of his father, he might fill the post of Wazir if such occasion arose.

Fourthly, with a body of ten or twelve thousand troops His Majesty might act quite independently of the Marathas.[43]

The last argument appeared to the Select Committee quite cogent and they approved of the Wazir's decision to send troops to Delhi under the Command of his second son. They also desired Captain Harper to accompany the son of Shuja-ud-daulah so that he might furnish the Select Committee with information regarding any intrigues in the Imperial Court prejudicial to the interests of the English[44]. The Emperor entered Delhi on the 6th January, 1772[45].

SOME ASPECTS OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION FOR INDIANS IN CHANDERNAGORE IN 1791-1793.

BY

R. C. MITRA

During the exciting days of the French Revolution, a body of rebellious French colonists in Chandernagore arrogated to themselves the powers of a Constituent assembly to proclaim their independence of Pondichery. They met in a General Assembly and voted on 18 October 1791 a constitution which was ratified by another body of "Commissaires" assuming to be "provisionally and conjointly, the agents-general of the French establishments

42. *Ibid.*—Para 9.

43. Sel. Com. Prog., 4th June, 1771, Letter from Sir R. Barker, 11th May, 1771.

44. *Ibid.* 4th June, 1771. - Committee's resolution and letter to Sir R. Barker, the 4th June, 1771.

45. Fall of the Mughal Empire-Vol. III-p.32.

in Bengal and Commandants of the King at Chandernagore."[1] This consititution, which in spite of its obvious irregularity, came into force on 27th October 1791 and lasted till 20th June 1793 may be discarded by general students of history, as a piece of mere historical curiosity. But it contains a section on the judicial organisation for Indians which may be of interest, because being admittedly a provisional measure, it very likely reflects current practice so far as it is not inconsistent with the much vaunted but little respected principles of the Revolution. The section opens with a pious profession "to destroy the inequality that has existed so long in the distribution of justice to Indians" and provides what follows only "until circumstances enable them to overcome the difficulties which prejudice has imposed, in this regard".[2] In matters of detail such as court-fees, the existing charges are explicitly continued.

The court for trial of Indians is to be separate from the court for Europeans and it was to be known as the "Court of Cacherie". It was to be composed of a "Zemindar i.e. European Judge, advised by five Indian councillors who shall have merely consultative voice, and of whom one, atleast must be a Moslem. To the five Indian councillors are to be added five deputies, as well Indian and whom one at least must be Moslem. The court is to have one European Record-keeper and an Indian record-keeper or his proxy, a Brahmin or Hindu priest, a Maulana or Moslem priest to administer the oaths of their respective religions, a Mounchy for correspondence with foreign Zemindars and six peons for service". The Zemindar or European president of the tribunal is to be elected by the General Assembly and the European record-keeper, by the Court of Justice, to neither of which bodies had Indians any access. But the five Indian councillors are to be indirectly elected by the natural born inhabitants of the colony, represented by the heads of different castes and by merchants and landlords of consideration." Besides the necessity of having the opinion of Indian councillors in matters of which the Europeon Judge is not properly cognisant, there is an attempt to inspire public confidence by representation of castes and interests. The Indian deputies who are also elected are required to offer security of landed property to the value of Rs. 500/- sicca.

The court is to sit four days a week unless pressure of business requires extra sitting. Three Indian councillors, besides the Zemindar, must be present. The Indian councillors are to be fined Rs. 2/- per sitting for absence except in case of illness.

1. Labernadie-La Revolution et less establishments Francais dans l' Inde. Page. 280.
2. "Registre des deliberations et arretes de l'Assemble General des citoyens de Chandernagore" passin No. 91 of "Inventaire" of uncatalogued documents in the archives of Pondichery.

Curiously enough, the constitution does not favour the practice of suits being pleaded by advocates. Neither during hearing of original cases nor on appeal are "parties to be allowed to engage an advocate except in cases of illness duly verified, or absence justified by legitimate causes or of women whose caste does not permit their appearance before a court. In these exceptional cases the help of an Indian advocate may be obtained. European advocate can be appointed by an Indian only in cases of appeal where the other party is an European.

The Indian councillors "after due discussion are to form their decision by a plurality of votes and this decision is to be inscribed by the Boxy in an open register and is to be signed by the Zemindar. In case of dissent, the Zamindar can override their opinion by specifying the considerations which determine his view." This is a poor commentary on the principles of equality proclaimed in the preamble. Perhaps the existing practice is continued with slight modification till the rebel government has struck deeper roots and feels strong enough "to overcome the obstacles which prejudice has imposed".

In criminal cases "unless the offence is committed against public order or society in general, seven persons of the caste of the accused are to be summoned by the Zemindar for preliminary hearing or for examination of witnesses. But if the offence concerns other individuals three persons of the caste of the individual concerned, and four of the accused are to be summoned." Thus the caste retained its vitality as an institution determining an individual's status in law and the bearing of his action on society.

To meet the cost of justice the constitution explicitly authorises the "continuance of charges prevailing from time immemorial" and these are to be levied "on all Indians without distinction according to the following rate" :—

Petty salamy or permission of marriage Re. 1 sicca.

Douchy salamy or promotion of a person to caste Rs. 4-8.

Fee on the price of slave purchased by ? (illegible) Rs. 5.

Fee on the deed of enslavement Rs. 12.

Fee on mortgage of Cosby (?) Rs. 11.

Fee on the purchase of an ordinary slave Rs. 5 and on the related document Rs. 5.

Registration fee on mortgage of land or immovables Re. 1-4.

Patta salamy or fee on patta of land Re. 1-4.

The salary bill of the staff is interesting as a measure of discrimination in the payment of Indians and Europeans. Thus, the 'Zemindar' is to receive Rs. 200 per month. The European record-keeper gets Rs. 70. Besides he can charge 8 annas for every copy of judgment and he shall pay out of his salary, the

clerks required for his work. But his Indian colleague with similar obligation gets Rs. 20 only. The councillors are paid Rs. 30, the 'Mounchy' Rs. 6, the Brahmin, the 'Moulana' and some peons Rs. 5 each, while other peons get Rs. 4 each and the interpreter is paid Rs. 30.

ANNEXATION OF THE FORT OF KALINJAR 1811-12.

BY

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The celebrated fortress of Kalinjar[1] was annexed to the British dominion in February 1812. The circumstances leading to its acquisition have not been adequuately noticed in any of the histories of British India. A study of the original correspondence between the Supreme Government at Calcutta and the Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelkhand gives a clear insight into the policy of the British towards Kalinjar during the period of Lord Minto's administration and shows clearly that the dispossession of the Kiladar of the hill-fort was primarily the result of aggressive designs of Mr. Richardson, the Agent.

By the Supplementary Treaty of 1803, the province of Bundelkhand was ceded to the East India Company by the Peshwa, who exercised only nominal sovereignty over these districts. Though it was a difficult task to establish order in Bundelkhand, Lord Wellesley's Government welcomed this addition of territory to their scattered dominion in India, because it brought closer the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay. The newly acquired territory had both a commercial and stretagic importance for the British because the roads linking the two Presidencies passed through it.

