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## PREFACE

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30th December, 1955

K. K. DATTA  
*Secretary*

## CONTENTS

|                                  | PAGE |
|----------------------------------|------|
| MESSAGE FROM DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD |      |
| MESSAGE FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU    |      |
| INAUGURAL ADDRESS                |      |
| Dr. S. Radhakrishnan             |      |
| ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT |      |
| Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane  | 1    |

### SECTION I

#### ANCIENT INDIA UP TO 711 A. D.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS   |    |
| A. Ghosh   | 19 |
| SOME EARLY LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA ABOUT TANTRICISM                   |    |
| J. N. Banerjea   | 24 |
| HYMN FOR COMMERCIAL SUCCESS IN THE ATHARVAVEDA: ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCES         |    |
| Dr. R. B. Pandey   | 30 |
| ON THE WORD 'AIRA'-IN THE UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS                          |    |
| Sukumar, Sen   | 34 |
| DID PULUMAVI CONQUER ANDHRADESA ?  |    |
| Dr. M. Rama Rao  | 35 |
| BURHIKĀR BRAHMI INSCRIPTION  |    |
| Dr. D. C. Sircar   | 39 |
| SOME FAMILY LETTERS IN KHAROSHTHI SCRIPT FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN (CENTRAL ASIA) |    |
| Ratna Chandra Agrawala   | 41 |
| SOME NOTES ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MAURYA TERRACOTTAS AND STONE-SCULPTURE     |    |
| Dr. C. Das Gupta   | 46 |
| THE MANA-SAMVAT OF ORISSA  |    |
| Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru  | 49 |
| THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE SURYA IMAGE IN INDIA                           |    |
| Dilip Kumar Biswas   | 54 |
| CAN THE SO-CALLED 'MITRAS' BE IDENTIFIED WITH SUNGAS?                          |    |
| Sm. Bela Lahiri  | 57 |
| AN EXAMINATION OF SOME TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN ERAS             |    |
| Mrs. Debala Mitra  | 61 |
| WAS THERE A SECOND DEMETRIUS?  |    |
| Amarendra Nath Lahiri  | 62 |
| ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT TALMUK   |    |
| Prof. Paresh Chandra Dasgupta  | 68 |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA<br>ON THE BASIS OF EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES |      |
| Prof. Radha Krishna Choudhary .. .. .   | 71   |
| AN EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM (CIRCA 100 B. C.)                                       |      |
| A. S. Gadre .. .. .   | 78   |
| SAMSKARAS AND SCULPTURE   |      |
| C. Sivaramamurti .. .. .  | 80   |
| TWO VERY INTERESTING TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM THE EXCAVATED<br>SITE NAGAR                            |      |
| Dr. Satya Prakash .. .. .   | 88   |
| SOME INTERESTING COINS FROM PAWAYA  |      |
| Dr. H. V. Trivedi .. .. .   | 89   |
| THE EARLY PARISHAD  |      |
| Sri Ram Sharan Sharma .. .. .   | 93   |
| SOME FAMILY LETTERS IN KHAROSHTHI SCRIPT FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN                                     |      |
| Sri R. C. Agrawala .. .. .  | 94   |
| THE ASHTAMATRKAS OF MARWAR  |      |
| Sri R. C. Agrawala .. .. .  | 94   |
| ON THE DATES OF COPPER PLATES OF SAMUDRAGUPTA   |      |
| Sri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta .. .. .   | 94   |
| THE DATE OF KANISHKA  |      |
| Sri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta .. .. .   | 95   |
| EARLY GANGA GENEALOGY   |      |
| Sri H. S. Ramanna .. .. .   | 95   |
| BIHAR IN THE AGNA-PURANA  |      |
| Sri Yogendra Mishra .. .. .   | 96   |
| PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA WAS NOT THE PERSECUTOR OF BUDDHISTS   |      |
| Sri Hari Kishore Prasad .. .. .   | 96   |
| AN ASPECT OF INDIAN ECONOMY   |      |
| Sri Bimalaprasad Mukerji .. .. .  | 98   |
| POSITION OF THE BRAHMANAS IN THE MAURYAN TIME   |      |
| Sri S. P. Sinha .. .. .   | 98   |
| BABYLONIAN CITIES IN THE PURANAS  |      |
| Sri Amrit Pandya .. .. .  | 99   |
| IS CASTE-SYSTEM A DIVINE INSTITUTION?   |      |
| Dr. H. Vedantasastri .. .. .  | 99   |
| BRIHASPATIMITRA OF THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVEIA   |      |
| Sri Amar Chand .. .. .  | 100  |
| THE PROBLEM OF THE HARSA ERA  |      |
| Dr. Buddha Prakash .. .. .  | 101  |
| THE KAUTILIAN STATE—A WELFARE STATE   |      |
| Dr. B. P. Sinha .. .. .   | 101  |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| PALI: ITS ORIGIN AND DERIVATION                                       |      |
| Dr. L. B. Kenny .. .. .   | 102  |
| THE GREAT BATH MYSTERY  |      |
| Swami Sankarananda .. .. .  | 104  |
| <b>SECTION II</b>   |      |
| 711-1206 A. D.  |      |
| PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  |      |
| M. Rama Rao .. .. .   | 107  |
| MAHAKAVICHAKRAVARTIN CHHITTAPA  |      |
| Dr. D. C. Sircar .. .. .  | 124  |
| THE PRTHIVIPATI COLLATERAL LINE OF THE WESTERN GANGAS                 |      |
| Dr. A. R. Baji .. .. .  | 129  |
| VARANASI UNDER THE GAHADAVALAS  |      |
| Dr. Roma Niyogi .. .. .   | 134  |
| THE AUTHOR OF THE RAMABHYUDAY—HIS DATE AND IDENTITY                   |      |
| Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray .. .. .   | 141  |
| JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA II.                         |      |
| Prof. V. V. Mirashi .. .. .   | 143  |
| A NOTE OF 'SIDAT SAVADYA CEDIH' (KHAJURAHO INSCRIPTION OF V.S. 1011)  |      |
| Sisir Kumar Mitra .. .. .   | 147  |
| ANTIQUITY OF THE TITLE 'MAHAMAHOPADHAYA'                              |      |
| Prof. D. B. Diskalkar .. .. .   | 150  |
| VENGI AND KARNATAKA   |      |
| Prof. G. S. Dikshit .. .. .   | 151  |
| SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION IN THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE |      |
| Sri Kamaleswar Bhattacharya .. .. .                                   | 153  |
| ENDOWMENTS THROUGH TAXES ON TRADE IN NORTHERN INDIA                   |      |
| Miss Puspa Niyogi .. .. .   | 163  |
| <b>SECTION III</b>  |      |
| 1206-1526 A. D.   |      |
| ORIGIN OF NASIR-UD-DIN KHUSRAV SHAH OF DELHI                          |      |
| Dr. A. L. Srivastava .. .. .  | 173  |
| MARAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA AND RAJARAJA MAGADAI NADALVAN               |      |
| Dr. T. V. Mahalingam .. .. .  | 177  |
| FUTUH-US-SALATIN  |      |
| Mahdi Husain .. .. .  | 180  |
| DID SULTAN HUSSAIN OF BENGAL INVADE THE AHOM KINGDOM?                 |      |
| Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri .. .. .  | 191  |
| SOME ASPECTS OF KASHMIR HISTORY UNDER THE SHAH MIRS AND THE CHAKS     |      |
| Mohibul Hasan Khan .. .. .  | 194  |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| CHRONOLOGY OF THE OINIWAR DYNASTY OF MITHILA  |      |
| Sri Vijayakanta Mishra .. .. .  | 200  |
| KAKATIYA AND THE MUSLIM INVASION  |      |
| N. Venkataramanayya .. .. .   | 210  |
| THE LABJAT-I-SIKANDAR SHAHI, A UNIQUE AND EXHAUSTIVE BOOK ON<br>INDIAN MUSIC OF THE TIME OF SIKANDAR LODI |      |
| Nazir Ahmad .. .. .   | 219  |
| RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA  |      |
| Prof. Asit Kumar Sen .. .. .  | 225  |
| THE UMMATTUR CHIEFTANCY   |      |
| Dr. M. Arokiaswami .. .. .  | 232  |
| <b>SECTION IV</b>   |      |
| 1526-1764 A. D.   |      |
| PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  |      |
| Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh .. .. .   | 239  |
| GUJRAT AND MALWA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY  |      |
| Dr. Satis Chandra Misra .. .. .   | 245  |
| ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE OF BAIRAM KHAN  |      |
| Dr. Sukumar Ray .. .. .   | 248  |
| RAJA RAM DAS KACHHAWAHA .. .. .   |      |
| Prof. Syed Hasan Askari .. .. .   | 251  |
| WAS JAI SINGH TREACHEROUS TO DARAJ SHUKOH?  |      |
| Dr. C. B. Tripathi .. .. .  | 260  |
| AN IMPORTANT INSCRIPTION FROM JHUNTARAM OR JHUNTA RAI'S<br>TEMPLE AT AMBER                                |      |
| Dr. Satya Prakash .. .. .   | 261  |
| RAG—DARPAK  |      |
| Prof. S. K. Srivastava .. .. .  | 265  |
| FURNITURE DURING MUGHUL DAYS  |      |
| Dr. Chopra .. .. .  | 267  |
| THE COLLECTION OF WAQAI IN THE CENTRAL RECORD OFFICE,<br>HYDERABAD—DECCAN                                 |      |
| Dr. Yusuf Hussain .. .. .   | 269  |
| THE ATOLES OF SHELGAON IN BERAR   |      |
| Sri D. B. Mahajan .. .. .   | 272  |
| THE ARCHIVES OF THE DESHMUKH FAMILY OF SHOLAPUR   |      |
| Shri G. H. Khare .. .. .  | 273  |
| MARATHA INVASION OF THE MADURA COUNTRY  |      |
| R. Chandramauliswar .. .. .   | 276  |
| NEW LIGHT ON THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY  |      |
| Prof. R. V. Oturkar .. .. .   | 279  |

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF GANGAVAMSANU CHARITAM CHAMFU<br>KAVYAM AND THE GENEALOGY OF ITS AUTHOR                            |      |
| Shri G. S. Das .. .. .   | 281  |
| MAHADJI SINDHIA IN THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT   |      |
| Prof. M. S. Agaskar .. .. .  | 284  |
| THE CONTENTS OF MARATHA NATIONALISM  |      |
| Prof. B. K. Apte .. .. .   | 285  |
| SHETYE-MAHAJAN   |      |
| Shri Shankar Narayan Joshi .. .. .   | 287  |
| ORISSA GOVERNORS AND THE TRADE OF BALASORE   |      |
| Dr Jagadish Narayan Sarkar .. .. .   | 288  |
| STATESMANSHIP OF MAHARAJA ALA SINGH OF PATIALA   |      |
| S. Kirpal Singh .. .. .  | 292  |
| <b>SECTION V</b>   |      |
| from 1765 A. D.  |      |
| PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS   |      |
| Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee .. .. .  | 299  |
| THE INDIAN MOVEMENT OF 1857-59 AND ITS REACTIONS ABROAD  |      |
| Dr. Kalikinkar Datta .. .. .   | 306  |
| HOW CUTTACK BECAME A TRADE CENTRE WITH THE INTRODUCTION<br>OF BRITISH RULE   |      |
| Dr. Nandala Chatterji .. .. .  | 310  |
| CAPTAIN FORREST IN RHIÖ  |      |
| S. N. Das Gupta .. .. .  | 312  |
| CORONATION OF CHAIT SINGH OF BANARAS   |      |
| Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury .. .. .  | 319  |
| A GLIMPSE INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS UNDER THE<br>NAGPUR BHONSLAS   |      |
| Prof. R. M. Sinha .. .. .  | 322  |
| MARTIN'S INTERFERENCE TO CONTROL SUCCESSION IN HYDERABAD   |      |
| Dr. Hira Lal Gupta .. .. .   | 326  |
| THE 'LIBERAL POLICY IN AFGHANISTHAN' DURING 1820-24  |      |
| Prof. Dilip Kumar Ghose .. .. .  | 333  |
| THE SATI IN HYDERABAD  |      |
| Prof. Nani Gopal Chaudhuri .. .. .   | 341  |
| THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY  |      |
| Shri Bimla Prasad .. .. .  | 343  |
| EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE HILL TRIBES OF ASSAM  |      |
| Shri Kesav Narayan Dutt .. .. .  | 344  |
| THE SUBSTITUTION OF ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR LANGUAGES FOR PER-<br>SIAN IN THE REVENUE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT |      |
| Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghosal .. .. .   | 345  |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| A NOTE ON BAIZA BAI'S LIFE  |      |
| Dr. K. L. Srivastava .. .. .  | 346  |
| GORE OUSELEY ON HARFORD JONES   |      |
| Sri Shilendra K. Singh .. .. .  | 345  |
| THE BATTLE OF PILLALORE   |      |
| Prof. M. V. Krishna Rao .. .. .   | 346  |
| HAI DAR NAMA—ITS AUTHORSHIP   |      |
| D. S. Achutha Rao .. .. .   | 347  |
| ASSASSINATION OF JAYAPPA SHINDE   |      |
| V. S. Chitale .. .. .   | 347  |
| SIDE LIGHTS ON THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MIR JAFAR AND<br>THE COMPANY             |      |
| Dr. Atul Chandra Roy .. .. .  | 348  |
| THE REAL MOTIVES OF THE BRITISH BEHIND THE CONFEDRACY AGAINST<br>TIPU SULTAN            |      |
| Prof. B. Sheik Ali .. .. .  | 349  |
| AN ILLUSTRATION OF RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE BRITISH ADMINISTRA-<br>TION OF INDIA IN 1877 |      |
| Dr. K. N. V. Sastri .. .. .   | 349  |
| DELHI URDU AKBAR, 1840-41   |      |
| Shri Krishna Lal Sachdeva .. .. .   | 349  |
| HUMAN SACRIFICE IN ORISSA   |      |
| Shri R. K. Mishra .. .. .   | 350  |

## SECTION VI LOCAL

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS,<br>RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF ANDHRADESA BETWEEN 225-610 A. D. |     |
| Prof. R. Subha Rao .. .. .  | 354 |
| GURZALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE EARLIEST IKSHVAKU RULER<br>SRI RUDRA-PURUSHA-DATTA  |     |
| Sri S. K. Dikshit .. .. .   | 357 |
| ON VISHNUKUNDIN KING  |     |
| M. Venkataramanayya .. .. .   | 363 |
| SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF TELANGANA  |     |
| Sri K. Lakshmi Ranjan .. .. .   | 374 |
| CERTAIN WRONG THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE ANDHRAS<br>REFUTED   |     |
| Sri Kota Venkatacualam .. .. .  | 382 |

RASHTRAPATI BHAWAN  
NEW DELHI  
DECEMBER 23, 1953

### ***Message From the President***

I send my best wishes for the forthcoming Inaugural Session of the Indian History Congress. The Congress represents those who have done much historical research and given clarification and interpretation to many events needing them. Although there is still many a gap in our past history, thanks to the efforts of historians and the interest stimulated in research work, more and more light may now be expected to be thrown on missing links in our chronicles. I hope the Congress will continue to serve as the meeting point of all workers in the cause. I wish success to this Session of the Indian History Congress to be held at Waltair next week.

*Sd. Rajendra Prasad*

### ***Message From the Prime Minister***

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the holding of the 16th Session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair.

A study and proper understanding of past history is essential in order to understand current events, because the present has its roots in the past. It has often been said that Indians have not had a marked historical sense. Perhaps there is some truth in it. At the same time, a mere bald record of historical events has little meaning. Some of our recent histories in India are more a narrative of events than anything else and do not help much in understanding a particular period. I hope that history will now be viewed in a wider aspect and, more particularly, in its economic and cultural aspects. We have to understand the major forces that have shaped the progress of man.

In India, and indeed in Asia, we stand today at the beginning of a new era. The colonial period, during which Europe dominated Asia, is over, although there are still traces of that domination in some parts of Asia. At the same time other powerful forces are arising which might well interfere with the freedom of Asian countries.

I hope, therefore, that our historians will bring insight into the study of the past, its merging into the present, and thus help us to understand this complicated present of ours.

NEW DELHI  
17th DECEMBER, 1953

*Sd. Jawaharlal Nehru*

INDIAN HISTORICAL CONGRESS  
WALTAIR

INAUGURAL SPEECH

by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN  
VICE-PRESIDENT

Though the subject of my special study is not history, you have been good enough to ask me to inaugurate this Congress. Just as memory is the principal factor in the sense of personal identity an individual possesses, even so history is the memory which a nation possesses. In spite of continual changes in our bodily cells and mental processes, each one is aware of himself as the same person from birth to death. This is so largely because of the persistence of memory. History is the cause of the nation's persistent identity. It is that which links the past, the present and the future. By connecting the past with the present, we perceive the continuity and solidarity of the ages.

It is our duty therefore to undertake a systematic account of our history, an account which is objective and dispassionate. I know that this Historical Congress has undertaken such an account. Writers of history should remember that Mallinatha, the renowned commentator, has said :—

*'na amulam likhyate kincit  
na anapeksitam ucyate*

Nothing is written here without authority; nothing is said here which is irrelevant.

There are some historians who wish to be showmen anxious to make an appeal to the public; to make an effect they sometimes distort facts or adorn tales; there are others who are concerned with accuracy. There is no incompatibility between accuracy and appeal. To secure both requires learning, intelligence and imagination. The late Lord Balfour described Sir Winston Churchill's *World Crises* as "Winston's brilliant autobiography disguised as a history of the universe." It is generally said that the only lesson of history is that we learn nothing from it. This is a warning. By a proper study of history, we can learn a great deal from it. Our steady and endless struggle for truth stretches back to the fountain springs of human thought. The passage of several thousand years sees not much change in our general character, its strength as well as its weakness. We have survived in spite of all that the world could do against us and all that we could do against ourselves. Centuries of foreign rule and

endless oppression leave us still an active force in the world though quarrelling among ourselves with insatiable vivacity. We must instruct our boys and girls in schools and colleges in the historical sequence of events in the past. We must treat with scientific detachment and accuracy the circumstances which marked the decline and fall of governments in India. Never were we in greater need of objective and scholarly study of our past history and present condition. We must strive to determine the great fundamentals which govern a peaceful progression toward a constantly higher level of civilisation and the forces that impede it. Your President-elect, Dr. Kane, has given us in his monumental and encyclopaedic work *Dharma Sastra*, a historical account of our social life. He enjoins on us a cordial but critical devotion to the ideals which inspired our minds and hearts across the centuries.

A fundamental lack of national coherence has been our grave defect. We complained against the British rule that it attempted to divide us and rule us. But what are we doing to-day to heal the divisions ?

It is no use acquiescing in the evils of society on the assumption that historical processes dictate the pattern of society, that men are not in control of events, that events are in control of men and the course of history. When Germany plunged into Nazism, the classic excuse of the German was "What could I do, I am only a little man." This is a retreat from responsibility. There is no doubt that man's freedom of action is limited, it does not work in a vacuum. Social conditions, environmental pressures, what are called historic forces, influence him. But he can set his face in the right direction or the wrong. There are some philosophers of history Hegel, Marx, Spengler who argue that there is a sense of inevitability about the historical sequence. The late Professor H. A. L. Fisher did not agree with the determinist view of history. In the Preface to his "*A History of Europe*", he writes : "One intellectual excitement has however been denied me. Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another as wave follows upon wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalisations, only one safe rule for the historian, that he should recognise in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen." There are many historical developments which justify Fisher's observation. In the last war the Allies swore lasting friendship for Soviet Russia and hostility to Germany. They vowed a panacea peace. Germany like Carthage should be ploughed up, cursed and sown with salt. Now Russia and the Allies are in opposite camps and Germany is a friend of the Allies. One can only feel something like awe at the waywardness of history, with her fantastic turns and twists. This waywardness, this contingency, is the result of the free will of man.

The age we live in threatens world-wide catastrophe. It also holds out unexpected hope and promise. Man must take charge of events on a world-wide scale. He should cease to be a helpless, mechanical puppet and become a wakeful, responsible, truly creative being. Where freedom is absent, history is fate. As people who possess faith in human dignity, we must not passively wait for a world order of peace but we must strive actively to bring the nations into the way of peace. It is easy to drift into a fatalist attitude that nothing can be done and we must await helplessly the catastrophe which will destroy civilisation. We must not only envisage the horrors of war but work with all our might to raise barriers against it. We must work for peace not merely because of the fear of the consequences of war but from the conviction that war and all that leads it are a defiance of justice and humanity. A history can serve as a strong force for international cooperation. It must bring into proper focus the great heroes who have stressed the dignity and the brotherhood of man. History is not merely the story of squabbles long since dead. It is also an account of the struggles of man to achieve higher standards of living, justice, peace and security. The victories of peace should be described and not merely the horrors of war. History must be used to develop an understanding of the cultures of the other nations of the world.

The New Year must be both a challenge and a message of hope to the millions whose lives are overshadowed by the threat of another war. It should summon us to further the cause of peace by being men of peace ourselves. The best plans are destroyed by ambition, hate and greed. Let us rid ourselves of these passions and realise that the will which controls the universe is not power and majesty but love and peace.

I have pleasure in inaugurating your meetings and I wish you success in your deliberations.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. P. V. KANE

Dr. Radhakrishnan, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

It is with very mixed feelings that I rise to address this distinguished gathering of Professors and life-long students of History. I offer grateful thanks for the signal honour conferred on me by the unanimous decision of the session at Gwalior to elect me to the high office of the President of this Session of the Indian History Congress. At the same time I must say that when I received your Secretary's letter informing me of my election to the high office of the President of the Session I felt great embarrassment and misgivings. I attended only two sessions of this congress. I never held the post of a teacher of History at any college in any University. I felt that, after listening to the addresses of former Presidents distinguished by their profound learning and by their brilliant contributions, my remarks from this chair may be found to be quite commonplace. Besides, no one except the veteran historian, Shri G. S. Sardesai, was called upon to occupy this chair at such an advanced age as mine. My acceptance of the office is due to my lack of courage to refuse such an honour and the pressure of such friends as Prof. Velankar and Dr. Pusalkar. I only hope that with the co-operation and good will of all the scholars that are present the session may be enabled to make some substantial progress.

My distinguished predecessors have said a great deal about the definition and scope of history. Though I would be more or less treading the same ground, I should like to add a few words of my own to this aspect of the study of History. And I shall first briefly deal with our own literature. The words 'Itihāsa' and 'Purāṇa' occur in the Atharvaveda (XI.6.11 tam-Itihāsaś-ca Purāṇam ca gāthās-ca nārāśamsiś-cānuvyacalan), in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka II. 10, in the Brhadāraṇyakopanisad II.4.10, IV.1.2, IV.5.11 and in the Chāndogyopanisad IV.2.1, VII.1.2 (Iti āśa-Purāṇam pañcamam-vedānām vedam). The Śatapatha Br. XIII.4.3.12 provides that on the 8th day of the Pārīplava narrations in Rājasūya and Aśvamedha some narrative from the Itihāsa-veda is to be recited by the *hotr*. In Śat. Br. XI. 1.6.9 there is another reference to Itihāsa. It is not clear how in the Vedic age the two, itihāsa and purāṇa, were distinguished. The Nirukta mentions several schools of Vedic interpretation such as Nairuktas, Naidānas, Aitihāsikas; for example, while explaining Rigveda X.17.2 it states that the word 'mithunau' therein means, according to the Nairuktas, Indra (a god of the mid regions) and the Mādhyamikā Vāk, and Yama and Yamī, according to the Aitihāsikas, and adds (XII. 10) that the Aitihāsikas narrate an *itihāsa* on this (which is purely a mythological story and nothing more). The Nirukta employs the words 'tatra itihāsam-

ācaksate' (here the following story is narrated) in several places, such as II 10 (about the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Śantanu), II. 24 (about Viśvāmitra the purohita of Sudās, and his dialogue with the rivers), IV.6, X.26 (about Viśvakarmā Bhauvana). Though the Mahābhārata is in several places styled simply *ākhyāna* (Ādi, 2.37, 386-389), *Kāvya* (Ādi. 1.73 and 2.390) and Dharmaśāstra (Ādi. 2.383), still in many passages it is spoken of as itihāsa (Ādi. 1. 19, 26; 2. 38, 41, 355) and is lauded as itihāsa *par excellence* in some of them. In the Svargārohaṇaparva (5.49 and 51) the Mahābhārata is styled Jaya and it is further stated that the itihāsa called Jaya should be listened to by everyone that desires *moksa*, by a brāhmaṇa, by a king and by a pregnant woman. The underlying idea seems to be that the Mahābhārata stories and legends would show the path of duty to the brāhmaṇas and the heads of States and that its recitation would have eugenic effects on pregnant women. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra (1.3) mentions five Vedas viz. Sāmaveda, Rgveda, Yajurveda, Atharvaveda and Itihāsaveḍa, prescribes that the king should spend the latter part of the day in listening to Itihāsa and states that Itihāsa comprehends Purāṇa, itivṛta (ancient occurrences), ākhyāyikā (historical tales), udāharāṇa (declaratory songs or panegyrics), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. The scope of Itihāsa is remarkably wide according to Kauṭilya, including as it does not only legendary and true tales, occurrences and *prastis*, but also treatises on religious, social and political matters. Patañjali commenting on the fifth Vārtikā (sarve deśāntare) at the beginning of his great commentary enumerates the principal literary works among which are included Itihāsa and Purāṇa separately (vol. I. p. 9). The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini (IV.2.60) refers to aitiḥāsika and paurāṇika (vol. II. p. 284). The distinction made by the Amarakośa between 'Itihāsa' and 'Purāṇa' is that the former deals with what happened in the past, while Purāṇa has five characteristics (viz. creation of the world, its dissolution, the dynasties springing from the Sun and the Moon, the Manvantaras and the actions and conduct of the descendants in the several dynasties). The Rājatarangiṇī exhibits that Kalhaṇa had a very grand conception of the ideal historian, viz. that he must not only state the truth about events with impartiality, but that his writing must be informed by such insight and imagination that the reader must feel as if the events described by him are happening before his very eyes. Kalhaṇa's is a solitary example of an Indian historian, ancient or medieval, who strove hard to attain the noble ideal he set before himself. He states (Rājatarangiṇī I.4-5, 7): who else other than poets (resembling) Prajāpati (in creative power) that create charming productions, is able to bring (before the vision of men) past time as if it were present? If the poet does not visualize by (the power of) his imagination past things that are to be revealed to all and sundry, what else can indicate to others that the poet possesses divine insight? That excellent poet alone is worthy of commendation, whose speech (or writing) like that of a judge keeps

itself beyond love or hatred in narrating past events. It is clear that Kalhana regards History as a science as well as an art and insists that the man, who assumes the role of a historian, has to forget love for his friends and hatred of his opponents or enemies and must be ready to admire the good points of his enemies and find fault with the actions of his friends.

Turning now to what western writers have said about the definition, scope and purpose of history it must be said at the outset that there have been great differences in the concept of History from age to age, from country to country and from writer to writer. I have no desire to tire you by referring in detail to the views of ancient and modern writers on History from Herodotus to this day. But I should like to illustrate by a few examples how conceptions about the scope and purpose of History have undergone great transformations. The two greatest of the ancient historians, Thucydides and Polybius held the view that History was instruction in politics and served as a guide for conduct as it contained examples and warnings for statesmen. Polybius states at the beginning of his work that all his predecessors asserted that the study of History is in the truest sense an education for political life and that the most instructive method of learning to bear with dignity the ups and downs of life is to recall the catastrophes of others. This idea of the scope and utility of History prevailed in Europe almost up to the 18th century. This older view led to the selection of certain periods and episodes especially rich in moral and political lessons as most important and all else was looked down upon as no History but mere antiquarianism.

Bury in his inaugural address at Cambridge ('Selected Essays' edited by Temperley, 1930, p.4) put forward the aphorism that 'History is a science, no less and no more'. This view was controverted by G. M. Trevelyan in his 'Clio, a muse and other essays' and in his address on 'History and the Reader'. He pointed out that Gibbon was the greatest of English historians, that in him the perfection both of the science and the art of History was reached and has never been surpassed, that during the first three quarters of the 19th century History was regarded in England as a specialised branch of literature and Macaulay and Carlyle thought of their work as part of the literature of their country. Briefly put, Trevelyan's view came to this that the discovery of historical facts should be scientific in method but that the exposition of them for the reader partook of the nature of art, the art of words commonly called literature. It must not however be forgotten that Bury himself was very anxious to show that the analogy between History and other sciences must not be over-emphasized and that he desired that the results of historical research should be presented in an artistic manner. A historian has to discover, collect and classify facts. But his main business does not consist merely in the accumulation of material but in the art of investigating the material, of weighing the evidence, of discerning truth from falsehood and of interpreting facts and

expounding their relationships in an attractive and readable way. Renan says 'History is as much an art as science; perfection of form is essential to it'.

Though History may be called a science on account of the accumulation of facts and the testing of evidence, there is a wide difference between History and the physical sciences. The functions of the latter are mainly two, viz. the deduction of laws of causation and direct utility in practical life. History cannot produce tangible results in the same way as a deep study of physical sciences may do. Similarly, historical studies cannot enable a man to deduce causal laws of general or universal application. On the contrary, one of the well-known maxims is that History does not repeat itself. History cannot predict future events nor can it submit its deductions to experiments in a laboratory, as one can do in the case of the physical sciences. History no doubt collects, classifies and interprets facts, but there are often very serious gaps among facts and these gaps have to be made good by some hypothesis or conjecture. History is often mere guess-work from the facts available at the time of writing. Its value is mainly educational. It broadens the reader's outlook, stimulates men to reflect on the past, suggests ideals, generates enthusiasm and rouses intellectual curiosity. It attempts to tell the reader about the life of man in past ages and it throws light on the present by showing the way in which the latter is related to and largely influenced by the past.

As it is now generally recognised that History comprehends all the activities of man and not merely wars, dynasties and religion and that the main value of History is educational, it is of supreme importance that the history taught to the citizens must be true and free from bias. But this ideal has hardly ever been attained by historians in the past. European historians writing about matters Indian were obsessed by several considerations such as race prejudice, ideas of the 'white man's burden', scorn for Indians who were frequently invaded and conquered and who were deemed not to have ever possessed high intellectual attainments or originality in anything. To such feelings we must attribute the various theories trotted out by western historians from time to time; for example, one may refer to Dugald Stewart's outburst that the whole Sanskrit Literature was a fabrication of the wily brāhmaṇas from Greek sources made centuries after Alexander (vide Vol. III of his works, edited by Sir William Hamilton, pp. 78-115); that the Rāmāyaṇa was inspired by Homer's Iliad, that the Gītā was based on the Bible, that writing was unknown to Pāṇini, that the Brāhmī script was borrowed from the Phoenicians, that the ancient Indian system of *naksatras* was borrowed from the Chinese or the Arabs or some people in Western Asia, particularly the Babylonians.

Indian scholars gradually came to see that the writing of the History of India was a task that must be shouldered by them and made their own concern and not of foreign writers, however learned they may be. The result

was that several ambitious schemes for the treating of the History of India by Indians were launched viz. the Indian History Congress scheme of the History of India in twelve volumes, the scheme of the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad founded in 1937 with the express object of preparing a new History of the Indian people in twenty volumes and Shri Munshi's scheme of Indian History in ten volumes. The Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad has already published two volumes viz. No. 6 on 'the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age' by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar and No. 4 on 'the age of the Nandas and Mauryas' by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The scheme of the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad came to be amalgamated in 1948 with that started by the Indian History Congress, one of the terms of amalgamation being that the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad will not continue their series of the New History, but may print or reprint the two volumes above mentioned. Two volumes in Mr. Munshi's scheme on the 'Vedic age' and the 'age of Imperial Unity' have already been published and a third will, I understand, be published shortly and two more are ready for the Press. It would be noticed that at the present rate of publication the completion of the History undertaken by the Congress may not be within sight even for ten years more. The same probably applies to Mr. Munshi's scheme. It is extremely desirable that the pace of publication should be substantially accelerated. Besides, it is doubtful whether there is need for several schemes of Indian History. I would suggest that the several schemes be amalgamated and one comprehensive scheme should be the goal to be speedily attained with the co-operation of all distinguished scholars. It is not necessary to mention names; but the same scholars are either editors or contributors in the several schemes. This involves avoidable waste of time, labour and (what is most important for a poor country like our own) money. Then there are schemes for provincial histories. The Dacca University has published an authoritative history of Bengal under the able editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The first volume of the History of the Deccan edited by Dr. Yazdani for the Hyderabad Government might soon see the light of day and the synopsis of the contents of the proposed volumes II and III dealing with the medieval and modern periods have been drawn up. A plan for the history of Malwa in three volumes has been prepared. It is very desirable that well-planned histories of the several large provinces of Bharata should be compiled by distinguished scholars. But great care has to be taken by contributors or compilers of provincial histories; they should accept and endeavour to realise the ideal of truth and impartiality and to avoid the temptation of provincial pride and prejudice.

There is possibility of grave harm that might be done to true History by Government action, by political parties, politically-minded citizens and mere theorists. Political propaganda has often made use of History as a medium. Historians may become instruments of politicians and might not afford to

summon courage to tell the truth. Recently, I had occasion to read the Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee on 'basic national education' (Wardha, 1938). That report stated that, as the Indian nation had adopted non-violence as the method for achieving all-round freedom, Indian children would need to be taught the superiority of non-violence over violence (p. 8), that a simple outline of Indian history should be given, that the chief land-marks in the social and cultural life of the people should be stressed and the gradual movement towards greater political and cultural unity be shown and that emphasis should be laid on the ideals of love, truth and justice and on lessons drawn from life showing the superiority of truth and non-violence in all its phases and its concomitant virtues over violence and deceit. I inquired of several booksellers for a copy of a text-book of Indian History in English, Hindustani or Marathi meant for students in the primary or secondary stages and written on the lines indicated in the Report mentioned above. I could not secure such a copy. Such a text-book would, I am afraid, be guilty of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. I believe that no honest history can be written about Indian History based on the principles stated in the Report referred to above, particularly for the period from about 1200 A.D. to 1920 A. D. It would be better not to teach any History to students for the period before 1947 at all rather than teach a garbled version of History.

Several tendencies of these days make one fear for the future of the study of Indian History. At present most intelligent students go in for the Faculties of Science, Technology, Commerce or Medicine. The number of students taking up History is sure to be smaller and smaller as years go by. For research in our past we require an army of workers properly trained and equipped. The question is, where shall we find such an army. Besides, during the second quarter of the 20th century a profound and all-pervading change of outlook has come over the whole world including India. Our forefathers took stability in social, economic and political matters for granted, while change was deemed allowable only rarely. The younger generation that has grown up during the preceding quarter of a century takes change for granted, holds stability as stagnation and associates it with senility and death. It is not necessary to dwell here on the causes of this changed outlook, but the fact remains that for many in the younger generation the present is the only real thing that matters, while the utility of the study of the past and the existence of permanent standards of values are debatable matters.

I crave leave to make some suggestions to this session itself. To me it appears better to hold a session of the Indian History Congress once in two years instead of every year. The All India Oriental Conference meets once in two years. Among the thirteen or fourteen sections in which that conference divides its work there are two sections on History and Archaeology. This Congress divides its work on History into five sections. There is some

overlapping of subjects here. Besides, several scholars are interested in the work of both bodies and attend the sittings of both. Three of the Presidents of the sessions of the All India Oriental Conference, viz. Diwan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri presided over the deliberations of this Congress. This year you were pleased to invite me to preside over this session and I presided over the Nagpur Session of the All India Oriental Conference in 1946. By agreement with the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference it would be possible to arrange that a session of this Congress be held in between two sessions of the All India Oriental Conference. I request that this suggestion may be considered by this session and the authorities of the Congress for what it is worth. Another suggestion is that this Congress either by itself or in collaboration with the All India Oriental Conference should publish every year a bibliography of research in Orientalia. It must be accurate, thorough and expeditiously published after the year with which a particular publication deals. A central office should be established and one or more competent Assistants may be appointed to collect materials. The work may be distributed, if necessary, over several centres. If this conference decides upon this undertaking details can be worked out. There are certain other matters on which this session should express its opinions and urge the authorities concerned to take steps. From enquiries made I find that Departments of History or ancient Indian History, Archaeology and culture exist only at Calcutta, Banaras, Mysore and Madras. In a few other Universities such as those of Punjab, Aligarh, Delhi, Visvabharati and Rajasthan provision is made for University Professors of History. There are no Departments of History nor University Professors of History in the Universities of Bombay, Gujarat, Osmania, Lucknow, Annamalai, Karnatak, Baroda, Saugor. India has Embassies in many countries of the world. The Ambassadors may be men of affairs and political experience, but hardly any one among them is likely to be an Indologist. It is desirable that an Indologist should be associated with each Embassy. Thousands of Inscriptions have been copied, but only a small fragment of them has been published. It is absolutely necessary that measures should be taken for the speedy publication of Inscriptions. There is hardly any provision in any University for the teaching of the histories of countries other than India. The ancient Egyptian, Babylonian and Hittite civilizations have been studied by no Indian scholar. A few scholars should be sent to the Middle East countries, and museums of the antiquities of these countries to make a deep study on the spot. The expansion of Indian culture in the Far East has been studied by Dutch and French scholars; only a few Indians like Dr. R. C. Majumdar have done original work on the subject. A central Academy of Indian culture should be established by the Central Government. I hope that this conference will consider all these matters and pass appropriate resolutions urging the proper authorities to take steps to implement those resolutions.

I shall now mention some subjects of capital importance to ancient Indian History and Archaeology on which a good deal of work has been done, but which require further deep study and about which there is no unanimity nor general agreement and discussions about which crop up every now and then. I hope that some young scholars would select some of these subjects for deep study, bring together in a compact form all that has been said on the subjects selected by them and make their own contributions. Some of the subjects are: The original home of the Indo-Aryans; was there a single Indo-European speech and, if so, who spoke it, where and when; what is the home of the people represented by the Rgveda; the date of the Rgveda from the geographical, cultural, philological, astronomical and other points of view; the dating of the Harappā or Indus valley civilization; the interpretation of the writings found on the Indus Valley seals, on tablets of copper, on pottery and on tools and goods; the relation of the Indus Valley civilization with the Rgvedic culture; relation of the Rgveda people with other Aryan-speaking people such as the Iranians; whence, if at all, the Rgveda people came to the land of the seven Sindhus; Dāsa, Dasyu and Śūdra and their relation to the Rgvedic people and to the people of the Harappā civilization; the relation of Vedic peoples with the Hittites and other peoples of the Middle East; Vedic kings and princes and their connection with the dynastic lists in the Epics and Purāṇas; the date of the Mahābhārata war from different points of view such as geographical, social, astronomical and other data; correct estimate of Alexander's conquests in India from Greek and other sources; rise and disappearance of Buddhism from India and causes of the latter; the extent of persecution, if any, of Buddhists and Jainas and other sects in India; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and its relation to the Mauryan period; the origin of Aśokan Art; the earliest use of the word Draviḍa, who were the Dravidians, their relation to the Harappā culture people and the Vedic people; beginnings of the Sātavāhana dynasty and why they were called Āndhra; epochs of the earliest Dravidian Literature; the dating of the Sangam age and of ancient Tamil works like the Śilappadikāram, Tolkāppiyam, and Manimekhalai; the earliest dates of the employment of Vikrama and Śaka eras; a comprehensive Geographical dictionary of India from the most ancient literary monuments to 1800 A.D.; The Kaṇiska problem; study of Jaina *āgamas* and other Jaina literature and the astronomical data gathered from Jaina works and writers; the period of the Introduction of the week days and the system of *rāsis* and whether these were borrowed or were indigenous to India and if borrowed from whom and when; the history of the period between the decline of Gupta power and the rise of Harsavardhana; comparison of the peoples, tribes and cities mentioned in Buddhist works and Jātakas with those mentioned in the Epics and the Purāṇas; critical editions of some of the important Purāṇas, such as the Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, causes of the multiplication and pertification of castes in medieval and modern India.

In this address I should not like as far as possible to deal with any controversial problems and I would not be able to do so in the short space at my disposal. Latterly, I have, however, devoted a great deal of time to the Harappā culture and the Rgveda. I have carefully gone over the seven impressive quarto volumes about Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and Chanhudaro edited respectively by Marshall, Vats and Mackay and also the two works of Stuart Piggott 'Some Ancient cities of India' and 'Prehistoric India', Dr. Mackay's 'Early Indus Civilization' and Dr. Wheeler's 'Five thousand years of Pakistan'. Speaking with the greatest respect for the industrious and learned scholars of the West I cannot help observing that their conclusions are extremely one-sided and that they have often built huge structures on very meagre foundations and made too much of very disputable evidence and it is to be regretted that many western writers and Indian scholars also have blindly followed in the wake of the pioneers and added their own imaginary conclusions without carefully and cautiously weighing the evidence offered and the probabilities. Here I shall throw out only a few observations on this very thorny question. We must first of all remember that Marshall and Mackay were dealing with virgin soil and in the first flush of their discoveries they often made unfounded assumptions which they themselves and their followers had to correct. Mackay admits (Chanhudaro, Vol. I p. 12) that the lowest strata of the Harappā culture could not be reached owing to the presence of water at Mohenjo-daro and Chanhudaro without expensive pumping equipment which he could not afford. About Harappā itself, Vats (Vol. I. p. 12) had to remark that the ruins at Harppā are so hopelessly mutilated that in 95 per cent cases it is impossible to draw even a tentative conclusion as to how the houses looked like or to reconstruct their facades or drainage system and that only three stairways were discovered at Harappā (Vol. I p. 13). The excavators contradict each other in many matters as the sequel will show. Both Marshall and, following him, Vats hold that the civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā is chalcolithic, while Mackay ('Early Indus Civilization' p. 7) asserts that it is a mistake to call it by that name. One may be pardoned for applying the maxim of Sanskrit grammarians (*yathottaram muninām prāmānyam*) and holding that Mackay who came later than Marshall must carry greater weight. Besides, there is a great antithesis in some respects between the two, Indus Valley civilization and the Rgvedic culture. The spades of the Archaeologists have not been able to bring forward a single vestige in the Punjab or even at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā (which have been supposed by Piggott and others to have been ravaged by Vedic Indians) which is of distinctly Rgvedic times. Further, the Rgveda is generally admitted to be the oldest literary monument of Aryan speech and runs into more than ten thousand verses, while at all the Indus Valley places excavated the numerous writings on seals &c. are very brief, hardly extending beyond one or two lines

and not a single document that can be called long has been found. The most important point to remember is that the view that the Indus valley civilization is earlier than the Rgveda is based upon two variables viz. the supposed date of about 2400 B.C. for the seal excavated at Tell Asmar by Frankfort confidently asserted to be of Indian workmanship by Mackay ('Early Indus Civilization' pp. 146-147) and the supposed date of the Rgveda viz. 1500-1200 B.C. (which most European scholars and a few Indian scholars hold). This is a most unsatisfactory method of approach. Originally, the date of the stratum where the so-called seal of Indian workmanship was found was put down at 3000 B.C. and was reduced later to 2500 B.C. There is no knowing whether this later date cannot be brought down much lower. Mackay puts ('Early Indus Civilization' p. 4) the end of Mohenjo-daro civilization in the 17th century B.C., the last century of the first dynasty of Babylon. It has to be noted that Mackay admits (p. 147 *loc. cit*) that the most reliable evidence that we have for dating Harappā and Mohenjo-daro continues to be Frankfort's seal and that it is usually somewhat difficult to give definite dates to beads. Therefore, if this date is brought down lower the whole theory about the Harappā civilization being earlier than the Rgveda collapses. On the other hand, the dates assigned to the Vedic culture have varied from 800 B.C. (Keith) to at least 2500 B.C. (Winternitz). Those who stick to the period of 1500-1200 B.C. rely on Max Muller's original theory of the strata of 200 years in each class of Vedic Literature from the Upanisads backwards and on the philological argument that the Avesta (parts of which are akin to the Rgveda) cannot be dated much earlier than 800 B.C. The philological argument is quite unreliable, different languages continue to keep intact or develop or change their form and structure in varying periods of time. Supposing the date assigned to the Avesta is correct (about which I have grave doubts) that is no conclusive reason for assigning the same date to a similar language cultivated in a different country and in different environments. Most of these western scholars ignore the astronomical evidence in the Rgveda and other Vedic works (relied upon by Jacobi, Tilak in his 'Orion' and Sham Shastry) or try to explain it away or do not understand it at all. It would not be out of place to make a bare mention of some important astronomical references in the Rgveda and the Brāhmaṇas and to exemplify how some great western scholars try their best to get out of the implications of these ancient references.

(1) The 'Frog hymn' in Rg. vii. 103 indicates that the summer solstice was the beginning of the year (verse 9) and Rg. X.85. 13 shows that the beginning of the year was in Falgunī; the summer solstice was in Falgunī nakṣatra about 4000 or 4500 years B.C. (Jacobi in I.A. Vol. 23 p. 154 at p. 157); (2) Rg. 1. 105.11 contains a reference to the heliacal rising of Sirius at the vernal equinox (Tilak in 'Orion' p. 113.). This would take us back to about 4500 B.C.; (3) The Taittiriya Samhitā (VII. 4.8.) states that the *Full Moon in Falgunī*

was the beginning of the year (this would mean the reference must be placed about 4000 B.C., assuming that the winter solstice marked the beginning of the year) and the same passage indicates that the Full Moon in Citrā nakṣatra marked the beginning of the year at one time (this would give us about 6000 B.C.); (4) The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III.1.1.5) refers to Jupiter confronting or occulting Tisya (Brhaspatiḥ prathamam jāyamānas-Tisyam nakṣatram-abhisambabhūva), which according to V.B. Ketkar's calculations would be about 4650 B.C.; (5) the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (II.1.2.2 and 4) says that the Kṛttikās do not swerve from the east (and so were on the equator) while other nakṣatras do so move, from which S.B. Dikshīt deduced the date 3000 B.C.; (6) the early lists of nakṣatras begin with Kṛttikā (Tai. S. IV.4.10, Tai Br.1.5.1, and III.1.2-17, Atharvaveda xix. 7, Māitrāyaṇī-samhitā II.13.20); the vernal equinox was in Kṛttikā about 2300 B.C.; (7) The Vedāṅga Jyotisa of the Rgveda (verses 5-7) states that the winter solstice was in the beginning of Śravisthā, which if identified with a and B Delphini yields the date 1400 B.C. for that observation. Fleet in J.R.A.S. for 1916 p. 570 asserts (without hardly any cogent evidence) that the list of nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikā has no basis in fact but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology. Kaye in the memoir No. 18 of the Archaeological Survey of India on 'Hindu Astronomy' p. 24 is doubtful if the Kṛttikās are Pleiades (as most scholars hold), but does not state his opinion as to what asterism Kṛttikā corresponds with; vide p. 31 of the same for an unsatisfactory explanation about Kṛttikās not swerving from the east. The cumulative effect of the above-mentioned astronomical observations should far outweigh the purely conjectural and subjective argument of Max-Muller and the so-called philological analogy derived from the supposed date of the Avesta. This evidence about the antiquity of the Vedic Literature is further supported by the Mittani inscriptions discovered at Bogazkoi in 1907 by Winckler, in which the Rgvedic deities Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyas are mentioned and by the fact that Hittite numerals are shown to be identical with those in Sanskrit (A. H. Sayce in Pavry commemoration volume pp. 399-402) and the derivation from Sanskrit of about 45 names from Mittani and Syrian documents (Dumont in J.A.O.S. for 1947 vol. 67 pp. 251-253).

Therefore, the respective ages assigned to the Harappā culture and the Rgveda being quite various, fluid and not generally accepted, no arguments based on the supposed chronological relation can and should be relied upon. Other evidence must be looked to.

One general consideration has been lost sight of by those concerned with the excavations in the Indus Valley. The march of aboriginal or primitive societies is generally through the successive stages of nomads, agriculturists and town-dwellers. The extensive cities of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro were inhabited by people who were engaged in trade and commerce, while the

Rgvedic Indians do not appear to have progressed much beyond agricultural economy. It is therefore more likely that the Rgvedic Aryans were earlier than the societies of the big cities of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro.

If I were to criticize in detail the theories and conclusions put forward by Marshall, Mackay and others on numerous points I would have to write a large work. I shall furnish a few examples of unwarranted assumptions and also some points not noticed by these pioneers. Dr. Wheeler (on pp. 30-33) gives free rein to his imagination and, holding as generally established the theory that the Vedic Indians invaded India about 1500 B.C. and relying solely on the finding of dead bodies that appeared to the excavators to have been the results of violent death, straightway accuses the people of the Rgveda of having carried fire and sword through the cities, and mowed down its women and children like grass and to have gone away laden with plunder. The learned writer totally forgets or ignores several important facts. Harappā and Mohenjo-daro were very big cities about three miles in circumference (Wheeler p. 30 *loc. cit.*) and must have been inhabited each by at least a lakh of people if not more. These cities or at least their administrative nucleuses and citadels were strongly fortified, as Wheeler himself admits (on pp. 26 and 31 of 'Five Thousand' &c. and in 'Ancient India' No. 3 for January 1947 p. 59, 'each of the two cities was dominated by a massively fortified citadel') and as Mackay ('Early Indus Civilization' pp. 15 and 48) reveals that investigation of a small mound north of the *stūpa* at Mohenjo-daro partially uncovered a section of a wall some thirty feet thick constructed of burnt brick to the core. Writers before Mackay, without sufficient data, had, as usual, drawn misleading conclusions and assumed that the Indus valley people lived a peaceful and tranquil life. If the Aryans invaded these cities and there was such carnage that almost all people in both cities were totally destroyed, there would hardly have been regular cremation and burials and the remains of dead bodies would have been found on an enormous scale. Nothing of this sort has been found. Not more than the skeletons or skulls or partial remains of about 26 bodies were found (Mackay's 'Early Indus Civilization' pp. 12-13 and 'Mohenjo-daro' vol. II p. 600-607). Both Vats and Mackay (in 'Early Indus Civilization' p. 16) hold that both Mohenjo-daro and Harappā were finally deserted at about the same time, the abandonment of the latter being due apparently to the shifting of the course of the river Rāvī on which it stood, that it is not known what finally forced the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro to leave it and that possibly a change in the course of the Indus was the determining factor. It is quite possible that in such big commercial cities there were robbers who killed people or it looks far more likely that when people began to run away owing to the devastation caused by the flood of the rising Indus and the Rāvī they either fell upon each other or that some inhabitants of the cities themselves took advantage of the panic to batter people and snatch away their

jewellery. Dr. Wheeler remarks (p. 33), after dwelling upon the supposed carnage of the city people by the Aryans, that Indra had won the battle but Śiva won the war. This poetic remark conceals many disputable conclusions. He appears to hold that the brutish Aryans imbibed and assimilated many ideas from the people of the ravished Indus cities, one of them being Śiva worship. There is very little evidence to show that the Indus people, as he thinks, worshipped Śiva or some prototype of Śiva. The pillar on which this structure of the worship of Śiva rests is an image carved on two seals (Marshall's 'Mohenjodaro' Vol. I p. 52 and Plate XII No. 17, Mackay's 'Early Indus Civilization,' p. 57, plate XVII No. 9) which is believed to be *Paśupati*. Marshall and (following him) others hold that the three-headed figure on a seal ('Mohenjodaro', vol. I pp. 54-55, vol. III plate XII No. 17,) is the prototype of *Paśupati* Śiva of the Vedic people. It is necessary to indicate the principal characteristics of that figure. It appears to be male and has two horns on the three-faced head, is seated on a stool or throne cross-legged with the heels pressed closely together, has round him two deer, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo. The hands are placed on the knees and have about eight small and three big bangles (or rings) on each from the wrist to the shoulder. The lower limbs of the figure are exposed and the phallus seems to be exposed. Certain general observations must first be made. All writers agree that no building that can be called a temple has yet been discovered at the two Indus valley cities. Wheeler (p. 28) states 'there is not a single building which can with certainty be described as a temple'. The appearance of the so-called figure of *Paśupati* is more like that of a male who may be an imaginary three-headed monster or at best a yogin or yati in a trance in an *āsana* like *Padmāsana* in a forest surrounded by wild animals and deer, which, as stated in classical Sanskrit works, forget their animosities in the presence of a sage or yogin. '*Paśu*' in most passages of the Rgveda means 'domesticated cattle' and not wild beasts. Other similar figures appear not to have been found in the huge collection of hundreds of seals and amulets nor was any image of the same kind found on any seal, stone or copper. Marshall (Mohenjodaro, vol. I pp. 52, 55) states that it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waist-band. Further, in sculptures the private parts of a person are often shown as visible though the figure evidently wears a garment of fine texture (vide Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India' p. 143 figure 94 and J. of U.P.H.S. Vol. 18 p. 134-b (Nos. 8, 18 *Viṣṇu* image). This theory of the above figure being a prototype of Śiva cannot be accepted on the basis of one figure. In Rg. X.99.6 there is a reference to a three-headed *dāsa*. Mackay ('Early Indus Civilization' p. 52) has frankly admitted that the buildings at Harappā and Mohenjodaro have afforded the excavators no assistance with regard to the religion of the people of that period, that the only stone image yet discovered which can definitely be said to be that of a deity is a white steatite head and bust now about seven inches in height (the lower part being

missing) and that it is dressed in a robe carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm on which is carved in relief the trefoil pattern that is of frequent occurrence (vide Marshall, Vol.III plate X CVIII, plate IV-a in Wheeler's work and plate XVI No. I in Mackay's 'Early Indus Civilization'). To me, as to many others, this figure looks like that of an ordinary man or at the most of a priest, there being absolutely nothing to show that it is that of a deity. Relics of a religious character are very few as said by Marshall ('Mohenjo-daro' vol. I p. 48), the only materials being seals, some clay sealings and copper tablets, small figurines and a few stone images in the round. The only other evidence about the religion of the Indus Valley cities consists of numerous figurines supposed to be Mother Goddesses, some figures of apparently sacred trees supposed to be *pippala*, certain animals such as the one-horned bull (which occurs several hundred times), the humped and two-horned bull (that is impressed in gold on the cover of the three volumes of Marshall), the short-horned ox and the goat &c. Besides these, another noteworthy matter is the veneration that appears to have been paid to phallic symbols typified by the *liṅga* (a conical stone), now associated with the worship of Śiva (Marshall vol. I p. 62 plates XIII, XIV). But, as observed by Mackay ('Early Indus Civilization' p. 61), it is impossible to say whether these were associated with the worship of Śiva at that very early period.

Some remarks would not be out of place here about the relation, if any, of the people that were called 'dāsas' or 'dasyus' to the Indus valley people or the question whether they were entirely non-Āryans. The material objects that are discovered by the diggings of archaeologists are tantalizing and difficult to interpret. Those objects may tell us what edifices the ancient people built, how they lived, planned their houses and roads or how they dressed, but they cannot shed light on what the expression of their faces was, on their complexion, on the impulses of their hearts or their ideas of the world or of God. The few bodies and skulls that were found and submitted to a careful and searching investigation by Sewell and Guha disclosed that the remains belong to widely separated times, do not make a homogeneous series and belonged to four different stocks, Proto-Austroloid (three), a Mediterranean race, Mongolian branch of Alpine stock (only one) and Alpine (only one, that of a child). (Vide 'Mohenjo-daro' vol. II. chapter XXX.)

If one looks at the Rgvedic evidence and compares it with what is disclosed by the excavations in the Indus Valley cities, startling similarities and dissimilarities present themselves. The Indus Valley people were fond of baths as a ritual ('Early Indus Civilization' pp. 44-45). The Rgvedic people prayed to waters as removers of sins ('idam āpah pravahata' Rg. I.23.22, X.9.8). The Indus Valley people held the one-horned bull, the humped bull, the short-horned bull and a goat as sacred animals. Whether the species of one-horned bulls existed in Sind is extremely doubtful. The figures of these one-horned bulls appear to be purely symbolic and may have been meant

as a sacred symbol to represent some deity, just as much later the elephant represents the conception of the future Buddha. Even in the R̥g. (X.155.2) the epithet 'tikṣṇāśṅga' is applied to Brahmaṇaspati, Indra is compared to a fierce sharp-horned bull in Rg. VII.19.1 and X.86.15, and is called a bellowing sharp-horned bull in Rg. X.28.2. In Pañcavimśa Br. VIII.1.3-4 Indra is called three-humped. Rgvedic people also held the same animals (mentioned above) as sacred. In Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 51, on 'Animal remains from Harappa' 1936, Dr. B. Prasad agrees with Duerst that the short-horned humpless bull type originated from long-horned cattle and should not be considered as a new race imported from outside (p.8). The same paper (on p. 5) is very instructive as showing the great divergence among scholars as regards dates. According to Duerst the copper age ranges between 5200 and 2000 B.C., between 1500 B.C. and 1000 B.C. according to Schmidt and 4000-2500 B.C. according to Christian. This is enough to make one cautious or even sceptical about the dates advanced by experts. Indra and other gods are spoken of as Vrsa or Vrsabha. The hump of a bull or the humped bull also is referred to in Rg. VIII.44.16, X.8.2. X.102.7 and Aja (goat) in Rg. I.162.2, X.134.6 and the *chāga* (hornless goat) in Rg. I.162.3. But in the Rgveda the cow is a sacred animal, while in the old Indus cities the cow is conspicuous by its absence. Trees like pippala appear to have been venerated by both. Vide Rg. V.54.12, I.164.20 and 22 for pippala and Rg. I.135.8 and X.97.5 for aśvattha. In the Rgveda the lion is mentioned in similes and metaphors many times, while no figure representing a lion has been found on any of the seals &c. at the Indus cities. The horse is mentioned hundreds of times in the Rgveda, but hardly any figure of a horse has been found at the Indus cities. If we regard the conical figures mentioned above as Phallus symbols for worship, then the Rgvedic people are shown as hating those who were *śiśnadevas* (worshippers of Phallus). Rg. VII.21.5 prays 'may the *śiśnadevas* not destroy our rta' (the settled order or sacrifice). '*śiśnadeva*' may also have a metaphorical meaning viz. those who are lascivious. Vide also Rg. X.99.3 where Indra is represented as killing *śiśnadevas*. It does not clearly appear whether the Rgveda people had fortified cities, but Indra is in many places styled destroyer or shatterer of cities that were 'āyāsī'. In Rg. III.34.1 Indra is called 'pūrbhit'. All are agreed that the Indus Valley people did not know iron but they knew copper and their fortifications were built of burned bricks which were reddish in colour. Therefore cities built with red bricks would present the colour of copper. Such 'āyāsī' cities are said to have belonged to the dasyus. Vide Rg. II.20.8. In Rg. VI.20.7 the *pūrs* are said to be strong (*drdhāh*) and in Rg. VI.30.20 Indra is said to have shattered one hundred cities of stone (*śatam-aśmanmaynīām puiām*). In Rg. VII.95.1 the words 'ayāsī pūh' applied to Sarasvatī cannot mean anything more than 'like a strong city or fort. In Rg. I. 56.3 Indra is said to be 'āyāsa' i.e. tough or strong.

The words *dāsa* and *dasyu* occur in the same verse and are applied to

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the enemies of the Rgvedic people. Vide Rg. V.30.9. X.22.8. Sometimes the words 'dasa' and 'dasyu' seem to be applied to evil spirits (e.g. II. 11.18), while in many verses they are applied to the enemies of the āryas. Over thirty names of individual enemies of the people of the Rgveda occur in the hymns. Some of them like Ahi, Namuci, Pipru, Vala, Śambara appear to be merely mythological names of demons. But there are some others which appear to be historical names of dāsas or dasyus whom the Āryas actually encountered or vanquished such as Anarśani (VIII.32.2), Araru (X.99.10), Alīśuva (VIII.32.2 and 26), Krsṇa, dasyu who had ten thousand warriors and who was encountered on the Amśumati river (VIII.96.13), Traitana (I. 158.5), Srbinda (VIII.32.2). The word Vrtra means both a demon so-called (e.g. in Rg. I. 103.8, VII.19.5) and also an enemy (e.g. Rg. VII.85.3). The Rgveda clearly shows that at the time of the composition of the hymns there were admittedly Aryan people who fought against Aryans as well as against dāsas or dasyus (Rg. VI. 33.3, VI. 22.10., VI. 60.6, VII.83.1, X.69.6). The word 'Āryanti' is used as a denominative verb in Rg. VIII. 19.6, X.48.3. The Nirukta (II. 16) informs us that, according to the Nairuktas, Vrtra means a cloud, that in the Rgveda there are descriptions of fights (with Vrtra) that are metaphorical and that according to the Āitihāsikas Vrtra is a demon (asura), son of Tvastr. The foes whom Indra conquered for the Ārya varṇa are spoken of as dāsa varṇa (Rg. II. 12.4. III.34.9) and the cāsas as dark in complexion (Rg. II. 20.7, IX. 73.5, I. 130.8, IV. 16.13). No materials excavated at the Indus Valley can indicate whether the inhabitants were dark in colour or fair. Similarly, dasyus are spoken of as noseless† (i.e. snub-nosed) in Rg. V.29.10 and as harsh or cutting in speech (mrdhra-vācah) in Rg. V. 24.5, V. 29.10, V. 32.8, I. 174.2. There are no means to find out whether these characteristics were exhibited by the Indus people. In Rg. VII. 99.4 a cāsa is called vrsaśipra' (having a chin or nose like a bull's). The paṇis are identified with dasyus and are condemned as without sacrifices, as having no faith (śraddhā) and as 'mrdhravācah' (in Rg. VII.6.3). In Rg. I. 32.11 paṇi appears to be distinguished from 'dāsa' or is a proper name. The Nirukta explains 'paṇi' as a trader and it is possible to hold that the Indus valley people are here referred to as it does not appear that they worshipped Vedic gods or offered solemn sacrifices (*kratu*). Roman Catholics and Protestants appealed to the same Bible as Holy Writ, but burnt each other at the stake a few hundred years ago. Therefore, the Rgvedic people finding that their enemies the dasyus did not worship in the way they themselves did call them 'ayajyu' or 'akratu' and 'aśraddha', 'avrata' (Rg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3), 'akarma' (Rg. X. 22.8) and 'anyavrata' (Rg. X. 22.8 'obeying observances other than those of the āryas').

† Such legends are often connected with people whom one hates or fears. Strabo notes that Megasthenes speaks of people without nostrils, having instead merely two orifices above their mouths for breathing. Vide Loeb Classical library on the 'Geography of Strabo' vol. VII, p. 96.

The word 'yati' in Rg. VIII. 3.9, VIII. 6.18, and X.72.7 appears to me to be a mere adjective and does not mean 'ascetic' or 'yogin'. It appears that the Taittirīya Samhitā contains a legend that Indra assigned 'yatis to hyenas' (VI. 2.7.5 and II. 4.9.2) and also Kāthaka-samhitā VIII. 5, XI. 10. and Pañcavimśa Br. VIII. 1.3.4. That shows that the Āryans came to hate yatis. We have seen above that possibly the figure of a yogin is found at Mohenjo-daro. The Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa further states that Indra took under his protection three of the yatis that survived the slaughter. This means that some yatis were accepted later as part of the Rgveda people. The yatis may be the vrātyas of the Atharvaveda XV. One remarkable passage in Rg. V. 30.9. is: 'the dāsa made women his weapons; what will his armies that are weak (or are women) do against me'. It is difficult to believe that the dāsas employed an army of Amazons. What this probably means is that the dāsas invoked in war female deities like the Mother Goddesses or carried arms or banners on which female deities were painted.

The above brief discussion may lead one to hold that there is some evidence to believe that the inhabitants of the ancient Indus Valley fortified cities were probably Aryans holding different views as to ritual and worship from those of the Rgvedic people or were a dark-skinned race differing from the Rgvedic people but contemporaneous with the Rgveda Āryans, that the culture of these cities is not more ancient than that of the Rgvedic people and that the astronomical evidence alluded to above would indicate that the Rgvedic people were earlier than the Indus Valley people. The evidence being meagre it is best not to dogmatize. Marshall (Mohenjo-daro Vol. I. p. 110) compares Mohenjo-daro with the Vedic culture and holds that there was hardly any evidence to identify them with the Dravidians, the Sumerians or Vedic Āryans.

There is another assumption made by some that the Indus Valley people were the precursors of the Dravidians of South India. There is hardly any evidence for this. The word Draviḍa itself does not occur, as far as known, in any work or inscription that can be assigned to an earlier date than the 1st or 2nd century B.C. (Inscription of Khāravēla has it). The only plausible ground urged is that the Brāhūis of Baluchistan speak a language akin to Dravidian speech. The Brāhūis are a mere oasis in a desert and even in these days the population of Brāhūis in Baluchistan and Sind is about two hundred thousand. The Brāhūis point to Aleppo as their ancestral home and theirs is not a written language Denys Bray's 'Brāhūi problem' (part II Preface). Bray in 'The life history of a Brahui' Preface p. 6 remarks that the Brāhūis are not one race but a medley of peoples inheriting diverse traditions and customs. It is now generally admitted that persons now speaking the same language are not necessarily of the same stock. From the mere fact that the structure of the Brāhūi speech is akin to Dravidian, it does not follow that the Brāhūis and Dravidians belong to the same racial stock nor does it follow that because

the Brāhuis are near the two Indus Valley sites the people who inhabited those cities were Dravidians. If the Dravidians had been pushed southwards more than 1000 miles from Baluchistan some vestiges of Dravidian habitations should have been found in North and Central India. I have to protest strongly against the fashion among even philologists of great reputation to assert that even the words used in the Rgveda like 'bāṇa'\* (arrow) and Sinivāli are borrowed from the Austric or some similar dialect. No literature exists in the Austric or any Dravidian language that can be placed before the Christian era. Simply because these words occur in the modern Austric or other languages one fails to see how it can be urged that thousand of years before Christ these words existed in those languages. Conquerors rarely adopt the words of the language of the conquered. It is the conquered who adopt many words from their conqueror's language as we did when the Moslems or the British ruled over India. It is best to confess one's ignorance than put forward fantastic views about combinations of words from different dialects for producing Vedic words.

The Āndhras have had a glorious past. Dr. Gopalachari and others have done justice to their great contributions to Indian culture. One omission that I found in these learned writings is that they do not mention the fact (to which I drew the attention of scholars in JBBRAS, Vol. 26 at p. 88 long ago) that Śabara on Jaimini (II.3.3) says that Āndhra speakers apply the word 'rājan' even to those ksatriyas who do not rule over or protect any subjects. The eyes of the whole of Bhārata are now turned towards Āndhra with great expectations for the future. It is the first province that has achieved a separate State based on purely linguistic grounds. We all fervently hope that the modern Āndhras will by their single-minded efforts for the uplift of their new State emulate their great predecessors of antiquity and place a shining example before the other provinces of India of hard work, co-operation, patriotism and constructive statesmanship.

\* Vide Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol. 29 P. 31 where Przulskis's view is quoted that words like Langala, Bana, Mayura are to be traced to an Austro-Asiatic origin, even though they occur in the Rgveda. For the Rgvedic name Sinivali (Rg. II.32.6-8) being a combination of Babylonian-Akkadian 'sin' (moon) and Dravidian 'Vel' (white light) vide Dr. S. K. Chatterji in Bharata-kaumudi (in honour of Prof. R. K. Mookerji) part I p. 208.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SECTION : ANCIENT INDIA UPTO 711 A. D.

A. GHOSH

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA

I am immensely grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for electing me the President of Section I of the sixteenth session of the Congress. This expression of gratitude is more than formal, for this is probably the first occasion when this honour has been conferred upon a person who is not a distinguished historian and whose contribution to historical knowledge, as generally understood, is not considerable. Deeply conscious as I am of my limitations, I have accepted this dignity, for I take it as a recognition of the tie that binds history with archaeology.

I regard the present moment as particularly opportune for reiterating the close connexion and interdependence of history and archaeology, for certain trends in the country lead one to the belief that the historian and the archaeologist are proceeding in different directions without any inclination towards mutual co-operation. I regard this as unfortunate, for the aim of both the branches of knowledge is identical, namely to unfold man's past. Archaeology has always been recognized as one of the chief sources of information from which the historian derives his material for reconstructing the history of the country. Time was when it was regarded as the handmaid of history, but, with the passing of years, it has evolved its own methods, technique and parlance, thus acquiring some viability of its own. This progress itself may have led to some misunderstanding between the historian and the archaeologist. An imperfect appreciation of the ways and results of archaeological investigation has given rise to misinformed criticism about the recent work of the Indian archaeologist, namely that there is now an over-concentration on prehistoric research at the sacrifice of the historical period. I had occasion to refer to this a couple of months back in my Presidential Address to the Archaeology Section of the seventeenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference. But so persistent is the criticism that I may revert to the matter here with justification, as I am now addressing a conference composed of the leading historians of the land. I can assure them that we archaeologists are fully alive to the importance of historical archaeology, and it is only out of the fear of boring them that I refrain from quoting statistics to remove this misapprehension. At the same time, if we are able, without neglecting the historical period, to bestow some attention to prehistory, it should not afford any ground for grievance to the historian. On the contrary, should he not feel that his own objective, namely the revealing of the past, is being realized

by a progress in prehistoric investigation ? The aim remains unaltered in both prehistoric and historical archaeology, the only difference lying in the nature and abundance of the sources of information. For, whereas in the latter case the student has a fund of written literary sources to draw upon, in the former the humble objects of daily use left by man form the only available raw material.

The feeling of antagonism between history and archaeology that has imperceptibly grown up in some quarters is therefore as unhappy as it is ill-founded, for it is by a co-ordination of each other's researches that both of them can flourish and contribute towards progress. The indebtedness of archaeology to history is immense particularly in India, where we have still to depend to a large extent on known facts of history for dating archaeological material. While it is up to the archaeologist to produce, *inter alia*, coins and inscriptions by his excavation, all historical facts have to be taken into account for correctly dating them, keeping in view their archaeological context, and it is these dates that in turn guide the archaeologist in assigning other associated objects to the same chronological position.

But coins and inscriptions are not always available to direct archaeological dating and are invariably absent in early periods, for the simple reason that they came into being late in man's history. It is in such cases that the archaeologist has to fall back upon other resources, one of which is ancient pottery. I make a pointed reference to this here, as this branch of archaeological knowledge has received no recognition outside archaeological circles, and any conclusion drawn on the basis of a comparative study of pottery has been, or is likely to be, viewed with indifference, if not mistrust, for the feeling among the uninitiated is that pottery-types remain the same today as they were a thousand years back. That, as any archaeologist would assure you, is far from the truth, for each period and region had its own pottery-types, and it is by a study of these that the archaeologist derives most of his information about culture-groups, folk-movements, immigrations, introduction of new elements in the population and trade-contacts. It is by the recent discovery of the pottery characteristic of the Harappā culture in Bikaner and east Punjab that we now know its eastern extension. We seek to derive our information about the supersession of that culture and the advent of a new one from the disappearance of the Harappā pottery and the introduction of a new ceramic industry, I mean the painted grey ware, which has in recent years been found at a large number of sites in Bikaner, east Panjab and west U.P. and can be confidently assigned to the first half of the first millennium B.C., thus being a great step forward towards illuminating the Dark Age of Indian history. The find of Roman pottery, such as the Arretine ware and amphorae, at a site on the east coast speaks of the maritime trade with the Roman Empire and even of the existence of a Roman settlement on that coast. Not only that: the vast mass of country-made pottery associated

with the foreign one, which is accurately dated, has helped in dating similar pottery found elsewhere in the south. The diffusion of the pottery typical of the southern megalithic monuments has an important bearing on the introduction of the Iron Age in south India and probably also on the advent of the Dravidians. The occurrence of Chinese celadon ware at such distant places as Brāhmanābād in Sind, Arikameḍu on the east coast and Kayāl in District Tinnevely reveals the practice of trade with China in early medieval days. In still later times the use of glazed ware under the Muslims introduced a new industry in the economic life of the people, and its occurrence at a site even without any other vestige at once betrays its occupation during medieval days.

The above is only to illustrate how the archaeologist, by a study of pottery, produces facts which the historian cannot ignore. Sometimes the former may be fortunate enough to obtain direct evidence for settling knotty points of political history. For example, about forty years back, it was claimed that the excavation at Taxila had once for all settled the problem of the priority of the Kadphises group of the Kushan kings to the Kanishka group, for coins of the former were found at a lower depth than those of the latter. Such instances are, however, not frequent, and it is this rare yield of material for solving narrow historical problems that probably explains in part the historian's neglect of the results of archaeological investigation. Let this statement be not misunderstood: any important coin or inscription found by the archaeologist is immediately taken notice of by the historian. What I mean is that apart from such finds as the historian is directly interested in, the vast mass of other material produced in archaeological excavations, invaluable for knowing the real history of man, is taken little notice of. It is often repeated that dates, rulers and dynasties do not constitute the history of a country and its people. In spite of this, can it be denied that it is the problems about dates, rulers and dynasties that loom large in most of our historical research, without giving the material history of the people its due share?

I do not ignore for a moment the valuable researches done by distinguished scholars on the social, economic and religious history of the land. But the bias, I venture to feel, is in most cases literary, and the archaeological material has generally been ignored. Yet, what record can be more authentic and reliable for elucidating man's life than the objects left by him at the sites he inhabited and re-brought to light by the archaeologist? Any history that does not take them into consideration is not only incomplete but is liable to be incorrect.

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I, therefore, stress the need for a greater utilization of archaeological data by our historians, particularly writers on social, economic and religious history. An instance of how archaeology throws light on the social organi-

zation of a people is provided by the 1946-excavation at Harappa, which vitally changed the previous conception about the sociology of that culture, in that it disproved the theory of its authors being a democratic people, for it was revealed that only a small part of the vast settlement at that place was heavily fortified, and it is natural to conclude that in this part lived the nobility of the city, leaving the common people to occupy the unfortified areas.

Town-planning played a vital part in the civic life of the people, and it is only by excavation that we can have a graphic picture of the settlements they lived in, the amenities provided there and the material used for building houses. The objects the ancients utilized in their day-to-day existence and industries—the cooking-vessels that they used, the ovens where they cooked their food, the furnaces in which they smelted metal, the granaries they stored their grains in, the soak-wells where they threw their refuse, the toys their children played with, the ornaments worn by their women-folk—all these assume fresh life as it were when excavated out of the earth. No amount of facts derived from literary sources can compare in value with these tangible objects produced and handled by that very man whose history we are out to trace and whose life we are to visualize. Evidences about the disposal of the dead found by the excavator are infinitely more reliable than anything gleaned from literature. Clay figurines representing deities speak eloquently about folk-cult and popular religion and provide material for an unwritten chapter of religious history.

\* \* \*

In many cases archaeology can no doubt provide the necessary corrective to some concepts that have gained popularity, even though they are based on incomplete data. I may refer here, not without hesitation, to one such important concept, namely that of the Fundamental Unity of India. That unity might no doubt have existed on the higher planes of literature, religion and philosophy. A literary work might have gained currency all over India in no time: a religious school or a philosophical doctrine might have attracted followers in all parts of the land as soon as it came into being in one corner. But the archaeologist is faced with so many variations in the material culture of the country in all ages that any sense of unity is lost to him. While it is a fact that a regional homogeneity in archaeological relics is perceptible, common unifying factors are very seldom met with when the country, or even a large part thereof, is viewed as a whole. One such factor is a type of pottery known as the northern black polished ware, which had a far-flung distribution all over the land in pre-Christian centuries, with the Gangetic valley as its focus. The conjecture that the age of imperial unity under the Mauryas was responsible for this wide dispersal may not be without foundation, but the other objects chronologically associated with it differed from region to region, so that it cannot be claimed that even during the strongest days of that imperialism there was a unified pattern of culture throughout

the country. Again, a similarity in plastic art and painting is noticed in north India and large parts of the Deccan during the Gupta period, but here again the resemblance virtually ends with art. It is obvious that the culture of the land developed on a regional basis and its archaeological problems have therefore to be studied regionally.

\* \* \*

I have emphasized above the necessity for the historian to utilize the results of archaeological fieldwork to the fullest extent. At the same time, a similar responsibility rests on the archaeologist as well, for it is one of his essential functions to keep himself abreast of the progress of historical research, so that his interpretation of the archaeological material is in consonance with the unimpeachable facts of history. Let each supplement the other's knowledge, so that all facts can be marshalled together in accomplishing the great task awaiting us.

In order to effect such a co-ordination, I regard it essential that archaeology should find a place in the curriculum for ancient Indian history in the universities. There are still universities a post-graduate student of which, while receiving very thorough instruction in numismatics and epigraphy, need not know a word about the Harappā culture. It is good that he can distinguish between the different types of the coins of Kanishka and is acquainted with the minute differentiae between the western and eastern varieties of the Gupta script, but is it pardonable that he is not expected to know anything about the first Indian civilization? He is taught in a theoretical way about the incoming of the Aryans, but must even the name of the extensive and long-lived microlithic culture of central India and the Deccan remain unknown to him? He should certainly learn from the accounts of Megasthenes that there was a wooden palisade around the capital of Chandragupta, but it is certainly much more enlivening to know at the same time that the remains of that palisade have been identified by excavation near Patna. The magnificence of south Indian temples is well-known to him, but he should also be told about the megalithic monuments of the south and the vigorous culture represented in them. The different forms of the Dhyāni-Buddhas and the deities emanating from them may be very important for the student to know, but should he not simultaneously know about the prevalence of popular cults as attested to by the clay figurines found in excavations? Text-books based on such theoretical treatises as the Arthaśāstra may tell him about the elaborate plans that ancient towns were expected to have, but is it not important for him to know that in actual practice both ill-planned cities like Bhīr Mound and well-planned ones like Sirkap and Sisupālgarh existed in the land? The anomaly of the situation is obvious: man's past is being taught without reference to the vast mass of material relics left by the past man himself.

In order that the student may develop a proper appreciation of the

archaeological method and the results obtained therefrom, it is desirable that he should spend some part of the period of his course in the field and take part in a well-conducted excavation, so that he may learn archaeological stratification, handle antiquities and see for himself how pottery-types change with each period. But that, at the present moment, may not be feasible, as our universities, with a very few notable exceptions, are not equipped to undertake excavation, and the limited facility that exists in the country for training in field-work is far too inadequate for any considerable number of students. But it is an immediate necessity that reports on important excavations should form an integral part of the course. This, together with an intensive field-training when available, will go a long way in introducing a human element in history and will eventually give rise to a generation of scholars with a comprehensive outlook which will enable them to give life to history.

That, however, will take time. In the meantime, I plead before the distinguished historians assembled here for a better understanding of the archaeological problems, for these have a vital bearing on the history of India and their solution will contribute not a little towards the attainment of the common goal of knowing the past.

#### SOME EARLY LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA ABOUT TANTRICISM

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Extant Tāntric works of Brāhmanical or Buddhist affiliation are mostly of comparatively late date. Very few are the Buddhist or Brāhmanical treatises of this character, the composition of which can be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era. This fact led many Indologists to conclude that Tāntric practices (Tāntricism) were much later developments in the religious lives of the Indians. One of the earliest manuscript copies of the *Kubjikāmata*, a well-known and authoritative Tāntric text, in the collection of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) has been dated in the early mediaeval period (c. 7th century A.D.), and few such texts of an authoritative character can be taken to such an early period. But there can be no doubt that though the word *Tāntra* itself in its developed and technical sense is somewhat late in making its appearance (it will be shown in this paper that one of its earliest use in this sense is found in an early Gupta inscription), references to practices more or less similar to those of developed Tāntricism, of an implicit or even of an explicit character, can be gleaned from literary and archaeological

sources. They will prove that such mystic ritualism the significance of which was not clearly understood by those who were not adherents to these practices, or even by those who mechanically followed them without any idea about their real nature or esoterism was well in vogue among groups of Indians belonging to different religious sects in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier.

Evidence in support of the aforesaid statement can be gleaned from the work of one of the most observant of the early Chinese travellers in India. Hiuen Tsang in his record of his itinerary in Udyāna (Swat Valley), observes, 'the people of this region were fond of learning but not as a study, and they, made the acquisitions of magical formulae their occupation'. He further observes about the religious habits of the monks of the few remaining Mahāyānist monasteries on both the banks of the river Suvāstu in the Udyāna region, that 'they were clever at reciting their books without penetrating their deep meaning; they lived strictly according to their rules and were specially expert in magical exorcisms'.<sup>1</sup> These acute observations of the intelligent Chinese traveller, were presumably based on the Tāntric practices of the Mahāyāna Buddhists of the locality, which were understood as mere magical formulae by him. It may be suggested in this connection that Uḍḍiyāna described in some later Buddhist Tāntric texts as one of the reputed homes of Tāntricism is no other locality than Udyāna of the Swat valley in the extreme north west of India. Hiuen Tsang's testimony to the prevalence of Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism in several parts of India of his period is also clear in the *Si-yu-ki*. The Pāśupatas, a Śaiva sect chiefly known for their Tantric ritualism is mentioned several times by him, and he sometimes describes them as the 'ash-besmeared Tirthikas'. According to him there were many Pāśupatas, the worshippers of Īswara-Deva (the pilgrim refers to Śiva in this way) at Jālandhara (Kangrav alley), Ahichchhatrā (Bareilly District, U. P.), Malākūṭa (probably Pāṇḍya country and Karṇāṭa), Mālava, Maheśwarapura in Madhyadeśa, parts of Sind and Makran, Varṇu (modern Bannu) and other widely scattered places. That the cult of the Pāśupatas spread outside India in his time is borne out interestingly by his curious account of the aid rendered by a Pāśupata Tirthika to a Chinese prince in exile in Khotan, and this aid was of a magical character. Referring to the temple of Maheśwaradeva at the foot of the Bhīmādevī parvata (mountain) in the heart of Gandhāra, the pilgrim says that 'the Ash-smearing Tirthikas performed much worship' there. Varāhamihira mentions these sectaries as *sabhasma dvija* which term is explained by his commentator as *pāśupata*, and these clericals were only entitled to take part in the installation ceremony of the images of Śiva. It may be mentioned incidentally that the rituals employed in this work were of an outlandish character which is emphasised by

1. Watters, on *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, 225-26.

Utpala, the commentator, in a very interesting manner. He says that these were based on the *Vātulantra*, a name not known from any other source, but evidently indicative of the outwardly senseless character of the peculiar Tāntric practices performed by the Pāśupatas in their worship. The worship of these Tirthikas witnessed by Hiuen Tsang at Gandhāra must also have been of this nature, though it has not been expressed by him in this manner. Another point of importance and interest in his account of Gandhāra, which has clear bearing on our theme is his description of the Śakti shrine mentioned above. He records, 'Above 50 *li* to the north-east of Palusha was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśwara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark-blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess; it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India; to true believers, who after fasting seven days prayed to her, the goddess sometimes shewed herself and answered prayers'.<sup>2</sup> Then is mentioned the shrine of her consort Śiva at the foot of the mountain. There are several things of interest in this short notice of the two shrines, one of Śakti and the other of Śiva. The 'natural image' of the Devī may be nothing but an aniconic symbol, usually installed in the main sanctum of the 'pīṭha' shrines so closely associated with Śāktism. The contiguity of the temple of Śiva to that of his Śakti clearly reminds one of the most important feature of the worship of the Śakta Pīṭhas in which a particular aspect of the Devi enshrined in a Pīṭha must be accompanied or guarded by its Bhairava, a terrific form of Śiva. Thus, the testimony of the observant foreign traveller leads us to believe that the Tāntric concept of the Śakti-pīṭhas was well in vogue in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The *Mahābhārata* corroborates this conclusion in an interesting manner, when it records that there was the Bhīmathāna, a sacred Tirtha, beyond Pañchanada (the Punjab), and that it was associated with Śāktism is not only proved by the name of the deity enshrined there (Bhīmā), but also by the further information given about the existence of the 'Yoni-hrada' (lit, 'a lake symbolising the organ of the goddess') in its vicinity.<sup>3</sup> The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, one of the early authoritative Purāṇas, does not also fail to refer to the sanctity of the shrine of Bhīmā in a far remote corner of the Himālayas.<sup>4</sup> The cumulative evidence of all this foreign and indigenous literary data leave little

2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, 221.

3. *Mahabharata*, Vanaparva, Ch. 82, vv. 84-5:—*Tato* (from Panchanada) *gachchheta, rajendra Bhimayah sthanamuttam/Tatra snyuta tu yonyam vai nara Bharatasattamah/ Devyah puttro bhavedrajan ratnakundala virgraha/Gavam satasahasrasya phalam praṇnoti manavah/It is well-known that this Yonipitha was in far later times transferred to Kamrup-Kamakhyā in Assam.*

4. Devimahatmya section of the *Markandeya Purana* refers to the shrine of Bhima in this manner:—*Punashchaham yada bhimam rupam kritya Himachale/Rakshamsi kshayayishyami muninam tranakaranat/Tada mam munayah sarve stoshyantyanamramurtayay./Bhimadeviti vikhyatama tanme nama bhavishyati*: ch. 11 (91 of the main Bk.)

doubt that some aspects of Tāntricism were current in India not only in the time when the Chinese pilgrim visited India, but also in far earlier times.

An implicit allusion to Tāntric practices can also be found in the *Brihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira. While laying down the rules about the installation ceremony of the different types of cult images, he enunciates that it is only the duly initiated sectary into a particular cult, who is entitled to ceremonially instal his own cult icon according to the rites prescribed in his ritualistic manuals. Thus, a Bhāgavata only can instal a Vishṇu image, a Maga Brahmin—a Surya image, an ash-besmeared Brāhmaṇa (i.e., a Pāśu-pata)—an image of Śiva, etc. The images of the Mātrikās (evidently the Sapta Mātrikās) are only to be installed by those who are well-versed in the *Maṇḍalakrama* (*Mātrināmapi maṇḍalakramavidah*). Now what is *maṇḍalakrama*? Utpala, the commentator of the *Brihatsamhitā*, explains this word as *pūjākrama*. But that this 'order of the pūjā' (*pūjākrama*) was of a complex Tāntric character can be well surmised. The word *maṇḍala* seems to possess such a sense which is borne out by a passage in Kāṇha's *Dohākoshā*. Kāṇha appears to distinguish between different types of religious rites, such as *japa*, *homa* and *maṇḍala-karma*. The last is a variant of the *Brihatsamhitā* word, and both can be presumed to have meant the Tāntric *Chakra* (Bhairavi ?), and ritualistic order of it.<sup>5</sup>

Archaeology here comes to our help in substantiating our proposition. The stone inscription of King Viśwavarman bearing a date 480 referable to the Vikrama Samvat, and thus belonging to the time of Kumāragupta I (480 V. S. 424 A. D.) was found at Gangdhār, a village 52 miles south-east of Jhālrapatan in the Western Malwa section of the Madhya Bhārat. It was inscribed on a stone tablet 'standing under a tamarind tree about a mile to the north of the village, evidently on the site of an old ruined temple. It records how a certain Mayūrākshaka, a minister of Viśwavarman built a temple of Vishṇu, also a temple of the Divine Mothers, and a large drinking well. The second pious act of the donor is described in this way,—'*Mātrināñcha pramuditaghanā-tyarīthanihrādīnīnām tantrodbhūtaprabalāpavanodvaritītāmbhonidhinām.....gatamidam dākinīsamprakīrṇām veśamatyugram nripatīsachivokārayatpunyahetoh*. The passage has been translated by Fleet who edited the inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (pp. 72-8) as follows:—'Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode.....(and) filled full of female ghouls, of the Divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic

5. *Brihatsamhitā*, (Dvivedi's Edition), Ch.59, v. 19. Kāṇha's *Dohākoshā* (c.11th cent. A. D.),:—*japa-home mandalahamme*

I am indebted for this *Dohākoshā* passage to my friend Dr. Sukumar Sen of the Calcutta University.

rites of their religion'.<sup>6</sup> The 'magic rites' are undoubtedly Tantric rites, for the word '*tantra*' is expressly mentioned in this context. These rites were characterised by features which were outlandish or out of the way (*atimārgika*), and the very 'abode' of the Mothers (i.e., their shrine built by the minister) was of terrific nature. It can be presumed that this temple was the venue where the local worshippers of the Mātrigaṇas usually congregated at times and performed many dire rites of their religion. The use of the word *Dākinī* should also be noted in this connection, and it is well-known how the Dākinīs and the Yoginīs occupy an important position in the rituals of this form of the creed.

It is not easy to cite examples of extant specimens of avowedly Tāntric types of images of the Gupta and the early post-Gupta period. It is likely that many of them were made of perishable materials, and they were thus of the *Kṣhaṇika* variety. Such images made of durable materials like stone or metal are hardly extant. Another point to be considered in this respect is that such images like Durgā Mahishamardini, one of the earliest extant relief depicting her 12-armed form goes back to 402 A.D. (cf. such a figure on the Chandragupta cave facade at Udayagiri, near Bhilsa, Madhya Bharat), served as the cult objects of the Tāntric worshippers, besides those of the Mātrigaṇas, which are expressly described by the author of the *Brihatsamhitā*. The earliest extant icons of the Mātrikās can be dated in the late Gupta and early mediaeval periods, and they were principal objects of veneration by the sectaries. It is also to be noted that the Abhichārika types of icons in the Pāñcharātra cult, which were closely akin in the ideology underlying them to some of the Tāntric types of images, are enjoined to be destroyed after worship in one of the early Pāñcharātra text, viz, the *Vaikkānasāgama*. The extant Abhichārikasthānaka Viṣṇumūrti in the collection of the Indian Museum is an exception.<sup>7</sup>

Tāntric texts of the developed forms of Buddhism like Vajrayāna and others can not, as has already been stated, be taken back to a period earlier than the 7th-8th century A.D. The peculiar ritualistic texts usually described as *Sādhanāmāla* (containing among other details of Vajrayāna ritualism the *dhyānas* of various deities of the creed) are late compilations. Extant images corresponding more or less to these pen pictures of the divinities who according to the ideology of the cult were nothing but so many apparent aspect of *Śūnya* or 'the absolute void', are comparatively late,—usually of the mediaeval period. Thus any image of a Buddhist Tāntric affiliation, which can be dated in the early Gupta times has got its special importance in this connection. Such a one of the goddess Mahāmāyūrī, a prominent member of the Tāntric Pañcharakshāmaṇḍala, is to be found in Cave No. 6 at Elura,

6. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 75.

7. J. N. Banerjea, *Viṣṇu and Surya*, Ch.

which can not be dated later than the fifth century A.D., if not earlier. On the south end of the antechamber in front of the Cave shrine is a two-armed female deity with a halo behind her head; her right arm is broken, while the left hand resting on the hip (*kaṭihasta* pose) holds a roundish object (a citrus—*mātulunga* or a cup?). The goddess stands on a double-petalled lotus in some sort of a shrine; there are the usual flying Vidyādhara figures (dwarfish in stature here) on the top; on her proper right is a peacock with its tail fully spread placed on a sort of a pedestal, below which is a shaven-headed monk reading from a manuscript resting on a stand; on her proper left is a female attendant standing gracefully with a *chaurie* in her right hand. Burgess did not fail to notice this charming composition, but the remark he made about it,—‘This is supposed to represent Saraswatī, the goddess of learning’,—is not accurate. There is no uncertainty about the character of the whole relief. The text being read by the Buddhist monk is no other than the Mahāyāna text of Mahāmāyūrī, its true nature being indicated cleverly by the artist by the insertion of the beautiful figure of the peacock very close. The goddess herself is no other than the personified form of the Mahāyāna Tāntric text which is one of the earliest such known to us. Sylvain Levi, while editing it in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique* (1915, p.19 ff.), describes it as *Vidyā-rājñī* (Queen of all sciences), and avers to its popularity through many centuries; he further says that it was translated into Chinese not less than four times between the 4th and 8th centuries A.D. Its Tāntric character is emphasised by him by the observation that its literary value is nothing, its importance being solely of a magic character. This ‘Great Formula of the Peacock’ is primarily a formula of protection against the serpents, the peacock being the natural enemy of the snakes, but secondarily it can be considered as a sort of charm against poisons in general. The very mortal existence, according to the Buddhist tenets, is a misery, and can be regarded figuratively as the greatest of all poisons. Thus, the ceremonial recitation of this Tāntric text was in ancient and later times regarded as one of the safety measures, the text itself finding a place in its personified form amongst the five members of the Pañcharakshāmaṇḍala, whose names are,—Mahāpratisarā, Mahāmāyūrī, Mahāsahāsrāpramardinī, Mahāsītavatī and Mahāmantrānusārīnī. The text contains nothing but the names of various localities of India, and the principal titular divinities of these places. Levi rightly observes, ‘it is a veritable mobilisation of Buddhist pantheon, or for the matter of that, the popular pantheon,’ and the ceremonial muttering of their names could in a magical or Tantric way be regarded as a protective measure against all evils of existence. It is the personification of this text that we find so early in the Elura Cave No. 6.<sup>8</sup> The fully developed Tāntric form of Mahāmāyūrī,

8. J. Burgess in his ‘*A Guide to Elura Cave Temples*’ page 17, tentatively identified it as Saraswati. The credit of first suggesting its correct identity goes to my friend Dr. Sukumar Sen. I have substantiated this suggestion on the basis of literary data. The *Sadhanamala* describes two-, six-, and eight-armed figures of the goddess (Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 111 and 134); in each of these varieties she holds a mayurapichchha in one of her hands.

however, has no similarity with the Elura's goddess; but it should not be forgotten that its description as given in the *Sādhanamālā* is based on very late representations mostly to be met with in the paintings of Nepal, Tibet and other places.

## HYMN FOR COMMERCIAL SUCCESS IN THE ATHARVAVEDA: ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE.

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### 1. Purpose

The Atharvavedic hymn (III.15) is used by Kauśika<sup>1</sup> in a ritual for success in commercial enterprises. Sāyaṇa<sup>2</sup>, while introducing this hymn, says, "(The hymn) starting with 'iṅdram aham vanijam' is applied (in a ritual) for profit in commerce....." The text of the hymn is:

### 2. Text

इन्द्रमहं वणिजं चोदयामि सन ऐतु पुरएता नो अस्तु ।  
 नुदन्नरातिं परिपन्थिनं मृगं स ईशानो धनदा अस्तु मह्यम् ॥ १  
 ये पन्थानो बहवो देवयाना अन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी संचरन्ति ।  
 ते मा जुषन्तां पयसा घृतेन तथा क्रीत्वा धनमाहराणि ॥ २  
 इधमेनाग्न इच्छमानो घृतेन जुहोमि हव्यं तरसे बलाय ।  
 यावदीशे ब्रह्मणा वन्दमान इमां धियं शतसेयाय देवीम् ॥ ३  
 एमामग्ने शरणिं मीमृषो नी यमध्वानमगाम दूरम् ।  
 शुनं नो अस्तु प्रपणो विक्रयश्च त्रतिपणः फलिनं मा कृणोतु ॥  
 इदं हव्यं संविदानौ जुषेयां शुनं नो अस्तु चरितमुत्थितंच ॥ ४  
 येन धनेन प्रपणं चरामि धनेन देवा धदामिच्छमानः ।  
 तन्मे भूयो भवतु मा कनीयोग्ने सातघ्नो देवान् हविषा निषेध ॥ ५  
 येन धनेन प्रपणं चरामि धनेन देवा धनमिच्छमानः ।  
 तस्मिन् म इन्द्रो रूचिमा दधातु प्रजापतिः सविता सोमो अग्नि ॥ ६  
 उप त्वा नमसा वयं होतर्वैश्वानर स्तुमः ।  
 स नः प्रजा स्वात्मसु गोषु प्राणेषु जागृहि ॥ ७  
 विश्वाहा ते सदमिद्भरेमा श्वायेव तिष्ठते जातवेदः ।  
 रायस्पोषेण समिषा मदन्तो मा ते अग्ने प्रयिवेण रिषाम ॥ ८

1. .... अनेनैव सूक्तेन पण्यकामः इन्द्रं यजते उपतिष्ठते वा । सूत्रितम् ।  
 "इन्द्रम् अहम् इति पण्यकामः" Kausikasutra X. 10

2. "इन्द्रम् अहं वणिजम्" इति वाणिज्यलाभार्थं [विनियुज्यते । विक्रयार्थं पण्यानि विपणिं नयन् वणिक् कर्म वाणिज्य लाभार्थं कुर्यात् । तद् यथा । "इन्द्रम अहम्" इति सूक्तेन वज्रं वस्त्रं वा पूनीफलं वा आश्वान् वा हस्तिनी वा रत्नादि वा सम्पाद्य अभिमन्थ्य तत् उत्थापयति ।]

3. *Translation*<sup>1</sup>

The English translation of the hymn is as follows:

- (i) I stir up the trader Indra; let him come to us, he our fore-runner; thrusting away enemies, highway robbers and (wild) animals, let the Lord be giver of riches to me.
- (ii) Whatsoever many roads, travelled by gods (noblemen) that pass between the earth and the sky—let them entertain me with milk and ghee, so that having purchased (commodities) I may fetch riches.
- (iii) With fuel, O Agni, with ghee, I, desirous (of riches), offer thee oblation, in order (to gain) speed and energy;—praising with hymns this divine talent for hundred-fold winning till I become wealthy.
- (iv) This offence of ours, mayest thou, O Agni, bear with, (which was committed on) the distant road we have gone. Successful for us be bargain (prapana), sale (*Vikraya*); let return-dealing (*pratipana*) make me fruitful (*phalina*); do ye two (*Indrāgni*) enjoy this oblation in concord; successful for us be our investment (*charitam*) and augmented output (*Utthitam*).
- (v) With what capital I practise bargaining, seeking riches with riches, ye gods, let that become opulent for me, not slender; O Agni, put down with the oblation the gain-slaying gods.
- (vi) With what capital I practise bargaining, seeking riches with riches, ye gods—there in let Indra assign me pleasure, let Prajāpati, Savitar, Soma, Agni.
- (vii) Unto thee with homage do we, O priest (of gods) Vaiśvānara (interested in the welfare of all men-Fire) praise thee with salutation; do thou awaken over our progeny, our-selves, our kine, our vital airs.
- (viii) Every day may we bring constantly for thee as for a standing horse, O Jātavedas (known to all creatures); rejoicing together with abundance of wealth, with food, may we thy neighbours, O Agni, not commit violence against others.