The pacification and total subjugation of Bundelkhand was one of the main achievements of Lord Minto's administration in India. The restoration of peace and order and establishment of British authority in the province inhabited by numerous unruly chiefs and predatory leaders was a formidable task. The country was dotted with more than 150 hill-fortresses and two of these—Kalinjar and Ajayagarh—were remarkable for their position and strength and were regarded as impregnable. In spite of Lord Lake's advice to the contrary, Sir George Barlow who adopted a policy of endurance, confirmed the rights of occupancy of the Kiladars of these forts by grants of *Sunnuds*, under

1. The hill fort of Kalinjar is situated in the Girwan Tehsil of Banda District (United Provinces), 35 miles south of Banda town. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV Oxford, 1908.

conditions of allegiance and subordination to the British Government. The disorders, however, continued to prevail unchecked in the province.

Lord Minto's assumption of office of the Goevrnor-General, in 1807, marked a change in the Government's policy towards the chiefs of Bundelkhand. In order to preserve the dignity and reputation of the British Government it was regarded essential to enforce submission to authority by adoption of stern measures, in the recently acquired torritory. Lord Minto was ready to fulfil the obligations of the Government's engagements but would not allow to pass with impunity any violation of those engagements on the part of the chiefs of the province.[2] He regarded it impolitic to leave the strong fortresses in the possession of the chiefs whose loyalty was of a questionable character and who were suspected of deep contumacy and insubordination. He thought that the forfeiture of such fortresses would be essential for the safety of the Company's territory and of the adjacent states, since the chiefs had converted them into "instruments of plunder and arrogance."[3]

Dario Singh Chaubey, the Kiladar of Kalinjar, at the time of the cession of Bundelkhand, had solicited the British Government for the grant of the fort and the territory annexed to it. He had entered into a fealty bond, on 25th September 1806, which placed him in the position of a dependant of that Government. He was specifically bound by the engagement "never to aid or abet the internal or external enemies of the Honorable Company in Bundelkhand, nor to harbour or give refuge to any such persons in the fort of Calinger or its environs, nor in any villages subject to my authority....."[4] It was the alleged violation of this clause of the engagement which resulted in Dario Singh's dispossession of the fort, as the British Government claimed the right to forfeit the grant on the infringement of the conditions on which he received it.

Richardson was an enthusiastic political officer, trained in the tactics and diplomacy of Wellesley's Government. He was always prepared to grasp every opportunity of curtailing the power and reducing the position of the Kiladar of Kalinjar.[5] Dario Singh gave a pretext to the Agent for the resumption of his fort by the British Government. Baudal Khan, a Pindari leader, had a place of residence in the fort, under the protection of the Kiladar. In May, 1811, Baudal Khan who was believed

2. Imperial Record Department, Secret Consultations, November 22, 1811, No. 3.

3. Secret Consultations, December 21, 1811, No. 5.

4. Aitchison, C. U., "Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds" Vol II, Calcutta, 1878, Page 354.

5. Political Consultations, April 3, 1809, No. 23. Richardson to Edmonstone dated March 17, 1809.

to be in league with Dulgunjun Singh a marauder chief of Allahabad district, seized the son of a *shroff* of Rewah, a friendly state. The ruler of Rewah solicited the interference of the British Agent in Bundelkhand to recover the person of the boy who had been detained in the fortress belonging to Dario Singh.[6] Richardson in order to help a subject of a friendly ruler and with the object of asserting the paramount authority over a dependant chief demanded from the Kiladar the restoration of the boy to his father and the surrender of the person of Baudal Khan. The Agent immediately concluded that the Kiladar had forfeited his right to the possession of the fort and the lands attached to it by giving shelter to the Pindari leader. The apparent weakness of the Kiladar and dissensions in his family aggravated his desire for acquiring the fort for his masters. He impatiently wrote the Supreme Government :—

"Were I with my conviction, and my present knowledge and local influence, to neglect this golden opportunity of rendering so essential a service to my Employers I should consider myself unworthy servant, unworthy of trust, from timidly refraining, from acting in case clearly, according to the best of my judgment, requiring from me as a duty to act, most decidedly.....[7]" He believed that the possession of the fort by the British would enhance their local strength and influence because of the prevalent belief in Bundelkhand that the province would never be completely subjugated by any power that did not possess the fortress of Kalinjar. On the least evasion of compliance with the demands by the Kiladar, Riachardson, without even making a reference to the Government, soliciated Col. Martindell, the Officer Commanding in Bundelkhand to prepare for a blockade of Kalinjar[8].

Dario Singh agreed to comply with one of the two demands made by Richardson. His vakeels at Banda, the headquarters of the Agent, agreed on behalf of their master, to restore the Shroff's son and the child was delivered to Richardson on the 27th May[9]. The Agent still doggedly insisted on the demand for the surrender of Baudul Khan. The chivalrous Bundela chief of Kalinjar regarded the acceptance of this as disgraceful and would not comply with it.

During the period of the above proceedings Lord Minto was absent from India and had accompanied the expedition to Java The Vice-President-in-Council at Fort William, in the absence of the Governor-General applauded Richardson's zeal for the Company's service and expressed their general concurrence with the

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6. Secret Consultations, June 7, 1811, No. 1. Richardson to Edmonstone, May 20, 1811.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Secret Consultation, June 7, 1811, No. 2.
9. Secret Consultations, June 7, 1811, Nos. 3. and 5.

measures adopted by him. However, the Government considered it important and just to advise the Agent to confine the demand to the withdrawl by the Kiladar of protection to Baudul Khan, if the latter was found to be in league with Dulgunjun Singh. The Government was not willing to prescribe a policy which would place it "in a situation which might compel it to prosecute measures for the expulsion of the Killadar[11]".

In the meantime, Richardson without waiting for the instructions from the Supreme Government renewed his demand for the surrender of Baudul Khan to which the Kiladar once again withheld compliance[12]. The policy adopted by the Agent precluded from operation the course of measures suggested by the Vice-President-in-Council. In his letter of the 14th June to the Government, the Agent re-emphasized the disadvantages arising from the possession of the fortress by Dario Singh Chaubey and the right of the British Government to dispossess the Kiladar on an infringement of the terms of the angagement of 1806. In his despatch of the 22nd June, Richardson clearly expressed his disagreement with the policy prescribed by the Government and requested the Vice-President-in-Council to inform the Kiladar of the disavowal of his action, if they contemplated doing so.[13].

The Government on the receipt of the above communication from Richardson acquiesced in the policy adopted by him and resolved not to withdraw the demand for the surrender of Baudul Khan because it was feared that such an action would be ascribed to the Government's inability to effect the conquest of the fortress.[14] Thus the Government under a false sense of their dignity and prestige and to uphold the actions of their Agent accepted a line of policy which they felt was otherwise unfair to the Kiladar. Richardson, however, was instructed to desist from further action until the Government was able to enforce the surrender of the fortress.[15]

Before the resolution of the Government came to the knowledge of the Agent, he had, early in July, sent a newswriter to Kalinjar, but the Kiladar refused to allow him to stay within his territory. This incident further strengthened Richardson's resolution to annex the fort.[16] The Vice-President-in-Council were surprized and rather indignant at this uncalled for move on the

10. Secret Consultations, June 14, 1811, No. 5; Edmonstone to Richardson, dated June 11, 1811.

11. Secret General Letter to the Court of Directors, August 24, 1811.

12. Secret Consultations, June 28. 1811, No. 1.

13. Secret Consultation, July 5, 1811, No. 1.

14. Secret Consultations, July 5, 1811, No. 3. Edmonstone to Richardson, dated July 2, 1811.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Secret Consultations, July 26, 1811, No. 1. Richardson to Edmonstone, dated July 13, 1811.

part of the Agent which was bound to lead the Kiladar "into the commission of an additional and overt act of contumacy and disobedience", and restricted the Government's choice regarding the suspension or prosecution of measures to dispossess him. The Agent was warned to guard himself "against the accumulation of offences on the the part of the Killadar, that may render the prosecution of measures of extremity absolutely unavoidable".[17]

On the receipt of a further dispatch from Richardson dated the 24th July, relating the proceeding regarding the expulsion of the newswriter from Kalinjar, the Supreme Government felt that the disobedience and contumacy of Chaubey Dario Singh were too serious to be overlooked and resolved, on the 9th August, to dispossess the Kiladar of his fort and lands attached to it.[18] They, however, were not prepared to undertake an early military expedition against Kalinjar unless the result of the campaign in Java was known to them. The Agent was instructed not to give to the Kiladar any indication of the resolution of the Supreme Government until preparations for the annexation were completed.

In the meantime Richardson got in touch with the Officer Commanding in Bundelkhand to settle regarding the suitable season for the reduction of the fort. Richardson was anxious that the contemplated operations should begin at an early date because he believed that the British troops would be able to secure an easy entry into the fort through one of the gates, held by Nawal Kishore for whom he suggested a reward for his desertion of the Kiladar's cause.[19]

The Government of Bengal received authentic news of the brilliant success of British arms, in August, on the Island of Java with the return of Lord Minto to the Presidency on the 19th October. Three days later the Governor-General-in-Council reoslved to prepare for the resumption of Kalinjar and instructions were issued to the Commander-in-Chief to make arrangements for assembling the requisite force in Bundelkhand.[20] The object of the military movements was to be kept a close secret. The seige of the fortress was to be preceded by a public declaration to be conveyed to all the chiefs of Bundelkhand, outlining the "offensive conduct" of the Kiladar and explaining the Government's policy. Dario Singh was to be informed through the Agent, that he had forfeited all claims to the favour of the

17. Secret Consultations, July 26, 1811, No. 4. Edmonstone to Richardson, dated July 26, 1811.

18. Secret Consultations, August 9, 1811, No. 6. Edmonstone to Richardson dated August 9, 1811.

19. Secret Consultations, October 11, 1811, No. 1 ; Richardson to Edmonstone, dated September, 26, 1811.

20. Secret Consultations, October 25, 1811, No. 2 ; Edmonstone to Carey, dated October 22, 1811.

British Government, but in case he peaceably surrendered the fortress, suitable *jagirs* would be granted to him and his dependants.[21] Richardson was not in any way sanguine about making such an approach to the Kiladar and repeated his request to Government for permission to negotiate with Nawal Kishore to get an entry into the fort for the British troops.[22] The Governor General in Council were apprehensive of sacrifice of men and money which a seige of Kalinjar, strongly fortified by nature and art, would involve. They considered it expedient to relinquish all the lands in the possession of the Kiladar and his dependants to secure the peaceable acquisition of the fortress.[23]

Lord Minto, on his return from Java had readily concurred in the decisions taken by the Vice-President-in-Council regarding the reduction of the fort of Kalinjar. After a few days, on a mature reflection on the proceedings relating to the subject, he felt obliged to modify the policy of the Government. In his Minute, recorded on the 21st November,[24] he examined the subject in detail. He was convinced that in the interest of the safety of the Company's territory the fort could not be allowed to remain in the possession of Dario Singh, but he observed that the order of forfeiture could be modified "if the submission of Deriah Singh and his conduct on the sequel of this affair should appear to merit indulgence." He suggested that on the peaceful surrender of the fort the whole of the Kiladar's *jagir* might be left to him or provision may be made for him elsewhere. Lord Minto also felt that the Government had failed to observe a general principle of administration of justice, that is, giving a hearing to an offender before pronouncing the extreme penalty of forfeiture. Here was a case of a dispute between a powerful and a weak litigant in which the powerful party was his own judge. The weak party had not been apprized of the full nature of the charge that was brought against him nor of the extreme consequences which were to follow it. The Governor General rightly insisted that Dario Singh should be given an opportunity to explain his conduct and to defend himself.

According to the sentiments expressed by Lord Minto, the Agent was instructed to ask the Kiladar to attend him in person or depute vakeels for giving an explanation regarding the charges against him. Dario Singh was to be called upon to surrender the fortress within a specified time, failing which the British force would advance for its forcible occupation and he would lose all rights to retain his lands.

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21. Secret Consultations, November 12, 1811, No. 2. Edmonstone to Richardson.

22. Secret Consultations, December 21, 1811, No. 1. Richardson to Edmonstone dated December, 6, 1811.

23. Secret Consultations, December 21, 1811, No. 2. Edmonstone to Richardson, dated December 14, 1811.

24. Secret Consultations, December 21, 1811, No. 5.

Richardson in spite of the above instructions, refrained from making a demand for the surrender of the fort until the preparations for the seige had been completed and the beseiging force had assembled at the rendezvous, in the vicinity of Kalinjar.[25] He did not give an adequate opportunity to the Kiladar to defend himself. The advance of the British troops towards the fort did not meet with any opposition.[26] When they had reached within a distance of seven *kos* from Kalinjar Richardson sent summons to the Kiladar to attend on him or depute his vakeels within a period of four days. The expeditionary force, under the command of Colonel Martindell and accompanied by Richardson, reached Kalinjar on the 19th January and encamped before the fortress. During this period, the Kiladar was away from his stronghold to celebrate the marriage of one of his sons. His unfortunate absence from Kalinjar was interpreted as insubordination by the Agent and on the expiry of four days, he sent orders to the Commandants of the fort of its peaceable surrender.[27] Dario Singh, on his return on the 21st January, wrote to Richardson expressing complete ignorance respecting the charges against him and remonstrated against the policy of the forcible occupation of his fort.[28]

Since Dario Singh's letter did not contain any clear overtures for submission, on the 24th January, two eighteen pounders were taken up the hill of Kalinjari, at a distance of 800 yards, to the North East of the fort, wherefrom it was easily assailable,[29] After completing the plan of the seige Richardson repeated the demand for the surrender of the fortress, but to no effect. The Kiladar seemed to be determined to use his best endeavours to defend his fort, on which alone, he felt, his life depended.[30].

In the meantime pressure was exerted on the Kiladar by use of force to secure the fort. The batteries of the British troops opened fire on the citadel on the 28th morning. The entrance to

25. Secret Consultations, January 17, 1812, No. 3. Richardson to Edmonstone, dated January 5, 1812.
The force assembled for the seige of Kalinjar consisted of:
One squadron of H. M. 8th Division.
Five Companies of H. M. 53rd Foot.
One Squadron of 1st Native Cavalry.
Ten Battalions of Native Infantry.
Three Companies of Pioneers.
A detachment of European artillery and a battering train of twelve and eighteen pounders—Secret Consultations, February 8, 1812, No. 17.

26. Secret Consultations, February 8, 1812, No. 2.

27. *Ibid.* No. 4. Richardson to Edmonstone, dated January 24, 1812.

28. *Ibid.* No. 8. Dario Singh to Richardson received on 22nd January, 1812.