4. *Economic Significance.*(I) *safe routes essential for commercial enterprise*

In the first two verses of the hymn the most essential means of commerce is mentioned, eg., safe routes (*bahavo devayānā panthānah*). The routes are expected to run through the length and breadth of the land (*dyāvā-prithivī*

1. It is adopted mostly from Whitney, Atharvaveda, English Translation, with necessary changes in the light of the original as explained by Sayana.

*antam samcharanti*) and be worthy of being travelled by decent people without being molested (*devayānāh*). The obstructions on the routes are enumerated as follows :

- (i) *arātis* (the enemies of commerce)<sup>1</sup>
- (ii) *paripanthins* (thieves and dacoits) and<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) *mrgas* (wild animals)<sup>3</sup>

(2) *The agencies for making the routes safe.*

In the ritualistic context the agency invoked is supernatural or divine Indra, who is addressed as '*Vanij*' (merchant). Sāyana explains the term '*Vanij*', as one who arranges for commerce (*Vanijya-Kartāram*).<sup>4</sup> The earthly analogy of Indra is obvious; it is the political agency, eg., the King. Like Indra he is the Lord (*iśāna*) and capable of removing obstructions (*nudan aratim* etc.). His help is sought (*Vanijam chodayāmi*) and he is expected to take lead in commercial enterprises (*no puraeta astu*).

(3) *The routes should have provision for the maintenance of the traders.*

In the verse No. 2 it is hoped that the routes should entertain (*jusantām*) the traders with milk (*payasā*) and ghee (*ghrtena*), including, of course, other articles of nourishment. The two missions of a trader, purchase (*Kṛtrā*) and acquirement of wealth (*dhanam āharāmi*) could be fulfilled with only a well-fed and healthy physique.

(4) *Qualities required in a trader.*

In the verse No. 3 oblations are offered to Agni and Talent (Dhi) for the sake of

- (i) *taras* (speed)
- (ii) *bala* (strength)
- (iii) *śataseya* (hundredfold profits)<sup>5</sup>

The object of undertaking a journey was to make considerable money for which speed (both in travelling and the despatch of business) and strength (physical) and negotiating were necessary.

(5) *Different processes of commerce :*

Besides purchase (*Krayas*) already mentioned in the verse No. 2, other processes have been expressed in the verse No. 4. All the processes of commerce given in the hymn may be listed as follows:

1. Sayana explains, 'अरातिम् वाणिज्य विघातकं शत्रु' Whitney, however, on the basis of the root translates 'arati' as 'niggard'.
2. Sayana explains, 'परिपन्थिनम् पर्यं वस्था तारं मार्गं निरोधकं चोरम् ।'
3. Sayana explains, 'मृगं व्याघ्रादिकं च ।'
4. वणिजं वाणिज्यकर्तारम्
5. Sayana comments on this word as शतमिति अपरिमित नाम । असंख्यात धन-लाभाय ..... ।

- (i) *Krayas* (purchase)
- (ii) *prapaṇa* (bargaining)<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) *Vikraya* (sale)<sup>2</sup>
- (iv) *pratipana* (counter-bargaining)<sup>3</sup>
- (v) *phala* (profit)<sup>4</sup>
- (vi) *charita* (transaction)<sup>5</sup>
- (vii) *Utthita* (principal & profit)<sup>6</sup>

The existence of these technical terms in the Atharvaveda shows that commerce was fully developed and the people were properly acquainted with different processes of trade. This also indicates prosperous material basis of economic life.

(6) *The concept of Principal and compound sums.*

The rise of commerce led to the accumulation of money which could again be invested for further profits. The trader describes himself (verse No.5) 'with wealth desirous of wealth' (*dhanena dhanamichharānah*) and 'making bargain with wealth' (*dhanena prapaṇam charāmk*)<sup>1</sup>. He was anxious to see that his principal sum was augmented and not diminished (*tanme bhuyo bhavatu ma kaniys*). He took every precaution that obstructions in the way of his profits were removed. "O Fire, remove the profit-killer gods by propitiation (*Agne sātaghno devān havisā ni sedha*)."

(7) *Perpetual vigilance necessary for commercial life.*

Trade and commerce required constant watchfulness and alertness in the mercantile community. The traders and the merchants as a business group pray to Fire *Vaiśvānava* (engaged in the welfare of humanity) for stimulating themselves, their kin and kith, their animals and their vital airs (*sa nah prājāsu āmasu gosu prāṇesu jāgrhi*).<sup>8</sup> Commerce, though initiated and led by some individuals, was a family enterprise and all the members of the family were expected to be fully awake regarding their respective duties.

(8) *Lapses in commerce atoned.*

The traders were conscious that it was possible to commit offence against the established rules of conduct and morality while they were on journey or

1. प्रणः व्यवहृतुं पण्य द्रव्यस्य परिमाण कल्पनाम् । Sayana on the same.
2. विक्रयः तस्यैव सलाभमूल्य स्वीकारेण परेषां प्रदानम् । ibid.
3. तथा प्रतिपणः । प्रात्यानेतुं परद्रव्यस्य परिमाण कल्पनम् । ibid.
4. फलिनं प्रभूत लाभोपेतं..... । ibid.
5. चरितम् आचरितं विक्रयादिकम् । ibid.
6. उत्थितं तस्माद् व्यवहाराद् उत्पन्नं लाभयुक्तं धनं ..... । ibid.
7. Sayana comments, "हे देवाः धनेन मूल्यधनेन धनम् वृद्धि युक्तं धनम् इच्छमानः कामयमानो ऽहं येन धनेन प्रपणं व्यवहृतुं परिमाण कल्पनं चरामि करोमि ।"क
8. The commentary of Sayana reads, "स स्तुतस्त्वं नः अस्माकं प्रजासु पुत्रपौत्रादि लक्षणसु आत्मसु अस्मासु गोषु अस्मदीयेषु पशुषु प्राणेषु च जागृहि बुध्यस्व ।"

engaged in bargaining (*Yam adhvanam agama dūram*). They were also ready to atone the same. God Fire was the greatest purifier and He was requested to remove commercial sin (*imāni agne śaraṇim mimrso*).<sup>1</sup> These spiritual pricks served as checks on cheating and profiteering in bargains.

(9) *The end of Commerce.*

The ultimate end of commercial enterprise was to provide opulent means of material life, so that one may live with ease and comforts, 'rejoicing together with abundance of wealth and food (*rāyasposeṇa samisā madanto*) ! The state of living in comforts was conceived as living in the neighbourhood of gods (*te agne pratīveśā*). It is evident that the object of commerce was purely material, though the belief in living in the vicinity of gods might have led to moral elevation. This inference is supported by the last phrase in the verse No. 8 where the prayer is, 'May we not commit violence (against others).'<sup>2</sup>

#### ON THE WORD 'AIRA'— IN THE UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

SUKUMAR SEN

The Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela in the Udayagiri Cave at Bhuvaneshwar thus introduces the name of the king: 'aireṇa mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena ceti-rajava (m) sa-vadhanena.....kalimṅgādhipatir ā siri-khāraavelena.....' Another inscription from a successor of Khāravela reads: 'airasa mahārājasa kali (m)gādhipatino mahā [meghā] vāha [nasa] ....ḍepasirino lena.'

The word 'aira—' occurring in the two inscriptions has been given two different interpretations: (i) from Sanskrit 'aila—' "a descendant of Ilā, i.e., of the line of Pururavas", and (ii) from Sanskrit "ārya—" "noble". But neither explanation is satisfactory. The patronymic explanation is excluded by the mention of the king's dynasty; 'ceti-rāja-vamsa-vadhana'. Prakrit 'aira—' from Sanskrit 'arya—' is not possible on philological grounds; epenthesis of the semivowel y (a very doubtful phenomenon) is not attested so early.

1. Sayana comments on Verse No.4 as follows : "हे अग्ने नः अस्माकम् इमां शरषिम् प्रवास निबन्धनां व्रतोपलक्षणां हिंसां मीमूषः क्षमस्व । . . . . . यम् अध्वानम् मार्गं दूरम् अगाम गतवन्तः स्मः । तदध्वगमनजनितानां इमां शरषिम् इति . . . ।"

2. Sayana comments in a different way : "हे अग्ने ते तव प्रतिवेशाः परिचरणादिना प्रत्यासन्ना वयं रायः धनस्य पोषणेन समृद्धया इषा इष्ट्यमाणेन अन्नेन च सं मदन्तः . . . . . मा रिषाम विनष्टा मा भूम ।" This does not seem to be happy as he himself explains the  $\sqrt{\text{rus}}$ , रुष् रिष् हिंसायाम् ।

I suggest a new interpretation of 'aira—'. It is the same word as late Vedic 'aira-', a derivative of 'iā-' "water, food, refreshment, comfort, enjoyment," and it is equivalent to Vedic 'īrya-' "active, powerful, energetical; a lord." In the last sense 'aira-' is equivalent to 'īśvara-' and in this sense 'aira- (īrya-)' seems to have been current as a term indicating a follower of the cult of Īśvara. As a matter of fact 'airika—' ('aira-' + pleonastic affix -'ka') was current in this sense as late as *circa* 1100 A. D. Before he tried to establish his own cult of the Sahaja Saraha in his *Dokākośa* has first refuted, the current religious cults and philosophies viz., Brahmanism, Isvarism Jainism, Buddhism, Nihilism and Sāmkhya (according to the commentator Advayavajra: 'brahma-īśvara-arhanta-bauddha-lokayata-sāmkhyāśca').

Saraha mentions the followers of Isvarism as, Airias (Sanskritized into Ayirika—by the commentator). This is what Saraha speaks about them;

airiehim uddūlia cchārem  
 sīsasū vāhia e jaḍābhārem/  
 gharahī vaisī divā jāli  
 konahī vaisī ghaṇḍā cālī//  
 akkhi niveśī āsana bandhī  
 kaṇṇehi khusukhusāi jana dhandhī/  
 raṇḍī muṇḍī aṇṇa vi vesem  
 ḍikkhijjai dakkhina uddesem//

"The Airias rub (their bodies) with dust and carry on (their) heads the weight of matted hair. They sit in a house and light lamps; they instal (themselves) in a corner and ring bells. They shut (their) eyes and (sit tight) in fixed poses. They whisper in the ear and delude the people. (Appearing) as a cripple (or a widow) or as shaven-head or in another guise they give initiation (to people) for a fee."

The early Isvarism was not necessarily a Śiva cult. The word 'mahameghavahāna-' accompanying 'aira-' in the two inscriptions perhaps points out to an older Indra cult.

## DID PULUMĀVI CONQUER ĀNDHRADEŚA ?

DR. M. RAMA RAO, M.A., PH. D.

The history of the Sātavāhanas bristles with problems and abounds in complications. These complications are made confounding by novel theories advanced by writers on the subject from time to time. The most startling theory propounded in recent times is that of Dr. D. C. Sircar which postulates the conquest of Āndhraḍeśa by Vāsiṣṭiputra Pulumāvi, the well known Sātavāhana king. This theory is not only novel but also against all available historical evidence.

Dr. Sircar holds that Pulumavi "...was probably responsible for the extension of Sātavāhana power in the land about the mouths of the Krishna. This is suggested by the discovery not only of his inscription at Amaravati but also of a large number of his coins in the same area as well as in the adjoining regions. The Bellary district seems also to have been annexed to the Sātavāhana empire during Pulumāvi's reign."

The question of Pulumāvi's conquest of Āndhradēśa involves another similar question viz what were the relations of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi with Āndhradēśa because Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the father and immediate predecessor of Pulumāvi. A *praśasti* included in an Nasik inscription, dated in the 19th year of Pulumāvi's reign describes at length the territories and areas over which Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled. It is stated therein that this Sātakarṇi was the *rāja* of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surāṭha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Ākarāvanti and that he was the lord of the Vindhya, Chavaṭa, Parichaṭa, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Macha, Siriṭhana, Malaya, Mahida, Seṭagiri and Cakora mountains. Dr. Sircar puts three different interpretations on this passage. He compares the list of countries mentioned above with the territories over which the Ksaharāṭa king Nahaṭāna is known to have ruled and concludes that territories that figure in both the lists to be those that were under Sātakarṇi's rule. The remaining territories i.e. Asaka, Asmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha are said to have been under the monarch's sway. Obviously, this writer believes that these later territories were not reconquered from the Ksaharāṭas and were, therefore, the original dominion of this monarch. Dr. Sircar formulates another theory that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi lost to Chasthana and his grandson Rudracāman all the territories that he had previously conquered from the Ksaharāṭas and that only Asikas, Asmaka, Mulaka, Vidarbha and the *āhāras* of Govardhana and Māmāla remained under this rule thereafter. This Sātakarṇi is known to have ruled for 24 years. All scholars are agreed in believing that the conquest of the Ksaharāṭa dominion took place in or before the 18th year of Sātakarṇi's reign. It follows that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's rule over the reconquered dominions was a short lived glory of two or three years' duration. This does not justify Pulumāvi going into raptures over this fleeting conquest. The Nasik inscription gives a different impression altogether. Dr. Sircar dismisses arbitrarily the mention of various mountains in the inscription and the statement that Sātakarṇi's horses drank the water of three seas as a conventional claim made by a *digvijayin* and construes them to mean a vague claim of suzerainty over the trans-Vidhyān region. The conventional way is to

1. History and culture of the Indian people Vol. II. p. 204
2. Ep. Ind. VIII. Nasik ins. No. 2.
3. Hist. cul. Ind. PEO. II. pp. 200—201
4. Ibid p. 202

describe a *divijagyn* as Catus-samudrā-dhipati and not as Tri-samudra-toya-pīta-satvah. The mention of three *samudras* seems to have a purpose and a meaning. Other scholars, less presumptive, have identified the mountains, mentioned in the Nasik inscription. Mahēndra is identified with the Mahēndragiri ranges or the northern part of the Eastern Ghats in the Ganjam district. Siriṭhana is identified with the Śrīparvata or Nallamalai ranges which constitute the southern part of the Eastern Ghats. By the process of elimination Cakora must be taken to be the name of the central section of the Ghats. It is evident that the Nasik inscription was referring to the Western Ghats, the Vindhya with their spurs, the Satpuras and the Eastern Ghats. It is not, therefore, safe or sure logic to assume one part of the region covered by these mountains to have been under direct sway and the other part under the conventional suzerainty of Sātakarṇi. The Nasik inscription shows beyond doubt that the entire Dakkan, eastern as well as western, was under the rule of this monarch.

There is another way in which the extent of the dominion of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi can be determined. The discovery of the coin of king Sātavāhana at Kondapuram shows beyond doubt that the Sātavāhanas started their political career in the Telingana part of Āndhradēśa. There are, in the Hyderabad Museum, a good number of coins obtained from Kondapuram which have to be ascribed to Sātakarṇi I. Khāravēla's mention of this monarch's name in connection with an expedition which he sent to Musikanagara on the Krishna shows the extent of Sātakarṇi I's dominion in the south. According to the Yugapurāṇa, Sātakarṇi II annexed Kaṭinga to the Sātavāhana empire. The Līlāvati, associates Hāla with Sapta-Godāvāri-Bhīmam or Draksharama in the E. Godavary district on the east coast. There is no evidence to show that the Ksaharāṭas expanded into central and eastern Dakkan. Nor is any other dynasty or ruler known to have held sway in this region. It is therefore reasonable to hold that central and eastern Dakkan continued to be under Sātavāhana rule without any break. This justifies the mention of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as the lord, among others, of the Eastern Ghats mentioned in three sections as Mahendra, Cakora and Siriṭhana.

Numismatics tells the same story. I have published eight years ago a lead coin of the three arched caitya type belonging to this king obtained from Chebrol in the Guntur district. My friend, Sri. Seshadri Sastri, published over twenty coins of this king obtained from various places in the Guntur district. Mr. G. Yazadani has published many years ago a selection of coins

5. Ibid p. 221

6. Satavahana Commemoration Volume p. 70

7. Ep. Ind. XX. pp. 71-89. Hathigumpha ins. line 4

8. JBORS. XVI

obtained from the excavations at Kondapuram and this includes three square lead coins containing the full legend of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. There are, in the coin cabinets of the Hyderabad Museum, more than forty coins of this monarch, of both the round and square varieties, all obtained from Kondapuram. This museum also has a big hoard of over 16000 copper coins of both the square and round varieties obtained from Pedabankuru, in the Warangal district, of Telingana and over 500 coins of this hoard belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. There are over 6000 Sātavāhana coins in the Government Museum at Madras, obtained from coastal Āndhra districts and among these there are many coins of the caitya and elephant types belonging to this monarch. A number of coins, particularly of the caitya type obtained from the Krishna and Godavary districts, included in the British Museum Catalogue and indiscriminately ascribed by Rapson to Śrī Yajñā have now to be ascribed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in view of fresh discoveries of the same type of coins. The Jogelthambi hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Sātakarṇi shows that the Sātavāhana monarch used the device of the caitya of three, six and ten arches for restriking. Coins of these three varieties bearing the legend of the monarch have been obtained in Āndhradēśa. This shows beyond doubt that the monarch had these independent coins in circulation long before he restruck the coins of Nahapāna and that the Āndhra districts, wherein these coins have been found, were under his rule both before and after his reconquest of the Ksaharāṭa dominions.

Another view of Dr. Sircar is that Pulumāvi annexed the Bellary district to the Sātavāhana empire. No inscription or coin of Pulumāvi has come to light in this region and therefore this view amounts to a mere presumption. The only evidences of Sātavāhana rule over the Bellary district are the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi IV, the last Sātavāhana king, found in the Adoni taluk of that district and the reference to this region as Sātāhaniraṭha in a Prakrit grant of the Pallavas. This evidence, taken together with the presence of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi at Vaijayanti in the camp of a victorious army and the discovery of the ship type coins of Pulumāvi on the Coromandel coast, indicates that the expression tri-samudra-toya-pīta-satvah, occurring in the Nasik inscription, as an epithet of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi suggests the possibility of this monarch having conquered the southern Dakkan and annexed it to his empire. This explains how his successors from his son Vāsīṣṭiputra Pulumāvi to Pulumāvi IV could have ruled over this region.

It is evident from what has been stated above that the Āndhra region was under Sātavāhana rule during the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi himself and that his son and immediate successor Pulumāvi inherited this region from his father and did not conquer it himself.

## BURHĪKHĀR BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION

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

Burhīkhār is a small hamlet adjacent to the famous village of Malhār in the Bilāspur District of Madhya Pradesh. In the following lines I propose to edit a small Brāhmī inscription which was examined by me sometime ago on a stone image that is being worshipped at Burhīkhār under the name of Chaturbhujī Bhagavān .

The story of my visit to Bilāspur in search of inscriptions about the end of the year 1950 may be told under the heading "An Epigraphist's Disappointment" and is likely to be interesting to the students of Indian epigraphy. Early in that year, while I was on a short visit to Calcutta, I met my old teacher, Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, who kindly showed me the eye-copy of a Brāhmī inscription in one line, which he had received from Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose of the Calcutta University. Unfortunately it was impossible to read anything from the eye-copy and I was eager to examine the original inscription. Accordingly, after returning to Ootacamund, I wrote to Mr. Bose who kindly gave me all necessary informations regarding the findspot of the record. I was told that he had noticed it on an image in the village of Burhīkhār in the Bilaspur District. In the meantime, the Director General of Archaeology in India received a letter from Mr. Ram Kishore Pandey, advocate of Bilaspur, reporting the discovery of a new stone inscription in the village of Nāgpurā in the same District. Under the circumstances, I put Bilāspur on my next tour programme not without considerable hope. But, long before setting out on tour in November, I got the advocate's report regarding the Nāgpurā inscription verified by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur. The officer informed me that two pieces of stone with inscriptions on them, which had been discovered at Nāgpurā, were then lying in the compound of the house of the Malguzar of that villlage.

I reached Bilāspur on the 23rd of December 1950 and arranged for a visit to Nāgpurā on the 24th and to Burhīkhār on the 25th. Accompanied by a local enthusiast named Pyarelal Gupta, I visited Nāgpurā and examined the only piece of stone lying in the compound of the Malguzar's house. To my disappointment, it was found on examination that the stone bears a decora-

tive motif but no inscription at all. Next day, accompanied by Mr. Gupta and Mr. H. Y. Rajimwale, Naib Tahsildar of Bilāspur, I visited Burhikhār and Malhār where two local enthusiasts named Chhedilal Pandey and Manrakhanlal Pandey kindly showed me the antiquities. I was glad to find that the, Burhikhār image inscription, unlike the Nāgpurā epigraphs, was not the creation of anybody's imagination. Unfortunately however the image was covered with a thick coating of white paint which filled in much of the fairly deep incision of the inscription rendering it almost undecipherable. A few impressions were taken and I could read on them only the letters *Kārīta ti* at the end of the single line record. At first I was doubtful whether it would ever be possible to decipher the inscription satisfactorily. The visit to Bilaspur therefore appeared to me to be absolutely fruitless. Fortunately, repeated attempts to read the epigraph later yielded a fairly satisfactory result.

I was told that the image of the so-called Chaturbhujī Bhagavān was formerly not an object of especial veneration in the locality. Of late however a Sādhu came to the village and his attention was attracted by the neglected image. It was this Sādhu who was responsible for raising a thatched shelter over the image and painting it with the white coating referred to above. He has also instituted a sort of regular worship of the image.

The Chaturbhujī Bhagavān, as the name would suggest, is a male figure with four arms. It is about 2½ feet in height; but its feet are built into the floor apparently because the lower part of the image was broken. The figure holds the *chakra* (discus) in the upper left hand and the top of a big *gadā* (mace) by the upper right, while the palms of the lower two hands are folded in the *añjali* pose. The *gadā* is a rather long flat staff and stands under the right arm of the image. He wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* (a particular kind of conical crown), usually found on the heads of subordinate deities. There is a globular object below the ears probably representing *kunḍalas* or curled hair loops. The inscription in question is engraved in one line on the flat shaft of the *gadā*. The line begins in the upper part of the *gadā* and comes downwards.

The characters of the inscription are Brāhmī. They resemble the alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ cave inscriptions<sup>1</sup> but may be slightly later in date. The letter *r* is of the straight and not of the older corkscrew type. *D* has the cursive form, occasionally found in the Nānāghāṭ and some other early inscriptions side by side with the unmodified older form. The downward projection of the left member of *bh* is shorter than in the Nānāghāṭ alphabet and seems to suggest a little later date. *Y* is usually of the Indian plough type; but, in one case, the straight upper stroke joins the lower curve not in the middle, as is usual; but about its right end. *Y* with a slanting stroke like

1. See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Plate facing p. 186.

this is only rarely found in inscriptions and coin-legends.<sup>2</sup> The epigraph may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the close of the first century B. C.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the *va-śruti* in the names *Pajāvati* for *Prajāvati* and *Bhāradāyi* for *Bhāradvāji*. But there is no case in which a surd has been modified to a sonant.

The object of the inscription was to record the fact that the image on which it is engraved was the gift of a lady named Prajāvati and that it was caused to be made by another lady named Bhāradvāji. The relation between the two ladies has not been stated and cannot be determined. The image was no doubt installed in a Vaishṇava religious establishment that must have existed in the Burhikhār-Malhār region in ancient times.

The importance of the inscription lies not so much in its contents but in the fact that its early characters prove the antiquity of the image on which it is engraved. The description of the sculpture will show that it is a Vaishnavite image. The lower hands in the *añjali* pose suggests that it is not Viṣṇu but is probably a *parivāra-devatā* of that god. The discovery of the image no doubt points to the existence of a Vaishnavite religious establishment in the Burhikhār-Malhār region of the Bilāspur District of Madhya Pradesh. Considering the antiquity of the image, the Vaishnavite establishment, to which it belonged, may be regarded as the earliest in that part of India and one of the earliest in the whole country.

## TEXT

Payāva [ti] ya [da] na Bhāradayiya kār [i] ta ti (II\*)

## TRANSLATION

(This image) is the gift of Prajavatī (and) has been caused to be made by Bhāradvāji.

“SOME FAMILY LETTERS IN *KHAROSHTHI* SCRIPT FROM  
CHINESE TURKESTAN (CENTRAL ASIA)”

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA, M.A.

It was some fifty years ago that Sir A. Stein, during his archaeological explorations and excavations in Chinese Turkestan, was able to unearth<sup>1</sup> and bring to light from age long oblivion a huge collection of *Kharoshthi*

2. Of. Ojha, *Prachina-lipi-mala*, Plate X, i; of. plate XII, ii and plate XIII.

1. At the ruined sites of Niya, Endere and Loulan which were once included in the Shan Shan kingdom (lying to the east of Khotan) in Chinese Turkestan.

documents in Prākṛt language. These records, (782 in number<sup>2</sup>) are available in shape of wooden tablets, leather pieces, silk fragments and a few paper manuscripts too. Pertaining to the everyday activities of the people in the contemporary society as these documents are, they enable us to study the social, religious, political and economic conditions of the region in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Abbreviations used :—

- I. No. = Rapson, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein or KI*. in *Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols. I, II, III. (Text only).
- II. Trans. = Burrow T. A translation of *Kharoshthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London.
- III. Language = Burrow T. *The Language of the Kharoshthī Document from Chinese Turkestan* (1937) Cambridge.

Extravagant in personal eulogy, courteous in tone and full of conventional phrases and ceremoniousness from point of their terminology, the mode of drafting letters does not seem to have been of indigenous origin or derived from China but perfectly Indian in character<sup>3</sup>. In support of this view, Prof. F. W. Thomas (*Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 63) likes to compare the flowery style with certain ancient sanskrit works as the *Mālavikāgni-mitram* (chapter I) and the *Harshacharitam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Canto II). That the Tibetans later on copied the ornate style of these documents is sufficient to show “a continuity in the epistolary manners of the country, exemplifying thereby a cultural whose resort, on the other hand, direct to India for an alphabet, had been inspired by state policy and amour proper”<sup>4</sup>.

The documents refer to various kinds of private letters<sup>5</sup> as *pratilekha*<sup>6</sup> (letter of report or reply) *hastalekha* or *astalekha* (Cf. *shilpoga hasta lekha* in no 729, Trans. p. 145), *svastilekha* (health wishing letter), *pravamnaga lekha* (sale document or acknowledgement), *prampara lekha* (159), *lekha prahuda* (letters concerning gifts and presents), condolence letter (no. 399), letters conveying the birth of a son (no. 702) etc.

Persons concerned with private letters included father, mother, son, daughter, son-in-law, brother-in-law, brother, sister, friends,

2. 764 have been published in three Volumes of *KI*, while 18 more in *BSOS*, IX pp 111 ff.

3. Cf. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 366 for quaint phraseology which Sanskrit epistolary style has always affected; *ibid*, p. 367 f. note 17

4. Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 65; *JRAS*, 1934 pp. 110 ff; *JRAS*, 1914 pp. 50-1.

5. Word *lekha* for a letter and *lekha hara*, *leharaga*, *lehare* etc., for letter carriers. C. *lekha vachitu* i.e. reading for letters in no. 399.

6. Same as *pratilakha* of Kautalya as quoted by P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmasastras*, III, Poona, p. 310.

neighbours, tenants and the landlords.<sup>7</sup> The use of word *priya* (= dear) as *priya 'jāmatr*, *priya pitu*, *priya rātu*, *priya svasu*, *priya sāli*, *priya putra*, *priya dhitu* is indicative of natural family relationship indeed. But the most frequent expression as *priya bhrātu* (= dear brother) does not always denote a natural tie. Even persons of high status use the phrase in sense of dear friend (Cf. *KI*, III, p. 358 S. V. *bhratu*) *JRAS*, 1934, p. 110 also referring to similar style as depicted in the Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan (*Acta Orientalia*, XII, pp. 63-4).

*Introductory portions of private letters*

A. *Exchange of letters between sons and parents*

(i) *From a son to his father :—*

*Priya darsanasa*<sup>8</sup>, *devamanusampujitasa*, *pichara divyavarsha*, *satayu pramanasa priya pitu* † names of father preceding that of the son † *divya sarira arogi paripruchati bahukodi sata sahasrani apramego*<sup>9</sup> *evam cha sa cha avi cha*<sup>10</sup> and then follows the subject matter of the letter (doc. no. 206). The son addresses his father in a very respecting language. The later is thus installed to a divinity and a person worshiped by men and gods alike. The conception of 100 years' span of life is in strict accordance with Vedic prayer which runs thus—

*Jivema saradah satam*—————etc.

In another document (no. 696), the above epithets are wanting and the dear father is simply addressed as *bhataragaśa priya pitu*

(ii) *From two sons jointly to their father and scribe jointly addressed:—*

*Bhataragana priya pitu* † names of the father and scribe † *cha padamulammī*<sup>11</sup> † sender's name † *cha śirsham podemti namakero karemti, divyadhātu*<sup>12</sup> *arogyā sampreshemti* (no. 552).

(iii) *From a son to his parents and other persons addressed jointly* (no. 164):—

7. Instances are altogether wanting when a wife could have written a love letter to her husband or vice versa. Does it mean that there was no provision for any freedom in this sphere of life? On the other hand we find wives sending and receiving letters written and addressed in plurality i.e. in association of their husbands. Even sisters are seen exchanging letters and sending gifts and presents to each other. It is rather not possible to account for the hesitation in writing letters on the part of married couples at least.

8. i.e. whose sight is dear, who is honoured of gods and men, whose span of life is 100 divine years—such is his dear father.

9. The son begs to make enquiries into the good health of his father's divine body hundred thousands and uncountable times.

10. "And thus I inform"—is the usual language used before beginning the contents of the correspondence.

11. These phrases have not been used in the above documents. The language of salutation is to be marked with interest.

12. Cf. *divya sarira* of no. 206 and *tivya dhatu* of no 164.

*Bhataragana priyadarsanana devamanusa sampujitana pralyachhadevatana priya pitu + father's name + priya matu + mother's name + other names + padamulammi + sender's name + namakero kareti, divya sarira arogparipochhati puna puno bahu kodi sata sahasrani yo aprameyo* preceding the following phrases which are conspicuous by their absence in letters quoted above:—

“denam cha prathama suttha shatosma tumaho paride aroga vartamāno śrutema śapa-rivarena samaho aham chiśa arogeṃ tumaho prasadena sada storena jānam samalo, evam cha sa etc.

- (iv) From a son and his wife together to the parents of the former (no. 702) :—The document begins almost in a somewhat similar style as no. 164 stated above. Here the sender's name precedes that of his wife.
- (v) From a son and his wife to parents and other persons together (no. 476). Beginning in the usual style, there is only a slight change of the language before the subject matter i.e. *puna puno bahu anega avi cha lihami*.
- (vi) From a father to his son :—  
In no. 109 no grandiloquent titles are used for the son except *priya putra* and son's name + *vyalidavo* preceding the subject matter. The same style is repeated in no. 414 (wherein the father asks the son to come and attend the ailing members of the family) except the addition of one epithet *priya darśana*.
- (vii) From a father to two sons together (106) :—  
It seems rather very peculiar to find a father addressing his sons in a respectful tone i.e. *priya deva sampujitana priya darsana priya putra + names of sons + cha + sender's name + arogi presheti baho apramega*.
- (viii) From parents to son, son's wife and some other persons jointly addressed (no. 475) :—Here the style appears to be the same as in no. 164 (noted above) except that the sons are also called as *sunama-parikirtitara*. That parents too salute (Cf. *namakero kareti*) and enquire about *tivyadhatu* of their sons is to be marked with great interest.

B. Exchange of letters between brothers :—

- (i) From a monk to his brother (no. 646) :—

*Priyadarśanasa priyadeva manushya sampujidasa yogya tivya varska śatayu pramānasa sunamapari-kirtidasa*<sup>15</sup> *prachhadevata*<sup>16</sup> *priyabhṛata + brother's name + śramana samgarachhiya arogi prichhati bahu kodi śata sahasrani apramego evam cha sa cha—etc.*

14. Even news of good health of animals is referred to here. Indeed they were portion of household property. This needs to be compared with ancient Indian conception of *pasu dhana* which included animals also riches of a person.

15. Cf. no. 475 above.

16. Cf. foot note 14 above.

- (ii) From a younger brother to an elder one (no. 97):—  
Here most of the epithets of no. 646 have not been used but since it is a note from a younger brother the correspondent does not fail to pay proper respect by using the humble phrase of salutation i.e. "bows his head" (*evam cha śiras viñavemi*)
- (iii) Other letters between brothers (no.139) (cf. nos. 519, 152, 499, 612, 157). Epithets as *Kalyanakari mitra*, (= *kalyānakārī mitra*, nos. 499, 612) and divinity incarnate (*prachachhaevatasa*, no. 499) are quite interesting indeed. In document no. 247, a brother demands an early reply in return (*śighra atra eda iśa avaśa prahadavo pratilekha avaśa prahadevo*).

C. *Exchange of letters between females*:—

- (i) In no. 316 the correspondent sends a gift to her sister who is addressed as *priya darśanae priyansa suae* + name of the addressee + name of the correspondent + *arogi presheti bahu aparimana evam cha* etc.
- (ii) In no. 756, the relationship of the addressee and the correspondent are not clear. Of course the introductory portion is quite interesting i.e. *Bhatariyae priyadeva manuśana pichara sarvaśya guna kalpanasa p...ya maduae* (i.e. the addressee) *prahuda mesha* (or *meṭo*) *lahu manasimkaro matra praharaśa*.

D. *Exchange of letters between near relations*:—

- (i) *To a brother-in-law* (nos. 83). Here the *priya sali*<sup>19</sup> is addressed in the common style as dear in sight, worshipped by gods and men and whose good name is widely spread. Then follow salutations and enquiry into good health after referring to the names of the correspondent and the addressee.
- (ii) *To a brother-in-law and sister jointly addressed* (no. 140):—The style is somewhat similar to that in nos. 702 and 475 except the addition of the word *kojalya* preceding *divya śarira pariṣrichhyati*.
- (iii) From a person to his son-in-law and daughter jointly addressed (no. 690):—

The correspondent is even writing to his son-in-law for latter's forgetfulness in not sending presents to the former. It seems quite strange to find a father-in-law demanding some trifle things from his very son-in-law. The letter runs in the ordinary style.

17. For the life of these *sramanas*, consult my paper in *Lakshmana Swarupa Volume*, Hoshiarpur. pp. 175-83.

18. Such an epithet may confirm the opinion of Rapson (*KI*, III, p. 358) quoted above.

19. Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 64 wherein F. W. Thomas opines that *sali* Skt. *syala* and that the employment of the word *syala* in hostile and friendly abuse is an Indian witticism.

*Letters conveying some happy news :—*

A certain person conveys the news of his son's birth to his parents thus—  
 “And thus we report Atamsiyae<sup>20</sup> here has survived the pains of child birth in safety and good health. A son has been born. You must all be pleased.<sup>21</sup> So it will not be long before we (again) send health to your feet (*Trans.* p. 141 no. 702—*iśa atamsiāe garbhaśalyade śarva śvastichhema aro parimugta, putra jāta, sarvehi shatena bhavitavya, taha na chirasya hachhati yo veyam tumahu padamula aroga samdhisechhyama etc.*

*Condolence letter :—*

The following contents of a short note of condolence sent on the demise of a certain person are sufficient to deduce that death was taken quite natural and unavoidable i.e. “And now I have heard the bad news that Anasena is dead. As a result of that news we have experienced the shafts of great sorrow and grief in our hearts. That is something beyond the powers of a Buddha or Pratyeka Buddha or an Arhat or a universal monarch. All come to the same end. Care must be exercised how we go, virtuous acts performed and purity maintained (*Trains.* pp. 81-2; no. 399 B, Rev,—*śrudemi anasena mrtaga, taha śrutagena amahu sūtha hiḍiteya samdapaśogaśalya huda taha na śakya kartu budha na pratyekabudha na arhamta na rayachakravarti sarvi pariniyamti gammamni samprajya kartavya kujala kartavya brahmacharia* (Cf. Language, p. 129).

#### SOME NOTES ON THE RELATION BETWEEN MAURYA TERRACOTTAS AND STONE SCULPTURE.

DR. C. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., PH. D. (CAL.), PH. D. (CANTAB)

The object of this note is to find out the exact relation between Maurya terracottas and stone-sculptures which has not been done by any scholar before. Regarding the stone-sculptures of this age Coomaraswamy has rightly stressed, “To some extent, a distinction can be drawn in the art of this period between an official or court art, and a purely indigenous art,”<sup>1</sup> It is needless to go into a detailed description of specimens which Coomaraswamy holds as representing official or court art and indigenous art. By this statement he opines that those specimens which have very pronounced extra-Indian influences are to be taken as examples of official or court art and those specimens which are modelled according to Indian conceptions of plasticity are to be taken as examples of indigenous art; and Coomaraswamy is perfectly right in this assertion because these are specimens which

20. Wife of the correspondent.

21. Escape from the pangs of delivery was a moment of great relief for all the relations.

1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art by A. K. Coomaraswamy, p. 16. 1927.

actually prove this thesis. Among examples of the indigenous sculptures of human beings the Parkham Yaksha<sup>2</sup>, the Patna head-less Yaksha<sup>3</sup>, the Patna Yaksha<sup>4</sup>, the Didarganj Yakshini<sup>5</sup>, the Besnagar Yakshini<sup>6</sup>, the, Sarnath sorrowing woman<sup>7</sup> and among examples of the human sculptures of the so-called official or court art two Sarnath stone heads<sup>8</sup> should be mentioned. Among the figures of the indigenous type three are female and two are male. The plastic beauty of all these female figures lies in the very soft modelling, in the modelling of the very developed breasts, the thin waists and the heavy buttocks. In short, they fulfill the conception of feminine beauty embodied in later Indian texts. In this aspect a large number of these terracotta figurines resembles these three monolithic sculptures.<sup>9</sup> Further the remarkable similarity between the Basarh<sup>10</sup> and the Golakhpur<sup>11</sup> terracotta female figurines on one hand and the Didarganj Yakshini figure<sup>12</sup> on the other hand should be particularly noticed. Besides this the similarities between the dog-collared and hanging necklaces worn by the Didarganj and the Besnagar<sup>13</sup> Yakshinis and the dog-collared and hanging necklaces worn by two Basarh terracotta female figurines<sup>14</sup>; between the vertical drapery-end of the lower garment worn by the Didarganj Yakshini and the vertical drapery-end of the lower garment worn by one Basarh terracotta figurine<sup>15</sup>; and between the anklets worn by the Didarganj Yakshini figurine and the anklets worn by the same Basarh terracotta female figurine should be carefully noted. When we come to the male figurines of the indigenous school, the first point which strikes us is that the Parkham Yaksha, the Patna head-less Yaksha and the Patna Yaksha are

2. Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer. pl. 11, 1929.

3. Ibid, pl. 10—the figure on the left, 1929.

4. Ibid, pl. 10—the figure on the right, 1929.

5. Ibid, pl. 9, 1929.

6. Ibid, pl. 61, 1929. Bachhofer has placed this monolithic sculpture in the latter half of the 1st century B. C. (Ibid, p. 39, 1929). It seems that Coomaraswamy (History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 16, 1927) and Kramrisch (Indian Sculpture, p. 10, 1933) are perfectly right in attributing this to the Maurya age.

7. Indian Sculpture. By S. Kramrisch. pl. III, 11, 1933.

8. Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, p. 12, 1929.

9. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1903-04, pl. XXXIX. 16, 1906; Ibid for 1911-12, pl. XXII. 9, 10, 1915; Ibid for 1913-14, pl. XLIII. b-e, XLIV, c, e, i, XIV. a, e. p. 9, 1917; Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 154, 1933; Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, pl. XXXI, 1935.

10. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1903-04, pl. XXXIX. 16. 1906.

11. Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1935. pl. XXXI.

12. Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 9, 1929.

13. Ibid, pl. 61, 1929.

14. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1903-04, pl. XXXIX. 16 1906; Ibid for 1913-14, pl. XLIII. C, 1917.

15. Ibid for 1913-14, pl. XLV. f. 1917.

stylistically related as belonging to one group because all of them "express an immense material force in terms of sheer volume"<sup>16</sup> and "are informed by an extraordinary physical energy which their archaic 'stiffness' by no means obscures,"<sup>17</sup> and are purely Indian in style. One Basarh terracotta male figurine<sup>18</sup> is very similar to these three stone-sculptures in modelling. Let us now see whether there is any terracotta human figurine of this age which has resemblance with the two Sarnath heads already referred to and which represent the official or court art. It is quite true that no terracotta human figurine of this age has any striking resemblance with these two Sarnath stone heads; but it is also true that the influence which has led to the sculpturing of these two Sarnath heads is equally active in the two Basarh terracotta male heads<sup>19</sup> and in the Sarnath female head.<sup>20</sup> All these examples in stone and in terracotta are certainly the result of India's close connection with the Iranian, Hellenic and Hellenistic nations. Regarding these two Basarh figurines Marshall has rightly observed that the features of these two figurines "are markedly classical in character"<sup>21</sup> Regarding the Sarnath figurine we may say that its peculiar and non-Indian head-dress connects it with the figurines of this age having the Iranian, Hellenic and Hellenistic influences. This analysis clearly shows that, as in the case of the stone human figurines, these specimens may also be divided into two groups, viz., those belonging to the official or court art and the indigenous art and that in the fundamental aspects there is no difference between the terracotta figurines and the stone sculptures of the Maurya age.

Let us now see how the Maurya terracotta figurines of animals are related to the Maurya stone-sculptures of animals in order to mark out the similarity and the difference between these two types of plastic art. As in the case of the Maurya stone sculptures of human figures the Maurya stone sculptures of animals may also be divided into two groups, viz., those belonging to the indigenous art and those belonging to the official or court art. Among the specimens of the former group the most noteworthy are the Dhauli rock cut elephant,<sup>22</sup> the elephant-frieze on the facade of the Lomas Rshi cave at Barabar,<sup>23</sup> the Sankisa elephant-capital<sup>24</sup>, the Rampurva bull-capital<sup>25</sup> and the circular frieze containing bull, horse, elephant and

16. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 16. 1927.

17. Ibid.

18. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1913-14, pl. XLV. d, 1917.

19. Ibid, pl. XLIV. b. 1917; Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 13—the right figure in the upper half, 1229.

20. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1927-28, pl. XXXVII.7, 1931.

21. Cambridge History of India. Vol. 1, p. 623. 1922.

22. Early Indian Sculpture. By E. Bachhofer, pl. 1, 1929.

23. Ibid, pl. 2, 1929.

24. Ibid, pl. 8—the figure on the right, 1939.

lion<sup>25</sup> around an abacus<sup>26</sup>. Among the specimens of the latter group the most noteworthy are the Basarh lion-capital<sup>27</sup>, the Lauriaya Nandangarh lion-capital<sup>28</sup>, the Sarnath lion-capital<sup>29</sup>, the Rampurva lion-capital<sup>30</sup>, and the Sanchi lion-capital.<sup>31</sup> Thus we find that in the Maurya age elephant, bull, horse, and lion are represented in stone while, as we have already shown, pig, ram and elephant are represented in terracotta in this age. Thus a comparison may be made between the elephants made in stone and in terracotta. There is a close similarity between the Bhita terracotta elephant<sup>32</sup> on one hand and the elephants on the facade of the Lomas Rshi cave at Barabar<sup>33</sup> and the elephant in the frieze around the abacus of the Sarnath lion-capital<sup>34</sup> on the other hand. It is thus incidentally shown that there is no terracotta animal of this age belonging to the official or court art.

### THE MĀNA-SAMVAT OF ORISSA

SRI SATYANARAYAN RAJAGURU, U. B. P.

The Kaṇās copper-plate grant of Śrī Lokavighraha was edited by me in the Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society (Vol.III, pp. 261). The date of this grant is mentioned in two places, viz. in line 2 (obverse) it is written as "Gupta-Kāle-200-Śate-Muśivaraya"\* and in line 15 (reverse) again—written as "Samvat-200-80-Phālguna-di-10". The former date is clearly the Gupta-Samvat. So, its corresponding Christian date is (200+320=) 520 A. C. It is not therefore difficult for us to attribute the second date, i.e. 200.80 (or 280), to A. C. 520. Consequently the starting point of this un-known era is (520-280=) A. C. 240. No Samvat has yet been known to have been started from that date. Of course, we learn that the—Kālachuri or Chedi Samvat was started from A. C. 247 to 250. There are still divergent views expressed by scholars regarding the actual starting point of the Chedi-erā as stated below:—

25. Ibid, pl. 7—the figure on the right, 1929.
26. Ibid, pls. 5, 6, 1929. The lion in this frieze should be considered as belonging to the official or court art.
27. Ibid, pl. 3, 1929.
28. Ibid, pl. 4, 1929.
29. Ibid, pl. 5, 1929.
30. Ibid, pl. 7—the figure on the right, 1929.
31. Ibid, pl. 8—the figure on the left, 1929.
32. Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1911-12, pl. XXII.16, 1915.
33. Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 2, 1929.
34. Ibid. pl. 6, 1929.

\*Although the word 'Musivaraya' gives no meaning it cannot be taken as a part of the numerical expression.

Sir A. Cunningham says that A. D. 249 is equal to '0' and 250 is equal to '1' is the true starting point of the Chedi-era (vide Indian Eras).

Kielhorn says that "Chedi-Samvat '0' is equal to A. D. 248-49, and '1' is equal to A. D. 249-50 (Vide I. A., Vol. XVII, P. 215 ff.). Kielhorn confirms his view while editing the Bherāgāhāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī (E. I., II, pp. 9).

Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha says that the interval between the Kalachuri-Samvat and Vikrama-Samvat is about 307 years. The Kālachuri-Samvat was started from the 23rd August, 249 A.D. (Vide the Palaeography of India, pp. 173).

Swamikannu Pillai says that "the Chedi or Kālachuri era (current year is equal to A. D. year minus 247), current Āśvina, Pūrṇimānta". According to his calculation A. D. 500 is equal to 253 Chedi year current. (Vide Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I. pt. i., pp. 54).

The earliest known Chedi-Samvat is 174, which is mentioned in the Karitalai plates of Mahārāja Jayanātha (C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 118 f). Afterwards the era was used by several royal dynasties ruling over the tracts lying between the present states of Bihar and Bombay. It is, therefore, presumed that the Kālachuris attained political supremacy after the Guptas in the central part of India which was extended to the southern slopes of the Vin-dhyān range of mountains. There is no evidence to prove whether their empire could touch the East-coast in the regions of Orissa. On the other hand, the Samvat, which has been used in the plates of Śrī Lokavighraha, found in Puri District, clearly admits the Gupta supremacy. After this king, another king named Dharmarāja, who was a subordinate king under Prithivivighraha, the ruler of Kalinga-Rāshṭra, issued his grant in the Gupta year 250, corresponding to A. C. 570. (vide O. H. R. J., Vol. I, No. 1 p 66). After this, the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja-Śailodbhava, who was another subordinate king of Kongoda under Mahārājādhirāja Śaśānka, issued his grant in the same Samvat (Gupta-year) 300 or 620 A. D. (E. I., Vol. VI, pp. 143). Therefore, it is quite clear that the Gupta had supremacy over the coastal regions of Orissa during the 6th and the 7th centuries A. D.\* In view of this, how can we accept the introduction of Kalachuri-era in the state when supremacy of Kalachuries, during the said period, over Orissa is not evinced from any source. So, I presume that the Samvat used in the Kaṇās plate of Śrī Lokavighraha cannot be taken as the Kalachuri-Samvat, although it appears to be so for its nearness of date on the grounds of palaeography.

Now, the question is, if this Samvat is not of the Chedis, then what could it be? The only answer is that it may be taken as a local Samvat which

\*I have already discussed this aspect in my article on "The Gupta Rule in Kalinga", O. H. K. J., Vol. I, No. 2, p.

was perhaps popular in Orissa just before the Guptas entered into this land. In such case one would naturally be inclined to suggest that an independent dynasty was probably ruling over Orissa, enjoying an imperial status so as to introduce its own era like many other imperial dynasties; and that Orissa was under that dynasty at least for 100 years, i.e. 240-340 A. D., for it is not possible for any dynasty to establish itself firmly within a short period of less than a century or so. Most probably that royal dynasty of Orissa was ousted by Samudragupta, after which time the Gupta rule was introduced in this part of the country. It may be surmised that either Samudragupta had conquered the north-eastern part of Orissa after his southern expedition was completed or he allied the then independent ruler of Toshali. But, the entire Orissa came under the Guptas before A. C. 570, which has been proved by the Sumaṇḍala plates of the time of Śrī Prithivī-vigraha.

It is not out of place to mention here the date of Paṭiakella grant of Śivarāja, which furnishes two dates like the Kaṇās plate. (Vide E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 285 ff.). The technic of writing as well as the shapes and sizes of both the above named plates are similar. R. D. Banerji while editing the Paṭiakellā grant of Sivaraja writes:

“One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date is given twice. First of all we read in the second line ‘Tryadhikaśittiyuttara....’ and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line ‘Samvat 200.....’. The tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred”. In this way Banerji concludes that the Samvat is 283, which he takes to be the Gupta era. But, in the inscription itself the phrase ‘Māṇa-vamśa-rājya-kāle’ instead of ‘Gupta-vamśa-rājya-kāle’ is clearly written. Banerji did not give any credence to or properly deal with this serious question of deviation.

If we take it to be the Gupta-era, then the date of Śivarāja and his overlord Sagguyayyana\* should be A. D. 603, only 17 years before Mādhavarāja and his overlord Śaśāṅka of the Ganjam plates. So far we have no evidence to prove that Śaśāṅka belongs to the family of Sagguyayyana (Maudgala-Kula). On the other hand we find that the Praśasti, used in the Patiakella grant, is quite different from those used in the Kaṇās plate of Śrī Lokavigraha, Sumaṇḍala plates of the time of Prithivīvigraha and the Ganjam plates of the time of Sasanka, which were issued in the Gupta years 200 (520 A. D.), 250 (570 A. C.) and 300 (620 A. C.) respectively; and they all maintained a similar type of Praśasti using the Gupta-Samvat.

\*Some scholars read the name of this king as Sambhuyasa and try to link him with the king of same name of Soro plates.

Now, we should consider why it was so ? Why Śivarāja of the Paṭiakellā grant did introduce a new type of Prasasti for his over-lord Sri Saguyayya without following the conventional form of epithet, which others of the same locality have used ? And how Śivarāja was allowed to violate the practice of expressing the Gupta subordination and did not use even the name of the Guptas in the Samvat of his record ? The plausible explanation to these questions is, that Śivarāja's over-lord Śrī Saguyayya was acting as a governor in Dakṣiṇa-Toshala under some kings of imperial Māṇa-Dynasty, whose independant era he introduced in the coastal regions of Orissa. The 'Mānas' seem to have maintained almost an equal status with the imperial Guptas. Of course we are in dark about the existance of the 'Mānas' and no document of them have yet come to light to substantiate our statement; but the Paṭiakellā grant leads us to no other conclusion than the one given above. A group of kings, bearing 'Māṇa' title, were living in a remote place like the district of Hazariagh of Bihar, in or about the 12th century A. D. (vide Dudhṇāni Stone inscription, E. I., Vol. II, pp. 345 ff). But, that epigraph of the later age is not helpful to us for identification of the imperial 'Māṇa' dynasty, referred to above.

In the Soro plate of Mahārāja Śambhūyaśa of Maudgala kula we find a Samvat in numerical symbols as 260 (E.I. Vol. XXIII, pp. 197). While editing that grant N. G. Majumdar writes: "it is dated in the year 260, the 30th day of Kārttika. This date, in view of palaeography is referable to the Kālachuri-era and becomes, therefore, equivalent to A. D. 508-09."

D. R. Bhandarkar also expresses a similar view with regard to the Patiakella grant of Sri Samyuyayya. He writes:

"The date cannot be read with certainty, but is most probably 283. It has been referred to the ruling era of the Māna dynasty, which is not yet known. As the alphabet belongs apparently to the 6th century A. D., the date probably belongs to the Kalachuri-era." (E. I. Vol. XX, p. 160, footnote). This shows that Majumdar and Bhandarkar take these dates as Kalachuri-era on the grounds of palaeography. But, R. D. Banerji, while editing the Patiakella grant, took it to be the Gupta-Samvat, although the name of that Samvat has not been mentioned there. Recently Dr. D. C. Sircar, while re-editing the Sumandala Copper-plate grant of the time of Sri Prithivivīgraha of Gupta-era 250, took the view of Banerji as a gospel truth and wrote in his paper as follows :—

"the Soro and Patiakella inscriptions....are dated in the Gupta years 260 (A. D. 579) and 283 (A. D. 602) respectively" (Vide E. I., Vol. XXVIII, PP. 83). This bold statement of Dr. Sircar however, cannot be accepted when all the inscriptions where the Gupta-era has been mentioned render us a particular type of royal-Prasasti beginning with the epithet "Chaturudadhi...." etc., which Prasasti is not found in either the Patiakella grant or in the Soro plate. Moreover the Patiakella grant of Śivarāja clearly mention

the name of the era as "Mānavamsa-rājya-kāle" instead of "Gupta-vamsa-rājya-kāle". Apart from this the palaeography of these two inscriptions is definitely earlier than the dated plates of Sumandala of Gupta-era 250 and Ganjam of 300. So far as the palaeographical question of the Patiakella grant and the Soro plate, referred to above, are concerned I fully agree with the view of N. G. Majumdar and D. R. Bhandarkar, as stated above; but I cannot accept their identification of the Samvats with the Kalachuri-era.

Here I like to invite attention of scholars to a newly discovered hoard of coins from the Balasore District (Orissa), the minting technic of which coins is different from that of the Kushan and the Gupta coinage of the same period. There is a lying bull enshrined on one side of it and on the other side a line of writing as "SRI NANDASYA", in the Box-head character of the 5th century A. D. is engraved. Since this type of coins have not yet been discovered in any part of India, it may be taken that they were issued by a local ruler who was enjoying the sovereign status during that period in the coastal regions of Orissa. The most interesting point is that those kings were living in a period when the imperial Guptas were in their zenith of power. Again, the Puri-Kushan coins, which we find only in the different tracts of Orissa, present a new specimen of coinage. Why the technic of these coins and minting process were different from those of the Guptas and other imperial dynasties? This question again carries us to the same conclusion which we have arrived at with the help of the Patiakella and Kanas grants of the beginning of the 7th. century A. D. I, therefore, offer the following suggestions which may help us to illuminate a portion of the dark age that mistified the history of Orissa in between the 2nd. and the 6th. centuries A. D. :—

1) that the Mānas were the supreme lords of the Coastal regions of Orissa which is known as Toshala. They were ruling that kingdom at least 100 years before the Guptas entered into that tract.

2) that they (the Mānas) introduced their own Samvat from A. C. 240 which was used at least upto A.C. 523 which has been proved from the Patiakella grant of Śivarāja.

3) that the Guptas had no occasion to come into conflict with the Manas at least upto A. C. 570.

4) that the dates used in the Patiakella grant and the second date of the Kanas plate refer to the Māna 'Samvat' which has been noticed in the former grant.

and (5) that the Balasore hoard of coins of Nanda is a remnant of the Māna kings of that locality. Probably King Nanda is a king of that dynasty.

## THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE SŪRYA IMAGE IN INDIA

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Ancient Indian Sun-cult was a blend of three distinct traditions of worship viz. the non-Aryan, the Vedic Aryan and the Iranian. Like most other religious systems of the classical period of ancient Indian history, the cult of Sūrya was iconic in character. The evolution of the Sūrya image in India is a fascinating subject of study for the iconographer. In the present paper, attempts would be made to throw some light on the origin and antiquity of the Sūrya image in India.

In the Bhavisya Purāṇa<sup>1</sup> which is the text par excellence of the Iranian tradition of Sun-worship in India, a specific claim is made to the effect that the Sun-image was imported for the first time into this country from Sākadvīpa identified by scholars with Seistan in Iran. In this connection we are told that after receiving boon from the Sun-god who cured him of leprosy Sāmba went to the river Chandrabhāgā for a bath and while he bathed, he came across an image of the Sun-god, carried to him by the waves. He lifted it from the stream and installed it ultimately in Mitravana, which became the earliest solar shrine in India. On being asked about its origin by Sāmba, the image said: "Previously my splendour was so great that it was not possible for creatures to tolerate it. I therefore ordered Viśvakarman to peel off some portion of my body so that people could bear the sight of me. Accordingly Viśvakarman gave me the present shape by means of a lathe in Sākadvīpa."

"Tatastāme va paprachchha praṇāmya pratimām raveh !  
Keneyam nirmitā nātha bhavato hyākriti śubhāh !!  
Pratimā tāmuvächātha Śriṇu Sāmba bruve Svayam !  
Nirmitā yena chāpyesā madiyā purusākritiho !!  
Mamātitejasāviṣṭam rūpamāsito purātanam !  
Asahyam Sarvabhutānām tato'smabhyarchitah Śurāih !!  
Sahyain bhavatu me rūpam sarvaprāṇabhritāmiti !  
Tato mayā samādisto Viśvakarmā mahātāpāh !!  
Tejasām śātanam kurvan rūpam mrvartayasva me !  
Tatastu matsamādeśātenaiva nipuṇam tata !  
Śākadvīpe bhramim kritvā rūpam nīrvartitam mama !!!<sup>1</sup>

There is therefore hardly any ambiguity about the claim that the original Sūrya-image was built by Viśvakarman in Sākadvīpa outside India. It may be pointed out in this connection that some other Puranic texts also

1. Bhavisya Purāna I. 129. 8-12; see also Verses 1-6.

mention Śākadvīpa as the place where Sūrya's body was peeled off by Visvakarman on a lathe though these texts do not go so far as to claim that the original image of the solar deity was carved in Śākadvīpa, in a specific manner<sup>2</sup>. If this claim of the Bhavisya Purāṇa has any truth in it, it would follow that the Sūrya image in India is not of indigeneous origin but was introduced into this country from Śākadvīpa or Seistan.

In ancient India, there were two distinct iconographic traditions so far as the Sūrya image was concerned. From about the first or the second century A. D. the Magian Sun-priests from Iran began to settle down in large numbers in different parts of northern India and due to their increasing influence some distinctly foreign traits came to be associated with the north Indian Sun-image. Of these two became permanent features of the Sun-icon of northern India. These were the practices of covering the legs of the image up to the knees with leggings or top-boots and encircling the waist of the image with the 'Avyanga', an adoption of the Iranian sacred thread 'Aiyawanhan'. From the early centuries of the Christian era up to early medieval days numerous solar images were built in northern India displaying these foreign Iranian traits. This has been referred to by Varāhamihira as the "udīchya veśa" or "the northern dress" of the Sun-god, in his Brihat Samhitā<sup>3</sup>. South India however had in this respect a different iconographic tradition of her own which excluded the above foreign features. Consequently we find that the Sun-icons built in South India during the corresponding period were free from them. Ancient texts dealing with iconographic details of images were also conscious of this difference. Thus north-Indian texts like the Brihat Samhitā, Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra, Vishnudevāsmīyana Purāṇa, Matsya Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa etc. mention the basically foreign features of the 'Sun-icon, whereas south Indian texts like the Ainsuadbhedāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Śilparatṇa etc. do not do so in course of their description of the Surya-image<sup>4</sup>. Obviously the foreign Magian influence failed to strike deep root on the Southern soil.

We are thus brought face to face with a difficult problem regarding the origin of the Sūrya image in India. Some of the Purāṇic texts claim that Śākadvīpa or Seistan in Iran was the place where the original Sūrya image was built. This claim seems to be borne out by the presence of the definitely Iranian features in the north Indian Sun-images from very early times due no doubt to the influence of the Magian sun-priests of Iran. South India no doubt had an indigeneous iconographic tradition of her own. It cannot however be demonstrated that this was older than the north Indian tradition. The earliest extant images built in the indigeneous

2. Samba Purāṇa 11. 41; Markandeya Purāṇa 106. 41-42; Skanda Purāṇa 7.1.11. 42-43; 7. 1. 13. 5-6.

3. Brihat Samhitā 58. 46.

4. J. N. Bannerjee—Development of Hindu Iconography p. 34.

southern style are later in date than the earliest ones built in the foreign northern style. Seen from this point of view there seems to be no other alternative for us than to conclude that the Indians were not accustomed originally to the iconic worship of the Sun-god and the Sun-image was introduced from Śākadvīpa, outside India, into this country as upheld by some Purānic texts due mainly to the efforts of the Magi priests. It would also follow, if the above arguments are held to be valid that the foreign features noticeable in the north-Indian Sun-icons are the surviving traits that an almost forgotten foreign origin of the Sun-image itself had left behind.

An examination of the four earliest figures of the Sun-god available in this country, however throws further light on the problem and seems to shake the foundation of the above view. These four images are: (a) the figure of the Sun-god on a stone-railing found at Buddha Gayā (date 1st. century B. C.); (b) the Sūrya in relief on the shaft of a column found at Lala Bhagat, Cawnpur U. P. (date circa 2nd century A. D); (c) the figure of Sūrya in the Buddhist cave at Bhājā (date circa 1st. century B. C.) and (d) the figure of Sūrya in the Ananta gupha, Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa (date 1st. century A. D.) Most of these figures were not independent sculptures being mere adjuncts to some greater Buddhist or Jaina structure and their dates range from the first century B. C. to the second century A. D. All the sculptures again belong significantly enough to northern India. A study of these proves that even during this early period starting from the 1st. century B. C. the iconographic motif of Sūrya was more or less similar in different parts of northern India. It is however significant that all these four images are free from the foreign Iranian features, that characterise the north Indian Sūrya figures later on. It may be therefore said that even before the reorientation of the Indian Sun-cult through Iranian influence; India possessed an indigenous iconographic tradition of her own; so far as the Sūrya image was concerned. In the present state of our knowledge we must regard it as older than the 'foreign' tradition, as we do not come across any Sun-image built in the foreign tradition, which can be regarded as old as the Buddha Gayā & the Bhājā sculptures. The indigenous tradition was replaced soon afterwards by a foreign tradition imported from Śākadvīpa in Iran. It suffered a heavy defeat in northern India but survived like many other indigenous cultural elements in the South where it resisted successfully all attempts of the foreign northern tradition to conquer it.

Thus in spite of the specific Purānic claim, we need not postulate a foreign origin of the Indian Sūrya image. An indigenous iconographic tradition as the four above sculptures testify had already been formed at least as early as the first century B. C. and may be even a little earlier.

## CAN THE SO-CALLED 'MITRAS' BE IDENTIFIED WITH ŚUNGAS ?

SM. BELA LAHIRI, M. A.

The discovery of the coins of a number of rulers with names ending in "-mitra" from several localities in Northern India, has given rise to a complicated problem in the history of ancient India. Epigraphic or literary sources guide us very little to identify these rulers with any known kings. We have, therefore, to depend mainly on numismatic sources for our information about them. Pañchāla being the main source of these "Mitra" coins, the study of the problem of the so-called Mitras has so far been confined to a study of the Pañchāla series of Mitra coinage and attempts have often been made to connect stray names from other series with this group. But it is time that we should take a broader view of the subject and discuss all the coins with names ending in "-mitra" found in the different localities in Northern India and try to make out a reconstruction of their history and to see whether they had any connection amongst themselves or were in any way connected with the Śungas, who had often been sought to be identified with the so-called "Mitras."

At Ahichhatra, the capital of ancient Pañchāla, modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district of U. P., coins of about fourteen "Mitra" kings have so far been discovered. Kauśāmbī, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Vatsa, identified with modern Kosam near Allahabad, has also yielded coins of no less than thirteen "Mitra" rulers. Ayodhyā, the capital of ancient Kośala, modern Fyzabad in U. P. has produced coins of five "Mitra" kings. From Mathura also coins of five "Mitra" kings have been found. Kanauj has produced coins of two "Mitra" rulers. Even Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts of the Punjab have brought to light coins of four "Mitra" kings along with the Audumbara coins. Two "Mitra" rulers also issued coins from Uddehika, which was probably situated near Bayana in the Bharatpur state.

We thus get so far the names of nearly forty-five rulers with names ending in "-mitra" and there is every possibility of new names being added to the list by fresh discoveries. We find from the above lists that some identical names occur in two or more lists. Such names number about thirteen. But it is very difficult to say, in the present state of our knowledge, whether these names were those of identical rulers, ruling at two or more places. The local peculiarities of each series of coins are so well-marked that it is not always easy to detach any one name from a particular group and connect it with another.

Now, when we make a broad study of all the "Mitra" coins, we notice some general features about them. First, as Rapson<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, the significant name-ending—"mitra" is interesting in as much as some of the important Śunga kings had names ending in "—mitra."<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, these coins, according to their palaeography, roughly belong to the second-first century B. C.<sup>3</sup> This is precisely the Śunga period.

Moreover, the find-spots of these "Mitra" coins cover roughly the Madhyadesa with the eastern districts of the Punjab. This was presumably the extent of the Śunga empire during the time of Pushya-mitra.

Are we justified, from these considerations, to assume that the coin under discussion were issued by the Śungas? Opinions, however, differ on this point.

The pioneers who identified the "Mitras" with the Śungas were Carlyle and Rivett-Carnac<sup>4</sup>. But they had in their disposal the coins of only eight kings of Pāñchāla and their study was confined necessarily only to the Pāñchāla "Mitras".

Cunningham<sup>5</sup> objected to identifying the "Mitras" of the Pāñchāla series of coins with the Śungas because of the facts that none of the names as found on coins, excepting that of Agnimitra is found in the Purānic lists of Śunga kings;<sup>6</sup> and that the findspots of these coins point to their being issued by a local dynasty, and not by any paramount power like the Śungas. For the Bhārhut inscriptions indicate that the Śungas had their seat of power at eastern Malwa, whereas the coins are "very rarely found beyond the limits of northern Pāñchāla."<sup>7</sup>

1. Indian Coins, p. 13

2. It is however possible that rulers having other name-endings like some of the other Sungas, but with numismatic peculiarities, common with particular "Mitra" series might have been inter-connected. Thus Rudragupta or Bhadrachosha of Panchala group of rulers have the characteristic peculiarities of the Panchala series of "Mitra" coins and hence these rulers might have belonged to the Panchala "Mitra" group of kings.

3. The Ayodhya and Audumbara coins of the "Mitra" series of rulers are however somewhat later—about first century A. D.

4. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XLIX, pp. 21 ff., 87 ff.

5. Coins of Ancient India, pp. 79-80

6. He however, admits the probability of the Puranic lists being erroneous and incomplete as the name Dhanabhuti, who is known from his inscriptions at Bharhut and at Mathura as a Sunga, does not occur in the lists. But Cunningham's contention that Dhanabhuti was a Sunga is yet to be proved, as no such indication is found in the above-mentioned inscriptions

7. But as Vincent Smith has pointed out in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, pp. 184-5, the coins of the Panchala "Mitras" are "common in eastern Oudh and in the Basti district further east." Smith calls the issuers of these coins "lords of North Panchala and Kosala". We have, however, found that "Mitra" coins in general are found from a far wider area.

Rapson<sup>8</sup> noticed some connections between the Pañchāla and the Ayodhyā series of "Mitra" coins. But Vincent Smith finds no such connection between the incuse coins of the Pañchāla series with three characteristic symbols and the very different type of the "Cock and Bull" series of Ayodhyā coins<sup>9</sup>. He, however, agrees with Cunningham in that the Pañchāla "Mitras" are not to be identified with the Śungas.

Jayaswal<sup>10</sup> holds that the "Mitras" all belonged to one dynasty and that was the Śungan. He, however, suggests in a very ingenious manner the identification of the Śunga rulers with some of the "Mitras", though he picks up conveniently the names from different series of coins, which have no connection whatsoever, with the "Mitra" series of coins. His identifications are based on the assumption that the Śungas had alternative names and that in some cases their names have not been correctly handed down to us by the Purāṇas. Thus he identifies Pushyamitra with Bahasatimitra (of Kauśāmbi coins) on the ground that Brihaspati is the deity of the Pushya nakshatra. And though Pulindaka is the name of the sixth Śunga king as found in most of the Purāṇas, he prefers the reading Mulindaka of a single Vāyu manuscript, and taking it as a corruption of Mulendraka he seeks to read this name on the coins of Muladeva of the Ayodhyā series<sup>11</sup>. Moreover he reads, to his convenience, the inscriptions on many doubtful coins and ascribes them to the Śunga rulers. Without going into further details<sup>12</sup>, it is clear that in spite of their ingenuity, no authentic history can be reconstructed on Jayaswal's unscientific and far-fetched identifications.

Rapson, however, has proposed a different theory. According to him<sup>13</sup>, the "Mitras" were some of the feudatories of the Śungas and were connected by matrimonial relationships amongst themselves. Edwardes<sup>14</sup>, agreeing with Jayaswal's views, holds that "the Mitra coins, of several kinds, found in Oudh, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur etc. probably belong to the Śungas, though only one name on the coins, that of Agnimitra, agrees with the Purāṇic lists. But this may be due to the fact that the Śungas apparently had alternative names."

Allan<sup>15</sup> is of opinion that the Pañchāla Mitras "cannot be identified with the Śungas. The dynasty was in existence before the Śungas,.....and

8. Indian Coins, p. 13.

9. Cat. of Coins in the Indian Mus., pp. 144-5

10. Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, pp. 476 ff.

11. Ibid. Vol. XX. p.

12. The detailed lists of his identifications are to be found in JBORS, Vol. III, p. 479, note 15 and Vol. XX, pp. 279-308.

13. The Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 523-26.

14. Early Hist. of India, (V. A. Smith), fourth edition, edited by Edwardes p. 215, note 1.

15. Cat. of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, p. cxx.

survived not only the Śungas but also the Kāṇvas, probably disappearing with the latter before the Śakas.”

H. C. Roychowdhury<sup>16</sup> is in favour of identifying some of the “Mitras” with the Śunga kings as advocated by Jāyaswal. In his opinion, the unidentifiable names “may have been names of those Śungas who survived the usurpation of Vāsudeva Kāṇva, and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the so-called Āndhras and Śiśunandi”. The “Mitra” kings whose names are found from the coins of various places were, according to him, “the only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring provinces and who were replaced by the Scythian Muruṇḍas and Satraps”.

All these divergent views do not, however, help us to explain matters satisfactorily and the question of the “Mitra” coins in general, is still left undecided. The objections raised by Cunningham are not valid, as we have seen (vide notes 6 & 7). We cannot, however, accept Jayaswal’s identifications on other grounds.

That Pushyamitra ruled at Pāṭaliputra is known from literary sources. But we are not sure whether his successors continued to rule there. The few documents of the later Śungas are found from Central India and Eastern Malwa. We would naturally expect, therefore, to find the coins of those Mitras, who are identified with the Śungas, either at Pāṭaliputra or at Vidiśāl. But neither of these places has yet produced any remarkable hoard of “Mitra” coins. And though Agnimitra is the only name which is found both on coins and in the Purāṇic list of Śunga kings, the Agnimitra coins are not found at Vidiśā where Agnimitra Śunga is known to have ruled. Again, the Agnimitra coins are placed, on stylistic and palaeographic grounds, by even Carlleyle and Rivett-Carnac latter than the Purāṇic Agnimitra and some of the “Mitras” of Pañchāla. Agnimitra of the coins was regarded as “one of the most recent of these kings”. So Agnimitra of coins cannot be identified with his namesake in the Purāṇic lists.

If we are to believe that the “Mitra” coins were in any way connected with the Śungas, we are to assume that the later Śungas had their capital neither at Pāṭaliputra nor at Vidiśā but at one of the places, viz., Pañchāla, Kausāmbi or Ayodhyā, where “Mitra” coins are found most copiously. But then the coins of all the rulers, as identified with the Śunga kings are not found from any particular series. Names are picked up suitably from different series and connected with one another. But it is not believable that the Śunga capital was changing so frequently.

One may however argue that the Śunga empire embraced all the places concerned and the coins of different Śunga kings differed due to local

16. Political Hist. of Ancient India, 4th edition, pp. 326-7.

peculiarities. But we would expect in that case, a connecting link amongst the issues of different localities as we find in the case of Andhra coins. The different local issues of the Andhra kings had, over and above their distinctive local peculiarities, the "Ujjain symbol." as their dynastic emblem. But no such common insignia in the coinages of the "Mitras" of different localities as may be called Śungan is discernible. Jayaswal holds that the "Bull" and "the tree-within-railing" were the imperial Śunga symbols<sup>17</sup>. But on a comprehensive study of the coinages of all the localities where "Mitra" coins are found, we can at once realise the incorrectness of this statement. For, the "Bull" is characteristic only of the Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā coins and is conspicuous by its absence in the most remarkable series of the "Mitra" coins, viz., that of Pañchāla. The "tree-within-railing" is found only on coins of Kausāmbi, Kanauj and Uddehika. Thus neither the "Bull" nor the "tree-within-railing" can be regarded as the imperial Śunga symbol.

There is thus no justification in identifying the so-called "Mitras" of different localities with the Śunga kings of the Puranic lists. Who the "Mitras" actually were and if they had any connection with the Śungas are matters which may be separately considered.

#### AN EXAMINATION OF SOME TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN ERAS

MRS. DEBALA MITRA

A common belief that some Indian eras started with the end of particular rulers or dynasties and were at the same time named after them is reflected in the writings of such authors as Alberuni, Merutunga and Ferishta. Regarding the origin of the Śaka era Alberuni records that it marks the fatal end of the wicked Śaka king at the hands of Vikramāditya. "Now this date", he says, "became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers."<sup>1</sup> The Gupta era also, according to him, commenced with the passing away of the Guptas: "As regards the Guptakāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era."<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, Merutunga, after relating a legend about the death of Vik-

17. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), 1935, pp. 788 ff.

1. E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's Indic* (London 1888), Vol. II, p.6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

rāmāditya, states : “Ever since, even to this date, the era of that Vikramāditya flourishes all over the world.”<sup>3</sup>

The same tradition about the Vikrama era is repeated by Ferishta when he observes: “From the death of Vikramajeet, the Hindoos date one of their eras, which at the present day is 1663, answering to the year 1015 of the Hijra.”<sup>4</sup>

It is well known that in medieval times the Śāka era was sometimes connected with King Śālivāhana. Thus an inscription of the time of Shāh Jahān from Rupnagar (Kishangadh, Rajasthan State) is dated as: *śrī-nri-pati-Vikramāditya-rājyāt samvat 1700 var (a) she Śālivāhana sāka-Śāke 1565 pravartamane*.<sup>5</sup> Again, the date-portion of another inscription from Chamba (Punjab State) reads: *śrīman-nri-pati-Vikramāditya-samvatsare 1717 śrī-Śālivāhana-śāke 1582 śrī-Śāstra-Samvatsare 36*.<sup>6</sup> This association of the Śāka era with Śālivāhana was no doubt prompted by the belief that Śālivāhana must have started the era after exterminating the Śāka ruler.

It is obvious that these traditions cannot be taken seriously, as eras generally originate with the beginning and not the end of a mighty ruler. Indeed, their unauthenticity is clear from the fact that the Gupta era is definitely known to have started with the first powerful ruler of that dynasty.

But the instances quoted above indicate a persistent belief, the explanation for which may be found in the Indian way of reckoning in expired years of an era. Expressions like *śrī-Vikramārka-nri-pa-kāl-āite-samvatsarāṅām, Śāka-nri-pa-kāl = āite etc.*<sup>7</sup> which are frequently met with in inscriptions all over India, were most probably the source from which the misconception arose when the facts about origins of the eras were things of the past and the word *āita* was taken to mean the expiry not of years but of the rulers or dynasties associated with respective eras.

## WAS THERE A SECOND DEMETRIUS ?

AMARENDRA NATH LAHIRI, M.A.

Sir George Macdonald has raised the question of a second Demetrius on the evidence of a tetradrachm, which he discussed in the Cambridge

3. *Tatah prabhriti tasya Vikramadityasya jagaty-ayam-adhun-āpi samvatsarah pravartate*, Merutunga's *Prabandhachintamani*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni (Santiniketan, 1933), p. 10.

4. J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India* (London, 1829), Vol. I, p. LXXV.

5. Bhandarkar's List, no. 1005.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 1010.

7. *Ibid.*, nos. 169 and 1102.

History of India, vol. I, p. 448, and illustrated on Plate III of that book, though numismatists of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries considered it to be the early issue of the first Demetrius,<sup>1</sup> known from coins and classical accounts. Dr. W. W. Tarn has championed Macdonald's theory and put forward newer arguments to prove it.<sup>2</sup> Besides the coins discussed by Macdonald, Tarn has attributed the issues of three more coins to the same Demetrius II—contrary to their attributions by other scholars to the first Demetrius. I give below the descriptions and peculiarities of the four coins in question:—

| Obverse                                  | Reverse   |
|--|---|
| 1. AR. Diademed bust of young king to r. | Athena standing with shield and spear. Greek legend meaning—"Of king Demetrius". Monogram on. I |

The first variety, known from a unique tetradrachm (Num. Chron., 1951, Pl. IV, 12) has the reel-and-bead border, and the king's straight diadem-ends. The second variety, known in tetradrachm<sup>3</sup> and drachm sizes, has the dotted border, but the king's flowing diadem-ends; besides the usual monogram tetradrachm of this variety have an extra *delta* on the upper left field.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 2. AE. Diademed bust of king, wearing elephant-scalp. Greek legend meaning—"Of king Demetrius, the Invincible". | Winged thunderbolt. Kharoshthi legend: <i>Maharajasa aparajitasa Dime</i> . <sup>4</sup> Note the king's incomplete name). |
|---|--|

All known specimens are square and bear the same monogram.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 3. AR. Diademed bust of young king, wearing <i>kausia</i> . Greek legend as on No. 2. | Zeus standing, holding thunderbolt. Kharoshthi legend: <i>Maharajasa aparajitasa Dimetriyasa</i> . |
|---|--|

This unique coin (tetradrachm)—Num. Chron., 1923, Pl. XIV, 2—is struck in the so-called lighter Indian standard, and bears the monogram of the above copper coin.

1. Viz., Cunningham. Num. Chron., 1869, p. 153, Pl. IV, 1; Gardner: BMCat., p. 163, Pl. XXX, 1; and Whitehead P. MCat., p. 14, pl. IX, iii.

2. Tran: The Greeks in Bactria and India (1951), p. 77 (henceforth referred to as GBI)

3. Camb. History of India, I, pl. III, 5.

4. Three known well-preserved coins have "Dime" viz., BMCat., p. 163, pl. XXX, 3; Seltman: The Greek Coins, Pl. LVI, 4; and PMCat., Pl. I, 26. But Gen. Haughton's coin published in Num. Chron., 1946, p. 143, No. (b) 2, Fig. 1 seems to have the full name—*Dimetriyasa*.

4. AR. Diademed bust of king, Heracles crowning himself.  
wearing elephant-scalp. Greek legend meaning—"Of  
Young portrait. king Demetrius".

This interesting variety of Demetrius' most characteristic series of silver coins, known only in Attic tetradrachm size, (Num. Chron. 1951, Pl. IV, 20), is characterised by its "dotted border, youthful, portraiture, and very upright carriage". All known specimens bear the same monogram, which also occurs on some coins with more matured portraiture<sup>5</sup>

*Attribution of Type 1.*

Macdonald believed that the Athena coins were struck by a second Demetrius (presumably a son of the first king of that name), because of the facts that the reverse type is "new" and that "the differences in portrait cannot be set aside as due to local idiosyncrasy". The reel-and-bead border of a tetradrachm of the same series<sup>6</sup> also points, according to Macdonald, to the coin's being posterior to the coinage of Eucratides (Demetrius I's much younger contemporary), for, as Macdonald believed, it was Eucratides who introduced that distinctive Seleucid feature of reel-and-bead border on Bactrian coins. Naturally the Demetrius who struck the Athena coins, invariably with a strikingly youthful portraiture, was a second king of that name. Tarn championed Macdonald's theory and put a special stress on the "distinguished" and "peculiar treatment of the floating ends of the diadem" of the Athena tetradrachm, discussed and illustrated by Macdonald (*viz.*, variety 2 of the Athena type of our arrangement).

First of all, I beg to point out that the reverse type of "Athena" is not at all "new" to the coinage of Demetrius I; for he is already known to have struck coins with the figure of that deity. I invite the attention of scholars to an otherwise neglected but important Cunningham coin with the type of *Demetrius' well-known head in elephant-scalp and the figure of Athena with shield* which has been duly noticed and illustrated by Gardner in the British Museum Catalogue (1886), Pl. XXX, 1. The obverse type, characteristic of Demetrius I, being common, this coin (evidently an early issue) provides a link between the Athena and the Heracles types of Demetrius I's coinage.

The difference in portrait is of course not due to local idiosyncrasy. It is due to the inferior workmanship of the artist who struck the Athena series of coins. The artist has failed to do proper justice to the king's portrait. The "blunt" or rather the foolish look that the artist has made the king to assume is quite unbecoming of a first-rate Bactrian die-sinker.<sup>7</sup>

5. See PMCat., Pl. I, 18 and Num. Chron., 1951, Pl. IV, 19.

6. Evidently the Brit. Museum coin : Num. Chron., 1951, Pl. IV, 12.

7. The "softened" style of portraiture and the abnormally gaping lips may be specially marked.

Had Macdonald and Tarn personally examined both varieties of the Athena coins, they would not put any stress on the floating ends of the diadem, for variety 1 of the same series (as we have noticed at the outset) has quite a different style of diadem-ends. So the argument of the much-stressed diadem-ends too becomes invalid.

Then, with regard to the introduction of the Seleucid reel-and-bead border on Bactrian coins, it is rather more likely, as Mr. A. D. H. Bivar has pointed out (in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, p. 30), that the first Demetrius after his marriage with the Seleucid princess should strike coins with that characteristic Seleucid feature, than a hypothetical Demetrius II, "generally supposed to have been one of the most embittered enemies of the Seleucid Eucratides, and even, by Tarn, his slayer". And as a matter of fact, we know on the authority of Macdonald himself (*Camb. Hist. of India*, p. 447) that some of Demetrius I's coins actually bears this reel-and-bead border.

Moreover, the Athena coins of Demetrius are strikingly connected by their singular monogram and the "softened style of portraiture" with some coins of Euthydemus I (cp. *Num. Chron.*, 1951, Pl. III, 9). It is not at all impossible that at the last stage of Euthydemus' reign, Demetrius as his father's sub-king got his coins struck at the former's mint.<sup>8</sup>

Considering the above facts, we cannot but attribute the Athena series of silver coins to Demetrius I, who is also known to have struck copper coins with the figure of the same deity.

#### *Attributions of Types 2 & 3.*

Whitehead, while publishing the bilingual silver coin (Type 3), attributed it to Demetrius I, to whom the bilingual square copper coin (Type 2) had already been attributed by earlier scholars.<sup>9</sup> Tarn has challenged Whitehead's attribution. According to him,<sup>10</sup> the silver coin was struck by the so-called Demetrius II, because of the facts that the diadem-ends are similar to those on the Athena tetradrachm (as illustrated on Plate III, 5 of the *Camb. Hist. of India*), and also that "the face does not bear the least resemblance to the well-known features of Demetrius, besides being far too young".

But we have already seen that the style of diadem-ends has no significant bearing on the attribution.

Then, as to the difference in the king's facial features, we admit that "the face does not bear the least resemblance to the well-known features

8. According to Gardner (*BMCat.*, p. xxii), Demetrius "was probably his (Euthydemus) colleague in the kingdom as well as his successor". Bivar (*Num. Chron.*, 1951 p. 33) actually makes Demetrius Euthydemus' sub-king.

9. See note 5.

10. Tarn. *GBI*, p. 77

of Demetrius". But as an issue of the so-called Demetrius II the king's face on the bilingual tetradrachm *should* bear resemblance to the features of the king on Athena coins. That too is not the case; the face of the bilingual coin is not the same as that of the latter.<sup>11</sup> So the portrait is not again helpful on the question of attribution. As a matter of fact, the coin was issued in India by Demetrius I himself during his early career. But the artist at his disposal being no match for the Bactrian masters was able only to make the face look young, but producing the same realistic effect as marked on Bactrian tetradrachms was beyond him: hence the differences in portrait.

Now, the Demetrius coin in Agathocles' pedigree series (Num. Chron., 1934, Pl. III, 1) has on the obverse the well-known bust of Demetrius in elephant-scalp with the label THE *HMHTPOY ANIKHTOY*. As Tarn himself maintains that Demetrius I took the title ANIKHTOS on crossing the Hindu Kush<sup>12</sup>, is it not likely that he should himself strike coins in India with that lofty title? Agathocles when he struck the Demetrius coin evidently chose the most characteristic bust of Demetrius I as well as the epithet characteristic of him. Tetradrachm of Bactria supplied the bust, while the epithet was supplied by the tetradrachms of India.

Then, regarding the attribution of the square copper coin, it is quite likely that similar to the Athena copper that coin too was struck by the first Demetrius prior to the issue of the bilingual silver. The incomplete rendering of the king's name on the Kharoshthi side<sup>13</sup> points to an early stage of Greek domination, when transliterating an unfamiliar Greek name could not be done properly.

#### *Attribution of Type 4.*

As noticed by Whitehead (Num. Chron., 1947, pp 43-44), Tarn has attributed the "youthful portrait" variety of the "bust-in-elephant-scalp" tetradrachms to the so-called Demetrius II. The reason for Tarn's strange attribution is obvious. The age depicted by the highly realistic portraiture interferes with his dating the accession of Demetrius I in 190 B. C., when Demetrius was presumably a man of about 35 years.<sup>14</sup> But the portraiture on the coin under discussion depicts a man hardly over 25 years.

11. Tarn admits this in GBI, p. 77, note 7.

12. Ibid. p. 132.

13. See note 4.

14. According to Macdonald, Demetrius was perhaps a youth of 17 or 18 in c.206 B. C. Naturally, 16 years later in 190 B.C. he would be a man of about 35 years—an age actually depicted on a much later Heracles coin (Camb. Hist. of India, I, pp. 444-5, pl. III, 5).

That the coin bears Demetrius I's portraiture<sup>15</sup> will be clear from the three coins No. 20, 19 and 14—as illustrated on Plate IV, Num. Chron., 1951. They show the gradual changes in the king's facial features as he grew in age.

*A proposed Reconstruction of Demetrius' early history*

The attribution of these coins to Demetrius I has a significant bearing on the chronology of events of his career. They throw a flood of light on his early history, which we propose to reconstruct here in brief.

A youth of about 19, Demetrius concluded the treaty between Antiochus III and Euthydemus in c. 206 B. C.<sup>16</sup> There is reason to believe that his marriage with a daughter of the Syrian monarch soon followed.<sup>17</sup> The marriage obviously had a great political significance. And Euthydemus seems to have made his illustrious son his sub-king after his marriage.<sup>18</sup> The first variety of the Athena tetradrachms with the reel-and-bead border, symbolical of the Seleucid relation, commemorated the event.<sup>19</sup>

With the fire of conquest burning in him, Demetrius soon set out for a military expedition on behalf of his father. He made his power felt first to the south of Bactria and seems to have founded a city in Archosia and named it "Demetrias".<sup>20</sup> The extra *delta* that is invariably found on the dotted-border variety of Athena coins possibly had some connection with the name of the city.

His victorious advance towards the Indian borderland made him feel like Alexander the Great, whom he soon began to copy. He struck at that stage the copper coins that retained on the reverse his original type of Athena, but bore on the obverse his head adorned with an elephant-scalp—a type evidently symbolical of the great prowess of Alexander.<sup>21</sup>

15. Whitehead (Num. Chron., 1947, p. 44) believes that the coin was issued by Demetrius I himself, as it is "stamped with the individuality of the gifted artist who designed for the exceptional pieces bearing this monogram" (cp. the coin with this youthful portrait" with a "matured portrait" coin both having the same monogram, as illustrated on Plate IV, Num. Chron., 1951).

16. Polibius : Hist. XI, Extr. 8.

17. According to Polibius (ibid), Antiochus promised Demetrius one of his daughters in marriage. That the proposed marriage actually took place is clear from Agathocles' "dedegree" series of coins, on one of which the latest king represented is Demetrius, evidently Agathocles' father. On one coin Euthydemus represents Demetrius' father's side, while on another Antiochus(III), his mother's.

18. See note 8.

19. The king's age as depicted on this coin does not go against our attribution.

20. See Tarn, GBI, p. 132.

21. On his next square copper (Type 2) Demetrius not only wears this elephant-scalp but also uses the title ANIKHTOS, with which Alexander was hailed, according to a well known story, when he visited the oracles at Delhi. Demetrius dreamt to be a second Alexander in the East.

His subsequent annexation of territories around the Paropamisadae necessitated him to strike coins for his new Indian subjects, and he struck a square coin in copper (Type 2). But at that pioneer attempt at issuing bilingual currency difficulty arose with transliterating the unfamiliar name of the king, and the name could not be rendered fully and satisfactorily. But with subsequent issues of the same series of square coins as well as the bilingual silver the difficulty was overcome and the name was fully transliterated.

Euthydemus' death took place around 200 B. C., and that event was followed by Demetrius' return to the seat of Bactrian power, as well as his eventual coronation, which was celebrated with the issue of the "youthful portrait"<sup>22</sup> variety (Type 4) of his most distinguished silver coins. ANIKHOTS, being a too lofty title for Bactria, was discarded; but Demetrius retained on his coinage his previous obverse type of the "bust-in-elephant-scalp" as symbolical of his great military achievements. He, however, introduced for the reverse of his coronation coins the significant type of "Heracles-crowning-himself". Feats of Demetrius were not inferior to those of Heracles, "the most celebrated of the heroes of classical antiquity", who was also a great traveller and "said to have reached India". Demetrius too proved himself to be a great hero and led a successful expedition to the soil of India. Hence the choice of the type of Heracles-crowning-himself for his coronation coins.

We thus do not find any reason as to why we should attribute the above coins to a hypothetical second Demetrius, when no inherent inconsistency stand in the way of attributing them to the first king of that name. On the other hand, the coins, when they are associated with the first Demetrius give us quite a coherent account of his early history.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT TAMLUK

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Tāmralipta, the famous port of ancient India, has now been located in the region of Tamluk in the Midnapore District of West Bengal. Her unparalleled eminence in the bygone days as an international centre of commerce, culture and civilisation has been suggested by various Indian as well as foreign literary evidences. Being situated on the left side of the

22. The portrait depicts Demetrius as a man of about 25 years, which fact perfectly agrees with our attribution as well as the chronology.

iver Rupnarayan wherefrom the sea was not very far away,<sup>1</sup> Tāmralipta commanded a supreme maritime position which could even vie with the glory of ancient Sidon, Ostia and Alexandria. . . . Actually, there is everything to suggest that in the ancient days the port was a meeting-place of the daring sailors hailing through the eastern as well as the western seas.

Now, for several years I am making archaeological explorations at Tamruk, and in the last meeting of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta I had the opportunity to read a paper on the outstanding archaeological remains at Tamruk which had been discovered by me in the years 1951 and 1952. In the present year 1953 I have again made archaeological explorations in and around the region of Tāmralipta and this time I have been also rewarded by rare finds. The antiquities recently discovered by me roughly consist of terracottas, potteries, beads (of both stone and clay), mulets and a few copper coins. These have been all presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The following terracottas and potteries are highly important in the list of the present finds.

1. Decorated terracotta elephant-figures of grey colour. One of them with up-raised trunk is shown as possessing cowrie-shell ornaments. . . . On stylistic grounds, the figures seem to be associated with the Śunga period.
2. A terracotta (grey colour) circular pedestal with cowrie-made lotus-motif. A fragmentary torana (gateway) and two small elephant figures which have been recovered with it seem to be the parts of the elaborate motif (*Abhiseka of Laksmī*?) of the pedestal. This miniature gateway recalls the architectural type of the Sāñchi railing.
3. A big mould of an elaborate winged female figure holding long and delicate stalks of lotus by both hands resting on the two sides of the waist. Curiously enough, the figure greatly resembles two winged figures from Basārḥ<sup>2</sup>. The Basārḥ figures also stand on lotus-pedestal with arms akimbo holding long stalks of lotus. The treatment of the lotuses, headdresses, ornaments and wings are also similar. . . . Regarding these pieces Coomaraswamy has observed: "These types may have behind them a long history; they may have been votive tablets or auspicious representations of mother-goddesses and bestowers of fertility and prototypes of Māyādevi and Laksmī."<sup>3</sup>

Now, on stylistic grounds the Basārḥ figures seem to belong to the Sunga period. The figure of the terracotta mould found at Tamruk is probably

1. According to the *Kathasaritsagara*, Tamralipta was situated near the eastern sea (*Purvambudheradurasthyam nagarim Tamraliptikam*, III, 4, 291).

2. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. 16.

3. *Ibid*, p. 21.

of more archaic type; and if that is so it may be even attributed to the Maurya period.

4. The primitive-type figure of a terracotta lizard-headed mother with creeping off-springs on her body. The figure naturally resembles the figures of *Sasthi*, the well-known mother-goddess of the Bengal *Vrata* cult, and its peculiar type seems to bear witness of a forgotten cult of the Rupnā-āyan valley.
5. A terracotta headless figure of a male with arms touching knees. The figure is shown as wearing a tight-fitting coat. On stylistic grounds, it seems that the terracotta is the portrait-figure of a foreigner, either a Greek or a Roman.
6. Fragments of stamped potteries.
7. Potsherds with mirror-like black glaze.
8. Rouletted wares. These are very interesting as similar rouletted specimens have been found at Śiśupālgad, Ārikāmedu, Brahmagīri and Chandravalli. In this connection, it may be mentioned that according to an observation of B. B. Lal, the lowest example of rouletted sherds from Śiśupālgad may be assigned to the first century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the antiquities as mentioned above, there are many other highly interesting finds in the recent collection. On stylistic grounds they may be attributed to the different epochs of the long period between *circa* 1st century A. D. and *circa* 3rd century A. D.

A copper coin found in the Parbatipur area of Tamluk bears a standing Kushan figure on the obverse and the figure of an elephant on the reverse. This coin is without any legend and obviously it seems to be connected with so-called Puri Kushan coins.<sup>5</sup> Several other copper coins have also been recovered with this piece. Although they are much worn out, they seem to belong to the same class having akushan-type figure on the obverse.

By a study of the find-spots of the antiquities at Tamluk we may naturally arrive at the conclusion that the present town of Tamluk, between the *Pāirdṅgi* canal and the *Śankar-ārā* canal, is a rich archaeological site. Some localities like Pārbatipur, Adhikāriṇā, Padumbasān and Ābāsbari in the town are surely concealing invaluable antiquities, which they can bequeath to any archaeologist who likes to make a digging of the past. An extensive excavation at Tamluk can only unveil the ruins of the lost city of Tāmralipta.

4. *Ancient India*, no. 5; p. 86, pl. XL. III.

5. For the Puri Kushan coins, see, J. Allan: *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, intro. CXXI—CXXII; pl. XXX.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF  
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA ON THE BASIS OF EPIGRAPHIC  
SOURCES

( C. 320 - 711 A. D. )

Prof. RADHA KRISHNA CHOUDHARY, M. A.

Though sufficient light has been thrown on the political history of the period, a comprehensive socio-economic history is still a desideratum. In this paper, an attempt has been made to evaluate the socio-economic history of north eastern-India, between 320—711 A. D. The establishment of the Gupta dynasty in the 1st quarter of the 4th century A. D. marked a transformation in our cultural history. The Gupta period represented an assimilation of different ideals. There was a reformation all round during the period and the whole epoch of the Gupta rule was marked by its intellectualism. The discovery of a large number of seals, inscriptions, and coins and objects of arts and architecture help us in reconstructing the socio-economic history of the period in a new light. The period, under review, is an important one because it saw the rise and fall of various dynasties and the intrusion of different outside forces. All these internal and external forces left a deep impression on our cultural history and it is in this light that we should study some aspects of the same.

The Gupta period marked a new epoch in the history of India. In the sphere of culture it marked the revival of Brahminism of the Vedas as divinely inspired books and the existence of social heirarchy. It should be borne in mind here that a regular struggle was going on in this epoch between the upholders of social heirarchy and the Buddhists. The entire social force was organised on a new basis. It is strange that the Guptas have never mentioned their Varna in their records. They rose from a very humble beginning and their origin is still shrouded in mystry. On the authority of a drama "KAUMUDI-MAHOTSAVA" Jayaswal believed that the Gupta belonged to the untouchable Varna of Karaskara. Eminent historians like Dr. Roy Choudhary<sup>1</sup> and Sircar<sup>2</sup> have doubted the authenticity of the above source. According to Baudhayana,<sup>3</sup> Karaskaras were of a low origin. On the authority of Mahābhārata it can be said that Karaskaras were devoid of religion and the Brahmans avoided

1. H. C. Roy Choudhury—Political History of Ancient India 4th Sd. B. 442-42

2. Dr. D. C. Sircar—JAHRS XI p. 63

3. Baudhayana Dharmasgtra I-32

them.<sup>4</sup> Smith took the Guptas as Vaisya. From the epigraphic sources it appears that they belonged to the "DHARANA" (a non-Brahmanical) gotra.<sup>5</sup> The karaskars, it appears, were not subject to Varnasrama policy and it was only after the acceptance of the Varnasrama dharma by the Guptas that they came to be regarded as a Hindu dynasty. They became the protector of the Brahmanical revivalism and many radical changes took place in giving legal sanction to such conservative social system.