29. *Ibid.* No. 4.

30. *Ibid.* No. 15.

the fort at the foot of the hill fell into the possession of the beseigers after a feeble resistance and without any loss of life. The beseiged garrison, on a point of honour, did not fire upon the British troops until their guns began their destructive operations. Even when the garrison replied, their answer was a feeble one. However, Richardson's expectation that the fort would easily fall into the hands of the British proved to be false. There was not a single desertion from amongst the *sardars* and troops in the fortress and the Agent's hope of getting an entry into the fort through the good offices of Nawal Kishore turned out to be an idle dream.

The fire from the batteries on the Kalinjari hill had an astounding destructive effect on the fort. Dario Singh, alarmed at the prospect of loss of his fort and lands, sent five of his men, on the night of the 28th January, to the British camp for negotiating a settlement. The conditions which the Kiladar wanted to be agreed to by the Government for the delivery of the fort were regarded as unreasonable and extravagent by the Agent and the deputation returned disappointed[31]. By the first of February the batteries had effected a breach, considered practicable and on the following morning a column of five companies of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, under the leadership of Lt. Col. Mowbey attempted to carry the fort by storm. They failed in the execution of the plan to enter fort through the breach on the North Eastern wall of the fort. The garrison was well-prepared to oppose such an assault. As the British troops ascended the hill the defendants fired on them through the breach and showered stones which proved to be more destructive than their matchlocks. The attempt having failed the assailants were obliged to retreat with severe loss[32].

However, the daring assault on the fortress did not entirely prove fruitless. The Kiladar, apprehensive of another similar attack, opened negotiations next morning. On the 3rd February, he offered to deliver the fort on the basis of assignment of land of equal value for all that part of the *jagir* which he and his brethern held.[33] Richardson considered the terms acceptable, but to impress the strength of the British Government delayed the acceptance for a couple of days. An agreement was arrived at on the 5th February for the final annexation of Kalinjar fort

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31. Secret Proceedings, February 8, 1812, No. 11, Richardson to Edmonstone January 30, 1812.

32. Secret Consultations, February, 15, 1812, No. 2. Richardson to Edmonstone, dated February 2, 1812.

Captain Fraser, Lieutenant Rice, one Sergeant and ten men of the 53rd were killed ; ten officers and 120 men were severely wounded. Lt. Faithful, Commanding the Pioneers and nearly half of his men were wounded.

33. Secret Consultations, February 15, 1812, No. 3. Richardson to Edmonstone, dated February 5, 1812.

to the British dominion.[34] The Governor General-in-Council readily accorded their approval to the action of the Agent regarding surrender of the fort and confirmed the terms of agreement as consistent with the ultimate object of the Government to eject the Kiladar from the fortress and not to reduce the resources of his support. Lord Minto taking in view "the natural impulse of human passions" and the "force of prejudices so peculiarly predominant with respect to the Fortress of Callinger", was disposed to overlook the Kiladar's refusal for peaceable surrender of the fortress and further observed that the dignity and interests of the British Government did not require the "extremity of retributive vigour".[35]

According to the arrangements made with Dario Singh Chaubey the fortress was evacuated by his men and British troops occupied it on tho 8th February.[36] Lands were assigned to him and his brethern who held a united interest in Kalinjar.

Thus the stronghold of Kalinjar which during its chequered course of history had defied many a conqueror was annexed by the Company, by a show of superior force. It was indeed regarded as one of the important successes which attended the British military operations in India and it was the final step in the attempt at pacification and subjugation of Bundelkhand. The foregoing narrative, however, clearly shows the injustice of the proceedings leading to its acquisition by Company. It was the bullying and arrogant Richardson who by his impossible demands on Dario Singh forced him to defy the British Government. A more considerate and humane treatment of the Bundela chief on the part of the local Political Agent of the Government would not had led to an impasse and the Kiladar's ultimate disposession of the fortress.

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34. Secret Consultations, February 29, 1812, No. 3.
35. Secret Consultations, February 15, 1812, No,4. Edmonstone to Richardson.
36. Secret Consultations, February 21, 1812, No. 1.

PATTAS OR TITLE DEEDS OF THE VILLAGES COMPRISING THE FRENCH COLONY OF CHANDERNAGORE.

BY

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About the beginnings of the settlement of the French at Chandernagore in Bengal some interesting details are contained in Doc. No. 83 of the Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives del'Inde Francaise, Pondichery. It includes all the Farmans and Parawanas for the establishment of the French in Bengal and the Pattas or Deeds of Sale of the estates and lands comprising the colony of Chandernagore. The originals of these interesting papers are lost, or at least not preserved in the French Archives, and about the reasons for their loss we get sufficient light from Doc. No. 2412, Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Pondichery. It states that a few days before the investment of Chandernagore by the forces under Clive and Watson (14th March, 1757) Renault de St. Germain, Governor of Chandernagore, had sent all the records of the settlement to Jean Law de Lauriston, the Chief of the Kasimbazar settlement. While Law in his turn had to leave Kasimbazar in the face of the advancing English forces, he entrusted the house and the records of the Company to an Armenian. The latter was compelled to deliver all the records to the English, who retained those documents which might be useful to them and sent back the rest to Renault at Pondicherry in December, 1757. Among the documents retained by the English and never returned to the French were the Farmans and Parawanas obtained by the French Company in Bengal and the title deeds of the villages comprising the settlement of Chandernagore. But although the originals were lost in this way, translated copies of these valuable documents were kept at Pondicherry and are thus preserved to us. The Farmans and Parawanas have already been noticed in a different Paper for the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1946, and the present Paper will deal with only the title deeds of the estates and lands comprising the colony of Chandernagore as they came into the possession of the French from time to time.

The history of the French settlements in Bengal began with the exploratory voyages undertaken in 1685-87, although as early as 1674 Du Plessis had obtained a Farman from Shayista Khan, the Mughal Viceroy at Dacca, which however could not be utilised for lack of resources[1]. The exploratory work was

1. Memoires de Francois Martin, Vol. I, p. 649.

followed in 1688 by the establishment by Bourreau Deslandes, son-in-law of the founder of Pondicherry, of the first French factory in Bengal at Hugli, the great centre of maritime commerce in the Province. The exact site of this factory cannot be definitely ascertained, nor do we know the reason for its abandonment except a mere guess that possibly the original house was too small and there was little scope for further expansion. In 1690 the French moved outside the town and established their factory a little to the south of it in a village where the later colony of Chandernagore grew up. It was situated in the estate of Boro-Kishanpur, the headquarters of the Pargana of Boro within Satgaon, and belonging to Molla Abdul Hadi. The French purchased 61 bighas of land in that village for their settlement, but as the plot was adjacent to a garden belonging to the Dutch Company the Dutch tried to prevent the French from building their settlement house so near their own possession. It was because of this dispute between the two commercial rivals that although the original deed of purchase is lost we have definite reference to it in two Parawanas of the Nawab of the Province and a Dastak of the Faujdar of Hugli, which state that the French duly purchased the plot of land and that the Patta had been properly sealed by the Qazi.

The two Parawanas are from Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Dacca. The first one was addressed to Mons. Deslandes and dated 20th of the month of Sha'ban of the 33rd year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, or 29th May 1690 according to the date written in French at the back of the original. It states, "I have read with great care the letter you sent me a few days back on the subject of the territory which you purchased in the estate or village of Borokishanpur, whereupon I have given an order to your Wakil, sealed with the seal of the Qazi, with respect to the house which you have taken on rent from Molla Abdul Hadi, the proprietor of the said house. I have written a Parwana or letter to Mir Muhammad Akbar to prohibit and prevent the Dutch from troubling you in the construction of the settlement house, so that you may build it with safety and tranquility". The second Parawana, addressed to the officers and employees of the village of Borokishanpur and bearing the same date, states, "A few days ago the Wakil of the Company of France represented to us that the Director of the same Company had purchased a plot of 61 bighas in the village of Borokishanpur and that he possessed the Patta or deed of sale of the said territory. The Director of that

quietly according to the customs of the other Companies. If the Dutch still oppose it, you shall prevent them. Be watchful in this matter".

As a result of these two Parawanas there was issued a Dastak, dated 22nd of the month of Ramazan of the 34th year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (1691 A. D.), by Mir Ali Akbar, Faujdar of Hugli. After referring to the cause of the dispute between the French and the Dutch the Dastak states, "..... but having received a few days later a second Parawana dated 10th of the month of Ramazan of the 34th year of the reign of the Emperor that the 61 bighas of land, following the Patta sealed by the Qazi and the admission of the Wakil of the Dutch, belong to the Company of France it is just that the Nawab should have granted the said Parawans to the Director of the above Company, and that it should have been prohibited for the Dutch to create trouble in any way, what we are also doing by the present Dastak. It is moreover stated in the said Parawana that the Director of the Company named has taken on rent a house from Molla Abdul Hadi, proprietor of the said house. The Director of the said Company may make repairs to the said house, construct his settlement house and defend himself against the Dutch if he is still troubled by them".

That was the beginning of the principal French settlement in Bengal, but for a long time French trade was completely paralysed by the two wars of the League of Augsburg and the Spanish Succession. Towards the end of the second war the situation improved, thanks mainly to the enterprise of the merchants of St. Malo. The revival of French trade and commerce in Bengal consequent on the appearance of "Malouin" vessels necessitated the expansion of the principal settlement in the province, and in 1715 the French purchased the entire estate of Borokishanpur from the descendants of Molla Abdul Hadi, from whom the French had originally acquired their plot of 61 bighas. The purchase was made through Rajaram Sharma Choudhury who lent his name to the French Company for the purpose. The deed of sale and the counter-note of Rajaram Sharma Choudhury are reproduced below.

"Patta or deed of sale of the estate of Borokishanpur, capital of the Pargana of Boro, sealed with the seals of Mohammad Seny and Abdul Quddus, Qazis or Judges of Law, dated 14th of the month of Falgun of the Bengali year 1122, which corresponds to the 17th of the month of Safar of the Hegira year 1127 and to 24th February, 1715 A. D.

"We the undersigned, Shaikh Abdul Bari, son of Molla Abdul Hadi and grandson of Shaik Sadre (Syedur ?) Mohammadi, and Shaikh Ahmadi, son of Molla Mohammadi and grandson of Molla Abdul Hadi, inhabitants of Nadia, judicial officers of Hugli, proprietors of the estate of Borokishanpur, capital of the Pargana of Boro within the jurisdiction of Satgaon, declare to have sold to

Rajaram Sharma Choudhury, son of Haricharan Choudhury and grandson of Ramram Choudhury, for the price and sum of eight hundred and twentyfive sicca rupees of the current year the said estate of Borokishanpur of which the circumference and the limits are known to all, the lands cultivated are uncultivated within the said circuit, the gardens, fish-ponds, pools, fruit and other trees and forests, excepting the mosque, the garden and the pond, the whole surrounded by a ditch, and 12 bighas of land as belonging to the mosque, of which the revenue serves to maintain the 'mali' or the gardener who has the care of the said mosque, and also the houses of Kishanram Madhusudan Das, of Shvetambar and of Prabhuram and their gardens and ponds, on condition of the said Rajaram Sharma paying to the Treasury officers of the Emperor the khajna or rent due to his Imperial Majesty; in testimony whereof we have given the present Patta for the said Rajaram Sharma Choudhury to be able to administer and enjoy the said estate of Borokishanpur on paying the said khajna or rent to the Treasury officers of the Emperor by which we shall not have any claim upon it whatsoever.

"We Shaikh Abdul Bari, son of Molla Abdul Bari and Shaikh Ahmadi, son of Molla Mohammadi, judicial officers of Hugli, certify to have received from the hands of Rajaram Sharma Choudhury, son of Haricharan Choudhury, the sum of eight hundred and twenty five sicca rupees of the current year for the estate of Borokishanpur within the province of Satgaon, except the mosque and its dependencies and the houses of Kishanram Madhusudan Das, Shvetambar and Parbhuram and their gardens and ponds, and that in the presence of Mohammad Seny and of Abdul Quddus, Qazis or Judges of the Law, who after having heard from the mouth of the above named that they had sold and had received the said sum of eight hundred and twenty five sicca rupees for the said estate of Borokishanpur with the exceptions mentioned in the said Patta have sealed the said Patta and the present receipt with their seals, which Patta and receipt they have seen signed by the above named (persons).

"Counter-note of Rajaram Sharma Choudhury in favour of Messieurs d'Hardancourt and la Blanchetiere to whom he had lent his name for the purchase of the estate of Borokishanpur, dated 19th of the month of Falgun of the Bengali year 1122 which corresponds to 1st March 1715.

and seventysix sicca rupees, which sums would form in total one thousand five hundred and one sicca rupees, which have been supplied and disbursed by the said sieurs d'Hardancourt and la Blanchetiere, to whom belong as masters and proprietors of the said estate or territory of Borokishanpur, the rents, profits, revenues; losses and expenditures also being to their account. I declare also that the above sale has been done under and in my name in accordance with the law and orders of the King and on the condition that the said gentlemen will grant me in perpetuity for myself and my heirs the enjoyment and proprietorship of forty one bighas of land exempt from all rents, and besides hundred rupees per year in my capacity as Jemidar or first writer of the said estate. Written on the 19th of the month of Falgun of the Bengali year 1122 or 1st March, 1715.

Signed/- Rajaram Sharma."

That was how the French acquired the estate of Borokishanpur which forms the northern part of present Chandernagore. About 15 years later they extended their settlement by the acquisition of two more estates of Prasadpur and Semplara[1], now forming the southern part of the town. The Patta of this purchase is reproduced below.

"Patta of the estate of Prasadpur sold in full proprietorship to the Company and purchased in consequence of a deliberation of the Council on the 10th February 1730, made on the 29th of the month of Ashar of the Bengali year 1137 or the 9th July or thereabout 1730.

"There appeared before us, Qazi of Chandernagore, the named Lal Sen, son of Gopi Sen and grandson of Maniram Sen, inhabitant of.....in the kingdom of Bengal, who promised and does promise to have sold an estate named Prasadpur and other lands and places, houses and trees belonging to him in the estate of Samplara to the named Ramram Choudhury for the sum of eleven hundred and twenty-five sicca rupees, the which sum he received in full payment in the shop of Balaram Badal. If the relatives or heirs of Lal Sen appear in future with some claim on the said estates, all their demands and claims are and will be null and untenable. In testimony of which we have given the present Patta sealed with our seal to serve him at the proper time and place.