Brahmans cows and old Hindu scriptures came to be glorified. Intense belief in Varnasrama dharma and the abject submission to the Brahman came to be regarded as the cardinal virtues of man's life. Smritis were written and codified. Brahman absorbed certain Buddhist ideas. There was some improvement over Manu in Yajnavalkya. The epic and puranic heroes superseded Vedic gods. Social ceremonies were fixed and sanctioned. India was supplanted by the Trinity (Brahmana-Vishnu-Mahesh). The sight of yellow-robed ascetics and Kapalikas came to be regarded as evil omen<sup>6</sup> Any kind of speech with Mlecchas and Antyajas was not sanctioned<sup>7</sup> and journey to the Mleccha country was also prohibited.<sup>8</sup> It illustrates the sectarian outlook of the Brahman. There was no Varnasrama dharma in the Mleccha land. A hidden treasure was regarded as the property of the Brahman<sup>9</sup> and if anybody came in possession of such hidden treasure he should give parts to the king and to the Brahman.<sup>10</sup> In all aspects of socio-economic life, low class people were hard hit. They were economically exploited and had to groan under severe hardship. There was strict punishment for defiling the food. Parasara smriti fixed occupation for different caste. According to Parasara, a Vaisya or a Sudra should always live by trade, agriculture or handicraft.<sup>11</sup> Remarriage of women and the practise of Sati were allowed by Parasara.<sup>12</sup> The Brahman constituted their aristocracy. Slavery was known.

The terracotas discovered at Vaishali throws a flood of light on some aspects of the social history. The lot of common man had not improved. The artistic representation points to a great difference that separated the people from the rulers. The common man was pushed to the degraded position. The system of veil is absent from the Vaishali terracotas. The division of classes took place on the economic basis and the rank of different

4. Karna Parva—Chapter 45

5. Poona plates of Prabhavati Gupta—Ex. I. XV—No. 4

6. Vishnu Smriti—63.36

7. Ibid—71.59

8. Ibid—84.2

9. Ibid—3, 37

10. Ibid—3, 38-40

11. Parasara—2.16

12. Ibid—Chapter 4.

feudal hierarchs were fixed.<sup>13</sup> Feudalism took a definite shape during the Gupta period. A detailed study of the Vaishali antiquities reveal to use the huge organisation for commercial purposes. Such commercial organisations were made by traders, bankers, and manufacturers. Doctor Bloch called this discovery the most interesting find. We have references to Sresthi—Sarthavaha—Kulika—Nigama. Banking was a prominent feature in the economic life of Vaishali. On the basis of these discoveries Dr. Bloch observed “..... something like a modern chamber of commerce existed....most of the persons<sup>14</sup> to whom the seals belonged carried on business transaction with the Royal family of Vaishali<sup>15</sup>”. A good deal of corporate life existed during this period. All these presuppose the existence of a highly organised society based on solid economic concepts. The Vaishali seals, (274) bearing the legend Sresthi—Sarthava—Kulika—Nigama or corporations of bankers, traders and merchants, according to Dr. Vogel, indicated a special tribe employed as a captain of mercenaries.<sup>16</sup> Nagar-Sresthi was the president and the Chief Executive Officer of the city of Vaishali. The existence of Prathama Kulika at Kotiwarsa (north Bengal) and Vaishali proves that this office was a regular institution in north eastern India. Though copper was also known, clay was the ordinary material used for sealing in the region of Vaishali. The interpretation of the term Kulika Nigamasya is still controversial. Dr. R. C. Basak translated ‘Kulika’ as “artisan”, while commentator Bhanuji Dixit explained it as “the foremost person in a company of artisans”. The explanations in the Amara-Kosha connects it with Sresthin.<sup>17</sup> With all the different interpretations standing, it cannot be denied that Vaishali was an important economic centre and economic system regulated the social life of the period.

The Dhanāida plates, six Dāmodar plates of Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta & Bhānugupta and Faridpore plates of King Dharmāditya Gopendra reveal to us the procedure of issuing land grants or deeds recording the transfer of the same. These records also throw light on the system of Land Revenue administration in north eastern India. The 1st Damo-

13. Inderkhaira inscription of Skandhagupta gives us the rank of a feudal hierarch—C.I.I. Vol. III o.16 page. 70.

14. We get the following important names from the Vaishali seals :—Matridas, (41 & 92); probably identified with Matridat of Gadhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II; Kulika—Hari (40, 46, 51, 66, 76, 77, 94, 97), Umabhata, Salibhata, (45-49-50-51 66 etc.) Dhana (50-66) Harih (50) Umapalik (57, 83), Vargga (60.84), Ugrasena (60) Krishnadutta, (45, 63, 78, 92) Suphit (66, 82, 92) Nagdutta (41, 68, 79,) Gonda, Nand, Gauridass (45, 62, 75, 80, 85, 33, 94), Dodda Sarthvaha (50, 94, 105) Shashidatta, Sreedas and Kulot (Sresthis) (94, 109, 45 96, 110, 59, 62, 88) Vishundass Vyagravala, and Vadradass were bankers; Hari and Ugrasen were Prathamakulika (51, 66, 96, 97, 99, 44, 60, 100)

15. A. S. I. R. 1903-04.

16. Annual report of the A. S. I. 1911-12, p 56, No. 55

17. E. I. Vol. XV page 131 note six.

darapore plate records that in Gupta era 124 under Kumāragupta and Uparika named Cīrātadutta was the Governor of Pundravardhanbhukti. Under the governor was a Kumāramātya named Vetavarman. From that plate we learn that a Brahman, named Karrappattika, applied to the local officials for the sale of a piece of waste land. The petition was granted and the sale confirmed by the inscription on the plate<sup>18</sup>. The second plate belongs to the Gupta era 128 wherein the officials are the same. Therein another person applied for a transfer of the waste land to him at the usual price for the maintenance of five Mahayojnas. The petition was granted and the transfer was recorded on the plate. Damodarpore plates register the confirmation of the sale of the state land transacted between the government and the purchaser who paid the prices at the usual rate. During the period under review, land was the source of political economy. The Damodarpore copper plates give in details about the land revenue administration. Applications had to be made to the Adhikaranas<sup>19</sup> who in turn referred the matter to the Record-keepers or the Pustapalas. After favourable report had been received and the prices actually paid, the land was formally made over to the party. The details of boundary marks are also given in these grants. Where no boundary marks existed, the new holdings were delimited by such artificial devices as Chaff and Charkol or pegs. Two types of grants are evident from the Damodarpore plates—(i) first was granted according to the principles of Nividharm or perpetual endowment and (ii) the second was granted by destroying the conditions of aprada-kshaya or non-transferability. It appears that the law of Nividharma applied not merely to estates created out of waste lands but extended to pious grants of settled villages.<sup>20</sup>

The land was sold in different form of tenures. The Dhanaida copper plates inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I reveals to us that the intending purchasers had to approach the local government.<sup>21</sup> The applicant wanted land with the tenure of the nullifications of the custom of permanent endowment, that is, with the right of alienation. His prayer was granted. The Tipperate copper plate inscription of Loknath of Bengal was issued through his Sandhivigrahika Prasantadeva and recorded a grant of land to his own Brahman Mahasamanta Pradosh Sarmana.<sup>22</sup> The prayer

18. Ibid page 130-131

19. These Adhikaranas belonged to the type mentioned Mrchkatika—9th Act. The Adhikarans founded a general administrative body—The sale of land was not his only business.

20. Vide Vappaghosavata Grant of Jaynag which records how an entire village was given away by a Samanta to a Brahman under the conditions of Aksaya—Nivi. E. I. XVIII. 63.

21. E.I. 17 No. 23; page 348

22. Ibid 15 No. 19 page 303

was for the grant of a land for the maintenance of the daily worship of a god and for the settlement of a hundred Brahamans versed in the four Vedas. Land was given in the forest region. It appears that, in the feudal system in our country, the right of possession and enjoyment of land by the strength of tenure descended in the heirarchical way. The Nidhanpore copper plate inscriptions<sup>23</sup> of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa record that some Agrahans was granted to the Brahamanas by a previous king named Bhūtivarman, but the plate having been lost the land was liable to taxation and hence at the request of the Brahamanas in question, Bhāskaravarmana issued a fresh grant for them. The grant says "Let it be known to you all that the land of Mayursalmal Agrahara granted by issuing a copper plate charter by Bhūtivarman has become liable to revenue on account of the loss of the copper plate.....having issued order for making a copper plate grant the land has been awarded to the Brahamanas who had been enjoying the grant already in the manner of Bhūmichchidia (exemption from the assessment of revenue) so that no tax is levied on it". Here it is evident that on account of the loss of charter even revenue free lands became liable to renewal of exaction. We learn from these plates that rentfree lands were not unknown in the north eastern India even in the 6th and 7th century A. D.

Epigraphic sources also give information about the existence of feudatory chiefs. After the decline of the Gupta power, the Imperial prerogative of issuing grants was usurped by the feudatories. From all these epigraphic sources, kings proprietorship over the village and the land is implied. The grant of a villager to a Brahmana is intimated to everybody in the village.<sup>24</sup> The government record-keeper properly surveyed and measured the land by means of Nalas (measuring rod). The persons were directed to maintain the grant on a permanent endowment according to the principles of Akshaya-Nivi.<sup>25</sup> The above mentioned inscriptions give us an idea of the following kinds of tenure :—

I) NIVI-DHARMA<sup>26</sup>—Nivi is the capital or principal in the matter of sale or purchase. Dr. Basak says, "These words mean the fixed capital out of the interest of which an expense is to be met. Hence to make a gift of land or money according 'Nivi' is to give on condition that the endowment is to be maintained as perpetual."<sup>27</sup> He further observes, "It appears that in the case of Akshaya-Nivi or Nivi-Dharma, the grantee could not destroy the principal land or money, but had to make use of the income accruing out of it." These are the same form of tenure. It gave the donee power

23. Ibid 19. Nos. 19, 40, pages 121, 245-46.

24. C.I.I. Vol. III No. 26, page 118-Karitalai copper plate of Maharaj Jagganth.

25. Opti cit. No. 13, page 79.

26. AMARKOSHA—III; 3, 212; Hemachandra—II, 534, Muldravya.

27. EI-XV-P. 131-2; Cf. C. I. I. Vol. 3 No. 12, 126 & No. 62

to enjoy the land perpetually without any right to alienate the property. II) APRADA or perpetual endowment—propriety right of the donor remains. III) NIVI-DHARMA-KSHAYA—or Nullification of the custom of permanent endowment.<sup>28</sup> The right of alienation of property is implied here. IV) APRADA-KSHAYA-(Damodarpore Inscription No. 2)- means the nullification of the system of 'APRADA' which has been interpreted by Dr. Basak (Damodarpur Inscription No. 5) as "perpetual endowment." Aprada-Kshaya means the destruction of the tenure of perpetual endowment. It implies the right of alienation or transference of the property. V) BHUMICHCHIDRA<sup>29</sup> implies land not fit for cultivation.<sup>30</sup> According to Mr. Gupta such land, when granted, would naturally be exempted from assessment of revenue.<sup>31</sup> In other words, it was a tax free tenure. VI) STHALA-VRITTI was a form tenure in which the payment of tax or rent was made in kind. VII) Free-gift.

Two points are clear in the Faridpur-plates they deserve mention:—

I) "There is in this district the rule established along the western Sea that cultivated lands are things which are sold according to the rate of the sum of four Dinaras."

II) "and then the feet of the Emperor receives the sixth part of the price according to the law here"<sup>32</sup>

Ultimate sovereign authority over the land lay within the king. On the above evidence, it can be said that the king was the owner of the soil. We find in these epigraphic records the mention of the village assembly. In the Baigram copper-plate,<sup>33</sup> where the persons by the intending purchasers were the "chief householders of the villages concerned", hints at some sort of village organisation in which the voice of the chief householder was supreme. The Damodarpur plate<sup>34</sup> also hints at some sort of village organisation for the transaction of village affairs. We have references to the following officials;—

I) Mahattaras or Leading men (?), II) Ashtakuladhikaranas or Eight notable persons (?), III) Gramika or Village head, IV) Kutumbis or House holder—these persons were being addressed by persons willing for the purchase of or sale of lands. All these indicate that the village administration

28. EI-XVIIp— 346

29. Recorded as BHUCHCHIDRA in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva of the Pal era,

30. E.I.-XIX- No. 19 p. 77-79; Cf. Yadavaprakasha's *Vaijayanti Bhumikhanda Vaishyadyay*, Verse 18.

31. Vide K. M. Gupta's note on the words *Bhumichchidra* etc, in IA. Vol- LI (1922) p. 77-79.

32. IA—XXIX (1910) p, 197.

33. E.I.—XXI No. 13, p. 8.

34. *Ibid*—XV. 7.

was thoroughly organised & controlled, the sale & purchase of lands in the village. The entire village economy was controlled by the village organisation. This is supported by the Faridpur plates of Samāchāradeva.<sup>35</sup> The following facts are recorded during the transactions of the sale of land—  
I) Headman of the district or locality or Visaya-Mahattārah—  
II) Vyavahāra or men of experience. These people had a say in the village affairs.

This plate registers the sale of a piece of land & the decision, as recorded therein, is as follows—“Let it be given to the Brahmanas, & having recognised (i.e. constituted) the Karanikas Naya Nag, Keshava & others as the representatives of the public (Kulavarana) granted away by a Copper plate in possession of this Supratiksvamin.”

This was a hierarchy of leaseholders under the king. Subinfeudation of land had already begun in ancient India. These land-grants naturally created a class of landlords. We have references about such landlords in the Gupta records.<sup>36</sup> The mention of the term “Bhogika” in an inscription of Maharaj Jagganath signified a class of landlords<sup>37</sup>. The Deo-Barnark inscription of Jivita Gupta II records the name of a Bhojaka Sūryamitra & Bhojaka Rishi mitra. They were probably small landlords under the king<sup>38</sup>. The Tipperah copperplate of Lokanātha indicates that Samant Lokanātha had a suzerain liege-lord & in return had also a feudatory under him. In this grant feudal hierarchy is clearly indicated.<sup>39</sup>

Different ranks in the socio-economic position may be thus graded :—

- I) Mahārājādhirāja
- II) Mahāsāmantādhipati (EI. XV No. 3D p. 215)
- III) Mahāsāmanta (Ibid No. 19 p. 303-4 & also C. I. I. III No. 80 p. 293)
- IV) Mahāmandalika—Lord of a division of the state or the vassal chief—  
(Inscriptions of Bengal III No. 16.p. 150)
- V) Sāmanta—(C. I. I. Vol. III, pt. III, No. 89 P. 222)

35. Ibid XVIII. 11.

36. In the reign of Skandagupta, his feudatory the Visayapati Saravanaga was governing Antarvedi (C.I.I. Vol. 3 No. 16 p. 70) In the reign of Budhagupta, his feudatory Maharaj Surashmichandra was governing the country lying between Kalindi or Jumna & Narbada (Ibid No. 19 p. 9). Copper-plate of Maharaj Hastin granting land to Gopasvamin & other Brahmins (Ibid No. 21 p. 97-98). Joint inscriptions of Maharaj Hastin & Sarvanath at Bhumerā records the erection of a boundary pillar between their territories (Ibid No. 24 p. 111) Eran inscription of the time of Bhanugupta hints at the chivalry of feudal baron (Ibid No.20,p. 92).

37. Ibid No. 26—p. 118 Banshicheraa Inscription of Harsha exhorts the Mahasamanta, Visayapati & others to observe the grant.

38. Ibid No.46—p. 218. From this it is evident that feudal lords held official posts as well.

39. Refer also Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapala; Bhagalpur inscription of Narayanpal; Bangarh inscription of Mahipal; Ramgang copper-plate of Ishwaraghosh; Naihatit inscription of Vallalsena.

- VI) Maṇḍalika—(EI—XXI—No. B. P. 51)  
 VII) Maṇḍalapati (Inscriptions of Bengal No. 1)  
 VIII) Maṇḍaleswara (EI—V—No. 25E P. 239)  
 IX) Maṇḍalādhīpati (Monograph of Varendra Research Society No. IP. 14)  
 X) Bhuktipati—(Inscriptions of Bengal III No. 16)  
 XI) Bhogapati—(Khalimpur plate inscription No. 1- Gaudalekhmala)  
 XII) Bhogika—(IA. V. P. 114.; C. I. I. No. 21 P. 99)  
 XIII) Mahābhogapati (IB III No. 16)  
 XIV) Mahābhogika (Do No. II; VII-XI)  
 XV) Visayapati (GM. No. I- Khalimpur plate inscription; C. I. I. No. 16  
 P. 70; IB. III. Nos. 1 & 2, 6-11)  
 XVI) Grāmapati—(EI. XXI-NO. 22, P. 146)  
 XVII) Sasthadhrikraita—Receiver of 1/6 of revenue (GM. No. 1)  
 XVIII) Bhojaka (a freeholder)—(EI-I-No. 1 P. 46)  
 XIX) Kutumbi—(C.I.I. III. No. 46; GM. NO. 6; Bangarh inscription)  
 XX) Kshetrakara (IB. III. No. 3)  
 XXI) Karsaka (GM.; Kamauli inscription No. 11)  
 XXII) Kshetrapa (Peasant proprietor) (Kamauli inscription No. 6)  
 XXIII) Baragadar—Peasant working on the basis of contract.  
 XXIV) Landless labourer.

All these posts signify the feudal hierarchy. Feudalism in India did not originate from the establishment of a military class over the peasantry. It arose out of the womb of the Indian society & was finalised in the Gupta period.

#### AN EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM (CIR. 100 B. C.)

A. S. GADRE

Salihundān is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State. It is about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam. It is on the banks of the Vamsadharā which joins the Bay of Bengal some three miles further down. The hills of this place have already yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been ably described, though briefly, by Shri T. N. Ramachandran (now Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, Explorations) in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXVIII, Part III, pp. 133 ff. I visited this place in October 1953 when I came across an inscribed slab of stone bearing an inscription which according to me reads as :—

“*Dhamma (a) Rano Asoka-Sirino*”

This inscription is obviously fragmentary. The slab on which it is engraved

formed part of the top frieze of stones on the surface of the drum of the Mahā-chaitya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognised from the fact that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription can be seen on the inscribed stone itself.

The inscription as it stands refers to the religious edicts (Dhamma) of the illustrious Asoka. According to *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* (vv 370-374) Dharmasoka i.e. Asoka the Great set up stone pillars (Śīlā-yashti) at chaityas as human memorials. Asoka himself visited these sites. Very probably the Mahāchaitya at Sālihuṇḍam is a creation of the Maurya times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to his religious edicts in later records set up by devotees. An inscribed pot was secured at this place. Shri Ramachandran assigns it to the 1st century A. D. at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have preceded it.

There are some scholars who read the first line of the inscription as Dhammaraṇo etc. making Dharmarāja an epithet of Asoka. An analogy is drawn with later Pallavas etc. who style themselves as Dharmarāja. I differ on this point. The Pallavas were Hindus and the analogy is fallacious. According to Buddhism Dhamma-rāja was an exclusive epithet of the Buddha. See *Samyutta Nikāya* I 33, *Dhīgha Nikaya* I 38, *Jātaka* I 262. This has been interpreted by Buddhaghosha as धम्मं रज्जं स्वामित्वा राजा जातो 'ति. The well-known epithet of Aśoka in which he refers to himself is देवानां प्रियः प्रयदर्शी राजा. Hence this later edict refers to him as असोकसिरि or अशोकश्री only.

No one would refer to him as Dhammarāja which was exclusively applied to the Buddha.

The date of this record is a moot point. The Government Epigraphist for India is inclined to assign it to 100 A. D. For reasons stated below it should however be assigned to an earlier period—between 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. I am indebted to Buhler's Palaeographical charts for the following:

- 1) *Dha* This letter is written as  $\Gamma$ . This form is available in the Aśoka Edicts at Delhi. But it is also to be met with in the inscription from Bhattiprolu (200 B. C.), Pabhosa (150 B. C.), Hathigumpha (100 B.C.) and Nanaghat (150 B. C.).
- 2) *Ma* The form of *Ma* met with in this record has a triangular base. The left arm above the triangle is curved, whereas the right arm is straight. Such form is met with in the inscriptions at Mathura (100 B. C.) and Hathigumpha (100 B. C.)
- 3) *A* The form obtaining in this record is very like one form seen in the Bhattiprolu inscription and the Prabhōsa record (200 to 100 B. C.)
- 4) *So* The So in this letter is very similar to that found in Hathigumpha inscription.

- 5) *SIRI* The way of showing 'i' is slightly different and is almost a perpendicular bar which made Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra read it as *SARA* and then correct into *SIRI*. The line of the 'i' stroke is slightly curved. This is similar to the *i* in *ti* obtaining in the Asokan edicts at Siddapur. It also compares well with *yi* in Nanaghat inscription (100 B. C.).
- 6) *NO* The way of marking *O* is peculiar here. At the top of the central vertical line of *na* a perpendicular stroke is drawn on the left, whereas on the right at the middle of the vertical line the perpendicular is shown as 7. This is the reverse process of *O* shown in the Delhi Edicts of Asoka where in *NO* the right hand perpendicular is at the top and the left hand perpendicular is at the centre. We however come across a *NO* of the type of the *NO* of our record in the inscription of Satakarni 1st-2nd centuries A. D.

Thus on a comparison of these letters we find traces of Asokan characteristics in the case of *Dha*, *i* in *SIRI* and *O* in *NO*. There is resemblance with 1st century A. D. records in the case of *O* of *NO* only. But most of the letters as seen above bear resemblance to those found in records of 200 to 100 B. C. Thus on palaeographic ground the record is assignable to the 2nd or 1st century B. C.

## SAMSKĀRAS AND SCULPTURE

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION, INDIAN MUSEUM

The stamp of civilization on man shows how he has advanced from the stage of the caveman and made himself almost the controller of elements around him to a certain degree. From the life of a savage to the life of a cultured being is a great story. The way of life has been conceived in different countries in different ways. Many mysteries of life have been assiduously studied and several sages have given their interpretation. True civilization only means an honest, happy and satisfactory state of affairs where individuals in society live in peace not only for their own benefit but also for the benefit of others. A savage in a famished condition may turn into an animal but a civilized man not only refrains from hurting others but thinks considerably of the needs of another like the poor Brahmin and the members of his family in Kurukshetra, as the story is narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, who made an offer of the Saktuprastha or a meagre quantity of parched rice to satisfy the hunger of the guest though all of them were dying of hunger and it was this alone which could keep them alive. That is why

the mongoose remarked in the great Rājasūya yāga of Yudhiṣṭhira that all the gifts made in the sacrifice were nothing when compared with the parched rice offered by the hungry Brahmin. The primitive man has more of animal instincts in him but the more perfected civilized man has lovable features, charming courtesy and noble qualities. All these are due to ages of careful and assiduous practice and training from the very birth. This also accounts heredity in which also there is so much of stress on qualities of groups and tribes. The way of life was perfected and every little act from morning till night, from birth till death was conceived in India as part of Dharma and from the time the child was conceived in the womb the effect of this refinement came to be present in what are known as Samskāras.

The importance of Samskāra is clearly given by Kālidāsa when he describes how the new born child, like a gem from the mine, shone brilliantly by such samskāras as Jātakarma performed for it by sage Vaśiṣṭha, the family priest. स जातकर्मण्यखिले तपस्विना तपोवनादेत्य पुरोधसा कृते ।

दिलीपसूनुर्मणिराकरोद्भवः प्रयुक्तसंस्कार इताधिकं बभौ ॥

*Raghuvamśa* III

Vālmiki equally effectively emphasises its importance when he makes Hanu-mān describe Sītā the very picture of grief in the Aśoka grove of Rāvaṇa as like one without samskāra. संस्कारेण यथा हीनां वाचमयन्तरं जताम् ।

*Rāmāyana* V

The word Samskāra means refinement. It is a religious ceremony of refinement in various stages of life that polished and made a disciplined man of a child unaffected by good or bad.

The anxiety of the parents for proper progeny accounts for various restrictions placed on even the coming together of the married couple. The duty of a young married man to perpetuate his line is clearly given as one of his obligatory rites. पुत्रेण लोकांजयति पीत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते । *Manusmṛiti* IX, 137 and that is why it is held that soon after the ritusnāna the husband should see his wife with the eye of love. Ritusnāna धर्मलोपभयाद्राज्ञीमृतुस्नातामिया स्मरन् ।

प्रदक्षिणक्रियाह्यां तस्यां त्वं साधु नाचरः ॥

*Raghuvamśa* 1,76

is a significant verse in the *Raghuvamśa* and Dilīpa in spite of the fact that he was just acting in dharmic fashion had neglected unknowingly some other factor namely the presence of the divine cow and by his failing to pay obeisance to her he received the curse that delayed the birth of his offspring.

The garbhādhāna the very first samskāra, is presented in a very peculiar and suggestive fashion in sculpture. In the case of some of the most important personalities that we know like Buddha, Māyādevī dreams of the descent of Boddhisatta in the form of a white elephant from Tushita heaven and entering her womb. Similarly the mother of Ādinātha dreams

of the descent of the Tirthankara in the form of a bull. Kuñjara and Vri-shabha represent the foremost of any class or order, *śreshṭha* amongst things, and these Mahāpurushas are, therefore, shown descending in this fashion. This their entering the womb of their respective mothers, is so suggested, that at once we can understand from it that it begins with the garbhādhāna and the garbhādhāna alone is meant.

The next stage of the pregnant woman when she becomes thinner and discards ornaments to some extent and expresses her various desire for this or that as is so beautifully described by Kālidāsa in the case of the pregnancy of Sudakṣiṇā is exceedingly well represented in sculpture in the case of Māyā-devī herself. In a beautiful medallion from Amarāvati where the pregnant queen Maya is seated wearing the minimum of ornaments, the attendants come all around her offering her various items of toilet and decoration and Śuddhodana pays a visit to see and enquire if she had any special wish to be fulfilled, the literary description is faithfully mirrored.

The parting and dressing of the hair, decoration with flowers etc., which is all envisaged by the samskāra pumsavana-simantonayana are suggestive of keeping the pregnant lady in good cheer and beautiful, the husband himself suggestively attending to this and Kālidāsa shows how well Dilīpa performed these ceremonies according to his wealth, position and affection for his queen प्रियानुरागस्य मनःसमुन्नतेर्भुजाजितानां य दिगन्तसम्पदाम् ।

यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकाः क्रियाः धृतेः धीरः सहृद्वीव्यधत्त सः ॥

*Raghuvamśa* iii, 10

Of several sculptures to illustrate this aspect there is one from Mathurā which is very charming.

The next stage is when great care is taken of the pregnant lady by constant attendance on her with the help of physicians, specialists in the subjects as given in the verse कुमार भृत्याकुशलैरनुष्ठिते भिषग्भिराप्तैरय गर्भमर्मनि ।

पतिः प्रतीतः प्रसवोन्मुखी प्रियां ददर्श काले दिवमभ्रितामिन् ॥

*Raghuvamśa* iii, 12

There is a sculptural parallel to it from the Amarāvati stūpa where in the place of physicians the very Lokapālas are made to take the place of guardians to look after *garbhādhāna* or taking care of the pregnant lady.

The birth of the child is a great event and the sūtikāgriha, the room where the child is born, is filled with not only special attendants required on the occasion but as we can see from the graphic picture presented in the *Harshacharita* in the case of queen Yaśomatī there are various practices pertaining to what may be called ritual based on folk faith and belief in addition to other and more orderly samskāra like Jātakarma which comes in later सख्यश्चास्याः प्रमोदविस्फारितैर्लोचन पुटैरासन्नप्रसवमहोत्सववधियेव षवलयन्तो भवनं विकचकुमुदकमलकृवलयपलाश वृष्टमयं रक्षा बलि विधिमिवानवरतं विदधाना रिक्षु क्षणमपि न मुमुक्षुः पार्श्वम् । आत्मोचित-स्थान निषण्णाश्च मद्दान्तो विविधौषधिधराः भिषजो

मूधरा इव मुवो धृति चक्रुः । पयो निधीनां हृदयानीव लक्ष्मया सहागतानि ग्रीवासूत्रग्रान्थेषु प्रहास्तरत्ना न्यबध्यन्त । *Harshacharita* IV, p. 127

There are several plaques from Bengal representing mother and child where in the Navagrahas are figured prominently, as they are responsible for the determination of the future of the child; and it should be remembered that as soon as the child is born the time of birth and the position of the stars is calculated to find out the future career of the new born baby.

ग्रहैस्ततः पञ्चमिरुच्चसंश्रयैरसूर्यगैः सूचितभाग्यसम्पदम् ।  
असूत पुत्रं समये शचीसमा त्रिसाधना शक्तिरिवाथर्मक्षयम् ॥

*Raghuvamśa* iii, 13

Probably there is no more beautiful sculpture of the mother and child type than the one from the Gwalior Museum but it at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where a scribe is shown very busy taking down notes and scratching with his iron style on palm leaves, the predictions made after calculations based on planetary positions by astrologers questioned by Suddhodana who had sumptuously fed them.

From Borobudur we have some sculptures to represent *Jātakarma* or even probably the *Nāmakarma*. The father and the mother together or sometimes the mother alone are shown with the child in the mother's lap and the priest is introduced sprinkling holy water after the ceremony on the new born child for its *dirghāyutva*—a long life of a hundred years which has always been the span of life as desired in India. It is to be remembered here that *Nāmakarṇa* and its significance has been so very much realised that special stress is laid on the type of name to be used, the criterion in choosing names, and the question of more than one name including a secret name which was usually kept away from all except the nearest and dearest ones, Dilipa names his sons for specific reasons श्रुतस्य यायादयमन्त मर्भकस्यथा परेषां युधि चेति पाथिनः ।

अत्रेक्ष्य धातोर्गमनार्थमर्थविच्चकार नाम्ना रघुमात्यसम्पनम् ॥

*Raghuvamśa* iii, 21

As is obvious the name given to a child is more important than anything else as it is only by its name that it gets a distinction

नामाखिलस्य व्यवहारेहतुः शुभावहं कर्मसु भाग्यहेतुः ।  
नाम्नैव कीर्तिं लभते मनुष्यस्ततः प्रशस्तं खलु नामकर्म ॥

The *Karṇavedhana* or the boring of the ear was another important ceremony done very early in childhood for protection from diseases and for decoration as *Suśruta* explains it रक्षाभूषणनिमित्तं बालस्य कर्णौ विध्येत् and a look at any sculpture in India would show that tremendous significance of this ceremony without which there could be no hole in the ear lobe and in it any *Kuṇḍala*, either *makara* or *patra* or *ratha*.

The child usually was taken out from home only when it was a few months old and that too on an auspicious day to the nearest temple or place

of worship of the favourite tutelary deity. An excellent sculpture from Nāgār junakoṇḍa like several others from other Buddhist monuments give a graphic picture of this ceremony of Nishkramaṇa for the child. The child in this case was Siddhārtha presented to the family deity of Suddhodana in the customary fashion. The child was made to bow but the deity suddenly presented himself and clasped his hands in reverence to the Enlightened One to be. Soon after this ceremony the child is provided with toys and then begins his *bāla-līlā* or childish sports. We have several excellent sculptures representing the child with toy.

The Annaprāsana ceremony is a very important one in the early stages of a child because it first introduces the baby to solid food to which it was so far unaccustomed. An excellent Rajput painting of Krishṇa crying for the moon and refusing to take food is just to illustrate the stage of the child after its initiation into the mystery of taking solid food, the Annaprāsana; and it is on this that the great Vaishṇava saint Periaḷvar has some beautiful verses where he gives a description of these Bālalīlās of Krishṇa.

The Chauḷa or the Chūḍākarma is the next important samskāra when the child wears *śikhā* arranged according to the family tradition. The *śikhā* may be of different types. There are representations in Amarāvati showing *pañchaśikha* and *Kākapakshas* for the child, all frequently seen in sculptures representing Krishṇa and Balaiāma, baby Skanda and so forth. Even on the coin of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi the great Śātavāhana king who came to the throne very early when he was still wearing the side locks there is a prominent presentation of the kakapakshas in his bust. The Chūḍākarma is intimately connected with a twin samskāra so to say aksharābhyaśa or lipigrahaṇa, the learning of the alphabet the first step to enter the ocean of knowledge a lively picture of which is given by Kālidāsa in his verse स वृत्तचुलञ्चलकाकपक्षकैरमात्यपुत्रैः सवयोभिरन्वितः ।

लिपेर्यथावहणेन वङ्गमयं नहीमुखेनेव समुद्रमाविहात् ॥ *Raghuvamśa* iii, 28

and of which we have several sculptural representations from Śārnāth and Gandhāra in the content of Siddhārtha's first lessons at school with a board in his lap to write the letters of the alphabet.

The upanayana ceremony is clearly shown at Borobudur in a sculpture where the Bodhisatta is taken near his master and is initiated in the study of Vidyā. The Upanayana samskāra is probably one of the most important in the case of *dvijas*. That is why Manu says उपनीय गुरुः शिष्यं शिक्षयेच्छौच माहितः ।

उपाचारमग्निकार्यं च सन्ध्योपासनमेव च ॥

*Manusmṛiti* ii, 69

It is this Upanayana that almost give a re-birth to the boy as it were and here he considers the Guru as his father and his new mother in this is Savitri,

तत्र यब्रह्मजन्मास्य मौञ्जीबन्धनचिह्नतम् ।

तत्रास्य माता सावित्री पिता त्नाचार्य उच्यते ॥ *Manusmṛiti* ii, 174

and a great life devoted to studies and discipline begins. Probably the most touching picture of the life of a Brahmachāri in his Gurukula is given in the *Mahābhārata* in the case of the disciples of the sage Dhaumya. Another sculpture from Java showing the students actually assembled with their hands clasped in Sankalpa fashion with a determination to start their studies presents this ritual vividly. This is only the next stage of the Brahmachāri entering on his regular studies of the Veda for six months in the year and the Vedāngas for the rest of it. The month of Śrāvāṇa after the Upanayana is actually the time when the Brahmachāri begins his studies. Apart from the Upanayana the Upākarma is also thus graphically presented in sculpture. The life of a Brahmachāri occupying a lower seat than that of the master seated in front of him with utmost reverence, with his hands joined together in *Brahmāñjali* as he recites word after word the text of Veda—repeated first by the Guru, bowing to the Guru touching his feet with his hands, the right hand touching the right foot and the left hand the left foot, is all most vividly presented in a beautiful sculpture in panels that flank the central figure of Agni, now in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes (see above p. ). This method of obeisance to the Guru and the way the hand is held in what is known as Brahmāñjali when even a particle of saliva from the mouth falling in the hand being considered *Brahmaviprushah* while chanting the sacred letters of the Veda recalls at once the text from Manu describing this ब्रह्मांजलिकृतोऽध्याप्यो लघुवासा जितेन्द्रियः

*Manusmriti* ii, 70

The next stage is the Samāvartana when the Brahmachāri takes leave of his Guru after finishing his studies and being ordered by him to enter the life of a householder. आचार्याय प्रियं धनमाहृत्य प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सी :

*Taittiriya upanishad*

The householder's life is the most useful to society and highly honoured as is summed up in the line of Kalidasa अपि प्रसन्नेन महर्षिणालं सम्यग्निनीयानुमतो गृहाय । कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षगमाश्रमं ते ॥

*Raghuvamśa* v, 10

The Vivāha or the marriage requires certain preliminaries like the father of the bride being approached and requested for giving his daughter in marriage or his imposing certain conditions for his daughter. For the former we have a sculpture from Ellora showing Rishis requesting Himavān to give away his daughter in marriage to Siva and Himavan looks at his wife Menā significantly as Kālidāsā puts it. प्रायेण गृहिणीनेनाः कन्यार्षेषु कुटुम्बिनः

*Kumāresambhava* vi, 11

In the case of the latter there are sculptures showing Rama breaking the bow as from Ellora or Arjuna shooting the moving fish to win Draupadī in a sculpture from Halebid in Mysore.

There are various types of marriages. Apart from the most common

one, the Brāhma, where the father presents his daughter in marriage to the chosen bridegroom आच्छाद्य चार्चयित्वा च श्रुतिशीलवते स्वयम् ।

आहूय दानं कन्याया ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

*Manusmriti* iii, 27

there are some like Rākshasa mode where the bride is carried away against the wishes of her people and even herself हत्वा छित्वा च मित्वा च क्रोदान्ती रुदन्ती जुद्धात् ।

प्रसह्य कन्याहरणं राक्षसो विधिरुच्यते ॥

*Manusmriti* iii, 33

The Rākshasa mode has a vivid picture in a sculpture from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunai konda of a number of ruffians carrying away a beautiful damsel. The Gāndharva mode is almost a self-selection by the parties by mutual consent इच्छयाज्ज्योन्यसंयोगः कन्यायाश्च वरस्य च ।

गान्धर्वः सतु विज्ञेयो मैथुन्यः कामसम्भवः ॥

*Manusmriti* iii, 32

and the representation of Udayana carrying away Vāsavadattā on the elephant as from a plaque from Kauśāmbī or from one of the carvings from Udayagiri cave in Orissa representing this type. For the normal type the usual representations of marriage in sculpture hold good; but it should be noted specially in several of these sculptures depicting a marriage as for instance in the Kalyāṇasundara panel from Elephanta where Himavan gives away his daughter in marriage to Śiva the stress is on the grasping of the hand of the bride by the bridegroom. Janaka calls Rāma to hold the hand of Sita

इयं सीता मम सुता सहधर्मचरी तव ।

प्रतीक्ष चैनां भद्रं ते पाणिं गृह्णीष्व पाणिना ॥ *Rāmāyana*, i

and then there is the Pāṇigrahaṇa. In an earlier and later stage of the marriage respectively when new clothes are presented to the bride and bridegroom by their respective fathers-in-law and the holy water is sprinkled on the bride and bridegroom as Asis which is also another ceremony in the marriage have vivid presentations in sculpture in panels from Borobudur representing Siddartha's marriage. A carving from Konarak shows the Kanyādāna ceremony wherein the father pours water in the hands of the bridegroom to assure him that he is making Kanyādāna, the gifting of his daughter as his bride. Seven steps walked together make the husband and wife friends and companions in life according to the belief सप्तं साप्तपदं मैत्रमित्याहुर्विबुधा जनाः । *Mahābhārata* and this saptapadī, a very important part of marriage ritual is depicted in some sculptures of Śiva's marriage like the ones from the Rajshahi Museum and the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad.

Śiva and Pārvatī standing holding their hands together in the vicinity of the fire attended to by Brahma himself aided by Rishis as at Ellora in a long panel suggests also the *pradakṣiṇa* of Agni प्रदक्षिणप्रक्रमणात्कुशानोरुर्चिषस्तन्मि-

थुनं चकाशे ।

मेरोरुपान्तेष्विव वर्तमानमन्योन्यसंसक्त महस्त्रिं यामम् ॥

*Raghuvamśa* vii, 24

The Lājahoma which is such an important thing in marriage and which has been so happily described by Kālidāsa in the context of the marriage of Indumati नितम्बगुर्वी जुरुणा प्रयुक्ता वधुविधातृप्रतिमेन तेन ।

चकार सा मत्तचकोरनेत्रा लज्जवती लाजविसर्ग मग्नौ । *Raghuvamśa* vii, 25 has also representation in sculptures where bride and the bridegroom are shown beside the fire making the offerings to the fire, and from that day onwards begins the daily *Aupāsana*.

As Kālidāsa puts it the householder's life is the most useful to the society

कालोह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते ।

*Raghuvamśa* V, 10

and atithipūjā or the looking after the guests is one of the most important duties of the householder. *Arghya*, *Pādya*, and *Āchamana* are the essential things to be offered to the guest as soon as he arrives. An atithi being a casual visitor careful attention is all the more necessary in his case. Sculptures from Borobudur beautifully depict this worshipful offering of water as *Arghya* and *Pādya* or washing the feet. The water vessel used for *Āchamana* is clearly shown in several representations of sages as for instance Agastya in metal from Vedāraṇyam in South India but probably it is most telling in the representation of Janhu's sipping of Gangā from his water vessel and releasing her again through his ear as depicted at Paṭṭaḍakal in Western India.

After a long and useful life as householder and after enjoying the sweets of this life, bringing up children and establishing them, the husband and wife enter Vānaprastha or a life in the forest where detached from the world but still together as husband and wife they spend the evening of their life in an even tenor of holiness and meditation and nothing else. The Āshrama is itself a place of quiet, calm and serene atmosphere where the lion and the deer meet on friendly terms, the sage and his family all ascetics, wear the *Krishṇājina* which is so symbolic of pure and innocent life. The sculpture of Naranārāyaṇa as ascetics from Deogarh and that of the saintly lady Svayamprabhā also from Deogarh show how the *Krishṇājina* is worn on the left shoulder as described in the *Krishṇa* Yajurveda.

अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपरीय

It is no more any question of toilet for the hair, it is no more any attention for the dress or the food; it is matted locks and a beard. The barber has no place in the forest nor the dhobi. It is a thatched hut that serves as the dwelling, rude in construction with no engineer to plan it, the deer roaming about are the near and dear ones, and wild-grown grains provide the coarse food for the sage, a brook near by helps the daily bath *Snānakryā*.

The final stage is that of an ascetic who completely renounces the world and enters into communion with God wherein he experiences Ānanda. Kālidāsa has given an excellent picture of Raghu as an ascetic and the

preliminary to these, the shaving of head and the wearing of the Kāshāya garments or the red monk's robes is beautifully presented in a sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where the barber Uṣāli shaves the six Śākya princes admitted to the Order by Buddha. This shaving of the heads of the beautiful locks is a symbol of a Sanyāsi renouncing the world.

The final stage of death and the samskāras attending the burning of the corpse अथ तस्य कथंचिदङ्कतः स्वजनस्तामपनीय सुन्दरीम् ।

विससर्ज तदन्त्यमण्डना मनलायागुरुचन्दनं घसे ॥ *Raghuvansā* viii, 71 as Kālidāsa puts it has a very touching picture in a sculpture of a queen, Halidevi whose beloved husband erected a memorial for her with an inscription on it to record his grief. At Prambaṇam the Aparakriyā or the Śrāddha ceremony performed for Daśaratha is clearly presented, the last of the samskāras that man receives on earth here below in this land of ours.

## TWO VERY INTERESTING TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM THE EXCAVATED SITE NAGAR

DR. SATYA PRAKASH

During the winter season of the year 1943-44 Shri K. Deva the Superintendent of Archaeology of the Jaipur State conducted excavations at Nagar, the ancient ruins of which were known to the archaeologists of the country from the account left by Carlleyle who had conducted explorations at the site in 1872 (vide cunningham's Archaeological survey of India Report vol. vi. pp. 162-195)

Though no large scale excavations were undertaken there and only four trenches were dug, some of the terracotta finds were very interesting. Of these interesting terracottas, I am, here, dilating on two only. These are on the upper and lower portions of Kaolin plaques. On the upper portion of a Kaolin plaque is represented standing figures of Kāmadeva and Rati. Kāmadeva has his emblem Makaradhvaja or standard surmounted by crocodile, prominently depicted in the upper right side. He holds a bow in his uplifted left hand and arrows of flowers in his right hand, which is held against his waist. He wears a turban like headdress, decorated with a central jewel, patra Kuṇḍalas, torque, necklace and bracelets with the moustached face, dignified bearing, big and broad Vaksha like body and the closely gripped fists, the figure of Kāmadeva is remarkable for the expression of dignity and calm strength. The expression is brought into prominent relief by the slight and charming figure of Rati, his consort standing to his proper left of which only the head survives. The latter has a coquettish

look and presents a coiffeur decorated with plumes or flowers and with a large jewel on the proper right side. The plaque is pierced with two holes for suspension. This is an early Gupta piece of art.

There is another early Gupta piece of art represented in the lower portion of a Kaolin plaque. This terracotta piece represents a standing couple identifiable with Kāmadeva and Rati on the analogy of the above. Between the couple is seen the lower half of Kāmadeva's bow, which he must have held in his left hand. He appears to have carried in his right hand the floral arrows of which the tips are visitable. Kāmadeva wears bracelets in his extant right hand and draped in a Dhoti reaching above the ankles in a Scarf which ends in a heavy knot falling along the right leg. His legs are poised in an easy posture with the left slightly bent and brought forward and his weight of the body resting on the right. The figure of Rati standing to the proper left of Kāmadeva is dressed in an undergarment which shows pleated folds between the legs and is secured at the waist with a girdle of three strings of jewels. She is further bedecked with anklets in her feet. The upper portion of the plaque is broken obliquely carrying away the figure of Kāmadeva above waist and that of Rati above navel. The missing portion, however, may be supplied from the above.

### SOME INTERESTING COINS FROM PAWAYA

TELLING ITS HISTORY IN 1-2ND CENTURIES A. D.

DR. H. V. TRIVEDI

Padam Pawāyā in Madhya Bharat, the ancient site of Padmāvati, is so far known to have gained importance only in the 3rd century A. D. under the Nāgas who ruled at the place, whereas its earlier history is shrouded in mystery. Excavations conducted at the place have no doubt revealed that its antiquity is to be traced back to 1-2nd centuries A. D. when the Śungas were powerful in and around the region;<sup>1</sup> but we have no numismatic evidence in support of this view. Recently, while looking through the coins collected in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, I found some specimens capable of throwing light on the point. They appear to be unknown so far, and for their numismatic interest I publish them here with the kind permission of the authorities. As I was informed, they were all picked up at Pawaya, and the palaeography of their legends, which is definitely of the 1-2nd centuries A. D., shows them to be the predecessors of the Nāga coins. It is impossible at present to determine their definite provenance or to identify the kings whose names appear on them, as they are all other-

1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1915-6, p. 105; *Gwalior Arch. Rep.*, 1924-5, p. 9.

wise unknown; and therefore I have taken them here as indigenous coins. For it appears less probable, though not altogether impossible, that these pieces, which are all of copper, may have travelled to this place from the adjoining regions of Mathurā, Kausāmbī, Ayodhyā, Kanauj and Pāñchāla, some of the rulers of which places are known to have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Śungas.<sup>2</sup> It may be stated here, however, that the views expressed in the following paragraphs are to be taken only as tentative, to be corroborated, supplemented or modified by examination of more specimens of the types whenever they are available.

Coin No. 1.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—round. Size—.55" in diameter.

Weight—37.5 grains.

This coin shows on the obverse a trident in the right field and the Brāhmī legend running around the edge. The symbols on the reverse are blurred, but they appear to be a tree in railing and a vertical rod-like object to its left. The existing portion of the legend, from VIII to I is *Makhadata*, followed by an indistinct *sa*; it is also preceded by traces of three letters which may have been *sa Rājño*. The characters are of 1-2nd century A. D., resembling those of the Kushan inscriptions at Mathurā and Sārnath.

The name of the prince Makhadatta is otherwise unknown, nor can we be certain about the dynasty to which he may have belonged. Princes with their names ending in *datta* are known to have ruled at Mathurā, Ayodhyā and Almora;<sup>3</sup> but their type and the figures on their obverse and reverse are different from those of our coin.

Coin No. 2.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—round. Size—max. .6"; min. .55".

Weight—47 grains.

This coin bears the legend in two horizontal lines, one below the other, on its obverse, and a tree in railing on its reverse. On both the sides it is re-struck, the symbols and letters of the original striking being completely obliterated. The existing legend is *Rājño Ma [ha] tasa* in characters of almost the same time as of the preceding coin, though the form of *ma* is angular at the base. The initial portion of *ha* is clipped off by the edge. A king of the name of Mahat is not known from any source, and therefore, the attribution of this coin too remains uncertain.

Coin No. 3.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—rectangular. Size—.55" by .5".

Weight—27.5 grains.

The obverse of this coin shows the figure of a recumbent humped bull to left and a portion of the legend *Rājño maha*—at the top. The letter *ra*

2. Camb. Hist. of India, I, pp. 521 ff.

3. Allan: *B. M. C. A. I.*, pp. 182, 133 and 120 respectively.

is visible only in its lower portion. The legend may have been the same as on the preceding coin, with the letters *tasa* in the end, which appear to be lost on the edge of an incuse formed by pressing the die heavily. The symbol on the reverse is indistinct, but from the traces that are visible, it may have been a tree in railing, as on the coin just described. Like that specimen this piece too may have been struck by the same king. He appears to have been a powerful prince, as striking coins of at least two types and restriking coin No. 2 as seen above.

Coin No. 4.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—rectangular. Size—.5" by .45".

Weight—42 grains.

The obverse of this coin bears the legend in two lines separated by a horizontal line to which a five petalled flower is attached on the left. The reverse shows a tree in railing, out of which only the railing is visible. There are some indistinct symbols also in this side. The initial letter of the legend, i.e. *Rā*, is clipped off at the edge, and what follows is *jño Sabalasenasa*. The second and the third letters are also partly cut off at the edge, and they may also be read as *bana* or *hana*. But it is certainly a name ending in *sana* for *senā*, like those of the W. Kshatrapas, or of Kumudasena of Ayodhyā,<sup>4</sup> though we have nothing definite to establish his relationship with any of them.

Coin No. 5.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—rectangular. Size—.5" by .45".

Weight—23.5 grains.

This coin, which is much worn, shows on the obverse a curious object resembling a trident without one of the prongs laid flat on its side,<sup>5</sup> and two letters of the legend, which may be read as *jñosa* at the top. Traces of the letter *Ra* for *Ra* are visible before *jno*, and the *sa* is followed by what may have been the base of *ba*. A hill of four tiers constituted of ten arches, with the letter *sa* on either of its sides and to be read from inside, is engraved at the lower edge. The fragmentary legend shows that this specimen too may have been issued by the same prince who issued coin No. 4, though it is not possible to be certain on the point. The reverse of the coin is too worn to make out anything on it; it appears to have borne a tree, from what appears like a leaf at one of the corners.

Coin No. 6.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—round. Diameter—.4".

Weight—21.5 grains

This coin has on the obverse a hill of three arches on a platform and fragmentary letters of the legend below. Nothing can be made out of the

4. Ibid. p. 137, No. 58.

5. This object is somewhat similar to that appearing on the obverse of *I. M. C.*, Vol. I, pl. XXIII, No. 4.

legend, as the coin is partly broken at the edge. The reverse shows orbs of the Ujjain symbol, but the rods connecting them are not clearly visible. On one side there is another indistinct symbol. The legend being indistinct, it is not possible to say anything about the attribution of the coin, but it may be opined that the hill symbol connects it with the preceding one.<sup>6</sup>

Coin No. 7.—Pl.

Metal—Copper. Shape—almost square, each of its sides measuring .4”  
Weight—16.5 grains.

The obverse of this coin shows the figure of an indistinct animal (bull to left ?) and three letters of the legend below, which I read as *yanāga*. The initial letter, which is cut at the edge, may have been, presumably, a *ha*, *ma* or even *tra*. Thus we have a new prince belonging to the Nāga house, to be verified after examining more pieces of the type. The reverse shows an indistinct symbol at the top, probably to be identified with a recumbent bull to right.

Our coins do not bear affinity to any of the known series, and as stated above, the palaeography of their legends shows them doubtless to be the pre-cursors of the coins of the Nāga princes, who may have copied some of their symbols, e.g. the recumbent bull and the trident, on their issues. Both these are Śaivite emblems, and as such, they may well be associated with the Bhāraśiva rulers, who alone were the predecessors of the Nāga rulers in the region. It may, therefore, be suggested, though we cannot be definite on the point, that the present coins are the issues of the Bhāraśiva house, admitting, however, that the names figuring on them are not traceable in any other source. The Bhāraśivas are known to have been successful in breaking the Kushan power, driving them further north-west. They are also known to have revived the Hindu sovereignty and to have adopted Śiva as the presiding deity of their empire. It is therefore natural that they may have issued coins with some Śaivite emblems figuring on them. On two of the coins we can also be certain of the appearance of the figure of the five-branched palm tree, which symbol, as rightly noted by K. P. Jayaswal occurs on Bhāraśiva monuments at Bhūmarā in Western Bundelkhand,<sup>7</sup> and which also appears to have been represented on the two monolithic palm-capitals discovered at Pawāyā.<sup>8</sup> In this connection it is also interesting to note in passing that the style of showing the name in the legend

6. The arches of the hill are unconnected with one another and it is possible that they are remnants of some letters. In that case, the first and the topmost may be the letter *ta* or *ge*, followed by what looks like the curve of *ga*. The remnants at the bottom of the edge may be taken as those of *dava* for *deva*; and in that case what appears between the two lines may have been a symbol (palm tree?). But as the coin is partly cut and does not give a clear reading, we cannot be definite on the point; and scholars are requested to throw light on it.

7. Jayaswal; History of India, pp. 58-9.

8. A. S. I., A. R., 1915-6, p. 106.

on some of our coins, which is with the initial word *Rājñah*, may well be compared with that of the beginning of the inscription on the sculpture of Mañibhadra Yaksha, which was also discovered at Pawāyā, and this also supports the view that the king Śivanandin mentioned therein<sup>9</sup> may have been a Bhāraśiva ruler.

### THE EARLY PARISAD

SRI RAM SHARAN SHARMA

The article seeks to throw light on the nature of the early *parisad* to which there are numerous references not only in the narrative portions of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* but also in the original parts of the *Rigveda*, in the *Artharvaveda*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanisads* and the *Grihyasutras*. They show that in early times the *parisad* was a big tribal military assembly led by Skanda or Siva. Its tribal character is evident from the legend in which the *parisadas* are described as the issues of Skanda, and is also illustrated by their totems which usually characterise the primitive tribes. For its military nature reference may be made to epic passages in which the *parisadas* are described as armed with terrible weapons and taking delight in battle. Under the leadership of Skanda they are represented as fighting against the Asuras. The issue in the perpetual fight seems to have been the possession of kine in which probably the *Av.* and *Rv.* *parisad* was rich. It is significant that the wealth of the enemy tribe or the kine belongs to the whole *parisad* and not to its leader.

A characteristic feature of the *parisad* like the *vidatha* and the *gana* is its female membership. In the *Baudhayan Dharmasutra* the *tarpana mantras* provide for the offering of water to the *parisadis* of several gods—who obviously were the female members of the *parisad*. It is presumed that matriarchy preceded patriarchy, along with the *vidatha* and the *gana* the *parisad* would rank as one of the oldest institutions—much older than the *sabha* and *samiti* with which it has been made interchangeable in the *Paraskara Grihyasutra*.

The later *parisad* as described in the *Dharmasutras* is dominated by the king and the Brahmanas but this is not the case with the early *parisad* as known from the *Rigveda* and the *Mahabharata*. The later Vedic literature, however, refers to the royal *parisada* which served as a ground for debate both for the supporters and the opponents of the monarchical state. In course of time with the development of class society and state power the *parisad* shed its old tribal and popular character and came to be monopolised by the king and the priestly class.

9. Ibid.

## SOME FAMILY LETTERS IN KHAROSHTHI SCRIPT FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

SRI R. C. AGRAWALA

It was some 50 years ago that Sir A. Stein was able to unearth about 782 documents written in Kharoshthi script from Niya, Endere and Loulan in Central Asia. The documents pertaining to the everyday life of people, are available in shape of wooden tablets, silk and leather fragments and some paper manuscripts. Written as they are in Prakrit script of Pre-Gupta era, they throw a flood of light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of Chinese Turkestan of those times. The contents of some of the documents are very interesting for here we find very beautiful phrases and ornamental language used in various letters, exchanged between sons and parents, between family relations etc. An attempt has also been made to trace the influence of Indian style in these letters. A study of the phraseology and the style of letters reveals that Indian culture had deeply permeated the everyday life of common folk in Central Asia.

## THE ASHTAMATRKAS OF MARWAR

SRI R. C. AGRAWALA

The ancient art of Marwar presents the *Ashtamatrkas* (carved in stone) at 3 places i. e. Mandora, Kekinda and Phalodi. Of these, the depiction of 8 mothers together at Mandor is very interesting for here we find all the mothers (standing very close to one another) without any child in their lap. Moreover, to the left of seated Ganapati beginning from left, the female deities have 2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 4, 2, and 8 hands respectively. The blending of all these features does not seem to have been discovered anywhere else in Indian art. It is a pity that the heads and most of the attributes held in the hands of the mothers remain broken and deshaped at present.

## ON THE DATES OF COPPER PLATES OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

SRI PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

The Nalanda and Gaya copper-plates of Samudragupta are considered by some scholars as spurious, but it is admitted on all hands that they might have been forged to make up for the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta of the same dates.

On the basis of the dates found in these grants, it has been suggested that the Gupta era was initiated by Samudragupta if not by Chandragupta I. In this paper it is pointed out that both these views are not correct. Nalanda copper-plate mentions the name of *Kumara Chandragupta* in the last line which shows his connection with the issue of the grant, and as such he must have been young enough to participate in the administrative work. Assuming his age as 18 at the time of the issue of the grant and the date of the grant at Gupta era, it has been pointed out that Chandragupta would have been 74 at the time of his accession in 56 G. E. A man of such a ripe age could hardly be capable of administration for next 37 years. So the dates of these grants are not dated in Gupta era, but they are regional years of Samudragupta, which is distinct from the Gupta era.

It is also suggested here that the Gupta era was initiated by Chandragupta II on the occasion of his accession, but was reckoned from the date of the rise of the family in the time of Chandragupta I.

#### THE DATE OF KANISHKA

SRI PARMESHWRI LAL GUPTA

On the basis of the numismatic material found at places in Eastern U. P., Behar and Orissa and in the excavations at Sisupalgarh, Pataliputra and Sahet-Mahet, it has been pointed out in this paper that the Kushana expansion in these areas could not be earlier than second century A. D. The Chinese and Tibetan traditions record Kanishka's war with Saketa and Pataliputra. So the date of Kanishka cannot be earlier than second century A. D. This conclusion is corroborated by the excavations at Taxila and Begram. It is further suggested on the authority of Van Wijk, who had calculated the years, about the possible year of the beginning of Kanishka era, on the basis of astronomical data furnished by Zeda and Und inscriptions, that it might have been 134 A. D.

#### EARLY GANGA GENEALOGY

SRI H. S. RAMANNA

One of the most important problems in Western Ganga history which still awaits solution i. e. the chronology of the dynasty. As and when new inscriptions were discovered, attempts were also made to settle the chronology by R. Narasimhachar, M. H. Krishna and others. The Hebbata (Mysore State, Kolar Dist.) grant of King Durvinita has been edited by Dr. S. Srikanta Sastry with valuable discussions and historical notes. Relying

mainly on the astronomical reference in the charter, he places Durvinita between A. D. 491 and 525 and thus puts back his age by nearly a century.

But this appears to be too early a date for Durvinita in view of the following reasons. Chalukya-Vikramaditya, grand son of Durvinita, is said to have restored his dynasty in A. D. 655 with the latter's help. Further on the basis of literary and epigraphical evidence, it is generally taken that Bharavi was a contemporary of Pulakesin II, Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Simha Vishnu and Durvinita. Since all of them were contemporaries, the last cannot be placed very much earlier than 600 A. D., as Dr. Sastry says. I have tried to point out the difficulties of the new chronology and work out the dates of the early members of the dynasty on the old basis.

### BIHAR IN THE AGNI-PURĀṆA

SRI YOGENDRA MISHRA

The aim of this paper is to indicate the importance of the Agni Purana as a source for elucidating the cultural history and historical geography of ancient Bihar. There are five chapters of the Agni-Purana, namely, chapters 110 and 114-187, which contain references to the places in Bihar. Chapter 110 deals with the *Gangamahatmya* in general. As the Ganges flows through Bihar also, this has been included here. Chapters 114-116 deal exclusively with Gaya, the famous place of pilgrimage, in Bihar, of all-India importance. They are very important as they furnish the topographical details of the holy city. Chapter 117 deals with the *śraddha* ceremony to be performed at sacred places. Among such places Gaya has been mentioned first which indicates that it occupied the foremost position in India in the sphere of the performance of *Śraddha* in the time of the Agni-Purana as it occupies even today. Besides these, in chapter 109, which deals with the *tirthamahatmya*, there is a reference to Rajagriha (तीर्थं राजगृहं पुण्यम्) which is an important Place of pilgrimage and a former capital of Magadha.

### PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA WAS NOT THE PERSECUTOR OF BUDDHISTS

SRI HARI KISHORE PRASAD

Majority of scholars are of opinion that Pushyamitra Sunga was a great persecutor of Buddhists. Their arguments are based on the materials contained in the Divyavadana, Manjusri-Mulkalpa and Taranath's history of Buddhism. But a careful study of them reveals that Pushyamitra Sunga cannot be identified with Pushyamitra of the Divyavadana and Taranatha

and with Gomimukhya of Manjusri-Mulkalpa, on which reliance has been placed.

(1) The significant point to be noted in this connection is that Pushyamitra Sunga is invariably referred to by the title 'Senani' or 'Senapati' in the Purānas, Harsacharita, Mālvikagnimitram and Ayodhya inscription. He does not seem to have assumed any Royal title, but was known, or liked to be known, by the term 'Senapati' or 'Senani'. Hence it was an important epithet of Pushyamitra Sunga by which he could be easily recognised. But neither in the Divyavadāna nor in Tāranātha's history of Buddhism he is mentioned by that title. Hence it is very doubtful whether Pushyamitra of the Divyavadana and Taranatha was Pushyamitra Sunga, the Commander-in-Chief.

(2) Further, the translated passages of Taranath history do not brand Pushyamitra as the persecutor of Buddhists. There the persecution is undergone at the hands of the Tirthikas.

(3) The identification of Yakshakrimisena (यक्षकृमिसेन) with the Yavana king Demetrius by Dr. Bagchi is weakened by the revelation of a fact in the Divyavadana itself in the same connection. According to him the Greek king Demetrius was an enemy of Pushyamitra Sunga but the following lines in the Divyavadana suggest that Yavana was also a friend of his, due to whose influence he was not being killed.

“पुष्यमित्रस्य राज्ञः पृष्ठतः यक्षो महान प्रमाणे यूयम्  
तस्यानुभावात् स राजा न प्रतिहन्यते ।

This Greek king thus appears to be a powerful king and during Pushyamitra Sunga's time Demetrius was probably the only powerful king in the Punjab. Then in that case—how are we to reconcile the two opposite views i. e. Yavana (Demetrius?) an enemy of Pushyamitra Sunga and also his friend at the same time.

(4) The identification of "Gomimukhya" with Pushyamitra Sunga by Dr. Jayaswal on the basis of chronology of kings is not reliable; for the idea of chronology of the writer of Manjusri-Mulkalpa is much confused. There, the king Asoka is mentioned much earlier than Chandragupta and Bindusāra of the Maurya dynasty and even before the Nanda kings. Ajātasatru is mentioned twice.

Gomimukhya might be taken to be a title of Pushyamitra Sunga (as maintained by Dr. Bagchi) on the basis of its meaning i.e. leader of the army, but against this it can be pointed out that the leader of the army is not the only possible meaning of Gomimukhya. Dr. Bagchi himself admits, "The name Gomomukhya which is also mentioned as Gomi-Sanda' in another verse stands for Pushyamitra but its meaning is not clear. Gomi means a 'Jackal' and also 'a Buddhist lay worshipper'."

## AN ASPECT OF INDIAN ECONOMY

SRI BIMALAPRASAD MUKERJI

A brief survey is given here of India's economy and trade relations roughly from the 1st century A. D. to the close of the medieval times. India's economic life rooted in land has substantially remained unchanged. But her trade and commerce, overland and sea-borne, as well as foreign contacts developed in the Sātavahana, Kusl.ān and Gupta periods and later on, under the Cholas and the kings of Vijaynagar, created new conditions. Indian economy after centuries of progress declined with the advent of foreign competitors.

## POSITION OF THE BRAHMANAS IN THE MAURYAN TIME

SRI S. P SINHA

Although Kautilya assigned to the Brahmanas many privileges which were more or less vestiges of the Dharmasutra period, yet he prescribed several penalties on them, and thereby destroyed the age old fiction that they were above the law. Brahmanas in the *Arthashastra* were appointed as high officials getting a very high salary and enjoying the status of agents of the king. They were the sustainers of the king and kingdom. They took part in war and even joined fighting forces. Economically, Brahmanas enjoyed several privileges. They were given lands and were exempted from tax. In society also they held very high position, and their name and presence had special value. They were worshipped in order to avert natural calamities. But inspite of these things, Brahmana was not above States. In case of treason, a Brāhmaṇa priest could be drowned in water.

Magasthenes also corroborated the view of Kautilya that Brahmanas were a very privileged class. He gives a description of their philosophy, education, their food, their clothings, etc. and these show their very high position in society.

Asoka never allowed that there should be any discrimination in law therefore he established Dandasamatā and Vyābaharasamatā. He also introduced regulations against the Brahmanas by prescribing that there should not be animal slaughter and useless sacrifices. He, however, exhorted his officials and his subjects to honour the Brahmanas.

## BABYLONIAN CITIES IN THE PURANAS

SRI AMRIT PANDYA

The paper purports to show that Nineveh and Susa, the two ancient cities of Western Asia find references in the Purāṇas. Susa is described as the capital of Varuna, the Indian God of the waters, the sea and the cardinal point West in the Matsya, the Vayu, the Vishnu and other Purāṇas. According to the story of Usha and Aniruddha, as it occurs in the Harivamsa, Sonitapur, the capital of Asura Bana or Banasura, the king of the Asuras, was situated beyond the capital of Varuna. The present writer proposes to identify Sonitapur, which term literally means the 'City of Blood', with Nineveh, the capital of the land of the Asuras (the Assyrians of the Greeks), which is referred to as the 'The City of Blood' in the Bible, Old Testament, at more than one places. This literary and geographical evidence leads us directly to the conclusion that the term 'Asuras' of the ancient Indian tradition meant originally the Assyrians rather than the Ahuras of the Zoroastrian scriptures.

## IS CASTE-SYSTEM A DIVINE INSTITUTION ?

DR. H. VEDANTASASTRI

Caste-system though a time-honoured custom with the Hindus, has not always proved to be an unmixed blessing. Still the system drags on and one of the primary causes for its continuation is the popular belief of its devine origin. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to show that the said belief stands on sandy rock.

The system owes its origin to Varna, the well known four orders, the first, clear-cut conception of which is to be found in the Twelfth Rk., of the 90th hymn of the Tenth Mandala of the Rig Veda, the authorship of the Sukta being ascribed to the ancient sage Nārāyaṇa of the holy Badarikasrama.

Before this period, we also notice Brāhmaṇas but it is difficult to say whether the word Brāhmaṇa denoted and Varna, caste or any profession just as did the word Kāyastha during the Gupta Period.

Basing on the authority of the said Sukta, the Gītā has declared that the origin of the four divisions is due to the influence of the Guna and Karma and subsequently the Gita has assigned duties to each Varna.

The characteristics of a Varna as found in a man and his adoption of some particular profession in accordance with the said characteristics,

have counted much with the author of the Bhagavata, who advises to assign a special Varna to a man in accordance with these.

The Visṇupurāṇa states that the grouping of four orders owes its origin to Saunaka—himself a sage but a descendant of king Ayus. From this it appears that before the days of Saunaka, the names of the orders signified only professions; and it was at the time of Saunaka, that the division of the people into four water-tight compartments took place and in subsequent period, the Gita has propounded the psychological ground behind it. The intitution was made hereditary but not compulsorily. One might choose the Varna he would adopt. Instances have been cited from the Visṇupurana to show that this was the practice in early times.

As regards matrimonial connections, there was no bar for one of the higher order to select his bride from its lower order. Instances have been cited from the Visṇupurāṇa to this effect. This sort of inter-caste marriage continued in Bengal till the Fifteenth Century, when the Smriti-ratnahara was composed by Birhaspati Misra and the system continues till today in Kerala.

Impact with the alien rules of Mediaeval India necessitated rigidity and orthodoxy and society was re-modelled on that ideal. But a set of great religious leaders pressed for reformation, and urged that True Religion had nothing to do with Varna or caste, which is but a socio-religious order and, as such, liable to transformation in different periods.

### BRIHASPATIMITRA OF THE HATHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

SRI AMAR CHAND

We are informed in the Hathigumpha inscription that Kharavela, in the twelfth year of his reign, subdued Brihaspatimitra, the ruler of Magadha, and forced him to bow at his feet. But the identification of this Brihaspatimitra with any of the known rulers of that name, occurring in literature, inscriptions and also coins, who flourished within a few centuries this side or that of the Christian era, is not sure.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal put forth quite a different suggestion and identified Brihaspatimitra with Pusyamitra of the Sunga Dynasty on grounds that Brihaspati (Jiva) is the regent, Naksatradhipa, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab. But in literature Brihaspati, Pusyadharman and Pusyamitra occur as names of distinct individuals, and hence the above identification appears as far-fetched.

It appears, however, that this Brihaspatimitra belonged to the Mitra kings, otherwise called the neo-Mitra dynasty, known from epigraphs to

have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring territories, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, and after the Kanvas.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE HARSA ERA

DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH

Alberuni's remark on the Harsa era does not bear out the existence of Hasra era of 606 A. D. But his observations on the Vikrama era (Sachau, Vol. II, p. 6) indicate that there were two kings bearing the name Vikramaditya, the latter being the victor and killer of the Saka King and the founder of the era known after his name and the former being the King who flourished long before him and from whose time the said era was dated. On the basis of the data given by Alberuni the second Vikramāditya is identified with Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya.

We learn from Kalhana and Taranatha that Vikramāditya was also known as Harsa. The tradition of the founding of an era by Harsa arose from the fact that Vikramaditya, the founder of the era, known as Vikrama era, was also called Harsa.

### THE KAUTILIYAN STATE—A WELFARE STATE

DR. B. P. SINHA

The conception of a welfare state in modern times is a recent one. Lord Beveridge points out that it is not necessary that a welfare state interested in realising its ideal has to be a socialist or a collectivist state. In his opinion a welfare state may realise its ideal without abolishing private initiative or enterprise altogether, by only regulating it to the general pattern conditioned by the ideal.

It is interesting to note that in the Kautilya Arthasāstra all or at least most of the measures which are to promote the welfare and happiness of the citizens (Yogakshema), are not different than what Beveridge recommends for the modern state.

An attempt has been made in the present article to show that the Kautilyan State partakes of the nature of a modern welfare state than this "In the happiness of his people lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good".

## PALI : ITS ORIGIN AND DERIVATION

BY DR. L. B. KENNY

( *A summary* )

According to a passage of the *Cullavagga* two Bhikkus who excelled in speech and pronunciation approached the Buddha and said: "At the present time, Lord, Bhikkus differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family, have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanskrit verse." But Gautama would have none of this. He replied, "You are not, O Bhikkus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanskrit) verse. I allow you, O Bhikkus, to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect." In another passage of the *Aranavibhang Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, giving therein an instance of the 'bowl' being known variously as *pāṭi*, *patta*, *vittha*, *sarāva*, *dhāroṇa*, *pona* and *pisīla*, in different provinces, the Buddha said that the proper thing was frankly to use in each particular province the word one understood.

These references in the Pāli works suggest i) the amount of influence Sanskrit had upon the other languages, during the time of the Buddha and ii) the retention of many original non-Sanskrit or non-Aryan or Dravidian words, in North India. '*Pāṭi*' for example, in Tamil means "earth," and '*paṭikkam*' the "pot for receiving water used for an idol". '*Pāṭi*' in Tulu means "a trough," "a bathing tub," or "a spout." In Kannada '*pāṭi*' means a "vessel." *Pāṭi*, Malayalam, means a "wooden tub," and '*pāṭimarai*', a 'wooden pot.'

When the Aryas entered India and come in direct contact with the indigenous non-Aryan inhabitants of the place, they found that the latter had a different speech unintelligible to the Āryas. And it is often suggested that the adaptation of the Aryan speech by the original non-Aryan population of India tended to corrupt the speech of the Āryas in such a way as to give rise to the so-called Prākritis. But to deny the existence of any non-Aryan element in a Prākrit or to explain it away as being due to nothing but natural disintegration of Sanskrit, amounts to nothing less than denying the existence of any kind of civilized poble in India at the time of the Aryan immigration, and consequently of a language spoken in the land at that time: or that there were only a few uncivilized hill-tribes inhabiting the country, who ran away at the sight of the invading Āryas. But this position does not deserve any consideration at all, as the archaeological evidence furnished by the excavations at Mohenjo Dāro and Harappā,

proves on the other hand, the existence of a very highly civilized people inhabiting India some thousands of years before the advent of the Aryas in India. And it is reasonable to suggest that the contact of the Aryan the non-Aryan languages gave rise to a new set of popular languages called Prākritis.

Speaking about the Indus languages, Sir John Marshall says that "the Indus Civilization was pre-Aryan, and the Indus language or languages must have been pre-Aryan also. Possibly one or other of them (if, as seems likely, there was more than one), was Dravidic. This, "continues the author, in his *MohenjoDaro and the Indus Civilization*," seems a most likely conjecture—first because Dravidic-speaking people were the precursors of the Aryans over most of Northern India and were the only people likely to have been in possession of a culture as advanced as the Indus culture; secondly, because on the other side of the Kirthar Range and at no great distance from the Indus Valley the Brahuīs of Baluchistan have preserved among themselves an island of Dravidic speech which may well be a relic from pre-Aryan times, when Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts." Muir suggests the same view when he says that "there appear in the Vernacular dialects of Northern India many remains of pre-existing languages, distinct from Sanskrit, which are supposed to have been spoken by non-Aryan tribe settled in that portion of the peninsula before the immigration of the Aryas."

The current Prākṛit vocabulary contains *tadbhava*, *tatsama* and *deśya* words. Though the first two groups of words suggest Sanskrit influence, the last group of words indicate their origin in a pre-Aryan language. And we have to approach to such a language for the origin and derivation of Pāli, a literary Prākṛit of north India. 'Pāli' in Tamil, means a 'words' or 'a method of reciting' ; in Tulu 'a vow' or 'addressing prayer'. In Kanarese, *pala* means 'ancient Kannada' and *pālē* means 'ancient'. It is to such words that we have to approach for the origin and derivation of Pāli.

It should be well remembered, while considering the present literary Pāli, that centuries have elapsed before the sayings of the ancient preachers were committed to writing and before commentaries and expositions arose. Though the formation of literary Pāli is later than Māgadhi and its other contemporary Prākritis, the formation of its derivation is much more early. It is pre-Aryan.

A systematic study of the place-names of Northern India, phonology of eastern languages, philology of Pāli, and changes in respect of its consonants, analogy, dissimilation, metathesis, elision, contraction, reduplication, aspiration and even the grammatical forms, suggest the above derivation of Pāli and its origin, in a non-Aryan language.

## THE GREAT BATH MYSTERY

SWAMI SANKARANANDA

*Summary*

Influence of assumptive 'Aryan immigration' theory on Indian history—Sir John Marshall and the Great Bath—The non-representation of pillars in the four corners of the Bath—a probable influence of the Aryan immigration theory, by which Aryans were brought to India by 1500 B. C.—The Great Bath was a sacred tank, used for the performance of sacred rites by the Vedic people—by the non-representation of the pillars, a Vedic civilization was robbed of its inheritance—The religious symbols explained elsewhere (The Rigvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus Vol. 1) prove that the people were following the Vedic rites—the action regarding the non-representation of the said pillars in their proper places was due to the overzealousness of Marshall in the Aryan immigration theory.

**SECTION II**  
**711—1206 A. D.**

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

### SECTION II

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Friends and Fellow Delegates,

I am very thankful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for kindly doing me the honour of electing me to preside over this section of this session of the Congress.

I wish to express, at the outset, an opinion which I had been holding for a long time and which has been voiced by several of my predecessors. This section is supposed to be confined to that part of Indian History and Culture which fall within the limits of 712-1206 A. D. These dates have been fixed, obviously, from the point of view of North Indian History and particularly from the point of view of the Muslim invasions and conquest. It is neither fair nor justifiable that a partial view should be adopted while dealing with the progress of Indian History as a whole. Even in the history of the north these dates do not signify any easily distinguishable and well-marked epoch. 712 A. D. might denote the Arab conquest of Sindh but this event effected only a remote part of India and even there it was a mere passing phase. Similarly, 1206 A. D. marks the establishment of independent Muslim rule in northern India but this influenced only the central part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, in the first instance, and other parts only long after. The Dakkan and South India were unconnected with this event and unaffected by its consequences for nearly a century and even then their conquest and subjugation were deferred till 1325 A. D. There was no continuity in the Muslim invasions; there was an interval of nearly two centuries between the Arab conquest of Sindh and the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni; another interval of over half a century separated this invader from Muhammad of Ghor. Thus the two prescribed dates denote events unconnected and separated by long intervals. They do not indicate any continuous process or movement which only can entitle the intervening period to be classified as an epoch. In order to tide over this difficulty inherent in the diversified history of our country a kind of sliding scale system may be adopted with regard to the fixing of the dates of sections. 647 A. D. is an obvious and convenient landmark in the history of Northern India, marking as it does, the death of Harsa, the disappearance of the last great empire of the pre-Muslim times and the consequent advent of a long period of confusion, competition and chaos. 1206 A. D. marks the establishment

of foreign rule in this country and the beginning of the end of most of the independent Hindu states. The intervening period is marked by the absence of a paramount power, the prevalence of constant wars and frequent changes in hegemony. This period may, therefore, be taken as one unit in the history of Northern India. But for the history of the Dakkan and South India 712 A. D. and 1206 A. D. have no meaning and no significance. The year 600 A. D. may be taken to mark the lower limit of this section from the point of view of the history of the south. This year coincides, more or less, with the epoch of Pallava Mahēndravarmān I and Cālukya Pulakēsin II, the earliest contestants for hegemony in the south and is not far removed from 625 A. D. the year of the foundation of the Eastern Cālukyan kingdom of Vēngī. 1323-25 A. D. may be taken to denote the upper limit of this section. 1323 A. D. is the year of the fall of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva and of independent Hindu Dakkan and 1325 A. D. coincides with the first assertion of the power of the Sultanate of Delhi over a large region south of the Vindhvas spreading into parts of South India. The intervening period possesses many common features like the existence of independent Hindu states and common cultural development. I suggest, therefore, that the limits of this section may be fixed as 600-647 A. D. and 1206-1325 A. D.

*Imperial Struggles*

Imperial struggles of remarkable, varied and fascinating interest are another feature of the period under review. Unlike the empire building activity of the Mauryas and the Guptas, which involved a mighty, well organised state under capable rulers, not worried by disputed successions, domestic squabbles and menacing *dāyādas* in alliance with sworn enemies on the one side and states either petty or of lesser resources or of visible decay or helpless infancy on the other, the imperial struggles of this period, particularly in the Dakkan, and South India, were contests between equals. These struggles were dynastic not merely of individuals. Many of them were three-cornered contests involving ascendancy over weaker neutrals and involved, as such, higher diplomacy, superior generalship and greater resources. Many of the rulers concerned in these fights had to wage wars on many fronts and carry on the struggle unmindful of temporary success and undaunted by undeserving defeats.

In Northern India the struggle centered round Kanaūj, the erstwhile imperial capital. For nearly a century after the death of Harsa many of the local chieftains attempted to step into his shoes but had neither the resources nor the stature of that emperor. The Gūrjara-Pratīharās succeeded in taking possession of the city at last but had to struggle against powerful adversaries. The Karkota and Utpala dynasties of Kashmir made frequent sallies against the city while the Pālas of Bengal were constantly at the gates and often inside as lords and victors. The Rāṣtrakūṭas of the

Dakkan complicated the situation by leading frequent expeditions into the Gangā Yamunā doab and frequently ejecting successive rulers of the city. This Pāla-Pratihāra contest with Rāṣtrakūṭa interludes went on for nearly a century when it was brought to a close by Muhammad of Ghazni's conquest of Kanūj. The Gāhaḍwals, who came to power in this region subsequently, tried to play the game of imperialism but their attempts ended as mere local struggles and never assumed imperial proportions.

The imperial struggles of the Dakkan and South India were far more spectacular, more long lasting and of more fruitful results. These struggles constituted a long drawn out drama which was territorial in its basis, dynastic in persistency and multiclimatic in effects. They brought in temporary defeats and evanescent successes but not the annihilation of states or extinction of dynasties. The first phase of this struggle was confined to the Pallavas of the South and the Cālukyas of Bādāmi of the Dakkan. It started with the defeat of Mahēndravarmaṇ at the hands of Pulakēsin in the battle of Pullalūr and the retaliatory Pallava raid on Bādāmi. It involved Paramēśvaravarmaṇ and Vikramāditya I and Nandivarmaṇ Pallavamalla and Vikramāditya II of the subsequent generations. The Cālukyas were just on the point of proving that they were the ultimate victors in this struggle through the occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam but were replaced by the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The rising Rāṣtrakūṭa had an easy dig at the decadent Pallava but had to encounter an equally vigorous rival in the Coḷas of the Vijayālaya line who replaced the Pallavas in the South. This brief Pallava-Rāṣtrakūṭa interlude ushered in the second phase in the imperial struggles of the South in the shape of a more serious and more consequential contest between the Coḷas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Both these evolved into mighty powers which displayed remarkable vigour on both the home and war fronts. The Rāṣtrakūṭas were involved in frequent wars of succession, repeated fights for expansion, persistent efforts at the subjugation of Vēngī and numerous imperial expeditions into the Gangā-Yamunā doab. The Coḷas too were very busy fighting the minor powers of the South and imposing their hegemony over them on the one side and fitting out successful overseas expeditions on the other. It is remarkable that in spite of all these preoccupations these two powers found time and energy enough to prosecute a prolonged imperial conflict all along the Krishnā-Tungabadrā line. The third and climatic phase of the struggle commenced with the disappearance of the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the emergence of the revived line of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The kingdom of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēngī which miraculously survived the repeated onslaughts of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, in the east and the Krishnā-Tungabadrā doab and its minor powers in the south-west became the prizes of this phase of the contest. There were mighty champions on either side like Rāja Rāja Rajendra and Vimrājendra on the Cola side

and Satyāśraya, Jayasimha and Somēśvara I on the Cālukyan side. Brilliant engagements were fought in the fields of Kollīṭāka, Mūsungi, Pūṇḍi, Koppam, Kūḍalsamgamam and Bezvāḍa. The Coḷas succeeded ultimately in gaining effective control over Vēngi in the north but the Cālukyas were compensated by an equal acquisition in the south-west. Cālukya Vikramāditya VI and Kulotunga, the Cālukya Cola, were competent and well equipped rivals but they were worried by other preoccupations and this brought in a lull in the imperial fights. The decline of the Coḷas and the disappearance of the Cālukyas in the later half of the 12th century ended this phase of the struggle. Within a short time, however, the Pāṇḍyas came forward as the overlords of the South while out of the ashes of the empire of the Cālukyas of Kaḷyāṇi there arose three strong powers, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. These powers ushered in the fourth phase of the struggle. The contests of this period were of a dual nature; one aspect was confined to local fights between the Yādavas and the Kākatiyas in the Dakkan on the one side, and the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas in the south on the other; the other aspect involved a deadly contest between the powers of the Dakkan and those the south. The Yādavas made persistent efforts to obtain a free passage to the south through the heart of the Kākatiya dominion but were thwarted in their efforts. They therefore made a *de tour*, expanded along the west and reached the Krishṇā-Tunga-bhadra line. Kākatiya Gaṇapatiḍēva consolidated the entire Telugu speaking area under his rule, subjugated the Coḷas of Nellore, took possession of Kānchi in the South and threw the gauntlet in the face of the Pāṇḍya. His successors, Rudrāmḷā and Pratāparudradēva kept under check the aggressions of the Yādavas in the north and of the Pāṇḍyas in the south and held undisputed sway over the greater and richer part of the Dakkan. The advent of Allāuddin Khilji into the tangled politics of the Dakkan upset the balance. It administered to the Hindu rulers of the South the first rude shock of Muslim invasion through the campaigns of Mālik Kaffūr. The Yādavas ceased to be a factor of consequence thereafter in the imperial struggles of the Dakkan. The succession of the Tughlaks to the throne of Delhi brought in the fifth and final phase in the imperial struggles in the South. The contestants this time were different and the nature of the contest too was different. It was not a case of two Dakkan and South Indian powers fighting for expansion or hegemony; it was a contest between the North and the South. The success of the Khiljis in the South inspired their successors, the Tughlaks to pursue a policy of more vigorous and more persistent expansion beyond the Vindhya. The Kākatiyas, as the leading power of the Dakkan, were called upon to bear the brunt of this fresh Muslim aggression. Kākatiya Pratāparudradēva made heroic efforts in defence of the independence of the South for

over two decades. His unfortunate defeat and capture in 1323 A. D. marked the beginning and the southern conquests of prince Jūna beyond the Tungabhadra, the end of this last phase of the imperial struggles of the South.

#### *Religious Condition*

This was a period of varied and fruitful activity in the field of religion. The movement of brāhmanical revival started by the Ikṣvākus and the early Pallavas of Āndhradēśa in the post-Sātavāhana period, found able advocates in the Sālankāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Āndhra and the later Pallavas of the South. This movement continued with greater vigour in subsequent centuries. Both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were firmly established and the Bhakti school had many followers. There were the six systems of philosophy popular among the intellectuals while Kumārila gave a new impetus to the Pūrvamīmāṃsa school. The interests of the people too were properly looked after and the Nāyanārs and the Āḷwārs electrified the atmosphere with their devotional songs in the Tamil language. The sincerity of their bhakti, the easily comprehensible nature of their philosophy and their spotless lives soon attracted thousands among the populace. It was in this atmosphere of religious enthusiasm and revivalist zeal that Śrī Śankara was born. His polemical discussions with the leaders of rival sects and his successful adoption of the technique of Buddhist speculation effectively suppressed the heretical creeds while his original interpretation of the Vēdāntic texts and the establishment of the Monistic view gave a new hope to the intellectuals and a new orientation to Hindu philosophy. A succession of able disciples held aloft the Monistic banner so ably unfurled by Śrī Śankara and the new school obtained numerous followers all over the country. Śaivism in all its varieties came to be actively propagated and Śuddhaśaiva, Kālāmukha and Pāśupata became very popular. The devotional songs of the Nāyanārs were reduced to the canonical form in the 11th century and came to be sung in the temples of the time alongside of the Vēdic hymns. Many of the powerful rulers of the time like the later Pallavas, the Coḷas and the Kākatīyas were ardent devotees of Śaivism and extended their liberal patronage for the propagation of that faith. The Kālāmukha teachers of the Colagi School from southern Rāḍha migrated to the South and found patronage in Āndhra, Kamāṭaka, Draviḍa and Kēraḷa. They set up numerous maṭhas in these regions and propagated the Śaiva faith. In Āndhradēśa the Śaivas had their Pañcārāmas and Simhaparīsats. The politico-religious revolution effected by Basava at Kalyāni and the new socio-religious cosmopolitan creed, known as Viraśaiva, preached by him caused a great stir in the religious circles of the time. The innate simplicity and highly emotional nature of the creed, coupled with the relieving message of hope and salvation for all, attracted large sections of people particularly in Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka. It evoked great enthusiasm among

the masses. Eminent scholars, philosophers and polemicians like Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya and Pāḷkuriki Somanātha added a new force and a new dignity to this religious movement. Vaiṣṇavism too had a glorious existence. The Āḷwars of the South travelled about singing the glories of Viṣṇu and inspiring thousands of people with the message of salvation through sincere devotion. Śrī Rāmānuja came as the effervescence of this Vaiṣṇava devotional upheaval and utilising it fully offered a new interpretation of the sacred texts and founded the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Vēdānta. Nor was he a mere teacher of the intellectual few. He catered to the simple needs of the uninitiated masses also and soon took the name of Viravaiṣṇava. Yet another teacher, Śrī Madhva, appeared in the 13th century, proposed yet another interpretation of the sacred texts and founded the Dvaita school of Vēdānta. Two eminent scholars, Śrī Padmanābhatīrtha and Śrī Nāraharitīrtha, both hailing from Āndhradēśa, propagated this branch of Vēdānta all over the South. The emphasis laid by both Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Madhva on *Bhakti* as the necessary accompaniment of *jñāna* and *Vairāgya* was adopted and further emphasised and propagated by the medieval religious reformers of India.

Jainism spread to the South long before the commencement of the period under review and flourished till as late as the 11th and 12th centuries. It had several devoted patrons among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Cāḷukya royal families and thousands of zealous followers among the populace. Several Jaina monasteries flourished in the South Arcot, Chingleput and Trichinopoly districts of South India, the Godavary, Krishna, Guntur and Telingana districts of Āndhradēśa. Karṇāṭaka abounded in Jaina *basadis*. The names of many of these establishments and of their teachers can be known from contemporary inscriptions. Everywhere in the South the Jainas preached and wrote in the languages of people and this gave an impetus to the growth of vernacular literatures. Śaivism, and particularly the militant creed of the Viraśaivas, proved too strong and dangerous a rival and ultimately stamped it underground. There was persecution too in the South under the lead of Appār, an apostate poet, and Mahēndravarman I, an apostate ruler.

Buddhism was in a tolerably good condition at the beginning of this period in the South while in the North it was slightly more prosperous. Hieun Tsang noticed several Buddhist settlements in Āndhra and South India in the middle of the 7th century. From Śālihuṇḍam in the north to Chinaganjām in the south the entire area was studded with Samghārāmas and there is evidence to show that these flourished till the 8th century. Kānchī was a famous stronghold of Buddhism in the South with a hundred monasteries. Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Simhaḷāvāsam in Malabār were other famous centres. Resurgent Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism could not tolerate

the existence of this rival faith and both the Nāyanārs and the Āḷwārs were its enemies. The Vīraśaivas deemed the suppression of Buddha and Jaina an act of religious merit. This suppression of Buddhism took a new form in Āndhradēśa. Not content with inflicting polemical defeats and probably physical violence also on the Buddhists the Śaiva enthusiasts inaugurated a peculiar movement directed towards the confiscation and transformation of Buddhist structures. The Kapotēśvara temple at Chēzerla in the Guntur district is an instance to the point. It was originally a Caitya-griha. The improvisation of a false roof, the replacement of the idol of the Buddha by a linga of Śiva and the carving of Śaivite sculptures on the doorway completed the simple but effective transformation. The famous Pañchārāmas of Āndhradēśa afford examples of another method of this transformation. The lower part of the temple at Amarāvāti, for example, is enclosed in brick-work and the sanctum is located on the first floor reached by a flight of steps. Local tradition says there is a *stūpacakra* below, which should not be exposed to public view. The linga is unusually tall, some times octagonal and contains a deep indenture or pit at the top. With these details it resembles both the tall pillar set up in the centre of a Buddhist stūpa in order to hold the umbrella and an octagonal *āyaka* pillar with a hemispherical and fluted top to be found in the stūpas of Āndhradēśa. This leads to the reasonable inference that many of the caityas were thus converted into Śaivite shrines. Buddha worship is noticed in Āndhradēśa till as late as the 12th century but the Buddha that was worshipped was not the exclusive saviour or the lord paramount of the Bauddhas but obviously an avatār of Viṣṇu.

Kānchī in the South was a peculiar cosmopolitan centre during this period. There was a Rajavihāra, evidently patronised by royalty, and hundred other Buddhist monasteries round about the city. A Jina-kanchi flourished about two miles from the city and attracted large numbers of people. In the city itself there were two parts, Śiva-kanci and Viṣṇu-knaci, so called after the principal shrines and their deities.

#### *Education*

This was a period of remarkable educational and cultural progress. Revived Hinduism lead necessarily to a revived interest in ancient learning and inspired new interpretations and new adaptations of the sacred texts during this wonderfully creative epoch in Indian history. The intensity of the religious activity, the frequency of polemical debates and the large variety of cults that had to be propagated, required numbers of well educated and technically equipped people. A number of educational institutions came into existence in order to cope with this situation and developed vigorously. The princes of the time were all conscious of their supreme duty of encouraging and aiding all educational activity and dispensing patronage to all religions. The heads of the new religions were organising a number

of denominational and sectarian institutions for training the personnel required for the purpose of propaganda.

The Ghaṭikā was an important educational institution in the early part of this period and numerous Ghaṭikās flourished all over the Dakkan and South India. These were private academies of scholars which regulated their own working, prescribed their own standards of efficiency and organised frequent debates and discussions on educational and cultural subjects. Their membership mounted to thousands and ability to initiate a debate in a Ghaṭikā and obtain distinction as a successful debator was a coveted objective of the scholars of the time. Many of these institutions obtained royal patronage and were able to pursue their work with undivided attention.

The temple was the greatest and most-powerful organisation of the later times and unique, as such, to the Dakkan and South India. It was a huge institution with numerous auxiliary bodies and catered to the moral, social, cultural, educational and aesthetic needs of the community living in its neighbourhood. One of the important auxiliary bodies attached to the temple was the college. One part of the temple was set apart for housing a college and its teachers and pupils. Kings and enlightened individuals made liberal endowments for the maintenance of these devotees of learning. The general curricula in these colleges included important subjects like Vēdā, Vēdmāga, Itihāsa, Purāṇā, Vyākaraṇa and the six systems of philosophy which were taught by teachers of ripe scholarship and mature experience.

The Maṭha was another institution that played a prominent part in the spread of education during this period. Each of the principal religions and sects established numerous maṭhas all over the country and these were special institutions which gave their students thorough grounding in the sacred texts commonly accepted by all the religions and in their own books and doctrines.

The monarchs of the time extended their patronage not only to institutions but also to individual scholars and groups of them. Several scholars of repute used to receive liberal grants of land known as the Bhaṭṭavrtti and these relieved them of all mundane cares. Groups of scholars were settled in Brahmapuris and agrahāras and were exempted from the normal financial and other obligations to the state. These settlements of scholars attracted hundreds of students from far and near and ably supplemented the labours of colleges and universities.

Celebrated universities flourished in Northern India during this period. Nālandā, the Oxford of the east, with its renowned teachers, famous library and high standards continued to flourish. The universities of Vikramasīla and Uddaṇḍapurī supplemented the work of this university. All these

centres of learning were destroyed by the followers of the first Muslim rulers of Delhi and became the earliest victims of the large scale cultural tragedy that was enacted in Northern India in subsequent times.

*Literary activity*

This was a period of wonderful and varied literary activity. Prākṛit lost its importance as the language of the courts and of literary effort. Sanskrit was zealously cultivated and liberally patronised all over the country. Vernacular languages like Telugu and Kannada rose into prominence during this period, progressed rapidly and obtained literary dignity. Tamil continued to flourish and several new works were added to its literature, already wide. The Jainas, who were very active in the earlier periods, cultivated these vernacular languages enthusiastically and became the pioneers of literary effort in them.

Many of the princes of this time were highly cultured and possessed poetic talent of a very high order. Some of them were polymaths. Pallava Mahēndravarmaṇ I, Cālukya Guṇāgavijayāditya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsa, Cālukya Somēśvara, Cāhamāna Viśāladēva, Vākpati-Munja, Paramāra Bhoja and Kakāti Rudradēva were some of the renowned poet-princes of this period.

Sanskrit literature produced during this period covered a very wide range of subjects and many writers of talent flourished in various regions. Among writers of *Kāvya*s mention may be made of Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Trivikrama, Sodhala, Kṣēmēndra, Visvanātha, Narasimha, Agastya, Śākalyamalla, Kavirāja, Jinasēna, Śriharsa, Mankha, Jayadēva, Dhoyika, Bilhaṇa, Padmagupta, Hēmacandra, Somadēva, Jayānka and Kalhaṇa. Many famous works were written on poetics the prominent among them being those of Halāyudha, Rājaśekhara, Ānandavardhana, Mummaṭa, Dhanamjya, Dhanika, Bhoja and Vidyānātha. Many dramatists like Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara, Kṛṣṇamiśra, and Agastya flourished during this period. Halāyudha, Yādavabhaṭṭi and Mahēśvara were some of the famous lexicographers. On the side of philosophy the great works of Kūmārila, Śrī Śankara, Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Madhva constituted outstanding contributions while the writings of Maṇḍanamīra and Vācaspatimiśra occupy the next place of importance. Astronomy was another subject which received much attention during this period and the works of Āryabhaṭṭa II, Lalla, Bhāskarācārya, Bhaṭṭotpala, and Śrīpati were valuable additions. Mahāvīrācārya, Śrīdhara and Bhāskara made important contributions to the allied subject of Mathematics. Somadēva, Hēmacandra, Bhoja, Caṇḍēśvara Kāmandaka and Śukra wrote valuable works on politics while the works of Śākaṭāyana and Kramadīśvara on Grammar are of outstanding merit. Vāgbhaṭa and Sārangadhara were distinguished writers on technical sciences. Sārṅgadēva and Jāyasēnāpati were celebrated authors of

important works on Dance and Music. The *Mitāksara* of Viñānēśvar and the *Caturvargacintāmani* of Hēmādri were works honoured and respected all over.

Among the vernacular literatures which were considerably enriched during this period mention should first be made of Tamil. The later Palavas were good patrons of this language. The *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyira prabandham* hymns and the *Tiruvācakam* and *Tirukkovai* of Mānikka vāsagar were of great value. The age of the Coḷas was the silver age of Tamil literature. A variety of works of high literary merit were produced during this period. The *Sūḍāmaṇi*, the *Nandikkalamlam*, *Bhārataveṇba*, *Rājarājavijayam*, *Kulottungacoḷacaritai*, *Perungada*, *Sivakasūḍāmaṇi*, *Kuṇṇalakeśi*, *Kaḷingaṭṭuparaṇi*, *Naḷavēnba*, and Kamba's *Ramayaṇa* were some of the best Tamil *Kāvya*s of this period. On the side of philosophy and religion the *Tiruvāyimoḷi* and the *Tirumoḷai*, the canonical forms of the celebrated songs of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, the *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Śivanā nabodam* of Meykandār are of great importance. The *Yāpparungaḷam* a work on prosody written by a Jaina poet named Amitābha, the *Danḍiya lamkāram*, the *Nānnūl*, a work on Grammar, and the *Pingalāṇḍai* and the *Cūḍāmaṇi*, two lexicons, were other valuable additions made.

Appreciable progress was achieved by Kannada literature during this period. Pampa, a migrant from the Āndhra country, wrote the *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjunavijaya* and came to be hailed as the *ādikavi*. Asanga Jinacandra, Ponna, the *Ubhayakavicaḅravartin* author of the *Śāntipurāṇa* and *Camuṇḍaraya* were other celebrated authors.

Literary effort in the Telugu language was comparatively late in its origin but made up for this in quantity and quality. Rajaraja, the Vēngī Cāḷu kyan prince of the 11th century, inspired the first literary work, the *Mahā bhāratamu*, which was started by Nannaya and completed by Tikkana and Errana. These are honoured as the *kavitraja* and their work is considered even to this day, as the standard of literary excellence. Nannaya started the *mārga* school of Telugu poetry and was followed by Nannecoḍa, Kēṭana Mancena, Bhāskara, Tippana and others. Tikkana *alias* Tikkanasomayāj was the outstanding personality in the later day Telgu literary world. The religious movements which galvanised life in the Āndhra country during the 11th and 12th centuries influenced literary effort in a remarkable way. Several gifted writers like Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita and Pāḷkuriki Somānath started the *dēśi* school of Telgu poetry and produced great works of high literary merit though primarily intended for Śaiva propaganda. They revived several of the *dēśi* metres and used them for the preparation of propagandist literature. The *Rāmāyana* was also written in the *dēśi* metre during the Kakatīya period.

#### *Administration*

This is a period of great interest to the student of polity. Change

of a remarkable nature were taking place in the evolution of the administrative machinery. With the progressive increase in the size of the states the central government had to undergo certain corresponding changes. Centralisation became an urgent necessity and this enhanced the value and prestige of monarchy. All power came to be centralised in the monarch and this led to the assumption of grand titles as tokens thereof. The popular assemblies, which had been playing a prominent and useful part in the previous epochs, gradually disappeared and left the monarch supreme and free to enjoy undivided and unfettered sovereignty. As settled conditions prevailed and as life became more and more complicated the state was called upon to fulfil more and more of its positive functions and it soon became a welfare state looking after the multifarious needs of the people and providing increasing facilities for the alround development of a progressive community.

Monarchy became the only prevailing type and all other forms of state organisation disappeared. The Gaṇa form became a thing of the past. Heredity and primogeniture were the accepted methods of regulating the succession to the throne though there were frequent departures. There are stray instances of kings like Gopāla and Nandīvarman being elected. Breaks in the regular succession were frequent in the Dakkan and there were numerous wars of succession, usurpations and depositions. The state ceased to be looked upon as a matter of trust and came to be considered the personal property of the king and his family. Women were not debarred from succession and there were many enlightened and efficient woman-rulers. Monarchy obtained a new halo and its proteges invested it with the might, valour and glory of the best and most celebrated of gods. Not only the monarch but everything associated with him, his household, his daily routine, his court and even his death came to be glorified. Sepulchral temples came to be built and gods named after monarchs. The monarchs vied with each other in maintaining pomp and show of a Byzantine character.

As the business of the state increased, the number of departments came to be multiplied. These *niyogas* had each an *adhipati* and there was a kind of chief-secretary to the government known by the name of *Bāhattari-niyogādhipati*. There was a regular hierarchy of officials distributed among all levels of government. There was no cabinet or Mantriparishad; ministers were appointed and consulted in their individual capacity. There were several categories among them, *mahāpradhani*, *pradhani*, *amātya* etc. These offices became hereditary and their holders owed personal loyalty and allegiance to the monarch. During the Kākatīya period a kind of quasi-feudal system known as the *Nāyamkara* system was introduced as a measure of administrative convenience and this system was adopted and developed by the rulers of Vijayanagara subsequently.

If monarchy assumed importance at the top the popular and demo-

cratic element asserted itself at the bottom of the administrative machine and became predominant in the sphere of local government. Village assemblies known as Sabhas, containing elected representatives of the people, took over the administration of the villages and discharged this duty with admirable efficiency. These Sabhas functioned through several committees and had clear cut rules of procedure.

The old names of territorial division like the *ādīāra*, *patha* and *rāstra* fell into disuse and new names like the *nāḍu valnāḍu*, *śīma*, *sthala*, *maugalam*, *ūr* etc. came into vogue.

#### *Art and Architecture*

This was one of the most remarkable and creative periods in the history of Indian art. Notable experiments were made in all fields and endless variety of form, pattern and style were produced. The Nāgara, Vēsara and Drāviḍa forms of the temple *sikhara* were developed and perfected. There were two main currents of development, cave architecture and structural architecture. The glorious traditions of the Sātavāhana period were continued in the South and developed and adapted so as to suit time, faith and individual taste.

The cave and rock-cut monuments of this period are either brāhmanical or Jaina, and are concentrated at Ellora, Elephanta and Mahābalipuram. The Indrasabha and the Jagannātha sabha at Ellora with their lavish carvings, exquisite pillars and protusion of sculptures are Jaina cave temples of outstanding merit belonging to the 9th-10th centuries. Among the brāhmanical cave monuments of the same group the Dumarlena, with its elegant massive pillars with ribbed cushion-capitals and the Kailāsa, which marks the culmination of Indian rock-cut architecture, are magnificent creations. The magnitude of excavation combined with greatness of conception and high quality of rich plastic embellishment makes the Kailasa the queen of Indian architecture. Elephanta, the second centre, affords to the student of art and architecture a variety of massiveness, elegance and proportion. Mahābalipuram in the far-south was a veritable laboratory of architectural experiments. The rock-cut *rathas*, executed during the reign of Pallava Narasimhavarman Rājasimbha, bequeathed to posterity all possible and conceivable models of structural development and laid the foundations of most of the later day temple monuments of South India besides inspiring and influencing the architectural forms of Indonesia.

The development of the structural art of this period shows an equally immense variety, vigour and grace. There were, in the early stages, several experimental centres like the Bijapur district, Tanjore, Kāncī and Mysore, where several architectural movements got localised and underwent exclusive development. The Bijapur district witnessed remarkable experimentation which led ultimately to the evolution of two distinct styles of temple *Sikhara* adopted in Northern and Southern India. The Papanātha temple *Sikhara*

of Paṭṭadakal inspired the northern variety while the *Sikhara* of the Virūpākṣa temple set the pattern for the southern *sikhara*. Aihole and Bādāmi also contain fine models of the Cālukyan temple. The Pallavas carried out another interesting experiment and raised the Shore Temple, Mahābalipuram and the Kailāsanātha and Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temples of Kāncī. The Coḷas, who succeeded the Pallavas in this region gave a new individuality to temple building and the examples of their style are Brahadiśvara temple of Tanjore and the monuments of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram. The Pāṇḍyas, who rose next to hegemony in the South, encouraged massiveness and elaboration and added two new features—the addition of numerous *Prākāras* to the main shrine and the setting up of gigantic *gopūras* at the entrance of the outermost *prākāra*. The best examples of the Paṇḍyan style are to be found at Chidāmbaram, Śrīrangam and Tiruvaṅṅāmalai. The Hōysalas of Mysore sponsored a new movement which paid greater attention to massiveness and details and encouraged the profuse employment of the art of the jeweller and the ivory carver on granite and sandstone which are abundantly illustrated by the monuments of Śomanāthapūr, Halebid and Bēlūr.

In the North, the *sikhara* of the 6th-7th centuries was developed and reproduced in endless varieties and forms and adorned numerous temples in the vast area bound by the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhya in the south, Orissā and Kaṅga in the east and Kathiawād in the west. Here too, there were many local and regional schools as those exemplified by the temples of Pahārpūr, Nalanda and Ahicchatra; the Orissan style with its best examples at Bhuvanēśvar, Pūri and Konārak; the Chandēlla school with its best specimen at Khajurāho and Khandarya-Mahadeo; the Gwalior style exemplified by the Sasbāhu and Tēlikamandir temples and the western Indian style with its famous examples at Paṭan, Muḍhēra, Kanod, Mount Ābu and Siddhāpūr.

As in the field of architecture so in the field of sculpture there was praiseworthy progress. The majestic temples of Bādāmi, Ainole, Ellora, Elephanta, Mahābalipuram, Tanjore, Halebid and Bēlūr are veritable mines of sculptural gems. The vastness and elaborate carving of these temples robbed their sculptures of their individuality and relegated them to a subordinate position. Still, studied by itself, the elegance, grace and variety of the sculpture of this period bring out the great skill and technical perfection of its artists.

Portable images of gods and goddesses were in great demand in this age of religious revivalism and temple building activity. Fine bronzes of both the brāhmanical and Buddhist deities were produced during this period. Pala bronzes from the Kurkiar and Gaya districts in the north and the Coḷa bronzes of South India, and particularly the famous image of Naṭarāja-Siva, constitute some of the artistic marvels of this period.

The allied art of painting also made rapid progress during this period. Some of the best examples are to be seen at Sittan, Navāsāl, Tanjore and Madanpore. As a healthy reaction to large scale painting miniature art came to be practiced during this period and took the shape of illumination of manuscripts. Buddhist works in Bengal and Jaina and Vaisṇava works in Gujarat came to be illuminated by skilled artists and their work added beauty and grace to the perfection of calligraphy.

#### *Foreign Invasions*

This was a period of foreign invasions of a remarkable nature and far reaching consequences. India was not new to this kind of menace. She was invaded in the previous centuries by many outsiders like the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Yeuchi and the Hūṇas. But the invasions of the previous period differed fundamentally from those of the period under review. This difference is to be clearly seen in the psychology of the invaders, their methods of operation and the results of their invasions. The Greeks, who in the years that followed the death of Alexander, established independent kingdoms in the regions across the borders of India, had to expand into the Punjab as a matter of necessity. They lost contact with their home country, were marooned in the areas of their rule, embraced the local religions, imbibed the local cultures and ultimately got absorbed into the local population. The Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Yeuchi and the Hūṇas were nomads who moved from place to place in search of food and habitat. They had hardly any settled notions of faith, worship and refined life. Victory was easy and political power easier for them but both were very short lived. They too soon lost their individuality and came to be merged in the local population. All these invaders thus became welcome additions to the population of India and evolved into useful citizens and zealous defenders of the country of their adoption in the hour of peril. The Muslims, who invaded this country during this period, were different. Their repeated invasions, easy victories, consequent settlement in this country and attainment of long lived political power did not lead to the healthy consequences of the incoming of other outsiders but resulted in producing disastrous consequences. This was due to certain fundamental differences in the mental make up, motivation and atmosphere of these invaders. The Arab conquest of Sindh was a measure of vengeance and retaliation. Muhammad of Ghazni was already the ruler of a kingdom and his main ambition was plunder. Muhammad of Ghor was spurred by the territorial ambition. These invaders had a prophet, settled modes of worship, settled notions of socio-economic organisation and patterns of life and culture. In addition to these distinguishing factors there was the motive of plunder and the common inspiration of religion. Peaceful persuasion, polemical discussions and the force of example were not the methods of their proselytisation. The sword was employed as the universal panacea. Either victory or

nothing else, conversion or annihilation, these were the guiding objectives. Forced conversions, wanton annihilation of thousands of human beings and calculated destruction to beautiful monuments and cultural institutions, these became the order of the day. The land of Gautama and Aśoka came to be infested by the hordes of Ghazni and Ghor regions in which the doctrines of *ahimsa* and universal love still echoed had to witness a ferocious display of *himsa* and hatred; and areas in which wealth and plenty overflowed came to be covered by streams of innocent human blood. As this process of foreign conquest and consolidation progressed the local people were forced to witness one of the greatest tragedies of history. A great nation which had built one of the greatest cultures and religions of the world was cowed down into subjection through the use of all imaginable forms of hatred and fury and made the unfortunate and helpless witness of the calculated destruction of its own meritorious achievements.

#### *Linguistic Regions*

The period under review witnessed the gradual emergence of definite and easily distinguishable linguistic regions in the South. This was the cumulative result of several factors which were at work simultaneously. This was an age of strong and powerful dynasties of decent longevity. The territories of the leading states were, more or less, permanently fixed and zealously guarded. The imperial struggles of the period were mere age-long quarrels and did not lead to any substantial alterations in territories or dynastic extinction. Nor were there group migrations or dynastic drifts. Consequently, the members of the ruling houses were, like their subjects, the children of the soil and were wedded to the maintenance of the integrity of their states. Thus large areas became the common heritage and the common concern of the rulers and the ruled alike. Another contributory factor was the progress of vernacular literatures. The brāhmanical revival of the 3rd-4th centuries brought in a revival of the Sanskrit language also but this could neither stifle nor suppress the up-surge of the *dēśī* languages. The pioneering efforts of the Jainas and the patronage of the courts gave these *dēśī* languages a new status and a new force. Ultimately, large territories, large numbers of people and these *dēśī* languages came to be welded into an indissoluble union. These languages played a double role. They both united large numbers who spoke a particular language in to a new fellowship and also divided them from groups speaking other languages. This dual role developed linguistic consciousness along with linguistic unity. When territorial consciousness was added to it, the mental make up of large numbers of people was complete. A common language, a common literature, and a common heritage particular to a territory and a language gave the people a psychological cohesion based upon a territorial existence. Thus were evolved the large

regions which came to be well known in contemporary literature and lithic records as Āndhra, Mahā āshtra, Karṇāṭaka and Dravida.

#### *Contrasts*

This period abounds in clear and sharp contrasts. Success and failure, hope and despondency, stagnation and activity are found widely scattered all over the country. There was a remarkable political diversity amidst a sustaining and inspiring cultural unity and a dominating common outlook on life. When in the years following the death of Harsavardhana, the Indo-Gangetic plain was enveloped by chaos, confusion and competition, the equally vast area of the Dakkan was being steadily brought under the benign protection and secure guidance of the Cāllukyas of Bādāmi and South India was watching, with bated breath, the varied experiments of Pallava Mahēndravarma I in the fields of music, literature and architecture. When in the second decade of the 8th century, Sindh was being overwhelmed by the sudden avalanche of Arab invasion and when its brahman ruler, Dahīr, was pouring out his life's blood in the memorable field of Raor, Nandivarma Pallavamalla was busy with schemes of persistent conquest and Saint Tirumangai Āḷwār was electrifying the emotional susceptibilities of the people with glorious praises of Viṣṇu. When in the 11th century, Coḷa imperialism, entering upon its climatic phase, was making triumphal marches in Ceylon and Indonesia and when Rājēndra Cola, the votary of the southern Kāvērī, fixed his *vijayaskandhārā* on the banks of the northern Ganga and was washing his blood-stained sword in the cleansing waters of that river, the Hindu Shāhīa kings of Udahhāṇḍapura were performing memorable feats of self-immolation before a bloodthirsty monster all with the forlorn and unrealisable hope of saving their country from imminent destruction. When in the first three decades of the 11th century the forces of murder, rapine and plunder were riding rough-shod over the plains of Uttarāpatha, the people of the south continued to enjoy abundance of peace, prosperity, and progress under the benevolent care of successive royal dynasties. When the iconoclastic fury of the ruthless invader from Ghazni razed edifice after edifice to the ground at Mathura, Delhi, Umākot and Somanāthpūr tall and majestic *sikhoras* of massive and highly decorated temples were soaring into the clouds at Tanjore, at Kāncī, at Chidambaram and in the artistic plains of Mysore as a un-premeditated but substantially true measure of southern compensation for a northern loss. While hordes of merciless foreigners were penetrating into the celebrated citadels of learning, hounding scholars and pupils out of places of safety and seclusion and reducing the repositories of learning to heaps of ashes in the north, the exponents of Vēdānta and Bhakti in the south were carrying on polemical wars, shaking accepted beliefs in their mightiest strongholds and offering newer and more edible condiments to allay the spiritual hunger of the *jigñāsus* of the time.

When in the north large numbers of people were forced to accept, as an inevitable necessity, foreign rule with its necessary and initial concomitants of suppression, suspicion and discrimination, those in the south started a people's war on a multi-central front, liberated large tracts of land and utilised their avenging and retaliatory energy in the foundation of the famous city and empire of Vijayanagara, a unique and unparalleled feature of Indian history.

Another clear element of contrast inherent in this period is contained in the dominance of the south in all walks of life. When Kautilya and his protege Chandragupta were building the mighty Mauryan empire and consolidating the political unity of Uttarāpatha, states and principalities were mostly in the nascent condition in the South. When mighty monarchs like Samudragupta and his son Vikramāditya were building the third large empire of the north, the rulers of the south were busy dismembering and appropriating the atrophied limbs of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana empire. The scales of the political balance were definitely turned in favour of the South soon after the death of Harsa. As against a Bindusāra, who is inferentially credited with the conquest of the Dakkan, and a Samudragupta, who led a brilliant but otherwise inconsequential campaign to the south and a Harsa who made an abortive attempt in the same direction there was a Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi, who penetrated into the heart of Uttarāpatha and brought to the south the symbols of the Gangā and the Yamunā and the *pālidhvaja*, the insignia of royalty in that region. Dnruva, Govinda III and Indra III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family conducted successful inroads into the Gangā-Yamunā doab and checkmated the imperial progress of the Pratihāras and the Pālas. The Nāyanārs and the Ālwars who rose the lower rungs of the social ladder and brought hope and salvation from the high intellectual pedestal on which they were placed by the philosophers of the time to the door of the common man, Śri Śankara, Śri Rāmānuja and Śri Madhva, the celebrated founders of the three schools of Védānta, do not find their opposite numbers in the northern India of the period. The immense variety and unparalleled originality in the artistic creations of this period as well as the comparative stability and longevity of the ruling houses are other points illustrative of the same feature.

## MAHĀKAVICHAKRAVARTIN CHHITTAPA

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A number of stanzas composed by a poet named Chhittapa are known from the Sanskrit anthologies, although no complete work of the poet has as yet been discovered. The poet's name is sometimes also quoted as Chittapa, Chhit-tipa, Chhinnama and Chhitrama. The *pratīkas* of Chhittapa's verses quoted in the anthologies have been all collected by F. W. Thomas in his excellent introduction to the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* (Calcutta, 1912, pp. 37 ff). While only one stanza of this poet is given in the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* which is assigned to a date "not later than 1200 A. D." (op. cit., p. 5) Śrīdharadāsa in his *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*, compiled in 1205-06 A. D. (not "in the twelfth century" as indicated by Thomas, op. cit., p. 7) at the court of king Lakshamaṇasēna of Bengal, quotes no less than thirtynine of Chhittapa's verses including the one in the *kavīndravachanasamuchchaya*. Among later works, the poet is represented by one stanza in the *Subhāshitahārāvalī* of Harikavi, by two stanzas in both the *Alankārakaustubha* and the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, and by seven stanzas in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhana. Seven of the above verses are quoted in the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*, by the Paramāra king Bhoja (circa 1010-55 A. D.). Many of these stanzas have been quoted in other works such as the *Sūktiratnāvalī* (by Vaidyanātha), *Subhāshitāvalī*, *Subhāshitasāñchaya*, *Padyaveṇī* (by Veṇīdatta), *Padyaracharā*, *Sārasamgraha* (by Śambhudāsa), *Subhāshitaratnaśoṣa* (by Bhaṭṭa Śrīkrishṇa), *Sārasamgrahasudhārṇava* (by Bhaṭṭa Govindajit), *Padyatarangiṇī* (by Vajranātha), etc., etc. But often they are attributed to an unknown author (*kasy=āpi*), or to various other authors like Simhadatta, Navakara, Dākshīṇātya, Akālalajalada and Hanumat, or to a work like the *Bhojaprabandha*.

A stanza attributed to Chhittapa in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (III, 36) reads as follows :

*Vālmikēh katamo=si kas=tvam=athavā Vyāsasya yēn=aisa bhoh ślāghyah  
syāt=tava Bhoja—bhūpati—bhujā—stambha—stutāv=udyamāh panguh parvatam=  
ārurūksasi vidhu—sparśam karen=ehasē dorbhyām sāgaram=uttitīrsasi yadi  
brūmah kim=atr=ottaram*

There is no doubt that Chhittapa was a contemporary (probably a court poet) of a king named Bhoja. This ruler has been rightly identified with the Paramāra monarch of that name. Thomas observes, "The rather numerous citations in the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* are, therefore, by a contemporary" (op. cit., p. 40). But his note on the date of Chhittapa reads: "contemporary of Bhoja, tenth century" (op. cit., p. 37), although elsewhere in the same work the Paramāra king is correctly assigned to the eleventh

century (*op. cit.*, p. 63). The dates of the known inscriptions of Bhoja range between Vikrama Samvat 1076 and 1103 (i.e. between 1020 and 1047 A.D.) He died in or sometime before Vikrama Samvat 1112 (1055-56 A. D.) when his son and successor, Jayasimha is known to have issued the Māndhātā copper-plate grant (Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 865). According to a tradition recorded in the *Bhojaprabandha*, Bhoja's reign lasted for about 55½ years. We may tentatively assign the rule of this Paramāra king to circa 1010-55 A. D. Bhoja's contemporary (probably, court poet) Chhittapa must have flourished about the first half of the eleventh century.

In the course of my tour in certain Districts of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān about the end of the last and the beginning of the present year I happened to visit Bhilsā in the old Gwalior State during the second half of January (1953) last. While staying at the Dak Bungalow at Bhilsā I was glad to examine the sculptures exhibited in the open air museum in the compound of the Dak Bungalow itself. I was told that they were mostly collected by a local enthusiast named Rajmal Jain Madavaiyā, although the Archaeological Department of the Madhya Bharat Government has, of late, taken some interest in (cf. *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for the Samvats 1998-2002 (years 1942-46, pp. 1-2)*) It is really a pity that the relics, some of which are of considerable interest could not be provided with a shelter and have remained exposed to the sun and rain. They were apparently more secure from the ravages of time when they were hidden in the earth.

One of the most interesting things that I found in the open air museum in the compound of the Bhilsā Dak Bungalow is a big piece of stone, the upper half of which contains an inscription in Nāgarī characters of about the eleventh century A. D. Portions of the inscribed stone have broken away from the top and left hand sides, and the inscription is consequently damaged. But a few minutes' examination of the stone on the spot revealed to me that the concluding two lines of the inscription contain the following two interesting passages :

(1) *kṛitir=iyam mahākavichkravartti—paṇḍita śrī—chohhi(chhi)ttapasya;*

(2) *kārit=ēyam damdanāyaka—śrī—chandrēna.*

The record incised on the stone was thus composed by a poet named Chhittapa who enjoyed the title *Mahākavichkravartin* and it was caused to be incised by Chandra whose official designation was *Daṇḍanāvaka* (commander of an army). It at once occurred to me that this *Mahākavichkravartin* Chhittapa was no other than the poet of that name who was very probably a court poet of the great Paramāra king Bhoja. I fully realised the importance of the inscription but was wondering why it did not so far attract the attention of scholars, which it so obviously deserved. This was specially unintelligible to me in view of the fact that the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bharat), thanks to the energy of Mr. M. B. Garde,

(retired Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State), is one of the few tracts in India which have been fairly thoroughly explored, notices of the results of epigraphical discoveries in that area being placed before scholars from time to time in learned annual reports. On investigation it was found that this unfortunate neglect of a composition of Chhittapa was due to the failure of the archaeological officers of the Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat) in reading and interpreting the inscription in question.

At page 25 of the report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State, referred to above, the said inscription has been noticed as follows: "The other inscription, also a loose fragment picked up in ruins, is written in old Nāgarī script assignable to the 12th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds. This is broken at the top and the left side. It seems to have been a *praśasti* recording the merits of a distinguished personage, perhaps a king or a minister, who is compared to the sun but whom, very unlike the sun, Rāhu could not hold in his grips. As the inscription is badly mutilated its object cannot be made out. The *praśasti* was composed by Mahākavi-chakravartī Paṇḍita Śrī-Dvittapa (?) at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Śrī-Chandra." Unfortunately the name of the poet is very clearly *Chchhi* (*Chhi*) *ttapa* and certainly not *Dvittapa* (as read with a query in the report) while the inscription is a eulogy of the Sun-god certainly not a *praśasti* of a king or minister. A similar erroneous notice of the same record is found in another publication of the Archaeological Department of the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat). At page 92 (No. 666) of Harihar Nivās Divedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (in Hindī), among other misleading details, the name of the poet has been quoted as *Dvitraya* which is even more incorrect.

The ancient city of Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā on the other side of the Betwā, ancient Vētravati) which was the capital of the Akara or Daśārṇa *janapada* (East Mālwā) gave place to Bhilsā in the early medieval period. It is believed that the name Bhilsā (properly Bhelsā) is derived from that of the Sun-god worshipped in a great temple in the city under the name Bhailasvāmin.

The city of Bhailasvāmin is mentioned in an inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1190=1133 A. D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 208). An inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1229 (1173 A. D.) in the Udayēśvara temple at Udaypur (Bhilsā District) gives the name of the *maṇḍala* or district around the temple as Bhailasvāmi-maha-dvādaśaka or 'the Bhailasvāmin 12' (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 347 ff.). But this name was based on that of the chief city of the district. The antiquity of the worship of the Sun-god Bhailasvāmin at Bhilsā cannot be determined. But it is not impossible that Bhāsvat on the Mālava-nadī (possibly the Vetravati or Betwā), mentioned in an inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1011 (954 A. D.) is no other than Bhilsā (*Ep.*

Ind., Vol. I., pp. 124 ff.). In that case, Bhailasvāmin may have been known as Bhāsvat in the tenth century A. D.

That the Bhilsā region formed a part of the dominions of Bhoja appears to be indicated by several Paramāra inscriptions discovered at that city and its neighbourhood (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1657, 1658, etc). *Dand-anāyaka* Chandra, mentioned in the inscription under discussion was possibly the governor of the Bhilsā region under Paramāra Bhoja. He was devoted to the Sun-god of Bhilsā and seems to have requested the poet Chhittapa to compose a *praśasti* of the god to be engraved on a piece of stone for embedded in a wall of the Sun-god's temple. This fact may suggest that Chhittapa was an inhabitant of the Bhilsā area, although we cannot be definite on this point. The title *Mahākavichakravartir* seems to have been conferred on the poet by the Paramāra king Bhoja.

That Chhittapa was a poet of considerable merit is already known from the Sanskrit anthologies. But, as has been noted above, all the anthologists were not unanimous on the correct form of his name. Moreover some of the stanzas attributed to Chhittapa in one anthology are assigned to an unknown or a different source in another. In the circumstances, the inscription under discussion, which appears to have been engraved during the life time of the poet and may be regarded as the only *khaḍḍakavya* of Chhittapa so far discovered, is of inestimable value. The whole of the *praśasti* of the Sun-god, quoted in the inscription, is written in the Anuṣṭubh metre. As already indicated above, some of the stanzas cannot be fully made out owing to the mutilated condition of the stone. We quote below the stanzas in the inscription which have been completely deciphered together with a few of the imperfectly read verses.

Rāhus = tvaḍ—rochishe druhyan = na hatas = te = nujan manā. |  
 śiro lūtv = api duṣṭe rau yechanā—Kauśalam hi tat. ||  
 tejas = tav = arddram = ārdreshu krūram krūrestu jrimbhate |  
 bhakt - ābhīpraya - nighnasya chandrā—kshate ||  
 phaṇḍ—maṇishu Śeshasya muktā—manishu toyadhab |  
 tārā—maṇishu cha vyomnās = tava rochir = virochate ||  
 tava samkrāntam = eṇānke chakravāle payomuchi |  
 dyotir = jyotsn = eti sandhy = eti suradhanv = eti giyato ||  
 .....lāksl ā mada - rāgam kapalayoh |  
 payodhara—taṭe te = rchchih pratīchyāh kumkuma—dravah ||  
 Svarbhānust = vām na grihṇāti kriḍālolah kalāvati |  
 antarddhatse tvām = abjinyāh premṇo hi kutīla gaṭih ||  
 na tath = onnidram = abj - āsyā.....si padminīm |  
 nūnam vikatthano - rthena śabdena tvam vikarttanah ||  
 dyam = aling = abjinīm chumba śray = āpachīm vraj ottarām |

raja prāchyām pratīchyām vā dina - śris=tvān=na mumchati ||

.....  
 rochamānam punah sa tvām=ahnam=ante =nugachchhati ||  
 pūrvvam=utthīyate prātah paśchāt=samviśyate niśi |  
 aho sugrihiṇī - vrittam=ūshasā te=nugrihyate ||

.....  
 kura - sparśe=pi te nath dyaur =nimīlita - taraka |  
 y=āsau sarvvānga - samkrāntā navdmah kim karishyati ||  
 .....chandra - tāḍankah prāchyām sandhy—āmsukam divah |  
 hriyate=h=oḍuhāraś=cha pūrṇa=pātram tav=āgame ||  
 prāchyām=udgachchhato yātuh pratīchīm ślishyato divam |  
 svadat nātha bahvīshu pratipattih pryāsu te ||  
 tamo bhettum yathā bāhyam tath=āntaram=ap - īśish |  
 tav=edaye yathā rātris=tathā nidr =āpi naśyati ||

.....  
 ino=sy=ārko=si sūryo=si paryapt=ety=eva te stutih ||

It will be seen that Chhittapa's style is simple and that some of the stanzas are certainly worthy of a great poet. As regards the idea occurring in one of the stanzas, quoted above, that the moonlight is nothing but the sun's rays reflected on the moon, Professor P. C. Sengupta refers us, among other works, to Varāhamihira quoted by Prithūdaka in his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakālyaka* and the *Sūryasiddhānta* quoted by Utpala (966 A. D.) in his celebrated commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brihat Samhitā*. The idea is also traceable in such literary and epigraphic texts as Canto III, verse 22, of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* and lines 24-35 of the Hāyungthal copper-plate inscription of king Harjaravarman of Assam (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 51). Mallinātha's commentary on the said verse of the *Raghuvamśa*, which makes the notion of the Indians of old on this point absolutely clear, runs as follows: *atra Varāhasamhitā--vachanam "salilamaye śaśini raver = dīdhitaye mūrchchhitās = tamo naiśam kshapayanti darpaṇ—odara—nihitā iva mandirasy = āntar" iti; yathā darpaṇ—odara—praveśitā kauśalena grihābhyantaram nītās = cha ravi—dīdhitayas = tad—gatam = andhakāram nāsayati tatkā svataḥ salilamaye chandre tāh pratīphalitā naiśam tamo ghnant = ity = arthah*. But the other idea occurring in the same verse that the rain-bow is produced by the sun's rays falling on the dripping clouds does not appear to be quite popular with the classical Sanskrit poets, although it is supported by modern scientific observation as well.

## THE PRTHIVĪPATI COLLATERAL LINE OF THE WESTERN GĀNGAS

DR. A. R. BAJI

Among the allies of the Pallavas of Kāñcī in the decisive battle of Śrī Purambiyam the most outstanding was Prthivīpati, the first member of a Gānga collateral line of four member tracing their descent from Śivemāra II Saigoṭṭa. Only a few records of the Prthivīpati family are available us.<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to draw on this evidence of these records as also those of the contemporary monarchs of the ruling houses of Kāñcī, iyūr, Mānyakhēṭa and Maṇṇenagara for determining the circumstances leading to the foundation of this branch line. An attempt will also be made to establish the kind of relations that subsisted between Prthivīpati I and his contemporaries, Rājamalla I and Nītimārga I of the direct line. An effort will also be made to locate the territory covered by the Prthivīpati dominion.

The family records are of little help in our search for the political factors responsible for the establishment of a collateral line. These will have to be deduced from the history of the main line, particularly of the period following the death of Sivamāra II. During the latter's life time he had to suffer imprisonment in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison at Kummadvāḍa in the Belgaum district<sup>2</sup> on two separate occasions for attempts to raise the flag of revolt against the new masters of the Deccani dominion of the Cālukyas.<sup>3</sup> During these periods of his incarceration the Mālkhēḍ rulers were careful in appointing their viceregal representatives in Gangavāḍi to keep watch on Gānga affairs and to nip efforts at rebellion in the bud.<sup>4</sup> The presence of these crown representatives only increased the spirit of hostility on the part of the Gānga princes. Śivamāra's son, Yuvarāja Mārasimha Loka-Trinētra, governing Gangavāḍi during his father's second

1. The most important of these are (a) the Udayendiram Copper Plate grant (S.I.I. Vol. II, No. 76), (b) The Takkolam inscription (E.I. XIX, No. 12), (c) the Ambur records (E.I. IV, p. 182-3), (d) the Sholinghur rock inscription (E. I. IV, p. 221), (e) the Tatanakallu record (M.A.R. 1925) and (f) the Goribidnur record (E.C.X, Gd: 4).

2. I.A. XVII.

3. References in Rastrakuta records like the Radhupur, Manne, Sanjan and Badaneguppe grants, to Sivamara's imprisonment by Dhruva and Govinda III are supported by the crowing as yuvarajas of Vijayaditya and Marasimha (the Gattavadi, Manne, Ganjam and Alur plates).

4. Ranavaloka Kambha, Chakiraja and Bankesa were three of these viceroys.

term as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prisoner, participated in a confederacy of Drāviḍa powers against the imperialists from Malkheḍ. Rāṣṭrakūṭa records speak of Govinda III marching south in A. D. 803-4, soon after the completion of North Indian campaign, in order "to teach a lesson to the haughty kings of Drāviḍa, who rebelled."<sup>5</sup> We are told that among others the Gāṅga king met with his death at the hands of Govinda.<sup>6</sup> This was no other than Mārasimha, as Śivamāra was at this time languishing in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison. The Maṇṇe, Ganjām and Ālūr plates of this prince tell us that he was administering Gāṅgavāḍi as *Yuvarāja*.<sup>7</sup> His records do not take us beyond A. D. 800, in confirmation as it were of the statement in the Rāṣṭrakūṭe grant that he met with his death at the hands of Govinda III. After his death Gāṅgavāḍi was placed under the direct rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭe Viceroy Raṇāvaloka Kambha<sup>7</sup> after whose death A.D. 805 Cākirāja was appointed to the command of the entire 96,000 country.<sup>8</sup> In A. D. 814 when Amoghavarsa ascended the throne and the erstwhile feudatories, headed by Vijayāditya II of Vēṅgī, rose in rebellion, Amogha released Śivamāra from prison and appointed him the mahāmandalēsvara in Gāṅgavāḍi<sup>9</sup> in which capacity Śivamāra served the Rāṣṭrakūṭas loyally till his death in A. D. 817. On his death the succession passed to his nephew, Rājamalla I, the son of Vijayāditya. It is strange that this should have happened for, the Udayēndiram grant speaks of Prthivīpati I as the son of Śivamāra. As the representative of the elder line, Prthivīpati had a better title to the throne than Rājamalla. It is surprising that his claims should not have been taken into consideration. If they were set aside there is reason to believe that Rājamalla I usurped the throne. If they were overlooked and this seems to have been the case—there is the likelihood of Rājamalla's preference having been on some valid reason. In any case Rājamalla was the people's choice and he fully justified it when "he rescued the Gāṅga kingdom from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa yoke like Viṣṇu in the form of a boar rescuing the earth from the infernal regions."<sup>10</sup>

Some scholars have, however, made out a case for a war succession between Prthivīpati I and Rājamalla I treating the latter as an usurper.<sup>11</sup>

5. Sanjan plates, E.I. XVIII, p. 235 ff.

6. E.C. IX, Nl. 60; E.C. IV, Sr 160; M.A.R. 1923-4

7. Manne plates, E.C. IV, Nl. 61.

8. E.C. XII, Gb 61.

9. The Kalbhavi inscription, I.A. XVIII, 309.

10. Galigekere plates, E.C. IV Yd. 60.

11. M.S. Sarma: "The Latter Pallavas" in the Gidugu Ramamurti Pantulu commemorative volume, p. 144.

M. Venkataramayya: "The Battle of Soremadi" in the Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XII, No. 2.

In their opinion the battle of Soremaḍi, figuring in several records from the Chittoor and Kolar districts,<sup>12</sup> represents an attempt on the part of Prthivīpati I to wrest the Gānga kingdom from his cousin, Rājamalla I, who had succeeded in winning it from the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Amoghavarśa and who had kept it for himself instead of bestowing it on his elder cousin, Prthivīpati I.<sup>13</sup> It is true that Rājamalla freed his country from the Rāṣtrakūṭa imperialists. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that he was an usurper. I have elsewhere discussed this question at length.<sup>14</sup> There I have made out a case against the contention that Soremaḍi represents the central incident in this war of succession between Rājamallā I and Prthivīpati I. I have further proved that all the records that bear a reference to the battle belong to a period at least a century later, and that Soremaḍi represents not the central incident but an important adjunct to a war of succession between Rājamalla III and Būtuga II. I have also made out a case for meeting the objections raised to treating Rājamalla of the Soremaḍi battle as Rājamalla III. I presented, what sounds to me to be a valid case, for Soremaḍi being assigned to the 10th century. One scholar has concluded that the result of the battle was perhaps the defeat of Prthivīpati I (the Pērmānaḍigal of the Chittoor and Kolar records).<sup>15</sup> If Pērmānaḍigal was no other than Prthivīpati he could not have been the defeated party in the war because the records in question leave us in no doubt whatsoever that he was the victor. The Rāyakoṭa record<sup>16</sup> referring to the final phase of this war does not leave any doubt as to the victor in the battle. Presuming that he (Pērmānaḍigal) was the victor and this was no other than Prthivīpati it is surprising that this victory does not figure in any of the records of the family and that he did not succeed in regaining the throne from Rājamalla, for we see the latter securely on the Gānga throne till A. D. 817 when Nītimarga I succeeded him.

Thus, there is little to prove a war of succession between Prthivīpati I and Rājamalla I. There is no reference anywhere in the ninth century Gānga records of either Rājamalla I or Prthivīpati I to suggest it. Thus the possibility of the cousins having been on hostile terms and of Rājamalla having been an usurper will have to be ruled out.

If Rājamalla was not an usurper, how are we to account for the succession passing to him after Śivamāra's death and not to Prthivīpati I? The cousins were on friendly terms and Prthivīpati was well provided for when the

12. See my paper on "The Battle of Soremaḍi" in the Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. III & Venkataramayya, op. cit.

13. Venkataramayya; op. cit.

14. Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. III

15. Venkataramayya, op. cit, p. 212.

16. S.I.I. Vol. IX, No. 2.

succession in the main line was settled in favour of Rājamalla I, the justifiable reason for his supersession being that Prthivipati was a mere child at the time of his father's death. Since the need of the kingdom was a strong and energetic ruler who could free the motherland, the choice of the populace fell on Prthivipati's cousin, Rājamalla. The assumption that Prthivipati was a child at the time of his father's death fits in well with the assignment of his death in the battle of Śrī Purambiyam in A.D. 880. This view would make Prthivipati 65 years old at the time of battle whereas the view treating Prthivipati as a grown up man at the time of his father's death would make him a much older man at the time of the battle.

I have stated before that the cousins were on friendly terms. There is evidence, though indirect, to prove this contention. The hostility to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Amoghavarśa they both shared in common. Living in the same region this hostility could not have been on any other basis than one of family and friendly ties. The Udayēndiram grant tells us that Prthivipati I gave help to Iriga and Nāgadanta, the sons of king Diṇḍi, and that the former was given shelter by Prthivipati against Amoghavarśa. This statement needs explanation in the light of Gānga-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations during the time of Amoghavarśa.

Amogha succeeded his father Govinda III while still in his teens. Taking advantage of this youth the feudatories made a bold bid for independence. Rājamalla is said to have, in alliance with the Noḷambas,<sup>17</sup> "drawn to himself, by the force of arms, the great God of his kingdom, who had been dwelling in the abode of his enemies"<sup>18</sup> and that "only a bit was still in the hands of Bankēśa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy."<sup>19</sup> This shows that Rājamalla succeeded in regaining a good bit of his ancestral kingdom. Rājamalla's son and successor, Nītimārga I, carried the struggle a stage further in an effort to completely free the kingdom. The details of his rebellion are set forth in considerable detail in the Konnūr inscription of A.D. 860.<sup>20</sup> Recalling the achievements of Bankēśa, the record tells us that he destroyed the enemy Kīrtimārga and brought Raṇavikrama to the path of loyalty. Kīrtimārga and Raṇavikrama were one and the same person, namely Nītimārga, who had, according to the Galigekere plates,<sup>21</sup> the other name Raṇavikramayya. Of these two periods of Gānga resistance against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas it is likely that Prthivipati offering shelter to Iriga against Amoghavarśa was an event which took place during Nītimārga's reign. To support this likelihood there is the further statement in the Konnūr record that subsequent to the defeat of Kīrtimārga, Bankēśa captured Kēdala (in the

17. E.C. XII, Sira 24, 38.

18. Perjjarangi grant, M.A.R. 1919.

19. The Karegodi Rangapura plates, M.A.R. 1918-19.

20. E.I. VI, p. 29 ff.

21. Op. cit.

Tumkur district), defeated the ruler of Taḷavanapura, crossed the Kāvēri and laid waste the country to the south of it. The ruler of Taḷavanapura is obviously a different individual from Nītimārga who had already been brought round to the path of loyalty. This ruler must have given sufficient cause for Bankēśa to lead an expedition against Taḷakāḍ on the Kāvēri. Who could this ruler of Taḷavanapura have been? There is a strong reason for identifying him with Prthivīpati. We are told in the Udayēndiram grant that he gave shelter to Irga, who was probably trying to escape the wrath of Amoghavarsa. Can it not be that Irga was a subordinate commander of Nītimārga who fled to the court of Prthivīpati. There is also the likelihood of Nītimārga himself having fled to his cousin's court at Taḷakāḍ along with some of his trusted generals. It was to this refuge of Nītimārga that Bankēśa chased him and on the banks of the Kāvēri defeated the combined armies of Nītimārga and Prthivīpati. The battle of Vaimbailguri figures in the Udayēndiram record as having taken place in the reign of Prthivīpati. He must have figured in this campaign of Bankēśa against Taḷakāḍ; otherwise it has to be treated as an isolated incident which cannot be properly accounted for. I have a further reason for identifying the ruler of Taḷavanapura with Prthivīpati. We have reasonable grounds to believe that the Prthivīpati dominion lay in southern Mysore and the northern part of Kongudēsa to the south of the Kāvēri. It was obviously the Prthivīpati territories that Bankēśa ravaged after crossing the Kaveri.

The Kongudēsa Rājākkal states that Coḷa Āditya I conquered Kongudēsa and Taḷakāḍ.<sup>22</sup> It has been correctly surmised by the eminent Coḷa historian, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, that Kongudēsa and Taḷakāḍ were acquired from the Western Gāngas.<sup>23</sup> From whom could Āditya have wrested these areas? The members of the main Ganga line, who came to style themselves Satyavākyas and Nītimārgas from the ninth century onwards, are nowhere seen to have come into conflict with the Coḷas during this period and we have no evidence to prove Coḷa overlordship of any part of Gāngavaḍi proper prior to Rājēndra's final absorption in A.D. 1004. On the other hand in the time of Būtuga II the Gāngas figure as the allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their wars against the Coḷas and the achievements of Kṛṣṇa III on the battle field of Takkolam were in a large measure due to the efforts of his Gānga ally and brother-in-law, Būtuga II.<sup>24</sup> That being the case it is far from probable that Āditya's conquest of Kongudēsa and Taḷakāḍ was at the expense of the Satyavākyas and Nītimārgas. On the other hand we find the Prthivīpatis acknowledging the overlordship of the Coḷas in the Udayēndiram grant and the Takkolam inscription.<sup>25</sup> The

22. Madras Journal of Literature & Science; Mck. Mas.

23. Coḷas, Vol. I, p. 138.

24. The Atakur stone inscription; E.I. VI, p. 51.

25. Op. cit.

latter registers a grant by Prthivīpati II during the 24th regnal year of Rājākēsari confirming the elaborate acknowledgement of Coḷa overlordship in the Udayēndiram grant. Prthivīpati I, the grandfather of the donor of this record, was an ally of the Pallava ruler, Aparājita and laid down his life on the battle field of Śrī Purambiyam in an attempt to protect the life of his friend Aparājita. It is very probable that when the Coḷas were gaining in prestige and power at the expense of the Pallavas during the reign of Aparājita and Nrpatunga the Prthivīpati rulers made a last effort at saving the Pallava empire from Coḷa onslaughts and therefore invited Āditya's invasion. This accounts for the reference in the Kongudēśa Rājākkal to Āditya's conquest of Talaikāḍ and Kongudēśa. After this conquest the Prthivīpatis accepted a feudatory position under the Coḷas as testified to by the Udayēndiram and Takkolam records. Thus the Gānga subordination referred to in the Tamil chronicle must therefore be taken to mean the subjugation of the collateral line and not of the main line of the Gāngas. If this version of the rather confused history of the period is accepted it may safely be assumed that parts of Kongudēśa<sup>26</sup> and the adjoining parts of southern Mysore with its capital at Taḷakād constituted the dominion of the Prthivīpatis. We have no evidence whatsoever to prove that this territory was at any time snatched from the Satyavākyas and Nītimārgas by the members of the collateral line. Thus the conclusion is forced upon us that Prthivīpati I was given the northern part of Kongudēśa and southern Mysore when his cousin Rājamalla I was chosen as Śivamara's successor. We know that Kongudēśa formed a part of the ancestral dominion of the Gāngas having been acquired by the founder Koṅganivarman himself.<sup>27</sup> The only reason for Prthivīpati's claims being overlooked can have been his extreme youth at the time of his father's death.

## VĀRĀṆASĪ UNDER THE GAHAḌAVĀLAS

BY DR. ROMA NIYOGI

The Gahaḍavāla dynasty came to power in c. 1089 A. D. in the Gangā Yamunā doab and continued to rule over that area till the Muslim conquest. At the height of its power this dynasty exercised substantial political authority over a territory roughly extending from Delhi to Monghyr and from the foot of the Himālayas to the south bank of the Yamunā. Inscriptions

26. There is reason to believe that the southern part of Kongudass was in the hands of the Pandyas (Colas, Vol. I, p. 138). It is possible that this area was snatched away from the Gangas after the battle of Venbai.

27. See my paper "Acarya Simhanandin, king-maker and Pontiff" read at the last session of the All Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad.

and literature show that they were in possession of the important cities of Kānyakubja and Vārāṇasī, and it is generally believed that the former was the capital of this last important Indian dynasty in northern India. A careful study of the inscriptional and literary evidence, however, clearly shows that the Gahaḍavālas were more closely associated with Vārāṇasī. In the following pages I intend to discuss the nature of the relation of the Gahaḍavāla kings with these two cities.

So far sixty-seven inscriptions recording the landgrants and other pious deeds of the kings, queens and princes of the Gahaḍavāla dynasty have been discovered. While only one of these was issued from Kānyakubja and three others from the neighbouring areas, forty inscriptions were issued from Vārāṇasī and most of the rest from the eastern part of the Gahaḍavāla dominion. The find-spots and the geographical data in all the four inscriptions of Candradēva, the first independent king of this dynasty, also point again and again to the Vārāṇasī-Ayodhyā region. Three of his landgrants (dated V. S. 1148, 1150, 1156) were discovered at Candrāvati, near Banaras and the provenance of the fourth (dated in V. S. 1150) is not known.<sup>1</sup> The grants of V. S. 1154 and 1156 were made at Vārāṇasī and that of V. S. 1150 at Ayodhyā; the Candrāvati grant of V. S. 1148 records the gift of a village (located in the modern district of Banaras) before the god Śaurī-Nārāyaṇa.

The usual style of composition and technical terms adopted in the four inscriptions mentioned above and in most of the inscriptions issued by the kings of this dynasty in the succeeding years, remind us of some of the Kalacuri inscriptions,—especially of the Kahla plate of Soḍhadēva, issued in V. S. 1135/1079 A. D.<sup>2</sup> This inscription, which describes him as a 'paramabhāṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara' and 'Śarayūpāra-jīvitam' signifies that by the eighth decade of the eleventh century A. D. Soḍhadēva, belonging to a branch line of the Kalacuri dynasty had already declared himself independent in the Gorakhpur district. The repeated defeat of Laksmī-Karṇa at the hands of some of the contemporary kings provided, no doubt, a golden opportunity for some of the ambitious Kalacuri feudatories, such as Soḍhadēva. Mahiyala or Mahitalā, the father of Candradeva, described as a 'nrpa' in a Gahaḍavāla inscription,<sup>3</sup> was another such ambitious person who may have had fought some successful battles (cf. 'jītāri cakrah') probably under Laksmī-Karṇa, and later on after his downfall carved out a small principality near Vārāṇasī. But he prudently continued to acknowledge the overlordship of Yaśah-Karṇa, or more probably of Soḍhadēva, whose inscriptional style was followed to some extent by Candradeva as an independent ruler.

1. EI. IX, pp. 302-05; *ibid.*, pp. 193-200; & IHQ. (1949) pp. 31-37; Ia. XVIII, pp. 9-14.

2. EI, VII, pp. 85-93

3. Rahan grant of V.S. 1166 (IA. XVIII, pp. 14-19)

Some interesting features in some of the Gahadavala inscriptions imply that they were well-known in the eastern part of their dominion from the very beginning. The usual inscriptions of this dynasty do not contain any reference to the dynastic name 'Gahaḍavāla'. It is found mentioned only in five inscriptions: the Basahi grant of V. S. 1161, the Kamauli grant of V. S. 1162, the Rahan grant of V. S. 1166, the fragmentary stone inscription of Uddalladevi of V. S. 1294 and the undated Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi<sup>4</sup>. In the first four of these records the dynastic name appears to have been mentioned, not because they were it was familiar in those parts of the country where they were issued, but because it was unfamiliar and needed a proper introduction. Provenance and geographical references connect the first three inscriptions with Pañcāla-deśa, a new conquest of the Gahaḍavālas and the fourth with the upper Vindhyan region, where they were not well known; the Sarnath inscription was composed by a Gauḍa poet Kunda by name, who may have had felt the urge of mentioning the dynastic name which was rather unfamiliar to him. Further, some taxes mentioned in these Pañcāla group of inscriptions, such as 'viṣati-aṭhu-prasthā, 'viṣati-ḥhavata', 'aksapaṭala-prastha' 'aksapaṭal-ādāya' and others are not found in any other Gahaḍavāla grant; while marked departure from usual terminology (cf. 'sajala-sthalah sagart-osarah samadhukacūtavana-vātikā-gocara-paryantah saloha-lavaṇ-ākarah samatsyākarah saparṇṇ-ākarah sorddhv-adhaś-catur-āg ātha viśuddhah svasīmā-paryantah') may be noticed in the agrarian concessions granted in them cf. 'ksetra-vanamadhukāmṛākāśa-pātāla-sahitah sadaś-āparādha-daṇḍah' etc. in the Basahi grant and 'sajala-sthalah sosara-pāsāṇa-giri-nadi-vana-vātikāmra-madhukaloha-lavaṇ-akarāh siddhiyutah' etc. in the Rahan grant. These characteristics may be easily explained if we contend that these inscriptions refer to a time, when Pañcāladeśa was a recent annexation and taxes in that region were still being collected according to the local system and the typical Gahaḍavāla taxes, imposts and terminology were not yet introduced.

Thus all available inscriptional evidence indicates that Candradēva rose to power in the Vārāṇasī-Ayodhyā region in V. S. 1148/c. 1090 A. D. His first inscription issued in the year mentioned above, however, shows that already he had to his credit another and a more important conquest—that of the empire of Kānyakubja (cf. 'Śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asamandor-vikramen-ārjitam' and 'nija-bhuj-opārjita-śrī-Kānyakubj-ādhipatyam')<sup>5</sup> The fact that almost all the Gahaḍavāla inscriptions refer to this incident, shows that the dynasty was proud of the heroic achievement of Candradēva and justly so; in spite of the dark and inglorious history of the last seventy-

4. IA, XIV, pp. 101-04; EI, II, pp. 358-61; IA, XVIII, pp. 14-19; EI, XXIII, pp. 186-89; EI, IX, pp. 319-28.

5. EI, IX, pp. 302-05.

five years, Kānyakubja, with the imperial tradition of several centuries behind it, was looked upon as the brightest jewel on a king's crown. Candradēva, however, was a prudent and practical man and though he was proud of his new conquest, he could not very well shift his capital immediately to a city, which was completely ruined and desolate in c. 1030 A. D.<sup>6</sup> was being tossed around among the ambitious kings and chieftains of northern and western India for the next fifty years and was overrun by the Muslims in c. 1079 A. D.<sup>7</sup> His hold in the newly conquered area was naturally insecure in the early part of his reign and in the Candravati grant of V. S. 1150 Pañcāla is described as 'capala' or fickle (cf. 'capala-Pañcāla-cūla-cumbana-caraṇa-candrahāsa')<sup>8</sup>. Consequently in his inscription issued even as late as V. S. 1156, there is nothing to suggest that he shifted his administrative centre from the eastern part of his dominion.

The first inscription (Basahi grant of V. S. 1161) issued in the reign of Madanapāla by Mahārājaputra Govindacandra, however, proves that some time between V. S. 1156 and 1161 Candradeva made Kānyakubja his capital (cf. 'Kānyakubjē karod-rājā- rājadhānim-aninditām')<sup>9</sup>, evidently after consolidating the Pañcāla area to some extent. The geographical data in the inscription also support the statement; the grant recorded in it was made at Astikā on the Yamunā and the village granted was in Jiāvati-pattalā, described in the next grant as being situated in Pañcāla-deśa. Peculiarly enough in the next inscription, the Kamauli grant of V.S. 1162<sup>10</sup>, all the verses of the previous one are repeated, excepting the one that refers to Kānyakubja as the capital and the grant recorded in it was made by Mahārājaputra Govindacandra from the victorious camp at Viṣṇupūra on the Gangā, while the village granted was situated in the Jiāvati-pattalā in Pañcāladeśa. Certain inferences may be drawn from these data: firstly, in V.S. 1162 Govindacandra was conducting a campaign; secondly, the detailed information about the situation of the Jiāvati-pattalā, that it was in Pañcāladeśa, is indicative of the fact that the grant was made outside Pañcāladeśa where the pattalā was not well known; and thirdly, though the Gahaḍavāla capital was probably removed from Kānyakubja, the hold of that dynasty on the country around was not lost. It thus appears that the city of Kānyakubja was lost to the Gahaḍavālas some time between December, 1161 V. S. and October 1162 V. S. and by the latter date Govindacandra was fighting evidently to recover that city. The Rahan grant of V.S. 1166,<sup>11</sup> issued by prince Govindacandra, who recorded the gift of Rāṇaka Lava-

6. Al-Biruni (Sachu), p. 197.

7. Elliot (Hist. of Ind. Told by its Own Historians), vol. IV, pp. 523-4

8. EI, XIV, pp. 193-96.

9. IA, XIV, pp. 101-04.

10. EI, II, pp. 358-61.

11. IA, XVIII, pp. 14-19.

rāpravāha, help us to establish the identity of the enemy against whom he had been fighting. This inscription relates that Govindacandra “again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the Hammīra lay aside his enmity”. This Hammīra is to be identified with some Muslim officer (i. e. ‘amir’) of Mas’ūd ibn Ibrāhīm (c. 1099-1115 A. D.), the contemporary Yamīnī Sūltān of Ghazni and Lahore, and the Ṭabaquāt-i-Nāsiṭrī refers to one Hajib Ṭughā-tigīn who is said to have carried his arms far into the heart of Hindustan<sup>12</sup>. The contemporary poet Salmān ascribes one such successful campaign to Mas’ūd and mentions in this connection one ‘Malhi, the God-forsaken chief of Hind’, who was taken, and the city of Kanauj ‘the capital of Hind’, which was sacked.<sup>13</sup> The description of ‘Malhi’ as the chief of Hind tends to identify him with Madanapāla, the second king of the Gahaḍavāla dynasty and the impressive picture of the pomp and splendour of Kānyakubja, as drawn by Salmān, proves that the city as the Gahaḍavāla capital had regained some of its former glory.

This change of capital however turned out to be unfortunate because of the dangerous proximity of the aggressive followers of Islam and if Salman is to be believed, Madanapāla had to ransom his person<sup>14</sup>. Mahārāja-putra Govindacandra, no doubt, overpowered the Hammīra by V. S. 1166; but this serious misfortune made the Gahaḍavālas wiser and they appear to have shifted their capital back to Vārāṇasī in the eastern part of their dominion. That is why in no other inscription of this dynasty there is any reference to Kānyakubja as the capital, though almost all the records proudly refer to Candradēva as one who conquered the empire of Kānyakubja.

Let us now turn to the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions issued by the subjects and feudatories of the Gahaḍavālas and of the kings of other dynasties. The Tārācaṇḍī rock inscription of V. S. 1225, issued by Prātāpadhavalā, describes his contemporary Gahaḍavāla king as ‘Gādhinagar-ādhipa’ and ‘Kānyakubjādhipati’<sup>15</sup> and the Belkhara pillar inscription of V. S. 1253 which prudently refrains from mentioning the name of the reigning king, probably because of the unstable political condition of the post-Candwar days, also refers to ‘Śrīmat-Kānyakubja-vijayarajye sambat’<sup>16</sup>; on the other hand the Bodh-Gayā praśasti of V. S. 124—describes Jayaccandra as ‘Kāśīśa’<sup>17</sup>. Among the contemporary records of other dynasties, one (The Ratnapura inscription of Jajalladēva Kalacuri of 1114 A. D.) refers to the Gahaḍavāla king as the king of Kānyakubja,

12. TN (Raverty), p. 107.

13. Elliot, IV, pp. 526-27.

14. Ray (Dynastic Hist. of Nor. Ind.), I, P. 514.

15. Jour. of Amer Oriental Society, VI, pp. 547-49

16. JASB, 1911, pp. 763-65.

17. IHQ, 1929, pp. 14-30

and two others (the Mau inscription of Madanavarman Candrātreyā and the Mādhānagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena) mention him as the king of Kāśī<sup>18</sup>.

The available literary evidence regarding this point is no less conflicting. The Rāmācarita Commentary associates the kings of this dynasty with Kānyakubja (cf. 'Kānyakubja-bāji-nigaṇṭhaṇa-bhujānga')<sup>19</sup> and the Rājataranginī and the Śrikanṭhacarita hail Govindacandra as the ruler of that city<sup>20</sup>; likewise the Naisadhacritam states that the poet Śrīharsa was honoured by the lord of Kānyakubja<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika of Govindacandra, Lakṣmīdhārā, who wrote his memorable smṛiti digest 'Kṛtyakalpataru', at the command of his king, refers to him as 'Kāśī-pati' and 'Kāśy-adhipa' and completely ignores Kānyakubja in this connection<sup>22</sup>. The contemporary Muslim historian Hasan Nizāmi (who commenced writing the Tāj-ul-Maāthiri in c. 1205 A. D.) and Ibn Āthir (c. 1160-1230 A. D.) also describe the penultimate king of the Gahaḍavala dynasty as the ruler of Banaras<sup>23</sup>.

Confused traditions about the kings of this dynasty have been preserved in some of the late collection of stories. The *Prabandhacintamaṇi* relates the story of a Cālukya ambassador who was sent to 'Jayacandra, the king of Kāśī'; the *Prabandhakosa* refers Govindacandra as the king of Vārāṇasī and 'Jayantacandra' as 'Kāśīpati' or 'Kāśīsa'; the *Purusapariksā* contains a story of Jayacandra the lord of Kāśī who lived at the city of Kānyakubja on the Bhāgīrathī<sup>24</sup>.

These apparently conflicting inscriptional and literary data, however, may be reconciled if we remember that the name 'Kānyakubja' has often been used to denote a wider area than the city of Kānyakubja. Thus under the Pratihāras, Kānyakubja was the name of a 'bhukti', which included 'Kālaṅjara-maṇḍala'; the *Jami-ut-Tawārikh* also records the current Persian belief that the designation 'Kanauj' stood for 'Mahādēs' or Madhyadēśa, one of the traditional nine divisions of Hind; the *Somnathpaṭṭana prasāsti* of Bhāva Brhaspati (1169 A. D.) includes Vārāṇasī in the Kānyakubja-visaya.<sup>25</sup> The points mentioned above have already been noticed by Dr. Tripathī, who has come to the conclusion that 'in the Gahaḍavāla plates.....the name Kānyakubja or Gādhīrura is given to the kingdom'<sup>26</sup>

18. EI, I, pp. 32-39; *ibid*, pp. 195-207; *Insc. of Beng.* pp. 106-15

19. (Commentary), II, 5

20. *Rajatarangini* (stein), vol. II bk. VIII, vr. 2453; *Srikanthacarita*, XXV, 102

21. *Naisadha-caritam*, XXII.

22. *Kṛtyakalpataru* (Gos), Danakanda. pp. (intro) 48-51.

23. Elliot, II, pp. 223 & 251

24. *Pc.* (Tawney), p. 112 & 183; *Pk.* (Jinavijaya), pp. 54, 88 *Purusapariksa*, ch IV tale 12.

25. EI, XIX, pp. 17 & 19; Elliot, I, p. 54; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, III, pp. 7, 13

26. *History of Kanauj*, pp. 6-7.

( cf. 'Gadhipur-Ādhirājyam' ). Many of the contemporary and late writers were doubtless influenced by the long imperial tradition associated with the name and had described the Gahaḍavāla kings as the lords of Kānyakubja, which epithet however, is quite correct if we accept the interpretation of Dr. Tripathi. The contemporary Muslim historians on the other hand naturally knew little about the imperial tradition of Kānyakubja and refer simply to the actual capital of Jayccandra.

The evidence of the Gahaḍavāla inscriptions, indicating that Vārāṇasī was the Gahaḍavāla capital is thus borne out by the data supplied by the other inscriptions and literature. This view is further strengthened by the fact that in c. 1193/4 A. D. Kānyakubja was neither protected by the Gahaḍavālas nor was it attacked by the Ghūri invader; only Firishta mentions that city among the Muslim conquests of that year, while the contemporary historians, Hasan Nizāmi and Ibn Āthir, omit the name of Kanauj in connection with the campaign and *Minhāz-ud-Dīn* includes that city among the conquests of Iltutmīsh.<sup>27</sup> This omission on the part of the Muslim invaders to conquer a city, which in the preceding centuries was one of their traditional targets, is strange. This, however, is easily explained if we remember that the city had ceased to be the capital of a strong and prosperous kingdom for a long time and consequently did not attract the notice of the invaders in 1193/4 A. D. The discovery of post-Chandwar Gahaḍavāla inscriptions at Machlishahr (1197 A. D.) and Belkhara (1197 A. D.) in the eastern part of their dominion, and not from anywhere near Kānyakubja though Banāras was completely overrun in 1193 A. D. and Kānyakubja was not taken before Iltutmīsh' time, also tends to support this view.<sup>28</sup>

A comparative study of all the available evidence thus clearly indicate that though the empire over which the Gahaḍavālas ruled was traditionally known as the empire of Kānyakubja, it was the city of Vārāṇasī, which served as the administrative centre for the greater part of their rule. After the battle of Candwar, some of them migrated to the neighbouring districts and to the south of the Yamunā and many of those who stayed behind were either killed or converted to Islam; infact very few of them had the opportunity to migrate south-west, a long way off to Rajputana. Tod has noticed that "the Gaharwar Rajpūt is scarcely known to his brothers in Rājstān. . .<sup>29</sup> The original country of the Gaharwars is the kingdom of Kāśī." Elliot likewise records that they are generally found in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab and Central India<sup>30</sup>.

27. Firishta (Briggs), I, pp. 178-79; Elliot, II, pp. 222ff & 25iff; TN, I, pp. 627f

28. EI, X, pp. 93-100 & JASB, 1911 pp. 763-65.

29. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajstan (Crooke), I, p. 139.

30. Elliot, Memoirs of Races of NWPI, I, P. 121

## THE AUTHOR OF THE RĀMĀBHYUDAYA—HIS DATE AND IDENTITY

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY, M. A., D. PHIL.

The celebrated Kāśmīri rhetorician, Ānandavardhana, refers to a drama called Rāmābhyudaya in his immortal treatise on the theory of dhvani.<sup>1</sup> The drama suffers from the same fate of Viśākhadatta's more well known epilogue on the ill fortunes of a Gupta prince. According to the Ānandavardhana, its author was one Yaśoverman. The early mediaeval India is aware of a number of distinguished personages of this name and the authorship of the drama centred round the activities of the scion of the Raghu family has often been attributed to one or the other of them.

The exact period, counted by years of the Christian era, in which Ānandavardhana flourished is not known. But Kalhaṇa admits that he obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (855-56—883 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> He might have outlived the first Utpalite and could very well be a contemporary of his son, Śamkaravarman (883-902 A. D.). The latter half of the ninth century may be the approximate age to which he might be ascribed thus.

The claim of the Yaśovarmans who were posterior in-date to Ānandavardhana need not be considered.<sup>3</sup> Of the others who were earlier, mention may be made of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, and probably also of the Nālandā inscription and Yaśovarman mentioned in the Rājatarangīnī who, according to Kalhaṇa, fished in the troubled water of Kāśmīrian politics during the last days of Karkaṭa rule. Yaśovarman, a poet, some of the verses written by whom are preserved in the Kavindravacanasamuccaya and in the Subhāsītāvalī, is another strong claimant. The claims of each of them for the authorship of the Rāmābhyudaya may be considered one by one.

Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the hire of the Gauḍavāho and a patron of such well known poets as Kavi Vākpatī-rāja and Bhavabhūti, has been suggested by some scholars as the author of the Rāmābhyudaya.<sup>4</sup> The great advantage of this theory is that it can be neither proved nor disproved. But merely a patronage awarded to poets does not necessarily mean that the

1. Dhvanyaloka (ed. N. S. P.). Bombay, 1911, pp. 138, 148.

2. Rājatarangīnī, V, 34.

3. These were for example, Candella Yasovarman (C. A. D. 925), Yasovarman of Kalvan plates, feudatory to Paramara Bhoja (11th. cont. A.D.). Guhila Yasovarman alias Kirtivarman (11th. cont. A.D.) and Paramara king Yasovarman (c. 1135 A.D.)

4. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj.

patron himself also would be a poet. The Gauḍavāhe has nothing to show that the hire eulogised in it was a poet. Kalhaṇa gives a fairly detailed account of the great antagonist of the Kāśmīrian king. He refers to various minute events of his life and mentions the poets who flourished in his court.<sup>5</sup> But he does not appear to have known that the king himself was the author of a celebrated drama. Whether Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj and the king of the same name referred to in an inscription found at Nālanā<sup>6</sup> are identical or not it is to be noted that Nālanda's description of his sovereign has nothing to show of his devotion to the Muses.

During the weak rule of the later Karkoṭas following Jayāpīḍa the kings were merely a puppets in the hands of the more powerful ministers about whose discord and mutual jealousy Kalhaṇa speaks.<sup>7</sup> In one conflict which ensued between the leaders of two rival ministerial groups headed by Mamma and Utpala, one Yaśovarman, son of the former is said to have taken away in the battlefield the lustre of heroes as that of the stars is taken by the sun.<sup>8</sup> There is not the slightest indication by Kalhaṇa which can give this little known warrior the credit of composing a drama. In fact, a mere adventurer who died a premature death could hardly compose a drama which would receive attention from a reputed rhetorician like Ānandavardhana.

The identity of Yaśovarman, whose verses have been quoted in two of the celebrated anthologies,<sup>9</sup> with the author of Rāmābhyudaya seems more likely. It would be natural for a versemaker to attempt a drama. His date is not known. But anthologies do mention poets of comparatively earlier periods and there is no improbability in his being the contemporary or predecessor to the author of the Dhvanāḷka.

In an article entitled "The identity of the Yaśovarman of some mediaeval coins" published sometime back in the Journal of the Asiatic Society<sup>10</sup> I have tried to show with the help of an unpublished Sanskrit drama named Āgamadambara, that Yaśovarman was but another name of the Kāśmīrian king Śamkaravarman. The writer of the drama, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, was a contemporary of the prince and the authenticity of his evidence need not be doubted. If Yaśovarman was another name of Śamkaravarman and if he was a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, it comes to be quite natural for the latter to refer to a contemporary literary work of consummate art. Śamkaravarman was known by his other name to Bhaṭṭa Jayanta.

5. R. T. IV. 133-145.

6. Ep. Ind. XX. pp.

7. R. T. IV, 679-715.

8. R. T. IV, 706.

9. Kavindravacanasamuccaya. (ed. Thomas), pp. 75, 76; Subhasitavali (ed. Peter son), 1364.

10. Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XI II. No. 3, 1951,

Probably the name also figured on contemporary monetary issues.<sup>11</sup> There will be nothing surprising if Ānandavardhana too, another contemporary, quotes the same name which perhaps was more popular in his days.

About some of the Kāśmīrian kings possessing poetic qualities we have clear evidence in the pages of the anthologies. The Kavīndravacanasa-muccaya and the Subhāsītāvalī preserve verses written by Gonanda, Goṣā-ditya, Raṇāditya, Mukṭāpīḍa and Jayāpīḍa—kings so well known from the Chronicle. Probably Śamkaravarman's compositions are preserved under his alias.

It is interesting to note that from the middle of the eighth century the Rāma story became a popular theme for a number of dramas. Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita was followed by Abhinanda's Rāmācarita and the latter by a more sophisticated one from the pen of Sandhyākara Nandin. One would also like to place the Rāmābhyudaya sometime about this period, the upper limit being fortunately determined by the mention of Ānandavardhana.

### JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚANKARAGAṆA III

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The stone bearing this inscription was lying near a well in the vicinity of the Fakirchand Ākhāḍā, at Jabalpur. Its original findspot is not known, but it probably belonged to Tewar, ancient Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Kalachuris, 6 miles from Jabalpur. The record was brought to notice by Dr. M. C. Chaubey of the Hiralal Archaeological Society, Jabalpur. At his request, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, copied the record when he visited Jabalpur last year. Dr. Chaubey kindly sent me one of the estampages taken by Dr. Chhabra, from which I edit the record here.

The stone bearing this inscription measures 1' in breadth and 1' 5½" in height. Judging from the impression before me, it appears to have a large horizontal cut, about ½" wide, which has divided the inscription into two almost equal parts. This piece is evidently a fragment of what was originally a large stone. It has been broken on all sides. The extant record contains 16 lines of unequal length. The first line is only 5" in length. This length gradually increases to 1' 9" in line 7 and then decreases in the same manner to 1-5" in line 15. The letters in the first eight lines are much bigger, their averages size being .8". Those in the last eight lines are much

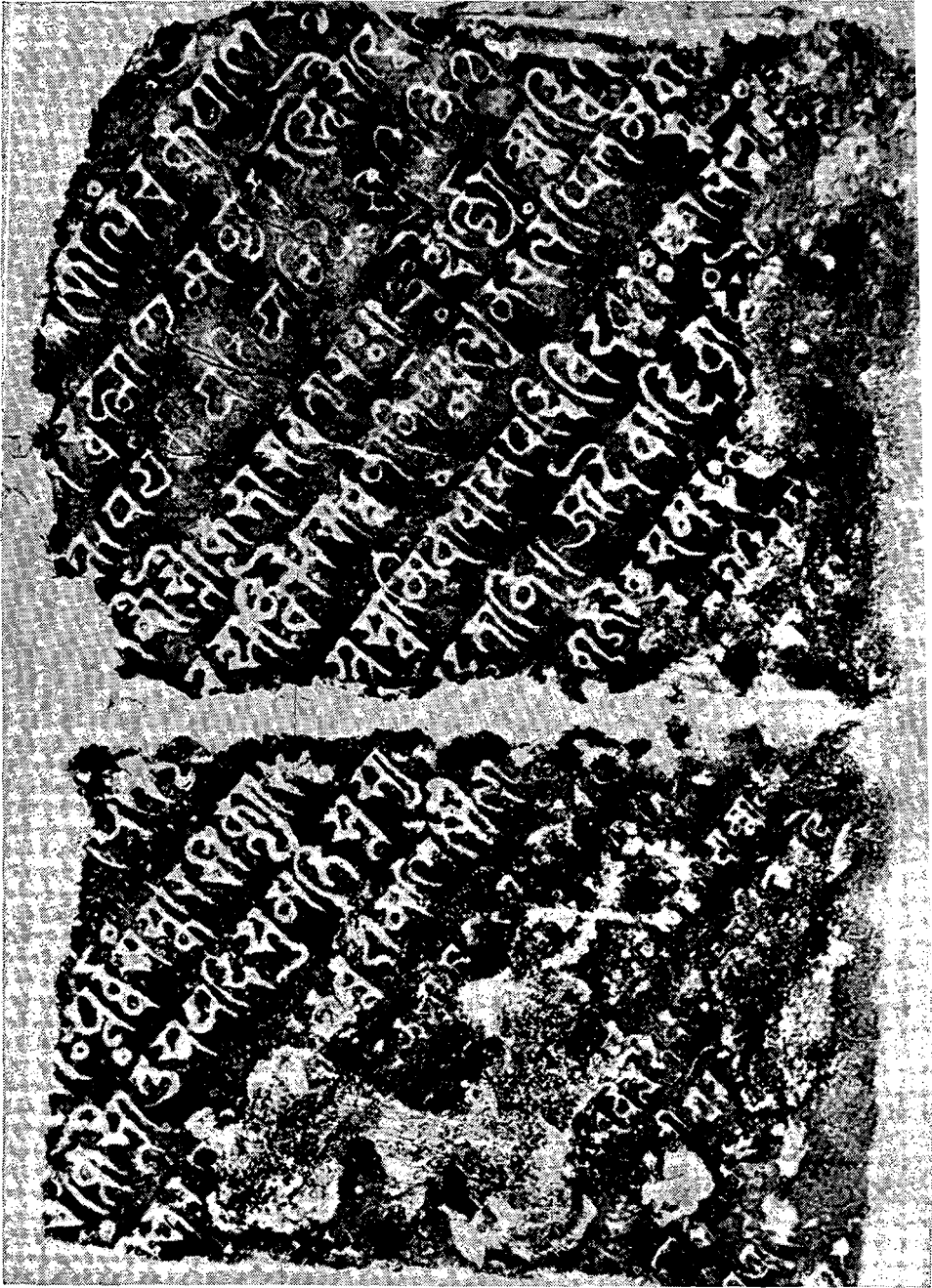
11. Ibid.

12. Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, 16; Subhasitavali, 585, 654, 655, 661, 2110, 3076.

smaller, being only .5" in height. Again, the record is fairly well preserved up to line 8, but is sadly mutilated in the lower portion, only one or two *aksaras* being legible in most of the lines. The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet of the 10th century A. D. They closely resemble those of the Kārītalāi stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II and the Chandrehe stone inscription of Prabodhaśiva. As regards individual letters, we may note that the initial *i* (short) consists of a curve below two dots placed horizontally (see *indor* =, in line 4; *kh* has two acute angles in the lower part; see *-rekhā-*, line 5; *d* appears with an angle in its back as in *devād* =, line 7) *l* has a vertical on the right drawn below its curve as in *lamghitam* =, line 5; the left limb of *ś* resembling the English figure 8, is not yet separated from the vertical on the right; see *-śaktyā-*, in line 6. The language is Sanskrit, the extant portion being wholly in verse. As regards orthography, we may notice the occasional reduplication of the consonant following *r* and the use of *v* for *b*; (see *nirmmālyam* in line 5 and *vrahmāṇḍa-* in line 2).

The inscription is fragmentary. In fact there is not even a single complete verse in it. It does not, therefore, admit of a connected description of its contents. It seems to have opened with a verse in praise of god Chakrapāṇi (Vishnu). Line 4 refers to moonlight, perhaps in connection with the description of the Moon as the progenitor of the race in which the reigning king was born. The following verses being extremely fragmentary, their meaning cannot be conjectured. Fortunately, line 8 has partially preserved the name Śankaragaṇa. He is described as the crest-jewel of the circle of the earth and as one who had defeated with ease the Gurjara king. The lines that follow are too much mutilated to afford even a basis for conjecture.

The description in line 8 shows that this Śankaragaṇa was a king. The provenance and characters of the present record make it probable that he belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. There were three kings of this name who ruled at Tripurī viz. (I) Śankaragaṇa I, whose Saugor and Chhoti Deori inscriptions I have published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Another stone inscription of this prince was recently discovered at Muriā a few miles from Jabalpur. I have drawn attention to it in a paper which I contributed to the seventeenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad, in October last. This prince flourished in the third quarter of the eighth century A. D. (II) Śankaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatunga, Prasiddhadhavalā and Raṇavigraha, the son of Kokalla I, who is known from several Kalachuri and Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions. He flourished in *circa* 890-910 A. D. (III) Śankaragaṇa III, the son of Lakshmaṇarāja II of the Kārītalāi stone inscription. He ruled in the period 970-980 A. D. The characters of the present inscription leave no room for doubt that it belonged to the reign of this last named prince Śankaragaṇa III. This conjecture receives support from the opening verse in



praise of Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu). If the present inscription was put up by Śankaragaṇa, mentioned in line 8, he must have been a devotee of Viṣṇu. Now the only prince in the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī or, for the matter of that, even among those that ruled at Māhishmatī, Sarayūpāra and Ratnapura, who was a devotee of that god, was Śankaragaṇa III. He is described as *vaishṇavaḥ paramah* or 'a fervent devotee of Viṣṇu' in the Kāritalāi stone inscription of his father's minister, Someśvara. The same inscription further tells us that this Śankaragaṇa was *dāna-saunda* or clever in charity and made some donation to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu under the name of Somasvamin whose temple was erected by Someśvara at Kāritalai. Again, as I have shown elsewhere, the temple of Śankaranārāyaṇa mentioned in the Bargaon stone inscription of Śabara which, on palaeographic grounds may be referred to the 10th century A. D., was probably built by this very Śankaragaṇa III. The god enshrined in the temple was named Śankaranārāyaṇa evidently after the Kalachuri king Śankaragaṇa III, who installed him.

This is the first record of Śankaragaṇa III that has come to light. Till now this prince was known only from the Kāritalāi stone inscription of the reign of his father, Lakshmaṇarāja II, the Bilhari stone inscription of his brother, Yuvarājadeva II and the Banaras plates of his descendant, Karṇa. His name was omitted in some other grants of Karṇa. He was evidently the Crown Prince when the Kāritalāi inscription was put up. The other two records which mention him as the successor of Lakshmaṇarāja II give him only conventional praise. In view of this the fragmentary nature and mutilation of the present record is very much to be regretted; for it probably contained in its lower portion a description of the exploits of Śankaragaṇa III. As it is, only one of these finds mention in this record. Line 8 which contains his partially preserved name states that he obtained an easy victory in battle over the Gurjara king. In the absence of further details it is difficult to identify this adversary of Śankaragaṇa III, but he probably belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. From the Goharwa and Rewa inscriptions of Karṇa we learn that Śankaragaṇa's father, Lakshmaṇarāja II, had defeated a Gurjara king. Śankaragaṇa III might have continued the conflict and dealt a further blow to the same enemy. The power of the Pratihāras of Kanauj was declining in the 10th century A. D. owing to the inroads of the Rāstrakūṭas and the Chandellas. The Kalachuris of Tripurī also seem to have played their part in weakening the power of the Imperial family. As Śankaragaṇa III was ruling in the period 970-980 A. D., the Pratihāra king defeated by him was probably Vijayaṇḍala whose Rajor inscription is dated V. S. 1016 (A. D. 959).

Fragmentary as it is, the present inscription has thus thrown some welcome light on the history of the Kalachuris of Tripurī in the second half of the tenth century A. D.

## JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚANKRAGAṆA III

## TEXT

- 1 ..... [त\*] रकारकं चक्रपाणेः<sup>1</sup> .  
 2 ..... द्व (द्व) ह्माण्डमन्यत्र तु स्वरोद्वे [विल] [त\*]<sup>2</sup>  
 3 ..... ते । पयं (?) त्रकीडाधिधा विधेः श्रुतिनिधि- [क्या] [न\*]<sup>3</sup>  
 4 ..... तनो स्तोक भारावतारः<sup>4</sup> ॥ इन्द्रोर्ज्योहनाद्वित [य\*]  
 5 ... [प] ते . . . तत्सान्धि रेखाध्वना निम्माल्यं न च लंघितम्भग [वतो\*]<sup>5</sup>  
 6 ... पूर्वसंस्कारशकत्या । -- स्वस्वामिवा (बा) धां सपदि विदधतः फाल  
 [दा]<sup>6</sup>  
 7 ... शवतस्तोतुं सपदि सुमतिस्तक्य -- दृतानि<sup>7</sup> ॥ आ देवद्विव्य [हं ?] [तो] .-  
 8 [शं] कर [गणो भूच\*] ऋचूडामणिक्तित्तानिर्जितगुर्जरेन्द्रसमरः<sup>8</sup>  
 9 ..... न चान्य ..... रीति .....  
 10 .....  
 11 ..... दाम्ना न .....  
 12 ... [व] धूवतमे क .....  
 13 ... श्रीपर [मे] .....  
 14 ... [ण ?] क  
 15 ..... परि .....  
 16 [श] [छ ?]

1 Metre : *Sragdhara*. 2 Metre : *Sardularikridita*. 3 Metre : *Anushtubh*. 4 Metre : *Sragdhara*. 5 Metre : *Sardularikridita*. 6 Metre : *Sragdhara*. 7 Metre : *Mandakuanta*. 8 Metre : *Sardularikridita*.

A NOTE ON 'SĪDAT SĀVADYA CĒDIH'  
(KHAJURĀHO INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1011).

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

The inscriptions of the Kalacuris and the Candellas throw light on their mutual relations at different stages of their history. In the Khajurāho inscription of the Candella Yaśovarman, dated V.S. 1011, mention is made of a severe defeat inflicted by him on the Kalacuris. Verse 28<sup>2</sup> of the inscription says that the Cedi king, whose forces were countless, was conquered by Yaśovarman (samkhye-samkhya-balam vyajestha gatabhir-yaś-Cedirājam haṭhāt). In another place in the same inscription also (verse 23), where other expeditions of Yaśovarman are mentioned, there is an allusion to his victory over the Cedis. No doubt the same episode has thus been referred to in different parts of the record. It is in verse 23 that the phrase, 'sīdat sāvadya Cediḥ', occurs in connection with the Candella expedition against the Cedis. The intrinsic significance of the term 'sāvadya', which means, 'one liable to condemnation', as applied to the Cedi king, has not been explained in the inscription itself. But with the help of other contemporary records, which refer to the history of the Kalacuris, an attempt may be made to explain why this epithet has been used in a record of the victorious Candella ruler, Yaśovarman, against the defeated Cedi king.

The attitude of the Candellas towards the Kalacuris in the time of Yaśovarman, as shown by the use of this expression, was strikingly different from what it had been in the earlier period. It may be remembered that Yaśovarman's father, Harsa, along with three other rulers, including Bhoja II of the Pratihāra dynasty, and Vallabharāja (i.e. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II), had been granted freedom from fear by the Kalacuri king, Kokkalla (c. 875-925 A. D.), as recorded in the Benares Grant of Karṇa.

Bhoje Vallabharāje Śrī-Harse-Citrakūṭa=bhūṛāle

Samkaragaṇe ca rājani yasyāṣīd-abhayadah pāṇih//v. 7<sup>3</sup>

It seems that Kokkalla assured Harsa of his intention not to injure the interests of the Candellas, and at the same time, to secure indirectly protection for them by allying himself both with the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had been bitterly opposed to each other for a long period.

An additional indication of the friendly relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas during this time is furnished by the same record

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. pp. 126, 132.
2. Ibid, pp. 127, 132.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 306

which refers to the marriage of Kokkalla with a Candella princess, Naṭṭā or Naṭṭākhyadevī. The Kalacuris appreciate this marriage as an ideal one like the celestial unions of Śacī with Indra, Kamalā with Upendra and Umā with Candramaulī.

Although there is no reference to the early relations of the Candella with the Kalacuris in their records of the former prior to the time of Yaśovarman, it seems highly probable in view of the evidence of Kalacuri records, that such relations were quite friendly. But when in a record of Yaśovarman's reign the Kalacuris are spoken of with evident contempt, as in the inscription already referred to, it definitely means that not only the Candellas were now hostile to the latter, but that there were some special reasons for their being provoked against the Kalacuris.

The Candellas were no doubt emboldened to proceed against the Kalacuris during the time of Yaśovarman, relying on their increased power due to their effective intervention in the affairs of Kanaūj, which secured the accession of Ksitipāla,<sup>4</sup> to their matrimonial alliance with the Cāhamānas,<sup>5</sup> and to some conquests which must have already been achieved by the Candellas as the Khajurāho inscription mentions.

The aggressive policy in this new situation can be well understood. But the question is, why did they use the term 'sāvadya' while mentioning their enemy, Kalacuris ?

The policy of friendship pursued by the Kalacuris, as shown in a verse of the Benares Grant, already alluded to, and in another verse in the Bilhari inscription,<sup>6</sup> was subsequently changed. They became more and more definitely attached to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, thus allying themselves with a power which had aggressive intentions in the north.

There was a series of political marriages between Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris:—

(i) Kṛṣṇa II married the younger sister of Sankuka (Sankaragaṇa), a daughter of Kokkalla I.<sup>7</sup>

4. Punar-yena Sri-Nsitipaladeva nrpath simhasane stha ( pith ). L. 10. Khajuraho Inscription No. I.E.I. Vol. I, p. 122.

5. Sonurupam surupangah Kanchukakhyam-akunthadhih savarnnam-vidhinovaha Cahamana-kulodhavam/v. 21. E.I. Vol. I, p. 126. It refers to Harsa's marriage with Kanchuka of Cahamana family.

6. Jitva kṛtsnam yena prthvimapurvam-kirtistambha-dvandramaropyate sma/ Kumbhodbhavyan-disyasau Kṛsnarajah Kauveryanca srinidhir-Bhojadevah / /v. 17. E.I..Vol.I.p.256.

7. Sri Haihayanam-kule Kokkalas-samabhucca tasya tanaya ya Sankukasyanuja/ tasyam kṛsna-nrpat tath srita mahadevi padayam abhut...Indian Antiquary. Vol. XII. p. 265. An almost identical reference to Kṛsna's marriage to a girl of the Cahamana dynasty. Ibid, p. 250.

(ii) Jagattungadeva, son of Kṛṣṇa II, married Lakṣmī<sup>8</sup> and Govindāmbā,<sup>9</sup> both daughters of Sankaragaṇa, son of Kokkalla.

(iii) Indra III married Vijāmbā, grand-daughter of Arjuna, another son of Kokkalla.<sup>10</sup>

It will appear from the above that in every case the bride came from the Kalacuri family. This may suggest admission of an inferior status by the Kalacuris in their relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.<sup>11</sup> This policy of courting the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not have been liked by the North-Indian powers. It was definitely against their interests, as strategically the Kalacuri dominion might be used as a spring-board of Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks against them. They also disgraced themselves in the estimation of those powers whose interests were linked up with the political fortunes of Northern India, particularly the Candellas.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions of the early 10th century A. D. dealt a severe blow to the Gūrjara-Pratihāra power. In some of their campaigns the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seem to have received actual help from the Kalacuris, who are mentioned in the Āmodā Plates<sup>12</sup> as having carried on plunderous raids on a number of territories including that of the Gūrjaras.

The Candellas themselves could not but regard their attachment to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as hostile to their own interest. The establishment of Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority in Kālañjar,<sup>13</sup> however temporary it might be, was possibly facilitated by this alliance. The subsequent occupation of Kālañjar by Yaśovarman<sup>14</sup> marked the turning point of the fortunes of the family. If Kālañjar was conquered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Candellas must have regarded them as their enemy. Association with their enemy on the part of the Kalacuris must have caused irritation to the Candellas particularly, because the Kalacuris, compared with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were a weaker power, and as such may have appeared as depending on the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.<sup>15</sup> Under the circumstances it was quite natural for the Candellas to have described the Kalacuris as 'sāvadya'

8. Cedisvara Samkaragana-duhitari Lakṣmyam-tato-Jagattungat sunur-abhud. Ibid. p. 265; a similar reference in p. 250.

9. Cedyam matula-Samkaragan-atmajayam abhj-Jagattungat Lriman Amoghavarsa Govindambahidhanayam. Ibid. L. 20, p. 265.

10. Ll. 21-22. Ibid, p. 250.

11. Ref. 'kanyopāyanadana' in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol. III, p.8.) meaning 'presents of daughters' to the suzerain ruler by vassal kings.

12. E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 75-78.

13. Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III. E.I. Vol. IV, pp. 284-289 Yasya-paruseksitakhila dakshina dig-durgga vijayamakarnya/ galita Gurjjara-hrdaat-Kalanjara-Citrakut-asa/ / v.30

14. Jagraha kridaya...Kalanjaradrim/v.31. Ibid, Vol I., pp. 127-28, 133.

15. A similar attitude was expressed by Nagabhata II against Cakrayudha for his lowly demeanour in acting as a protege of the Pala king Dharamapala. 'Jitva parasrayakratpphuta nicabhaval'. V.9. Sagaratal (Gwalior) Inscription of Bhoja. Ibid vol. XVIII. p. 99

## ANTIQUITY OF THE TITLE "MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA"

PROF. D. B. DISKALKAR, POONA

It is known that from 1887 A. D. when Queen Victoria's Jubilee was celebrated in India the British Government began bestowing the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya on renowned Sanskrit scholars, who were trained in the *śashtras* in the orthodox way and were devoting their life to teaching Sanskrit and the advancement of Sanskrit studies.<sup>1</sup>

Even before the British the title used to be given to renowned Sanskrit scholars. These scholars hailed generally from Banaras, Bihar and Bengal and were well versed specially in Nyāy and Vyākaraṇa. It is not known who used to give this title. The Maratha rulers had introduced the practice of giving yearly *Dakṣiṇās* to learned *Śāstries* but they are not known to have given this title to any. The Moghal Emperor Shahajahan is said to have given the title- सर्वविद्यानिधान to a Maharashtrian pandit named Kavindra Saraswati, the head of the pandits of Benaras, who prevailed upon the Emperor to abolish the pilgrim tax on the Hindus.<sup>2</sup>

The title is found used with the names of the following Sanskrit scholars who lived in the medieval period :—

1. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, 1275 A. D. author of *Tatvacintāmanī-tīkā*.
2. Raghunath Pandit, 13th Cent. author of *Tattvādīdhitī*.
3. Vallabhācāriya, 14th Cent. author of *Nyāyalīlāvati*.
4. Govind Thakāura, 15th Cent. author of *Kāvya-pradīpa*.
5. Mallinātha, 15th. Cent. 6. Jagadeśh, 16th Cen. 7. Sankara Misra, 1625, A. D. 8. Gadadhara, 1650 A. D. 9. Nāgeshbhaṭṭa 17th Cent. Some more pandits like those of Bhavānanda, Jānakinātha, Trilochana, Gokulanātha, Raghupati etc. are seem to have received this title.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest mention of this title in Sanskrit literature is in the case of Kaiyāṭa, a great author, who lived about 1031 A. D. in later commentaries on his work. Similarly the earliest mention of the title Mahopādhyā is found used with the name of Bhartrahari who lived about 631 A. D. In a solitary manuscript of a commentary entitled *Mahābhāsyadīpikā* preserved in the Berlin Museum.<sup>4</sup>

1 See the Marathi monthly 'Lehyadri' July 1946.

2 See कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय ७ श्रीकृष्णउप, ध्याय ad. M. D. Sharma & Patkar, *Poona Orientalist* No. 60

3 See *Nyayakosha* by M. M. Bhemacharya Jhalkikar, Bombay Sanskrit Series No. 49 and Prof. K. V. Abtejankars Preface to Marathi translation of Mahabhasya, p. 55.

4 Prof. K. V. Abhejankar intends to edit it.

A still earlier mention of the title Mahāmahopādhyāya is found in a copper plate inscription discovered in the village Bhoighar in Murud taluka in the Kolaba district, dated S.946 (1024 A. D.). It is of the time of the Śilāhara king Chhittarāja of Konkan whose Prime-minister Rājaguru Ramapandit-bears the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya.<sup>5</sup>

## VENGI AND KARNĀTAKA

PROF. G. S. DIKSHIT, POONA

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his "The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi" (p. 293) says, that three great Kannaḍa writers, Ponna, Pampa and Nāgavarma I were closely associated with Kammanḍāu (a part of Vengi). "Ponna composed his Śāntipurāṇa at the instance of two brāhman noblemen of Punganūr. The other two were Jain brāhmins, born in Vengipalu i.e., Vengipuram in the Narasaraopet taluk or the Guntur District. Though these authors wrote in Kannaḍa their works, especially those of Pampa, exercised considerable influence over the early Telugu writers and stimulated them to essay poetical compositions in their own language." My main purpose in this paper is to point out to non-Kannaḍa scholars the discussions that are taking place in Kannaḍa literary and historical circles about the native places of these Kannaḍa poets who are said to have connected Vengi and Karnāṭaka. These discussions may throw new light on the limits of Vengi and also on the relations of these two neighbouring regions in medieval times.

Of these poets Ponna presents the least difficulty to scholars about his native place. His statement is explicit. "There was a Jain brāhmin called Nāgamayya in Punganūr, in Kammanāḍu, which was in Vengivisaya. He had two sons named Mallapa and Punnimayya. They requested Ponna to compose a work in memory of Jina Chandra Deva, their Guru." Punganūr is in the Chittoor district, which was then part of Kammanāḍu, part of Vengivisaya. Ponna's date, according to the Karnāṭaka-Kavi-Charite (Vol I p. 39) is 945 A. D.

Regarding Pampa's native place he himself says that "his ancestor, Mādhava Somayāji, was in Vengipalu, which was in Vengimāndala. He was famous in Vasanūtha, Kotturu, Niḍugunḍi and Vikramapura, all belonging to Vengipalu." In what way these four places were brought into relationship with Vengipalu cannot be clearly made out from the text. One explanation is that these four places were sub-divisions of Vengipalu, which

<sup>5</sup> Selected Inscriptions of Maharashtra ed. M. G. Dikshit, p. 44.

probably was the headquarters of a division. It may also be taken to mean that these were agrahāras like Vengīpalu. Now Kottūru is in the Bellary district. Niḍuguṇḍi is in the Dhārwar district. Both are ancient places. Vasantha cannot be identified. Arasibidi in the Bijapur district was known as Vikramapura in the days of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi (11th century). Whether it was known by that name in the days of Pampa I (10th century A. D.) is not known. Because the two places, Kottūru and Niḍuguṇḍi are near one another and were said to be near Vengīpalu, which was in the Vengīvisaya, it has been argued that some parts of Karnataka were also included in the Vengīvisaya. It is maintained that Vengī had two parts, Telugu and Kannaḍa. Two other facts seem to lend support to this contention. In Tamil writings Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka are known by one name Vaḍugu. Further, Pampa I in his Vikramārjuna Vijaya, while describing Draupadī svayamvara, makes Vengisa, the lord of both Kannaḍa and Telugu territories, while separate rulers are mentioned for the Kerala and Paṇḍya countries. Vengisa comes between Kalinga in the north and Paṇḍya and Kerala in the south just the place, where one would expect Āndhra and Karṇāṭaka (V. V. Canto 3).

If Vengīpalu is located in the Kannaḍa part of the Vengī country, it will solve two problems about Pampa I, one is his statement that he wrote in Kannaḍa of the Puligere tract (Dhārwar Dist.) and secondly, his great love for the Banavāsī country which is near Puligere. He makes his hero, Arjuna, come to Banavāsī and his description of this country is such that it leaves one in no doubt that he must have lived there in his boyhood. He could not live there later, ostensibly because he had to live at the court of his patron, Arikesari II, who ruled in Vemulavāḍa in Telangāna.

Another solution to the problem of Pampa I's origin is that his father must have migrated to Karṇāṭaka from Vengī because he became a convert to Jainism from brāhmanism. It is supposed that Karṇāṭaka was a better country than Vengī for the Jains, as there were more Jains in this part of the country. While this will explain his love for Bānavāsī and his command over the Kannaḍa language, it will not solve the riddle of the relationship between Vengīpalu with Vasantha, Kottūru, Niḍuguṇḍi and Vikramapura.

Whether Pampa I came from the Guntur district to live in northern Karṇāṭaka in his childhood and youth or not, he certainly lived in western Vengī (Venmalavāḍa) in his later life. The ancestors of Arikesari II were ruling in Vemulavāḍa (W. Vengī) for generations. In those days it appears to have been a bilingual country, as there are Kannaḍa expressions in the Vemulavāḍa and Parbhāṇi inscriptions. Pampa's ancestors might very well have come from Telangāna rather than from the Guntur district to Karṇāṭakas.

The third poet Nāgavarma I, who lived half a century later (about 990, A. D.) than Pampa I, presents a puzzle which is similar to that created

by Pampa I. He claims that his great-grandfather came from Vengīpalu "which was a delightful village among the seven villages in Vingivisaya." His ancestors came from the same village in the same part of the country as Pampa I. This may have been Telangāṇa or Western Vengī, north-eastern boarder of the Kannaḍa country. From here Nagavarma's ancestors must have migrated to the Dhārṅwār district. For, he says that he belonged to Sayyadi, which is now known as Sudi in the Ron taluk of Dhārṅwār district.

The Cālukyas of Vengī have long been known as the connecting link between Āndhra and Karnāṭaka. The Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍā were another link between these adjacent provinces.

### SOME ASPECTS OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION IN THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE <sup>1</sup>

SHRI KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

From epigraphic records, it is possible to reconstruct a complete picture of the administration of the temples that played a momentous role in Hinduized Cambodia. As in ancient and medieval India, it was kings, dignitaries, and the wealthy classes of the population took the leading part in the religious foundations in this country. The Kings, besides raising stately monuments, encouraged religious foundations in various ways. Vast stretches of waste lands and the settlements deserted through accidents or calamities, were sought to be populated by being distributed among persons of religious zeal. An inscription of the end of the 11th century A. D. enumerates a series of royal grants of waste lands and deserted settlements, under different rulers, to members of a family, holding both official and sacerdotal positions, who, on obtaining those lands, proceeded to establish new villages along with religious foundations.<sup>2</sup> A royal grant of some riverine tracts to a number of dignitaries, for the purpose of the establishment of settlements and installation of divinities, is recorded in an inscription of 979 A. D.<sup>3</sup> Religious foundations seems to have been encouraged

1. The following abbreviations have been followed in annotating this article:—

(i). G. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (4 vols: I, Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extreme-Orient, 1937; II, Hanoi, 1942; III, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1951; Paris, 1952) IC.