"I, Lal Sen, son of Gopi Sen and grandson of Maniram Sen, certify to have sold an estate named Prasadpur and other lands and places which are in the estate of Samplara with the houses and trees belonging to me to Rajaram Choudhury, son of Brindaban Choudhury and grandson of Haricharan Choudhury for the

1. It might be the French version of the Bengali name "Sampla"; or it might have referred to the locality known as "Shyampatti" or "Shyambati".

sum of eleven hundred and twentyfive sicca rupees, the which sum I have received in full payment in the shop of Balaram Badal Bagnan, in testimony of which I have signed and given the present receipt to serve him at the proper time and place."

Two years later the French purchased another plot of land adjoining the estates of Prasadpur and Shabinara in order to round off their territory. The Patta or deed of sale is reproduced below.

"Patta of a plot of eight bighas and fifteen Cottas adjacent to the estates of Prasadpur and Shabinara, dated 30th of the month of Bhadra of the Bengali year 1139 or 12th September 1732 according to the note written in French at the back of the original.

"There appeared before us, Mohammad Hanif, Qazi at Chandernagore, the named Ramcharan Sur, first writer of the Cutchery, son of Nidhiram Sur and grandson of Baikunta Sur, who promised and does promise to have sold of his own free will to the Company of France in full proprietorship a territory adjacent to the territories of Prasadpur and Shabinara containing eight bighas and fifteen cottas with all the dependencies for the price and sum of three hundred and eighty rupees of the current year on condition of the said Company paying to the Zemindar seven rupees and one anna sicca as khajna or rent per year, as he has paid before to the said Zemindar. He has moreover declared and does declare that none of his relatives or heirs will be able to lay any claim on the said territory in future, adding that their claims are and will be null and untenable. That is why the Company will be able to do whatever it will like, or rather whatever it may think proper, with the said territory. In testimony of which we have given the present (Patta) sealed with our seal to serve him at the proper time and place,

"I, Ramcharan Sur, son of Nidhiram Sur and grandson of Baikunta Sur, certify and acknowledge to have received for the price of the above territory the sum of three hundred and eighty rupees of the current year in the shop of Balaram Badal Bagnan in the presence of Mohammad Hanif, who, after having heard from the mouth of the said Ramcharan Sur that he has sold the said territory and that he has received for that three hundred and eighty rupees of the current year, has sealed with his own seal the present receipt.

8th year of the reign of the Emperor, prohibiting the officers of Hugli and Satgaon to maltreat the inhabitants of the village. The Parawana is reproduced below.

"Let it be known to all officers and employees of Hugli and Satgaon at present in office and to all those who will be in office in future,

"A few days ago the Wakil of the Company of France declared to us that the officers and employees of Hugli and of Satgaon maltreated the inhabitants of the villages of the said Company, although they pay the rent ordained by His Imperial Majesty, and that because of their injustices these inhabitants far from getting settled down in the said villages were abandoning their houses, which rendered great prejudice to the Company and to its commerce; we, therefore, let you know by the present Parawana not to take nor to extort in future anything from the said villages except the rent fixed by the order of His Imperial Majesty, and not to maltreat the inhabitants in any way nor to employ violence to draw some profit. Be careful about what I am writing to you."

In 1727 the French acquired the estate of Gondalpara (also known as Telingapara or Telinipara), now in the south-eastern part of Chadernagore. It originally belonged to the Danes but later came into the possession of Hussein Hamedan Shaliby. The latter's gomastas, Haji Billal and Haji Abdulla, had pledged the estate to Ramkishan Roy on behalf of the French Company for a loan of two thousand sicca rupees advanced to them by the Company; and on their failure to pay the amount by the stipulated date, 10th November 1727, the property passed into the hands of the French Company, the Patta being signed on the 19th November 1727. Although Doc. No. 83 of the Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise, which contains the other Pattas does not mention Gondalpara at all, there is a "memoire" about the acquisition of that estate by the French Company in the "Letters et Coventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichery avec Differents Princes Hindous" (pp. 23-24).

Besides the villages mentioned above there are a few others included in the present town of Chandernagore, but it is not known when they were first acquired by the French nor are their Pattas available. It should be remembered that the present boundaries of Chandernagore were settled by an Anglo-French treaty in 1853, when there was some exchange of territory between the British and the French.

APPENDIX A

ANNUAL REPORT—1946

The Indian History Congress continues to maintain its position in the academic life of the country. It has received support from the Governments, Universities and learned associations and scholars of the country. It has yet to win recognition as the only authoritative National Council of historians of India. This it will do by the devotion and zeal of its members, so far as they make the deliberations of the Congress weighty and responsible by their learned contributions in the various sections of the Congress, by their participation in its activities and by their resolve to maintain the solidarity of their organisation.

Representation. As in the previous years, at the last session (1945) also, most of the Indian Universities, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments of North-Western Frontier Province, and Bihar and the Indian States of Tripura, Baroda, Mayurbhanj Puddukkotai, Mewar, Jodhpur and Kolhapur were represented by their nominees. The following learned associations had also sent up their representatives : C. P. and Berar Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal ; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona ; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal ; The Adyar Library and Theosophical Society, Madras ; the P. E. N. Association, Bombay ; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag ; Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay ; The Mythic Society, Bangalore ; Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Benares ; and Rajwade Samshodhak Mandal, Dhulia.

But I have to express my disappointment again that a number of Provincial Governments and Indian States did not find it convenient to be represented at the meeting of the Congress. May I express the hope that under the popular Governments of the Provinces the response will be more generous and that the Indian States will be largely repesented at our meetings.

Membership. Last year I had referred to the decrease in the number of members, and had made an appeal to the existing members to enrol at least two new members each so as to raise the membership to 500. I addressed a personal letter also to a very large number of influential members, during the year, requesting them to persuade their friends and colleagues to join the Indian History Congress. I received many encouraging assurances of co-operation, but I regret to report that the membership this year has not attained even the limit of last year. The membership this year stands at 470 of which 35 are new. The disturbed condition in [illegible] of the country and the uncertainty about the holding of the session might have been responsible for this. I hope,

however, that the old members will not relax their efforts and will strive to raise the number to 500 within the next few months. In this connection, I have to appeal to the existing members to renew their membership long before the meeting of the Congress, and not remit their membership fee just on the eve of the session. I may here draw attention to Rule 23 (b) of the Constitution which lays down that "membership of the Association shall cease unless renewed atleast one month before the meeting of the Association."

Comprehensive History of India : Some progress has been made this year also in the preparation of the Comprehensive History of India. A considerable portion of volumes V and IX is now ready and the manuscripts of most of the chapters of these two volumes have been handed over to the Editors concerned for the purpose of editing them. It is expected that these volumes will be sent to the press within a period of six months. A large portion of volume III is also ready, and many other contributors have promised to send their contributions at an early date. But even one scholar can hold up the preparation of a volume by delaying his contribution. The manuscripts of some chapters in other volumes, except volumes IV and XII, have also been received. The office has been sending constant reminders to the contributors, and definite time limits have also been imposed from time to time, but the response of the learned contributors has not been very encouraging. It has been decided by the Executive Board to execute agreements with the contributors which will require completion of the work within a limited period. Such agreements are now ready and will soon be executed. I take this opportunity of emphasising again the importance of early production of the History of India, particularly as the financial support accorded to the scheme has been so generous and prompt. We have an obligation to the public and shall be betraying the trust reposed in us, if dilatoriness of the scholars obstructs the early preparation of the History.