(ii) Barth and Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Campa et du Cambodge* ISCC.

(iii) *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* BEFGO.

2. Kuk Trapan Srok Stele Inscr., IC., II, pp. 131-3.

3. Prasat Car Inscr., II. 1-7, Ibid., IV, p. 145.

by sovereigns also by exempting them from taxation,<sup>4</sup> making endowments towards their maintenance,<sup>5</sup> and according various privileges and immunities to their pious founders.<sup>6</sup> The latter, in their turn offered the fruits of their pious works, to the King.<sup>7</sup>

The Khmer King played the role of supreme guardian of all religious foundations. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman I (A. D. 889-900), contain regulations regarding the affairs of the temples and monasteries founded by him.<sup>8</sup> They are of great interest to us as asserting unequivocally the religious authority of the King, "the supreme lord of the earth", and the "the guru of the entire world".<sup>9</sup> Fines, in declining grades are prescribed to punish the negligent functionaries of the temple,<sup>10</sup> while the Superior (Kulapati) of a monastery is threatened with punishment "without mercy" and degradation of his position, unless he conformed to the royal *śāsana*.<sup>11</sup> An inscription of 1027 A. D. records an order issued by

4. A royal sasana declares: "Of all the merit of these foundations, may the king receive either a quarter or a sixth"—IC., I, p. 156. This may refer to the royal share of the merit accruing from the religious foundations, in lieu of the share-tax, probably fixed at two alternative rates, 1/4 and 1/6. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian history and civilization*, Calcutta Univ., 1942, p. 352, f.n. 5

5. Cf. Ta Nen Stele Inscr., II. 7-11, IC., III, p. 32; L. Finot, *La stele du Prasat Trapan Run*, B, BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 75.

6. Cf. Prasat Khtom Inscr., II. 17-31, IC., III, p. 113 f.

7. Cf. Ibid.; Ta Nen Stele Inscr. II. 11-17, IC., III, p. 32 & f. n. 4; Phnom Cisor Stele Inscr. of Sivacarya, II. 30-34, Ibid., p. 152; Trapan Don On Stele Inscr., B, II. 14-17, 38-43, Ibid., pp. 191 & 192; Prasat Srane Inscr., Ibid., IV, p. 50—A founder, who describes himself as Brahmarsi, says: "It is to the Kings, who will reign in the city of Sri Yasodharapura, that I confide these gods; may they be interested in the protection of these divinities"—Ibid., III, p. 141.—Religious foundations and the arrangements made with regard thereto seem to have had to be authorized by royal sanction. Cf. Phnom Cisor Inscr., II. 15-29, Ibid., p. 151; Prasat Ta Kam Inscr., Ibid., p. 91f.; Prasat Lak Nan Inscr., II. 7-14, IC., IV, p. 104.

We have instances of religious foundations falling into desuetude, and a reason may be their failure to attract sufficient royal patronage, in addition to others, such as havocs or calamities, political or otherwise, failure of descent in the families of the founders, or their inability to maintain the cult. Cf. IC., IV, p. 22, v. XX; ISCC., XLII, A, v. 23. An inscription, dated 949 A. D., relates to the restoration of a Saivite asrama, which, founded eleven years earlier, had been menaced with complete ruin at the death of the founder—IC., III, p. 35 f. From an inscription of the 12th century, we learn that a sanctuary of Siva, founded by one Visvakarman, had been reduced to such straits as to compel its guardian, the "Venerable" (Padamula), stricken with age, to dispose of it to a pious individual who proceeded to restore it—Ibid., IV, "Stele de Samron", C, vv. XVII-XXI, pp. 187f & 191.

8 G. Coedes, BEFEO., XXXII, p. 108.

9. Sa hi visvambharadhisas sarvvalokagurus smrtah—ISCC., LVI, Cl, v. 1.

10. Ibid., LV, v. 83 ff.

11. Yady evam sasanam idan nanukuryyat kuladhipah  
nirddayan dandyatam rajna sa cayattas tapasvisu ll

—Coedes, *La stele de Tep Pranam*, v. Cl,

*Journal Asiatique*, mars-avril, 1908, p. 213. See also BEFEO., XXXII, pp. 105 & 108

King Sūryavarman I to the effect that four āśramas, having names all commencing with 'Yogīśvara', were to be under the authority of the "inspectors of royal service" alone, and not under that of the "chiefs of districts" (khloñ visaya).<sup>12</sup> This shows that royal control was exercised over religious institutions through the normal secular machinery of administration, either directly through the officers responsible to the king himself or through the local authorities charged with the administration of the provinces (dēśa)<sup>13</sup> and the districts (visaya). Too much of official intervention in the affairs of these institutions seems, however, to have been resented. An inscription of the same reign records, for instance, the royal compliance with a request to remove the administration of certain āśramas from the authority of several categories of officials, viz., the 'chiefs of religious affairs', 'inspectors of royal service', 'chiefs of works', and 'inspectors of the population'.<sup>14</sup>

The accession of Yaśovarman I to the throne of Kambujadēśa, in 889 A. D., was marked by the foundation of a series of small monasteries, all bearing a name recalling his own (Yaśodharāśrama), in different parts of his kingdom. These monasteries, were all open to "the Brahmanas, the Vaisnavas, and the Śaivas", without distinction: Near the capital the monarch built three larger sectarian āśramas—a Brāhmaṇāśrama, a Vaiṣṇavāśrama, and a Saugatāśrama—for the Śaiva-Pāśupatas, the Vaiṣṇava-Pāñcarātras, and the Buddhists, respectively.<sup>15</sup> The foundation of all these āśramas was accompanied by the issue of royal śāsanas, regulating the management of their affairs. The foundation of the temple of Lolei, enshrining the deified images of his parents and maternal grand-parents, was accompanied by the issue of a similar regulation applicable to that temple.<sup>16</sup> Yaśovarman's regulations relating to the religious institutions deal with matters concerning religio-ethical customs and principles, in vogue for generations past. The Vat Phou Stele Inscr. of Jayavarman I (7th century A. D.), who flourished two centuries earlier containing a small royal śāśana with regard to a sanctuary called Lingaparavata, already formulates the "right of sanctuary", and prescribes certain prohibitions relating to conduct within precincts of the sanctuary.<sup>17</sup>

12. Ta Nen Stele Inscr., 11. 25-30, IC., III, p. 32 f.

13. See, e. g., ISCC., LIVB, v. 50.

14. "Inscription du pavillon de la stele de Bakon", IC., IV, p. 43f.

15. G. Coedes, A la recherche du Yaśodharacrama, BEFEO., XXXII, p. 84ff.

From the existence in each of these asramas of a royal cell (rajakuti) and the enunciation of prescriptions in view of the occasional visits of the King, it has been presumed that they fulfilled the function of stations of halt in course of royal journeys—*Ibid.*, p. 112.

16. See, for these regulations, ISCC., XLIV, LV, LVI; Coedes, BEFEO., XXXII pp. 97-108.

17. A Barth, Stele de Vat Phou, vv. 4-5, BEFEO., II, p. 238.

Indeed, the syncretism of religions went so far in the ancient Khmer Empire as to lead to the adoption by the different sects of an identical pattern of worship and organization, in spite of the sectarian and other differences.<sup>18</sup> A temple or monastery was placed under the charge of a Kulapati, who directed its internal administration. It was his duty also to entertain guests and pilgrims. The regulations of Yaśovarman lay down elaborate rules as to the order of precedence in this matter, the criteria being the rank and status of the people to be entertained and the degree of their attainments. Next in position to the Kulapati was the Adhyāpaka, and the two offices were sometimes combined. It is an Adhyāpaka who figures as the Superior of the great temples of Ta Prohm and Prah Khan, built by the Buddhist King Jayavarman VII.<sup>19</sup> A 'Kulapati-adhyāpaka' is mentioned as the head of a Buddhist monastery in the Tep Praṇam Stele Inscr. of the time of Sūryavarman I.<sup>20</sup> The Adhyāpaka was an important temple or āsrama functionary, indeed, for a Khmer temple or monastery was no less a centre of learning than a religious institution. We have references to vidyāśramas,<sup>21</sup> to keepers of manuscripts or librarians (pustakaraksin), and to scribes (lēkhaka).<sup>22</sup> The purohita, chaplain, and the yājaka, were concerned with the observance of the cult.<sup>23</sup> Śailēśsa or Śailādhipa (Khmer khloñ vnam),<sup>24</sup> 'Guardians of rules' (kramaplāa),<sup>25</sup> 'inspectors of qualities and defects' (guṇadosadrśah),<sup>26</sup> 'chiefs of stores' (dhanēśa, Khmer khloñ),<sup>27</sup> 'guardians of revenues'<sup>28</sup>, 'inspectors of gold and silver',<sup>29</sup> 'inspectors and guardians of treasure',<sup>30</sup> 'guardians of paddy',<sup>31</sup> 'chiefs of corvées' (kāryamukhya,

18. See esp. *Ibid.*, p. 97 ff.

19. Coedes, *La stèle de Ta Prohm*, BEFEO., VI, p. 44 ff; Coedes, *La stèle du Prah Khan d'Ankor*, BEFEO., XLI, p. 255 ff. On this point, see Coedes, *Les hopitaux de Jayavarman VII*, BEFEO., XL, p. 347.

20. IC., III, p. 233.

21. Cf. *Vat Prah Einkosei Stele Inscr.*, C, v. XXX, *Ibid.*, IV, p. 126.

22. Coedes, *La stèle de Tep Pranam*, v. XCVI, loc. cit., p. 213; also BEFEO., XXXII, p. 104.

23. References are found also to 'servants of the god' (devaparicaraka)—IC., 11, pp. 57, 144 (11. 6-8); and to 'guardians of the cult' (pujapala)—*Ibid.*, III, p. 111, v. IV.

24. IC., I, p. 170, v. LIV; p. 192, v. XV.—Once we have reference to a Sailadhipatis sarvarnaminam, who, having obtained the title of "Supreme Chief of all the Sailadhipas" (Sarvasailadhipadhipa), mocked at the Himavat, which is only the "King of the mountains" (Sailadhipa)—*Ibid.*, p. 262, vv. VIII-IX.

25. IC., II, 26. IC., II, p. 144, 11. 6-8.

26. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170, v. LIV; II, p. 144, 11. 6-8.

27. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170, v. LIV.

28. *Ibid.*, III, p. 140, 11. 23-28.

29. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 73, 11. 8-25.

30. *Ibid.*, II, p. 144, 11. 6-8.

31. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 73, 11. 8-25.

Khmer *khloñ kārya*)<sup>32</sup>—were the other important temple functionaries, whose designations reveal the nature of their duties, and throw light on the temporal side of temple organization.<sup>33</sup>

The Khmer temple did not, however, attain such great importance in the economic life of the people as did the Cola temple in S. India. The Cola temple, was also a social institution, and played the role of a bank of the realm. All the cash endowments that would flow to it, amounting to several thousands of *Kāśns*, were loaned out to numerous village assemblies for interest, fixed in kind or money, generally ranging about 12% per annum.<sup>34</sup> The ancient Khmer people, were definitely at a low level of economic life. The prices of lands and slaves, purchased for the purpose of endowment to temples, are carefully recorded in the inscriptions, but we find that there was no coinage, a standard currency value of any sort; a pure system of barter prevailed.<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, the temple's right to its property, human and material, movable and immovable, was exclusive, as expressed by the term, *siddhi*.<sup>36</sup> As to the manner in which temple property was managed, there were three different systems. So far as the great royal foundations are concerned, the management of their property was carried out directly by their own authorities, subject, of course, to the supervision and control of the State, as was the case with the Cola temple.<sup>37</sup> Temple properties are found sometimes to have been placed under the charge of local groups or of note.<sup>38</sup> Far more usually, they were entrusted to the families of the donors themselves. In an inscription of 1005 A. D., the donor of a foundation declares: "May the dependence (of this foundation) exist only

32. Ibid.; I, p. 170, v. LIV. *Karyamukhya* would not, however, necessarily have to be translated as "chief of corvee". Khmer *Khlon karya* has been rendered by M. Coedes as "chef des travaux", in IC., IV, p. 44, II. 15-21; p. 104, II. 18-20; p. 105, II. 10-13.

33. It is noteworthy that these temple functionaries seem to have had to perform duties concerning the affairs of the religious institutions, but in common with their secular counterparts bearing the same designations. Cf. Prasat Komphus Stele Inscr., B, I, 15, IC., I, p. 180; Tuol Prasat Stele Inscr., A, II, 1-4, IC., II, p. 104 f.; IC., III, p. 75, II. 30-37; IC., IV, p. 44, II. 15-21; p. 104, II. 7-14; p. 115, II. 8-11; Prasat Trapan Run Stele Inscr., B, I, 9. ff., BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 75 f.

34. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II (Madras Univ., 1937), p. 503; Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II, Nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, etc.

35. Cf. Vat Baset Inscriptions, IC., III, p. 8 f., II. 8-11; p. 14, II. 4-6; p. 19 f., II. 10-14; Phnom Cisor Inscr., Ibid., pp. 150-52.

36. On the meaning of this term, see BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 144, f. n. 2.

37. Cf. Basak (Romduol) Stele Inscr., IC., II, p. 144; Phnom Kanva Inscriptions, Ibid., III, p. 74 f.; Prasat Lak Nan Inscr., Ibid., IV, p. 104.—On the management of Cola temple property, see Sastri, loc. cit., p. 400 ff; Hultzsch, loc. cit.

38. According to an inscription from Sambor-Prei Kuk (IC., IV, pp. 26 & 27)

with respect to those who will be born successively in my family; . . . may it not belong either to the Śailādhipa or to the other servants of the god".<sup>39</sup> From another inscription of the same year, it appears that temple property also passed to the authority of the relations of the donor, after his death, and that only in default of heirs, could it be entrusted to the authorities of the temple itself.<sup>40</sup> In an inscription of the 12th century, distinction is made between two groups of endowments by an individual to a number of sanctuaries: one is placed under the authority (āyattāh) of a member of his own family, while the other is said to be "given without restriction" (aksatadā-yakāh), and made dependent on 'the chiefs of those domains' (ksētrādhipa, Khmer khloñ ksetra), i.e., the head of the sanctuaries concerned.<sup>41</sup> As Coedes points out, the sanctuaries of the latter group were royal foundations, more or less old, in contrast to those of the former, which were private foundations.<sup>42</sup> We have on record the instance of an individual offering lands to a temple, but making them over to his sons presumably, charged with their exploitation on behalf of the temple.<sup>43</sup> In another instance, we find even the original owners of a land, purchased by an individual for the endowment of a temple, confirmed in its exploitation in the future.<sup>44</sup> But temple property was inviolable in all cases; it could neither be destroyed nor employed for any other use "even by the king, let alone others,"<sup>45</sup> There might, however, be a relaxation of this rule, if an emergency of a general character arose, such as invasion by a foreign army. In such a case, but in no other, states Yaśovarman I, in his Lolei Inscr., could the slaves owned by a temple be employed for the defence of the kingdom.<sup>46</sup>

From the detailed data furnished by two steles of Jayavarman VII,

the gifts of one Durgasvamin to a linga erected by him, consisting of cattle and cultivated fields, were placed under the authority of the "sala tnah" of different localities, including Isanapura (Sambor-Prei Kùk), the guardian of the "sala tnah" of this city having been charged with the administration of this property. The signification of the term "sala tnah" has, however, been found difficult to determine. The Phnom Bakhen Inscr., II. 11-14 (Ibid., p. 107), informs us that the authority over the products of a land, purchased by two "venerables" of Vrah Thkval and of the Rudrasrama, respectively, from two "venerables" of Vnam Kantal (Phnom Bakhen), was vested in "the members of the families of the chiefs of the caste of (the bearers of) fly-whisks (camara)".

39. "Une nouvelle inscription de Jayaviravarman a Prah Ko", v. XVI, IC., I, pp. 192 & 194.

40. Phnom Prah Net Prah Inscr. of 927 Saka, *ibid.*, III, p. 38 f.

41. Trapan Don On Stele Inscr. Cf. A, vv. XXXVI and XXXI, *ibid.*, p. 184.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

43. Vat Baset Inscriptions of Gunapativarman, *Ibid.*, p. 3 ff.

44. Vat Baset Inscr. of Phalapriya, *Ibid.*, p. 16 ff.

45. ISCC., XLIV, v. 38; c., II, p. 138, v. V.

46. ISCC., LV, v. 66.

those of Ta Prohm and Prah Khan, it is possible to estimate the magnitude and grandeur, of the wealth and property of a great royal foundation while the Khmer Empire was at its highest. The great temple of Ta Prohm, consecrated in 1186 A.D., to enshrine the image of the queen mother in the aspect of Prajñāpāramitā, and 260 images, and including that of the guru of the king, possessed 3,140 villages and 79,365 persons in its service, including 18 grand priests, 2,740 officiants, 2,202 assistants, and 615 female dancers; gold plates weighing a little over 5,000 kilogrammes and silver plates weighing almost as much, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls, 4,540 precious stones, etc., as pious gifts of the King and of the landed proprietors (grāmavant). Besides, there were provisions of all sorts, either furnished by the royal store or collected from the farmers and the traders. The temple of Prah Khan, consecrated in 1191 A. D., to enshrine the image of the father of the King in the aspect of Bodhisattva Lokēśvara, was far more considerable in magnitude, comprising in all 515 images grouped into the orbit of the central divinity, as the stele of its foundation informs us, and it received provisions naturally more considerable in quantity furnished either by the royal stores or by the 5,324 villages, the pious gifts of the King and of the landed proprietors (grāmavant).<sup>47</sup>

Slave-labour was the basis of the economy of the ancient Khmer Empire. The treatment of slaves, including those belonging to the temples, does not seem to have been humane enough. An inscription of the reign of Rājendravarman (c. 965 A. D.) states that a recalcitrant slave, who had managed somehow to escape from the temple domain on which he had been born, was captured and had his ears and nose cut as penalty inflicted by the authorities of the sanctuary.<sup>48</sup> The numerous slaves, male and female, as well as children, forming property of a Khmer temple, were employed in various services. Their largest assignment appears, however, to have been to work on temple lands, out of which fixed quotas of produce had to be supplied by them on fixed occasions, such as the New Year's Day, New Moon, Full Moon, etc.<sup>49</sup> Cattle were for the purpose of cultivation and they served another purpose, too, that of furnishing butter for the anointment of the deities. The cattle used for this purpose were formed into "sacred droves" (Khmer vrah thpal). In an inscription of the middle of the 10th century, it is stated that in the case of certain judicial punishments the fine would be a pair of cows, which would go to constitute the "sacred drove"<sup>50</sup>

47. Coedes, *La stele de Ta Prohm*, BEFEO., VI, p. 44 ff; Coedes, *La stele du Prah Khan d'Ankor*, BEFEO., XLI, p. 255 ff; Coedes, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1947, p. 193 f.

48. IC., III, p. 74.

49. The products included, according to one record, tapers and clothes (vasana, sataka), in addition to rice, the principal product of the soil—IC—, III, p. 1.17 ff.

50. Basak (Romduol) *Stele Inscr.*, IC., II, p. 54 ff.

One category of slaves were employed for the grazing of cattle in fields reserved for the purpose.<sup>51</sup> Slaves were also employed for such temple services as the preparing of water for ablution, of perfume, etc.<sup>52</sup>

The donation of land to a temple was accompanied by the setting up of boundary-marks—a ceremony attended by religious personages and high officials, as well as representatives of the localities concerned.<sup>53</sup> Endowments to temples were recorded formally in inscriptions. Violation of temple property does not seem to have been unknown altogether.<sup>54</sup> Cases of dispute over temple property, brought to the notice of the King, however, were dealt with great care and promptitude. One such instance is recorded in detail in the Vat Prah Einkosei Inscr. of Divākarabhaṭṭa, brother-in-law of King Jayavarman V. In 982 A. D. there arose a dispute over a piece of land, offered two years earlier by one Vāp Dharma, along with two members of his family, to the sanctuary of Dvijēndrapura, founded by Divākara-bhaṭṭa. When it was referred to the King, searching enquiries were made into the history of the land and into its limits; marks of its boundaries were set up. Later on, it was reported that those boundary-marks had been removed; an enquiry was again instituted, but it was found out that the boundary-marks, removed by a woman, belonged to a different piece of land.<sup>55</sup>

An interesting feature of the religious administration in the ancient Khmer Empire was the division of the services, as well as of the property into two distinct groups, each reserved for a fortnight of the month.<sup>56</sup> In an inscription of the time of Rājendrarvarman, dated 966 A. D., it is clearly laid down that the right to the use of the objects, offered during either of the fortnights to a sanctuary, rests in the fortnight during which they are offered.<sup>57</sup> We hear of temple stores, of sheds for the "sacred droves", etc. reserved for each of the fortnights.<sup>58</sup> Priests and officiants, slaves

51. Cf. IC., IV, p. 117, 11. 27-29; p. 147, 11. 25-29.

52. Cf. *ibid.*, III, p. 172, 11. 3-10.

53. Cf. Vat Baset Inscr., 1.36 ff., *ibid.*, p. 21 ff; Prasat Trapan Run Stele Inscr., B, 1. 19 ff., BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 76 f.

54. Cf. Prasat Prei Kmen Inscr., Ic., IV, p. 65.

55. IC., IV, p. 115 ff. Another interesting instance is recorded in the Prasat Trapan Run Stele Inscr., B, 1.33 ff., *loc. cit.*, p. 77 ff.

56. Cf. e. g. Trapan Don On Inscr., IC., III, p. 188. As regards landed property, there was a peculiar custom, side by side with the system of apportioning it, like other kinds of property, for the two fortnights of the month. It is found sometimes to have been represented in both of the temple stores, reserved for the two fortnights, by a lump of earth, raised from the land offered and placed in the sacred stores, to the accompaniment of a rite. Cf. IC., III, p. 24, 11.64-66 & f. n. 1.

57. IC., III, p. 75, 11. 38-43.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 24, 11. 64-66 & f. n. 2; IC., II, p. 57.

and servants, were all required to serve by rotation (paryāya) in two fortnights.<sup>59</sup>

Another characteristic feature was the system of grouping together two or more institutions and placing them under the same authority, and making them "co-participant" (miśrabhoga) with one another, having a united personnel, a united property, and a united supply of provisions. Numerous such instances are recorded in inscriptions from Cambodia. Two foundations of the Brāhmaṇa Divākaraḥaṭṭa, at Dvijēndrapura (Pre Einkosei) and at Madhuvana (Prasat Komphus) respectively, were made "co-participant". A triad of divinities, set up by the same person at Madvana, was, again, consecrated to Bhadrēśvara, one of the great gods of the Kāmbujas, with all the endowments to the former rendered indivisible (vimiśrabhogam) between them and the god with whom they were united.<sup>60</sup> An inscription from Banteay Srei, dated 968 A. D., records an order issued by King Jayavarman V, uniting the foundation of the royal guru at Īśvarapura ( Banteay Srei ), namely, the sanctuary of Tribhuvana-mahēśvara, as well as his other foundations, already united under the authority of the same sanctuary, with Bhadrēśvara of Lingapura.<sup>61</sup> According to the Tep Praṇam Stele Inscr. of the time of Sūryavarman I, a Virāśrama, founded by the King, was assigned, along with its provisions, to the Saugatāśrama.<sup>62</sup>

A broad outline of the Khmer temple administration has been attempted above. "The great Khmer monuments," it has been observed by an eminent western authority, "did not draw their origin from popular faith, like our cathedrals.....It would be a grave error to represent them as public places of worship, analogous to our churches or to the modern pagodas".<sup>63</sup> But it would perhaps be equally true to say that worship in temples "never attained the importance in Hinduism that church services attained in Christianity".<sup>64</sup> A Khmer temple, like a monastery, was a centre of education, in different branches of literature. Besides, it accumulated and fostered under its wings the various arts, those of the dancer, of the singer, of the instrumentalists, of the reciters, and of

59. Vat Baset Inscr., 1.36 ff., loc.; Coedes, La stèle de Tep Praṇam, v. XCV-it., p. 214 (also Beloc. cit., p. 213; also BEFEO., XXXII, p. 104).—It may be noted that this system appears to have been but a replica of its parallel in the secular sphere. Cf. Vat Baset Inscriptions, loc. cit., p. 9, 11. 13-20, p. 22.

60. IC., I, p. 167, v. XLVII; p. 169, v. XLVIII; IC., IV, p. 125 f., vv. XXV-XXVII.

61. IC., I, p. 156.

62. Ibid., III, p. 233.

63. Coedes, Pour mieux comprendre Angkor, p. 65.

64. K. A. N. Sastri, The economy of a South Indian temple in the Cola period Malaviya Commemoration Volume, p. 305.

the actors, who probably displayed their faculties not only for temple services but also for the sake of social amusement and recreation.<sup>65</sup> The numerous hospitals (*ārogyaśālā*), founded by the great Budhuist monarch, Jayavarman VII, were placed under the invocation of the healing Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru Vaiduryaprabhā, and his two assistants, Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana, whose images were enshrined in an adjoining chapel.<sup>66</sup> An hospital actually formed an integral part of the great temple-establishment at Prah Khan, while the 102 hospitals, mentioned in the stele of foundation of the temple of Ta Prohm, had their personnel nominated by the Superior of the great royal monument, dedicated to the mother of the King in the aspect of Prajñāpāramitā.<sup>67</sup> These hospitals were open to all the four castes. These foundations did not cater exclusively to preoccupations of medical and social order: moral and religion seem to have held a very great place in the mind of the founder. the King was responsible for the prosperity of the State through the punctual observance of the rites and causing by his evil conduct the public calamities. Maladies in the Buddhist conception, being the just retribution of faults committed, in the previous existences, moral cure was as efficacious as medical treatment. The salvific influence of the Buddhist divinities, under whose invocation the hospitals were placed, was equal to that of the physicians who practised there their art, and of the medicines they administered".<sup>68</sup> Thus the Khmer temple formed, in the life of the Hinduized population of Cambodia, as did the Coḷa temple of S. India, "a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of Dharma".<sup>69</sup>

65. Cf. IC., I, p. 22, vv. XXXVI; IC., III, p. 41, v. VIII; p. 111, v. II.

66. On the hospitals of Jayavarman VII, see L. Finot, *L'inscription sanskrite de Say-fong*, BEFEO., III, p. 18 ff.; G. Coedes, *Les hopitaux de Jayavarman VII*, BEFEO., XL, p. 344 ff.; Coedes, *Les hopitaux de Jayavarman VII*, BEFEO., XL, p. 344 ff; Coedes, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, p. 201 ff.

67. Coedes, *La stele du Prah Khan d'Ankor*, v. XXXIX, loc. cit., pp. 275, 289 & f. n. 8; Coedes, *Les hopitaux de Jayavarman VII*, loc. cit., p. 347.

68. *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, p. 205 f.

69. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, II, p. 504.

## ENDOWMENTS THROUGH TAXES ON TRADE IN NORTHERN INDIA

FROM THE 10TH TO THE 12TH CENTURY A. D.  
MISS PUSPA NIYOGI, M. A.

It is not easy to obtain a clear picture of taxation in Northern India from inscriptional sources from the 10th to the 12th Century A. D. Only stray references to some fiscal terms, not usually accompanied by such details as would have been useful in clarifying their definitions, are to be found in the land-grants of the period. Nevertheless, the material throws some light on certain sources of revenue, thus providing an opportunity for the study of the form in which the earlier system of taxation was continued during this period and also of the differences between taxation in actual practice and taxation as it is portrayed in the Smritis and other relevant branches of ancient literature.

In this paper an attempt will be made to focus our attention on that branch of taxation only which is related to trade, to such articles of trade which were intended for sale in the course of transit, or during transactions in the market or when assembled at watch-stations or in the custom house. The term, Śulka, known from the Vedic times, occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the period. According to Whitney it means simply a tax, while Weber takes it to mean a "toll". Ghoshal suggests that it is identical with *bali*. But this could not have been the sense conveyed by the term in the post-Vedic period when its connection with commercial taxation becomes definitely established. In the Smritis and Sanskrit lexicons as well as in the inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries A. D., wherever it occurs, it has been usually defined as meaning 'ferry dues, tolls and transit duties'. Kautilya seems to apply the term to a wide field of taxation, for according to him it means 'duties levied upon articles imported into the city, port-dues, duty upon sale of liquors (Surā), customs collected by the ferrymen and boundary officers, duty upon mining (Khani) products, duty on imported salt, duty upon animals intended for slaughter etc.<sup>1</sup> Sukra<sup>2</sup> uses the word in the sense of import and export taxes, for he defines it as meaning tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise carried into and out of the kingdom. This, however, does not fully indicate the scope of Śulka in the Nīṭisāra. The duty on building sites for shops is also called śulka in that text. It may be reasonable to con-

1. Kautilya's Arthasastra Translated by R. Shamasastri.
2. Sukranīti. Ed. by Benoy Sarker.

clude that all taxes levied on foreign goods as well as those produced internally but intended for sale, collected at ports where they existed, or at the frontiers of a territory or at other places, were generally included in the category of Śulka. Schedules are also given in legal and other texts of the different rates of śulka, specially by Vishnu<sup>3</sup> which requires that the King's portion of the śulka should be one-tenth of the merchandise of his own country and one-twentieth of that of foreign countries, thus differentiating between the rate of taxation on foreign and local commodities.

Śulka continued to be an important source of revenue for the Hindu state during the period under review. In this connection it is interesting to note that some references to Śulka-*maṇḍapikā* also occur, which shows that there were regular custom-houses where this tax used to be collected.

Inscriptions refer to Śulka-*maṇḍapikā* in connection with donations made out of the tax collected there, as for instance, the Nādol Plate of Ālhaṇadeva<sup>4</sup>, dated in the Vikrama year 1218 which mention that this Chahamāna ruler granted to a Jaina temple a monthly sum of 5 drammas which was to be paid from the Śulka-*maṇḍapikā* in the ground of Naddūla.

The same type of information is available from the two Praśastis of Baijnath<sup>5</sup> which record that a local chief granted daily 2 drammas out of the income derived from the *maṇḍapikā*. The Nādol Plate of Pratāpasimha<sup>6</sup>, dated in the Vikrama year 1213, similarly records a grant by a feudatory of Kumārapāla, consisting of a rūpaka per day, which was to be paid out of the collection at the *maṇḍapikā* to some Jaina temples.

A Somnātha Temple inscription<sup>7</sup>, dated 1017 A. D., which also contains a reference to the *maṇḍapikā*, deserves special attention. It is stated in this inscription that three merchants Narasimha, Govrishha and Thraditya jointly gave to Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka, a daily gift of a karsa or about three-fourths of a tola of ghee or clarified butter from out of the *maṇḍapikā*-tax. The three merchants named in the grant may have constituted the local authority for the collection of the *maṇḍapikā* dues. As members of the Municipal Board, if it existed in the locality concerned, they may have possessed some 'discretionary power', as the learned editor of the inscription suggests, to make donation out of the collections at the *maṇḍapikā* situated within their jurisdiction. In this connection it may be mentioned that one

3. III, 29-30.

4. E. I. IX, p. 62.

5. E. I. I, p. 97.

6. I. A. XLI, 1912, p 202.

7. E. I. XXIII, p. 131.

of the municipal boards at Pāṭaliputra in the days of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, was actually entrusted with the task of collecting tithes on sales etc. The *Rajatarangini*<sup>8</sup> in one place refers to an instance on which the dues appear to have been collected not in the *maṇḍapikā* but at a watch-station (*dranga*, a military station). The case appears in the record of the reign of Jayasimha (1128-49 A. D.) of an unruly Damara after imprisoning King's officers had his own name stamped on red lead on the commodities as if he were the king himself. It will appear from this episode that the tax in question could be collected only by royal officers and that the seal of the king was to be stamped on all articles after the dues had been collected. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya states that it was the duty of the *Paṇyādhyakṣa* or the Superintendent of Merchandise to collect fees (*śulka*) at a military or police station. Another early text, *Divyāvadāna*<sup>9</sup> gives the story of a merchant, in which a reference is made to the practice of collecting duties (*śulka*) and fees 'payable at military and police station (*Gulma*) and freight for merchandise' !

As regards the officers who were employed for the purpose of collecting *śulka*, sufficient details are not available, but one of the chief officers must have been the one designated *Śaulkika*. He figures frequently in the inscription of the period along with other high officials of the state, particularly in the Pāla grants<sup>10</sup>.

In the *Jājilpārā Grant of Gopāla II*<sup>11</sup> mention is made of a fiscal term *dvārikādāna*, which seems to denote a tax or toll collected at the gates. The second element in the compound '*Dvārikādāna*' reminds us of the word '*dān*', signifying transit duties levied by the Kings of Anhilwara on goods conveyed through the country.<sup>12</sup> There is an undoubted similarity, as pointed out by some scholars, between the expression occurring in the *Jājilpārā* grant and *dvāravāhirikādāyam* mentioned by Kauṭilya<sup>13</sup>. Roadcesses seem to be implied by the designation of an officer, *mārggādāyēkauptika*, referred to in the *Somenātha Temple inscription*<sup>14</sup> dated in the Vikrama year 1074. The meaning of "*Kauptika*" is not clear, but *mārggādāyēv* certainly means 'tolls on roads', indicated by the term '*varttāni*' in Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*. The *Panahera inscription* of the time of *Jayasimhadeva of Mālwa*,<sup>15</sup> dated in the Vikrama year 1116, records that the king assigned one *Vimśopaka* on every bull that passed on the road for the

8. VII 2010.

9. III, 5, p 501.

10. B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*.

11. JSSB XVII, No. 2, 1951, p 137.

12. Forbes, *Ras Mala-Rawlinson*, p 235.

13. *Arthasastra* III, ch. VI, p 60

14. EI. XXIII, p 131.

15. EI. XXI, p 41.

maintenance of the worship of a deity. It is likely that in this case the assignment formed a part of the total collection of road-cess in a particular area, the charge on the bull being a levy on the standard load carried by the animal. The Nāḍlāi Stone inscription<sup>16</sup> of Rāyaṇāla dated V. S. 1195 (1137. A. D.) makes the point clear when it records that the king granted one-twentieth part of the income (ābhāvaya) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nāḍlāi for a religious purpose. The Junā Stone inscription of Śamantasimhadēva<sup>17</sup> of the Vikrama year 1325 (1267 A. D.) refers to a grant of one Pala from every incoming or outgoing caravan 'exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks'. Another Nāḍlāi Stone inscription, dated V.S. 1202 furnishes similar information regarding cesses collected on highways. Here a distinction is drawn between bullocks and carts as carriers of loads in fixing the rates of the cess. The inscription mentions two different rates for bullocks and carts, in the case of bullocks two rūpakas were to be charged for each 20 pāitas of load carried while one rūpaka was to be charged on each cart conveying commodities which came under the class Kirāṇās (i. e. Substances such as dry ginger, black pepper etc).

In the enumeration of rights transferred to donees in connection with a land-grant mention is made of the word ghāṭa, which means the dues charge for crossing rivers<sup>18</sup>. Ferry dues constitute a source of income in the Kauṭīlian State. In the landgrants of the Pāla Kings the Tārikā appears in the list of officials. This officer seems to have been concerned with the collection of ferry dues.

Another source of revenue was the bazar or the market where sales and purchases went on. The evidence, furnished by epigraphy in this connection, does not make it clear whether grants were made out of the state's dues on sales and purchases or that they consisted of specific levies collected at the market for religious purposes. It is evident that transactions in the market were liable to normal taxation.<sup>19</sup> The Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva<sup>20</sup>, dated V. S. 1016, gives a list of taxes assigned to a religious institution, including the following items:

1. Three vimśopakas on every sack of agricultural produce brought for sale to the market place.
2. Two palikās from every ghaṭaka-kupāka of clarified oil and butter.

16. EI. XI, p 36.

17. EI. XI, p 59.

18. EI. XXI, p 91.

19. King Samkaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A. D.) is credited by Kalhana with the establishment of two revenue officers, one of which was charged with the share of the lord of the market (attapatibhaga). Apparently he was concerned with the collection of the royal market dues. The duties of such an officer can be traced in the Arthasastra.

20. EI. III, p 263.

3. 50 leaves from every chollika brought from outside the town.

Another earlier inscription which belongs to the reign of Allata of Mewar<sup>21</sup> (V. S. 1010), gives the following details about the taxation on sales, similarly donated a religious institution.

1. One dramma on the sale of an elephant;
2. One-fortieth of a dramma on a horned animal;
3. Two rūpakas on a horse;
4. One tulā from a lāta;
5. One ādhaka from a haṭṭa;
6. One chatuhsar from the flower-sellers every day.

The Arthuna inscription of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (V. S. 1136)<sup>22</sup> furnishes another list of dues from transactions going on in the market-place, as follows:—

1. One fruit out of every bharaka of cocoanuts;
2. A mānaka on each mutaka of salt;
3. One nut out of every thousand areca-nuts;
4. One palikā of every ghaṭaka of butter and sesamum oil;
5. One and a half rūpakas on each koḷika of clothing fabric;
6. Two pūlakas on a jāla (bunch of bunds);
7. Two santas on each lagaḍā (bar of gold, silver or other metal);
8. A pāṇaka on each karsha of oil;
9. A vrisha-Vimśopaka on each load of cattle-fodder;
10. A dramma on every pile of sugar, etc.

The evidence of the Pehoa inscription<sup>23</sup> (882-3 A. D.) seems to suggest that when it concerned a religious institution it was possible even for private individuals to institute a kind of tax, the payment of which was obligatory on the part of all following the same trade. It records that certain horse-dealers, meeting at a Yātra held at Pehoa, agreed to impose upon themselves and upon their customers certain taxes viz-- (1) Two drammās which were to be collected by deducting the same from the sum received by the dealers in horses for each animal sold at Pehoa to the king or to any of his subjects; (2) One dramma to be paid by the buyer of each animal, which was in excess of the stipulated price.

There is another case of payment made both by the buyer and the seller, recorded in the Arāvāḍā stone inscription of Sārangadēva (V. S. 1348). In this instance the transactions were in respect of certain agricultural commodities. It gives the following details regarding rates, parties and commodities involved.

21. IA-LVIII, p 161.

22. E. I. XIV, p 295.

23. E. I. I, p 184.

1. Half a dramma paid by the seller on one dhaḍi of madder (Mānjisthā);
2. One dramma paid both by the seller and buyer on one dhaḍa of solonum Melongena (Hingudī).
3. Some portion from each cart filled with grain, the nature of which is not clear;
4. One palī from a ghaḍā or jar of ghee by the seller.

It appears that the stalls of traders were also subject to taxation. From the Arthuna inscription of the Paramāra Cāmuṇḍaraja,<sup>24</sup> to which reference has already been made, it may be gathered that the king took one dramma from each shop of a trader and that of a brazier in the local market every month, and four rūpakas from each vumvaka of the distillers. Similarly, the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva<sup>25</sup> states that the sum of two vimśopakas imposed on every shop per mensem. As has been already noted, the Nītisāra of Śukra<sup>26</sup> mentions a tax (Śulka) upon building sites as well as sites of shops.

Certain fiscal terms are found in inscriptions, the meaning of which is not sufficiently clear. Among these mention may be made of pravaṇikara, Maṇḍalakara and Talārābhāvya. The term pravaṇikara is to be met with in most of the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas. Dr. Tripathi thinks that it was a tax on turnpikes intended to preserve the peace of the village by discouraging the 'advent of a large number of visitors'. Leumann derives the word from 'pra' and 'vanij', which means, according to him, a retail dealer or perhaps a second hand dealer. There is, however, no satisfactory explanation as to why the final consonant is omitted in the expression, pravaṇi or Pravaṇikara', if it is not due to a deliberate attempt at abbreviation. The Pravaṇi, it may be noted, appears along with other persons belonging to the assigned villages and his place in the list is next to that of the vaṇik in the land-grants of Mathanadēva<sup>27</sup>. The somavamsī kings of Trikaṅga<sup>28</sup> mention the pravaṇikara and a tax on fields (Ksētrakara), assigned by a chief as a donation. The pravaṇikara may have been a kind of tax imposed on the prevaṇis in the locality concerned. They may have been small or retail dealers whose position cannot be exactly ascertained. The view that the term is to be understood in the sense of śulka, as suggested by Ghosal<sup>29</sup> can be accepted only in a general way, for it may have formed one item only of the various charges which were classified under the general

24. I. A. XLL, p. 20.

25. E. I. XIV, p. 295.

26. E. I. III, p. 265.

27. Sukraniti Ed. by Benoy Sarkar

28. E. I. III, p. 263.

29. E. I. XI p. No. 14.

term 'śulka'. The Sāṅḍērāv stone inscription of Kēlhaṇa (V. S. 1221)<sup>30</sup> refers to an item of revenue called Talārā-bhavya. The text does not clearly indicate the nature of the tax. Another term, maṇḍalakara is mentioned in the Bijholi inscription of the Chāhamāna Somēśvara (V.S. 1226)<sup>31</sup> but it is very doubtful if it signifies any kind of toll or tax imposed on trade and business.

The evidence of some contemporary inscriptions, which has been considered above, raises one question which cannot be definitely answered, as has been already indicated. The assignment of a proportion of the usual taxes imposed on articles of trade, for religious or similar purposes, is not explicit in most of the inscriptions, where it is so there remains no doubt that a fixed share of the state's collection only was thus set apart. But in these cases where there is no mention of any such fixed share, it is not clear whether special taxes were raised for the purpose of endowing religious or other such institutions. It appears however, that the sources which yielded revenue to the state must have been generally exploited even if extraordinary cesses were demanded for religious purposes. For the sources mentioned are on the whole the same as these which are noticed in the Smritis and the Arthaśāstra literature. Thus the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya<sup>32</sup> mentions among sources of revenue śulka (tolls or octroi duties), gate-dues (dvārādēya), market dues (Paṇyasamstha), varttāni, (transit duties or road cess). Gautama<sup>33</sup> and Vishnu<sup>34</sup> specify the rate of Śulka to be charged on the price of articles sold. Similarly Manu<sup>35</sup> and Yājñavalkya<sup>36</sup> mention rates of śulka; the Dharamasūtra of Baudhāyana<sup>37</sup> and the Mānosallāsa<sup>38</sup> contain details of a like nature. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra there is a schedule of rates for different categories of articles, which include flowers, fruits, vegetables, couchshells, diamonds, jewels, pearls etc. linen, silk, metals, clo-

30. U. N. Ghoshal, The Hindu Revenue System, Page 263.

31. E. I. XI p 47, The expression talarabhavya also occurs in a Mangrol inscriptions (Bhavnaga, Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, P 158) where it has been interpreted as meaning the revenue of a talara. The meaning thus assigned is hardly helpful. Some scholars take it to mean the income or revenue from tolls. This is not accepted by others who think that talara was an officer who did the work of a kotwal in the suburbs, so that the income suggested by the expression may have been connected with his office. It thus appears that nothing definite has so far been suggested which may be useful ascertaining the real meaning of the term.

32. E. I. XXVI, p 84.

33. X 26

34. III 29

35. VIII 398

36. II 261

37. I 10 16-16

38. II. 374-76, p 62

thes, animals, cotton, sugar, salt, liquors etc. Śukra gives detailed instructions regarding rates of the changes to be imposed upon various articles, as well as certain general principles on which the revenue policy should be based. He insists that articles should be taxed only once, though they may be bought and sold many times. What is particularly important for our purpose is that the items mentioned in the literary texts are generally identical with those noted in the inscriptions of our period, from which taxes were raised to be assigned to religious institutions.

**SECTION III**  
**1206—1526 A. D.**

## ORIGIN OF NĀSIR-UD-DIN KHUSRAV SHAH OF DELHI

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA, M. A. PH. D., LIT (LUCK.), D. LITT (AGRA).

Nasir-ud-din Khusrav Shah who succeeded Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Khalji on April 27, 1320 and ruled upto 5th September, 1320, was the only Indian Muslim to sit on the throne of Delhi during the period known as the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 A. D.). The most baffling problem about him is his origin. It is, however, certain that he was originally a Hindu from Gujarat and had fallen into the hands of Ain-ul-mulk Multani during the latter's campaign in Malwa in 1305. He was converted to Islam and given the name of Hasan. He was enrolled as an attendant in the service of Sultan Alauddin Khalji and placed in the custody of Malik Shadi, Deputy *Haji* at the court.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the caste to which he originally belonged contemporary writers have given three versions, namely *Barado*, *Barao* and *Barwar*, which seem to be variants of one and the same word. Amir Khusrav in his celebrated work entitled *Tughluqnama* calls Hasan 'Barado';<sup>2</sup> Isami says that he was originally a 'Barão',<sup>3</sup> and Zia-ud-din Barani describes him as a *Barwar*.<sup>4</sup> Later writers have simply adopted one or the other of the last two variants, some understanding their meanings and others not. For example, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* has *Barao*<sup>5</sup>; *Tabqat-i-Akbari* has *Barão*,<sup>6</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh* has *Barwar*<sup>7</sup>, and *Ferishta* has *Parwar*<sup>8</sup>, . . . . . no doubt a mistake for *Barwār*. The Medieval chroniclers further describe Hasan as a man of a low caste from Gujarat whose members enjoyed a good reputation as dauntless fighters<sup>9</sup>. But as he was an Indian Muslim and had the audacity to slay Qutub-ud-din Mubarak and capture the throne of Delhi, which had hitherto been the monopoly of foreign Turks from Central Asia, the chroniclers who belonged to the foreign Muslim stock and were of the clerical profession heaped upon him vile epithets, such as base, low-born, ungrateful, faithless and cunning. Misled by these unwarranted expressions and wrongly assuming

1. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Persian Text, p. 381.

2. *Aurangabad Text*, p. 19.

3. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Agra Text, p. 362, has *Parao*, which is no doubt the scribe's error who has placed three dots instead of one.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Persian Text, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, p. 490.

5. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 85.

6. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. p. 175.

7. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 203.

8. *Ferishta*, p. 124.

9. *Tughluqnama*, p. 19; *Barni*, p. 519; *Ibn Battutah*, Vol. III. p. 198; *Ferishta*,

that Barwār must be the same as modern 'Parwar' or 'Parwari', some European historians have jumped to the conclusion that Hasan alias Khusrav Shah was a *Parwari* or despised scavenger whose touch was a pollution to high caste Hindus. Briggs, the translator of Ferishta, was the first to observe: "The Parwary is a Hindu out-cast who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."<sup>10</sup> As Molesworth defined 'Parwari' as an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchman, gate-keepers, porters, and said to be synonymous with Dhed and Mahar,<sup>11</sup> Edward Thomas endorsed Brigg's conclusion.<sup>12</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig, the latest European authority on the subject, has expressed himself even more strongly: "The wretch (Khusrav)," he writes, "was by origin a member of one of those castes whose touch is pollution to a Hindu, whose occupation is that of scavengers, and whose food consists of the carrion which it is their duty to remove from byre and field."<sup>13</sup> Among modern Indian writers who have fallen in line with the above European scholars the names of Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. Mahdi Husain may be especially mentioned. Nasir-ud-din Khusrav's origin was one of the first controversies that Dr. Prasad was called upon to resolve in his D. Litt thesis, entitled 'the Quaraunah Turks in India'. He discussed it in a long foot-note of over 840 words and ended by accepting Brigg's views in their entirety. (Foot-note 21, Vide Quaraunah Turks in India, Vol. I pp. 8-11.). He has been as bitter against Khusrav as any medieval writer calling him out-cast, unclean, Parwari whom every one hated and despised. Dr. Mehdi Husain opined that "Barwar is probably a misprint of Parwar" (Vide Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p. 28n), and hence endorsed the conclusion of Briggs and Wolseley Haig.

There is, on the other hand, another school of European historians who do not attach any value to the foul abuse of the Muslim chroniclers, and are of the opinion that Khusrav Shah was a Pramara Rajput. For example, James Bird who translated *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* into English under the title of "History of Gujarat" says that Parwar is nothing else than *Parmara*.<sup>14</sup> He is supported by Bayley<sup>15</sup> and Talboys Wheeler.<sup>16</sup> The main arguments are that (a) 'Parmara' has been misread as 'Parwar' by Briggs and that (b) Khusrav Shah could not have belonged to a depressed caste as he and his castemen were noted for their bravery and martial talent, and in disregard of personal danger had taken valiant parts in a number of battles, and suc-

10. Briggs's *Ferishta* Vol. I, p. 878.

11. Molesworth's *Marathi-English Dictionary*, 2nd. edition, p. 492.

12. *Chronicles of the pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 184n.

13. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 120.

14. *History of Gujarat*, p. 167.

15. *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat*, p. 41n.

16. *History of India from the Earliest Age*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 68.

cessfully managed the affairs of an empire, which it was not possible for scavengers to do.

Both these theories are based on mere guess or argumentation and are, therefore, untenable. In the first place, 'Prāmar' or 'Parmar' in Arabic script cannot be read as 'Parwar'. It is inconceivable that all the scribes and editors of nearly a dozen Perisan works from Barani to Ferishta should have committed such a gross error in spelling and that it would have gone undetected by the modern Persian-knowing historians. Secondly, had Khusrav Shah really been a Prammar, he would have been like the Sisodias, the Rathors and the Kachhwahas, designated by the general term 'Rajput' with which the medieval Muslim writers were so intimately familiar. At any rate, he would not have been dubbed a low caste Hindu. It is too much to suppose that all the medieval Indian historians from Amir Khusrav to Ferishta were ignorant of "the intricate and obscure nomenclature of Hindu tribes and castes," as the late Professor Hodivala<sup>17</sup> has attempted to argue. And as we shall presently see, there is no doubt that at least Amir Khusrav, Barani, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Badauni were acquainted with the caste to which Khusrav Shah originally belonged. And finally the names of Khusrav Shah's relatives who were Hindus, such as Jaharia and Randhol (not Ramdhol as Professor Sri Ram Sharma wrongly supposes) are suggestive of a low origin and certainly not of Prammar or any other high caste among the Hindus<sup>18</sup>.

Nor does the theory of Khusrav Shah's 'Bhangi' origin stand the test of historical criticism. Firstly, medieval authorities describe him as a man of low caste, but not one of them says that his ancestors belonged to the scavenger caste. This theory owes its origin to the fertile imagination of Briggs who has been unsuspectingly followed by some other European writers. Secondly, in Gujarat to which Khusrav Shah and his caste fellows belonged and to which province they fled after their defeat at the hands of Ghazi Tughluq in 1320 A. D., scavengers are not called Parwaris—the term which Briggs and Edward Thomas sought to identify with Barwar or Parwar—and the Gujaratis do not recognise it as a synonym of Dhed or Mahar. Thirdly, all authorities, contemporary and later, maintain that Khusrav Shah and his caste-men were brave warriors and that some of them were well-to-do men of standing and reputation in the country. Scavengers who are a down-trodden people never enjoyed any reputation for courage, war and administration.

In spite of these obvious difficulties the present writer is unable to agree with Professor Hodivala, Dr. K. S. Lal and Professor Sri Ram Sharma

17. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 370.

18. Barani in Elliot and Dogson, Vol. III, p. 222; and *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I p 187.

that "the real name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrav belonged is *not known and cannot be ascertained* <sup>19</sup>". Any first-rate scholar of medieval Indian history acquainted with contemporary sources in original Persian will readily concede that the various terms used by our authorities to denote Khusrav's caste are the variants of one and the same word, namely 'Barwar' which is employed by his exact contemporary Zia-ud-din Barani whenever he refers to Khusrav's origin. It is equally certain that Barwār of Barani and other first-rate Persian chroniclers is nothing else but Bharwar or Bharvād, all the three of which are written almost identically in Arabic script, and in Persian *shikast* (cursive writing of MSS) they look absolutely alike and can be easily confounded. According to a standard Gujarati dictionary Bharvād or Bharvār means a shepherder,<sup>20</sup> and Bharvāds abound in Gujarat, the home-province of Khusrav, and many of them were then, as now, well-to-do people and engaged in sheep-farming and agriculture. The shepherder is not a high caste among the Hindus; nor is it as low as 'Chamar', 'Dhanuk', 'Pasi' or 'Bhangi' (Scavenger). In social status Bharvad or gadaria (as he is called in Uttar Pradesh) is on par with 'Ahir', 'Kurmi' and 'Lodha', and is very hardy and brave. On account of these qualities Bharvāds were employed by nobles and kings as attendants, gate-keepers, personal servants and troops. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad is right when he says that Bharvads were employed as house-hold servants and were found in plenty in Gujarat.<sup>21</sup> Yahaya is equally right in describing Khusrav a *pasban* or gate-keeper,<sup>22</sup> and Ferishta in designating him as one of the *pahalwans* or wrestlers of Gujarat <sup>23</sup>. It is thus certain that Nasir-ud-din Khusrav Shah belonged originally to the shepherder or Bharvad caste of Gujarat.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma has recently added to the complexity of the problem by propounding yet another theory, namely that Khusrav Shah on his accession repudiated Islam and attempted to re-establish Hindu domination in the country, though he did not assume for himself Hindu name and title. "It is but natural," writes Professor Sharma, "that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessors, and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace. Like Ajit Singh of Jodhpur in the eighteenth century, Khusrav did not take a Hindu title as a reigning king. . . .<sup>24</sup>" This view is not based on any con-

19. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 369; *History of the Khaljis*, p. 351; Nasir-ud-din Khusrav Shah in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1950.

20. *Jodnikosh* of Shri D. B. Kalekar, published by Gujarat Vidyapith

21. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 176.

22. *Tarikh-Mnbarakshahi*, p. 82.

23. *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 124.

24. *Vide his paper referred to earlier.*

temporary or even later record and betrays a desire to read in the Persian texts more than what their authors intended to convey. No writer from Amir Khusrav down to Ferishta anywhere says definitely or even by implication that Khusrav Shah had forsaken Islam or that he wanted to set up a Hindu raj. On the contrary, the historian Nizam-ud-din Ahmad writes in clear terms that, "As most of the Bharwars were Hindus, Islamic ways received a set-back and the rites of the Hindus got encouragement and propagation. Idol worship was publicised and the mosques were desecrated".<sup>25</sup> This categorical evidence knocks the bottom out of Professor Sharma's theory and proves conclusively that Khusrav Shah remained a Muslim as before, and the Hindu worship in the palace was conducted by those of his relatives who were Hindu by faith.

### MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA AND RĀJARAJA MAGADAI NĀDĀLVĀN

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M. A., D. LIT.

With the conquest of Perumbāṇappādi by Parāntaka I by A. D. 915 the Bāna power was dispersed as a result of which members of the dynasty appear to have sought their fortune in other parts of the country. One of them settled in the region on the banks of the river South Peṇṇār (Pinākinī). The area came to be called therefore Vāṇagoppādi, Magadai maṇḍalam and Magararājya. It covered parts of the South Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirappalli districts. Its capital was Aragalūr indentified with Arakal situated on the borders of the South Arcot and Salem districts. Situated as it was on the path between the Eastern Ganga and the Choḷa and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalams it occupied an important strategic position and played a considerable part in the political history of South India.

From about 1150 there grew a number of important feudatory dynasties who ruled over the different parts of the Tamil country under the Imperial Choḷas. Of them two at least deserve prominent mention. They were the Kāḍavarāyas, who ruled from Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district and the Bānas. From about the closing years of the twelfth century the Bāna ruler was one Rājarāja Vāṇakovaraiyan who is usually referred to as Magadesan, Magadaipperumāl (Lord of the Magadha country). He was a very loyal feudatory at first of Kulottunga III (1178-1218) but he turned in course of time disloyal to his master, and threw in his lot with the Pāṇḍyan adversary of the Choḷa emperor, Māravarman Sundara Pān-

25. Tabqat-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 187.

ḍya and contributed largely to the weakening of his own master's empire.

In the early years of his reign Rājarāja Madadai Nāḍālvān helped his master against the Pāṇḍyan kings. His services were recognised by his lord and he was crowned as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country itself. This is borne out not only by an inscription but also by a passage in the *Peruntogai*. The inscription reads as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

1. Pāṇḍiyaṇai Pāṇḍivanenum per
2. Mārivara nedumpāḍait...nnavar keḍa Maduraikoṇḍa
3. Toḷvali ba...pānanai Pāṇḍiyanenru paruma
4. [ni] ppaṭṭa nkaṭṭaicchuṭṭi vengilai vāngi veṭ  
and the *Peruntogai* contains the following passage:—
1. Pāṇḍiyanai<sup>2</sup> ppermarri ppāṇarkkaraśalitta
2. āṇḍakai yenrunnai ariyeno mūṇḍelunda
3. kārmārum ũngaikkāḍakari Vāṇāvunaduppermarru vadarido peśu

But this loyal Bāṇa feudatory appears to have turned against his Chola master probably after the conquest of Madurai by the latter, obviously taking advantage of the growing weakness of the Central Government in the face of the growing influence of the Kāḍavarāyas and himself. Rāja Magadai Nāḍālvān began to defy the imperial authority to such a great extent that some eleven chieftains formed a confederacy among themselves in 1205 under the leadership of a Cedirāyan and decided to refrain from having any communication with Magadai Nāḍālvān *alias* Vānakovaraiyan and Kulottungavāṇa-kovaraiyan. They further decided that if the two Bāṇa chieftains and the Kāḍavarāya chieftain should act against the interests of the king the members of the Confederacy would march against them and vowed that if they did not do so they would bear the sandals of the Vānakovaraiyan.<sup>3</sup> Thus it is evident that the attitude of the Bāṇa chieftain towards the Chola emperor became hostile from about 1205. This anti-Chola policy adopted by the Bana ruler was probably the result of a change in his attitude to the Pāṇdyas, for, from this time onwards we find the Bāṇa ruler coming into friendly relationship with Māravarman Kulaśekara Pāṇḍya. The Chola king could ill afford to be unmindful of the growing strength and influence of the Bāṇas and the Kāḍavarāyas and he appears to have tried to check their power. An undated verse inscription records the conquest of the Kāḍava, Magadha and Ganga by one Vidugadalagi-yaperumāl.<sup>4</sup> Obviously the Magada mentioned in the inscription was the Magadai country.

Towards the close of his reign Kulettunga III had to taste the bitter

1. Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 163
2. 1183
3. 516 of 1902; SII. viii. No. 106
4. 552 of 1906

fruits of his policy against the Pandyas. On the death of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekara Pāṇḍya in 1216 his brother Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1216-38) succeeded to the Pāṇḍyan throne. Immediately after his succession he invaded the Chola country to take vengeance on the Chola emperor for his excesses in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the reign of his predecessor, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekara, set fire to the Chola cities of Uraiyūr and Tanjore, pulled down a number of buildings, performed his *vira hishekam* in a Chola *abhisheka-maudapam* at Ayirattali, and after worshipping Ponnambalanatha at Tillai (Chidambaram) was staying at Pon Amarāvati. According to the Pāṇḍyan inscription which contains the above details Rājarāja III, (the successor of Kulottunga III) who had been deprived of his kingdom appealed to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya to restore his kingdom to him as a result of which it was restored to him.<sup>5</sup> Two inscriptions refer to the Pāṇḍyan kings restoration of the Chola country to Kulattunga III himself.<sup>6</sup> On account of this achievement Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya took the titles of 'Soṇāḍukonḍaruḷiya' and 'Soṇāḍuvalangiyaruḷiya.'<sup>7</sup> This shows that the Pāṇḍya king immediately after his accession defeated father and son, Kulottunga III and Rājarāja III and later restored to them their territory.

It appears that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was helped by the Bāṇas in his successful wars against the Cholas in 1216-17. In fact an inscription says:—

1. Alandarulkaḍal vaitt araśw Saluttiya Sengol arasellām
2. velantarukodai vā vāṇadivākaran vidi murai śeyvadu meykaṇḍir
3. iḷamdiraidu māṇikka paḍiyadumin tennar idiragu
4. Solan tiraiyidum yaṇaikkungalai idu menriyum idu śennome<sup>8</sup>

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I was deeply sensible of the great help rendered to him by the Bāṇa chieftain and so according to an inscription of his, he bestowed the golden crown of the Cholas on a Bāṇa before performing his own *vīrābhisheka* in the anointing hall at Ayirattali.<sup>9</sup> Doubt was expressed sometime ago regarding the meaning of the term Banan for it may refer to both a bard and a Bāṇa chieftain. But in view of the change in the attitude of the Bāṇa ruler towards Kulottunga III and the provenance of his inscriptions in the Tiruchirappalli and Puḍucottai areas it is not improbable that he helped Sundra Pāṇḍya against his Chola master. A few inscriptions throw much welcome light on this puzzling question of Bāṇa-Pāṇḍya relationship during this period. One of them is found at

5. 140 of 1894; EI. xxii p. 42, also 549 of 1926; 322 of 1927-28, 47 of 1937-38. Rep. para 44 and EI. xxie, p. 161

6. 72 of 1924; 90 of 1926

7. 358 of 1916 and 322 of 1927-28

8. 507 of 1902; SII. viii. No. 97

9. EI. xxii pp. 46 and 51

Jambukesvaram and records the gift of the Chola country by Sundara Pāṇḍya to the Bāṇa lord (Bāṇapathi). Another is from Tiruvallarai which states that the Pāṇḍya king who threatened to trample his unyielding enemies under the feet of his elephants partitioned the Kāverinādu between the Vaḷavan (Chola) and the Magadarkēn (the king of the Magada country).<sup>10</sup> But by this anti-Chola policy the Bāṇa ruler incurred the anger of Hoysala Narasimha II, who even before playing his part in the restoration of Chola authority, punished the Bāṇa ruler for his disloyalty, impudence and contumacy.

### FUTUH-US-SALATIN

BASIC FACTORS IN ITS COMPOSITION AND NAME

MAHDI HUSAIN, M. A., PH. D., D. LIT.

This paper is intended not only to find out the objective of the Futuh-us-Salatin which is obvious in view of the fact that it was composed by Isami during the lifetime of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq and dedicated to a rebel Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahmani the first ruler and founder of the Bahmani dynasty. A special study is also made to bring out the basic factors in the composition and name of this great epic. These are found to have been as many as ten—firstly Isamis' love for India and his desire to leave behind an offspring in spite of his firm determination to remain a bachelor all his life; secondly his personified poetic Genius which he considered his consort capable of conceiving and begetting 'issues'; thirdly his success in obtaining a patron in king Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahmani; fourthly his sufferings at the hands of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq; fifthly his chosen role of an epic writer of India like the great Firdausi of Iran; sixthly his dislike of the time-honoured society and resolve to quit India; seventhly his emulation of the great and famous poets Nizami and Firdausi in the domain of what is called "masnavi"; eighthly his industry combined with his devotion to Islam history and poetry; ninthly his rich imagination and synthetic mind and ability to build historical sequences; lastly and tently the appreciation of his poetic genius and work in the high circles of contemporary rulers.

All these are fully illustrated by means of the excerpts from the different parts of the Futuh-us-Salatin.

I-II Isami's love for India and his desire to leave behind an offspring in spite of his celibacy.

He loved India and desired like his ancestors who had lived and married in India and died in India leaving behind children to leave behind a progeny. Since he was still a bachelor at the age of forty and resolved not only not to remarry but to retire to a life seclusion at Mecca he opened his heart to his own poetic Genius whom he considered his consort and the latter promised him a large progeny in the form of verses. Isami approved of this for such a progeny of verses which his 'consort' was capable of begetting was far better in his eyes than issues from a physical marriage.

Says he,<sup>1</sup> 'What a beautiful country is Hindustan! so beautiful indeed that even paradise is envious of her;

Hindustan is an ornament to the globe enhancing its beauty in the same way as does a mole on the face of a sweet-heart.

The soil is rich like red sulphur and the breeze through the four seasons in this country is similar to that of paradise. Nobody here is in need of fur during winter (day) and none perspires during summer (tamuz).

Rivers are seen flowing at close distances in this country; their waters are healthy and vital like the water of life. These are all transformed into the water of life, yet they are free from the darkness which shrouds the latter.

One can enjoy spring during the autumn season in Hindustan, and her soil is so rich and fertile that it yields the best produce conceivable. The soil is so aromatic that it appears to have been kneaded with rose-water; dew works on it as favourably as rains in other countries.

On reaching this country the destructive hot wind becomes a gentle breeze, and balandices when sown in Indian soil sprout in the form of nutritive vegetation.

Man finds comfort in this country at all hours morning and evening; it is really a place of recreation.

Hindustan is a vast stretch of fruit-bearing trees and orchards, its clay being cool and its ground shady on account of the intertwining trees. Indian dust is perfumed with the fragrance of Indian flowers and Indian waters are scented with rose.

The effect of Indian water is such that it rejuvenates an old haggard and resuscitates a dead body.

The soil of Hindustan produces such strong and able-bodied persons as if the foundation stone of humanity were laid here; her winds are pleasant and refreshing like the zephyr.

Whoever came from Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Sind into this

1. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 11396-11456.

garden of pleasure became so attached to it that he hardly recalled his native land.

Even those world-tourists who go round the world and to different countries refraining all their lives from settling and stopping more than a month in any country give up their travels and stay in this land permanently when and if they happen to arrive in it. They give themselves heart and soul to this country at the cost of their lives.

<sup>2</sup>One night as I brooded over my difficulties I thought I should sever my connections with this world and retire to a life of seclusion and devotion.

Suggestions came that I should quit India with a firm resolution to perform a pilgrimage at Mecca and that I should rejoice to prepare for a journey to the Hedjaz which would enable me to discover the path of truth. These suggestive thoughts coming from within revived my soul and I was spurred to activity. I resolved to lose no time and proceed immediately to pilgrimage. But the spirit of my resolution relaxed before long and I became half-hearted, my mind being swayed by its love for India—the land of my birth and that of my ancestors. I thought that in case I leave India for good I should leave behind a souvenir like my ancestors who were responsible for descendants like myself. And my departure being resolved upon I said I must follow my ancestors in this respect.

I recalled how different was my position from that of my forefathers. I was still a bachelor and had no son, having resolved not to marry. I knew how to control or satisfy my passion with slave-girls whom I could change frequently living with none of them for more than a month. In this way I could keep myself free from all encumbrances of a responsible family life—encumbrances which are terrible indeed in this age teeming with vices and ills in as much as a woman produces a child every nine months, and when the child grows to an age of ten years he becomes a devil.

These were my sentiments which were warmly reciprocated by my Genius. He urged me to take to composing verses which amount to my offspring.

These were my sentiments which were warmly reciprocated by my genius. It urged me to have an offspring from her in the form of verses and to quit India afterwards. I was persuaded that my genius was capable of producing in a while an enormous number of verses, each verse being as good as a son—‘a thousand verses

2. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 388-429

in a moment', each surpassing the other, all favoured with an eternal life.

I considered the situation carefully and resolved to compose an epic which might serve as a souvenir on my leaving India for good. I recalled how previously I had composed two diwans which become well-known but were ultimately lost. Still I did not lose health and receiving a strong urge from within I felt confident that I could yet compose many more diwans.

<sup>3</sup>III However one thing was indispensable—namely a helpful patron. Alas! in these days munificent persons are extinct. As for myself I could find no one sympathetic enough to solace a lacerated heart i.e. none who could help me in my distress. A man of letters is not in request these days, and he is at a discount if he chooses to retire to scholarly seclusion.

None the less my Genius made me look for a man of liberal instincts and I carried on the search at all places and among all kinds of men. For about two months I remained absorbed in this search when one day early in the morning there came a courier who called on me.

Welcome! wherefrom do you come? said I. He wished me well and expressing his good wishes he said, 'I have come to you under the Qazi's orders.'

On my enquiring the name of the Qazi I was told that he was known as Baha-ul-Huq (Baha-ud-din) and that the king (Ala-ud-din Hasan) who appreciated his sharp wits, talents, grasp of facts and extraordinary power of judgment had awarded him the title of Haji-i-quissa.

The Qazi, observed the courier, 'possesses a charming personality and a gift for writing masterly prose and poetry. He moves with dervishes and mendicants and endeavours to liberate prisoners.'

On hearing these attributes of the Qazi I yearned to meet him. I went to his place where to my great surprise found neither door-keepers nor guards. I proceeded dauntlessly into the interior: such dauntlessness on the part of visitor is a true index of the greatness of the house owner.

On seeing me come the Qazi advanced to receive me. By showing me courtesy and by receiving me warmly he conquered my heart; words fail me to describe how much I felt ashamed. He shook hands with me and made profuse apologies, and he offered me

a seat. We sat confronting each other and entered into a private conversation. His talk revived my drooping spirits and cheered me up. On finding in him a man of congenial temper I felt an urge to display my poetic talents. I rejoiced to recite some of my verses. His good looks augured me well and I ventured to tell him my story.

"You are," he said, "a sweet-tongued nightingale fit for the garden of paradise". He regretted that a gifted poet like myself should be allowed to perish in India in obscurity. He believed that I was worthy of being introduced to the king's court. So he took me there and introduced me to the king (Ala-ud-din Hasan). May God bless him for this and may the king ever help the needy. May he be a promoter of virtue !

This king who is famous for his lion-like heart and enjoys a reputation for goodness has received a full share of that mantle. He is the most conspicuous ruler of his age and his reign is reminiscent of the blessings of the age of Isfandyar. During his reign oppressors regretted their oppressions and the administration of justice on his part disseminated a spirit of moderation in this world.

His reputation for administration of justice has reverberated in the skies and provided a source of inspiration to the angels.

Verily king Ala-ud-din is the refuge of the world and his reign is noted for the unfailing redress of grievances.

The strength and morale of his numerous forces depends entirely on his own personality. He is the hero of his age like the Bahman of Iran and a descendant of Bahman. He has infused a new life into the world by his munificence and liberality and his services to humanity have resounded through the skies.....

Over and above these qualities of this king he is endowed with faith in Islam. At a critical stage when a tyrant like Zuhak had acquired possession of this country, when that tyrant's forces had crushed and reduced innocent people to dust, when for a period of six months in the city of Deogir the believers were being put to torture and when consequently the blood of Muslims was being shed and a whole world seen deluged, it was Your Majesty who girded up loins to wage war with the enemy. You unsheathed the dragon-like sword with which you which you cut off the head of your enemy. You liberated the realm from the atrocities of the said tyrant and rescued Islam from persecution. You liberated large numbers of those who had been held prisoner in distant and isolated parts.

In view of these services of yours to humanity I feel incompetent to thank you adequately. The utmost I can do is to sing Your Majesty's praises incessantly as long as I live. Henceforth in the wide world no praises can in fairness be sung to anyone other than Your Majesty. And the singing of Your Majesty's praises has devolved as a duty on all—high as well as low, particularly on authors and poets.....

IV Isami's suffering at the hands of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq.

He had suffered at the hands of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq being forced under his orders in the company of his 90-year old grand father Izz-ud-din Isami to abandon Delhi. He had lived twenty-two years in forced exile in Daulatabad and was boiling with anger by the year 1349 when he resolved to write his chosen epic. Still he could suppress his anger and gives vent to it occasionally in the course of his great epic. He calls the emperor a wretch and denounces him as insincere. He tells us that Muhammad bin Tughluq while pretending to mourn the loss of his father, really rejoiced at heart. Under the heading 'delusion practised by Sultan Muhammed Shah bin Tughluq on the inhabitants of India' the Futuh-us-Salatin tells us that on his accession Muhammad bin Tughluq made lavish promises to the people to give them sound and sympathetic administration and captivated their hearts by profuse largesse. Before long, his character almost completely changed, and the sultan became distrustful and oppressive. It was on account of this that Baha-ud-din Gushtasp, the governor of Sagar, revolted. Then Isami speaks of 'universal destruction'. One day, he tells us, the sultan rode up to the gardens along the banks of the Jumna and found the streets thronged with vendors and customers. He was so annoyed to see the prosperous condition of the town and the general affluence that he resolved immediately to destroy it. With this object in view he sent out the Qrachil expedition. Another measure which he later adopted for destruction of the people was to order the evacuation of Deogir. All its inhabitants were consequently sent off to Delhi. Finally under a heading 'applause for Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji and censures for Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq Shah' Isami vehemently denounces Sultan Muhammad for his revolt against Islam.

Says he,

Two of the rulers who bore the same name have done in this country the work of spring and autumn respectively. While the son of Shinab (Ala-ud-din Khalji) enriched it, increasing its population and prosperity, the son of Tughluq destroyed it completely.

Although both enjoyed the name of Muhammad yet while

the former was virtuous and of high descent the latter was mean and of low birth.

While the former was like the water of life the latter was like the destructive fire—such was the striking contrast between the two.

There is a pointedly indicative word in Arabic, namely *shattan* meaning contrast; men of intelligence use it to describe the name sakes who exhibit strikingly contrasting qualities. This term *shattan* is most suitable here.

If the former had produced myrtle and aromatic plants in this country the latter produced nothing but balanites.

The former brought Hind under his control right up to the sea; the latter lost it during his reign.

The country which had become prosperous through the administration of justice under the former is devastated through the tyranny of the latter who is but a serpent.

The country which was submissive to the former has become rebellious under the latter on account of his terror and ruthlessness.

The fortresses which had been razed to the ground under the former have risen high during the reign of the latter.

While the former made Islam conspicuous, paganism has over-spread the country under the latter.

While the former was uniformly benevolent, the latter became high-handed and outrageous.

While the former pursued strictly the law of Islam the latter set his face against its fundamentals.

While the former brought in prosperity and abundance, the latter—a tyrant—introduced the copper tokens.

So much did the country enjoy peace under the former that God will reward him on the Day of Judgment. At the hands of the latter the country has been reduced to such a chaos that he will not be able to explain his actions hereafter before God.

He destroyed the Muslims in Hindustan and patronised the Hindus raising them to eminence.

Many a saiyed he put cruelly to death as a result of which he is disliked by the Creator as well as by the creation.

A new Yazid is born in him in this country of Hindustan; consequently every word and deed of his has become anathema. During the reign of this accursed fellow who has never proved true to anybody the rebels have seized the whole country by force and disorders have broken out everywhere.

Every man of mettle and means has raised his hand against the Centre and a rival king is set up everywhere.

Ma'bar has become a separate kingdom under the rule of a saiyed king.

Telingana has revolted and is lost to the Turks.

Another rebel has seized the stretch of territory from the Godaveri to the extremities of Ma'bar and chaos reigns from Kuhram and Samana up the Panjab on the one hand and straight to the out posts of Lahore and Multan on the other.

During the reign of this accursed fellow the saints and sufis have been outraged.

A rebel has proclaimed himself king at Lakhnanti in full enjoyment of the parasol and the throne; he has been supported by the whole of Tirhut and Gaur, the spirit of rebellion having spread everywhere.

There being an upsurge in the whole of Malwa most of that country was also occupied by the infidels.

The Hindus have seized the country right through and Mussalmans have taken shelter in enclosures—a position formerly held by the Hindus.

The whole of Gujarat has turned rebellious and paganism is in the ascendant while Islam is diminishing.

The tyranny of the king having exceeded all bounds, the whole of Maharashtra has revolted against him. The Mussalmans on their part have disowned him and revolted against the meanness in him since they found him more and more inclined towards Hinduism.....<sup>5</sup>

Isami was fit by temperament as well as his qualifications to play the role of an epic writer; so he desired to be. Addressing his new patron Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahmani he says,

'Now if Your Majesty be pleased to promise me safety I wish to say something. I understand that when Firdausi the wise set himself to compose the Shahnama he drew inspiration from God and the Prophet, and he received royal patronage from the king of Ghazni. Mahmud made keen enquiries about him on all occasions; he bestowed favours on him constantly and would not let him be distracted.

Through royal patronage thus Firdausi took up the pen. And the first thing he did was to make diligent enquiries from historians of repute about the past history of Iran and Turan. He pondered deeply over the subject and produced subsequently a wonderful book which may be said to have adorned a fireplace

5. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 11471-Ph.

6. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 194-ff.

into a flower garden. Those who enjoy this garden plucking flowers for themselves consider it a veritable paradise.

Firdausi was marvellously successful in achieving his object; he dedicated it to Mahmud. And although Mahmud gave him an elephant-load of gold he was eventually put to shame. I understand that Firdausi had aimed at acquiring the province of Raiy as a reward for his composing the Shanama. But on meeting with disappointment he exchanged Mahmud's reward with a cup of beer.

To-day neither Mahmud is alive nor Firdausi, but the Shahnama is extant which is a monument to both. By means of a Shahnama kings are immortalised and their memory continues to be cherished till doomsday.....

If your Majesty be pleased to accept me as your admirer I may undertake to write a Shahnama containing the history of the kings of Hindustan. I will dedicate it to Your Majesty and disseminate it all over the world....and copies of this work will be taken from India to Ghazni.

I swear by the Almighty God who knows the secrets of all hearts that my object in undertaking to write this epic is not like Firdausi to aspire to the governorship of Raiy or to a subsistence allowance. I do not put forth any demands because the king himself is liberal like the clouds of April and would give unasked for. My object is to pay a tribute to Your Majesty whose victorious arms have liberated Islam from the hands of tyranny. To this I call God to witness and I swear by the truthfulness of the holy Prophet. May God grant me success !

VI Isami had suffered all his life at the hands of times and people. He complains bitterly about his age and the illitracy, want of true scholarship though there was a plethora in those days of demagogues and pseudo-scholars. He was also disgusted with Indian society and the conditions of life then obtaining. He did not like the manners and morals of the people about him. He had had some bitter experiences of life and had been brought up in the school of adversity. Although he loved India, his mother land, and had many close relations in this country he resolved reluctantly under the circumstances to leave India for good as soon as his Shahnama was completed. Says he

<sup>7</sup>From these wicked people I cannot help detaching myself and keeping aloof. I must need remain in seclusion for the few months during which I am the guest of this country and complete the Shah-

7. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 227-ff.

nama. I have another journey in view; and for the sake of that exalted ideal I am ready to sacrifice my life.....On completing the Shahnama I shall sever my connections with the affairs of this world, and in completing the Shahnama I seek royal patronage over and above the divine grace.....

Isami addressing himself says, 'In case you are disgusted with society and your heart yearns for seclusion amidst mountains you should purify your heart in such a way that the purification should last as long as you live.

If you pursue the above course you might learn to play the combined role of a tourist and a recluse at one and the same time enjoying the benefit of a tourist life while in seclusion and the bliss of a secluded life while on tour. You will then be able to appreciate Nature all around.

VII It was the great ambition of Isami to distinguish himself also as a poet. But he was not and did not like to be known as a poet in the ordinary sense of the term—a poet who draws exclusively on his imagination and builds highly exaggerated and spurious stories and whose great rhetoric and figures of speech makes it extremely difficult for the reader to understand his meaning. Isami aspired to rise in the domain of poetry to the heights reached by Nizami and Firdausi. And it must be said and acknowledged even by his bitterest of critics that in this he succeeded remarkably. Says he

<sup>a</sup>In the domain of masnavi composition there have been two renowned poets who have won applauses from the world—one who transformed the land of Tus into a garden of Eden in which he moved gracefully like a peacock and the second who became the pride of Ganja whence his melodious songs echoed like those of the nightingale from the top of a rose tree.

The example of these poets I have followed and on their lines I have composed this masnavi. I have been remarkably successful having proved myself at once the Firdausi and Nizami of India.

Men of learning and experience realize the hardships which the art of composition entails. A poet must cudgel his brains in order to find out a suitable word. He had to clothe beautiful meaning in alluring words—a task which imposes a heavy strain upon the mind....

Since the day I set my mind on this work I have had nothing to do with the fools who are abroad. Day and night I have been looking for a comrade—a man of learning, piety and congenial

8. F.S. (Agra) Vs. 321-ff.

tastes—in whose company I might forget the wear and tear of life and its worry. Whenever I fortunately lighted upon such a comrade I was overjoyed and had the pleasure of discussion with him the literary works and matters of mutual interest. The moments which I have thus spent go to make a golden page in the book of my life.

VIII, IX, X The last three basic factors in the composition and name of the Futuh-us- Salatin are best expressed in the words of Isami himself as follows :—

In these days when learning is at a discount and when there is no demand for knowledge it struck me to compose this work. I set my hands to it and after persistent application day and night and sitting now and again at odd hours I have composed twelve thousand verses in the course of five months, nine days and six hours laying out thus a garden of literature the everfresh roses of which the autumn winds of the times cannot deface and discolour and which men of taste and culture in successive generations will continue to enjoy.....

In my attempt to establish my position in the dominion of literature I have like Firdausi set up and pursued a new style in this book of royal taste recording in it the lineage of all the kings of India. While in his *Shahnama* Firdausi has dwelt for the most part on the pagans and their attributes this book is replenished in equal measure with the attributes of believers.

During my lifetime every Tom, Dick and Harry tried in vain and dished up something as laudable as this. But thanks to that man of piety, when I was at last favoured with an opportunity I prepared and dished it up really nicely and tastefully making it highly delightful, delicious and lively for all times outstanding and surpassing my rivals thereby. I spiced it moderately and proportionately in order to meet the taste of men of culture and not to cause surfeit, moderate and balanced spicing being always helpful in making the preparation palatable. And like men of experience I took long over it until it was really in a fit condition to give complete satisfaction to men of discernment.

Many a scattered pearl of great value I collected and after considerable testing and sifting on my part I have strung the same in this composition. I have taken great pains in examining and scrutinizing the old stories in all stages. I approached well-informed persons and secured from them matter and material about the kings of Hindustan. The material thus I verified in the light of history; on finding it consistent with the accepted literature

I have included the same in this book putting each piece in its proper setting.

As for the matter which I found wanting and short of the mark I edified it through personal application and on making it fit enough I inserted the same in this composition.....

When this masterpiece was successfully completed and found its way into the centres of learning it was applauded and I received laurels from rulers. Considering it auspicious the kings of the world have turned to this book and read it day and night.

On realizing that monarchs draw inspiration from this book and that they achieve victories through reading it, I named it FUTUH-U-SALATIN<sup>9</sup>

### DID SULTAN HUSSAIN OF BENGAL INVADE THE AHOM KINGDOM ?

DR. G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Assam was one of the very few provinces of India which beat back the tide of Muslim invasions in mediaeval times, and retained its independence in spite of repeated attempts to subjugate it. The country was full of terrains which afforded shelters to a hostile population. It was, moreover, subject to extensive inundations in the rainy season when communications broke down almost totally and outbreak of famine and diseases thinned the rank of invaders. These factors, more than anything else, acted as severe checks on the success of even mighty armies in the past. The *Fathiyya-i-'ibriyya*, a contemporary chronicle of Mir Jumla's campaigns in Kuch Bihar and Assam draws pointed attention to the dangers which faced an invading army in the Brahmaputra valley. It says, "No Indian King in former times ever conquered Asam. .all armies that entered Asam perished, and no caravan even got safe out of it. If an army invaded the country, it was exposed to continual night attacks; or the people withdrew to the hills, and waited for the beginnings of the rains, when soldiers were sure to die or could easily be cut off."

The author of the work illustrates the above observation by relating the fate of Sultan Hussain Shah's invasion of Assam. The Sultan invaded the country with a formidable force consisting of 24,000 foot and horse and numerous ships, and took possession of it. "The Raja (of Assam)" being unable to oppose him had fled to the hills. Sultan Hussain left his son (Prince Daniyal) with a large army for the retention of the conquered ter-

9. F. S. (Aaga) Vs. 227ff.

ritories and himself returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal. During the rainy season however, (when the entire country became submerged in water, and roads and tracts became impassable), the Raja with his followers issued out of his hiding place, fell upon the invaders, killed Prince Daniyal and slaughtered or captured his men. The expedition was thus a dismal failure.<sup>1</sup>

The incidents mentioned above are also referred to in the Alamgir-nama and the *Riaz-us-Salatin*. The latter work contains the additional information that "conquering the whole country upto Kamrup and Kamta and other districts which were subject to powerful Rajas, like Rup Narain, and Mal Kunwar, and Gasa Lakhani and Lachmi Narain and others, he (Sultan Husain) collected much wealth from the conquered tracts; and the Afghans demolishing those Rajas' buildings, erected new buildings"<sup>2</sup>

The accounts of the chroniclers receive corroboration from Husain Shah's own inscription and coins which describe him as "the conqueror of Kamrup and Kamta". The invasion took place sometime between 1498 and 1501-2.<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of Kamta, which included the Kuch-Bihar, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts of Bengal was conquered from Nilambar, the last king of the Khen Dynasty. The same Prince also possibly exercised some loose control over Kamrup. The adjoining tracts stretching eastwards upto the border of the Lakhimpur district were held by local chiefs known in Assamese history as the Bara Bhuyans, some of whom are apparently mentioned by names in the *Riaz-us-Salatin*.<sup>4</sup>

Some scholars have urged that Husain Shah's army in Assam was destroyed by the King of the Ahoms. They are further of opinion that the author of the *Riaz-us-Salatin* has made a confusion between two expeditions of the Sultan—one directed against Kamta and Kamrup, and another against the Ahoms which took place shortly after.<sup>5</sup> It appears to the present writer that these conclusions do not take into proper consideration the following facts :—

- (1) There is no evidence to show that Sultan Husain's conquests actually extended beyond Kamrup, Kamta and other districts which

1. JASB., 1872, 1.78-79. The name of Prince Daniyal is found in the Ahom Buranjis as Dulal Ghazi (ib. p 335; 1874. i.281) cf. The destruction of the army of Sultan Mughisuddin Yuzbak under similar circumstances in 1275.

2. Asiatic Researches, II.180. *Riaz-us-Salatin* (translation), 132.

3. History of Bengal (Dacca University), Vol.II.147. The traditional date of the fall of the Kamta is 1498.

4. Gait, History of Assam. pp 44f;

K. L. Barua, History of Kamarupa, 264f. 277;

R. D. Banerji, Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II.p.246ff;

History of Bengal (Dacca University) Vol.II.146f.

5. R. D. Banerjee, Ibid. 246ff; History of Bengal (Dacca University), Vol.II.147, 157

were subject to Rup Narain, Mal Kunwar, Gasa Lakhan, Lachmi Narayan and others. The name of Suhungmung, the contemporary Ahom king, is conspicuous by its absence in this list. Appositely did Sultan Husain style himself "the conqueror of Kamru and Kamta," and not "the conqueror of Asam".<sup>6</sup>

- (2) The Ahom Kingdom was at this period an insignificant one being confined almost exclusively to the seat of the Dikhu. The Chūtya Kingdom to the east of the Subansiri fell into their hands about twenty years later, and even in 1526 they advanced only upto the valley of the Dhansiri.<sup>7</sup>
- (3) The intervening region to the east of Kamrup stretching upto the Subansiri and the Dikhu was, at the time of Husain Shah's invasion, under the control of the Bara Bhuyans and the Kacharis.<sup>8</sup>
- (4) When, however, the Fathiyya-i-ibriyya was composed, the Ahoms had pushed their conquests westwards as far as the Barnadi, and at times even held sway over the districts of Kamrup and Goalpara.<sup>9</sup> They gave their name (Asam) to the entire country under their control. Therefore, a King of western Assam i.e., Kamrup, Kamta and the adjacent tracts could be very well designated as "the King of Assam", in about the middle of the seventeenth century.

These facts tend to show that the Raja who destroyed the army of Prince Daniyal was either the last Khen King Nilambar or somebody else, and almost certainly not the King of the Ahoms. The silence of the Ahom Buranjis regarding a Muslim-Ahom conflict at this time, to which no importance is attached, is undoubtedly significant. They know of Sultan Husain's invasion of Kamta, mention the name of his son not found in the Muslim chronicles in connection of the Assam invasion<sup>10</sup> and speak even of the minor victories of Suhungmung. It is inconceivable that the very first occasion when a King of their race won a victory over a Sultan of Bengal escaped the notice of the Ahom historians. Indeed Gait points out no Muslim invasion of the Ahom kingdom can be dated in the present state of our knowledge before 1527.<sup>11</sup>

6. R. D. Banerji seems to suggest that Kamrup was under the Ahoms at this time (ibid.251). This is undoubtedly a mistake.

7. Gait, *ibid.*, 85ff.

8. *ibid.*, 38, 248f, K. L. Barua, *ibid.* 277f.

9. Gait, *ibid.*, pp 118 ff, 127 ff; *History of Bengal (Dacca University)*, pp.238ff, 345ff.

10. K. L. Barua, *ibid.* p267 JASB. 1872.I.335; 1874.I.281.

11. Gait, *ibid* pp.90.

## SOME ASPECTS OF KASHMIR HISTORY UNDER THE SHAH MIRS AND THE CHAKS

MOHIBUL HASAN KHAN

Muslim rule in Kashmir was not established, as in Hindustan, by the invaders from beyond the Himalayas; its foundations were laid by Rinchana, a Buddhist prince from Ladakh, who, after seizing the throne of Kashmir in 1320 A. D., embraced Islam, and assumed the title of Sultan Sadar-ud-Din. He was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. But after his death in 1323 A. D. his queen dowager Kota Rani married Udayanadeva, brother of Sahadeva, a former Raja of Kashmir, and set him up as king, and when he died she declared herself as ruler. Her position was, however, challenged by Shah Mir who had served as prime minister during the reigns of both Rinchana and Udayanadeva. He had found his way into Kashmir from Swat in the time of Sahadeva in search of fortune, and had gradually made himself the most powerful man in the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In the struggle for power which ensued between him and Kota Rani, he emerged victorious, and in 1339 A. D. laid the foundations of his dynasty. It produced a succession of able rulers, the most brilliant of whom was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A. D.) But after him the power of his house declined, and in 1555 A. D. Kashmir passed into the hands of the Chaks who ruled the country until it was conquered by Akbar in 1586.

The kingdom of Kashmir reached its greatest extent in the reign of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1354-73), the fourth ruler of the dynasty. According to the Kashmiri chroniclers<sup>2</sup> he brought under his sway Pakhli and Peshawar, Quandhar, Ghazni and Kabul, Kashgar and Badakhshan, parts of Sindh, the whole of the Punjab, Gilgit, Baltistan, Ladakh, Kish-tawar, Jammu and the rest of the neighbouring hill states. Shahab-ud-Din then set out to conquer Delhi, but was opposed by Firuz Sah Tughlaq on the banks of the Sutlej where after an indecisive engagement they decided to conclude peace. It was agreed that the territory from Sirhind to Kashmir was to belong to Shahab-ud-Din, while the rest lying to the east was to remain in the possession of Firoz Shah.

The above account appears to be highly exaggerated for it is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence. At the same time it cannot be doubted that Shahab-ud-Din made conquests, although they were on a

1. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (India Office), f. 92a; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. (India Office 509), f. 9b; Hasan Ali Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Bodeleian 315)

2. f. 87a.

much limited scale than described by Jonaraja and other Kashmiri chroniclers after him. Shahab-ud-Din had inherited only the Kashmir Valley from his father, Sultan Ala-ud-Din (1342-54), but he succeeded in bringing under his subjection the Hazara District, most of the Northern Punjab, Gilgit, Baltistan, Ladakh, Kishtawar, Jammu and the hill-states on the southern slopes of the Pir Panjal mountains. In fact these territories remained part of the kingdom of Kashmir until the end of Hasan Shah's reign. The Kashmir Valley was directly administered from Srinagar, while the other parts of the kingdom were governed by their own Rajas who acknowledged the authority of the Sultans and paid them tribute. But after Hasan Shah's death in 1484, owing to the weakness of his successors and the recurrent civil wars, all that was left of the kingdom was the Valley, Punch and Rajauri.<sup>3</sup> When Ghazi Shah Chak seized the throne of Kashmir he reconquered some of the former territories, but these were again lost in the time of Yusuf Shah Chak.

The rule of the Sultans, which lasted for nearly two centuries and a half (1346-1586), brought about profound changes in the religious, social and cultural life of the country. At the time when Rinchana embraced Islam there were very few Muslims in Kashmir, but after his conversion their number rapidly increased, so that by the end of Zainul-Abidin's reign a majority of the population of Kashmir had been converted to Islam. This was accomplished mainly by the tireless efforts and zeal of Sufi saints from Persia and Central Asia who, fleeing first before Mongol holocaust and then from Timur's atrocities, sought refuge in Kashmir. It was a Sufi saint from Turkestan, Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din commonly known as Bulbul Shah, who brought about the conversion of Rinchana.<sup>4</sup> Another saint who played an important part in the work of proselytization was Sayyid Ali Hamadani who entered Kashmir with seven hundred of his followers in the reign of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-89).<sup>5</sup> His work was continued by his son Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, and Nur-ud-Din Rishi, the patron saint of the Valley, and finally by Mir Shame-ud-Din Iraqi who arrived in Kashmir in 1487 A. D. So far as the rulers of Kashmir were concerned they held the Sufis in great respect, and granted them jagirs, but they never actively encouraged their missionary activities. The only notable exception was, however, Sultan Sikandar, who, influenced by the zeal of his wazir, Suhabhata, a new convert, ordered forcible conversion and temple destruction. But when Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne, he completely reversed his father's policy, permitting the temples to be repaired or rebuilt and those persons who had been forcibly converted to revert to

3. Haidar Malik, 108aff; *Bharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 20aff.

4. Haidar Mali, 124a; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 59b; Hasan Ali Kashmiri, f. 123b

5. Haidar Mali, fols. 102b-1030; Hasan Ali Kashmiri, 99b-100a.

their former religion.<sup>6</sup> This policy of toleration was pursued by all the subsequent Sultans, and when Musa Raina, Sultan Muhammad Shah's wazir, and his spiritual guide Shams-ud-Din Iraqi tried to persecute non-Muslims, they were met with fierce opposition both from the Sultan and from the nobles.<sup>7</sup>

At first the conversion of the Kashmiris to Islam did not effect any radical change in their beliefs, manners and customs. When Sayyid Ali Hamadani visited Kashmir he was shocked to find that Sultan Qutub-ue-Din had two wives who were sisters, and that he and Muslim subjects paid a visit every morning to a big temple in Ala-uddin-pura. Ali Hamadani after remonstrating with the Sultan advised him to retain one wife and to immediately divorce the other, and tried to put a stop to the Muslims visiting the temple.<sup>8</sup> Ali Hamadani's son Muhannad Hamadani also carried on, with the support of Sultan Sikandar, a crusade against what he regarded as un-Islamic practices among the Muslims. In fact from the middle of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century there was a ceaseless conflict between the orthodox elements who were anxious to introduce the Islamic way of life and those who, although they had accepted the new faith, still wanted to cling to their old traditions. In between these two extreme groups stood a small section which believed in a more liberal interpretation of Islam. These conflicts achieved substantial gains for orthodoxy. The legal system was replaced by the Sharia law; idol worship was abolished; caste and untouchability disappeared; the offices of Shaikh-ul-Islam and Qazi were introduced to ensure the enforcement of the Sharia;<sup>9</sup> and under the influence of the Persians and the Turks who, attracted by the patronage of the Sultans, began to pour into Kashmir in increasingly large numbers, a change took place in the language, manners, customs and dress of its inhabitants. Jonaraja writing of the time of Sikandar, bitterly complains that "attracted by the gifts and honours which the king bestows, and by his kindness the Muslims have entered Kashmir, even as the locusts enter a good field of corn,"<sup>10</sup> and that "as the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmir."<sup>11</sup> But in spite of all this the Kashmiris did not make a complete break with the past, although the dominant note of their culture was to be henceforth Islamic. While they celebrated the Id-ul-Fitr and the Id-ul-Zhuha and the Persian festival of Nauruz, they did not give up participating in the Hindu festivals

6. *Futuh-at-i-Kubravi*, fol. 146a. 6 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 437; *Baharistan*, fol. 48b

7. *Tuhfae-ul-Ahbab*, ff. 133a, 202a, 8 Haidar Malik, 110b; *Futuh-at-i-Kubravia*, 147.

8. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 34a 10 *Rajatarangini* (Dutt's Trans.), p. 58.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

10. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 46b; *Rajatarangini* (Dutt's trans.), pp. 136, 146.

11. Haidar Malik, 159b. 14 Haidar Malik, f. 820a; Hasan Ali Kashmiri, f. 120.

of Ganachakra and Chaitra.<sup>12</sup> The Hindu image gave place to the tomb of a Muslim saint, but the old places of worship still retained their sanctity for the Muslims. Similarly the Hindus revered the Muslim Rishis, and even today the graves of Nur-ud-Din Rishi and of other saints are crowded with the Muslim as well as Hindu pilgrims.

The age of the Sultans is culturally one of the most glorious periods of Kashmir history. Kashmir already had a great tradition of Sanskrit learning, and now to this was added the study of Persian and Arabic as a result of fresh cultural and religious ties established with Persia and Central Asia. More emphasis was, however, laid on Persian which had by now become the language of culture in the Muslim East. The influence of Persian spread so rapidly that Zain-ul-Abidin made it the court language. Some of the rulers themselves achieved great proficiency in it, and wrote poetry with ease; and under their patronage large number of works in philosophy, religion, medicine and music were composed. Meanwhile the study of Sanskrit did not cease for the Sultans extended their patronage to scholars of that language as well. Learned men belonging to different religions and countries flocked to the court of the Sultans where discussion on religion and philosophy were held. Husain Shah Chak even went to the extent of fixing separate days in a week for holding discussions with Pundits, Ulemas and Sufis.<sup>13</sup> Zain-ul-Abidin laid the foundations of a big library consisting of valuable books in Sanskrit, Persian, Turkish and Arabic which were obtained by his agents from India, Persia, Iraq, Hijaz and Central Asia. But unfortunately the library perished in the civil wars between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the greatest and the most abiding achievement of the Sultans of Kashmir in the domain of culture was their promotion of arts and crafts which reached heights never attained before or since. The credit for this mainly belongs to Zain-ul-Abidin. It was he who for the first time introduced the art of paper-making and book-binding. He sent two persons to Samarkand where each of them was required to learn how to manufacture paper and to bind books. On their return to Srinagar the Sultan asked them to teach others what they had learnt abroad, and established factories where paper-making and book-binding were carried on.<sup>15</sup> Kashmir had been famous in Hindu times for its silks. Zain-ul-Abidin improved their manufacture by introducing for the first time the use of the weaver's brush and loom, and by importing the decorative designs from Persia.<sup>16</sup>

12. Haidar Malik, 120a; Hasan Ali Kashmiri, ff. 120b-121a.

13. *Rajatarangini* (Dutt's trans.), p. 151.

14. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 86a-b; see also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 458.

15. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (trans. Ross), pp. 482-485-

16. Haidar Malik, 175b; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 156b.

The Sultans of Kashmir from Shams-ud-Din to Zain-ud-Abidin were able and energetic, and ruled with a firm hand. They established law and order, crushed the refractory chiefs and promoted the welfare of the peasants. But the later Shah Mir rulers were weak and incompetent and brought nothing but ruin to the country. During their rule the administration was neglected, while corrupt officials robbed the people to enrich themselves. Moreover, the feudal chiefs or the Damara as they were called, who had hitherto been kept under control, took advantage of the weakness of the Sultans to become powerful. They defied royal authority, fought with each other for power, fomented wars of succession and reduced the rulers to the status of puppets. The result of this was that life and property were no longer safe, agriculture and trade suffered and the country was plunged into confusion. But a more serious consequence of these feudal rivalries was that it led to foreign domination of Kashmir. On Haidar Shah's death one group of nobles set up his son and successor Muhammad Sah on the throne. But he was replaced by Fath Shah who was supported by another party. Thrice Muhammad Shah became ruler, and thrice he had to give up his throne. Finally in 1510 A.D. he proceeded to the court of Sikandar Lodhi and sought his help.<sup>17</sup> After this it became customary with the Kashmir Sultans and nobles that on being defeated by their rivals to proceed to the courts of the Delhi emperors and seek their help. In 1540 while Abdal Magre brought a Mughal army from the Punjab under Mirza Haidar Dughlat, his rival Kaji Chak secured help from Sher Shah.<sup>18</sup> This invitation of foreign troops proved disastrous to the independence of Kashmir, for Mirza Haidar came as a deliverer but instead he made himself master of the country and oppressed the people for ten years until the nobles combined against him and killed him. When the Chaks came to power they suppressed their rivals and ruled with a firm hand. But after Ali Shah's death the nobles again raised their heads, and ultimately forced his successor Yusuf Shah into exile. In January 1580 Yusuf Shah, driven from his country, proceeded to Fatehpur Sikri and sought help from Akbar.<sup>19</sup> This was readily given, but it later provided the emperor with a *casus belli* for the invasion of Kashmir. Yusuf's successor, Yaqub, carried on a violent resistance to the Mughal armies, but with internal strife he failed to drive out the invaders. The result was that Kashmir became a Subah of the Mughal Empire.

Another factor which added to the confusion in Kashmir and paved

17. Muhammad Nur Bakhsh was the founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect which is a branch of Shiism. For more details see, Encycl. of Islam, Art. Nurbakhshiya Shamsuddin came from Talish formerly in the province of Gilan.

18. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, ff. 76b-77a

19. *Ibid.* ff. 64b-65a; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 76b:77a

the way for its invasion and conquest was the religious conflict between the Sunnis and the Shias. At first the Muslims in Kashmir were only Sunnis mainly belonging to the Hanafite school. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, a follower of Muhammad Nut Bakhsh, named Shams-ud-Din arrived in Kashmir and began to preach Shiism.<sup>20</sup> But he was met with opposition on the part of the orthodox Ulemas and Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi, Muhammad Shah's wazir, who began to persecute the Shias and compelled Shams-ud-Din to leave the Valley.<sup>21</sup> But after the fall of Sayyid Muhammad, Shams-ud-Din returned from Baltistan, where he had been living in exile, at the invitation of Musa Raina, who was now wazir, and under his patronage carried on his missionary activities.<sup>22</sup> Shams-ud-Din died on the eve of Mirza Haidar's invasion and conquest of Kashmir in 1540, and his work was continued by his son Shaikh Daniyal. At first Mirza Haidar treated the Shias well, but after the revolt of the Chaks he began to persecute them thinking that uniformity of religion in Kashmir would bring peace to the country. Accordingly he banned Shiism and put to death many of the Shia divines.<sup>23</sup> But after his death the ban over Shiism was lifted, and its followers once again began to practice their religion openly. When the Chak rulers came to power they extended complete toleration to the Sunnis. But there was one incident which led to serious repurcussions. In the reign of Husain Shah Chak a certain fanatic Shia named Yusuf and Qazi Habib, an equally fanatic Sunni, exchanged harsh words with each other, and came to blows. As a result while Yusuf received minor injuries, the Qazi was seriously wounded. Although the latter recovered, a jury of Sunni Ulemas consisting of Shams-ud-Din Almas, Firuz Ganai and Qazi Musa sentenced Yusuf to be stoned to death. This greatly aroused the passions of the Shais of Srinagar, who regarded Yusuf as innocent and the punishment inflicted upon him as unjust. Meanwhile Mirza Muqim arrived in Srinagar as an ambassador to the court of Husain Shah Chak. As a Shia he was shocked at the manner of Yusuf's death, and at his suggestion those who had sentenced Yusuf to death were sent for by the Sultan. Qazi Musa fled, but Shams-ud-Din Almas and Firuz Ganai obeyed the summons. They were tried by a jury of both Shia and Sunni jurists and sentenced to death. This created great bitterness among the Sunnis and as a result many of the Sunni Ulemas left Kashmir for India.<sup>24</sup>

Husain Shah's successors Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah ruled with justice but the last Chak ruler, Yaqub Shah, was intolerant, and he began to per-

20. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, 111b-112a

21. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, 127a-129b; see also *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, iii, 494-95.

22. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 192a-b.

23. *Ibid.*, 182a; see also Abul Fazl, *Akbar-Namah* (Beveridge), iii, p. 747.

24. *Rajatarangini* (Dutt's trans), pp. 123-24, 142

secute the Sunnis. He tried to compel Qazi Musa to include the name of Ali in the prayers, and as he refused to do this he revived the old controversy of Yusuf's sentence and had Qazi Musa put to death. The result of this was that some Kashmiri chiefs and Sunni divines led by Yaqub Sarfi left Kashmir. They proceeded to the court of Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmir; and when the emperor sent an army for its conquest they acted as guides.

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE OINIWARA DYNASTY OF MITHILA

SHRI VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA, M. A.

The defeat of king Harasimhadeva was a turning point in the history of Mithila. Ghyasuddin Tughlaq reduced her into a fief of Delhi Empire. Henceforth, her kings were called upon to pay revenue to the Emperors; otherwise they were independent. We have evidences when the revenues were not paid or reluctantly paid, owing to the independence loving nature of the kings.

Ghyasuddin did not live long. His son the famous Muhammad bin Tughlaq "issued coins with the mint name Tughlaqpur Urf Tirhut. Two of them still exist. They belong to the forced currency system (brass for silver), and one in the Indian Museum is dated Cr. 731 (1330-1 A. D.)"<sup>1</sup>

After his death, in 1353 A. D., Firoz Shah Tughlaq invaded Haji-Ilyas the founder of Hajipur and subdued him. Haji-Ilyas had subdued Tirhut, hence Firoz Shah Tughlaq set up another dynasty under Kameshwara Thakura at this time. From this time onwards, the northern part of Mithila was under Hindu Dynasties, but the south was under the direct control of Muslim governors. Amongst Kameshwar's forefathers who were of 'Khaūāḍe-jagatpur' mūla and of Kāśyapagotra, Jayapati's son Hingu and his son Oena Thakura procured Oini village from some Ksatriya King. Since then his mūla-grāma became Oinivāra.<sup>2</sup>

Kameśwara did not reign. He made over the kingdom to his son

1. Singh, S. N.—p.68

2. Also called Kameswara Dynasty or simply Thakura Dynasty or Sugaon Dynasty of Kameswara. (Perhaps, Sugaon = Sugrama—modern Sugauna near Rajnagar, N. E. Rly., Dist Darbhanga). The name 'Oinivara' is said to belong to the dynasty from its 'Biji-Purusa' Oini Thakura who was the great-grand father of Kameswara Thakura, and who is said to have established himself in Oini village with the help of Nanyadeva's descendants. Perhaps this latter fact is apocryphal, intended to explain the non-intervention of the Delhi Emperor in the succession of the Oinivara Dynasty from Kavnata Dynasty. There was apparently unrest during the interval.

Bhojisvara Thakur. Bhojisvara died in La. Sam. 251 (plus 1119=1370 A. D.) after a reign of 33 (?) years. There is a single poem extant with his name in the Bhanitā.<sup>3</sup>

He was succeeded by "Gaesha Raya or Gaana Raya".<sup>4</sup> He was, however, murdered by one Asalam in 252 La. Sam (=1371 A. D.) with the help of Kumara Arjuna Raya, Kumara Ratnākara and others.

On his assassination the realm was plunged in a state of anarchy. The collateral line of Bhavasimha was inexplicably silent; perhaps the latter was very young at that time. At any rate, the sons of Maharaja 'Gaensha' could not succeed peacefully. They took the help of the rulers of Jaunpur and re-established themselves as kings of Mithila—Maharaja Virasimha and Maharaja Kīrttisimha.<sup>5</sup> The exact date of this event is shrouded in obscurity. The *Kīrttilatā* of Vidyapati says that they took 'the help of Ibrahim of Jaunpur.' But Ibrahim appears to have ascended the throne of Jaunpur in 1401 A. D. This will mean that at least a gap of about thirty years must have followed the murder of 'Gaensha Raya' when there was no ruler. This gap is a little too big especially in view of the existence of a collateral branch which had such brave men as Maharaja Devasimha and Maharaja Śivasimha. There appears to have been an expedition over Mithila, prior to the great Ibrahim's likely expedition in 1406 A. D., and Ibrahim might be a general name to indicate the ruler of Jaunpur. We are told that in 1394 A. D. Khaja Jehan was entrusted by the Muslim Emperor to administer Bihar and he subjugated the fief of Tirhut, and "shortly after this (i.e. Firoza's invasion on Hajipur in 1353 A. D., when he is likely to have set up Kameśwara C. 1397 A. D.) the Kings of Jaunpur annexed north Bihar."<sup>6</sup> Thus the over lordship of Mithila appears to have passed on from the king of Jaunpur for a considerable number of years. It was in

3. Nagendranathe's *Vidyapati Padāvati* No. 801 (obviously it should not be Vidyapati's poem)

4. "Ganeshvara", Dr. Majumdar has objected to this name and has proposed Gagana or Gaganesha. These names are not familiar in Mithila tradition at all; the names Bojiswara and Kameswara warrant "Ganeswara"; and if any emendation is needed, it may be "Gangeswara Thakura."

5. पुरि सहु अहु बसिरार जसु कर कन्ह पसारिअ।  
पुरि सहु अहु रहुतणअ जेण रणरावण मारिअ।  
पुरिस धगीरथहु अहु जेण णिअ कुल उद्धरिअउ।  
परसुराम पुणि पुरिस जेण खत्तिय सअ करिअउ।  
पुरि पसंस ओ राअगुरुकीलिसिह गणोम सुअ।  
गै सनु समर सम्माद्धि करि वप्पवैर उद्धरिअ धुअ।"—(कीर्तिलता पृ....)

6. Darbhanga District Gazetter, p. 13-22

their hands till they were finally ejected by Sikandar Khan Lodi in 1499 A. D. when he advanced against Husain Shah, King of Bengal.

We do not know as to how many years Virasimha and Kīrttisimha ruled over Mithila, but their reigns may be roughly placed in about 1397 A. D. They appear to have died childless. The succession then passed on to Devasimha of the collateral branch of Devakuli. The glory of Oindvara dynasty dates from the accession of this line to the throne.

We do not know exactly when Devasimha actually took over from the first line. According to some he ruled for (? lived for) 91 (51?) years. In one of the accounts he is represented to have ascended the throne in 1355 A. D. Devasimha "lived before the year 1410 A. D. When the copying of a manuscript of Sridhara's commentary on the *Kāvya Pradīpa* by order of Vidyapati was completed, when Raja Śivasimha was ruling over Tirhut"<sup>7</sup>

His Viruda was "Garuḍanārāyaṇa" under his patronage Vidyapati wrote *Bhūparikramā* which was later on incorporated in *Purusapariksā* written for his son, Śivasimha; Śridatta compiled the *Ekagindānapaddhat*; and Harihara grandfather of Murāri was his chief judge. Vidyapati too dedicated some of his poems to him. Devasimha married with Hasinī Devi, daughter of Mahamahopadhyaya Rāmeśwara of Jālayamūla and had two sons—Śivasimha and Padmasimha..

It appears, however, that even during his life time his son Śivasimha exercised the powers of a sovereign. He ascended formally the throne after his father's death in 1412/13 A. D. at the age of 50: By this time the poet Vidyapati had become familiar with the king; he recognised his greatness on that occasion by granting the native village of Bisaphi to the poet and by changing the capital from Devakuli to Gajarathapura.

The name of Maharaja Sivasimha<sup>8</sup> has become as proverbial in Mi-

7. John Beams—*Indian Antiquary* IV. p. 299  
cf. the *Kāvya-prakasa-Viveka*—India Government Mss.

Folio 117a:—इति तकचिथ्यंठकुर श्री श्री धरवि-रचिते

काव्य प्रकाशनवेक (के) दशम लघुलासः । शुभस्तु समस्यविरुदावल महाराजाधिराज श्री कृत्शिव  
सिंहदेव संधुज्यमान् तीरभुञ्जती श्री गजरथपुरनगरे सप्रक्रिय सदुपाध्याय ठाकुर श्री विद्यापति-  
नाभाज्ञाग स्त्रीपालस श्री प्रभाकाराम्या लिखितेषा हस्तम्यो ल० सम० कार्तिक वदि १०[.]

According to a Prakrit Padyavali attributed to Vidyapati Devasimha died on a Thursday, month Caitra, La, Sam. 293:—

अनलंरं धूकर लकन नरवर्ह सक समुद्धकर (पुर?) अगिनि ससी चत्तकारि छठि  
जेठा मिलिओ वार वहप्पई जाउलसी ॥

—*Parisad Granthavali* 24, p. 531

8. Yuvaraja Sivasimha has six wives—विश्वसदेवी लोआन सुरगन सं० राम दुहिला  
(२) सज्ञाजी, सोदपुर सं० भद्वर दुहिला (३) रतदा, निखती (निकुतवार) सं०  
विद्यधर दुहिता (४) लखिमा, पाली सं० महोजीवधरदुहिता (५) उमा, बहेराठी सं० विरख  
दुहिता (६) गूना हरियम सं० पाखुदुहिता  
and Arch. Report XIII 1913-14, p. 248-48.

thila as that of Maharaja Harisimhadeva of Kārṇāta Dynasty. Sivasimha was independent minded and seems to have almost rebelled against the Muslim overlords; indeed he seems to have been successful in establishing complete sovereignty. Indeed, it appears that he even struck coins in his name specimen of which were found from a village called Pipra in the district of Champaran.<sup>9</sup> He is also said to have erected a mosque near Hajipur.<sup>10</sup> In his copper-plate grant to Vidyapati, he claimed to have won kings of Gaṇḍa and "Gajjanapur". We have several direct reference to his frequent clashes with imperial arms. He appears to have been a warrior of great influence. It is said that he was once arrested and brought to Delhi. There the poet Vidyapati showed his genius and obtained his release.<sup>11</sup> This story may be, but three years and nine months after his rule he was defeated by the Musalmans and carried off to Delhi.

This last encounter was as important in the history of Mithila as that of Ghyasuddin Tughlaq and Harisimhadeva. His queen Lakhimā fled with the royal family to take shelter in village Rajabanauli in Saptari Parganna at the court of Raja Purāditya of Dinawāra family of Droṇa (near modern Janakpur in Nepal Kingdom). She waited for twelve years in the hope of the coming back of her consort. When, unfortunately, no trace of the late king was found, she is said to have laid down her life as a sati. Laksima ruled in her husband's name, continued his traditions and is known to have been one of the front-rank poetesses of Sanskrit Literature.

After Śvasimha's death, his first wife Maharani Padmāvartī ruled for one year six months and after that Lakhimā Mahādevī ruled for six years and after her Padmasimha came to the throne.

Since Śvasimha did not leave any child, his younger brother Padmasimha succeeded his Queen, and though he did not live long (he died after a year), yet his wife Viśvāsa Devi is said to have continued the line. She too is credited with having reigned for 12 years—perhaps merely to echo Lakhima's reign for 12 years.

When the line of Devasimha failed to have a male heir, the collateral branch of Harasimhadeva assumed power. It is not clear as to how long Harasimha himself reigned. Nor is it clear, if he lived so old as to have seen for long the virtual extinction of his brother's (Devasimha's) line after Śvasimha's mysterious disappearance.

9. Both sides of these coins are inscribed—Obv.—Sri  
Rev.—Śiva—  
2—Sya

10. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XXXII pt. 1, pp 68269

11. While it appears that this story is mixed up with the tales of other extraordinarily gifted Maithilas at the Delhi court, yet it is possible that the poet had occasions to visit Muslim courts too (vide some of his Bhanitas). The whole story is described in *Vidyapati Thakur* by MM. Dr. Umesha Mishra,

At any rate, the celebrities of Śivasimha's court (Vidyapati being our chief authority in this regard) went from one 'Court' to another 'Court' and though his collateral lines may have existed, it seems that after the death of Padmasimha or even that of his queen Viśwās Devi, the line of Harasimha came into prominence.

Devasimha's step brother Kumar Harasimha was a learned warrior and musician.<sup>12</sup> His son Narasimha or Ratnasimha borne the title of 'Darpanārāyanā, whose chief minister was Vidyapati who wrote a book entitled *vilhagāsāra*,<sup>13</sup> according to which he ruled his kingdom. His queen was Dhīramati, who was a very pious lady. She had built a Dharmasala at Banaras. Vidyapati wrote *Dānavākyaṭī* at her order. Narasimha had three sons —Dhīrasimha, Bhairavasimha, Candrasimha and probably a step son Ramasimha.

Pandit Visnupal Sastri discovered an inscription of this king at Kandaha, in the Madhepura Sub-division of Saharsa.<sup>14</sup> The date of this has been the subject of much discussion. Jayaswal made it in 1357 Saka (1435 A. D.) Dr. B. B. Majumdar thinks that there is no reason to violate the principle of interpreting figures and it should be read as 1375 Saka (1453 A. D.). But as Dr. Majumdar says, we have got two definite dates, namely 321 (1440 A. D.) and Bhadra 327 (1447 A. D.) L. S. respectively in the manuscripts of *Setudarpani* and *Karṇapavam* of the *Mahabharat*,<sup>15</sup> and both of these manuscripts mention Dhīrasimha, son of Narasimha as the reigning monarch." "This difference is explained by supposing that "Dhīrasimha was called Maharaja during the life of his father Narasimha. This conjecture is supported by the opening line of *Durgābhaktitaranginī* (where) the third introductory verse refers to Narasimha in the present tense "Asti" (though it appears to have been written in the reign of Dhīrasimha from the colophon)"<sup>16</sup> To sum up, it is likely that Dhīrasimha began to rule from about 321, la sam. (1440 A. D.) though Narasimha lived on to the year.

The chronology of these years is very uncertain Dhīrasimha was not reigning in 1496 A. D. when a manuscript of *Gangakṛitya viveka* of Vardhamana was copied, and Bhairavasimha or Bhairavendrasimha, his brother, was ruling over Mithila. But even as Śivasimha or Dhīrasimha appear

12. हरो वा हरसिंह वा गीत विद्याविशारदौ । हरसिंहगते स्वर्गं गीतवित्केवल हरिः ॥  
--(पुरुषपरीक्षा)

13. राज्ञोभवेशाद्धर सिंहो आसीत्तत्सुनुना दर्पनारायेण । राज्ञानियुक्तो ऽत्र विभागसरिं  
विचार्य विद्यापति गतनोति ॥

14. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XX, p. 15-19

15. J. B. O. R. S. X, pp. 42-43 & 47-48

16. This does not, however, mean that Vidyapati lived up to 1453 A.D.—it only means that Narasimha lived on to 1453 A.D.—the poet might have died earlier as is very probable in consideration of other factors.

to be ruling over, even during their father's reigns so probably Dhirasimha was ruling jointly with Shivasimha.<sup>17</sup>

Probably he assumed the other Viruda, 'Hridaya-nārāyaṇa' or 'Hari-nārāyaṇa'. One of his judges was Vardhamana who is known to have lived in 372 La. Sam. (1491 A.D.)<sup>18</sup> It was under him that 1400 Jaiminiya mīmāṃsakas alone are said to have assembled at one place.

Bhairavasimha was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadradeva. He was reigning in 1496 A. D. He was very famous throughout the land as an important patron of Sanskrit learning. Mr. Shyam Narain quotes Sri Ram Bhatta in proof of this; the latter went on a pilgrimage from Gaya to Tirabhukti, was attracted by the fame of this king and noted the fact at the end of the chapters of his commentary on the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*.

The next ruler Laksaminathadeva, popularly known as Kamsa (Dalana) narayana, came after the demise of Rāmabhadradeva. We know, however, that he was reigning at least in December 1510 A. D. (La Sam. 392 Pausavadi Tritiyā).<sup>19</sup> He was, after Maharaja Sivasimha the most important patron of Maithili poetry. Rāmabhadradeva was given the title of 'Rūpanārāyaṇa'. He shifted his capital to a new place and called it as Rāmabhadrapur. He met Badsaha Sikandar Lodi at Patna. The Lodi King was very much pleased with him. He conquered Bengal i.e. Malda, Murshidabad etc. (cf. *Dwaitavivekā* by Vibhākara).

The peaceful nature of the kings after Sivasimha which it is said, regained the Emperor's sanction through the help of Amritakara Kāyastha, Sivasimha's minister. But they never developed their armed forces. The result was that by this time there was hardly any difficulty in defeating them. Sikandar Lodi could easily march to Tirhut in about 1496/99 A. D. and finally advanced against Husain Shah, king of Bengal. It is said that the Emperor there came to a treaty by which he was permitted to retain Bihar, Tirhut and Sarkar Saran. The term of the treaty was that he would not invade Bengal. However, Sikandar Khan Lodi conquered Tirhut. But he asked the court Raja to retain it after paying a large sum as fine. Nasrat Shah of Bengal (1518-32) broke the terms of the treaty and invaded Tirhut early in his reign. He attacked, defeated and killed the Raja and appointed his brothers-in-law (Alauddin and Makhdum-i-Alam) to the Government.

17. SINGH p. 75

18. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV pt. p. 311; *Udbhatta Bhasya*, a commentary on *Suklaya-jurveda* has this colophon: अशढवदि द्वादशी चन्द्रे रत्नेपुर धमाधिकारणिक महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीवर्धमानमहाशयानामाज्ञया लिखितमिदं सत्वाग्निना श्रीगोण्डिशर्मणेति ।

There is no king's name mentioned. cf. the final colophons of the *Sarad-characintamani* and the colophons of the *Dandaviveka*

19. ल० स० ३९२ पौष वदि ३ बुधे महाराज श्रीकंसनारायणदेव.....श्री उदय-करेण लिखितैषा पुस्तीति ।

—cf. Nepal Notices, p. 63, final colophon.

The exact date of this disastrous event has been given as 1449 Saka (1527 A. D.) in a traditional verse quoted by Canda Jha.<sup>20</sup> This date is very much corroborated by the muslim chronicler Ghulam Husain Shah, who puts the date as 930H (1530 A. D)

Thus was ended the illustrious Oinivara Dynasty. It may not have been completely independent of Delhi Empire, but it can be said with certainty that generally it was mainly administered according to Hindu Dharmastras. We have definite proofs of the various Ministers, Judges and other officials functioning in the Old Hindu Manner till quite late.

Besides, during the two hundred years that the Oinivara Dynasty was in power there was an enormous growth of Sanskrit learning. The leading scholars of the Age are Jagaddhara, Vidyapati and Vardhamana. Comparatively speaking they carried on their scholarly deliberations in an atmosphere of peace and security in the secluded jungles and marshes of Mithila.

The downfall of the Oinivara Dynasty marked the passing away of an illustrious court. The kings of this Dynasty were as much interested in the cultivation of learning and the arts as their Queen, other relatives and the courtiers. Almost everyone who was important in public life encouraged one or more literary figure attending upon him or her. We have details of the famous king Śivasimha and his consort Lakhimā, Padmasimha and his queen Viśwasa Devi, Candrasimha and his wife and various others—as to how friendly and enthusiastic they were in the company of eminent men of letters.

The end of the Oinivara Dynasty was followed by great political uneasiness and dislocation in the administrative machinery of the country. From round about 1527-30 A. D. to 1557 A. D. when the New Dynasty was firmly established by Maharaja Maheśa Thakura, there was a break in the intellectual activities of Maithila Court. The centre of gravity shifted to Nepal where the royal courts had, by force of circumstances, come to patronise Maithila intelligentsia.

20. cf. अङ्कभिवेदरासि (१४४७) सम्मितशाकवर्षे ।  
भाद्रेसिते प्रतिपदि क्षितिसूनुवारे ॥  
हा हा निहत्य कंसनारायणोऽसौ ।  
तत्याज देवसरसी निकटे शरीरम् ॥

APPENDIX  
THE CHRONOLOGY

The exact number of years during which this dynasty wielded the sceptre of Mithila is still a matter of speculation. The authorities—inscriptions and literary references—are confusing and the traditional account is misleading. The final synchronism has been made after taking into consideration all the available information:

|   |  |                      |
|---|--|----------------------|
| 1. Harisimhadeva's flight   | c. 1323/24 A. D.                       |                      |
| 2. Unrest—Kamesvara's family  | c. 1324-1353                           | 29/30 years.         |
| 3. <i>Bhojisvara</i>  | c. 1353-1370                           | 17 years.            |
| 4. <i>Ganesvara</i>   | c. 1370/1-1371/2                       | 1 year.              |
| 5. Minority—Unrest<br>(and Bhavasimha ?)                              | c. 1371/2-1397/8                       | 26 years.            |
| 6. <i>Virasimha and Kirttisimha</i><br>(and Bhavasimha ?/Devasimha ?) | c. 1397/8-1406/7<br>c. 1353-1389       | 9 „                  |
| 6A. Bhavasimha  | c. 1353-1389                           | 26 „                 |
| 7. Devasimha  | c. 1406/7-1412/13                      | 6 „                  |
| 8. <i>Sivasimha and Lakhima</i>                                       | c. 1412-1416<br>c. 1416-1428/9         | 15/16 „              |
| 9. <i>Padmasimha and<br/>Visvasadevi</i>                              | c. 1428/9-1429/30<br>c. 1429/30-? 1422 | 1 Year.<br>12 Years. |
| 10. <i>Narasimha</i>  | c. 1442-1453                           | 11 „                 |
| 11. <i>Dhirasimha</i>   | c. 1440-1475 ?                         | 35 „                 |
| 12. <i>Bhairavasimha</i>  | c. 1475-1489                           | 14 „                 |
| 13. <i>Ramabhadrasimha</i>  | c. 1489-1503                           | 14 „                 |
| 14. <i>Lakshminatha</i>   | c. 1503-1527                           | 24 „                 |

The different authorities give different reign periods for these; they are:—

| Names of the Rulers                  |                        |  | Authors giving the reign periods |         |                      |                  |              |              |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---------|----------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Nine of Bhojisvara                | 2. Line of Bhavasingha | 2a. Line of Harsasingha 4th son of Bhavasingha | Chanda Jha.                      | Bakshi  | Ganesh datta College | Gulja Vipar Mss. | Vishva Kisha | Ghat-ak Raja |
|                                      |                        |  | A.                               | B.      | C.                   | D.               | E.           | F.           |
| <b>I. The Unrest:</b>                |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| <b>Kameshvara.</b>                   |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| Thakur enthroned                     |                        |  | ?                                | 27      | 34                   | ?                | ?            |              |
| <b>II. Bhojisvara</b>                |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| Thakur II Bhavasingha                |                        |  | ?                                | 34/34   | 36                   | 37               | ?            |              |
| <b>III. Ganeshvara</b>               |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| Thakur                               |                        | "  | 1                                | 1       | ..                   | ..               | ?            |              |
| <b>IV. Minority: Unrest</b>          |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| Virasingha and Kritisingha           |                        | "  | ?                                | 41      | ..                   | ..               | ?            |              |
| <b>V. Devsingha Narasingha Minor</b> |                        |  |                                  |         |                      |                  |              |              |
| VI. Shivasingha                      |                        | "  | 3 Yrs.                           | 9 mths. | 14                   | 3                | ?            |              |
| VII. Lakshima                        |                        | "  | 12                               | 12      | 14                   | 12               | ?            |              |
| VIII. Padmasingha                    |                        | "  | 1                                | 1       | 6                    | ..               | ?            |              |
| IX. Vishvasadevi                     |                        | "  | 12                               | 12      | ..                   | 9                | ?            |              |
| Lakhimadai                           |                        | "  | ..                               | ..      | 9                    | ..               | ..           |              |
| Visvamabodai                         |                        | "  | ..                               | ..      | 1                    | ..               | ..           |              |
| X. Narasingha                        |                        |  | ?                                | ?       | 1                    | 1                | ?            | ?            |
| XI. Bhirasingha                      |                        |  | ?                                | ?       | 35                   | 35               | 35           | 20           |
| XII. Bhairavasingha                  |                        |  | ?                                | ?       | 14                   | ?                | 14           | 35           |
| XIII. Ramabhadra-singha              |                        |  | ?                                | ?       | 15                   | ?                | 30           | 14           |
| XIV. Lakshminatha                    |                        |  | ?                                | ?       | 14                   | ?                | 6            | 8            |

The total number of years during which this dynasty ruled over Mithila is given as 196 by "Ganesha Dutta College Ms.", 202 by "Ghatakaraja" and 201 by Mm. Bakhshi. The exact dates between which the history of the period really lies are c. 1324 A. D. and c. 1527 A. D. (i.e. 203 years).

In arriving at a synthesis regarding the chronology as given above, the basis has been Bakhshi's and Chanda Jha's calculations. The period of unrest and the setting up of a new dynasty has been taken to be about 30 years, considering the march of Firoz Tughlak to Hajipur in 1353 A. D. As regards Bhojisvara's reign, we should take 18 years to be quite proper duration, if he was murdered in 252 La. Sam (1370/1 A. D.) But Bhavasimha must be taken to have continued till thirty six years, i.e. c. 1353 plus 36 is equal to 1389 A. D.

Bhavasimha's son Devasimha could not be an actual ruler for longer than 14 years, though the authorities are generally silent or very exaggerated in giving the reign period of the King—including the years during which he was king of half of Mithila alone. As to the exact years during which Virasimha and Kirttisimha ruled there is great uncertainty. The reasonable account seems to be that they were minor till about 1397—till when Aslam held his sway over the half of Mithila—and since, c. 1397 they ruled. As to the exact number of their actual rule over Mithila there are no records—they might have died for aught we know in a year. It is in 291 La. Sam (1410 A. D.) that we learn Devasimha as the ruler of (whole of) Mithila. So by 1410 they must have been dead.

Devasimha died in 293 La. Sam (1412 A. D.) and Shivasimha ruled for 3 years and nine months. Lakhima continued his rule till about 1428 A. D.—this account is corroborated by all accounts.

Padmasimha who succeeded Sivasimha, died in a year his line was continued by his queen. The exact number of years during which her rule lasted is not clear, for the proverbial 12 years seems to be rather a copy of Lakhima reign period explainable by reason of the mysterious disappearance of her husband and the Sastric injunctions for waiting for 12 years. Yet, in view of other evidence, including those of Vidyapati and other scholars who wrote under her patronage, there is no reason to say anything definitely.

The exact number of the years during which Narasimha was ruler is not clear though we find his inscription at Kandaha to be dated 1453 A. D. It may be taken that he came after Visvasadevi's death and lived till about 1453. But his son Dhirasimha must have been ruling even while his father was alive; not only because the records of his reign spread out over a long period especially 321 to 328 La Sam (1440-1447), but also because he is almost invariably represented as having ruled for 35 years. This also fits in with the facts about the possible end of the poet Vidyapati Thakura.

There is greater certainty regarding the number of years during which Bhairavasimha and Ramabhadrasimha ruled viz. 14 and 15 respectively.

Lakshminatha was ruling in 1510 A. D. and was killed in about 1527 A. D. so cannot be ruling for the small number of years attributed to him. We have therefore ascribed the remaining period viz. 24 years to him.

## KAKATIYAS AND THE MUSLIM INVASION

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

The study of the Muslim invasion of the Andhra country is usually based on the account of Muslim historians which are neither impartial nor complete. The Hindu sources which contain a good deal of interest information are seldom taken into account. An attempt is made in this paper to study the question from the Hindu standpoint.

### I

It is generally believed that Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the first Muslim invader of the Deccan and that before his attack on Devagiri in A. D. 1296 the Hindu kingdoms of the south were left undisturbed by the Mussalmans who made themselves masters of the whole of Hindustan. This is however a mistake. The first Muslim invasion of the Deccan took place, as a matter of fact, some three decades earlier. In an epigraph<sup>1</sup> at Panngallu in the Nalgonda District of the Hyderabad State dated 'Saka 1189 Prabhava Adhika-Jyeshtha ba 15 Monday, Solar eclipse (A. D. 1267, May 25), it is stated that the Yadava Prince, Sarangadeva, a subordinate of the Kakatiya monarch, Manuma Rudradeva Mahārāja (Rudramadevi) was the Primeval Boar who rescued the kingdom of Prarajya-rajya from the Turushka calamity! The identity of the Pra-rājya-rājya, nor of the Muslim invader who attacked it is known. The expression Pra-rājya-rājya means the dominions of the Eastern kingdom which seems to refer to the Eastern Ganga kingdom of Kalinga and Orissa. Some of the titles of Sarngadeva point out in this direction. He is said to have been 'the Akhandala whose thunder-bolt destroyed the mountain, viz., Kokkalladeva, the powerful ruler of the Varata country; he is also said to have defeated the elephant force of Jajjalladeva the powerful ruler of Kimidi in battle.<sup>1a</sup> The circumstances in which Sarngadeva defeated the Kokkalladeva and Jajjalladeva are on record. Very probably they have some connection with the Muslim invasion of Pra-rājya or the Eastern Ganga kingdom at this time. Narasimha I the son of Aniyanka Bhima III who ascended the throne in A. D.

1. Telingana Inscriptions (second Edition) No. 115 B (unpublished): Corpus of Inscriptions in Telingana No. 54.

Pra-rajya rajya Turusk-opaplava medini-sam-uddharana mahavaraha

1a. Ibid;

1238 was frequently at war with the Muslim Viceroys of Lakhnanti. Tughan Khan invaded the Eastern Ganga kingdom about A. D. 1242; but he suffered defeat at the hands of Narasimha I who persuaded him to the gates of his capital Lakhnanti and laid siege to it in A. D. 1243. Unable to offer resistance to the victorious Hindu forces, he solicited the help of his sovereign, the Sultan of Delhi. Balban who was at this time the Vazier of the Sultan and the virtual ruler of the kingdom of Delhi sent an army under Timur Khan, the Governor of Audh, to his assistance. On hearing of the approach of forces from Delhi, Samant Rai, the commander of the besieging Ganga army, raised the siege and marched towards the frontier of his native country.<sup>2</sup>

Another Muslim attack on the Eastern Ganga dominion was launched by Yuzbak-i Tughril Khan soon after his appointment as the Viceroy of Lakhnanti about A. D. 1253. He won two victories over the Hindus; but he ultimately suffered defeat. 'In magnitude', it is said, the disaster, must have been similar to that of Tughan, for like him, he appealed to Delhi for assistance. On the arrival of reinforcements, he invaded Orissa for the fourth time and pushed as far as Umardan or Amardan, the capital of the Rai and even stated to have captured his treasure and family.<sup>3</sup> It must have been on the occasion of Tughril Khan's invasion that Sarngadeva rescued the Pra-rājya from Turkish invasion. Narasimha I perhaps found it difficult to oppose single handed Tughril Khan who was strongly supported by the Delhi army. He probably requested his western neighbour, the Kakatiya queen Rudramamba for assistance. Rudramamba probably realising the danger of the Muslim invasion despatched an army, which not only helped Narasimha I to expel the invaders from his dominions but also push forward the boundaries of his kingdom as far as the Ganges, after despatching the Yavanas of Radha and Varendri.<sup>4</sup> Sarngadeva appears to have accompanied force against Muslim invaders of the Eastern Ganga kingdom, and his fight with the Kokkalladeva of Varata and Jajalladeva of Kimidi probably took place during the course of the advance of the Kakatiya army towards the Eastern kingdom.

The Mussalmans also seem to have descended upon the Deccan a little later from another quarter. In an epigraph at Kallesvara temple of Haluvagilu in the Bellary District dated Saka 1204 Chitrabhanu, Vaisakha, Su.14 Somavara (A. D. 1284, April 23), the Yadava king Ramachandra that is, Rāmadeva, the adversary of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, 'is described as a rescuer of earth from the depredations of the Turushkas'.<sup>5</sup> The circumstances

2. Habib-ullah: Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 123, 134-35

3. Ibid, pp. 125, 136.

4. J.A.S.B. LXV, pp. 229-37: Habibullah, Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India.

5. A. R. No. 224 of 1918 (S. I. I, IX, i, 380)

*Turushk-opadrava samasta-medini-sam uddharana*

in which the Turushkas invaded Rāmadeva's dominions and were expelled by him are not known. It is not unlikely that one of the expeditions planned by Balban against the central Indian Hindu states reached the Yadava dominions, and being worsted in the fight retreated towards their country. However, that may be, Rāmachandra's conflict with the Turushkas, and his success against them do not call for a discussion in this paper, as the Kakatiyas do not seem to have been involved in it.

The Muslim invasion of Teling, however, began in earnest after the accession of Pratāparudra in A. D. 1296. According to the Vilasa grant of Musunuri Prolaya Nāyaka which was issued within a dozen years at the most of the downfall of the Kakatiya monarchy, it is stated that Prataparudra defeated the Sultan of Delhi seven times; but on account of ill-fortune of the people of the earth, he was at last vanquished by that Turushka sovereign, and while being carried away as a prisoner to Delhi, he died by the decree of the Providence on the bank of the Somedbhava (i. e. Narmada) river.<sup>6</sup> This is not the only record that refers to the defeat of the Muhammadans. A damaged inscription at Srisailam in the Kurnool District that the General Maharayasthapanacharya Kacheya Reddi, son of Mailaya Reddi, who placed the Kakita throne on firm footing, vanquished the Turaka king, who invaded the Telunga country after subjugating Gaula, Gurjara, Malava, Maharashtra and other countries.<sup>7</sup> The Turuka king vanquished by Kacheya Reddy was in all probability Ala-ud-Din Khalji; for, although he is not known to have conquered Gaula (Lakhanti), the other countries mentioned in the record were subjugated between A. D. 1296 and 1310 either by the Sultan himself or one of his generals. The occasion when Kacheya Reddy defeated the Turakas cannot however be definitely ascertained; for in the first place the Srisaila inscription which registers his victory bears no date; secondly it cannot be referred to the two expeditions, which Ala-ud-Din is known to have sent against Tiling. The first of these which was despatched in A. D. 1303 no doubt ended, as shall be noticed presently in disaster; but the conquest of Gurjara and Malwa was not effected at the time. Ala-ud-Din was still engaged in Rajaputana; Malwa was conquered in A. D. 1305, and Gujerat in A. D. 1309. The Srisailam epigraph therefore must be assigned to a date subsequent to the conquest of these countries. The second invasion, according to the unanimous testimony of all the Muslim historians, was a great triumph to the Sultans armies; and it is highly improbable that Kacheya Reddi could have effected the destruction of the Turaka forces on this occasion. Therefore his victory

6. Vir odbhhta-bhatas-sopi Vira Rudra pratapavan ajayat-sapta-kritvas-tam nava-laksh-asva-sadhanam Niti-prasati-opi baloadhik-opi sahaya-yukt-opi cha Virarudrah bhagya-kshater-manusha-mandalasya Turushka-bhartur-vasatam-ayasi—A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History, p. 102

7. AR No. 54 of 1942-43.

must have taken place in the course of another expedition which is not recorded for some reason by the court historians of Delhi.

Another record, noticed by the Mackenzie surveyors in the fort of Warrangal, refers to a victory of Manarangodri Raju and Layingaya deva over the Turushkas in Samvat 1362 (A. D. 1304-5).<sup>7a</sup> The proximity of the date of this inscription to that of the first Khalji expedition seems to indicate that Manarangodari Raju and Layingayadeva opposed the Turushkas successfully on this occasion and forced them to retreat towards their own territory.

Tradition preserved in Telugu literature and chronicles alludes to victories, which members of certain Kakatiya noble families won over the Muslim armies. It is stated in the *velugotivari vamsavali* that Venna of the Recherla family acquired fame by overthrowing the Turushkas in battle; and that his grandson Yacha defeated them in a fierce fight at Kolachelma.<sup>8</sup> When exactly the Recherla chiefs won these victories cannot be definitely ascertained. Venna who was a contemporary of Rudramba appears to have survived her, and participated perhaps in the fight with the Mussalmans in the first invasion in A. D. 1303; and the battle of Kolachelama in which Yacha distinguished himself on a later occasion. Another Kakatiya nobleman who claims to have defeated the Mussalmans was Potuganti Maili, one of the seventy-five nayakas in the court of Pratāparudra. He is said to have fallen on the Turushkas at Upparapalli and put down their pride.<sup>9</sup> The *Pratāpacharitam*, a chronicle of the Kakatiya times, refers also to the battle of Upparapalle. An important incident in the life of Maili was his victory over the Telugu Chola Prince Bijjana, in a duel fought at the *Lakhol* in Delhi in the presence of Sultan Ala-ud-Din and Malik Nemar, unrivalled among the heroes of the World. How these two nobles of Kakatiya Pratāparudra's court came to fight a duel at the *dakhol* in the presence of Sultan Ala-ud-Din at Delhi is not easy to understand. The members of the Ravella family also appear to have distinguished themselves in the Muhammadan wars. They are said to have destroyed the pride of Malik Naimar and deprived Ulugh Khan of the seven members of his sovereignty.<sup>10</sup> The *Kaifiyat of Anumakonda* gives a lengthy description of the battle in which Ulugh Khan suffered defeat; but the account is encrusted with legend that it is impossible to separate fact from fiction.<sup>11</sup>

The foregoing analysis of the inscriptions and literary material brings to our notice a series of Hindu victories over the Muslim armies which de-

7a. M ac. Mss. 15-3-20. p. 101

8. *Velugotivarivamsavali* 25 and 48

9. Mac Mss. 15-4-3, p. 82

10. *Ibid* p. 101

11. *Ibid*, 15-4-5 p.

serves consideration Their chronological sequence, no doubt, is not easy to establish but they seem to bear out the statement of the Vilasa grant that Prataparudra vanquished the Turushkas no less than seven times.

## II

The Muslim histories also enumerate a series of five invasions of Tiling —of these three were successful and two ended in disaster. The earliest of these took place in A. D. 1303-4; and a brief account of it is given by Barnt. While Sultan Alau-ud-Din was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Malik Fakhr-ud-Din Juna, *dadback-i-Hazarat*, and Malik Jhaju of Kara had been sent with all the officers and forces of Hindustan against Warangal. On their arrival there, the rainy season began and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing and in the beginning of the winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers to Hindustan.<sup>12</sup> Though the failure of this expedition is attributed to natural causes, it is not unlikely that it penetrated into Telingana but had to beat hasty retreat owing to the opposition of the Kakatiya forces. It was probably on this occasion that the battle at Upparapalle in which Poluganti Maili and perhaps also Recherla Venna distinguished themselves was fought.

The second Muslim invasion took place in A. D. 1309. Malik Naib Kafur was in command, and he was accompanied by Khwajah Haji, the *asiz-i-Mamalik*, the muster master of the kingdom. An elaborate and grand illoquent account of this expedition is given by Amir Khusru in his *Khazain-ul-Futuh-Barni* briefly disposes of the campaign. Malik Naib Kafur reached Warangal by way of Devagiri and laid to the city. He captured the wild fortress and invested the stone citadel which was within. Prataparudra lost heart, and having surrendered all the accumulated treasures, a hundred elephants, seven thousand horses and large quantities and valuable made peace with him.<sup>13</sup>

Of third expedition, which was sent by Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah in A. D. 1318, two conflicting accounts have come down to us. According to Amir Khusrau who notices it in his *Nuh sipihr*, Pratāparudra at the head of 10,000 horse and innumerable foot opposed Khusru Khan who was sent against him from Devagiri by Sultan Qutb-ud-Din; but he was defeated and chased into the fort by a small band of about 300 Turkish horsemen. Khusru next invested the mudfort and captured it after severe fighting, then he laid seige to the stone fort inside; Prataparudra frightened at the bold advance of the Muhammadans sued for peace. Khusru consented to grant him peace on condition that he surrendered all his wealth, ceded five districts of his kingdom, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of more than a hundred elephants, 12000 horses, gold and rare and gems beyond com-

12. E.D. III, p. 189

13. Ibid pp, 202—3

putes.' Pratāpachandra accepted these conditions; Khusru then raised the siege and returned to Delhi laden with booty'.<sup>14</sup> This account is contributed by Isamy. He states that Sultan Qutb-ud-Din who invaded Devagir sent Khusru Khan with a large army to Tiling to demand the payment of the arrears of tribute. Khusru proceeded to Tiling and despatched a courier with a letter in advance to Pratāparudra informing him of the purpose of his arrival. When the courier reached Warangal Pratāparudra received him with great respect; protested his loyalty to the Sultan, and explained that the failure on his part to send the tribute was not due to disloyalty but to the insecurity of the roads and the unsettled condition of the country. Having sent back the imperial messenger with this reply, Pratāparudra despatched the stipulated amount of tribute with one hundred and odd elephants to Khusru Khan. The Khan received them, and in accordance with the instructions of the Sultan, he presented to Pratāparudra an umbrella, a *durbasha* and a *gaba* set with gems. Khusru then marched away with his forces to Delhi.<sup>15</sup>

It is not possible to reconcile these conflicting accounts. Amir Khusru was a contemporary of Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah. Therefore his account of the expedition, though contradicted by such a trustworthy historian as Isamy, must not be rejected as false, until evidence of a more explicit character is brought to disprove it. It is therefore reasonable to spend our judgment for the present and keep an open mind about what transpired during Khusru Khan's invasion of Tiling. Although Amir Khusru and Isamy differ about the events of the expedition, they both agree about the result. Both of them declare that Khusru Khan collected the arrears of tribute from Rudradeva and restored the Muslim authority over Tiling.

The next two invasions came after the establishment of Tughluq dynasty at Delhi. Ghaiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah sent two expeditions against Tiling in A. D. 1323, both under his son Ulugh Khan, who later assumed the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah and succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi. In the first expedition he suffered defeat owing it is said to the mutiny of the amirs and Captains; but four months later he came again at the head of a fresh army, defeated Pratāparudra, laid siege to his capital and having captured him sent him away as a prisoner of war to Delhi in the custody of some faithful officers. They were not however destined to lead the illustrious prisoner to the metropolis, for, according to the historian Shams-i-Siraj Afī, he died on the road.<sup>16</sup> His death, according to the Vilasa Grant took place, as noticed already on the banks of the Narmada. It was not however brought about by the natural causes. If we

14. Ibid, pp. 550-61

15. Ismay (Madras Edn), pp. 362-3

16. E.D III, p. 367

can depend upon the evidence of Anitalli's Kaluwacheru grant dated A. D. 1423, exactly a century after the demise of Pratāparudra, he departed to Svarga by his will, that is committed suicide.<sup>17</sup> Thus ended the last of the Kakatiyas, and after his fall the entire Andhra country was subjugated and annexed to the empire of Delhi.

### III

The Hindu sources refer, as enumerated above an unbroken of Hindu victories; and the Muslim sources, while admitting defeat on more than one occasion to due unforeseen causes, claim victory for their own side. There is reason to believe that neither side tells the story completely. It is inconceivable that the Kakatiya monarch, though strong and powerful, could have defied invariably, excepting of course, on the last occasion, the might of the Sultan who was incomparably superior to him in man and power and resources. Nor is it likely that the Mussalmans could have so easily overcome the Hindus whenever they actually came to grips. The Muslim histories like the Hindu records do not take cognizance of some important events. It was left to the foreigner Wasaf that the famous Malik Naib Kafur suffered a defeat at the hands of the Pandyas and Sundara Pandyas who was worsted in the struggle with his brother Vira Pandya fled to the court of Ala-ud-Din Khalji to seek his help, on the last occasion, the might of the Sultan, who was incomparably superior to him in man power and resources. Nor is it likely that the Mussalmans could have so easily overcome the Hindus who were in no way deficient in martial qualities, when ever they actually came to grips with them. The Delhi historians like the Hindu chroniclers and prasasti writers do not take cognizance of all the importants which had taken place during the Muslim invasions of the South; but for the casual mention by Isamy, nothing would have been known of the discomfiture of Malik Naib Kafur before the walls of Kummatha, nor of the defeat of the Tughluq armies twice in the same place at the hands of Kampili Rāya. Similarly, the defeat suffered by Malik Naib Kafur at the hands of the Pāndyas, and the fight of Sundara Pandya who was worsted in the struggle for the throne to the court of Delhi for soliciting the help of Ala-ud-Din Khalji are hinted at only by the foreigner Wassaf in his Taz-jiyati-ul-Amsar. These facts find no mention in the Indian Muslim histories. The defeat of Malik Naib took place, according the Wassaf in A.D. 1310. 'In the month of Rajab of the year 710. H (1310 A. D.), the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were despatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which had lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans—Malik Nabu (Malik Naib Kafur) who thought himself a very saturn,

17. J.T.A. II., p. 106

was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army. <sup>18</sup> This must serve as a corrective to the grandiloquent but false account of the Indian Muslim historians. Malik Naib fared no better during his second expedition against the Pāndyan kingdom. Sundara Pāndya, as noticed already, fled to the Court to Delhi to seek help from Ala-ud-Din. This happened after his defeat and ejection from his dominions by Ravi Varman Kulasekhara in A. D. 1312-13. <sup>19</sup> Sundara Pāndya did not go to Delhi in vain. Ala-ud-Din appears to have commissioned Malik Naib Kafur who was at that time in the Deccan in charge of the Government of Maharashtra to march to the Ma'bar at the head of an army and restore Sundara Pāndya to his ancestral dominions. A casual statement in an epi graph dated in the 25th regnal year of Jatavarman Srivallabha corresponding to A. D. 1316 discloses the fact that some time before that date R. jaraja Sundara Pandya Devar came with the Muhammadans, when a certain chief called Okkurudaiyan with his brothers and followers died owing to foreign invasion and the village was ruined in flood. <sup>20</sup> The Muhammadans who accompanied Sundara Pāndyadeva, however, do not seem to have accomplished their purpose; for his restoration did not take place until Saka 1239 (A. D. 1317-18), when Devari Nayadu, one of the lieutenants of the Kakatiya General Muppidi Nāyaka marched to the south with an army against the Five Pāndyas, defeated Vira Pāndya and the Malaya a Tiruvadi Kulasekhara Tiruvadikunram and established Sundara Pāndya at Viradhavalam. Two questions demand answer. What was the cause of the Muhammadan failure? and how did the Kakatiya monarch come to accomplish the task which the Muhammadans failed to effect? The arrival of Muslim forces with Sundara Pāndya seems to have thrown the Southern Provinces of the Kakatiya kingdom, especially Nelluru-rajya which extended as far South as Kanchi, into confusion. Most of the feudatory chiefs who held territories in this region became recalcitrant and showed an inclination to revolt. Prataparudra sent an army in A. D. 1316 under Muppidi Nāyaka to the South to chastise the recalcitrant chiefs and bring them back to subjection. Muppidi Nāyaka accompanied by his son Pedda Rudra and several other noblemen of the court marched along the coast, he quickly overran the territories of the hostile chiefs, put them down with a stern hand, and siezed their strongholds. He then penetrated into the Tamil country and reached the neighbourhood of Kanchi, where he encountered the forces of the Five Pāndyas

18. E. D. III., p. 150

19. E. I. IV., p. 146

20. 642 of 1902, SII. VII. No. 247

*Munnal irajarajan Sundara Pandiyadevar Tulukkar-ujan vanda nalil Okkur-Udaiyarum ivarudaiya tambimarum anaivarum adiyaru..... tum chattungettum poy alaindu urum Vellattalum Kalakattalum Palayi irundira alavile.*

on whom he inflicted a defeat and captured the city.<sup>21</sup> According to the Velugotivarivamsavali, Sundara was among the five Pandyas that opposed the Kakatiya General.<sup>22</sup> It is not known whether he joined the others to present a bold front to the common enemy. A union, however, between Sundara and others, especially his half brother is utterly unlikely. Though with the help of his 'Muslim allies, he might have succeeded in siezing some territory, he was not yet restored to his kingdom and Vira remained as irreconcilable as ever'. Therefore, it is reasonable to hold that Sundara trusting to the valour of his Muhammadan allies, engaged the enemy separately but sustained like the others a severe defeat. The destruction of the army of Turaka-rāya caused, as stated in the Srisailam epigraph cited above, by a Kacheya Reddi took place probably during this fight. As a consequence of this victory Kanchi with its dependent territories passed into the hands of the monarch.

What happened after this is not clearly known. Prataparudra espoused, for some unknown reason, the cause of Sundara Pandya and sent an army under Devari Nayudu to effect his restoration. To oppose the Kakatiya army and frustrate their attempt to restore Sundara Vira Pandya strengthened his position by an alliance with his old enemy the Malayala Tiruwadi Bavivarman Kulasekhara and barred their advance at Tiruvadipuram, probably identical with the village in the Gingee taluk of South Arcot District. In the fierce fight that ensued Vira Pandya and his ally sustained a defeat and fled; and Devari Nayadu proceeded to Viradhavalam and reinstalled him on his throne.

These developments in the extreme south did not escape the attention of Delhi. It was perhaps as much due to the desire to check the growth of the Kakatiya power as for collecting arrears of tribute that Sultan Qutb-ud-Din sent Khusrankhan to Tiling from Devagiri. The events of this expedition are shrowded in doubt. as noticed already, owing to conflicting accounts of Muslim historians. There can be no doubt about Prataparudra's ultimate submission to Delhi. Nevertheless, Kakatiya power in the South does not appear to have suffered any diminution. Pratāparudra's sway over Kanchi and its neighbourhood seems to have continued until the overthrow of his kingdom by Muhammad bin Tughluq in A. D. 1323. If that were so, he had to face another Muslim invasion from Delhi. Qutb-ud-Din sent his favourite Khusrukhan again to the South in A. D. 1319 this time to reduce Ma'bar to subjection. The history of this expedition is steeped in obscurity. Khusrukhan, of course, reached the rich city of Pattan and plundered its inhabitants. He is said to have contemplated treason and taken council with his followers with the object of establishing an in-

21. EI. VIII, p. 128; JOR. XII, pp. 202-06

22. Velugotivarivamsavali 38

dependent State. He was not allowed to carry out his plans; he was arrested by his own officers and carried away as a prisoner to Delhi. How did Khusrukhan's expedition to Ma'bar affect the position of the Kakatiyas and the Pandyas especially Sundara who must have come in to conflict with them? Neither the Muslim histories nor the Hindu records throw any light on the problem.

What is said above is enough to show the imperfect and fragmentary character of the information available on the subject. No fruitful results can be achieved by the investigation exclusively of Muslim histories or Hindu inscriptions and literature. All the available facts must be taken together and interpreted with due consideration to their merits.

THE LABJAT-I-SIKANDAR SHAHI, A UNIQUE AND  
EXHAUSTIVE BOOK ON INDIAN MUSIC OF THE TIME OF  
SIKANDAR LODI (1489-1517)

NAZIR AHMAD, M. A., PH. D., D. LIT.

Sikandar Lodi was most illustrious and accomplished of all the three rulers of the Lodi dynasty. Upon the death of his father, Bahlol he was crowned as a king in A. H. 894/1489 and after a successful reign of 28 years he died in A. H. 923/1517 full of glory and distinction. In personal attainments few rulers could compare with him. Besides a liberal patron of men of letters he was a good scholar and poet of Persian and composed verses in Persian under the pen-name of Gul Rukhi.<sup>1</sup> The historians lost in the details of political history throw very little light on his literary or cultural activities; but the information gathered from scattered sources prove conclusively that Sikandar Lodi did a lot for the advancement of learning and scholarship. The discovery of the MS. of the *Labjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* about which I am going to speak in detail proves that the prince was deeply interested in Indian music and that he did laudable service for the promotion of this important though neglected branch of fine arts.

The title of the book as revealed in the following<sup>2</sup> remark is *Labjat-i-Sikandar Shahi O Lataif Namutanahi*<sup>3</sup> and not *Labjat-i-Sikandari* as appears on the first page in a later hand: **و نام این نادرۃ البیان را  
لهجات سکندر شاهی و لطائف نامتناهی نهاده زیرا که نفعات ریاحین لطایف  
درین بستان بواسطه اعتدال بهار عدل این حضرت انتشار یافته است -**

1. II lines of his composition in praise of a saint, Jamali by name, are preserved in the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 184

2. Lko. Ms. fol. 5b

3. Assigning double titles was most common practice amongst Arabic and Persian writers.

And this rare composition was given the title of *Labjat -i- Sikandar Shahi O Lataif Namutanahi* because the fragrance of the flowers of his favours has spread in this garden through the moderation of the spring of his justice.

The author whose actual name could not correctly be deciphered due to some ambiguity in the following sentence,<sup>4</sup> was a native of Kabul in Afghanistan as the term al-kabuli is clearly appended to the name:

اما بعد خادم دعا و ناشر ثنا بنده درگاه ازلی حما و نام مصنف عمر  
سهاء یعنی الکابلی الخ

It is almost certain that Umar and Yahya were parts of his name.

Since the author was non-Indian Muslim he had to take much pains in mastering the Sanskrit language and other sciences including the Indian music; but he studied them in a masterly way. And it was only when he could translate the Sanskrit books on music into Persian in a style agreeable to the nature of the Prime minister, Mian Bhoda, the sponsor of the idea that he took upon himself to complete the present work. The author points out:<sup>5</sup>

چون باملای آفتاب فلک سروری و ماه درخشان مهتری قلم سودائی  
مزاج را باطنه وصول کمال شد که چهره جمال عروس عبارت بعضی نسخه‌های  
هندوی را که موضوع در علم موسیقار و فن مضمارند بدیباے پارسی آراستگی  
دهد و چنانچه بندگی مسند عالی و منصب معالی بفرماید همبران طریق  
بعلیاء استعارات بیار اید و از شیوه صناعت نغمه و سرود و بضاعت اصوات  
قوانین چنگ و رود تالیقی سازد و در اصوات بزم جشن بهشت ساخت ارد  
می بهشت راحت ترتیب نماید، بنابراین بتحریریک و داعی دولت درکار  
آمد و آن زرده تیزگام را در میدان بیاض چنان گرم تاخت که بسر در آمد -  
چون سرش زده بودم از فرمان سرباز نزد و خدمت را میان بست و بد  
و زبان ترجمه سنگیت و تناکر و نرت سنگره و ابهرت و سدهانده و  
سنگیت سمسیا و سنگیت کلپتر و سنگیت متنک و بعضی نسخه‌های دیگر از  
زبان طبیعت عبارت در می تقریر کرد و بر منصب قرطاس عروسان اصوات  
را از پس پرده خفا پیش فضلا روزگار و ظرفاء نامدار بجلوه بیار است  
و نغمات غریب و دلکش را در سلک عبارت فارسی آورده یادگارے نفیس  
ساخت -

When by the nurture of the sun of the firmament of royalty and the pearl-scattering moon of the chieftainship, the melancholic pen attained perfection in swift speed that it could adorn the face of the beauty of the bride of the language of some of the Hindi<sup>6</sup> (Sanskrit) books which were on the subject of music, with the brocade of Persia and could decorate it with the ornaments of metaphors in a style agreeable to *Bandagi-i-Masnad Ali O Mansal Muali* [viz., Mia Bhoda, the premier] and could complete a

4. fol. 4b

5. foll. 4-5

6. The author has used the word in a wider sense—non-Persian or non-Islamic.

book on the art of melody and music and on the principles of harp and lute and could arrange a Urdu Bihisht (spring) of pleasure by a description of the heaven like assembly (of the king), it sat at work. But that swift charger ran so fast it fell down. As I had struck a blow against its head, it could not disobey me and ( consequently ) got itself prepared to serve me and with its double tongues it effected a translation of Sangit Ratnakar, Nirit Sangarah, Ud Bharat, Sudhanidhi, Sangit Samassiya, Sangit kalpataro, Sangit Matang and many other books, into Dari<sup>7</sup> (Persian) and it caused the brides of melodies to come out from behind the curtain of nonentity on the stage of the page in the presence of men of excellence of the time and having strung the beautiful and attractive melodies in the thread of Persian style it left a valuable present.

These were the circumstances in which the *Labjat* was prepared. The author has further explained that when he got himself fully established in the service of the king, he prepared this translation which would be a valuable gift for posterity and so long as the Persian language was in use his composition would not be thrown into oblivion.

The author<sup>8</sup> dedicated his book to the Sultan in the following<sup>9</sup> sentence:

چوں یہ فکرہاے در از دشتہاے جان گداز و قطع نشیب و فراز  
راہ حجاز بر ساز این ترجمہ را ترتیب و تمہید ساختم دیباچہ جان باسم  
پادشاہ اسلام خلد اللہ تعالیٰ ملکہ موشع گردانیدم و رجاست کہ بعز قبول  
و یمن اقبال و فر القاب این صاحبقرار بے قرین و خسرو روے زمین این  
تالیف ناسخ مصنفات متقدم گردد ۔

When after careful thoughts and soul-melting hardships and after traversing the ups and downs of the path of Hejaz of each song, I prepared and completed this translation, I adorned its dedication by the name of the King of Islam (May God perpetuate his Kingdom) and hope that in view of the honour of acceptance, the good omen of choice and the height of <sup>10</sup> titles of the match-

7. It is one of the Persian dialects here used in a sense.

8. The author seems to be a poet for he quoted 12 lines in praise of the Sultan which may reasonably be assigned to him (Ibid fol. 3b)

9. fol. 5

10. The titles of the Sultan as given in the book are :

السلطان الاعظم مالک رقاب الاسم مدین اولیاء اللہ مذیل اعداء مظهر  
کلمة اللہ العلیا معزز حلال الدولہ القاہرہ مغیث الامتہ الزاہرہ عقد الہامۃ  
البہرہ قطب اسماء الخلاقہ نصب العدل و الرافعہ المہوید من السماء المظفر  
علی الاعداء المتوکل علی الرحمن ابوالفتح سکندر شاہ بن السلطان الکریم  
علاء الدولہ سناء الامہ ابوالمجاہد بہلول شاہ خلد اللہ تعالیٰ ملکہ و اعلیٰ  
امرہ و شانہ

less king, the master of the world, this would throw other works into disuse.

Since the author based his composition on the Sanskrit works he calls the former only a translation which should not be interpreted in the strict sense of the term. It should however be considered as a separate work. Similarly in the following<sup>11</sup> sentence some words may suggest that the book under review is only a translation and the author plays merely the role of a translator; but it is quite certain that he has a number of books before when engaged in the task of completing this work.

مصنف اصل نیز فروگذاشتداست بنا بر مترجم این مختصر نیاوردده است

However his main sources as revealed by himself were these:

1. Sangit<sup>12</sup> Ratnakar
2. Nirit<sup>13</sup> Sangarah
3. Ud<sup>14</sup> Bharat
4. Sudha<sup>15</sup> nidhi
5. Sangit Samassya<sup>16</sup>
6. Sangit Kalpataro<sup>17</sup>
7. Sangit Matang<sup>18</sup>

It is not known definitely that prior to this time any book in Persian was written on Indian music. But it is almost certain that the author has none before him. Thus it may fairly be claimed that it is one of the oldest books—if not the oldest Persian book on this subject. It may also be correctly held that it is the oldest known Persian work written on the subject of Indian music.

The *Lahjat* is divided into seven chapters called Bāb here. Each chapter in its own turn is divided into various sub-sections called Fasls.

The first Bab, the Sur Adhyaya, comprises 31 Fasls dealing with Sharir, Nad Sambodh, Asthanak, Sut, Sat Shudha Sur, Bikrat Sur, Kul, Jat, Barn, Dip, Rikh, Deota, Chhand, Surambeuk, Sut Jat, Keram Tin, Morchhana, Sut Tanan, Kut Tanan, Parastarah, Khand Mir, Sur Sadharan, Kakule Naruh Paryukh, Barn Lakhan, Tirsath Alankar, Jat, Terah Parkar, Jat Lakhan, Kapal, Kampalan, Kith.

11. fol. 83a, vid also fol. 75 where the term کتاب اصل refers to one of the sources. But the scribe of the Ms. also adds at various places such phrase as نسخه اصل which could not refer to the original source for in that case the scribe would be identical with the authors which is impossible here.

12. Author Sharungdeo 13th and 14th century. It is now published.

13. not traceable now-a-days.

14. Bharat is a scholar of music but his work does not bear this title.

15. not a popular book.

16. It is unknown work

17. It is a minor work

18. Matang is a 9th cent. scholar. His book bears the life of Brhaddeshi.

The second Bab, Raga Adhyaya, has ten Fasls dealing with Keram Raga, up raga, (unidentified) Raga, Bhakha Raga, Bibhakha Raga, Autar Bhakha Raga, Ragang, Bhakhang, Karang, Upang.

The third Bab, Parkiran Adhyaya, consists of 15 Fasls dealing with Baki Bara, Gandharb, Sorad, Gaina Gun, Gaina Dokh, Shed Bhed, Shed Gun, Shed Dokh, Sharir, Sharir Gun, Sharir Dokh, Kamak, Asthayah, Alapah, Birnad Lakhan.

The fourth Bab, Parbandh Adhyaya contains six Fasls dealing with Dhatawah, Jat Parbandh, Parbandh, Sorah Parbandh, Git Gun, Git Dokh.

The fifth Bab, Tal Adhyaya, comprises 19 Fasls dealing with Marak Tal, Kalah, Batah, Markah Chatwarah, Ashtu-marak Kalah, Kur Lakhan Damain, Ek Kal Tawadheo, Bad bibhakah, Tal Bat, Unglena, Bikam Adeo Bhed, Parwarth, Man, Liah, Jitah, Kirah, Katkan, Desi Tal, Tal Partih.

The Sixth Bab, Bad Adhyaya, contains five Fasls dealing with Tat, Sakhar, Avandh, Khan, Muhasin-i- Nawazindagan.

The seventh Bab, Nirit Adhyaya consists of 47 Fasls dealing with various aspects of dance, its kinds, qualities of dancers, their equipments, their defects etc. etc.

The preface of the book comprises the following:

- (a) Hymn to God, Praise of the Prophet of Islam, his family, his companions and four Caliphs.
- (b) Praise of the Sultan
- (c) The circumstances in which the book was completed
- (d) List of contents.

Thus under all the seven chapters there are 133 Fasls, while the number given at the top of the list of contents is 137<sup>19</sup> (in words). The second chapters contains 15 Fasls, though in the headline<sup>20</sup> appears the number 14.

In short the book deals with all the aspects of music and dance. The author has at times adopted the process of questions and answers. The desirable portions have been elucidated with the help of diagrams and sketches. The style is simple and straight forward though in the beginning the author has indulged in rhetorical artifices and seems to be fond of the Figure of Speech called *براعت استهلال*. The book fully displays the author's command over the Indian music, and allied sciences and sanskrit language. The book supplies useful material for the study of Indian music. It has historical significance in view of these:

1. It is the oldest Persian extant MS. on this subject.
2. It is either one of the oldest books or the oldest book on Indian music in Persian.

19. fol. 6a

20. fol. 7a

3. It supplies useful information for the period of Sikandar Lodi. For example through this book we are informed that Mian Bodha<sup>21</sup> was the Sultan's premier who bore the title of *مسند عالی* and *منصب معالی* and who was the son (سلاله) of Khawas Khan. He was the most important personality who was fully conversant with Indian music. His two associates<sup>22</sup> Dilwar Khan and Bahadur Khan were a great support to him and to the kingdom.

4. We known that during this period the word *بندگی* (Bandagi) was substituted for Hazrat. The word *میاں* was quite popular and was used in a dignified sense.

5. The book shows the religious tolerance of the Sultan.

The book i.e. the preface opens thus<sup>23</sup>:

شکر و سیاس بے قیاس پروردگارے را کہ گردن حماسہ جان بہ طوق  
تعلق لحن و غنا آراست و اصوات مختلف نام و تلف را برائے موانست جان  
مشتاقان یکدگر مجالس ساخت تا عنادل دل و جان شان بر افتان و اعضان  
لسان شکر حضرت مذاں سرایند الخ

The actual book opens in this way:<sup>24</sup>

بدان کہ کہمے ہند علم موسیقی را بزبان خود سنگیت خوانند و  
سنگیت سه چیز را شامل است، یکے گیت یعنی سرود دوم باد اعنی سازها  
سوم نرت ای رقص رقاصہ و استعمال سنگیت مذکور بد وطریق می کند الخ

A rare MS. of this interesting book is preserved in the Library of Lucknow University which comprises 206 folios as follows:—

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| Preface     | fol. 1 —5b  |
| Contents    | „ 5b—9b     |
| 1st Chapter | „ 9b—49a    |
| 2nd „       | „ 49a—56b   |
| 3rd „       | „ 56b—67b   |
| 4th „       | „ 67b—96b   |
| 5th „       | „ 96b—115b  |
| 6th „       | „ 115b—131b |
| 7th „       | „ 131b—206  |

The MS. is defective and incomplete; defective in the sense that the following portions are missing:

- (a) <sup>25</sup> 1st chapter: 29th and 30th Fasl completely  
„ concluding lines of the 28th and the introductory lines of the 31st Fasl.

21. fol. 4.

22. Ibid

23. 1a

24. 5b

25. fol. 48 is blank indicating the defect though supplied later.

(b) <sup>26</sup> 4th Chapter : concluding lines of the 3rd and the introductory lines of the 4th Fasl missing.

Incomplete in the sense that the scribe did not complete it as it closes on the 18th Fasl of the last chapter which; as the list of contents shows, contained 47 Fasl.

The scribe is probably Ruknuddin which name appears incidently on fol. 87<sup>b</sup> along with a note. on foll. 74<sup>a</sup> and 103<sup>b</sup> the same names seems to have been mutilated in binding. The Ms. has been carefully revised.

Some missing foll. have been supplied in two later hands:

Foll. 59—67

Foll. 118—133 in another hand but very ordinary.

Foll. 74—81 and 3 lines of fol. 82<sup>a</sup> have a different pen, but the scribe seems to be the same.

(2) The M.<sup>27</sup> is in an elegant Nastaliq. Each page has 23 lines. It is not dated but certainly a 16 century hand-writing.

## RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA (1206-1526)

PROF. ASIT KUMAR SEN

In a Secular State religion has nothing to do with Politics. But to the man belonging to the middle ages religion and politics were interlinked. Indeed people of all countries mixed up religion with politics before the advent of modern times. And India is no exception to the rule.

In India, the death of Harsa (646 A.D.-647 A.D.) threw the whole of Northern India into a state of confusion. There was none powerful enough to wield his sceptre or to get the title of "S'akala uttarapathapat".

### THE ARABS

The Arabs took the advantage of this anarchy to implant themselves in Sind (A.D. 712) and to learn from their Hindu brethren their science and astronomy. The Arab, however, was long before known in South India as a trader and a missionary. Very friendly relations appeared to have existed between the Muslim traders and Hindu rulers (see *Tuhfut-ul-Muhjahideen* translated by M. J. Rawlandson). The Arab conquest of Sind, secretly supported by the Buddhists, did not result in persecution, on the other hand the Hindus were allowed to practise their religion freely. The Arab settlers lived side by side with their Hindu fellow citizens for many years on terms of amity and peace.

26. Fol. 73 is blank indicating the defect though supplied later.

27. Another ms. is preserved in the Madras University Library.

*THE TURKS*

But the persecution of Islam is supposed to show itself in its true light in the brutal massacre of Brahmans by Muhmid of Ghazni, in the persecution of Alauddin Khalji, in the imposition of Jizya, in the forcible conversion under and during the reigns of rulers like Firoz Shah Tughluq.

The first impact of Islam on India from the North-West resulted in violent clash, strife and destruction. But it must not be forgotten that the prospect of earning gold in this world rather than merit in the other world that attracted the Gazynavide ruler to raid India repeatedly. To gain his end he used the "Proselyting sword", but he was neither a missionary for the propagation of Islam in this country nor an architect of empire. The real founder of Muslim rule in India—Minzauddin Muhammad bin San directed his first Indian expedition (1175 A.D.) not against any Hindu adversary, but against his co-religionist the Ismāliān Sect at Multan. Later he allied himself with Vijaydeva of Jammu to crush the power of the last of the descendent of Muhmud, Khusrav Malik, and occupied Peshwar.

*ILBARI TURKS (1206-1290 A. D.)*

The death of Mahammad of Ghūr was followed by the establishment in India of the rule Ilbari Turks, popularly known as Slave dynasty, by Qutēbuddin Aibak. The Ilbari Turks were like foreigners surrounded by powerful native military lords who were ready to overthrow the yoke of their rule at the earliest possible opportunity. Yet their foreign character did not last for a long time, because of the failure of the Sultans of Delhi to hold Afghanistan under their rule. Henceforth Delhi became their centre of activity, and within a short period of 84 years this dynasty became so much rooted to the soil that a sort of loyalty and love for the family grew up among the people. This is evident from the spontaneous opposition staged by the people of Delhi to the coup'dmain staged by Jalaluddin Khālji in the year 1290 A. D. The removal of the infant Sultan Shamsuddin (Son of Sultan Kaiqubad) was so much opposed by the citizens of the metropolis that he had to make not Delhi but Kilokhri the seat of his Government for the time being. In fact the citizens of Delhi had at first decided to March out and rescue their young sovereign from the hands of the Khāljis, and, it was with difficulty that the Kotwal of Delhi, Malik Fakhrauddin persuaded them, at Badaon gate to go back. According to Zia Baranī "No voice of congratulation hailed the installation of Jalāluddīn". Such outburst of loyalty is not expected from a mediæval people, unless the ruler is liberal and popular and not vicious and tyrannical.

*KHĀLJĪ RULE (1290-1320 A. D.)*

The Khāljis came to power at a critical period of Indian history. During their rule the Moghal menace from the north-west, assumed serious proportion. The Mongol had stoned to death Caliph Al-Musta'sim Billah and thus created a "Void in the Islamic world". In India

restless spirits like the Sidi Mulla, were trying to assume spiritual as well as political leadership. Jalāluddīn foiled this by his timely suppression of Sidi Mulla's rebellion.

None of the Khālījī rulers after him had any respect for the orthodox Ulama who wanted to control the state policy. Ālauddīn Khālījī who was hard pressed by barbarian invasion from the north-west, had to maintain a large standing army, and he exacted from the Hindus and the Muslims alike for the upkeep of his military establishment, without bothering much for religious consideration. The purpose behind his economic regulations was secular not religious. In fact, he never allowed the Ulama to interfere in his state affairs. According to Prof. K. S. Lal "Ālauddīn struck a new note in the conception of mediaeval Kingship. Under him the temporal power eclipsed the ecclesiastical" (History of the Khālījīs, pp. 224-225).

If his revenue exactions hampered agriculture in anyway, it affected the Hindus and the Muslims alike. If his economic regulations hampered trade, it was not the Hindu trader alone who suffered. He suppressed the Muslim nobility with equal vehmence as he did the Hindu rich. In fact his stern economic measures alone saved India from the prospect of an immediate collapse before the Moghal hordes. What advices orthodox Ulamas like Qazī Mughis gave to the Sultan should not be taken into consideration, while judging the nature of the policy of his government. Our judgment must always be based on the motive forces and the circumstances that guide the actions of a particular government, and in the case of Ālauddīn, it was not much religion as the exigencies of the situation, that led to the stern economic regulations, and exactions that he imposed on all alike, and if the Hindus were in majority, and therefore suffered most, it was not his fault.

India, in fact, was trying hard to grow out of the external influence of the Khilafat. Sidimulla who never used to visit the mosque, wanted to unite spiritual and temporal leadership in himself. Ālauddīn once thought of founding a new religion. His son Qutubuddīn Mubarak Shah (1316-1320-A.D.) declared himself to be the Caliph and read Khutda in his own name. His reign however was a short lived one and was followed by that of Khusrau-Khan and then of the Tughluqs.

#### **TUGHLUQS (1320-1413 A. D.)**

The clash between the orthodox and narrow minded ulama and the state assumed serious proportions in the days of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. In the course of his search for truth "he discovered the faults and weaknesses, perhaps the wranglings of the ulama, and although he blundered he had certain definite opinions about the Church of Islam.... he revolted against the time honoured but narrow minded class of the Ulama" (Agha Mahedi Hussain, Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p. 172). The opposition to Muhammad bin Tughluq became very serious

in the later days of his life. Barani advised abdication and the Sultan sought remedy by securing investiture from the Caliph, which he thought would help in checking rebellion at home.

His appreciation of Hinduism is evident from his constant association with Hindu ascetics, and his familiarity with Sanskrit. His policy was guided by political rather than by religious motives. Gardener Brown, therefore, credits him with a liberal policy towards the Hindus (A. U. Magazine, 1925).

A reaction, however, set in during the days of Firoz Tughluq. The orthodox Ulama got the upper hand, and the Brahmins who so far were exempt from the Jizia were also asked to pay it. His reign was followed by Timur's invasion—(1398) which swept away the last vestige of Tughluq rule in India. Timur in his autobiography speaks of the power of Hindu kings and tribes who in many places gave him stiff opposition. It is apparent from his accounts that the power of the Hindu lords remained intact even after nearly 2 centuries of Muslim rule in India.,

(1398-1526 A. D.) The interlude between Timur's invasion (1398-A. D.) and the first battle of Panipat (1526 A. D.) saw the division of India into petty principalities. In the south the Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Kingdoms had long eclipsed the sovereignty of the Delhi Sultanate. In the North Kashmir, Gujrat, Malwa, Bengal, Orissa, Jainpur each became independent and sovereign. It was not possible for the Sayyids (1419-1455 A.D.) and Lodis (1451-1526 A. D.) to unit them together.

The policy of intolerance in religious matters followed by Sikandar Lord (1489-1517 A. D.) was amply counter-balanced by the liberal policy in the independent Kingdoms that surrounded the Delhi Sultanate. Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.) of Kashmir followed a policy towards the Hindus which has earned for him the title of "Akbar of Kashmir". Under his initiative the Mahabharata and the Rajatarangina were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and several other Persian and Arabic works were translated into the Hindi language. In Malwa Medine Rai, the Rajput Minister of Mahmud II (1510-31 A. D.) became the virtual dictator of the Kingdom. In Janapur under the patronization of its Sharqi-rulers developed an architectural style largely influenced by Hindu art conception. In Gujrat Sultans like Mahmud Baghra and Bhadur Shah were persistently trying to free India's coast from Portugese influence. In Bengal, Alauddin-Hussain Shah (1493-1518 A. D.) inaugurated an auspicious rule. He employed Hindu officers like Rupand Sanatan. During his rule, and the rule of his son Nusrat Shah, Hindu religious literature like the Mahabharata was studied and translated. The Muslim subjects of Ibrahim Adil Shab of Bijapur described him as "Jagatguru" for his patronage of Hindus in his state. The Vijayanagar Kings patronised Islam, and occasionally Muslim generals like Asad Khan of Bijapur were invited to witness Hindus festivals at Vijayanagar.

It is apparent from a study of the memoirs of Babur, as well from the stiff resistance that Rana Sangran Singh who supported the cause of the Afghans gave to Moghuls, that the power of the Hindus had remained undiminished during more than 3 centuries of Muslim rule in India. In the battle of Khanua the Rajputs and some of the Indian Muslims united together to prevent the imposition of another foreign yoke on India. In the opinion of Tod "Had not fresh Lords of Uzbegs and Tartars swept the prolific shore of Hindusthan the history of India would have been diverted along a different channel and the Capital of India would have Indraprastha instead of Delhi". It is surprising how the Hindu Kings and rulers may remain so very powerful in spite of more than 3 centuries of "suppression and oppression" (see Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's address in Nikhil Banga Sahitya Sammilani reported in A.B. Patricka, Calcutta, dated 27th Oct., 1953). In fact the conquered people were never disarmed in India. On the other hand Hindus were employed in the Muslim army of Mahmud of Ghazana and his successors (Encyclopedia of Islam, I, 165), and Barani uses the term "Hindusthanian" to describe the Hindu and Rajput warriors. The Batiagarh stone inscription of 1328/ vs. affords another instance of Hindu army employed under the Muslim command:

It is apparent, even to a casual observer of Mediaeval India history, that the atrocities and vandalism that goes in the name of Islam in India were really perpetrated by the Turkish race. Therefore the accusation hurled on religion should be cast upon a foreign race that came as a conqueror and did excesses. But the destruction and devastation that necessarily follow the train of a foreign conquest had given way in India to mutual understanding and reapproachment between the conqueror and the native people. The conqueror had been forced, like the Normans of English history, to adopt this country as their own. After the Mongol conquest of the Islamic States and the seat of Caliphate, India became their only home. During this period, India became a shelter for many Muslim rulers, scholars, preachers and common people. The Turks, in India became rooted to the soil. Amir Khusrau perhaps best illustrates this new attitude when in his *Nuh Siphir*, he takes pride for being born in India, and argues in detail to prove India's "superiority to other countries, in point of climate, flowers and fruits". And as for the Hindus, "Though they do not believe in our religion many of their beliefs are like ours. They believe, for instance, in the unity and eternity of God". (see *Life and Works of Amir Khusru* by Mahmud Wahid Mirza pp. 153).

To understand the ecclesiastical policy of the Sultanate, it is necessary however to examine Islam's attitude towards other religions, and specially the imposition of Jizia.

THE WORD SALEM OR PEACE IS AT THE ROOT OF ISLAM

No where in Quran, compulsory conversion is advocated, rather forcible conversions were forbidden in accordance with the precepts of Quran. "Let there be no compulsion in religion" (Q. II, 257) says Quran. The message of peace and harmony which Islam gave to the Arabic world united the hitherto divided and weak Arab clans into a mighty power, capable enough to become the master of half of the globe. Islam gained adherents every where because of the appeal that it held out to the poor and down trodden of democratic and equal treatment. Islam, according to T. W. Arnold "appealed to the people and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor" (Preaching of Islam pp. 229). Of course vast number of conversions took place to gain favour at the Court, as also to escape the burden Jizia which was more a financial burden than a religious one.

The Jizia was imposed on the non-Muslims in lieu of military service. It was a sort of acutage, and it imposed upon the government, the obligation of defending the protected people (Zimmi). There are instances when non-Muslims serving in the army of the believers were exempted from such taxation. Such was the case with the tribe of Jārā Jimah, a Christian tribe in the neighbourhood of Antioch (T. W. Arnold, Preaching of Islam pp. 106). There are also instances when the possibility of loosing hold over a conquered territory promoted the Muslim rulers to return the Jizia that had been collected. Such was the case, when the Arab general Abu Ubaydah ordered the governors of the conquered cities of Syria to pay back all the Jizia collected upto that time, on the eve of Emperor Herculius's attack on the Muslim army.

Neither the bigotted theory of the later jurists that idolators do not come under the operation of Jizia, nor the later fanatical theory that the Jizia should be collected as a mark of humiliation found any place in the policy followed by Turkish rulers, in India, towards the Zimmi.

We should also bear in mind that the Jizia was not imposed on women, children, illiterates, decrepits, lunatics, slaves, men without any property. The Brahmins, also were exempted from paying any Jizia before the days of Fizay Shah Tughluq.

In fact, the switch that took place in the political horizon of India, after the coming of Islam, did not at all affect the life and religion of a common people in India. In India, the Turkish conquest did not change the traditional mode of living of the common people.

In many cases they did not come into contact with the Sultan and his administration. It is their Hindu ruler who paid the tribute to the Sultan at Delhi, perhaps imposing an extra burden on his subject to make up the loss in money that he had to undergo to pay the tribute. They retained their same religion, mode of living, customs, habit, manners and the same

secluded and self contained life which is the traditional feature of the Indian village, uptill the disintegration that contact with the west produced. They scarcely took any interest in political life until a contact with the industrial civilization of the west, broke up completely their parochial life. It won't be out of place here, to point out that this is the reason why the people of Bengal remained silent spectator to the change of power in Bengal, after Plassey. It would be utterly wrong and misleading, therefore, to assert that Bengal did not protest against the assuming of political power by the British because of the communal hatred that the Hindu subject of Siraj, bore against him. (Refer to Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's lecture in Nikhil Banga Sahitya Sammilan reported in A. B. Patrika).

In the agrarian system—the basis of the economic life of India—there was no sharp cleavage with the past. It mattered very little to the peasant whether the revenue was assessed or collected by his Hindu overlord or by the Memluk Turks who took particular care like the Hindu Kings, to protect the interest of the agriculturist. Even Sultans like Ālauddīn Khālji who assessed half of the produce of land as revenue, took particular care to see that—"the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak". It is apparent from Barani's statement that population of India was not divided into two elements but of three—the Muslim and Hindu nobility and the herd or the peasant (see Moreland, agrarian system in Muslim India pp. 32). Ālauddīn took measure to crush the power of the first two sections not the third. In this he was guided not by religious sentiment, but by a material and secular one.

Muhammad bin Tughluq who has been accused of imposing exorbitant taxes in certain places like Doab, set up separate agricultural departments to look after the interest of the peasant, to help him with seeds and to provide him with loans. Even Firoz Shah Tughluq who has been accused of tyrannical oppression on the Hindus, took an active interest in the extension of irrigation which benefitted the Hindus mostly because they formed the bulk of the peasantry in India.

In fact, too much stress has been laid by certain historical, on the mutual feeling of animosity that was generated in the early years of Muslim rule, and that cooled down, as a natural process when the conquerors attempted to evolve a policy and to establish a stable rule in India. Except in few cases, in the most part the damages to the Hindu temple were done not by religious zealots but by greedy soldiers. Many Hindu temples of pre-Muslim days still stand to-day, to refute the assertion that whole sale destruction of Hindu temples followed the wake of Muhammadan invasion.

In between Mathura and Delhi there exists still, to-day, an old temple dated 1,000 A.D. with dated records of pilgrimage. The temple at Khajuraho and Mahoba are also Hindu shrines of pre-Muslim days. A fragmentary inscription at Purnaquila, in Persian and Sanskrit records the

endowment of 12 bighas of land to a Krishna temple (Archaeological survey report 1909-10; see Habibullah. *Foundation of Muslim rule in India*).

Lastly while judging the Muslim rulers of mediaeval India too harshly for their act of omission and commission we must not forget that the reigns of many of their contemporary European counterparts, are blackened with religious atrocities, which however, does not prevent the European historians of the present day, from painting them as national heroes. Judged by the standards of the middle ages the Muslim rulers in Delhi were quite liberal and accommodating and never said "as the State so the religion".

The persecution that raged in Europe in Mediaeval times in the name of inquisition and witch burning has no parallel in Indian history. This is the reason that has led T. W. Arnold to conclude that—"Though the pages of Muhamedan history are stained with the blood of many cruel persecutions, still, on the whole unbelievers have enjoyed under Muhammedan rule a measure of toleration, the like of which is not to be found in Europe until quite modern times," (*Preaching of Islam*, pp. 341).

Moreover, away from the splendour of the court life and quite careless of the political changes, working silently and surely among the masses of the people, were the Saint, the Ismailian preacher, the spiritual leaders of the Bhakti cult. They spread from one part of the country to another and influenced both the Hindus and Muslims alike. They preached unity of God-head, love and service for humanity, and devotion to God. It is they who paved the path for a peaceful blending of a culture in India, which cannot be branded as belonging to any particular religion. In the vernacular literature of the age, in the architecture, fine arts, and music there was developing an all embracing assimilative force which can prepare the ground to receive Akbar and his Ibadat Khan.

### THE UMMATTUR CHIEFTANCY

DR. M. AROKIASWAMI, M. A., PH. D.

In spite of all that the historians of Mysore, particularly Lewis Rice and Hayavadana Rao, have done to bring to light this well-known Ummattur Chieftancy of the Karnatak region, that ruled for well-nigh about a hundred years till the close of the XVI th century, very much still remains, e.g. the very origin of these great men of Mysore is still in doubt.

Ummattur is a small place included in the taluka of Chamrajnagar in the State of Mysore abutting on the District of Coimbatore close to Talikad, the capital of the once famous Gangas. The chieftains of this place, known as the Ummattur Wodeyars, seem to have been local celebrities thrown up in the post-Cola period when a distant place like Vijayanagar was the

capital of the South India. At Sivasamudram the Cauvery divides itself making in majestic torrents an island in a secluded region where the first Ummattur chief built his fort and could defy for some time even the Emperor of Vijayanagar.

Two inscriptions of these chiefs, one from Chamrajnagar and another from Gundlupet, give their titles as "the Lord of Saurashtrapura" and "Chakresvara of Penugonda" respectively, which obviously militate against the theory of their Ganga origin. It is neither possible to support the theory of their being goldsmiths by origin. Obviously enough the Ummattur chieftains belonged to a Karnatak family which became powerful when the central authority of the Vijayanagar Empire became weak.

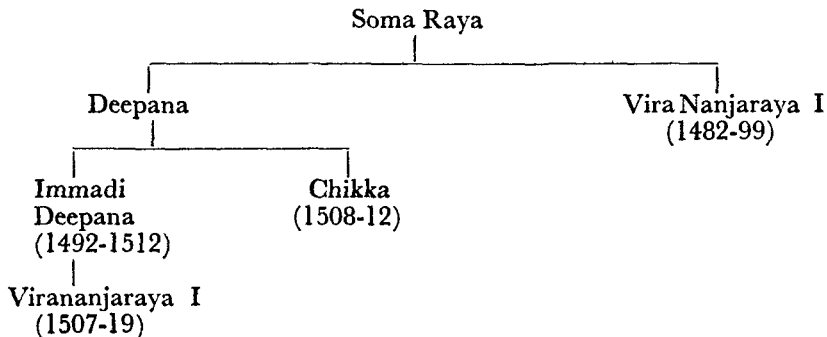
The plausible geneology of these chieftains given by Rice though obviously imperfect and in some cases even wrong, gives us some idea of this ruling house of Ummattur in Mysore. The chronology of at least the more important ones of these can be tentatively fixed as follows on the basis of their inscriptions.

- |                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Depanna Wodeyar (1478-1484) | 2. Nanjaraya (1482-1494)        |
| 3. Immadi Depanna (1492)       | 4. Chinna Nanjaraya (1497-1504) |
| 5. Chikkaraya (1505)           | 6. Nanjaraya (1512-1540)        |
| 7. Rajappa (1573)              |                                 |

According to the inscriptions from the days of Kampana, the hero of Vijayanagar, the territories of both Ummattur and Terkanambi were ruled by a governor belonging to the royal house of Vijayanagar; Kampana exercised this authority between the years 1356 and 1376, Achanna between 1376 and 1404, Chikka Devappa between 1406 and 1422, and Vira Parvatiraya between 1422 and 1424. Nanjaraya and Depanna, mentioned above as the sons of Somaraya were, according to Hayavadana Rao, "two of the sons of Mallikarjuna" the Vijayanagar ruler himself. It seems obvious that the period of the Ummattur rulers followed these Vijayanagar Governors and most of them had ruled under the authority of Vijayanagar also.

It is curious how these chieftains influenced life of even distant regions of Coimbatore which formed part of old Kongu. In fact a better and fuller view of their rule can be had from their inscriptions scattered over the Kongu region than even those found in the region of Mysore. These Coimbatore inscriptions mention about the rule of only three chieftains; Viranajaraya figures in 10 records dating between 1489 and 1499; Nanjaraya, described as the son of Pratapa Harihararaya, is mentioned in four inscriptions in the Avanashi taluka of Coimbatore district dated between the years 1507 and 1519, and Vira Chikkaraya is referred to in inscriptions in the region surrounding Avanashi dated between the years 1507 and 1512. This Pratapa Harihararaya was none other but Depanna (also called Tippanna) is clearly proved from certain inscriptions of Nanjaraya which describe him

as the son of Tippanna Udaiyar. It is also clear from this that from 1489 onwards to 1520 A. D. there was a continuous rule over the Kongu region. The geneology of the Ummattur ruling house given by Rice, revised and corrected on the basis of the evidence of the Kongu inscriptions, can be reconstructed as follows:—



The inscriptions found in the Coimbatore region concerning these rulers thus indicate that each time two princes of the family ruled simultaneously over different parts of the chieftaincy, Nanjaraya I and Immadi Depanna (Pratapa Harihara, as he is sometimes called) ruling together; while Chikkaraya and Nanjaraya II followed and ruled at the same time. The Kongu connection of the Ummattur rulers thus serves to enlighten their history in no uncertain manner and indicate to some extent the nature of their rule as well as the kind of life people led during that time.

Virananjaraya I's inscriptions are scattered over the Avanashi region and the Dharampuram area of the Coimbatore district and also at Palani in Madurai District. Chikka's inscriptions are found at Avanashi, Kunatur and also at Kuntur in Kollegal Taluka. Nanjaraya II (also called Nanjanna) is mentioned in inscriptions at distant places like Nambiyur, Pattanam and Kattangani in Dharampuram area. This roughly indicates the sphere of their influence in Kongunad, but obviously the modern district of Coimbatore felt their influence most.

Nanjaraya I rebuilt and reconsecrated the Perumal temple at Koduvay, previously damaged at the hands of the Muhammadans. The people of Koduvay instituted a charity for giving a sumptuous meal with *kampu* to Brahmans who passed that way. Koduvay was possibly an important centre lying on the highway to this region in those days. The various inscriptions of Chikka at Avanashi, Kunanattur and Kuntur mention of various types of gifts by merchants or others for different charitable purposes. Similarly in the time of Nanjaraya II six merchants rebuilt the village and renamed it as Srinathapattana. Obviously enough the Ummattur chieftains were benign rulers, who looked after the interest of their subjects, repopulated depopulated villages, rebuilt defiled and ruined temples, provided for the comfort of religious men and mendicants, and endeavoured for the growth

of trade. The big irrigation tank still in use and called Nanjarayankulam near Periyapalayam in Coimbatore district unmistakably tells about their care for agriculture, then as now the back bone of the village economy. The inscription of Nanjaraya .I in the ruined temple of the place gives an indication that perhaps the same Nanjaraya constructed this tank.

The Kattangani inscription of the reign of Nanjaraya II, Bahudaniya Arpasi (A. D. 1518-19) mentions about the rule of Nayinar Rahutaperumal, son of Tribhuvanattu Rajakkal Tambiranar Parakrama Pandyadeva, who gifted certain taxes to the temple. The use of the sonorous titles remind of the Pandyas, but obviously he was only a feudatory of the Ummattur chieftain, though possibly related to the Pandyas still ruling from Tenkasi. Thus possibly within the State of Ummattur there were smaller chieftains ruling on their own authority and under the control of the Ummattur chieftain. There is another a still better explanation. At this time the authority of Vijayanagar Empire was supreme all over South India. Immediately after ascending the throne as early as 1509, Krishnadevaraya, the greatest monarch of Vijayanagar, invaded the territories of the Ummattur chieftaincy, and brought to terms the refractory chieftain of Seringapatam by capturing his fort of Sivasamudram. He, however, then allowed, according to Domingos Paes, 'Cumraviriya' to be the king of Seringapatam and all the territory bordering on Malabar, which included Kongu as well. These events are dated between 1510 and 1512; Chikka's inscriptions cease from 1512 and Virananjaraya II's from 1519. The obvious conclusion is that Chikka was the 'Gangaraja' defeated by Krishnadevaraya; Virananjaraya is the "Cumraviriya" of Paes and the Rahutta of the Kattangani inscription was a Vijayanagar Viceroy directly appointed from the Centre. Hence the inscription though dated in the reign of Virananjaraya II records, "during the regime of Rahutaperumal" and the sonorous titles follow. The year of this important inscription, 1519 A. D. thus marks the end of the Ummattur chieftaincy and convincingly enough Virananjaraya II's inscriptions also go up to this year, 1519 only.

**SECTION IV**  
**1526—1764 A. D.**

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MAHARAJ KUMAR DR. RAGHUBIR SINH, D. LITT., LL. B., M. P.

Fellow-worshippers at the shrine of History,

It is almost unique that a sectional president of the preceding year has now once again been called upon to preside over another section of the Indian History Congress. I am, therefore, most grateful for the special honour thus done to me by such an august body of men of recognised eminence.

Coming in the wake of the earlier fourteen presidents of this section, it is not at all easy to prepare another presidential address for this section without going over any of the grounds covered previously. One has to do some real search to find out what new things can be said about this period here.

No period of Indian History has attracted greater attention of our scholars than the age of the great Mughals. But it is also true that this period has been left almost untouched by the research scholars of note during the last two decades and more. The fact is that while the later Mughals and their contemporaries have been the subjects of more than a couple of historical works of great scholarship and lasting merit, we find that except the revised editions of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's works, Dr. K. R. Qanungo's "*Dara Shukoh*" and a few works on the Mughal administration, hardly any treatise has been published during the last two decades on any of the great Mughals or their contemporaries, which could in any way extend the bounds of our knowledge or make an original contribution to the historical literature of the period.