The promised donations amount to Rs. 2,36,100 of which Rs. 1,65,100 have been realised.

I have to repeat once again our sense of gratefulness to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru but for whom the collection of funds could not have been possible.

I have also to express my sense of gratitude to Dr. Tara Chand, President of the Congress for his untiring efforts in securing donations and raising funds.

Co-ordination of research. The information furnished by some members about their research output is being compiled and will soon be published. For the purpose of coordinating research it is necessary that full information of the research activities of the scholars should be available as far as possible. May it be hoped that the scholars who have not yet furnished information about their subjects of research will do so at an early date!

Of late in many quarters strange notions have been entertained about the purpose of history, and partisan politics has not hesitated to mould Indian history for purposes of propaganda. The time has now arrived when the Iudian History Congress, as a representative organisation of the historians of India, should issue an authoritative declaration of the purpose, scope and meaning of history. At this stage of national development, when popular governments are functioning in the provinces and vision of an independent India is in sight, and when partisan spirit is rampant in the country, the need of such a statement is all the greater.

I have to report with great sorrow the sad death of two of our ex-Presidents, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, who had helped in raising the stature of the Indian History Congress by their devotion and energy to the cause of historical scholarship and the strengthening of the Indian History Congress.

It is matter of gratification to us that the founder of the Indian History Congress, Prof. D. V. Potdar has been honoured by the Government for his scholarship by the grant of the title of Mahamahopadhyaya, and that the title of Diwan Bahadur has been conferred on Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, an ex-President.

We are grateful to the University of Patna for so kindly inviting us to hold our session in the historic city of Patna.

I have to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Tara Chand, the President, for his unfailing support, guidance, sympathy and inspiration. I have also to thank Dr. K. K. Datta, the Local Secretary, for his zealous efforts in making the arrangements for the session in such abnormal times.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Joint Secretary.

Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association held on 29th December 1946 at Patna

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress was held on 29th December 1946 in the Senate Hall of the Patna University at 11 a. m. The following members were present :—

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
2. Dr. S. N. Sen
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
4. Dr. A. S. Altekar
5. Mr. S. M. Jaffar
6. Mr. Shibli Ibrahimi
7. Dr. Tara Chand
8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
9. Mr. A. C. Banerji
10. Mr. G. R. Singhal
11. Dr. N. N. Ghosh
12. Mr. R. G. Gyani
13. Dr. P. M. Joshi
14. Dr. V. D. Rao
15. Mr. Bal Raj Madhak
16. Prof. D. V. Potdar
17. Mr. U. R. Venkata Rama Aiyar.
18. Dr. I. H. Qureshi
19. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya
20. Mr. P. Acharya
21. Mr. B. N. Puri
22. Dr. B. P. Saksena
23. Dr. A. Halim (Aligarh)
24. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
25. Mr. K. D. Bajpai
26. Mr. Satya Prakash Srivastava
27. Mr. M. M. Nagar
28. Pt. B. N. Reu
29. Mr. R. Subba Rao
30. Mr. G. C. Rath
31. Mr. Anil Chandra Banerji
32. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali
33. Mr. S. N. Sen
34. Dr. R. N. Dandekar
35. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
36. Prof. V. V. Mirashi
37. Dr. K. K. Datta
38. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri
39. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar
40. Mr. Pratapagiri Ramamurti
41. Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar
42. Sardar Ganda Singh
43. Prof. Shri Ram Sharma
44. Mr. D. G. Mahajan
45. Mr. Rishabhdas Jain
46. Mr. K. H. Kamdar
47. Mr. S. P. Sen
48. Mr. A. C. Banerji
49. Mr. A. H. Nizami
50. Miss Maryla Falk
51. Mr. A. Subbaraya Chetty
52. Mr. Jaipal Singh Rawat
53. Dr. Pratul C. Gupta
54. Mr. V. Narayana Pillai
55. Dr. P. Basu
56. Dr. H. N. Sinha
57. Mr. S. Nurul Hasan
58. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan
59. Mr. Mahmud Husain

The ruling of the Chair was sought by some members who had not paid their membership fee one month before the session as required by the rules, whether they could take part in the Business meeting. The President gave his ruling that for the present session only such members may vote for elections and stand for elections also and that the Executive Committee may make the rules clear for the subsequent sessions.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read by the General Secretary and confirmed.

2. The following resolutions of condolence were moved from the *Chair* and were passed all standing.

"That the Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss in the demise of Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, two of its distinguised Presidents who played a great part in shaping the work of the Congress and furthering the projects undertaken by it.

"That the Indian History Congress Association further records its sense of sorrow at the demise of Prof. H. H. Dodwell whose services to the cause of Indian Historical studies are very well known."

3. The following resolution of felicitation was moved from the *Chair* and was adopted with acclamation:—

"That the Indian History Congress Association offers its most sincere felicitations to Dr. Tara Chand on his well merited election as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, and to Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar and Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari on the titles conferred on them by the Government."

4. The General Secretary presented the Report for the Year 1946 as recommended by the Executive Committee for adoption by the House. A discussion ensued in which objection was taken to the quality of the papers and the printing of the proceedings of the last session. It was suggested that the papers should be scrutinized by the Sectional Presidents before they should be allowed to be included in the Volume of Proceedings and that so far as possible the proofs should be corrected by the authors. It was also suggested that a uniform system of transliteration should be followed and that the system adopted by Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, Royal Asiatic Society and Imperial Gazeteer be adopted. It was also suggested that a standing committee to supervise printing be formed in Allahabad which should, if necessary, also revise the proofs of the papers. The House was also of the opinion that papers submitted to the Indian History Congress should not be published elsewhere and that the writers make a declaration that the paper has not been published elsewhere and it is not intended for publication elsewhere. Further that the reproduction of the papers should be only with the permission of the Indian History Congress. It was also suggested that the rules may be made for this purpose. The Report was then adopted. (Appendix 4).

5. The House considered the accounts for the year 1945-46 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved to [illegible] (Appendix 5).

6. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for 1947-48 as approved by the Executive Committee. It was resolved to adopt them. (Appendix C).

7. The House considered the venue for the next session and in this connection considered the invitation extended by the University of Bombay and Bombay Historical Society which had been recommended by the Executive Committee for acceptance. It was resolved to accept the invitation.

8. The President reported election by the Executive Committee of the following office-bearers and President and Sectional Presidents for the year 1947 :

President	...	Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
Vice-Presidents	...	Dr. Tara Chand
		Dr. S. N. Sen
General Secretary	...	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary	...	Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar
Treasurer	...	Dr. B. P. Saksena
President for 1947 Session	...	Prof. Mohammad Habib

Sectional Presidents :

1. Dr. R. N. Dandekar	...	Section I—Upto 711 A. D.
2. Dr. B. A. Saletore	...	Section II—711 to 1206
3. Prof. G. V. Rao	...	Section III—1206-1526
4. Khan Sahib Syed Hasan Askari	...	Section IV—1526-1764
5. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar	...	Section V—1764-onward.