The want of really up-to-date and authoritative lives of Babur and Akbar has already been pointed out at some length by my predecessor of last year. It is really a matter of utter disgrace that no eminent scholar could yet think of writing the long awaited work on the life and times of Akbar the Great. Vincent A. Smith, the last biographer of Akbar, has left behind him a challenge to Indian scholarship, which should not be ignored long. Again Dr. K. R. Qanungo's "*Sher Shah*", Dr. Beni Prasad's "*History of Jahangir*" and Dr. B. P. Saksena's "*History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*" could not necessarily be the last words on their respective subjects, as each of them was written twenty or thirty years ago. Dr. A. L. Srivastava's "*Sher Shah and his Successors*" is very brief and is written mainly to meet the requirements of the university students, while the few chapters on Sher Shah by Dr. P. Saran in his latest book "*Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*" cover

only a few aspects of Sher Shah's life and administration. Obviously enough, there continues the long-felt need of a fully comprehensive authoritative work on Sher Shah. Sher Shah was not only a successful administrator and victorious general, but also a constructive genius of high order having the great advantage of his vast and mature experience gained during his earlier years. His agrarian reforms and administrative policy have left behind them a lasting impression and many of his institutions were not only continued but further developed by Raja Todarmal under Akbar. An authentic and detailed study of the life, policy and reforms of Sher Shah should not be delayed for long. Due to the very nature of their works, the histories of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, by Dr. Beni Prasad and Dr. B. P. Saksena respectively, could not really be anything better than somewhat detailed monographs and can not possibly take the place of fullfledged histories of those two important Mughal Emperors of India. These two reigns form a most important stage in the development of the religious and administrative policies of the Mughal Empire. The anti-climax reached during the reign of Aurangzib was only the ultimate development of many trends that began and the events that occurred during these earlier reigns and as such for a fuller understanding of the various happenings during Aurangzib's reign a correct and deep study of the reigns of his predecessors, is necessary.

*A very important factor which is bound to greatly influence and sometimes materially alter the existing conception of the political history of many of these earlier Mughals or their contemporaries is the plenty of fresh material of first rate authenticity, which has either lately come to light or the real value of which has only now begun to be realised. The most important of these is that immense mass of original and secondary material, which in the absence of a more correct name can be termed "the Rajput Sources".* The Rajput rulers of the various states in Rajasthan and the adjacent areas came into very close contact with Mughal Emperors from the very outset. During the reign of Akbar the majority of them joined the service of the Mughals and were actively associated in the further advancement of the Mughal Empire itself. Many of them held high military and civil posts under the various Mughal Emperors. Hence any records relating to this period now extant in the family collections or the State archives of the present successors of those rulers cannot but be of first rate historical value. Moreover, the various family chronicles (*Khyats*), the dynastic geneological trees (*vamshavalis*) and other contemporary or later works of history of any one or more such rulers are not only useful for dynastic regional histories but they also make useful contribution to the history of the Mughal Empire. The majority of these have already come to light and are being increasingly utilised for a complete study of the history of this period, but many are yet to be discovered or their correct historical importance is still to be finally

assessed. It is very necessary that a careful thorough search for the discovery of all such valuable historical material be carried out before they perish.

A few instances of how these sources can go a long way not only to fill up the gaps in the known history but also to correct and at times even revolutionise the same will not be very much out of place. The Persian sources do not give many details of the campaign of Sher Shah against Maldev of Marwar. A detailed account of this entire campaign giving specific dates and particulars of the movements of the two opposing forces as well as the different localities is narrated in full in the "*Marwar Rajya ki Khyat*". The value of two almost contemporary Rajasthani poetical works for completing the account of the momentous battle of Dharmat (1658) was described by me in my last year's presidential address. Dr. Jadunath Sarkar has entirely reconstructed the accounts of Shivaji's audience with Aurangzib and his captive life in Agra from the large number of contemporary dispatches written in Rajasthani, discovered in the archives of the former Jaipur State. Moreover, with the death of Aurangzib these Rajput source, become one of the major primary sources,—the other being those in the Marathi language, for the history of Northern India. Thus the entire account of the early Maratha activities in Malwa (1713-1720) will have to be rewritten.

It must, however, be fully realised that the study of the Mughal period of Indian History will not by any means be complete even after detailed authentic histories of the reigns of the different Mughal Emperors have been duly written. It is a mistake to think that after the publication of that monumental "*History of Aurangzib*" in 5 vols., by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, nothing remains to be done in respect of the History of India during the half century covered by this reign. The scope of this work is naturally limited by its central theme and it cannot possibly deal with all the aspects nor include the various additional details which alone can throw a full light on the history and actual conditions of the various parts of this vast country. The question of the need and value of regional histories as contributory to the national history was discussed at length by me last year. It will suffice to say that it is very desirable that separate detailed histories of the different provinces while under the Mughals should be taken up at an early date. Similarly exhaustive authentic monographs on the lives and times of various important personalities during this period will go a long way to throw new light on its general history. It is a very happy idea that the research students at the Allahabad University are one by one being directed to write their Ph. D. thesis on the lives of the important Kachhawah rulers of the Amber-Jaipur State. Sri C. B. Tripathi has only this year been admitted to the Ph. D. degree for his thesis on Mirza Raja Jai Singh, while another research student is actively working on the life and times of Sawai Jai Singh.

Quite a few works of outstanding merit dealing with the Mughal government and administration in its different aspects and at various levels have already been published, and this subject along with the revenue policy and the agrarian system during the Mughal period is already attracting the attention of our scholars. But a synthetic study of the various religious movements and their interactions, particularly as a result of the changing religious policy of the Mughal Emperors, is yet to be undertaken. During this period many well-reputed religious teachers and saints were born; it was an age of the rise and development of many new religious sects (*panthas*), one of which later developed into the militant Sikhism. Religion was an all important force then and indirectly played a dominant role in shaping the political destinies of men, hence the part it thus played in influencing the history of Mughal India deserves a careful deep study. Similarly, a literary history of this period is also necessary, and should be undertaken soon. The literature of every living language correctly and very fully reflects the moods, beliefs and aspirations of that country during the different ages. A study of the literatures of the Indian languages from this point of view has not yet been even thought of. It is only natural that there should be a great demand for a history of the people rather than one merely of kings and courtiers, nobles and generals. Today when every intelligent Indian is thinking of the future set-up of Indian society, culture and way of life, he is naturally keen to know very fully how our mediaeval ancestors lived, what type of houses they built, what sort of clothes they wore, what were their enjoyments and amusements, what was the system of education then, what were generally their beliefs and superstitions, and many other similar things. The material extant for such a study of the Mughal period particularly of the last century is very great. Houses built by men of ordinary means during that period are still standing all over the country. A minute study of their architecture and styles with particular reference to the customs and modes of life of the men of different faiths and professions should not only prove interesting but enlightening as well.

It is really a great pity that no effort has yet been made to carefully study the art of war as practised and developed in India during the Mughal period. With the introduction of gun-powder in India the fire arms, particularly artillery, were being increasingly used on the battlefields. Its effect on Indian strategy and tactics must be minutely examined. Moreover, the basic causes of the uniform dismal failure of the Mughal imperial armies against the foreign forces (including even the Persians) should be carefully ascertained. It is obvious that a study of such a specialised nature can not possibly be undertaken by any one other than a duly trained experienced soldier. Will not some one of our retired Indian generals interest himself in a study of this vital subject? A detailed study of the different types of mediaeval Indian weapons and arms, dealing with their particular

names, peculiarities and their special uses should also be taken up without any further delay, as the very few men who really know anything about them are fast dying out and their precious knowledge may consequently be lost for ever to posterity.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the history of India during the Mughal period has all along been written as if it was merely the history of the Mughal Empire, and the various events and trends in the Deccan, even though of first rate historical significance, receive only casual attention if they are at all mentioned. It is true that with the establishment of the Mughal power in the north and its rapid expansion under Akbar the Mughal Empire became the central theme of the North Indian history during the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, but the same was not to be the case in the Deccan till 1681 A. C., when Aurangzib finally set out for the Deccan with his great army and then too this interlude was to last for about a quarter of century only till the death of Aurangzib at Ahmadnagar early in 1707 A. C. Before that the Mughal Empire was only one of the many powers constantly contending with each other for expansion and supremacy in the Deccan. But during all these early decades of peace and war some powerful new factors were imperceptibly, but steadily, developing in the south, which were to materially influence and mould the future history of the entire country differently during the following century. The period of complete disunity in the Deccan which followed the fall of the Bahmani Kingdom is momentous. The history of its successor states should be studied with full care in the minutest detail, but no effort has yet been made in this direction. Again, the varied and full effects—political, economic and cultural—of the long stay of Aurangzib and his grand army in the Deccan should be systematically investigated and skilfully traced not only in the later Deccan history but also in Indian history as a whole.

The establishment of the European settlements and factories on the sea-coast, the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, the entry of the Mughal Empire into the political arena of the Deccan, and finally the rise of the Maratha power are the few fundamental facts in the history of the Deccan which had the most far-reaching repercussions even on general Indian history, but their fullest implications and indirect results are yet to be analysed and clearly brought out. With the opening of the sea route to India by the Europeans the foreign trade was naturally diverted to the sea-ports and consequently even the inland trade-routes of India completely changed in the course of time and the Deccan with its various sea-ports now considerably increased in importance. After the eventful naval victory of the Portuguese near Diu in 1509 the Europeans gained complete naval supremacy in the Indian seas and naturally all the foreign trade with India now fell into the hands of the different European powers. Moreover, the European superiority in fire-arms was duly established from the very out-set. Not

only were these European made fire-arms better in quality and fire-power but the Europeans fired them more accurately and used them more effectively. Hence naturally the Mughals and other Indian powers including even the Marathas employed number of Portuguese and other Europeans in their artillery. Again, by regulating the supply of guns and ammunition of European make to different contending parties in the Deccan, these European powers could materially influence even the final result of the various wars being fought between the Indians from time to time. Thus slowly yet surely the early beginnings of the ultimate conquest of India by some European power were indirectly made and the various Indian powers were before very long really reduced to mere pawns on the Indian political chess-board. A detailed and careful study of this particular phase of the early activities of the Europeans in India will go a long way to explain the psychological factor, political background, and to some extent even the military causes of the general readiness of the Indian powers to seek and in the course of time to wholly depend on the armed help of these foreign powers.

Here quite a few suggestions have been made as to the lines on which further study and original research can be carried on in the Mughal period of Indian History. But to enable the various research students to successfully continue their labours the immediate prime necessity for the present is the preparation of a really exhaustive and detailed bibliography of the various sources for the history of this period. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma published "*A Bibliography of Mughal Period (1526-1707)*" more than a decade ago. It marked an excellent beginning, but it can no longer be considered sufficiently complete nor fully exhaustive by any means. Much new material has come to light only lately, after his bibliography. Besides he does not even refer to important original sources available only in foreign countries; but it will be folly to continue to ignore these sources now. Moreover, its lists relating to the Deccan are neither complete nor exhaustive. Hence an entirely new work on the subject is the crying need of the day. It may not be out of place here to add that the various authentic contemporary original sources in the different Indian vernacular languages should be given their due place, if such a new bibliography is to be complete, as this will go a long way to end the comparative one-sidedness of the history of this period which has unfortunately continued up till now.

In conclusion, I feel bound to repeat Dr. A. L. Srivastava's passionate plea for the urgent "necessity of coordinating research in our Universities and other seats of learning so as to avoid unnecessary duplication and overlapping". The periodic reports published by the Inter University Board do contain some useful information on the subject, but the same can not possibly give any details about the research work being carried on either at the various research societies or by different individuals privately, nor are these reports easily available to individual research workers. There-

fore, it is essential to remind the present authorities of the Indian History Congress of the decision taken by the Congress at its seventh session held in December, 1944, at Madras "to maintain record of the subjects on which research work is being carried on and to publish the same in a bulletin every year. It has also decided to organise the preparation and publication of a bibliography of Indian historical subjects on the lines of the Bibliography Orientalische of Leiden." Strangely enough nothing has yet been done in this direction.

May I crave the indulgence of my esteemed audience if I point out that the holiday mood and social festival attitude, which has generally prevailed at the sessions of the Indian History Congress all these years, cannot possibly be reconciled any longer with the heavy duty that has now definitely devolved on our historians of giving the nation a correct lead and necessary guidance in the vital task of planning its future on right lines and properly coordinating our future advance with our rich hoary past? No nation can afford to lose its moorings for ever. This foremost association of eminent historians and pain-staking research workers in India cannot and should not any longer rest contented with merely holding its annual sessions and then publishing the proceedings. A stage has now most certainly been reached when this august body of Indian historians must take up its real work of actively promoting further research in India with a greater sense of reality and effectiveness. Let it make a definite beginning by undertaking the task of co-ordination and thus honour its decision taken nine years earlier. A bold lead by this all-India body will give a fillip to the historical studies in India, and the various scholars and research workers are sure to respond to the call and prove that they are men of the right stuff who had been only waiting for a guide.

#### GUJRAT AND MALWA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY A. D.

DR. SATIS CHANDRA MISRA, M. A., PH. D.

Gujrat, Malwa and Rajputana have been inter-dependent cultural zones within the larger periphery of India and as such they have given rise to and sheltered independent kingdoms (save Rajputana which had several different States), in times of the absence of any central authority in the country as a whole. The kingdom of Gujrat was the richest as well as the strongest in the first half of the 16th century. Its maritime traffic together with its intrinsic richness greatly contributed to its prosperity. Its urge

for expansion could find no other avenue except Khandesh to its south-east and Malwa to the north-east, the latter being more fertile, larger and richer was naturally the better choice.

Girted by the Aravallies and containing large tracts of uninviting deserts, Rajputana rarely attracted invaders for its own sake. Yet far more dangerous to its neighbours was the perennial feud which existed between its rulers and the ring of surrounding Muslim kingdoms. In trying to neutralise the growing power of the menacing Rajputs, these Sultans themselves suffered grievously and the effect of their success too was never long-sasting.

The rich table-land of Malwa lying in the heart of India fertile, productive and strategic, across which trade-routes dating from ancient time criss-crossed, during its periodic decline was always a prize for all its neighbours. But none of its more powerful neighbours could calmly acquiesce to the control of this ideal buffer zone by others. All these patterns of zonal struggle are to be found in the second quarter of the 16th century. The deeper power-urges motivated by the "geo-political factors" stirred not only Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat and Rana Sanga of Mewar, but later also inextricably pulled Humayun and Sher Shah in the vortex of the Malwa affairs.

Malwa had been strong under her great Sultan Mahmud I (1436-1469 A. D.), who strove to expand his kingdom in almost all directions, though most of these projects failed as Malwa was too weak a base to be able to successfully support such ambitious schemes. Forty-two years after his death Mahmud II inherited a legacy of strife and nobility rife with factions. In his struggle with his elder brother to secure his throne, he found his allies in the *Purbiya* Rajputs who kept him on the throne only to dominate him. Led by Medini Rai and Silhadi, they now established an ascendancy over the Sultan and completely excluded the Muslim *amirs* of the Sultanate. Assuming the office of wazir, Medini Rai suppressed disaffected nobles, kept the Sultan surrounded by a Rajput retinue, and became the virtual ruler of Malwa. Exasperated by several futile efforts to dismiss his over-bearing minister, Mahmud fled to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat for help.

Sultan Muzaffar only too willing to help a fellow-Muslim ruler in distress advanced into Malwa, captured Mandu from Medini Rai's son Rai Pithaura (Feb. 23, 1518), and left Mahmud there as his own protege. Thus dispossessed, Medini Rai turned for help to Rana Sanga of Mewar, who marched into Malwa and inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud at Gagon. The vanquished Sultan was imprisoned and stripped of his Royal jewels, but was later restored to a depleted kingdom, the big slice cut off from it now being ruled by the Rajputs more or less as the feudatories of Mewar.

The death of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat on Jamad-ul-awwal 2,932/ Apr. 5, 1526 was another blow to the tottering power of Mahmud Shah. But soon after the power of Medini Rai was broken by Babur and Rana Sanga of Mewar also died. Therefore, Mahmud then sent his minister Sharza Khan to ravage Mewar territory skirting Malwa. He also summoned Silhadi of Raisin and Sikandar Khan of Satwas, both his nominal feudatories, and tried to conciliate them, but they were not to be appeased. While marching with Mahmud against Ratan Singh of Mewar, both of them fled away together to the Rajput army and accompanied the Rana to the camp of the newly-enthroned Sultan of Gujrat now advancing in Malwa.

Mahmud had failed to present himself at his coronation and had also harboured Bahadur's brother who had fled away from Gujrat after airing his own claims to the throne. Hence Bahadur Shah had now entered Malwa to punish Mahmud (937 A. H./ 1530-31 A. D.). Later Bahadur Shah asked Rana, who met him on the way to return to his capital while he himself advanced on Mandu. On Shaban 9, 937 A. H./ Mar. 28, 1531, the fort of Mandu surrendered and nine days later Mahmud met his end.

This advent of Bahadur Shah in Malwa marked in reality the success of the Muslim nobles of Malwa though he invaded it chiefly at the instance of the Rajputs of Malwa. The antagonism between the Muslim and the Rajput nobility in Malwa was then for the time being over-looked. But Bahadur Shah was no friend of the Rajputs and he utilised the Rajput disaffection only for his own ends and was very much conscious of the need of crushing them. Silhadi, the chief of Raisin, was now after Medini Rai the premier noble among them. On the pretext that he had not promptly come to the court, Silhadi was arrested when he waited on Bahadur Shah at his hunting camp and was imprisoned at Nalchha. The Sultan advanced towards Raisin redistributing Silhadi's large jagirs enroute to the Muslim nobles of Malwa who had joined him. He finally besieged Raisin. The reinforcements from Mewar were forced to turn back. Silhadi had hoped to gain some advantage by embracing Islam, but now he returned to his paternal fold and joined his kinsmen in the fort and the terrible rites of *jauhar* were consummated in which Muslim women too perished. Thus late in Ramzan 938/ May 1532, the fort of Raisin fell to the invader after a heroic resistance. Sultan Bahadur's conquest of Malwa was now complete. He entrusted Raisin and Bhilsa to Alam Khan Lodi, who had found shelter with Bahadur Shah after Panipat. Mallu Khan was appointed the viceroy of the Sultan of Gujrat in Malwa.

Alarmed by the hostile attitude of Bahadur Shah in giving refuge to the rebellious Mirzas and by his scarcely veiled ambition as well as by his fast increasing power, Humayun turned his attention towards Bahadur Shah when he proceeded to besiege Chitore after having conquered Malwa,

No ambitious ruler of the north could ever possibly be unmindful about the fate of this vital province of Malwa to his rear. Humayun's onslaught dislodged Bahadur Shah from Malwa. Humayun, however, followed Bahadur Shah to Gujrat. A disturbance caused by Mallu Khan recalled Humayun to Malwa, while the misconduct of Mirza Askari in Gujrat made possible the resurgence of Bahadur Shah's power there. But Humayun had to return to Agra and to proceed to the east, which left these erstwhile Malwa chief an open field to reassert their authority.

The tragic death of Bahadur Shah and the confusion in Gujrat freed these chiefs from their enforced obligations to the Gujrat throne. Mallu Khan, the holder of the capital city of Malwa was acknowledged as overlord by the others and he assumed the prerogatives of royalty under the title of Qadir Shah and a loosely feudalised Malwa extending from "the spurs of the Vindhya to the Gujrat border and from Satwas to Kachhwaha, the Rajput land" once more became a sovereign kingdom. Now the Rajputs too returned and gained their hold on their jagirs vacated by Bahadur Shah and his nominees. Qadir Shah, the Sultan, as well as his nobles scarcely relished this resurgence of Rajput power, but being too weak to do anything they had to put up with them. The conflict which had been abated by Bahadur Shah's ruthless action started again in Malwa. The rising power of the Surs had by now been consolidated in the north. Therefore, the dissatisfied elements in Malwa now turned to Sher Shah, who was not averse to an action against Malwa which according to him was an essential part of any empire of Hindustan. Sher Shah's pattern of conquest resembled that of Bahadur Shah. The Rajputs this time too were conciliated at the outset, but once the Sultan of Malwa had been defeated, their turn was not long in coming. Sher Shah too found it more difficult to uproot the Rajputs, who were his real adversaries in Malwa, than to overcome the weakened Sultan.

#### ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE OF BAIRAM KHAN

DR. SUKUMAR RAY, M. A., PH. D.

Bairam Khan was fifth in descent from Ali Shukr Beg, leader of the Baharlu clan of the Qaraqayanlu Turks, the successors of the Timurids in Western Persia, who played a prominent part in the politics of Persia and Mesopotamia in the first half of the fifteenth century. Under Mirza Jahan Shah (1437-67 A. D.), who ruled as the undisputed monarch of Azarbaizan, the two Iraqs, Fars, Kirman and the coast of Oman, the Qaraqayanlu power reached its zenith and the banner 'black sheep' carried terror through Persia and as far as Baghdad.

Ali Shukr Beg, the most prominent nobleman of Jahan Shah's court, ruled as a feudatory chief under him over an extensive territory covering Hamadan, Dinawar, Kurdistan and its dependencies and the author of the *Haft Iqlim* states that till his times these territories were known as the country of Ali Shukr (qalamraw-i-Ali Shukr). But when Jahan Shah was defeated and killed by Uzun Hasan, the Aq-quyanlu chief and the Qaraquyanlu power declined, Ali Shukr Beg set up as an independent ruler with Hamadan as his capital. To vindicate the honour of his tribe he fought against the Aq-quyanlu and curbed the power of the Timurid ruler Mirza Abu Said but ultimately in the battle of Azarbaijan he accidentally fell into the hands of enemy, Uzun Hasan, at the very moment of victory and was killed by his order (about 1473 A. D.).

Ali Shukr Beg was an influence among the Turks. Mirza Iskandar the Qaraquyanlu chief (1429-37 A. D.), allied himself with Ali Shukr by marrying his daughter to Ali Shukr's son Pir Ali Beg. Mirza Jahan Shah also married Ali Shukr's two daughters to his two sons. Sultan Abu Said, the Timurid ruler (1452-69 A. D.) as well sought his alliance by marrying his son Sultan Mahmud to Ali Shukr's daughter Pasha Begam.

Ali Shukr's son and successor Pir Ali Beg made efforts to restore the power and prestige of the Qaraquyanlu tribe. He joined Sultan Abu Said in his war against Uzun Hasan but after the defeat and death of the latter (1469 A. D.) he went to Hamadan. He was, however, forced by the Aq-quyanlu to leave Hamadan and enter the service of Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Abu Said, at Hisar. His sister Pasha Begam was the wife of Sultan Mahmud. Babur married one of Sultan Mahmud's daughters by her and it was through Pasha Begam that Bairam was related with the Timurids. Pir Ali himself had married a daughter of Qara Iskandar and his son Yar Ali Beg, the grandfather of Bairam Khan, was born of this wife. This is why Bairam claimed descent from Mirza Jahan Shah. Pir Ali, unable to obtain substantial help from Sultan Mahmud, left Hisar for Fars and joined Mirza Aba Bakr, brother of Sultan Mahmud, but their joint forces were defeated by the Aq-quyanlu army in Garmsir. They escaped to Khusasan but were pursued by Sultan Husain, Mirza of Herat, who defeated them near Astarabad. Pir Ali Beg was captured and put to death by his order (1480).

Pir Ali's eldest son Yar Ali Beg escaped from the battle-field and went to his uncle Sultan Mahmud in Badakhshan. He was kindly received and became an influence in Sultan Mahmud's court. After the death of Sultan Mahmud in 1495 A. D. Yar Ali entered the service of Khusraw Shah, the Mongol chief of Qunduz, and after his defeat and down-fall in 1504-5 A. D. Yar Ali Beg with his son, Saif Ali Beg, entered the service of Babur. Yar Ali is referred to on several occasions in the *Memoirs* of that illustrious emperor. According to Firishta, Yar Ali held the governorship of Ghazni

which Babur conquered in October, 1504 A. D. His son Saif Ali Beg, who was a man of ambition, gathered round him people of his own clan and made the last efforts to recover their authority in Iran but they proved futile on account of the growing power of the Safavids. He, therefore, joined the service of Babur along with his father and on his father's death Saif Ali Beg succeeded him as the governor of Ghazni. He died before Babur's conquest of Hindustan.

Bairam Khan, son of Saif Ali beg, was born at Qila-i-Zafar in Badakhshan. His mother Nakibi Khanum came of the family of the Naqshbandi Khwajahs about 1497 A. D. or a few years earlier. He was born at a time when his father and grandfather, who had been driven from their ancestral territory, were making efforts to restore their former authority in Iran. Both at last, while he was still a mere boy, joined the service of Babur whose power was not yet secure and Bairam's infancy and boyhood witnessed the vicissitudes of their fortune in the jarring politics of Iran and Afghanistan. The child Bairam was left in Badakhshan under the fostering care of Pasha Begam, the sister of his great grandfather and wife of Sultan Mahmud. Pasha Begam, however, brought up the child with grandmotherly affection and spared no pains to give him proper education. His maternal uncle Amir Beg also looked after him. Bairam received a good military training, which was traditional in his family, and equipped himself with the humanities of his day. It seems that Bairam left Badakhshan for Ghazni where he lived with his father and on his death he went to Balkh amongst his relations and there received proper education. Balkh was then one centre of a lucrative trade and the home of a wide culture.

At the age of sixteen Bairam came back from Balkh and joined the service of Babur. According to Iskandar Munshi, Bairam joined Babur after the battle of Ghazdawan (November, 1512) and accompanied his army to Kabul. As he was related with the Timurid rulers, he was received with favour and respect. Pasha Begam, the sister of his great grandfather, was Babur's paternal aunt as well as mother-in-law. Though young in age, Bairam was given precedence in the court over other nobles and was appointed an accountant. Babur seems to have been highly impressed by his ability. He is said to have remarked to his son Humayun that if he had not such a wise and competent son like him, he would have called Bairam his son and nominated him as his successor. Bairam was attached to the retinue of prince Humayun who, pleased by his genial manners, loyal service, poetic vein as well as his knowledge of music, promoted him to the rank of his intimate companion. While serving the prince, it is recorded, young Bairam distinguished himself in a battle and in recognition of this success Babur granted Bairam the privilege of attending the court side by side with prince Humayun. Bairam came to Hindustan along with Babur and must have taken part in all the campaigns which Humayun undertook

or in which he participated. According to the *Madan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi*, Bairam became a distinguished member of Babur's court. Fragmentary though our knowledge of Bairam's early life is, it may be said with confidence that he gave ample proof of his talent and promise of his future greatness. It was no mean credit to attract the notice and gain the admiration of so astute a judge of men who was no less than the august founder of the Mughul empire in India.

### RAJA RAM DAS KACHHAWAHA

PROF. SYED HASAN ASKARI,

It is a pity that the martial race of the Rajputs have not received the due attention of modern scholars. The pioneer work of Col. J. Tod still holds the field but the author did not intend to treat the subject in the serious style of history. Not to speak of the great Rajput families outside Rajasthan like the Ujjainia Pawar of Bihar, we fail to get in Tod's sympathetic work a complete and accurate picture of even many great personalities of Rajasthan, while there is little or no reference at all to lesser figures. One such noteworthy instance is that of Raja Ramdas Kachhawaha, who even at an early stage was one of the 17th out of 47 of those Hindu *Mansabdars* who held the rank of 1-*hazari* and more. Introduced to Akbar in 1568 by a fellow clansman, Raisal Darbari, Ram Das rose by dint of his merits from the position of an '*ahadi*' soldier to that of a '*mansabdar*' of 2000 in 1589. "His faithfulness was proverbial". Jahangir promoted this "sincere servant" of his "revered father" to the rank of 3000 in the very year of his accession and subsequently conferred on him the title of 'Karan' and then of 'Raja' and gave him the fort of Rantambhor, besides other places in Agra, Kashmir, and Kabul as his jagir. Both he and Raisa Darbari had brilliant and well deserved rise as both held the same rank of high importance. Indeed, Ramdas was in no way inferior to his friend and benefactor, the Shekhawat Chief, in ability and unflinching devotion to duty, but unlike him, he left no worthy progeny to carry on his name and he never cared to carve out a principality for himself. Having had a meteoric rise, Ramdas was made *Naib-Diwan* or Raja Todarmal's deputy in the financial department. Not only civil but military duties were also performed by him. He and his valiant brother-in-law, Kishan Singh Panwar, rendered valuable services, along with Raja Todarmal and subsequently Shahbaz Khan Kambooh, in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, first against Daud Khan Afghan, and then against the rebels, Isa Khan and Masum Khan Kabuli. He served in the Deccan campaign against Malik Ambar and was twice sent

to the Bangash territory in the north-west where he died in 1667 A. V. (1613 A. D.). But by far the most notable service that he rendered was just on the eve of Akbar's death when his bold action in holding effective charge of the imperial palace and the treasury in the interests of Prince Salim finally settled the question of succession against the machinations of two such powerful supporters of Khusru as his maternal uncle, Raja Man Singh, and his father-in-law Khan Azam Mirza Aziz Koka.

Though Abdul Fazal, Nizamuddin, Moatamad Khan and even Emperor Jahangir have frequently referred to Ramdas and there is a short biographical sketch in *Maasir-ul-Umra*, the wealth of details found in some Hindi manuscripts, such as "*Ram Das Kachhwaha Ri Bārātā*" by "Kānha bard of village Achalpura in Jaipur State", a '*Khyat*' entitled "*Pātal Pota ki Hakikat*" by the same author, and an "account of the activities of Raja Todar Mal and Ramdas Kachhawaha", originally compiled by Raja's Mir Munshi, Shaikh Safdar Ali, on 24 Rabi I, 989 (28 April, 1581 A. D.) but later rendered into Hindustani by one Karam Ali of Gorakhpur, at the instance of Maharaja Man Singh of Jaipur, on 22nd December, 1878, a copy of which Shri V. S. Srivastave presented to Patna O. P. Library on 29-1-50 can be met with nowhere else. Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not tell us anything about Kanha bard, but it is pleasing to find that the main outline of his narrative is fully corroborated by contemporary Muslim historians. In this paper an attempt is being made to present a short but connected account of the life and career of Ram Das Kachhawaha, largely on the basis of these manuscripts.

Of the 3 sons of the 14th century, Raja of Amber, Udaikaran, Balaji and Patal were the direct ancestors, in the 7th and 8th generations respectively, of Raisal Darbari and Ram Das Kachhawaha. Patal was followed by his son, Kandhal and grandson Bhoja had 4 sons, Rama Kishansi, Rupsi, Jaitsi. The first was the father of Lakha who had 2 sons, Ratan and Uda. The latter's son Patal was the father of Ram Das Kachhawaha. The partition of property had left Ram Das so poor that he had to take loans even to provide for his wife, sisters and children and he had to leave Baonlie for Newatta. By this time Bhandner and Khandela had been annexed to the Mughal dominion. While Ram Das was on his way to Agra in search of fortune, he met Raisal Darbari in 1625 S. (1568 A. D.). The latter kept him with himself, taught him the Mughal etiquette, provided him with a horse and took him to the '*ahadi*' bazar when Akbar came to inspect it. Raisal introduced Ram Das to the Emperor as his own kith and kin and Akbar was so impressed with the noble bearing of Ram Das that he at once recruited him among the '*khasabardar ahadis*'. Ram Das did his work so well, regularly and diligently, that he was promoted 2 years after, in 1627 A. V. (1570 A. D.) as a *jemadar* of 200 '*khasa*' cavalry. The Emperor was

immensely pleased with him not only because he always found him ready and alert at his post with lance in his hand, but also because he was charmed with the heroic songs which Ram Das often sang at Akbar's instance. Ram Das was one of the 27 "officers", mentioned by Abul Fazal, as having accompanied the Emperor in the latter's unprecedentedly rapid march towards Ahamadabad Gujrat. But later he had to take leave to marry his sister, Nagina, with the help of Raisal Darbari with the valiant Kishan Singh, a Chandrawat-Panwar Rajput whose 2 brothers and grandfather had laid down their lives in the battle of Khanwan, in 1527, and who himself had been wounded in a battle fought in Chitor-Udaipur pass while rescuing his father, Daulat Singh. On his return journey the Emperor was pleased to stay in the evening of Friday, 5 Aswin Sudi, 1630 A. V. (1 Oct, 1573) as Ram Das's guest in his village Nawatta (see A. N., Eng., III, p. 91). He introduced to the Emperor his 2 sons, Dalip and Naindas, and his brave brother-in-law, Kishan Singh Panwar. It was on this occasion that he was promoted to the rank of 500 horse.

In the 17th year of his reign, Akbar being dissatisfied with Munim Khan's conduct of war against Daud Khan Kararani, deputed Raja Todar Mal to assist him at Patna, and the civil duties of the Raja as *Diwan* were temporarily made over to Ram Das. But shortly afterwards according to Akbar's instruction Ram Das set out from Agra, with his own troopers and Kishan Singh, on 9 Chait Sudi, 1631 A. V. (29 April. 1574 A. D.). He passed through the holy cities of Prayag and Kashi and when he arrived at Bhojpur, Kunwar Ramapat, son of the well-known Raja Gajpati Ujjainia of Jagdishpur, became a friend of Kishan Singh and joined the party. After halting for some time at Maner, Ram Das and his men joined the imperialist in the siege of Patna on 5 Jaith Badi 1631 (9 June 1574 A. D.). Realising the gravity of the situation, the Emperor himself left Agra by boats and arrived at Patna on 3 Bhado Badi, 1631, (3 Sept. 1574 A. D.). Fathullah Khan Barha, son of Ghazi Khan Malik, the general of the Afghans, had baffled all the efforts of Khan-i-Alam and therefore, on their own request, the Emperor sent Kasim Ali Khan, Kishan Singh Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainia to assist Khan-i-Alam. Though many of the boats were destroyed by the violent waves at the junction of rivers Ganges and Gandak these men managed to cross over to Hajipur and join Khan-i-Alam at a critical juncture. The tide was turned. Fathullah was killed and Daud Khan fled that very night towards Bengal. Appointing Munim Khan as the Subadar of Bihar with Raja Todar Mal as his *Diwan* and Ram Das Kachhwaha as the latter's assistant and instructing them to follow Daud, the Emperor left Patna for Agra.

The pursuit of the retreating enemy now begun. Daud Khan had to vacate Teliagadhi and then Tanda and he escaped towards Orissa. From Madaran, Ram Das conveyed the news to Munim Khan that Daud Khan

was assembling the scattered Afghan forces at Rankesari. Muhammad Quli Birlas was sent to join the expedition. From Galiar Abul Quasim (Namkin) advanced to meet Junaid but had to fall back. Junaid, however, could not face the imperialists, fled first to jungle and then joined his cousin, Daud Khan at Jalesore. The imperialists now advanced towards Jalesore but the sudden death of Muhammad Quli Beg disappointed them and caused dissensions among them. Being disgusted with the quarrels of the officers (who were perhaps reluctant to serve under Raja Todar Mal) the Raja, his Naib, Ram Das, Kishan Singh and Ramapat Ujjania left Jalesore. But excepting Ramapat Ujjania who would not listen to any advice and left for Bhojpur, all others were pacified by Munim Khan and turned back from Burdwan towards Jalesore. Munim Khan also marched, joined the party, and took the command at Baktori. They found their further progress barred by huge Afghan army consisting of 50,000 horses, 1 lakh foot and many thousands of elephants at Tukaroi. The intrepid Afghan general Gujar Kararani, wrought havocs among the imperialists, killed Khan-i-Alam, and even wounded Munim Khan who fell from his horse. Kishan Singh Panwar now challenged Gujar; while the two were engaged in a personal combat, Gujar was transfixed with an arrow and his death demoralised and dissipated the Afghans who were either killed or fled away.

When Raja Todar Mal and Ram Das Kachhawaha called upon Munim Khan to enquire of his wounds, they were directed to renew the pursuit of the retreating enemies. They and Kishan Singh tried in vain to bring Daud Khan to bay. He eluded their grasp and when they reached Bhadrak, they learnt that he had fled to Cuttack where the Afghans, who had managed to escape from Tukaroi, were assembling around him. The Raja and Ram Das thought it best to wait for re-inforcements. Despite his wounds Munim Khan advanced with his forces and joined the Raja and Ram Das. They encamped on the bank of Mahanadi near Cuttack. Daud Khan had already lost Bihar and Bengal and being alarmed he opened negotiations for peace. He was made to come personally to Munim Khan, who was generous enough to allow him to retain Orissa on behalf of the Emperor. Raja Todar Mal sent a report to the imperial court in which he eulogized the services of Ram Das and his men.

Another occasion arose for sending Ram Das to the eastern province when the news arrived in Aswin 1641 (Sept. 1584 A. D.) in the court that Shahbaz Khan had failed to make any head-way against Isa Khan at Bhati and had returned to Tanda. It was also reported that Shahbaz Khan after staying at Sherpur for some time, had decided to march against the rebels but his followers had refused to accompany him. Already Peshrau Khan and Khawajagi Futhullah Khan had been sent to induce the zamindars of Bihar and Bengal to join Shahbaz Khan against rebels, Isa and Masum. The Emperor thought it necessary to send Ram Das and Mujahid Khan

Kamboh to the east with instructions to Ram Das to use all his diplomatic abilities to make the refractory nobles join Shahbaz Khan. Shahbaz Khan, then being reinforced, advanced in Aghan (Nov. 1584) towards Bhati and wanted to cross the river Jamuna ( Ganges ? ) on the bank of which, at Sherpur, the rebel, Masum, was encamped. The officers showed reluctance to obey the orders. Ram Das's persuasive tongue and effective exhortations had their effect and when the imperialists crossed the river the rebels fled away, leaving their baggages behind. Shahbaz was advised not to follow the fugitives personally, but to leave the task to Ram Das, Fathullah Khan, Syed Abdullah, Wazir Khan, Meharban Khan and others. The rebels were driven out and the territories that had been lost were recovered.

On return from Bengal, Ram Das was promoted to the rank of 1000. Seeing the increasing favours of the Emperor many Rajputs began to approach him, resurrecting old genealogies, while other sought matrimonial alliances with his family members. His two sons were already married and after some negotiations he agreed to marry his sister's son, Shambhu Singh, with the daughter of Bija Devada, the son-in-law of Chandrsen Rathor of Jodhpur. Bija was an ambitious fellow. He had brought the news sent by Mirza Khan of the defeat of Muzaffar of Gujrat on 13 Phagun Badi 1640 (Feb. 27, 1583 A. D.) and was ever on the look-out to get the *tappa* of Sirohi for himself.

Kanha bard next tells us about the Emperor's first visit to Kashmir in 1646 (1589 A. D.). Leaving the ladies in the charge of Sultan Murad at Bhimbhar, with Farid Beg to guard the passes, the Emperor accompanied by Ram Das, Khan-i-Khanan, Jagannath, etc., went out to visit many places such as Badurgarh, Ghazikot, Rajauri, etc. When he advanced further through Pir Panjal, he directed the Prince Royal (Salim) to fetch the ladies and Prince Khusru. He next visited Laha, Ratan Pir Punjal and Baramulla. The delay in the arrival of the ladies caused him anxiety and he deputed people from Haripura to Bhimbhar for making the necessary arrangements. He sent Khan-Khanan from Barari to the Prince Imperial. The latter came alone at Daipur and told the Emperor that the ladies had to be left at Nowshera owing the certain difficulties. The Emperor was furious at such a disregard of his orders and at once set out towards Nowshera, taking Ram Das, Jagannath, Naqib Khan and some *ahadis* with him. Few were able to keep pace with him in his rapid march through the hills and defiles, heights and hollows amidst heavy downpour of rain, dark clouds, storms, lighting and rock-slides. He was so much pleased with the services of Ram Das that he increased his *mansab* to 2000 and granted him a palace at Banpura. According to Abul Fazl, however, Ram Das received the *mansab* of 2000 *zat* and 200 *sawars* in the 50th year of the reign on 11th March 1605.

It was during his stay in Kashmir that Ram Das got the sad news of the death of his son, Dalip, who was so much like him in character. The

Emperor came to condole and allowed him to proceed to his village home. His eldest son, Naindas, was of turbulent nature, had left the court without permission, and was reported to be engaged in mischievous activities in the Emperor's dominion. For some time no action was taken, but at last, on the request of Ram Das himself, the Emperor deputed Shah Quli Khan to bring the wayward youngman to his presence. He resisted, fought, and was killed. The Emperor paid a visit to Ram Das in his own residence to administer consolation in 1660 A. V. (1603 A. D.).

On the 7th Kartik Badi, 1662 (24 Sep. 1605 A. D.), the Emperor fell ill and it was realised that his life was drawing to a close. Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh made up their mind to secure the succession for their nominee, Prince Khusru. The Emperor had tried in vain for some time to indicate his nomination. One day when the nobles including Ram Das, were assembled in the ante-chamber, Khan Azam addressed them and emphasised upon the need of settling the question in favour of Prince Khusru who so much loved by the Emperor and as regards his father, Salim, his character was known to all. He was stopped by Syed Khan Barha, who said it was unjust and contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghtai Turks to prefer son to the father. He left the assembly with Malik Khair and every one went his own way. He hinted to his friend, Ram Das, to look after the treasury. Ram Das at once posted an adequate force of his faithful Rajputs headed by Kishan Singh to guard the treasury. After the failure of the plan to seize Prince Salim when he came to pay his respects to his dying father, because of the opportune disclosure made by Mir-Zia-ul-Mulk, the two nobles decided to capture the treasury and the fort. They demanded the key from Kishan Singh who referred the matter to Ram Das. He was having consultations in Raisal Darbari's house with Murtaza Khan and Syed Khan Barha, who were all determined to fight for Salim to the end. On his return to his house he found the couple waiting with all their weapons of cajolery and intimidation. To the question as to why he had posted his guard on the treasury, Ram Das replied that three years before the Emperor had directed him to guard the palace which contained the treasury and he deemed it his duty to do so till the end. Khan Azam praised him and promised to reward him if he delivered the key. This was refused without Emperor's permission and the plea that Khusru had been already nominated by the Emperor was not accepted for the latter was not in a position to do so. Now Raja Man Singh intervened and tried to intimidate Ram Das who gave a spirited reply. The Bard says that on the Raja reminding Ram Das as to who he was and what he was capable of doing, Ram Das replied that he could not forget that both of them belonged to the same clan and the same blood ran in the veins of both. The difference lay in that one was imbued with selfish motives while the other was doing what he considered to be his primary duty. When told to hold his

tongue Ram Das said that a Rajput was ever ready to lay down his life in a good cause and though his tongue and head both might be cut off he would not deliver the keys so long as the last breath was in his body. The Raja lost his temper but Ram Das was adamant. Hearing the exchange of hot words Kishan Singh entered the room and told the Raja that if he thought of bricks he would have stones. Khan Azam intervened and took away the Raja. When they advanced beyond Hâthyapol where Ram Das had a palatial building of his own they found the whole fort well guarded by Ram Das's men. Seeing the change in the aspects of affairs the Raja decided to leave with Prince Khusru for Bengal and Khan Azam also thought of leaving Agra. He sent his children to Man Singh. Ram Das, Murataza Khan, and Syed Khan had already deputed Motamad Khan to induce Prince Salim to pay his respects to his imperial father. Akbar opened his eyes and bade his turban and dagger to be put on the body of his son. After 22 days of illness the Emperor finally closed his eyes, on Wednesday, Punam, Kartik, 1662 (Oct. 17, 1605 A. D.) and next day on 1st Margasirsha Sudi, 1662 (Oct. 17, 1605) Prince Salim ascended the throne with the title of Jahangir. He pardoned all including Khan Azam and Raja Man Singh.

Jahangir consoled Ram Das in his grief and while rewarding many others, he promoted Ram Das from the rank of 2000 to 3000 and left him in charge of the royal palace and the treasury. But already, since the death of his son, Ram Das had become increasingly other-worldly in his attitude, leaving the work of his *mansab* largely in the hands of his able brother-in-law, Kishan Singh. He spent the days in the company of pandits, poets and sadhus and his house was always thronged with learned men, poets, and faqirs. Once Pandit Ganga, who wrote some verses in his praise, was given all that was available at the time. Ram Das did not disappoint any begger or seeker of favours. He used to distribute money freely at the *ghats* of Jamuna where he took his daily bath. One day in severe winter, amidst storm and showers of hail, he was returning from his daily bath when he found a shivering mute old man. He immediately took off his woolen shawl, put it on his body, and went home bare bodied. On hearing this the Emperor gave him the title of 'Karan'.

Kanha bard does not tell us about some minor matters such as the deputation of Ram Das, in 1595 A. D., to enforce the prohibitive orders about exacting tolls at the ferries from Lahore to Gujrat (A. N.), to look into the grievances of the people against Allah Bardi, the agent of Sadiq Khan in 1589 (J. N. J.), and the assistance he rendered to the intrepid Anup Rai in a tiger hunt in 1611 (T. J.). But he gives us very valuable and some times new information about other affairs. We are told by him, and also by the Emperor Jahangir (T. J.), that Abhai Ram, the son of Akhai Ram,

and grand-son of Raja Bhagwan Das and his two sons, Bijay Ram and Shyam Ram had gone astray and been guilty of several imprudent acts. But the Emperor out of consideration for their relationship with the royal family was ever prepared to pardon them. He called upon Ram Das and other Rajput nobles to stand surety for their good behaviour. Ram Das said that they being the nephew and the nephew's sons of Raja Man Singh, his intervention might be misconstrued by the Raja who was already displeased with him. None gave the required security and the turbulent fellows resisted and fought against Khan Kakar and Shahnawaz Khan who, as directed by the Emperor, had been sent by Amir-ul-Umara to arrest them and were all killed after killing many others in 1662 A. V. Two years after on 13 Asarh Sudi, 1664 (June 27, 1607 A. D.) from Shahr-ara garden of Kabul the Emperor sent Maha Singh, the grandson of Raja Man Singh, with Ram Das as his guardian to drive back the rebels of Bangash and about 2 months after on 2 Bhadon, he sent to Ram Das and Maha Singh a sum of 2 lacs for the expenses of the army. Being pleased with the work of Ram Das, the Emperor conferred on him on 5 Kartik Sudi, 1664 (Oct. 15, 1607 A. D.) a *'jagir* in Kabul and directed him to assist its *subhadar*, Khan Dauran.

Raja Man Singh always nursed his grievances against Ram Das whom he, however, could not touch, but his henchmen once found Kishan Singh alone and he fell victim to the Raja's wrath, fighting bravely till the last in 1667 A.V. The 14 years old lad, Bhairo Singh, vowed vengeance and Shambhu Singh promised to assist him. In Dhoonadhar territory of Chaturbhuj they got the opportunity and Bhairo Singh challenged Achalla and killed him though he himself was also wounded. Leaving him to be treated for his wounds, Ram Das hastened to comply with the imperial orders to proceed towards Gujrat and the Deccan when all the efforts of Khan Jahan Lodi at Burhanpur had proved futile against Malik Amber and his men. Ram Das was given the title of Raja and besides a flag, a drum, an elephant and a horse, he was rewarded with the fort of Ranthambhor as his *jagir*. He was instructed to watch Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung who had been deputed to fight against the Deccanics, prevent him from being too rash and hasty, and induce him to effect a junction with the forces of Khan Jahan Lodi and Raja Man Singh, who were to proceed from two other directions. Abdullah advanced with the 3000 Kachhawahas, 1000 Gujrati *grasia* Rajuts and 10,000 of his own force towards Daulatabad. Bharju Rathor, the Raja of Baglana, also joined him on the way. The advice of Ram Das to halt at Baglana and give rest to the army and open communications with the forces of Khan Jahan Lodi and Man Singh went unheeded. Abdullah reached Nasik by way of Trimbak and was again advised to wait for the parallel movements of Lodi and Man Singh. Abdullah boasted of his own prowess and spoke disparagingly of Ram Das who with difficulty repressed

himself. The over-confident Muslim general wanted to take the sole credit for victory, but was soon disillusioned. The enemies began their irregular guerilla warfare and they threw rockets and fire works at night. Again Ram Das advised Abdullah to wait for the other two armies but he would not listen and advanced upon Daulatabad. The enemies blocked up all paths, cut off all provisions, and reduced the imperialists to great privations. Now Abdullah had to fall back but Ali Mardan Khan valiantly forced the enemies to fight but was surrounded. Despite the attempts of Shambhu Singh and the Rajputs to effect his rescue he was wounded and captured. Shambhu Singh and the Amra Devada Rajputs (?) cut their way out through the enemies' rank and disappeared and the other Kachhawahas could not maintain their stand before the triple onslaught. Ram Das was so dispirited that he at first thought of committing suicide but later realised it to be a cowardly act and escaped in disguise first to Nasik and thence to Ujjain and Mathura.

He learnt that his enemies, particularly Raja Man Singh, had fixed the responsibility for defeat on him. The Emperor caused the picture of Abdullah, Ram Das, and others to be drawn and taking up each addressed a few words regarding the disgrace they had caused to the imperial armies. He ordered the *jagirs* and the palace of Matiaburj of Ram Das to be confiscated.

Bhairo Singh had escaped to Chitor in Mewar where he was befriended by Rao Subh Karan. After due enquiry the Emperor learnt that the primary cause of the defeat was the rash and reckless action of Abdullah Khan who had refused to listen to all the wise suggestions of Ram Das. Hearing this Ram Das appeared in the court on 5 pus Sudi 1667 (Dec. 12, 1610 A.D.), made an offering of 101 gold *mohars*, and distributed 2000 in charity. The Emperor being pleased at his return conferred on him a rich robe, gave him an elephant, horse, and also 30,000 and allowed him to occupy his palatial building. Ram Das conveyed his sense of gratitude to Rao Subh Karan and sent a message to Bhairo Singh not to despair of the life of Shambhu Singh. After some time the Emperor again requisitioned the services of Ram Das and sent him to Kabul to settle the differences that had cropped up between the officers there and Qulich Khan. After 2 months journey Ram Das arrived at Kabul but shortly after fell ill and after months of illness breathed his last on 8th day of Bhandon Badi, 1670 (Aug. 28, 1613 A. D.). The news of his death reached the Emperor on 7th day of Asin Sudi (Sept. 10, 1617 A. D.). The order for confiscation of the *jagirs* of Ranthabbhor and the palace of Matiaburj, etc. were, however, not rescinded as Ram Das' sister's son had disappeared in the Deccan and his grandson had joined the Rana.

## WAS JAI SINGH TREACHEROUS TO DARA SHUKOH ?

DR. C. B. TRIPATHI., M. A., D. PHIL., LL.B.

(A SUMMARY)

The conduct of Jai Singh during the battle of Bahadurpur and his subsequent action in joining Aurangzeb after the latter's success at Samugarh and his desertion of Dara at the most crucial moment, have been strongly criticised and vehemently condemned; but a close analysis of the situation makes it clear that the conduct of the Kachhawaha chief has been met with scant justice.

The personal relations between the Crown Prince and the Mirza Raja got strained during the third siege of Qandahar, and the gulf could not be bridged over as Dara was definitely very much partial to his close rival Jaswant Singh Rathor. Naturally he felt inclined towards Aurangzeb, who was a better general and statesman, and thus very much nearer to him, but he was prudent enough not to make any unnecessary haste in casting his lot with any particular claimant to the throne. Therefore, when he was called upon to take up arms against Shuja, he dutifully took up the command of the army and proceeded to carry out the imperial orders.

In connection with the battle of Bahadurpur, the Mirza Raja has been charged with slackness and delaying tactics. But, according to *Masir-ul-Umra*—‘Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to him (Mirza Raja Jai Singh), in reality Dara Shukoh made Bahadur Khan guardian and person in power over the army. Bahadur Khan had been a sworn enemy of Jai Singh ever since the third siege of Qandahar, and so there was no possibility of any concerted action between them. Moreover, two Dingal (Rajasthani) letters preserved in the Jaipur archives not only corroborate the above mentioned statement of *Masir-ul-Umra*, but also clearly establish that it was Bahadur Khan and not Jai Singh who caused all that delay in the advance of the army.

Again, Emperor Shah Jahan gave definite instructions to the Raja to spare the life of Prince Shuja sending him back, so far as possible, by persuasion and demonstration of force. Hence throughout the war of succession, Jai Singh tried to avoid spilling the blood of the members of Royal Family. He advised his son also to carry out the orders of the Emperor as a loyal and faithful servant of the Crown.

After the battle of Bahadurpur when the Mirza Raja pursued Shuja, he did not slacken his pace, but took definite steps to finalise the matters as soon as possible. Thus his absence from the battle of Samugarh was not deliberate but only a matter of sheer chance.

The battle of Samugarh sealed the fate of Dara. Personal relations between him and Jai Singh, which were already strained during the third siege of Qandahar, were not such as to induce the latter to sacrifice every thing for the lost cause, hence he could not possibly be expected to have acted otherwise.

Lastly, ever since his childhood Jai Singh had considered himself to be a servant of the throne and not servant of any particular individual. It was his duty to serve the state and not to remain tied up to any one individual. Hence once the issue in this struggle for the throne has been decided, all of them were to be treated as faithful servants of the Empire, irrespective of their past role. His later efforts to dissuade Jaswant Singh from helping Dara were also simply in line with this very policy of duly carrying out the orders of the Emperor like a most devoted general of the Empire.

Thus, it is obvious that Jai Singh was not at all treacherous to Dara. In the words of Prof. Qanungo—"The proud and sensitive Rajput rather exercised moderation in revenge than otherwise."

#### AN IMPORTANT INSCRIPTION FROM JHUNTARAM OR JHUNTA RAI'S TEMPLE AT AMBER.

DR. SATYA PRAKASH, M. A., PH. D.

There is an interesting stone inscription of 16 lines now in the Museum at Amber. It was removed from a Jain temple known as Sanghi Jhunta Rai's temple to the Jaipur Museum, from where it has been brought to the Museum at Amber. This temple inscription records the construction of this on Wednesday, Phalgun Vidi 10, 1774 A. V. (Feb. 17, 1658 A. D.). Amber is in this inscription designated as Ambavati which was then the capital (Rajdhani) of the territory named Dhundh or Dhundhahada, ruled over by Maharaja Jayasinha (Sambat 1678-1724) whose valuable services to the King (Aurangzeb) had been rewarded with the grant of 27 towns. The temple was built in honour of the Tirtheswara Vimalanatha by Mohan Das of the Khandelwala family, who was the Chief Minister of Maharaja Jai Sinha and the governor of Ambavati, at the instance of the Jaina Pontiff, Devendra Kirti, who, according to the inscription on the Pattavali-Stambha from Chatsu, died in 1722 A. V. This temple with which this inscription is connected was originally a Jaina temple but was later converted into a Saivite one. It stands on a high basement and is popularly believed to have been built by Singhi Jhuntha Ram, the Kamdar and assassin of Jai Singh III.

The temple consists of a courtyard, surrounded on the east and west by *dalans* two bays deep, a *dalan* one bay deep on the north, and the temple

proper is on the fourth side, which consists of a domed assembly and surrounded by a passage and built in front of a row of three shrines crowned by separate Sikharas. The temple is entered by a domed entrance on the north side. Standing on a *chabutra* in the centre of the court-yard one sees a *chatri*, built at a later date. The inscription found in this temple is not mentioned in Bhandarkar's list. This inscription is important because it not only gives a geneology of the rulers of Amber starting from Prithiviraj and ending with Jai Singh but also that of the builder of this temple, Mohan Das. The common belief that the builder of this temple was Singhi Jhuntha Ram is thus conclusively proved to be incorrect. This temple was originally built by Mohandas.

In this inscription further on in the eighth line another date has been given, which is Thursday, Vaishakh Shukla 3, 1716 A. V. (Apr. 14, 1659 A. D.). It is noteworthy that in both these cases the Shaka samvat mentioned along with the Vikrami samvat does not tally with the other, but the day of the week and exact tithi as given in the inscription have been found quite correct according to the Indian Ephimeries also.

The text of the inscription as read by me is given below.

THE SO CALLED JHUNTHARAM TEMPLE'S (AMBER)  
INSCRIPTION:—

१. "सिद्धेभ्यो नमः ॥  
प्रणम्यदौ जिनं देवं विमलं विमलं विभुं ॥  
प्रशस्ति संलिखामीह बोधनाय व कीर्तये ॥१॥  
सम्बत् १७१४ वर्षे शाके १५८३ प्रवर्तमाने  
फागुन मासे कृष्ण पक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ बुद्धवासरे ॥
२. रे (१) कूर्मशिला स्थापिता वापी कूप तडागादि  
मंडिते विषये वरे वुंढ नाम्नि विख्याते संभृते सुजनैर्जनैः ॥१॥  
बनैर्नन्दन संकाशैः सर्व्वर्त्तुफल दायकैः । क्षेत्रैः सस्य भृतैः  
र्यस्तु विभाति विषयो वरः ॥२॥  
अंबावती राजधा
३. ॥नीराजते राज वेश्मभिः ॥  
हेमैर्जिन गेहब्यूहैर्जटितै रत्न वेश्मभिः ॥३॥  
कूर्म वंशेश्व संजाताः पृथ्वी राजादयो नृपाः ॥  
मानसिंह जगत्सिंहौ मही रक्षण तत्परौ ॥४॥  
जयसिंह महीपाल महासिंहस्य पुत्रकः ॥

४. सेवितो राज वृंदेश्वांवां शास्ति महा प्रभुः ॥५॥  
दिलीप सेवया येन संप्राप्ता त (न) गरावली ॥  
गरीयसी कथं वरार्या सुश (स) प्ताधिकं विशतिः ॥६॥  
श्री मूलसंधे विदांमान्यो बलात्कार गणे वरे ॥  
प्रभेदुभेट्टार कादिगळे ।
५. सारस्वते वभौ ॥७॥  
तत्पट्टे भूचंद्र कीर्ति भेट्टारक महाप्रभुः ॥  
ततो देवेन्द्र कीर्तिश्च शान्त चित्तो महा मुनिः ॥८॥  
नरेंद्र कीर्तिः संजातस्तत्पट्टोदय भूधरे ॥  
गिरिनारि कृतौ येन यात्रा च महती कृता ॥९॥  
तदाम्नाये
६. विभातीह यः खंडेल वालान्वये ॥  
मोहनदासो महामंत्री जयसिंह महीभूतः ॥१०॥  
स्वामिधर्मो विभु सेवी स्वाम्याराधन तत्परः ॥  
शरीरधन पुत्रादि स्वामिभवतयैव केवल ॥११॥  
अंबावत्यां कृतो येन बिमलेश
७. स्प मंदिरं ॥  
सुवर्ण कलशं भीति कूट त्रितय संस्थितैः ॥१२॥  
षेतसी नंदनो धीमान् मल्लिदासस्य पौत्रकः ।  
पुत्र त्रयैश्च संभाति कल्याण बिमलाजितैः ॥१३॥  
सम्यक्त्वा भरणो जातो दान पूजन तत्परः ।  
गुरुं च
८. सेवामानो भूक्षांत्यादि गुण मंडितः ॥१३॥  
मन् सुख दारा मा च पुत्रिणा बहु रुपिणा ॥  
पतिव्रता सुशीला या बाभाति भुवने वरे ॥१४॥  
संबत् १७१६ वर्षे शाके १५८३ प्रवर्तमाने  
नाम संबत्सरे वैशाख मासे
९. पक्षे शुक्ले ३ तिथौ गुरुवारं योगे दुंडाहड  
देशे अंबावती नाम दुर्गे पातिसाह श्री साहि-  
जिहां जी तन्महा मंडलेश्वरी (२) महाराजाधिराज  
महाराज श्री जयसिंह जी कुछाहा राज्ये श्री मूलसंधे  
सरस्वती गळे भेट्टार—
१०. कजी श्री नरेंद्र कीर्ति स्तदाम्नाये खंडेल वालान्वये  
भोसा गोत्रे चौधरी श्री माला भाय्ये द्वे प्रथमा  
महिमादे द्वि० ल्हौडी तयोः पुत्रास्वत्वारः प्र० संगही  
श्री डालू भार्या दुर्गा दे तत्पुत्रः सं० श्री आसकरण  
भार्याः पंच तत्पुत्रः सं०

११. श्री शोभाचंद चौमाला द्वि० पुत्रः सं० श्री पेतसी  
भार्ये द्वे प्र० द्वि० ल्हौडी तत्पुत्रा स्त्रयः प्र० पुत्रः संगही  
श्री मोहनदास भार्ये द्वे प्र० भार्या महिमादे तत्पुत्रः संगही  
श्री कल्याण दास जी भार्या नोरंगदे द्वितिया मोहनदासस्य  
भार्या म—
१२. न सुखदे तत्पुत्रौ द्वौ प्र० पुत्रः संगही  
श्री बिमल दास जी भार्या दिल सुखदे द्वि० पुत्रः  
संगही श्री अजित दास पेतसी द्वि० पुत्रः सं० श्री  
नराइण जी भार्या नौलादे तत्पुत्रः सं० श्री  
लूणकरण भार्या लाडी तत्पुत्रौ द्वौ प्र० चि०
१३. केसौदास द्वि० पुत्रः गरीबदास सं० श्री पेतसी  
त्रितियः पुत्रः संगही श्री थानसिंह जी भार्ये द्वे  
प्र० सुजाणादे द्वि० लाडी तत्पुत्रास्त्रयः प्र०  
शंकरदास द्वि० भुवानीदास त्रि० धीनड  
चौ० माला त्रि० पुत्रः चौ श्री राईसिंह भार्या रा—
१४. इबदे तत्पुत्रौ द्वौ प्र० चौ० श्री हेमराज भार्या  
हम्मीर दे तत्पुत्रास्त्रयः प्र० चौ० श्री मनराज  
द्वि० धनराज त्रि० इंदराज चौ० राईसिंह द्वि० पुत्रः  
चौ० श्री सुंदरदास भार्या सहलीलदे तत्पुत्र  
नथमल चौ० मालाचतु—
१५. थंः पुत्रः चौ० श्री बेणीदास भार्या लाडी तत्पुत्रः  
चौ० श्री लालचंद एतेषां मध्ये महाराजा श्री  
जयसिंह स्तस्य मुख प्रधान अंबावती नगरा—  
धिकारी जिन पूजा पुरंदरः सत्सम्यक्ता  
लंकृत गात्रश्वतुः—
१६. बिधदानेश्वरः जिन प्रासादो  
द्धरणधीरः निज यशः सुधाधवली  
कृतविष्टपः सार्थक नामधेयः  
संघाधिपति श्री मोहनदासेन  
श्री बिमलनाथ तीर्थेश्वर चैत्यालयं  
स्वर्णकलशा लंकृत त्रिकूट भट्टारक—  
श्री नरेंद्र कीर्त्युपदेशात् कारापितं ॥  
शुभानि भवंतु ॥

## RAG — DARPAN

PROF. S. K. SRIVASTAVA, M. A., LL. B.

(A Summary)

Music during the Mughal period received scant attention from the scholars. The history of the music as well as the science of music of the period along with the lives of the musicians of those times have remained almost unnoticed. Even such a reputed musician as Tansen has not received due attention of the historians and facts of his life, specially of his earlier days, as published today are not based upon contemporary evidence.

There is, however, no dearth of authentic works dealing with the technique of music and giving short biographical sketches of the musicians of the Mughal period, especially from Akbar down to Aurangzib and the later times. *NAFAI-UL-MASIR*, written by Mir Ala-ud-Daula Qazwini gives a list and short biographical notes of eight Persian and four Indian musicians at the Akbar's court. Similar accounts can be gleaned from the different contemporary sources during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan—a notable source being "*RAG-HAI-HINDI*" compiled during the reign of Shahjahan under the direct orders from the Emperor.

This paper, however, deals with a short Persian Manuscript entitled "*RAG-DARPAN*", being a compilation based on a Sanskrit work named "*MAN-KUTÚHAL*", written under the patronage of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. It contains very valuable information regarding the popular *ragas* and popular musical instruments of Shahjahan's and Aurangzib's times. It also gives very valuable short biographical sketches of the famous vocalists and instrumentalists whom the author had met. This work along with another similar work entitled "*SHAMS-UL-ASWAT*" go to prove that contrary to popular belief music continued to flourish even during Aurangzib's reign.

*Rag-Darpan* was written in about 1076 A. H. / 1665-66 A. D., by Faqirullah, who at the time of writing the work was the Subedar of Kashmir and a very trusted noble of Aurangzib. Manuscripts of *Rag-Darpan* are available in India Office and the Bodleian Libraries. Copies of the work are also to be found in various important collections of manuscripts in India, like the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Aligarh University Library.

The work is divided in the following ten chapters:

1. On the causes of undertaking the work.
2. On the knowledge of the *Ragas*.
3. On the seasons in which a particular *raga* or *ragini* be sung.
4. On the knowledge of *Swara*.
5. On the musical instruments; *Nayak*, *Nayika* and *Sakhi*.

6. On the defects of musicians.
7. On recognising various voices.
8. On knowing perfect *Ustad* or *Musician*.
9. On the knowledge of *Brinda*.
10. The vocalists and the instrumentalists contemporary to the author.

And finally the conclusion giving some details of his own life.

The first nine chapters are based on "*MAN-KUTUHAL*" written under the patronage of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, an expert of *Dhrupad*. Faqirullah, the author of *Rag-Darpan*, came across this work in 1073 A. H./ 1662-63 A. D. In the first chapter the author of *Rag-Darpan* gives a brief account of the circumstances under which "*Man-Kutuhah*" was compiled. Once during the reign of Raja Man Singh, Naik Bhan, Naik Bakhshu and Naik Panduli came for a holy dip in Kurukshetra and met Mahmud, Lohang and Karan Naik, the reputed musicians of Gwalior. Raja Man Singh, a lover and great patron of music, was very much interested in the study of the Science and Technique of music, and he took advantage of this unique opportunity and arranged to get a work compiled on the *ragas* with the help of the various musicians who had thus assembled there. *Man-Kutuhah* was the result of their endeavours. *Rag-Darpan* is mainly a translation of the same in Persian though here and there Faqirullah had added some more details concerning the contemporary schools of music and various *ragas* and *raginis* that were much in vogue during his own times. Faqirullah's own Ms. copy of *Man-Kutuhah* was a complete one. *Rag-Darpan* was completed in 1076 A.H./ 1665-66 A.D. at Kashmir during winter, where he was then posted as the Subedar. The author had hoped to submit the work to Aurangzib some time later, but most possibly it did not come off.

The tenth chapter of the book being the original contribution of Faqirullah, is in a way the most valuable part of the work for the students of the mediaeval Indian history. Therein are contained short biographical notes and the details about the spheres of specialisation of the famous contemporary vocalists and instrumentalists. It is not possible here even to give a full list of the important contemporary musicians mentioned by Faqirullah in this chapter. This, however, can be asserted with fullest confidence that a careful study of this chapter of *Rag-Darpan* will throw a new light on the history of music as well as musicians during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and the early decade of Aurangzib's reign.

Additional Editorial Notes:—

1. Copies of this work "*Rag-Darpan*" are to found in the Asafia Library, Hyderabad, as well as in the Rampur State Library, Rampur (U. P.). Some of these copies are quite complete.
2. For a complete authentic life-sketch of the author of *Rag-Darpan* see my article in the Dec., 1954, issue (pp. 524-533) of the Hindi monthly "*BHARTI*", published from Gwalior.

3. A complete Hindi translation of "*Rag-Darpan*" has been published by Shri Harihar Niwas Dwivedi of Gwalior in a book entitled "*MAN SINGH AUR MAN-KUTUHAL*" (1953 A. D.). The translation is quite incorrect in many places and the editorial notes as well introductory sections of the same definitely need careful revision.

### FURNITURE DURING MUGHAL DAYS

DR. CHOPRA, M. A., PH. D.

(A Summary)

Furniture, in the modern sense of the word, has not been very popular in India. It does not imply, however, that its various forms were not known to our ancestors, as there are references to *piṭha*, *protha*, and *talpa* in vedic texts and to *khatta* (bed stead), and *piṭhamasana* in the *Amarakosa* besides *vetrasana* has been referred to by Hemachandra. There is no denying the fact, however, that none of these articles, even including the *khatta*, were ever in common use and the Mughals did not bring about any radical change in this long established custom.

Indian mode of sitting did not necessitate chairs which were rightly regarded even in Mughal days, as superfluous and uncomfortable. Again, in the royal darbar all, including the highest dignitaries of the state, ambassadors from foreign lands, and even the princes of the blood royal except the privileged few, had to keep standing. Several contemporary paintings depict Mughal Kings and even their nobles sitting on chairs having side arms and long backs. The seats, sometimes cushioned, were always wider than those of to-day. The legs of the chairs were sometimes carved out and the feet were connected by means of wooden planks. Some of them got their chairs covered with ivory. Couches usually made of precious woods or even metals were well cushioned with costly carpets and rugs and had diamond-set handles with garlands of flower on them. Stools, used in those days, were usually covered with leather or cloth, and could be interwoven with canes also. *Pidis* were also used in Bengal. *Mundas* of reed were also not unknown then. Tables were not much in demand during the Mughal days.

Thrones have always served as the usual seat for the Indian kings. Mughal Emperors spent large sums of money on the design and construction of their golden thrones, which were used like chairs. Whenever the king visited any of the subjects some minor throne usually moved ahead of him. Marble platforms were usually got constructed in the courtyard and in the lawns of the royal palaces for seating purposes.

*Khatta* or bed-stead, the most common articles of furniture in those days, was used by the rich and the poor alike. Foreign travellers rightly mention it as the only furniture available in the house of a poor man. It was used as a couch to sit and recline upon during the day time and served the purpose of a cot at night. The aristocracy were very particular about their bed-steads which were lavishly ornamented with gold and silver, or even with jewels and diamonds.

The bedding of the poor was very scanty and consisted only of a sheet or two. The bed-clothes of the rich were costly and comprised mattresses, pillows, and coverlets, which were sometimes made of silk and embroidered; cotton was used for the ordinary. A coverlet was usually doubled to serve as a mattress while on journeys. A valuable blanket called *indra-kambal* and pillows filled with mustard seeds were regarded as articles of luxury. Quilts were also used in winter particularly in northern India. Mosquito-curtains were also freely employed, particularly in Bengal, by the well-to-do, who got them prepared of silken cloths. Mats usually made of straw or the leaves of palm or coco trees were used by the poor to sit and lie upon. These finely woven mats were spread over a place smeared over with cowdung. Muhammadans of Bengal, however, are said to have preferred to use a red mat.

*Diwan khanahs* or drawing rooms of the nobles were decorated with costly carpets usually imported from Persia. Carpets of Turkish leather were also used. Akbar made great improvements in the carpet-weaving industry with the result that "wonderful varieties and charming textures" were produced. But the carpets of Gosh khan (Joshagan, a town in Iraqi-i-Ajami), Khuzistan, Kirman and Sabzwar still retained their popularity and were imported in large numbers. *Gilims* (or rugs) and *takya namads* (or woolen coverlets) were in great demand among the nobles who had them imported from Kabul and Persia. India-made *kalims* were equally handsome, durable, and were surprisingly cheap as well. *Fajams*, *shatrinjis* and *baluchis* were, sometimes, spread over the mattresses. Big cylindrical cushions were a part of the furniture and no drawing room could be dreamt to be complete without them. Whether on throne, in chair or even on the carpeted floor, cushions were there to support one's back and even sides if necessary. Curtains were also used to decorate the rooms. Some of them carried pictures of men, houses and scenery. *Gujrati* and *Banarsi* curtains are particularly liked. The king and the nobles used to import costly tapestry hangings from abroad. The *khas tattis* are used in summer, and helped to make the room cool.

Bernier's description of the *diwan khanah* of a noble is quite informative. The walls were beautifully painted. The floor covered with a carpet usually four inches in thickness had spread over it a white cloth in summer and a silk carpet in winter. Rugs too were used to enhance beauty. One or two

mattresses were also laid at some conspicuous corner where distinguished visitors were accommodated. There was a big pillow of brocade at each of these mattresses while many more of velvet or flowered satin were placed round the room. Beautiful porcelain vases and flower pots decorated the several well-cut and well-proportioned niches at the sides of the room. China ware was also used for decorative purposes in the Mughal interiors.

Fans have been in use in India from times immemorial. During its long history the fan has been made from a large variety of materials. In Mughal days, however, the common people used the fans made from the leaves of the palm and coconut trees. But the rich had broad fans, made up of stiff leather, or even of ivory. The Emperors and the nobles must have used the diamond-studded fans having golden handles. Swinging fans were also used in the houses of the rich. Usually made of linen they could be pulled by means of a string from outside.

Tents, *shamianas*, and wooden partitions were also included in the royal furniture which usually accompanied the king on tour. Eleven types of such tent houses, are described in detail in the *Ain* by Abul Fazl. *Gulalbar*, the grandest of them all never occupied an area of less than one hundred square yards. *Qualandari*, a covering made of wax cloth or any other lighter material was also used to afford a protection from the rain and sun.

Cabinets, chests, boxes, etc. were also to be found in the houses of the merchants on the west coast.

Strictly speaking, vessels do not form a part of furniture, but from the accounts of European travellers visiting India then details of the same are available. The poor Muhammadans could only afford a few earthen wares while Hindus had them made up of brass or copper. A "few flat dishes of copper or brass, drinking vessel with a spout, a pot kettle in which they boil their rice, a villacea, or round lamp of iron or brass fastened to a chain by which it can be suspended in the middle of the hut" and a wooden mortar were generally their only vessels. Golden and silver vessels were used by the king and the nobles.

#### THE COLLECTION OF WAQAI IN THE CENTRAL RECORD OFFICE, HYDERABAD-DECCAN.

DR. YUSUF HUSSAIN, D. LITT. (Paris)

(.Abridged. )

There is a large collection of Mughal *Waqai* in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan, which throw revealing light on the political, economic and administrative conditions of the Deccan in the 17th century.

These *Waqai* appertain to the early period of Aurangzib's reign, i.e. ranging from 1660 to 1671 A. D. and cover a variety of subjects, such as visits of *vakils*, envoys and traders from different countries and the arrangements about their safe-conduct (*dastak*) made by the authorities concerned. They also deal with the movements of troops in the Deccan, despatching of auxiliary forces to disturbed areas with supply of sacks of gunpowder, rockets and cannon-balls.

Other important matters mentioned in these *Waqai* are :—accounts of the daily collection of amounts at the cashier's office; remittances of money to the Imperial Treasury and its transfer from one place to another under an escort of troops; judicial proceedings in the court of justice; assignments of jagirs to the mansabdars, their promotions, demotions and transfers; dismissals and reinstatements of officials; despatch of confidential letters; conferment of robes of honour; presentation of gifts and postings; branding of horses; purchase of elephants; farming of diamond mines; archery and shooting tests; escheat of the properties of the deceased Mansabdars; exchange rates of coins current in the Deccan; buying and selling rates of gold and silver and other commodities in the different markets.

The subjects of historical importance dealt with in some of the *Waqai* are mentioned below.

The *Waqai* from Baglana, dated 9th Shawwal, 1071 A. H. (28th May, 1661 A. D.). Imperial orders to prohibit the transit duties (*rahdari*) and for executing bonds to that effect.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 1st Muharram, 1072 A. H. (17th Aug. 1661 A. D.). The ship of Mir Jumla, sailing from Rakhang (Arakan) called at Ishaqpatam; written confirmation sought from the ship's captain about the report of Prince Shuja's murder.

Another *Waqai* from Hyderabad. Abdulla Qutub Shah despatched a diamond to the Emperor (Aurangzib) through Amanat Khan. Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmed's request for determination of its price, if approved, so that amount be deducted from the sum of the *peshkash*.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 8th Muharram 1072 A. H. (24th Aug. 1661 A. D.). A ship belonging to Malik Beg was captured by the Dutch and Dane pirates. Abdulla Qutub Shah directed Suri Rao, *Havaldar* of Masulipatam, to demand the immediate release of the ship and its cargo, but Suri Rao pleaded his having no influence with the Dutch and Danish companies. Were the Emperor to issue orders to the port authorities of Bengal and Surat, the captains of these companies would be compelled to release the ship and its cargo, but not otherwise.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 14th Muharram 1072 A. H. (7th September, 1661 A. D.). Ali Adil Shah II, the Sultan of Bijapur, has addressed a letter to Muhammad Ali, his *vaqil* at Hyderabad, revealing his hostile disposition towards Siddi Jauhar and desiring the said *vaqil* to

apprise Abdulla Qutub Shah about it, and to request the latter for the dismissal of the courier of Siddi Jauhar, who acted as a spy from his court. Also that Riza Quli be intimated to keep an eye on the movements of the said courier while he was still in Hyderabad.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 14th Safar, 1072 A. H. (29th Sept. 1661 A. D.). Abdulla Qutub Shah desirous of giving his daughter in marriage to Ali Adil Shah II to have a close relationship with him.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 15th Safar, 1072 A. H. (30th Sept. 1661 A. D.). Information received by Abdulla Qutub Shah's intelligence service about the death of Siddi Jauhar and the departure of Ali Adil Shah II towards the fort Karnool.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 23rd Safar, 1072 A. H. (8th Oct. 1662 A. D.). The Shah of Persia sent some baskets of fruits to Abdulla Qutub Shah through the agent of his *Vaqil*, Muhammad Muqim, accredited to the court of Hyderabad.

The *Waqai* from Hyderabad, dated 10th Shawwal 1072 A. H. (19th May, 1662 A. D.). Abdulla Qutub Shah sent eight pearls as present to Ali Adil Shah II through Venkanna, the Courier of Bahlul, the Commander-in-Chief of Bijapur.

The *Waqai* from Aurangabad, dated 6th Jamai II, 1072 A.H. (17th Jan. 1662 A. D.). A skirmish between the soldiery of Shivaji and Majidi, a Mughal mansabdar, in which the latter was wounded and captured. After his recovery the said mansabdar escaped from their custody and rejoined the Imperial army.

The *Waqai* from Aurangabad, dated 19th Jamadi II, 1072 A.H. (30th Jan. 1662 A. D.). As previously arranged by the Subedar of Aurangabad, a reception given by Rao Bhao Singh and other Rajputs to Rustam-i-Zaman Bijapuri, on his arrival at the Imperial military camp. Rustam-i-Zaman along with his relatives and followers paid a visit to the Subedar and offered presents to him and the latter bestowed robes of honour on them.

The *Waqai* from Junnar, dated 17th Rabi II, 1072 A. H. (30th Nov. 1661 A. D. ). Two thousand infantry soldiers of Sivaji encamped in the neighbourhood of Bara village.

In these *Waqai* there is ample information regarding the rates of gold and silver, the rates of exchange of different coins current in the market and the prices of various commodities, which have a direct bearing on the economic condition of the Deccan in the 17th century. At that time the *Huns* of *Pagodas* were current in the Deccan. There were current some gold coins called after the Rajas of Vijayanagar and the Nayaks of South India, viz. Bukka, Devrai, Sivarai, Achutrai, Kishanrai and so forth. There were others obviously named after the places of their issue, e. g. Mylapuri, Nellori, Dharur, etc. The old *Pagodas* (*Huns*) coined by the Vijayanagar

kings were used mainly for buying diamonds at Golkonda. They were worth  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rupees, one rupee more than the new *Pagodas* coined by the kings of Golkonda, although their weight was the same. At the mine of Kollur or Gani then belonging to the King of Golkonda, payment was made in the new *Pagodas*, which were sold some times at 1 to 4 per cent premium, because of their better gold, and there the merchants accepted these new *Pagodas* only. The *Ashrafis* issued by the Mughal Emperor were also current in the Deccan and were of different values; but one came across them generally in the houses of the nobles who made payment only in such *Ashrafis* estimated in terms of silver rupees.

In the territories of the Deccan under direct Mughal administration Shahjahani and Alamgiri rupees were current and their buying and selling rates differed slightly in different markets according to the prevailing trade conditions. The Mughal coins were current even in the territories of the Golkonda kings and payments could be made through them in all trade transactions. But rupees other than those minted by the Mughal government were as well available in the market for facilities of exchange and even for converting them into bullion. Besides Shahjahani and Alamgiri rupees mention is made of the following silver coins in the news-reports: Mahmudi, Changizkhani, Muzaffari, Miranshahi, Chalni, Aurangshahi, Khazana, Berari, Golkondi and Alai.

It seems that small coins were greatly in demand for the transactions of daily life, and there is mention of small coins like *Tanka* and *Dams* in the schedules of buying and selling rates; while *Tanka* is indicated there in symbolic form the latter is employed for calculating the corresponding values of still smaller coins.

### THE ATOLES OF SHELGAON IN BERAR

SHRI D. B. MAHAJAN.

( A Summary )

The family of the Atole Sardars has been living at Shelgaon in Chikhli Taluqa of Buldana district (Berar). Stray names of important men of this family have been mentioned in various works of Maratha history but a detailed account of this family has not been attempted by any one so far. Recently while searching the old historical documents of the Jadhavas of Sindhakhed in Berar there were found some documents which bring to light some new names of the Atole family. Here important details of two such letters are given.

1. Letter bearing the seal '*Shiwa-charani tatpar Krishnaji suta Janoji Nirantar*'. Dated *Ch. Mahe Rajab sumarsan*, 1191 (Aug., 1777 A. D.).

This letter reveals the name of Hanumantro Atole, was who honoured with the title '*Safejang Bahadur*'. Moreover, it clearly indicates that the financial position of the family was deteriorating during the later period and Hanumantrao Atole had to repay heavy debts due to Murarsa Saoji, the then banker at Deulgaon Raja in Berar.

2. Order issued by Sidhoji Naik Nimbalkar Sarlaskar to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas of Chikhali. Dated Ch. 5, *Rajab sumar san* 1217 (Nov., 1702). Its seal reads "*Raja Shahu Narapati charani sadar Murarrao suta Sidhoji Naik Nimbalkar Sarlashkar Nirantar*". This order states that the management of Chikhli *mokasa* was entrusted to the rival of Haibatrao, viz. Shirsoji Atole, and as such the taxes on '*kali*' and '*zaqat*' be collected by said Shirsoji Atole.

These documents as well as other details given elsewhere in connection with the Maratha history reveal that in all about eight members of this great family have rendered meritorious services to the Maratha nation during their times. The documents not only throw fresh light on the history of the family itself but also reveal historical events of great importance in the Maratha history. It is high time now that some research scholar should devote his time to a study of this reputed Maratha family. These documents are sure to be very helpful to him in his research studies.

#### THE ARCHIVES OF THE DESHMUKH FAMILY OF SHOLAPUR (BOMBAY)

SHRI G. H. KHARE

In Dec. 1952, when I visited Sholapur I had chance of peeping in the archives of Shri Sidramappa Malikarjunappa Deshmukh, the present descendant of the hereditary Deshmukh family of the *muamila* (district) of Sholapur. At that time I examined about 75 *rumals* (bundles) and selected from them over 2,000 Persian, Perso-Marathi and Marathi documents for further scrutiny. I again visited the place in March, 1953, and the enlightened Deshmukh was kind enough to permit me to remove all those selected documents to the B. I. S. Mandal for further study and the publication of a few important ones.

Sholapur was originally a village called Sonnalige, which is the name of one of its wards even now. By the end of the XVIth century it seems to have developed into a town called Sonnalapura. The present name of Sholapur came into vogue along with Sonnalapura during the XVIIth century, but since then it is known by its present name only. In Persian

contemporary documents it is invariably referred to as Sandalapur, perhaps an intentional corruption.

Out of the documents brought by me from Sholapur only about 350 are Persian and 200 are Perso-Marathi, the rest are in Marathi. The Marathi documents are the oldest and the first Marathi document is dated *shuhur* 925 (1524-25 A. D.), while the Perso-Marathi documents begin from *shuhur* 959 (1558-59 A. D.) and the earliest Persian document is dated Rabi II, 7, 976 A. H. (Sept. 24, 1568). These records contain *farmans*, *Khurd-khats* (orders of immediate subordinates), *misals* (orders of 3rd and 4th grade officers), *qauls* (letters of assurance), *arzdashts*, *mahzars* (decisions of villagers), lists of various types, private and semi-government correspondence, receipts, account sheets, statements and affidavits and variety of other documents.

Though Sholapur had been a bone of contention specially after the break-up of the Bahamani kingdom, curiously enough only a few stray documents refer to this fact. Again, curiously enough Marathi was then the medium of common use even in the Kannad-speaking region including the *muamila* of Sholapur. Though the Deshmukh belongs to the Lingayat sect and his mother tongue is Kannada, among his documents there is not a single worth-while Kannad document. The only traces of that language one comes across are a few words, phrases and endorsements on the XVI-XVIIth century documents written in Marathi language and Modi script. There is not even one Perso-Kannad document among these though some such Adilshahi farmans are extant.

A few geneologies that are there give the following names of twenty generations of the Deshmukh family without a single break. 1. Nara, 2. Chen, 3. Hiroba, 4. Yega, 5. Mega, 6. Chen, 7. Mega, 8. Nara, 9. Hiroji, 10. Apaji, 11. Hiroji 12. Deva, 13. Hiroji, 14. Siddha, 15. Hiroji, 16. Siddha, 17. Siva-linga, 18. Siddha, 19. Malikarjuna, 20. Sidramappa. Roughly the originator of the family would have lived during the third quarter of the XVth. century A. D. But this geneology can not possibly be fully substantiated by contemporary documents. Many of these names do not occur in any of these documents.

Here gist of only eight documents, taken at random, is being given, though it is not possible to do full justice to them even in such brief summaries.

1. Item No. 126. *Farman* of Muhammad Adilshah to Hasan Rumi Khan, the administrator of the *muamila*. Dated Jamadi I, 1, 1057 A. H. (May 26, 1647 A. D.). Formerly the Lingayats of the *muamila* had to pay the *Ganachari* tax. Now instead they are to pay a new tax termed *Khana-khushi*. [It is not possible to indicate whether the change was for better. It seems to be a miniature *jaziya*; the later Adilshahi Sultans never levied any *jaziya* on their Hindu subjects.]

2. Item No. 66. *Farman* of Ali Adilshah II to Aziz Khan and Abdul-Qadir, officers of the *muamila*. Dated Rabi II, 10, 1074 A. H. (Nov. 1,

1663 A. D.). The fort of Bidrur (Bidnur) in the province of Malnad having been conquered guns in celebration of the victory be fired. [In its chapter on the conquest of Malnad, the *Tarikh-i-Ali* gives Shaban 1, 1072 A.H (Mar. 12, 1662 A. D.) as the date of the starting of the expedition against Malnad and Jamadi I (Dec. 3, 1662) as the date of its return. This document corrects that date by shifting the expedition one year later.]

3. Item No. 507. Receipt given by Abaji Jagoji, the Deshmukh of Ahirwadi in Sarkar Sholapur. Dated year 1086 Fasli (1676-77 A. D.). The kidnapped daughter of the torch-bearer Chilanna of Boramani pargana of Sholapur was finally found in the camp of Nawab Erij Khan at Elichpur. The girl having been handed over to the Deshmukh and Deshpande of Sholapur, the head of the Ahirwadi sub-division was entrusted the task of sending her to Chincholi village where her family had shifted lately. [According to *Masir-i-Alamgiri* and *Masir-ul-Umara* Erij Khan was transferred to Erijpur (Elichpur) from the Deccan sometime between Muharram 24 (Mar. 29, 1676 A. D.) and Rabi. I, 19, (May 19, 1676 A. D.) of the *Julusi* year 19 of Aurangzib.]

4. Item No. 1559. *Qaul* issued to *Desai, Muqaddams, Seths* and *Mahajans* of Sholapur. Dated Shaban 10, 1023 A. H. (Nov. 3, 1614 A. D.). The rituals of the pilgrimage to the Hindu deity Khanderao or Mallari at Naldurg could be observed and due reverence be shown to the prevailing customs. [This annual fair on Margsirsa Shukla 6 had been disallowed for reasons unknown for some time before this *qaul* was issued.]

5. Item No. 115. *Farman* of Muhamad Adilshah. Dated Rajab 22, 1064 A. H. (May 29, 1654 A. D.). Property of persons declining to accept the new *hon* issued by the Sultan will be confiscated and other exemplary punishments would be meted out to them. [The gold in these *hons* being only 82.69% touch merchants and people were generally disinclined to accept the new *hon* coins. Hence this order for their acceptance on the pain of penalty.]

6. Item No. 364. Letter by Afzal Khan to the *muqaddams, sethis*, the *Patel*, etc. of Mahidari (Sholapur). Dated Ramzan 10, *Shuhur san* 1055 (July 15, 1654 A. D.). A threat is given that in case of failure to perform the duties persons taking shelter with some other *muqasadar* will be arrested along with their supporters, cut to pieces and squeezed in a mill. [It fully confirms the opinion that one forms on knowing of his deeds as well as on reading his inscriptions.]

7-8. Items No. 1439 and 57. Dated Bhadrapad vidi 5, 1734 A. V. (Aug. 7, 1677 A. D.) and Rajab 21, 1090 *Fasli* (Aug. 7, 1680 A. D.) respectively. The market price of unclaimed boys sold in the market was from 4 to 8 rupees. [These sales were quite common in those days. The prices went down during famines.]

## MARATHA INVASION OF THE MADURA COUNTRY (1740-1745)

R. CHANDRAMAULISWAR, M. A.

In the year 1740 A. D. the Carnatic was invaded by the Marathas of Satara under Raghuji Bhonsle. The Nababs of Arcot for many years neglected to pay the promised tribute, but the Marathas had desisted from investing the region with their plundering armies, mainly because of Nizam-ul-Mulk. As early as 1737, the Maratha Raja Shahu had thought of invading the Caranatic. Early in 1739, Rajah of Tanjore and Nagaru Tirumalai, the pretender to the throne of Madura, appealed to Shahu for help against their adversary, Chanda Sahib.

The Nizam greatly resented the growing power of the Nawayet rulers at Arcot. But he himself was engrossed in other spheres, hence he secretly employed the Marathas to invade the Carnatak. Again the new Dewan Meer Assud and the crown prince Safdar Ali invited a body of Maratha troops, ostensibly to invade the province, but actually to unite with Safdar Ali in destroying Chanda Sahib.

So King Shahu ordered Fateh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle to march to Tanjore. The Peshwa Baji Rao I was not the man to let slip such an opportunity for Maratha expansion. In 1740 the two Maratha generals Fateh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle defeated the Nawab of Cuddappah, exacted tribute from the Nawab of Karnool, and then advanced southwards into the subah of Arcot.

The rapid advance of the Marathas filled the Nawab Dost Ali Khan with dismay. Pressing summons were issued to his son Safdar Ali and his son-in-law Chanda Sahib to hasten to his relief, but they, especially Chanda Sahib moved with slow and unwilling steps. Hence Dost Ali "resolved not to survive the disgrace of suffering the infidels to ravage without resistance the very precincts of his capital". He was killed fighting the Maratha forces on May 20, 1740, while his second son, Hussain Ali, too, along with all principal officers was slain in the battle, and his Dewan Meer Assud was taken captive. The town of Arcot was plundered and the rich treasures fell into the hands of the victorious Marathas.

The news of this defeat spread dismay and consternation in the country. Safdar had by then advanced as far as Arcot. He started negotiations for a truce with the Marathas through Meer Assud now in captivity in the Maratha camp. The Marathas, utterly disappointed by the desolate condition of the country, readily agreed to come to terms. At this time, Raghuji

Bhonsle received the news of the demise of Baji Rao and his brother, Chimnaji Appa, and felt confident of having his own way. Having been instigated by Raghuji, Safdar Ali ignored the Peshwa's claim of tribute from him, but consented to pay Raghuji Bhonsle a sum of forty lakhs, and ratified the treaty as proposed by Raghuji Bhonsle.

Raghuji Bhonsle returned the same year to Arcot with Sripat Rao Pratinidhi and Fateh Singh Bhonsle and in the month of December, 1740, Carnatak was once again exposed to the invading Maratha hordes. Besides the promised tribute Raghuji now demanded the cession of some of his territories also, hence Sadar Ali consented to cede Trichinopoly which originally belonged to the Nawab of Arcot but was then with Chanda Sahib, on condition that the Marathas should conquer it at their own cost. This was the prelude to the Maratha invasion of Trichinopoly.

This second invasion of the Marathas on Carnatic only made confusion worse confounded and added to the miseries of the people. The invading Maratha army now advanced directly on Trichinopoly to combat Chanda Sahib who had refused to accept the treaty of Safdar Ali with the Marathas. Chanda Sahib had also indicated to the Marathas that he would in no case pay more than seven lakhs of rupees as tribute. But the Marathas demanded more and Chanda Sahib subsequently raised his offer to twelve lakhs to which the Marathas would not agree and they besieged Chanda Sahib in his fort of Trichinopoly in 1741. Chanda Sahib's younger brother, Zaynut Abdul Khan (or Bade Saheb), in charge of the districts of Dindigul, Madras and Tinnevely, marched to his brother's help. But the Marathas intercepted him and in the fight at Koduttalam near Trichinopoly Bade Sahib was utterly defeated and killed. His head was cut off and sent to Chanda Sahib.

The siege of Trichinopoly continued. The Tondaiman of Pudukkottah helped the Marathas in this war against Chanda Sahib. On the 25th March, 1741, Raghuji Bhonsle ordered an attack on the fort of Trichinopoly simultaneously from all quarters. Seeing that his life would be in danger, Chanda Sahib treated for terms. The fort at Trichinopoly was now occupied by the Marathas. Chanda Sahib and his son were taken prisoners and placed under strictest confinement in the hope of getting big sum as ransom for his person. Then Raghuji Bhonsle and other Maratha leaders returned to Satara. Murari Rao Ghorpade was left behind as the Maratha governor of the conquered country, and he held Trichinopoly with a garrison of fourteen thousand men.

Murari Rao held Trichinopoly from July 1741 to March, 1743, when the Nizam marched against Trichinopoly. Murari Rao having refused to surrender the city the Nizam besieged it in September, 1743, and Trichinopoly could not hold out for long. The Nizam treated the Maratha Governor honourably. He was vested with the governance of the hill-fort

of Penukonda, assigned lands round about that fort and promised to pay him two lakhs of rupees in cash. Murari Rao evacuated the fort of Trichinopoly and retired with his troops to Penukonda.

The Maratha governance of the South was conducive to the promotion and the revival of Hindu culture in Madura country and restitution of the deities in their proper places. With the approval of Setupati of Ramnad, the deities of Minakshi Sundaresvara and Kudal-Algar were brought back to the temple-city of Madura in July, 1741, and liberal provisions were made for their daily *Aradhana* in the traditional style.

After about three years and more, the Marathas made another feeble attempt to re-establish their suzerainty in the South. They marched from the Salem side first to Madura and from thence to Trichinopoly, causing terror and desolation wherever they went. At the beginning of March, 1745, they spread all round Trichinopoly. But about a month later they were compelled to beat a hasty retreat from all these territories by the Mogul Janism at Trichinopoly.

Thus ended the last expedition of the Maratha in South India. As a military campaign it was an eminent success, for not only did much of South India for once come under their effective authority, but it also fully displayed their military strategy. The rulers of South India were deeply impressed with the cossack tactics of the rapidly moving Maratha infantry.

Its political significance was equally noteworthy. It duly exhibited the decrepit condition of the Moghul organisation and administration in South India. It exposed the weakness of the local Rajahs, who remained disunited and isolated, and left the country to the ravages of an unbridled soldiery. The enormous wealth thus acquired by the Marathas only made them all the more avaricious and they took up more ambitious expeditions in years to come.

Another result was the influence of the Maratha system of administration had upon the local institutions. The Marathas who remained behind in the Carnatic later wielded great influence in the administrative machinery of the country. Thus during the days of the East India Company's rule also and even in the nineteenth century the day-to-day administration and business correspondence in this region was carried on by the Maratha officials and the Marathi language written in Modi script was the court language.

## NEW LIGHT ON THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

PROF. R. V. OTURKAR

The manuscript material brought from the office of the India Office Records in London by Mr. V. S. Bendrey and now available through the Bharat Itihas Savshodhak Mandal, Poona, throws fresh light on some of the plans prior to the famous battle of Plassey.

The English decided to dethrone Siraj-ud-Daulah and entered into conspiracy with Jagat Seth and Omichand to place Mir Jafar on the throne, because Siraj-ud-Daulah sympathised with and sheltered the French. The main object of the English was to get rid of the political influence of the French in India. They were also equally anxious to get full compensation for the loss they had suffered when the Nabab attacked Calcutta in June, 1756, and compelled them to run away to Fulta. On 2nd January, 1757, they recaptured Calcutta and entered into a treaty with Siraj with a view to get compensation for the loss incurred by them between June and December, 1756. Siraj-ud-Daulah, while agreeing to consider the question of compensation with due regard, showed his sympathy for the French when the British attacked Chandranagar in March, 1757. The English now played a double game. On one side they continued their negotiations with the Nabab as regards compensation, while secretly they were planning to dethrone the Nabab.

It is at this stage that the India Office Papers throw a new light on these movements from the Maratha side. It appears a letter was delivered in person by one Govindrao, who purported to have come from Balaji Rao Peshwa to confer with Mr. Drake. In that letter Balajirao desired Mr. Drake to make himself easy to send him "our proposals" promising that "Sumsheerkhan and Ragho Babboo shall enter Provinces (Bengal) and even others shall be at our call." Balajirao further promised that whatever goods and riches had been lost at Calcutta, the double of the value shall be restored by him. He, therefore, desired that "we will not on any account make peace with the Nabab but communicate to him what forces we have need of." He further promised to expel the French and to come to an agreement as soon as peace is made with the Pathans or they are conquered.

This latter was considered by the Committee and they later on sent for Govindrao and questioned him personally concerning Bajeraya's (Balaji's) intentions. From Govindrao they got information that Sumsher Cawn and Ragho Baboo were at Branpoor at the head of 1,25,000 soldiers. In addition there was 22,000 horse under the command of another *sardar*, who could march within a month, if necessary even within a fortnight and reach Bengal.

Govindrao also assured the Committee of Balaji's friendship, his more than making good the double of what was lost by the capture of Calcutta and promised never to let the French have any footing here, between whom and Balaji there was great enmity.