9. The House elected the following members to the Executive Committee for the year 1947 :—

1. MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar	8. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar	9. Dr. A. L. Srivastava
3. Dr. K. K. Datta	10. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri
4. Dr. A. S. Altekar	11. Dr. H. N. Sinha
5. Prof. V. V. Mirashi	12. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya
6. Dr. I. H. Qureshi	13. Dr. S. K. Banerji
7. Dr. J. N. Banerjea	14. Dr. D. C. Sircar

10. A vote of thanks was moved by Dr. Tara Chand to the University of Patna Reception Committee, Volunteers and private hosts and it was supported by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Dr. R. C.

Majumdar and Dr. I. H. Qureshi. Dr. K. K. Datta, the Local Secretary made a reply. The vote of thanks was adopted with acclamation.

11. The President in his concluding remarks drew attention to the following matters :—

He remarked that the quality of papers should improve. By gathering annually at a place our social contacts are becoming very strong. We should come here as learners and teachers. He also pointed out that due publicity to our conference is not given and he suggested that the Local Reception Committee should give a full description of the Session in the newspapers. Further he observed that on account of the delay in publishing the History of India volumes, people were getting restless. The contributors should realise their responsibility and submit their chapters at their earliest convenience. They should cooperate with the Association.

Lastly he thanked all.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 28, 1946

The Annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Patna in the University buildings on the 28th December 1946 at 5-30 p. m. Owing to the absence of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the President of the Session, Dr. Tara Chand, the outgoing President, took the chair.

The following members were present.

1. Dr. H. N. Sinha
2. Dewan Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivaschari
3. Prof. D. V. Potdar
4. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi
6. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
7. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri
8. Dr. I. H. Qureshi
9. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena
10. Mr. V. Narayana Pillai
11. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
12. Dr. K. K. Datta
13. Dr. Tara Chand

The following business was transacted :—

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The Committee considered the Annual Report presented by the General Secretary and recommended it to the Business Meeting for adoption. (*Report—Appendix A*)

3. The Committee considered the Annual accounts for the year 1945-46 presented by the Treasurer and recommended them for adoption to the Business meeting. (*Accounts—Appendix B*)

4. The Committee considered the Budget estimates for the year 1947-48 presented by the Treasurer and recommended them for adoption to the Business meeting. (*Budget—Appendix C*)

5. The following were elected as Office-bearers for 1947.

President :	...	Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
Vice-Presidents :	...	1. Dr. Tara Chand
		2. Dr. S. N. Sen
General Secretary:	...	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary :	...	Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar
Treasurer :	...	Dr. B. P. Saksena

6. The following were elected as President and Sectional Presidents for the 10th Session of the Indian History Congress :

President		Prof. Mohammad Habib
Sectional President :	...	Sec. I Dr. R. N. Dandekar
		Sec. II Dr. B. A. Saletore
		Sec. III Prof. G. V. Rao
		Sec. IV Khan Sahib Syed Hasan Askari
		Sec. V Prof. S. V. Puntambekar

7. The committee considered the invitation extended jointly by the Bombay Historical Society and the University of Bombay through Dr. P. M. Joshi to the Indian History Congress to hold its 10th Session in Bombay in December 1947.

The Committee also considered the letter of the Patna State (Eastern States Agency) inviting the Indian History Congress to hold its next session in the State.

It was resolved to recommend to the Business meeting the invitation of the Bombay University and Bombay Historical Society for acceptance.

It was further resolved to thank the authorities of Patna State for their kind invitation.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi renewed his invitation on behalf of the Delhi University to the Indian History Congress to hold its session in Delhi in December 1948. The Committee expressed its gratefulness to the Delhi University.

8. It was resolved to appoint Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal and Co. to Audit the accounts for 1946-47 and sanctioned the payment of Rs. 50 for the work.

9. The Committee considered the proposal of Prof. H. K. Sherwani relating to the publication of a journal by the Indian History Congress. It was resolved to appoint a sub-committee

to consider the proposition and suggest practical means for implementing the decision. The sub-committee was asked to submit its report to the Committee at its next meeting. The following were appointed members of the sub-committee :—

1. Dr. S. N. Sen, (*Chairman*)
2. Prof. Mohammad Habib
3. D. B. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
4. Prof. D. V. Potdar
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi
6. Dr. I. H. Qureshi
7. Prof. H. K. Sherwani
8. General Secretay. (*Secretary*).

10. The Committee considered the proposal relating to the publication of Original Source material for the History of India. It was resolved to drop the proposal.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri arrived at this stage and took the Chair.

11. The letter of the Government of India relating to the decimilization of the weights and measures was considered.

It was resolved to record it.

12. The Committee recommended that the following resolutions of condolence on the sad demise of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Prof. H. H. Dodwell be moved at the Business meeting from Chair.

"That the Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss in the demise of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, two of its distinguished Presidents who played a great part in shaping the work of the Congress and furthering the projects undertaken by it.

" That the Indian History Congress Association further records its sense of sorrow at the demise of Prof. H. H. Dodwell whose services to the cause of Indian Historical studies are very well known."

13. The Committee recommended the following resolution of felicitations to be moved from the Chair at the Business meeting.

" That the Indian History Congress Association offers its most sincere felicitations to Dr. Tara Chand on his well-merited election as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, and to Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar and Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari on the titles conferred on them by the Government."

BISHESHWAR PRASAD

APPENDIX B

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of accounts for the period from 1st January, 1945 to 31st March, 1946 of the Indian History Congress.

	Dr.	Cr.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance	...	2,535 3 9
Membership fee	...	2,710 0 0
Imperial Bank Balance	4,152 9 6	
Establishment	380 9 0	
Sale of Proceedings	...	189 15 0
Stationery	49 13 0	
Printing	253 14 6	
Bank Commission	18 9 0	
Postage and Telegrams	194 4 9	
Miscellaneous	45 3 0	
Printing of Proceedings... ...	300 0 0	
History of India Scheme ...	6 11 0	
Cash with office	33 9 6	
Total ...	5,435 2 9	5,435 2 9

Opening balance for the next year.

	Rs. a. p.
Imperial Bank Balance ...	4,152 9 6
History of India Scheme (To be realised) ...	6 11 0
Cash with office	33 9 6
Total ...	4,192 14 0

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APPENDIX C

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Budget Estimates for the year 1947-48.

Particulars	Actuals of 1945-46 (15 Months) Audited)	Estimates for 1946-47	Estimates for 1947-48
INCOME	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Opening Balance	2,535 3 9	3,896 0 0	1,600 0 0
2. Membership fee	2,710 0 0	2,500 0 0	2,560 0 0
3. Sale of Proceedings	189 15 0	200 0 0	250 0 0
Total ...	5,435 2 9	6,596 0 0	4,350 0 0
EXPENDITURE			
1. Establishment	380 9 0	500 0 0	500 0 0
2. Printing of Proceedings	300 0 0	1,200 0 0	1,500 0 0
3. Printing and Stationery	303 11 0	470 0 0	250 0 0
4. Postage and Telegrams	194 4 9	250 0 0	200 0 0
5. Audit Expenses	...	50 0 0	50 0 0
6. Travelling Expenses	...	150 0 0	150 0 0
7. Furniture	...	50 0 0	150 0 0
8. Bank Commission	18 9 0	20 0 0	20 0 0
9. Miscellaneous	45 3 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
Total ...	1,242 4 9	2,790 0 0	2,920 0 0

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