The English, however, had their own suspicion about the genuineness of this letter ! They suspected it to be a contrivance of Manekchand to ensnare them and beget a suspicion of them by the Nabab, should they appear too forward to accept the proposals made to them by the Marathas. They, therefore, sent the letter to Mr. Watts requesting him to find out whether the letter had its birth at Muxadabad or that it could be depended upon as genuine. After some thought, they came to the conclusion that the said letter be shown to Mir Jafer to cement his friendship asking him as to how they should act, promising at the same time that they would follow his advice. The apprehension of such an invasion would force Mir Jafar to accelerate the other project.

The Committee then considered what reply should be sent to Balaji. In this connection the report of the consultation in the memo of 12th May, 1757, proceeds to record:

"We are unanimous in our opinion that the Maratha Government is the worst in the World and ought not to be set up if we can avoid it, for which reason we prefer the project of establishing Mir Jafar in the Subhedarship. But as it is possible that our scheme for that work may miscarry and we may be involved again in a war with the Nabab, in which case the assistance of the Marathas may be extremely useful. It is, therefore, esteemed right to keep upon good terms with Balaji to open a friendly correspondence with him, neither to decline absolutely nor to accept his offer and to excuse our doing the latter from the delay in the arrival of this letter.

The President accordingly was requested to write to Bajirao to that effect and keep a correspondence with the Maratha General as we may hereafter find it very useful."

Robert Clive subsequently writing on 6th August, 1757, to the Secret Committee thus refers to this incident:

"Some days before my setting out on expedition to Muxadabad arrived letters (from Nanna of the Marathas) directed to the Governor desiring the alliance of the English and that we would enter into treaty with Surajah Dowla for that he would engage to enter Province with 1,50,000 Marathas and make good to us double of all the losses we had sustained; that as we were powerful in ships we might keep out the French by sea and he would take care to do it by land. No other use was made of that letter at that time than to send it to Surajah Dowla, in order to obtain his confidence and prevail on him to withdraw his army from places where they had been encamped for some time through mistrust of us. You will observe I have written to Nana of our strict alliance with the present Nabab and that I

have engaged his promise that the customary *chauth* shall be duly paid.”

Siraj-ud-Daulah was probably conscious of the approach of the Marathas, towards the end of the year 1756; and hence it was that he could not show the same vigour in fighting with the English but readily agreed to terms of the treaty of Alinagar in February, 1757, thus practically conceding all the demands of the English.

### THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF GANGAVAMSANU CHARITAM CHAMPU KAVYAM AND THE GENEALOGY OF ITS AUTHOR

SHRI G. S. DAS

A first rate Sanskrit work called *Gangavamsanu Charitam Champu Kavyam* has been published by Pandit Anant Tripathi Sarma, M. A., in the Devnagari script. In its last chapter the author gives a short sketch of his own family. Vishnu Ratha was born in the sacred family of Atri Muni. The name of his son was Srinivas Dikshya-van (Dikshit), whose son Govinda Ratha was an adept in writing emotional poetry. Govind Ratha's son Rajaguru Kavi Vasudev Ratha Somayaji was the famous poet of the Sanskrit *Champu Kavyam Gangavamsanu Charitam*.

Srinivas Ratha Dikshit lived in Athagarh, whose ruler Dhananjaya Harichandan Dev endowed him with plenty of rent-free landed property in the village of Nenli Srinivaspur according to the copper plate dated Sunday, 30th day of Krtik 17 Tula in the 5th *Anka* (regional year) of Maharaja Ram Chandra Deva, who can be identified only with the ruler of that name of Athgarh. He granted village Zemadeipur, according to another copper plate, in the 9th *Anka* of Maharaja Divya Singh Dev of Khurda. (Ganjam Rec. No. 284). According to another copper-plate dated Wednesday, Karkatak 30, Sraban Bahula 5, 5th year of Maharaja Ramchandra Deva's reign, the village of Gauri-Devipur was granted to Vasu Ratha and few others. Thus Vasudeva Ratha and his grand-father Srinivas Ratha Dikshit got rent-free land from Raja Ramchandra of Athagarh. (Ganjam Rec. No. 283). While his grandfather had become very old by this time Vasudeva Ratha must have been about 20 years of age then. Again, in the 11th *Anka* of Gajpati Ramchandra Deva of Khurda (1732 A. D.). Raghunath Harichandan Jagadeva, the famous son of Ramchandra Harichandan, the Raja of Athagarh, granted the village of Samantarapur to the author Vasudeva Ratha Rajguru Mahapatra and a few others. (Ganjam Rec. No. 188). Jagannath Harichandan Jagadeva, son of Raghu, nath Harichandan Jagadeva, Raja of Athgarh, also granted 100 *bharans* (=20 acres) of land in the Chhachinna Jagannathpur village to Vasudeva Ratha Rajguru, son of Govinda Ratha Gosain and grandson of Srinivas

Ratha Dikshit, in the 5th *Anka* of Vira Kishori Deva Raja of Khurda on Bichcha 19, Matgasir Bahula 30, Monday. According to Indian Ephimeries Monday, Margsira Bahula 30 (Nov. 19, 1739) coincides with Bichcha 18th and not Bichcha 19th as is mentioned in the copper grant. There is, however, the known difference of one day between the astronomical calculations as recorded in the Oriya and Bengali almanacs, which easily clears this difficulty. (Ganjam Rec. No. 281). It is all the more important because the geneology of the poet recorded in it exactly tallies with that given in the *Gangavamsanu Charitam*. These copper-plates make it amply clear that the poet, Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji, fully enjoyed the patronage of the ruling dynasty of Athgarh (in the Ganjam District) till after Nov. 19, 1739.

The life of the poet can now be reconstructed thus on basis of all this evidence. Sri Srinavas Ratha Dikshit, grand-father of the poet Vasudev Ratha Somayaji, lived in the state of Athgarh and received plenty of rent-free land from Raja Ramchandra Harichandan, the Raja of Athgarh, a contemporary of Divya Singha Dev I, the Raja of Khurda (1690-1724 A. D.). Vasudeva Ratha was a contemporary of Raja Ramchandra Harichandan of Athgarh, as well as of his son Raghunath Harichandan and of his grand-son Jagannath Harichandan, and received the villages of Gauridevi Pura, Samantara Pura and Chhachinna Jagannath Pura from them respectively. He had received the title of Rajguru in recognition of his versatile genius by the year 1734 A. D. when he was about 34 years old. The poet enjoyed the patronage of all these rulers of Athgarh in succession, hence it was natural for him to sing the praise of them all. While adorning the court of Athgarh three Sanskrit verses composed by him were inscribed on the Nila Chakra (metal wheel) of a temple built in 1728 A. D. These verses have been recorded in *Gangavamsanu Charitam*. On the whole Vasudeva Ratha seems to have spent more than 30 years of his valuable life as the court-poet of Athgarh state.

A pertinent question, therefore, naturally rises as to why then instead of dedicating his master-piece (*Champu-Kavyam*) to a ruler of the Athgarh state he dedicated it to Raja Purusottam Ananga Bhimdeva *alias* Bhima Deva of the Ganga dynasty of Badakhemundi. In the absence of any authentic information an answer can only be based on imagination and reason. Very probably Madhusudan Harichandan Jagadeva (1758-61 A. D.), the successor of Raja Jagannath Harichandan of Athgarh, may not have duly patronised the poet for some reason or other and thereupon he may have migrated from Athgarh to the illustrious court of Raja Bhima Deva of Badakhemundi and thus he did not record the name of Raja Madhusudan of Athgarh in his *Champu Kavyam*, although the latter was also his contemporary. A detailed description of the reign of Bhimdeva in the *Champu Kavyam*, makes one take it for granted that its author had lived as

an eminent court-poet of the Badakhemundi state towards the fag end of his career at least from 1758 to about 1765 A. D.

Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha, well known for his valuable contributions to the Oriya literature, was probably closely related to poet Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji though the evidence in support of this view is very meagre. According to the geneology of Baladeva Ratha, as compiled by Pandit Kulamani Das Kabyatirtha, Ujjwala Ratha and Srinivas Ratha were respectively the names of his father and grand-father. Both of them had lived in the town of Badakhemundi. Ujjwala Ratha was a celebrated Pandit and received the title of Kaviraja Brahma from the Raja of Badakhemundi for composing two works called *Sajjava Vanda Champu* and *Rama Champu*. The only difference in the names of the grand-fathers of Baladeva Ratha and Vasudeva Ratha was that while no title was there with the name of the grand-father of the former to that of the latter the title 'Dikshit' has been added. But both of them had the same family name 'Ratha', both lived at one and the same time and both were renowned persons of the Ganjam district. It is also queer that while their families had lived in Athgarh they were patronised by the Badakhemundi state. Thus unless it is convincingly proved to the contrary it is reasonably safe to presume that the grandfathers of Baladeva Ratha and Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji were one and the same person, Srinivas Ratha Dikshit, and thus Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha was actually a cousin of Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji. The great difference of more than 30 years in their ages was possibly because Baladeva Ratha may have been born when his father Ujjwal Ratha was in an advanced age.

Unfortunately Vasudeva Ratha does not give the date of composition of his work *Gangavamsanu Charitam*. But he has referred there-in to Gajapati Vir Kesari Deva of Puri, Raja Pitambar Mardaraj of Khallikota, Raja Jaysingh of Dharakota, Raja Jagannath Harichandan of Athgarh, Raja Purusottam Ananga Bhimdeva of Badakhemundi and Rama Raju, the governor of Kalinga. Raja Jaysingh of Dharakota died in 1767 A. D. so this Kavyam must have been completed before that date. From the account it appears that the rule of Anand Raju in Kalinga had come to an end and that of Rama Raju had just begun then. This happened on Feb. 23, 1760, when Anand Raju died and Rama Raju alias Vijaya Ram Raju II began to rule in Kalinga. Thus it can be safely asserted that this famous *Gangavamsanu Charitam Champu Kavyam* was composed either towards the end of 1760 or in the beginning of 1761 A. D. The Ganjam district then formed a part of the Northern Sarkars. From the account given in the *Kavyam* it seems that the Zamindars or Rajas of the Ganjam district were then still exercising considerable powers and influence. They lost their independence and all their powers in 1765 A. D. when the Northern sarkars were acquired by the E. I. Company, hence this *Kavyam* must have been definitely composed prior to this English conquest.

## MAHADJI SINDHIA IN THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT:

Jan. 14, 1761 A. D.

PROF. M. S. AGASKAR

The Marathas were anxious to make the Ganges river their boundary; this religious weakness of the Peshwa cost the Marathas very much. Even the natural and hereditary enemies like the Rohillas and the Nawab Vazir of Oudh agreed in this respect that the Marathas should be kept away from the Ganges.

In the battle of Panipat the Sindhias had about 8 to 10 thousand horsemen in the field. Najib had continued to keep off their attacks till noon by discharging rockets. Mahadji was fighting besides his nephew, Jankoji Sindhia. At length by Abdali's good fortune one *zamburak* ball struck Viswas Rao on the forehead and another hit the Bhau on the side. Jankoji himself was severely wounded and was by now enveloped in front, right and rear, hence was driven with the remnants of his division towards the left, the only way left open then. He reached the rear of the Bhau's division in the centre, and there he fell in the hands of Barkhurdar Khan, who after the annihilation of the Gardi troops and the consequent disappearance of the entire left wing of the Maratha army had turned round the Maratha centre and thus got behind Bhau. A complete route of the Maratha army had set in and the Sindhia contingent too now fled away from the field leaving their chieftain to his own fate. Shuja's endeavour to save Jankoji failed and he was slain the next day.

Amid this route Mahadji escaped on his light Deccan mare, but was closely pursued by an Afghan trooper. Mahadji's mare could not clear a ditch and fell. The pursuer came up and leaping off his horse spat on Mahadji's face and dealt him a blow on the knee which crippled him for life. Then stripping off his costly apparel and ornaments the Afghan rode off on the fallen man's high-bred charger without doing any more harm. At this juncture Mahadji was saved from death by the opportune arrival of a Muslim water-carrier, Rane Khan, who lifted him to the back of his bullock and carried him to a place of safety. For this piece of humanity, Rane Khan ultimately received a munificent reward from Mahadji, who thereafter always called him '*Bhai*' (the brother), and when the latter entered military service, Mahadji duly watched his career and Rane Khan ultimately rose to be a general officer and commanded armies in several subsequent actions of importance. Thus in that tragic hour of defeat in the battle of Panipat even Mahadji Sindhia had to bear such ignomy,

who was later 'to cut a great figure in Indian History, to establish one of the most powerful and important monarchies in India and to play a paramount role in the drama of Anglo-Sindhia relations in India'.

## THE CONTENTS OF MARATHA NATIONALISM

PROF. B. K. APTE, M. A.

The phenomena of nationalism in the Maratha country in the seventeenth century is a unique one in the history of India. It was the outcome of a number of factors which have helped the rise of every nationalism, viz., geographical unity, race, language, religion, a common body of customs, community of economic interest and a common danger. Yet no single factor nor an aggregate of them all would necessarily bring into existence nationalism. Common danger has, however very often given birth to a full-fledged nationalism. The two concepts of nationalism, political and cultural, can not be considered as exclusive of each other, as the state in the first and the people in the second coincide and result in a synthesis of nationalism. But in fact the political concept is only of recent origin and the cultural alone is applicable to the Maratha nationalism.

The development of the Marathi language prepared the general background. From the pre-Dnaneshwar period it had broken away from Sanskrit. It developed at the hands of Mukundraj, Dnaneshwar, Eknath, Tukaram and a host of other writers. Thus the *Ovi* in which Dnaneshwar wrote his Dnaneshwari and the *abhangas* in which Tukaram composed his *gathas* were on the lips of all, from the learned to the laity. Again, the contents of the writings of the Maratha saints and their way of life were equally important for nationalism. They variously advocated the *jnana-marg*, *karma-marg* and *bhakti-marg*, but it is the *bhakti-marg* which merits our attention as it created a democratic atmosphere all over the Marathâ country and threw open the means of God-realisation to all, high or low, good or bad, rich or poor, irrespective of caste, social status, creed and sex.

Almost all saints except Ramdas were pacifists. Ramdas, however, in his *Dasbodh* vigorously advocates the spread of *Maharashtra Dharma*, the true interpretation of which term has been a matter of great controversy. Implying duty as well, the *Maharashtra-Dharma* did not radically differ from the *Hindu-Dharma* prevailing in other parts of India. Again, the *Bhakti-Marg* was not by any means anti-*Sanatan-Dharma*, and none of these saints ever directly tried to break the bonds of caste-system. But the democratic atmosphere created by the *Bhakti-Marg* of the saints was properly made

use of by the great Maratha leader, Shivaji, for gathering all the people of Maharashtra for the national cause.

Whatever be the original utterance of the Prophet on *jihad*, in practice the Moslem State was perpetually at war with the rest of the non-Moslem world. Accounts of forcible conversion are not lacking in the Maratha history. The cow-slaughter was done by the Moslems on many occasions as a holy act because it was against the belief of the Hindu infidel. The *jiziyā* (capitation tax) was collected from the *Zimmis* as a religious as well as a political duty. Then again, there was their iconoclasm. The comparatively less fanatical rulers of the Deccan were no exceptions by any means. These acts done in the name of religion deeply wounded the feelings of the Marathas as they did of the Hindus all over India. They created a psychological reaction against the Moslem rule. The Kshatriyas in the Maratha country were subject to discriminating treatment at the hands of their Moslem rulers, and they as well as the Brahmins of the Maharashtra had the feeling that they were living in an age when things were topsy-turvy.

The brilliant leadership of Shivaji gave vent to the pent up feelings of the masses and all the classes in the Maratha country. He appeared as the protector of the gods, Brahmins, holy places and the cow. His letter of protest voiced the resentment of the Hindus against the tax. Every Maratha now breathed a sigh of relief because the Hindus were free to do their religious duties. The core of Maratha nationalism was thus religious. The singular acts of bravery by Shivaji greatly enhanced the prestige of the Marathas as a rising nation. His crowning himself proclaimed to the contemporary world that he was an independent sovereign monarch. He not only revived the Hindu customs but the Hindu administrative system as well and got compiled a glossary of administrative terms in Sanskrit, the *Raj-Vyavahara-Kosha*. The Maratha nationalism had the positive and enduring virtues as well in that Shivaji strictly forbade his followers from doing any harm to "mosques, the Book of God or women".

After the death of Shivaji the Maratha nation passed through very critical times, which form the second phase in the history of Maratha nationalism. In spite of his previous follies, the fortitude with which Shambhaji faced death rather than accept Islam made him a martyr. Then began the struggle for freedom which lasted for over a quarter of century and in which the Marathas displayed their undaunted courage, organising capacity and sense of nationalism unlike at any other time in their history.

In the third phase of nationalism the vitality of the Marathas broke forth following the retreat of the Mughals after Aurangzib's death. After bringing order in their country and having duly consolidated their power at home, in 1720 A. D. began the expansion of the Marathas throughout the length and breadth of Indiā. This period of expansionist nationalism of the Marathas is full of complex political affairs. The aims and objec-

tive of the Maratha nationalism, its achievements and failures and its character were well displayed by the Marathas during the following century.

The Marathas under Baji Rao I established their supremacy over the Deccan and their political hegemony in the north. But the policy of live and let live followed by Baji Rao at the instance of Shahu ran counter to any design for the *de jure* sovereignty over Delhi. In the religious sphere Baji Rao continued to play the role of *Hindavi Dharma Uddharak* set up by the Great Shivaji. Having granted religious liberty to the territories conquered from the Portuguese, he was looked upon by the Hindus as a great liberator.

There was no deviation from the policy of live and let live even after the passing away of Shahu Raja, and the Marathas were content to receive from the Emperor the right to collect *chauth* from the Punjab, Sindh and the Doab, and the subedarship of Agra and Amjer for giving him the protection from the invading Abdali. The same was the case when they went to the battlefield of Panipat. This policy remained unchanged even after the remarkable revival of their power from the great disaster of Panipat. Shah Alam was seated as the Emperor on the throne of Delhi though he was ever treacherous towards them, and even the last great supporter of the Maratha power in the north, Mahadji Sindhia, was quite content with getting for himself the title and powers of *Vakil-i-Mutlaqi*. Thus from Baji Rao to Mahadji the Marathas preferred to play the second fiddle to the throne of Delhi. Though they themselves were the *de facto* sovereign they hesitated to smash the phantom of Delhi *Padshahi*. The Marathas were wanting in the requisite determination and ruthlessness.

Maratha nationalism under the British rule, however, took a different turn and merged itself in the general flow of Indian nationalism.

## SHETYE-MAHAJAN

SHRI SHANKAR NARAYAN JOSHI

Both the component words "*Shetye*" and "*Mahajan*" of the term, applied to the holders of certain rights in settled markets in Maharashtra, are of Sanskrit origin and no Persian or Arabic equivalents of the same seems to have gained currency even during the Muslim period. Their residence and the power of these *vatandars* were independent of the government's revenue or civil authorities and were connected with the '*got*' or the village authorities only. These *Shetye-Mahajans* are to be distinguished from the *mahajans* and had a special position in the village institutions of the Kon-

kan. As it was the responsibility of the village *patil* to see that the village lands were tilled and that the cultivators were well-maintained, and a plough was, therefore, his distinctive mark. Similarly the *Shetye-Mahajan* had to look to the maintenance of the traders and of the market-place and so his distinctive mark was "a pair of scales". The term 'village' definitely included cultivators or cultivating tenants only from the first but did not similarly include the *Shetye-Mahajan*. First the *kali*, i.e. black soil under cultivation, then the *pandhar* or the village site and then the *peth* or market site; such was the process of settlement. The villagers and the state officers brought in the *Shetye-Mahajans* with the assurance that they would be protected and that if they lost even 'a piece of ordinary string' it will be replaced by a golden one. These officers of the market place had such powers that any one condemned to death by the authorities for a trade offence could get reprieve at their mediation. The *Shetye-Mahajans* as market-place authorities are to be distinguished from the *savkars* (money-lenders), *saudagars* (traders) and the *potdars* (assayer of coins). The *Shetye-Mahajan* received a dress of honour from the government. There are instances of lands having been given in *inam* to these officers for arranging for the secret supply of grain etc. to their government during war time. The term "*Pattan-Sethi*" occurring in some documents refers to such "*Shetye*" of large towns. These *Shetyes* could be of any class i. e. Brahmans, Baniyas, Jains, Marathas, etc.

#### ORISSA GOVERNORS AND THE TRADE OF BALASORE (1670-74)

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, M. A., PH. D.

Here an attempt is being made on the basis of the European factory records and the accounts and Diaries of European travellers, agents and factors to throw light on the trade of Balasore during 1670 and 1674 with special reference to the factors which affected it.

During this period Balasore enjoyed predominance among the English factories on the Bay of Bengal, being the seat of the Chief and his Council. Even though Hugli was a 'more convenient trade centre' than Balasore, owing to dangers of navigation in the estuary of the Ganges, direct shipping to Hugli was not considered feasible by the English East India Company and hence the Bay Council divided its time between Balasore and Hugli. The experiment of shifting the seat of the Bay Council to Hugli (Feb.-Sept. 1670) proved a failure.

The trade of Balasore depended to a large extent on the privileges granted by the Mughal Emperors and Governors, the personal attitudes

and predilections of Nawab Shaista Khan, Governor of Bengal, and the English Governors of Balasore. On June 19, 1672, John Smith at Dacca received two *parwanas* from Shaista Khan, 'one for establishing free trade, the other for friendship'. "The first and more important of these confirmed the exemption from customs, throughout Bengal and Orissa, of all goods imported and exported by the English Company, ordered help to be given in the recovery of their debts, free passage of boats owned or hired by them, and prohibited all impediment or hindrance to their trade." This was on the basis of the *farmans* of Shahjahan and the *nishan* of Shuja, and the *parwana* of Mir Jumla.

The Bay Chief, Walter Clavell and his Council were bitter in their condemnation of the 'regency' (i. e. the rule) of Shaista Khan for the decline of their trade. *Farmans*, *nishans* and *parwanas* apart, the smooth prosecution of trade depended to a large extent on administrative stability. Frequent changes in governorships of Orissa and their short tenures proved to be prejudicial to trade. "Governor followed governor in rapid succession and each in turn fell under the displeasure of the Bengal ruler, and each in turn followed the same practice of squeezing as much as possible out of the country and remitting as little as he dared to his master." The English factory records supply us with the names of some of the Governors of Orissa who influenced the destinies of the province during the period under review. They supplement the *History of Bengal* (vol. II, ed. by Dr. J. N. Sarkar) as regards dates and names and also correct it at some places.

Besides frequent changes of Governors, another factor which caused uncertainty in commerce was the transfer of jurisdictions over Balasore from Orissa to Bengal and vice versa. Again, it was customary for a new Governor to renew the existing privileges. But the business of renewal was usually a troublesome affair. The business operations of both the English and the Dutch factors in and around Balasore were impeded by the various exactions of the Mughal officers, and by their interference with trade in general and free passage of merchandise in particular.

Safi Khan, Governor of Orissa, earned a bad name for creating difficulties in the country adjoining Balasore. In 1673 the exactions and harassments of local Mughal governors continued to hinder trading operations. The Balasore correspondence gives a very interesting example of a governorship on sale.

The attitude of friendliness shown by Malik Kasim on his arrival at Balasore was suspected because of his past record at Hugli, and the apprehensions of the European factors and the local merchants came to be justified by his actions. Hence the prospects of trade became so uncertain that the two English ships that had come that year would never return and that during his governorship no nation could feel secure about the safety of their ships. To escape from the intolerable situation created by Malik Kasim,

the English factors at Balasore tried their best "to procure other aspirants for the governorship", viz. (1) Muhammad Raza and (2) Boremul. It is clear (a) that foreign merchants could intervene not only in politics but also in matters of administrative appointments and had their own axes to grind, and (b) that complaints would not become effective unless backed by bribes. These revealing observations of the English factors throw a search-light on some of the dark features of the outwardly grand administration of Shaista Khan in Bengal.

So the English factors at Balasore adopted security measures for their goods. But subsequently Elwes was ordered to abandon his effort when it was known that even the Surat President had failed to secure the Emperor's order prohibiting the Dutch from indulging in measures of hostility against the English on the Indian coasts.

Governor Malik Kasim used his authority and influence in a matter prejudicial to the interests of the English (1673). Thus he earned a very bad name for himself and his credit sank low among businessmen.

Balasore was a convenient halting station for loading and unloading of ships. These used to come during July and September and unlode themselves. Then being loaded with articles of investment they used to sail in December. Besides Hugli-Balasore coastal trade there was also Masulipatam-Balasore and Madras-Balasore coastal trade. The chief articles of trade in Balasore were:

(a) *Exports* : salt-petre, taffetas, raw silk, sannaes, cotton yarn, turmeric, tincall and dussuttee or coarse sail cloth. Of these salt-petre was the most important single item, the total quantity sent from Hugli in 1671 being 9365 bags.

(b) *Imports*: lead, broad cloth, quick-silver, vermilion, copper, alum and brimstone.

The prospects of trade were variable in different years depending on various uncertain factors. Finance was one of the eternal stumbling blocks for the Company's factors at Balasore and other factories as well. So the English factors could purchase articles for their investment only by selling or exchanging broad-cloth and other goods, as notwithstanding the difficulty about the requisite cash for purchases no reduction in investment was to take place at Balasore. Natural calamities like floods and famines, sometimes added to the difficulties caused by lack of adequate finances.

The market for sale of the articles imported by the English was generally dull during the period. (1) Broad-cloth hardly commanded any sale. Usually a change of governorship meant a good sale of cloth, but even the arrival of the new Governor, Safshikan Khan (in place of Safi Khan) in 1671 did not lead to the expected improvement in trade. In 1674 the 'parsimonious nature' of the Mughal officials was also cited by the factors to account for lack of demand of English goods at Balasore.

(2) Lead too, remained unsold, in 1672 and that sold in 1671 lay in the factory, the merchants not carrying them to avoid paying duty, because of two reasons: (a) the attempt of Emperor Aurangzib and Shaista Khan, Nawab of Bengal, to become the sole stockist, i. e. monopoly purchaser of lead and other military stores; (b) Japanese ban on export of silver by the Dutch, thus the demand for lead, being melted with silver in the mint at Rajmahal, also fell in 1674. Now it came to be used mainly for the manufacture of red lead, so it became very cheap. But quick-silver, vermilion, copper and brimstone were still in great demand.

The state of the market at Balasore and the accumulation of unsold stocks in the Company's warehouses proved to be quite a problem to the local factors and they adopted various experiments to deal with it. The glut in the market and the feverish anxiety to dispose them off caused some abuse of trade privileges enjoyed by the Company and its servants in Bengal. Here it will not be out of place to add that the private trade carried on by the Company's factors greatly injured the interests of the Company.

The Anglo-Dutch rivalry was another impediment to furtherance of trade. The out-break of war affected the rate of exchange. Again, reasons of security demanded that the six English ships should sail together, which meant delay. Thus the Dutch war disturbed the trade of the English in 1674. The general glut in the market in that year was increased as the goods captured by the Dutch on ships at the battle of Petapoli were not only insultingly shown in court as trophies in war but also sold cheaply, which greatly reduced the prices of corresponding English goods. Later the news of peace changed the situation.

In contrast to all these sickening details by way of relief there were some noteworthy features also of these five eventful years.

(i) *The establishment of a Dyeing industry at Kasimbazar by the English.* The Balasore correspondence throws light on the efforts made by the English E. I. Company's dyers to dye cloth at Kasimbazar. Though these were not considered as good as those of France and Italy, orders for Indian black taffeta were given if they were cheap. But a good and cheap method could not be devised, hence it was discontinued. In November, however, orders of the Company were received to provide as many black taffetas as possible. So in March, 1674, on the arrival of Robert Cole from Masulipatam a dye-house was built at Kasimbazar. Efforts were made to secure some additional dyeing materials from Persia and England. Two dyers, John Smith (from England) and James Harding (from Madras) also came down to Kasimbazar to assist the dye-house there.

(ii) *Trade relations of Balasore with Siam.* It is interesting to find that the King of Siam had his factors at Balasore for commercial purposes. The English factors, however, state that Emperor Aurangzib and Shaista Khan

quarrelled with him for selling an elephant to a local Raja. The Siamese factor had a large stock of unsold lead.

#### THE FRENCH AT BALASORE

A few details of the activities of the French at Balasore are available. In 1673 a French sloop, driven away from Masulipatam, reached Hugli and was saved by the Governor (of Balasore) from impending capture by the Dutch. Subsequently another French ship, the *Flamand*, arrived at Balasore and her commander was well received and made much of by the Governor of Balasore, but the same could not save her from being captured by the Dutch. During the Anglo-Dutch war many Frenchmen joined the service of the English E. I. Company, but were later discharged. After the conclusion of peace between the English and the Dutch the French tried to regain their ship, the *Flamand*, and carried their case to the Dacca Government. But ultimately the vessel was kept by the Dutch "after some trouble and payment to the Nawab and other officials". The French, however, were assuaged with 'good words' and granted freedom to build factories and carry on trade in Bengal. So they constructed a "small house" near the Dutch factory in Hugli (possibly at Chandernagar) but they soon after left the place and in 1676 it was in the possession of the Dutch.

#### THE DANES AT BALASORE

The relations between the Danes and the Mughal were hostile since 1640. In July, 1674, the Danes seized four Bengal vessels but two large Danish ships were cast away on the Coromandal coast. Peace was made at the end of the year. Neither party claimed any damages. The Danes were allowed freedom of trade without paying customs and a site to build a factory at Balasore, as well as Rs. 3,000 to help to build it. But the terms were not fulfilled and the Danes remained dissatisfied.

### STATESMANSHIP OF MAHARAJA ALA SINGH OF PATIALA

S. KIRPAL SINGH, M. A.

Maharaja Ala Singh was a statesman of a very high calibre and a ruler of exceptional ability. "The unusual prolonged life and exceptional ability of Ala Singh Jat enabled him to found the kingdom of Patiala on an enduring basis. His success was crowned at the close of his life when he was recognised as a lawful Governor of Sarhind." Thus to found a State on enduring foundations in those chaotic times is in itself the greatest tribute to the marvellous sagacity and diplomatic shrewdness of Maharaja Ala Singh. He developed relationship with no less than four great powers of India.

The Maratha records describe Ala Singh as a great friend and ally of the Marathas, and his is the only name among the Sikh *misaldars* so frequently mentioned in the Marathi letters. Even before the Maratha occupation of the Punjab Maharaja Ala Singh was being mentioned in the Marathi despatches as early as March, 1757. Sadashiv Bhau, fully conscious of the importance of Maharaja Ala Singh in the struggle with Abdali, marched towards Sirhind to win him to his side. The Peshwa too opened correspondence with him. Hence Maharaja Ala Singh helped the starving Marathas with food-grains at the great risk of Ahmad Shah's displeasure. He gave protection and shelter too to the Maratha fugitives after the fateful battle of Panipat. He preferred the friendship of the Marathas to that of Abdali and his son Timur Shah as specially the latter became the national enemy of the Sikhs.

Maharaja Ala Singh's statesmanship became more conspicuous when he cultivated the friendship of Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla leader, who in India became the right hand man of Ahmad Shah Abdali and was made the "virtual dictator" of Delhi and its surrounding territory. Maharaja Ala Singh saw the Afghan Emperor through Najib and offered presents to the Shah. Later when Abdali ordered the removal of his heir Maharaja Ala Singh sought the help of Najib to patch up with Abdali by paying him tribute. Again, after the defeat and death of Zain Khan, when the Khalsa Dals crossed the Jamuna and ravaged the territory of Najib, Maharaja Ala Singh came to the help of his friend and brought about peace between Najib and the Sikhs, and Najib agreed to donate 85,000 rupees for the "*kada parshad*". Soon after this Najib was besieged at Delhi by the combined forces of Jawahar Singh Jat and the Marathas. At the invitation of Jawahar Singh the Dal Khalsa too joined the Jat forces. But Ala Singh did not follow the anti-Najib policy and sent a contingent of 10,000 soldiers under Bhola Singh to fight on behalf of Najib. But soon after this the Sikhs came to know of Abdali's invasion of the Panjab and all of them immediately left for their home province.

Maharaja Ala Singh was not only an ally of the Marathas and a friend of Najib, but at times the helper of the Mughal Emperor too, specially when it suited his purpose. At the battle of Manupur he fought as an ally of the Delhi government though only some time before he was under the detention of Ali Mohamad Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind. At the end of this campaign Ala Singh was honoured with a robe of honour by Prince Ahmad Shah which greatly enhanced Ala Singh's prestige in the eyes of his neighbours. During the Imperial campaign against the Bhatti chief, Mohamad Amin Khan of Hansi and Hissar, Ala Singh helped the Mughal troopers with food-grains and not only won the royal favour but saved his own territory from the loot and plunder by the Imperial army.

Maharaja Ala Singh's relations with the Dal Khalsa or his own co-religionists were very cordial and deep and the Sikh interests were always dear to him. At times he cultivated friendship with other powers particularly also to ensure continued Sikh supremacy in the cis-Sutlej territory, when it was seriously threatened by Abdali. But Maharaja Ala Singh never placated his friends at the cost of the Dal Khalsa; his loyalty to his co-religionists was unflinchable, and even when called upon to do so by his friend and ally Najib, he did not fight against his own brethren, but merely exerted his influence to bring about reconciliation between Najib and the Sikhs. Thereupon Najib paid Rs. 85,000 to the Sikhs through Maharaja Ala Singh.

Maharaja Ala Singh dearly loved the Sikh form and symbols. When Ahmad Shah Abdali ordered that his long hair be cropped he struck upon the clever device of purchasing them by paying a tribute to the Shah. The Shah readily accepted the offer and received in lieu of the uncut hair the sum of Rs. 1,25,000 and thus saved the symbol of the tenth *Guru*.

Maharaja Ala Singh was a staunch Sikh and a powerful ally of the Dal Khalsa. Hence for securing reconciliation between the Sikhs and any Muslim chief Maharaja Ala Singh was invariably called upon to act as a mediator. Zain Khan, Najib and during his sixth invasion Ahmad Shah Abdali too asked him to act as a mediator. At times the Sikhs felt antagonised by the apparently compromising policy of Maharaja Ala Singh. But wise Sikh leaders like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia knew full well that Maharaja Ala Singh's submission to Abdali and his acceptance of honours and titles at the hands of Afghan Emperor were mainly a piece of diplomacy to ensure protection of the Sikh territory in the cis-Sutlej area. Hence Jassa Singh Ahluwalia always persuaded the Sikhs not to fight against Maharaja Ala Singh. When Abdali issued a *firman* declaring Maharaja Ala Singh independent, the Sikhs in general resented it, but Jassa Singh Ahluwalia rightly persuaded them to avoid a quarrel with him. When after the death of Zain Khan Abdali conferred the insignia of banner and drum on Maharaja Ala Singh in 1765, the Sikhs felt very much antagonised. But Ahluwalia Sardar again intervened and brought about a reconciliation between him and the Sikhs. On his return journey home when Abdali halted at Sarhind in Feb. 1765, and he called Maharaja Ala Singh he appeared before the Afghan Emperor, but in the very face of the Shah he paid a tribute to the invincibility of the Sikhs by saying:—

“If one dog dies, two more revengeful ones come in to take his place in accordance with the benediction of their *Guru*.”

Still Abdali appointed Maharaja Ala Singh the governor of the territory and he stationed the military posts at the various places, but as soon as the Afghan Emperor left India Maharaja Ala Singh also removed his military posts in order to allow the Sikhs to occupy their respective territories. Thus he proved his own eternal loyalty to the Dal Khalsa.

Maharaja Ala Singh was the greatest Sikh statesman of his times. He effected such helpful alliances with the Marathas, Najib Khan and Abdali that they enhanced his prestige and power, and raised him as one of the most important Chiefs of the territory north-west of Delhi. To the Sikhs he was a friend and an ally and used to serve them with devotion. He died at a time when his prestige and power had reached their zenith.

**SECTION V**  
**from 1765 A. D.**

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M. A., PH. D.

I am deeply sensible of the high honour which the Indian History Congress has conferred upon me by asking me to preside over the Modern India Section at this important session held in the cultural capital of Andhra. My humble contributions to the study of modern Indian history certainly do not deserve this recognition. I am fully aware of my limitations, but I am confident that in my efforts to maintain the high standard set by my distinguished predecessors I can count upon the guidance and co-operation of all who are assembled here.

Perhaps it is not without interest to recall the fact that this Congress originally confined its attention to modern Indian history. That was rather surprising in the context of the comparative lack of interest which characterised the attitude of Indian scholars towards this branch of our national annals two decades ago. The ancient and mediaeval periods practically monopolised their attention; the claims of the modern period for historical analysis were ignored or sidetracked. Distinguished pioneers in this sphere attracted but a few loyal disciples. During recent years, however, we have noticed a wholesome change in this respect. Many scholars have devoted themselves to the study of modern Indian history and the fruits of careful research have been gathered in publications which do credit to our traditions of historical scholarship. My association with the Indian History Congress since its inception enables me to say that the growing interest in modern Indian history owes not a little, if indirectly, to the stimulus provided by this organisation.

While welcoming the importance which is now being assigned to modern Indian history we must not indulge in the illusion that we are doing all, or nearly all, that we should do. Considering the vast scope of the subject and the volume of available materials in many languages we must confess frankly that our progress is slow and halting. Moreover, in some cases our approach and methods leave much to be desired. Some scholars, for example, have surveyed the administrations of some British proconsuls on the basis of records available in India. I place before you, with some hesitation, the view that this semibiographical approach hardly gives us a full and integrated picture of historical development. A much better method, it seems to me, would be to concentrate one's study on certain topics or subjects, pushing it through the regimes of several Governors-General, and explaining the changes in their logical sequence, without dropping the curtain arbitrarily at the departure of a particular individual. It may be argued that a strong

and self-willed Governor-General like Dalhousie may give a new direction to historical forces and invest a period with something like dramatic unity; but Britain did not send many Dalhousies to this country. Moreover, even Dalhousie could not ignore the past—his policy cannot be understood without a thorough acquaintance with his predecessors' work—and the results of his tremendous efforts to fashion a new world cannot be assessed without a full scrutiny of what his successors were called upon to do. Again, it is hardly possible to draw a satisfactory historical portrait of any Governor-General without consulting his personal papers which are usually available in British archives. Private letters published in "authorised" biographies and selections compiled by admirers are important, no doubt, but the historian must use them with caution because they may not, and usually do not, reveal the whole truth. As in the court of law, so in the court of history, we must seek for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

It is not too much to say that no historian can attain this very high and exacting standard, for even the most earnest seeker after truth has to confront hurdles which he cannot cross. The materials may be too scanty or too voluminous. They may be swayed by passions or coloured by prejudices. They may be beyond the worker's reach. Or the historian may be a conscious or unconscious victim of the growing tendency towards planned regimentation of thought. It would hardly be quite correct to say that this very regrettable tendency, which every honest student of history must resist at all costs, is confined to those countries alone where Western democratic ideals are not respected. With a view to bridging the gulf between nations and fostering the great ideal of human fellowship attempts are being made by an international organisation to lay down certain principles applicable to the writing of history which, if accepted by our educational authorities, may create illusions hardly less dangerous than prejudices. After all, history is a record of great achievements as well as sordid strife. It is questionable whether we can contribute substantially towards international fellowship by pushing the story of strife behind a new iron curtain and inventing for general consumption an idealised version of historical development. In any case I strongly feel that, while we must not emphasize the element of conflict in national evolution and international relations, it is our duty as students of history to utter a note of warning against any attempt to make Clio a handmaid of national or international politics or even of well-meaning idealism.

To resist external pressure is necessary, but it is not enough. The loyal devotee of Clio must aim at immunity from internal pressure as well, the subtle and elusive pressure of his own passions, prejudices and ideals. I do not believe any normal human being can claim complete immunity from this pressure. I believe also that any conscientious student of history

can, by strenuous, well-directed efforts, see the great game of history as an onlooker from an impersonal point of view and eliminate misleading or superfluous colour in drawing his picture. For this purpose it is necessary to start without any *a priori* theory of historical interpretation, without any conscious plan to justify or extol or condemn any party or individual or community or nation, and also without preconceived ideas and political passions. The historian's journey is like that of the earnest pilgrim whose only concern is with his god.

In order to illustrate these somewhat nebulous ideas I may draw your attention to attempts which are being made in certain quarters to interpret modern Indian history in the light of Marxist view on historical interpretation. No student of history or economic theory can overlook or ignore those views, although in recent years they have been sharply criticised by historians as well as economists in other countries. If established facts conform to the theories laid down by Marx a century ago, we are certainly entitled, if we are not bound, to interpret those facts in the light of those theories. But our first duty is to search for facts, to collect and classify the data, to sift the evidence, and to reach conclusions on the basis of unimpeachable sources. Have we exhausted this long and difficult process in regard to modern Indian history? No one can, of course, answer this question in the affirmative. In these circumstances is it advisable for any of us to start with the premise that the clue to historical evolution in India during the last two centuries is to be found only in the theory of economic interpretation of history? My plea is that collection of facts should precede formulation of conclusions and elaboration of theories.

You are certainly aware that a comprehensive history of the freedom movement in India is going to be written under the auspices of the Government of India. I shall not conceal from you the fact that I had serious misgivings about the desirability of writing a historical account of our national struggle in the rigid atmosphere of official patronage. Official histories do not usually reach a high standard of impartiality. But the Government of India has wisely decided to entrust the work to some of the most eminent historians of the country and some of the staunchest fighters for freedom. Polybius, the greatest Greek historian of Rome, says that history can only be worth reading when it springs, not from rummaging Record Offices, but from taking a personal share in the political strife of the day. We may not agree with him in under-estimating the importance of Record Offices, but we may, I believe, share his view that the historian's association with practical politics may lend a touch of reality to his academic narrative. We are entitled to hope that the association of historians with politicians will be fruitful so far as the writing of the history of our national struggle for freedom is concerned.

I do not know what the scope and character of that history are likely

to be, but I would seek your permission to submit at least one suggestion. The exact meaning of the term "freedom movement" should be clearly defined at the very outset and whatever appears to be irrelevant to that meaning ought to be scrupulously excluded from the narrative. In my view the term should cover only those movements which were inspired by the conscious object of liberating the country as a whole, or at least a substantial part of it, from the British yoke. If we accept this definition, it follows that we cannot treat isolated revolts or communal movements as integral parts of the story. The resistance of the Zamindars to the consolidation of British authority in Bengal and Bihar in the 18th century, the rebellion of Titu Mir and the Santal rising in Bengal, the rebellions of the Poligars in Madras, the Bhil rising in Bombay and the communal riots in different parts of the country on different occasions—these and similar movements certainly have their own historical importance, for they illustrate different aspects of British rule in India; but is it proper to glorify them as "freedom movements"? Were they inspired by a national object and regulated by a national programme? The fight for personal privilege, for local autonomy, for the perpetuation of the old order cannot be ignored by the historian; but is he entitled to treat such fights as a part of the national struggle for the fulfilment of national destiny?

In connection with the official plan of writing a comprehensive history of the freedom movement it is also necessary to consider whether it is possible to deal with contemporary and semi-contemporary events with that detachment and freedom from passions and prejudices, personal and political, which are essential for the purpose of preventing the degeneration of history into propaganda. That contemporary history can attain the high level of what is usually called "scientific" history was demonstrated long ago by Thucydides, whom his story-telling predecessor Herodotus could not mislead. But historians of that type are rarely born. For faltering students like us it is not possible to traverse the track laid by that great master. But that is no reason why we should hesitate to deal with the living present. If we are true to our ideals and loyal to our traditions we can discuss recent events with a reasonable measure of detachment and leave for our successors at least a tentative version which may be re-shaped by them in the light of fuller knowledge and greater freedom from passions and prejudices.

This brings us to the question of impartiality in the narration and interpretation of historical events. While conscious or deliberate partiality must be avoided at all costs and condemned in the strongest terms, I must confess my belief that unconscious and unplanned partiality cannot be wholly avoided. Is it possible for the historian to shake off the all-pervading influence of his environment, of the social traditions and religious beliefs in which he has been brought up, of the political concepts and moral values which he cherishes, as soon as he takes up his pen to narrate past events?

It is well known that even the greatest historian of antiquity could not forget that he was an Athenian, a democrat of the Periclean school and a victim, as he thought, of a plebeian leader's frenzy. If such a master of historical craft failed to disassociate himself completely from personal ideas, beliefs and interests, is it not vain to hope that we can construct a strictly impartial narrative of our struggle for freedom? We can only try to avoid conscious and deliberate misrepresentation. More than this the historian is not competent to give and the reader is not entitled to expect.

"Comment," said a distinguished journalist, "is free; facts are sacred." This wise dictum, I believe, is applicable to the historian as well as to the journalist. Facts must not be deliberately distorted or suppressed with a view to making them conform to particular theories; but not much harm is done, in my view, if facts ascertained with scrupulous care from untainted sources are arranged and interpreted in a particular manner from a particular point of view. Any careful and competent reader can distinguish between the data collected by the author and the conclusions formed by him. The data may be accepted, but the conclusions may be modified or rejected. In this connection I may refer to two well known examples. Grote wrote his voluminous *History of Greece* in order to illustrate the virtues of democracy. For him Athens was the ideal State, the greatest model for reformed Britain of the early Victorian age. As one goes through his compact narrative one feels that an advocate is urging his client's case. Just as a careful judge uses the advocate's arguments for ascertaining the truth, so also a careful reader may use Grote's unconcealed advocacy of Athens for reviewing the virtues and failings of that great city. Grote does not mislead his reader; he pushes him towards the discovery of truth by provoking criticism and suggesting questions. In our own days another distinguished British historian wrote a *History of Europe* from the Liberal point of view. In dealing with the modern age he used the significant sub-title: "The Liberal Experiment". We may not accept his conclusions in all cases, but we can hardly deny that they are stimulating. Even those who do not view the process of historical evolution as a succession of "Liberal" experiments are bound to recognise in Fisher an outstanding historian who deserves a hearing.

I have raised these points because they are directly or indirectly connected with some of the difficulties which are likely to confront all workers in the field of modern Indian history. They are likely to be subjected, in a greater measure than workers dealing with ancient and mediaeval Indian history, to external pressure from various sources. Freedom from internal pressure is also much more difficult in their case than it is in the case of those who are interested in the more distant past. Those who have to deal with living issues, with controversies which embitter men's minds and cloud their judgment, with historical forces which have not ceased to be operative

by the lapse of time, cannot extricate themselves altogether from passions, prejudices and preconceived ideas. Is it possible for even a most conscientious writer to trace the origin and consequences of the Permanent Settlement without succumbing, knowingly or unknowingly, partially or wholly, to the political and economic concepts of his own day? Can any one forget, while describing the system of Subsidiary Alliance, Lord Curzon's significant statement that "the Native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India", or Mahatma Gandhi's clearer statement: "The Princes are British officers in Indian dress"? In these, and many other cases the present inevitably throws itself upon the past and obscures the historian's vision. But he cannot desert his post, nor can he give his readers a bare annalistic summary of events. In my view his task is well done when he treats his facts as "sacred" and places his comment before his readers for their assessment. He need not lay any claim to abstract impartiality.

So far as the raw materials are concerned, the student of modern Indian history is much more fortunate than his fellow-workers in other fields. For him the sources are, in most cases, exhaustive, and if he continues his work with patience, industry, and discernment, he will most probably find himself in a position to write a full and convincing narrative. But the bewildering variety of the sources is a very difficult problem in itself, and this difficulty is further aggravated by two factors. In the first place, unpublished records and even the printed sources are scattered in such a way that very few students can utilise the available evidence in full. Apart from the Central and State archives, there are district record offices, record offices of the High Courts and subordinate courts and municipal record offices all over the country. Family papers of important individuals and old newspaper files deserve careful scrutiny. Again, very important papers relating to modern Indian history are to be found in at least four European capitals—London, Paris, the Hague and Lisbon. No student of Britain's "Russophobia" in the 19th century (which dominated India's external policy and also, to some extent, the history of the Punjab and the frontier) can ignore the Russian archives, although I am not sure whether they are open to *bona fide* historians now. It is quite clear that no individual can, by his own resources alone, collect his raw materials from so many widely separated centres. If he chooses a subject for which such a process of collection is necessary he finds himself in most cases compelled either to abandon it or to base his narrative on incomplete data.

The second difficulty is that the records are available in different languages. Persian retains its traditional importance up to the beginning of the 19th century and so does Marathi. Regional languages like Gurumukhi, Rajasthani, Tamil, Bengali and Assamese contain important sources of in-

formation. Burmese throw some light on British policy in the north-east frontier. Incidentally it may be mentioned that books written in regional languages are sometimes found to contain very little useful information although they demand, and must receive, careful study from students of history. In connection with my work on British north-eastern frontier policy I read three volumes of the well-known Burmese official chronicle, *Konbaungset*, and the notes which I took covered only three or four pages. Glorification of the Kings and courtiers and absurd stories cover the pages of this standard work on the history of Burma. For such wastage of labour every student of modern Indian history must prepare himself, for no available material can be condemned as useless without thorough scrutiny.

Among European languages English, of course, occupies the most important place; next, in order of importance come French, Portuguese, Dutch and Russian. It would, of course be superfluous to say anything about French, Portuguese and Dutch. Every student of late mediaeval and early modern Indian history knows that a thorough acquaintance with records in these languages is an indispensable equipment for historical research. The importance of Russian is, however, not generally recognised. But Anglo-Russian relations played a vital role in the history of India in the 19th century. Is it possible to give a full and rational account of Russian policy on the basis of British documents alone? In the National Archives of India there are many documents in original Russian and also in English translation which throw new light on India's relations with Russia, Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. In course of my study of north-western frontier policy in the second half of the 19th century I found in the National Archives a long and interesting series of extracts from Russian newspapers (in English translation) collected by the British Embassy at St. Petersburg and sent to the Governor-General through the India Office. To these extracts great importance was attached in official quarters, for they reflected the views of leading Russian statesmen like Prince Gortchakoff. Can any student of Indian history ignore such materials? Is it not desirable that we should explore this practically virgin field and discover new facts, free from the prejudice created by the British version which alone has been available to us, and utilised by us, till now?

No one can be expected to master several languages, Indian and non-Indian, for the purpose of making a first-hand study of historical materials. A working knowledge of a language is certainly helpful and undoubtedly necessary, but obviously it is not enough. One must depend on expert assistance in interpreting documents in languages which he does not know. But in utilising the assistance of interpreters it is well to remember that the precise historical significance of literary allusions and figures of speech (which are so common in Persian as well as in Indian languages) may be missed by persons who are not well-versed in history.

Perhaps no human ingenuity can suggest effective measures for the elimination of the barrier of language which stands between the research worker and his chosen subject; but so far as collection materials is concerned much may be, and ought to be, done by the State. Every State Government may be expected to establish and maintain a fully equipped Record Office where records of all types—records of the State Government, of the district offices, of the High Court and other judicial tribunals, of local bodies like municipalities, of educational bodies like Universities, old colleges and schools, of ancient temples, mosques and churches, of important families—may be preserved for the use of the *bona fide* historian. The Union Government may secure for the National Archives of India copies of records relating to the history of this country which now lie scattered in different European countries. To-day the idea of planning appears to dominate every sphere of national life. Are we not entitled to expect that collection and preservation of historical records will be treated as an important item of our educational plans? I hope the Indian History Congress will bring this matter immediately to the notice of the Central and State Governments and harness the co-operation of Universities and other learned bodies interested in historical studies for the attainment of the object we have in view. It is necessary to add that conditions governing the utilisation of State archives by *bona fide* research students should be much less rigid than they now are in most cases. I have heard complaints that transcripts from European Record Offices are sometimes cheaper and more easily available than transcripts from New Delhi and some State capitals.

I shall not extend further my encroachment upon your time, patience and indulgence. Convention requires a Sectional President to deliver an address, but I feel the short time at our disposal may be better utilised if scholars assembled at the Congress discuss some historical problems instead of listening to somewhat stereotyped speeches. I have tried to place before you some commonplace view which, I thought, needed reiteration. You have given me a patient hearing and I offer you my grateful thanks for your kindness.

#### THE INDIAN MOVEMENT OF 1857-59 AND ITS REACTIONS ABROAD

DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.

The Indian Movement of 1857-59, ordinarily described as the Mutiny, was certainly a gigantic challenge to British political authority in India and it profoundly influenced the history of our country in various ways.

Its suppression caused immense strain to the British Indian Government, and it produced considerable apprehension in different quarters in England.

On Sunday, the 27th September, 1857, a pastoral letter from Cardinal Wiseman was read in all the Roman Catholic Churches in London on the subject of the 'Mutiny' and directing that the following Sunday "should be set apart by the faithful as a day of national humiliation and prayer".<sup>1</sup> Already a supplement to the *London Gazette* of Friday, the 25th September, 1857, had published the following proclamation dated 24th September: "Victoria R.—We taking into our most serious consideration the grievous mutiny and disturbances which have broken out in India, and putting our trust in Almighty God that He will graciously bless our efforts for the restoration of lawful authority in that country, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, hereby command that a public day of solemn fast, humiliation and prayer, be observed throughout those parts of our United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday, the 7th day of October next, that both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for imploring His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of tranquillity; and we do strictly charge and command that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, for the better and more orderly solemnising the same we have given directions to the most reverend the Archbishops and the right reverend the Bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasions, to be used in all Churches, Chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses".<sup>2</sup> A similar proclamation was issued in Scotland, and in all parts of the United Kingdom the day was observed with solemnity.

The most distinguished British statesman sought to impress upon their constituencies the gravity of the "Indian difficulty" and the need of additional reinforcements and greater national support for fighting it. At a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, held at St. Alban's on the 30th September, 1857, Sir E. B. Lytton, one of the representatives of Hertfordshire, spoke as follows regarding it; "The war that has now broken out, is not, like the Russian war, for the assertion of an abstract principle of justice, for the defence of a foreign throne, or for protection against a danger that did not threaten ourselves more than the rest of Europe—it is for the

1. Charles Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 420.

2. *Ibid.*

maintenance of the British Empire. It is a struggle of life and death for our rank among the rulers of the earth. It is not a war in which we combat, by the side of brave and gallant allies, but one in which we fight single-handed against fearful odds, and in which we must neither expect nor desire foreign help.”<sup>3</sup> He further observed: “The present is not the time, nor is this the place, to criticise the policy which has produced the revolt in India; but I may be permitted to say, that revolutions or revolts are never sudden. Those which appear to us to be so, had always given long previous, though it might be neglected, warnings. Revolts and revolutions are like the springing of mines. The ground must be hollowed, the barrels filled, the train laid, and the match fired before we can be startled by the explosion; and therefore the man who tells us that a revolt which must have taken months, if not years, to organise, no prudence could have foreseen, or no energy could have prevented, simply asks us to believe that policy is an accident and government a farce. But the whole of that question it will be the duty of Parliament to examine, not with the force of bearing party to bear against individuals, who may have committed more human errors of judgment—and, after all, the public itself is not free from blame for its long indifference to our Eastern Empire—but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge and guidance for the future.”<sup>4</sup>

Referring to this matter the Right Hon’ble Benjamin Disraeli, the member for Buckingham, spoke in a meeting held at Aglesbury, on the 30th September, 1857:—“One of the greatest calamities that ever befell this empire has fallen upon us. I believe it is now also the universal conviction, that the description originally given of these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India, was not authorised by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen that which was at first characterised as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statesmen and nations. Nevertheless, if England, instead of being induced to treat these events as merely accidental, casual, and comparatively trifling, will comprehend that the issue at stake is enormous, and the peril colossal, I have not the slightest doubt that a nation so great in spirit and in resources as our own, will prove that it is equal to cope with dangers of even that magnitude. . . . . I think that what has happened in India is a great Providential lesson, by which we may profit; and if we meet it like brave and inquiring men, we may assert our dominion, and establish for the future in India a government which may prove at once lasting and honourable to this country. . . .”<sup>5</sup>

3. Ibid, p. 417

4. Ibid, p. 418

5. Ibid, p. 418-420

This sort of feeling was quite natural feeling in England. But at certain places reaction was of a different kind. The *Times* of 3rd October, 1857, mentioned that "a large meeting, principally of Irishmen, was held at New York on the evening of the 17th (September) to express opposition to British inhabitants in the United States for the war in India, and sympathy with the Sepoy Mutiny". In a letter from Rome, dated 25th September, 1857, published in the *Daily News* of 6th October, 1857, Archbishop Callen expressed pleasure on hearing of the movement in Ireland "for the relief of our countrymen who have been reduced to misery by the dreadful and widespread revolution now raging in India and menacing the safety of the British Empire"<sup>6</sup>. But referring to the appeals for subscriptions in this connections, he urged the necessity of enquiry on the part of the Roman Catholics as to "how the fund about to be raised is to be managed and whether there is any danger that it may be applied by bigots to proselytizing purposes". He had a grievance about what he considered to be misuse of the patriotic fund in 1854.

On the 9th of December, 1857, Mr. W. A. White, the British Consul-General at Warsaw, wrote the following letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, informing him how the Russian residents there talked about the *Mutiny* in British India:—

"The feeling displayed here in official quarters by our recent triumphs over mutiny and barbarism in India may be an object of curiosity with your Lordship, and I regret deeply to have to report that it partakes much of ill concealed disappointment at our rapid success.

From all I have had an opportunity of observing since the news of the taking of Delhi reached this place, I am convinced that a procrastination of the struggle was expected by the military men here and perhaps even not unwelcome, and that Russia viewed with no displeasure the disorganisation of our native army in India.

Now that there can no longer be any doubt of our triumph, a system is adopted to dwell upon every report which might be colored with cruelty and to pretend to be horrified at those punishments which stern justice and our own security require at our hands.

I do not wish to be understood to say that the heroism of our troops is not appreciated but I find that the distorted statements of sentimental journals are commented upon and too generally believed by Russians.

An attempt is also made to deduce from any unfavourable symptoms, conclusions for the purpose of predicting that the mutiny quelled at present, may in all probability breakout at some future period in a more general rebellion, and although this argument comes from false promises, I should

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, Vol. I, p. 422

be wanting in my duty, were I to omit mentioning it to your Lordship as I have heard it frequently repeated.

That there are many men in Russia who are convinced that Asia will some day become the theatre of a bloody struggle between our two Empires, of this I can have no doubt, and with such sentiments they view the dissolution of the Bengal Native Army as immensely in their favour.

The enduring fortitude of our small band of heroes has no doubt inspired them with a considerable degree of awe and whenever I endeavour to impress that fact upon Russian minds, I obtain from the most prejudiced an acknowledgement, however unpleasant sometimes to themselves, of the admiration that our troops have deserved so nobly; and which makes every Englishman's heart leap with joy.

At the same time, in speaking on this subject, they never fail to notice that the valour of the sepoys must have been very much overrated, and this is the first time that our Native army, on which so much reliance has heretofore been placed, in the defence of our Indian Empire, has been fairly tried, and against European troops.

I venture to trust to your Lordship's indulgence for these remarks, which are the result of my impressions from observation, I have had the opportunity of making by mixing considerably with all ranks of Russians, at this place, during the last four months.

I need not add that Russian Society at Warsaw consists chiefly of military men, and that in my intercourse I have to struggle daily for the purpose of keeping my own feelings within proper bounds, and to preserve ever, whether in designing the most fallacious statements, or in disproving the most sophistical arguments, that moderation of language which is imposed upon me by my position.

If I have taken the liberty to allude to this at all, it is for the purpose of assuring your Lordship that I am ever mindful of the reserve imposed upon me by the duties your Lordship has been pleased to confide to me, and in the discharge of which I have met with continued indulgence and encouragement on your Lordship's part."

#### HOW CUTTACK BECAME A TRADE CENTRE WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF BRITISH RULE

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M. A., PH. D., D. LITT.

Cuttack was annexed by Lord Wellesley for the purpose of completing the Company's command of the eastern sea-coast of India. After annexation, it was found that the town had no public market of its own. This

naturally caused great inconvenience to the Company's civil and military personnel. It was to obviate this that Mr. R. Ker, the first Collector and Magistrate of the district, decided to build a market on a convenient site of the city.

From contemporary state papers, it appears that a public market could not be built up by the previous Maratha Government on account of a number of reasons:—

Firstly, the original city was much too congested, and was also walled. There was therefore hardly any space for a big market.

Secondly depredations of dacoits and burglars scared away the merchants.

Thirdly, neighbouring landlords also were guilty of acts of violence. Among them, the Raja of Khurda was said to be one of the most notorious. The British authorities had to place him under confinement for some time as a warning to others.

Fourthly, the Maratha authorities had never thought of granting leases of lands to merchants or any other concessions.

Fifthly, the prevalent high rates of rent and taxation always discouraged the traders from coming to and settling in the city.

Lastly, there was no real demand for a big market place. The British officials formed a most uncharitable view of the backwardness of the local people. In one of his letters, the Magistrate wrote (on 12th of February, 1807) as follows:—“...the inhabitants are in a most abject state of human degradation..”. Apparently, the poverty of the common people was responsible for the backward state of the local trade.

A rapid improvement of the town was doubtless the first achievement of the British. When peace was restored, a comprehensive scheme of a public market was formulated by Mr. Ker. The market itself was built at a cost of Rs. 2,175—12 as. The stone walls of the city were dismantled and removed, and sufficient space for a market was thus provided. Many old wells had to be filled up, and new drains were constructed for the proper sanitation of the city. It is on record that about 50 poor people were induced to relinquish their hovels in return of some compensation. Besides, as a concession to merchants, favourable leases of land were granted to them in perpetuity. These lands were exempted from rent and taxes at the outset as a further inducement to the merchants.

These concessions had the desired effect. This is evident from the following report of Mr. Ker (dated 19th Sept., 1806) :—“the adoption of this measure would confirm and reward the confidence the inhabitants possess in the justice of the British Government which has been wonder-

fully manifested, many of the merchants having sunk a considerable capital in building houses of stone and mortar, without entertaining the most distant hope of their property being secured by a special Act of Government." It may be added that the land grants were issued by the Collector under instructions framed by the Board of Revenue.

For the adequate protection of the merchants and their wares, a special police was established. The official papers show that a police station was erected at a cost of Rs. 500 only. The salaries of the police establishment are on record. The rates of pay were kept as low as possible :—

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| Thanadar . . . . .  | Rs. 25 |
| Mohurrir . . . . .  | Rs. 10 |
| Jamadar . . . . .   | Rs. 8  |
| Barqandaz . . . . . | Rs. 4  |

The whole town was divided into five wards, each ward being under the charge of a Jamadar and eight constables. The sole object of the increased police protection was to stop the recurrence of lawlessness which was common in the old regime. The five wards were :—Husnabad, Khatboni, Kadamrasul, Telinga Bazar and Bakshi Bazar.

The new market was an immediate success. It proved highly advantageous to the people. The contemporary records show that prices fell, and things became much cheaper than before. Both the demand and the supply of all commodities increased considerably, and the city became more populous and prosperous.

The Collector reported in a letter of 19th September, 1806, that the necessaries of life were no less than thirty per cent cheaper than before. For instance, rice was fairly expensive before, but now it sold in the new market half a maund per rupee. Within six months of the establishment of the market, the population went up to a marked extent. As more and more pilgrims to and from Puri passed through Cuttack, the importance of the town was enhanced and its trade augmented. Establishment of law and order also contributed greatly to the success of the new market. Even though the price of labour was at first fairly high, many new houses were built after the introduction of British rule. The state papers thus make it clear that Mr. Ker is the founder of the city's commercial career in modern times.

### CAPTAIN FORREST IN RHIO

S. N. DAS GUPTA, M. A. (Lond), D. Litt.

The war in America virtually ended in October, 1781, though preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and America were not signed till November 30, 1782. Mortified ambition henceforth turned its eyes towards

the East. A comparative apathy to settlement colonies was visible and the tendency was definitely towards redressing the balance in the East for what could not be preserved in the West. An empire was in the process of formation in India. If properly fostered it might grow into a mighty stem which might satisfy the imperial ambitions of Great Britain. The East India Company was straining its nerves to maintain the tropical trade which was essential to the vast industrial development in Britain during the period. The acquisition of midway bases, at the gates of the archipelago, for protecting the trade route against Franco-Dutch surprises was an ever-present factor in the minds of the home authorities. Hence Parliament once more grew anxious about Indian affairs and renewed the enquiries that had been allowed to slumber since 1772. The reports of the Select Committees proposed by Dundas and Burke condemned the conduct of Warren Hastings, Sir Thomas Rumbold and Sullivan, the Chairman of the Court of Directors. In the ensuing parliamentary party conflicts, the Governor-General was but a pawn in the move of the party leaders ultimately followed by his resignation. Resolutions adopted by the House in May, 1782, declared it to be the duty of the Directors to recall Hastings. The order for recall was passed by the Court of Directors but rescinded by the Court of Proprietors. Lord Shelburne warmly defended the policy of Hastings and was even meditating to call on the talents of Hastings for helping the administration both in the Cabinet and in Parliament. The intention of Fox's India Bill was clearly to supersede the Governor-General as a preliminary to the inauguration of a new policy on new principles. The influence of the Anglo-Indian interest in England, the unpopularity of the Coalition Cabinet, and the pronounced belief of George III that if Hastings were recalled India would be in jeopardy, were partly responsible for the rejection of the Bill in December, 1783, and the dismissal of Fox and North. Hastings, however, equally disliked Pitt's Bill which was passed in March, 1784. His letters to his wife clearly show his resentment at the manifest purpose of Pitt to keep him from returning home till the new administration should have had time to strengthen itself without his help. Under such contrary attitudes at home, the influence of Hastings both in the Calcutta Council and at Madras was seriously weakened. It was not surprising, therefore, that Lord Macartney, deaf to the mandates of Hastings, signed the Treaty of Mangalore with Tipu Sultan on March 11, 1784. The conclusion of the war, however, gave Hastings opportunity to carry into effect his unfulfilled plan of selecting a settlement on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal to watch the doors of the archipelago. He entrusted the task to Captain Thomas Forrest with authority to enter into treaty terms with any of the Malaya princes.

Thomas Forrest, an English officer, holding the rank of Captain in the East India Company's Navy, had acquired reputation by his exploits in

the eastern seas and had accompanied Dalrymple to Balambangan. In 1774, he sailed from Balambangan in a small vessel of ten tons, the crew consisting chiefly of Malays, on a voyage of exploration to New Guinea and reached the harbour of Dory on the north coast of the island. Meanwhile, the settlement at Balambangan was destroyed by the Sulus. He voyaged to Borneo and Sumatra, surveyed the Mergui archipelago and the east Bay of Bengal before his return to England in 1776. His report on the islands was presented with "his most respectful compliments to Mr. Wheeler", and was indispensable not only to navigators but also as a guide to State policy<sup>1</sup>. The superiority of the chain of islands on the Tenasserim coast over either the Coromandel coast which "affords no harbour and is a free port for all the world",<sup>2</sup> or the islands on the Arakan coast and the mouths of the Irrawaddy, was apparent from his report. The choice of situations "for a stronghold close to a harbour for shipping"<sup>3</sup> in this extensive group of islands, was immense. Heinze Bay "is landlocked"; King Island "is not in the tract of shipping being to the eastward a good way and a cul de sac into the bargain, and in the vicinity of the continent":<sup>4</sup> Hence, the choice of Forrest fell on St. Matthew and the British flag was hoisted there<sup>5</sup>

In October, 1783, the Bengal Government wrote home:

"A proposal was made to us by Capt. Thomas Forrest to undertake a survey of the Andaman Islands, soon after his return from his former expedition...we agreed to accept of his services in that line and engage a small vessel which he had purchased for the purpose. He left the river in May last".<sup>6</sup>

Dalrymple writes:

"The intention of this voyage was a survey of the Andaman Islands but Capt. Forrest left Bengal on the 14th of June, a very improper time for such a destination...Capt. Forrest, instead of the Andamans, made the Preparies; went to leeward, i. e. to the northward of Narcondam; and on 1st July saw the Island Tores on the coast of Tenasserim".<sup>7</sup>

The Bengal General Consultations of April 15, 1784 refer to a proposal which Captain Forrest had received from the King of Rhio "to appropriate a part of his dominions to the Company for an English settlement".<sup>8</sup>

1. Beng. Gen. Cons. July 2, 1784.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Bengal to Court of Directors, October 23, 1783, Phillimore, *Survey of India*,

Vol, I p. 45-6

7. Phillimore, *Survey of India*, Vol I, p. 46.

8. Straits, Vol. I, Proceedings Relative to a Settlement at Rhio.

The king and his nephew, the prince of Salengore, were "much irritated" with the Dutch for their destructive war against Rhio "as a measure to prevent our having connexion with a prince, the most formidable in these parts".<sup>9</sup> The King sought the protection of the English against Dutch molestation. Forrest was of opinion that a military settlement in Rhio "would not be agreeable to the king; it would lower him in the eyes of the world",<sup>10</sup> and may stimulate sentiments of hostility. Forrest felt, on the other hand, that "a small factory guarded by twelve peons, having influence in making peace, would put our national character in a conspicuous point of view".<sup>11</sup>

In the early months of 1769, Captain Francis Light, in a letter to Andrew Ross, had given full account of Rhio and its trade.<sup>12</sup> He also noted the possibilities of developing an English settlement on Pulo Byang (Bintang), south of Singapore. The English merchant vessels bound for the Spice Islands and the Far East had, hitherto, followed the route through the Sunda Straits and were thus easy victims to Dutch attacks from Batavia. The control of the Malacca Straits will not only eliminate such eventualities and ensure the safety of the China vessels, but will also shorten the route to a great extent. An English factory in the vicinity of the Malay peninsula might also become a nucleus of an empire with a fortified naval arsenal ever watchful of Dutch activities. Evidently, Captain Light, in his prescient schemes, was the precursor of Sir Stamford Raffles. Situated on the south-west coast of Bintang about fifty miles south-east of Singapore, Rhio was a place of considerable commercial activity and was looked upon as "the key of the Straits of Malacca". It was the first port of call and was the meeting-place of 'proes' from the eastern islands. The chief products of the place were, "tin plenty, bettle nut, wax, raw dammer, sago, poonspay of any size or length . . . gold and dollars at times plenty, and spices . . ." <sup>13</sup> Captain Light was convinced that an English settlement at Rhio could ultimately develop into an extensive and profitable trade emporium which "might in a few years hurt Batavia; it would certainly bring the China trade to it", and trade in benjamin on the west coast of Sumatra.<sup>14</sup>

The King of Rhio was an independent ruler "as yet unmolested by any European nation".<sup>15</sup> The seat of government and the habitual residence of the King was the island of Byang. Of late, his port "became a place of considerable trade particularly frequented by the English, which occasions

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Light to Andrew Ross Esq., February 1, 1769, Straits, Vol. I, Rhio.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

the Dutch to look on this port as their rival".<sup>16</sup> The Dutch insult to proes belonging to the port had caused "a great deal of uneasiness" in the mind of the King. To prevent further molestations "by that barbarous nation" (the Dutch) and to save his port from falling into their hands, the King, without any hesitation accepted Light's request to hoist the English colours on Pulo Byang. The fort of Byang which was, indeed, in a dilapidated state—"a little out of repairs, but mounts twelve eighteen pounders at present and may be repaired with a trifling expense"<sup>17</sup>—was placed under the control of Captain Light. The English captain would have preferred "to defend the king from the insult of any other nation provided that he was under no contract nor agreement with any other nation but himself entirely independent",<sup>18</sup> but conscious of his limitations as an interloping free-merchant, he hesitated to take steps in matters "of such moment without first representing it to the gentlemen of Bombay or Bengal"; he simply agreed to return an answer to the King's offer "in eight months accidents excepted".<sup>19</sup>

Francis Light was conscious of the sentiments of the authorities to find a foothold in the vicinity of the Straits of Malacca in view of the futility of Bencoolen to govern, during a state of war, enemy movements in the archipelago or even to control the Chinese trade. His first letter to Warren Hastings relating to attitudes and offers of Malay princes and the natural affluence of the islands on either side of the peninsula, is dated January 17, 1772.<sup>20</sup> The need for an English settlement there had not escaped the keen eye of Hastings, but he was too worried with Indian affairs to try a hand in any new enterprise. After the abortive attempts, sponsored by the Madras Government on instructions from the Court of Directors, of Edward Moncton and Charles Desvouex to secure settlements at Quedah and Achin, Francis Light had retired baffled to the island of Junk-Salang where he settled for a time.

The events of 1776-83 produced one of the sharpest crises in English history when the transmarine possessions of Britain were imperilled all the world over. The combined strength of the powers in India, assisted by the French, were not able to destroy the solid fabric of the English power in the East. Dutch intrigues in the archipelago were revealed, when letters from Batavia to the Kings of Salengore and Rhio pressing them to stifle trade relations with the English fell into the hands of Captain Light. On his return to Bengal in 1780, Light placed the facts before Hastings and to

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Warren Hastings Papers, Add. MSS., 29, 133.

counteract Dutch measures proposed the plan of obtaining, by private enterprise and subscription, a settlement on the island of Junk-Salang.<sup>21</sup> But the Second Mysore War had become inevitable and Holland was contemplating an alliance with America. The Bengal Government was not prepared to face extra expenditure in new adventurous schemes in the midst of costly and vexatious wars. The merchants, too, were unwilling to trust their purses on doubtful enterprises during a period of war.

England declared war against Holland on December 20, 1780. By January, 1782, the Dutch had become little more than spectators of the war. Negapatam, Trincomalee, and the Dutch settlements on the west coast of Sumatra had fallen into English hands, and Admiral Hyde Parker's engagement with a Dutch squadron on the Dogger Bank on August 5, 1781 had crippled the strength of the Dutch navy. Yet, in the archipelago, the Dutch were proving troublesome by their attempt to seize every opportunity of bringing the Malay princes within the orbit of their own influence or to harass them for their unfriendly conduct. It was at this stage that Captain Thomas Forrest entered the scene with the suggested offer from the King of Rhio for an English settlement in his kingdom.

The King of Rhio's overtures of amity were received by the Bengal Government with "the highest satisfaction" being "so very conformable to our intentions".<sup>22</sup> Apart from "reciprocal benefits and services that must inevitably be the result of that alliance and friendship which originates from such laudable motives", it was thought that a favourable reception of the offer will prove to be "productive of considerable advantages by forming a secure market for the disposal of the opium produced in Bengal and perhaps by opening sources of commerce with the natives hitherto unknown as well as affording refreshment and assistance to our ships trading to the eastward, or on their passage to China and be attended with a very inconsiderable expense".<sup>23</sup> The Governor-general and council thereupon resolved "that Captain Forrest be directed to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Rhio immediately",<sup>24</sup> and "to take possession of the ground which the king might allot for the purpose of an English factory, and, after obtaining a grant of it to the Company, to erect the British flag and endeavour to gain the confidence of the natives and open a free intercourse of trade not only with the inhabitants of Rhio but of all the neigh-

21. Unrecorded Paper No. 11, Straits, Vol. II, Factory Records.

22. Governor-General and Council to the King of Rhio, April 15, 1784, Straits, Vol. I, Factory Records.

23. General Letter from Bengal to Court, August 28, 1784: *The French in India* (Factory Records), 1772-97, Vol. VI.

24. Bengal General Consultations, May 5, 1784.

bouring islands".<sup>25</sup> The motive force behind the decision was declared to be "to prevent foreigners from establishing there".<sup>26</sup>

Captain Forrest sailed for Rhio on the "Esther Brig" with a letter from Bengal and small presents for the King—"opiums 2 chests, silver muslin 2 pieces, scarlet cloth 2 pieces, heavy taffatys 20 pieces, mulmuls 10 pieces, and cassoes 10 pieces"—as also a nominal investment of opium, piece-goods, and such articles "as were likely to find a good market".<sup>27</sup>

Captain Forrest's mission to Rhio ended in a fiasco. The Dutch had forestalled the English move by a few months. They apprehended "a sensible decrease in their duties at Malacca" from the English trade at Rhio, and sent a peremptory order to the King of Rhio and Salengore to "suffer no English ships to trade at their ports, but to oblige all the proses with tin and pepper to go to Batavia".<sup>28</sup> Both princes, however, took up the Dutch challenge, and their heroic reply that "if the Dutch had authority they must themselves enforce them (the commands)", left Batavia no alternative but to blockade the port of Rhio with "a large force of about twenty vessels".<sup>29</sup> The King had strongly fortified the mouth of the river to prevent the Dutch attack on Rhio which had become inevitable. The continuous gunfire with some of his 18 pounders "obliged the approaching Dutch force to withdraw to a greater distance."<sup>30</sup> The blockade of the port, however, continued for six months during which no vessel of any nation was allowed to approach the vicinity of Rhio. The King of Salengore to relieve the distress of his kinsman and to create a military diversion proceeded to attack Malacca with a force of about 15,000.<sup>31</sup> The strategy had its desired effect. The Dutch found it necessary to raise the blockade in February, 1784, and retired with their fleet to Malacca.<sup>32</sup>

The Dutch blockade of the port of Rhio must have taken place in or about September, 1783, immediately following Rhio's offer of a site for a factory to Captain Forrest. Forrest's voyage of survey, his return to Calcutta, his final communication to Bengal relating to the advantages of a settlement at Rhio, and "the very languid manner" in which the negotiations were carried on, gave the Dutch ample time to take action, check Rhio's friendly overtures to the English, and thus frustrate the prospects of an extension of English commercial influence in that region of the archi-

25. Instructions to Captain Forrest, Ben. Gen. Cons. May 31, 1784.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Light to Ross, April 10, 1784, Straits, I.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Light to Cornwallis, June 88, 1787, Straits, Vol. II; Ben. Sep. Pinang Proceedings, July 27, 1787.

32. Ibid.

pelago. This is obvious from the tenor of Captain Light's later correspondence with Lord Cornwallis. The Dutch were expecting reinforcements from Holland and as Light remarked: <sup>33</sup>

“if they overcome the Malays they will destroy the ports of Rhio and Salengore and establish factories at those places and at Perak and Quedak, which will entirely prevent any other nation from having any share in the trade of those countries, so far as to hinder them from bargaining their opium or other goods, for tin, pepper or other articles which are the produce of the countries and so compell all other traders to deal with them (the Dutch) alone”.

It was this danger which prompted Captain Light to obtain Penang as a barrier to Dutch encroachments in the archipelago. The Dutch were indeed, conscious of the immense importance of Rhio, and continued “to block up the port with two of their large ships and several smaller ones that no English vessel may enter”. The King of Rhio, “with all his dependants”, was forced out of his kingdom and found shelter at Mompava. Rhio was fortified with a strong Dutch garrison. An attempt was made to punish Salengore by “forbidding all trade to his country until he has delivered himself up to their (Dutch) clemency”. The state could hardly withstand a prolonged suspension of trade. The unity of the people was fostered by hope of assistance from the English which the King, too, expected “from the indulgence and preference our merchants always received from himself and his father above any other nation”.<sup>34</sup> It was not till September, 1786, that Salengore, unable to obtain provisions or to support itself any longer without foreign assistance, entered into treaty relations with the Dutch. The Rhio and Salengore trade was thus lost to the English. To compensate for this loss the English had to look to other islands of the archipelago over which the Dutch had not as yet put forth their claims of prescriptive right.

## CORONATION OF CHAIT SINGH OF BANARAS

DR. M. L. ROY CHOUDHURY

An interesting account of Chait Singh's coronation is found in a despatch of Fowke, the then British Resident at Banaras, which is preserved in the India Office (Fowke Mss., G. 3). The relevant extract is quoted below :—

33. Light to Ross, April 10, 1784, Straits, Vol I.

34. Light to Governor-General and Council, February 15, 1786, Straits, Vol. II.

“The Rajah’s palace being situated on the further side of the river, would have much impeded the procession of the ceremony to it. It was further judged proper and the Rajah himself proposed that he should shew a respect to the power from whom he received this honour by advancing from his palace to meet it. In consequence of this, tents were erected upon a plain on the west side of the city to which the Rajah proceeded in the morning of the 23rd October attended by all his officers and the principal inhabitants of the place. Upon his giving me information of arrival at the spot, I set out in my palanquin and proceeded slowly towards the tents, my father accompanying me and a servant carrying with him the *Khelat*<sup>1</sup> upon an elephant, I alighted at some small distance from the tents, where the Rajah advanced to meet and conducted me in. After an exchange of the usual compliments the Rajah proposed that he should retire into a smaller tent which we accordingly did. The Rajah himself attended by his Dewan-Munshi<sup>2</sup> and two other servants and my father accompanying with my Munshi and another servant attending. The *Faheed*<sup>3</sup> was then read to the Rajah, his seal by his direction affixed to it and the instrument itself delivered into my hands. The Rajah then directed all his servants except his Dewan to retire and in presence of myself, my father and my own two servants took an oath of fealty to the Hon’ble the East India Company, swearing upon his sword to observe inviolably his allegiance to the Hon’ble Company and so enter into no engagement or allegiance with any other power whatsoever. I had before considered the kind of oath that would be the most proper upon this occasion and having learnt that the taking of his sword was highly sacred and at the same time that would exempt from a degree of disgrace attending some kind of oath, I had consented to his taking it. The Rajah’s servants were after this again called into the seat. The *Sunnuds*<sup>4</sup> were made over to him and I delivered them together with the Hon’ble the General’s letters with my hand to the Rajah. We then returned into the large tent where the *Khelat* was produced and put on by the Rajah at which I assisted so much as to make the act my own, and at the conclusion, delivered a sword and shield into his hands. And the elephant and horse were brought to the door of the tent. During the performance of this

1. Robe of honour.
2. Secretary general.
3. *Faheed*—Proclamation.
4. *Sunnud*—(Sanad)—Charter

ceremony the Rajah's *Chubdars*<sup>5</sup> and servants repeated words of Jemitar<sup>6</sup> long live the Hon'ble Company. The Rajah after this made three several low obeisances as to the power from whom he had received this honour and taking his leave left the tent upon an elephant, I got into my palanquin soon after and was saluted at my departure by a discharge of some pieces of small artillery which were drawn up before the tent."

Chait Singh was originally a feudatory of the Nawab of Oudh. By the treaty of July 5, 1775, Chait Singh was transferred to the overlordship of the East India Company under certain distinct terms and conditions. Chait Singh was to pay to the Company rupees twenty-two and half lakhs. The treaty definitely laid down that "no demand shall be made upon him by the Hon'ble Company, of any kind, or any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any person be allowed to interfere with his authority or to disturb the peace of his country".

According to this treaty, Chait Singh was Feudatory Raja with all implications which that particular word connoted. Was the Raja a Zamindar or something more?

The treaty was signed on the 5th July, 1775, and Chait Singh's investiture took place on the 8th October. As Fowke's despatch shows, the usual Mughal formalities were observed:—

- (1) The *Khelat*—robe of honour—was presented to the Raja by the investing authority through the Company's Representative.
- (2) The *Sanad*—a charter of authority—was delivered under the signature and seal of the Governor-General.
- (3) The *Faheed*—proclamation—was read out.
- (4) Usual confirmatory proclamation was repeated by the Raja's officers: 'Long live the Company'.

The coronation ceremony as described in the despatch proved that:—

- (1) the Raja himself proposed that he should show respect to the power from whom he received the honour by advancing from his palace to meet it;
- (2) tents were pitched for the ceremony, which was solemnised not in the palace of the Raja;
- (3) an Elephant was used to carry the *Khelat* in the Mughul fashion
- (4) a sword was used as symbol of Sovereignty;
- (5) the investiture ceremony was a public one (the Chief Officer, the Dewan Munshi, and other important men of the state joined the public procession);
- (6) during the actual ceremony of taking the Oath of Fealty, there

5. *Chubdar*—Miss Bearer

6. *Jemitar* (?)—Announcer.

was no officer of the Raja present. The servants of the Raja were called inside the tent only when the ceremony of oath-taking was finished.

(7) a sword and a shield were presented to the Raja by the Representative of the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) as a mark of the Raja's ruling power.

A close analysis of the report of Fowke shows that the investiture of Raja Chait Singh was a combination of sovereignty and subordination. The Company was satisfied that the Raja had taken an Oath of Fealty; but at the same time they allowed the Raja to avoid the solemnisation of his subordination by not permitting his officers and subjects to be present when the actual oath-taking took place. The presentation of the *Khelat* and the grant of *Sanad* were in imitation of the Mughuls. The presentation of the *Sanad* and shield were symbols of formal sovereign rights. On the other hand, the salutation by discharge of some pieces of artillery satisfied the representatives of the Company that it was something more than mere formality. But whatever may have been the status of Chait Singh on paper, it was a fact that for all practical purposes, he was a tributary of the Company. A Raja or a Zamindar, a sovereign or feudatory Chait Singh had to be sacrificed to the greed of Hastings and need of the Company.

#### A GLIMPSE INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS UNDER THE NAGPUR BHONSLAS

PROF. R. M. SINHA, M. A.

Christian missions found their way into the Bhonsla kingdom with the progress of British domination at Nagpur and two chaplains were appointed at Kamptee to administer to the spiritual needs of British troops and officers. There was no resident chaplain at Nagpur and one of the chaplains at Kamptee proceeded to Nagpur on Wednesdays and Sundays to hold divine service. <sup>1</sup> The Kamptee chaplains belonged to the Madras establishment but it was "doubtful whether the Nagpur Province belonged to the Diocese of Calcutta or that of Madras."<sup>2</sup>

The above account may be taken to refer to the organisations of the official body, namely, the Church of England, but missions of the Protestant faith of other denominations like the Free Church of Scotland under Rev. Hislop were establishing themselves in the Nagpur kingdom in order to gain converts.

Due to the activity of these missions, Christian churches had been

1. Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces for the year 1862, para 361.
2. *Ibid*, para 363.

established in the Nagpur territories, some of them owning their own buildings and premises by the middle of the 19th century when the Bhonsla kingdom was annexed by the British.

In Kamptee, a Protestant church was built in 1833 and a Roman Catholic establishment of the order of St. Francis de Sales had its own convent and a large church. In Raipur a church was suitably housed since 1863 and in Seoni "a handsome church was about to be erected." There existed a Christian cemetery at Chanda to which a Protestant church was shortly going to be added.<sup>3</sup> That the numerical strength of Christians was growing in the Bhonsla kingdom may be understood from the returns of vaccination which were periodically sent by the Superintendents of Affairs of each district to the Resident at Nagpur. The number of Christians seems to have been such as to entitle them to a distinct category, in these returns, along with the other two, i.e., Hindus and Musalmans.<sup>4</sup>

The object of this paper is to show how Christianity spread, the popular resistance that it encountered, and some of the methods, including those of the official support of the Resident, that the missionaries employed in their proselytizing activities.

In course of their search for converts the missionaries came upon a boy—Baba Pandurang—of the impressionable age of "upwards of 15 years" and without reference to his parents successfully persuaded him to be enrolled in a mission school to study the Bible. When his father came to know about it, he, with another relation of his, entered the school and forcibly removed him from the school. Later on he was beaten with shoes and threatened to be sent to Hyderabad if he persisted in his attempt to learn the Bible.<sup>5</sup>

The missionaries took umbrage at this and complained to the Resident against the action of the boy's father and requested the Resident to allow them further "to explain this matter in a private interview."<sup>6</sup> They petitioned the Resident "on the youth's behalf" enquiring whether "the parental authority under which Baba Pandurang has been placed extended so far as to prevent him, though now upwards of 15 years of age—from learning what he professedly holds to be the will of God, so that he may be lawfully beaten for attending a school where that instruction is communicated or removed against his wish to a distance where it cannot be obtained?"<sup>7</sup>

3. Grant, *The Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, pp. 233, 422, 475, 249.

4. *Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. 45, Part II, letter No. 334, dated 22nd September, 1828, from Captain Wilkinson to Captain Hamilton, Assistant Resident, Nagpur. This letter may be cited by way of an example. The Volumes of Nagpur Residency Records are interspersed with the vaccination returns which were periodically sent from all heads of districts for the information of the Resident under whom they worked.

5. *Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. 57, letter No. 91, dated the 23rd March, 1849, from Rev. Hislop and Rev. Hunter to the Resident T. R. Davidson.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

The fact of a boy of 15 years of age being hardly fit to take decisions in matters so vital did not obviously occur to these ministers of religion. It appears they claimed the custody of the boy and the matter was ultimately referred to the Court of Directors who decided that "under the circumstances of the case, Captain Ramsay did rightly in recommending Mr. Hislop to give up the Boy."<sup>8</sup>

These activities of the missionaries gave offence to the people of Nagpur city and, in desperation, they attacked the Mission compound (situated near the Jumma tank) on the 30th July, 1853. The matter became the subject of correspondence between the Resident and the Raja's Government and, finally, the Nagpur Government paid Rs. 1,000/- as pecuniary compensation for "the violence of which the city people were guilty in the mission compound on the 30th July last."<sup>9</sup>

The decision of the Court of Directors on the case of the attempted conversion referred to above rankled in the hearts of the Christian missionaries and they refused to be reconciled to it. Many more cases must have, undoubtedly, occurred in which the missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland, which was the first Christian Mission to be established in Nagpur, were attracted to seek converts among the youth of the country from the comparative ease of influencing young boys of impressionable age. They, obviously, opposed the advice of the Resident to go slow mainly on grounds of public peace which was threatened by their activities. This advice, however, seemed to have met with resentment which found expression in a letter, written by Hislop to Resident Mansell on the subject, in which Hislop justified the activities of his Church and claimed the protection, even the active help, of the Resident in furtherance of the proselytising programme of his Church.

Hislop demanded from the Resident that the latter was entitled to advise the Raja of Nagpur on a matter so important as to involve the question of the liberty of conscience in the Nagpur State. He claimed that the Raja of Nagpur was "far from being independent in his Government" and though the treaty of 1816 gave him ultimate control over "his children, relations, dependents, subjects and servants" (*vide* Article X of the treaty of 1816) the treaties subsequently made in 1826 and 1829 bound him "to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the British Government shall judge it necessary to offer to him with a view to the . . . . . happiness of his people . . ." <sup>10</sup> and entitled the Resident "to offer advice to the Maharaja, his heirs and successors, on all important matters."<sup>11</sup>

8. *Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. 57, Letter No. 127, dated the 29th May, 1853, from Elliot to Davidson (inclosure).

9. *Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. 58, Letter No. 26, dated the 21st October, 1853, from Rev. Hislop, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, to Mansell, Resident at Nagpur.

10. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, p. 428 (Art. X) Italics ours.

11. *Ibid*, page 434 (Art. III). Italics ours.

Now, in the opinion of Hislop, what matter could be more important than what he called "the liberty of conscience" since it was so intimately connected with the happiness of the people of Nagpur and to which "subjects are as much entitled as a Government to its tribute or a king to his royal prerogatives."<sup>12</sup> !

This right of the subject, Hislop further argues, should be "acknowledged to commence at the very latest from the period of majority when a youth is allowed to act for himself in worldly affairs."<sup>13</sup> The letter goes on to say that "as sixteen years is agreed to be that period among Marathas, His Highness, we suppose, would at once see the propriety of assenting to it (conversion to Christianity) as the time when his subjects should judge for themselves in questions concerning their religious duties."<sup>14</sup>

These were the arguments of Hislop in favour of securing the custody of the youthful convert referred to above, so far as the relation of the Nagpur Raja to his subjects was concerned, and no difficulty "in the adjustment of the case between him (the Raja) and one of his youthful subjects" was apprehended. But were the wishes of the boys' parents at all to be considered ?

Not at all, since "they will naturally feel a strong desire to retain their son in their family, caste and religion; and with this object they will proceed to the commission of violence if they think that they may do so with impunity."<sup>15</sup> In other words, Hislop tried to prevail upon the Resident to ignore the wishes to the parents of the boy and treat them as simple law-breakers if they used force "to retain their son in their family, caste and religion", that is, if they exerted themselves to protect him from the blandishments of the proselytising missions.<sup>16</sup> The question affecting the opposition of parents of potential converts, it was argued, was only one of feelings and had no political importance.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the missionaries did not fail to employ the force of political influence in the States of the subordinate allies of the British Government in the propagation of the Christian faith in those territories. It was easier for them to seduce young lads of impressionable age since they could be easily taken in. The missionaries encountered much opposition in India. The causes of it were many. The following extract from Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* may, however, be found interesting in this connection:

12. *Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. 58, Letter No. 58, dated the 3rd December, 1859, from Rev. Hislop to Resident Mansell.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

“Father Gregory, the Roman Catholic priest, dined with us one evening, and Major Godby took occasion to ask him at table, “What progress our religion was making among the people ?”

‘Progress !’ said he; ‘Why, what progress can we ever hope to make among a people who, the moment we begin to talk to them about the miracles performed by Christ, begin to tell us of those infinitely more wonderful performed by Krishna, who lifted a mountain upon his little finger, as an umbrella, to defend his shepherdesses at Gowardhan from a shower of rain’.

“The Hindoos never doubt any part of the miracles and prophecies of our scriptures—they believe every word of them; and the only thing that surprises them is that they should be so much less wonderful than those of their own scriptures, in which they implicitly believe”.<sup>17</sup>

Against a people so rooted in their ancient faith and civilisation, the Christian missionaries, really, had an up-hill task.

#### MARTIN'S INTERFERENCE TO CONTROL SUCCESSION IN HYDERABAD.

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Of Oudh and Hyderabad, the two plague-spots of maladministration under the aegis of British Residents and their subsidiary troops, the latter was of peculiar significance particularly after the death of Nizam Ali on August 6, 1803, and on the succession of his son Sikander Jah. As this State was the first important principality where British paramountcy became an accomplished fact, it was made a convenient nursery for the plantation of British power in the Indian States and a principal laboratory for all sorts of political experiments which were meant to be the corner-stones of British paramountcy in India. This state of affairs being utterly uncongenial for the retention of power and effectiveness of the Nizam, there were witnessed many ups and downs in the fortunes and powers of the successive Nizams whose *de jure* status remained in tact while the *de facto* position suffered a rapid eclipse.

Sikander Jah ruled till May, 1829. During his career as Nizam for about 26 years there were very few occasions when he could happily feel that he was the real monarch. Soon after his accession Mir Alam was forced on him as minister in 1804 against his own favourite, Raja Mahipat

17. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 337.

Ram.<sup>1</sup> On Mir Allam's death in 1808 dispute with the British Government on the question of appointment of minister again came to the fore. At last after a good deal of controversy the Nizam's favourite Munir-ul-mulk assumed the status of a minister; but very soon under cover of weakness of administration and guarantee for regular payment of subsidies Lord Minto, in 1809, exerted his influence to pass on the real power to Chandu Lal, the Deputy Minister who held the Nizam in subjection, supported by the irresistible British power.<sup>2</sup> Munir-ul-mulk continued to remain as a glorified but nominal entity.<sup>3</sup> With the functioning of Chandu Lal as *de facto* minister under the stringent control of the British Resident and with the clipping of the Nizam's power and functions, Sikander Jah felt utterly disappointed, dishonoured and defeated.<sup>4</sup>

Under the unscrupulous administration of the British nominee extortion, bribery, usury, extravagance, violence, oppression, tyranny, espionage, faithlessness to the Nizam and loyalty to the British Resident and the Residency officials became the ruling factors<sup>5</sup>. The Resident exercised salutary control over every aspect of administration. Almost all key posts were given to the Resident's nominees. British officers controlled the assessment of land revenue and the collection of tax. The Nawab's authority was seriously impaired<sup>6</sup>. The condition of peasantry became miserable, cultivation declined. The state soon found itself in the grips of serious financial embarrassments. The House of William Palmer & Co., started under the patronage of the Governor General, Earl of Moira, and working with the active and interested countenance of the Resident, Russell, bled the State white economically. The unprincipled minister Chandu Lal entered into questionable monetary transactions with the notorious mercantile House which began to influence and control the administration so much that the country presented a very gloomy appearance<sup>7</sup>. Russell's successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, did not allow his personal obligations to the Governor-General to influence his conduct in the performance of his duties. He started a tirade against the evils in Hyderabad which were due essentially to Chandu Lal's character, William Palmer and Company's superb roguery, loans at the exorbitant rate of 24% interest and unduly interested interference of the Resident in the administration of the

1. A letter from Sydenham to Edmonstone, 8 September, 1806.
2. A letter from Metcalfe to Swinton, 17 July, 1827; Metcalfe's Minute, 13 May, 1829.
3. Political consultation, 31 January, 1823, No. 1; Metcalfe's Minute, 13 May, 1821
4. Koye, *Metcalfe Papers*, pp. 222-223.
5. P. C. 15 Jan., 1823, No. 106, Letters from Metcalfe to Swinton, 31st August 1822, 29th November 1822
6. *Ibid.*
7. P. C., Slat. January, 1823, No. 1.

country<sup>8</sup>. For this performance of his duty he came into conflict with the Governor-General, the retired Resident, the Mercantile House and their innumerable supporters in India and England. The so-called plunder of the Nizam by William Palmer & Co, in league with an unprincipled minister and European superintendents of districts, brought untold misery on the country and left her in a state of ruinous indebtedness<sup>9</sup>.

Throughout, the Nizam remained the most helpless witness of these evils, the bitter fruits of British paramountcy. So great was his psychological depression and disgust with the growing misery and poverty of the populace that he developed an attitude of helplessness, disinterestedness and indifference towards every affair of the state. So great was his dissatisfaction with the state of affairs and brigandage in his country that he showed disinclination to open his rich private purse to relieve the distress which he thought was incurable under the then set up. He practically retired from administration leading the life of gloomy retirement and sullen discontent. Malcolm called him 'a melancholy mad man'. Indignant at the loss of his control over the affairs of his state, he allowed matters to drift and showed no interest in any of the affairs whatsoever. It was only during the time of Metcalfe that he became somewhat hopeful about things and felt inclined to take some interest in the affairs of his State.

After Sir Charles Metcalfe, W. B. Martin, an admirer of Russell's system, a supporter of Chandu Lal and in no way an adherent of Metcalfe's school of thought,<sup>10</sup> became Resident on September 29, 1825<sup>11</sup>. A believer in direct contact with the minister of the State, Martin exercised no less a salutary control over the affairs of Hyderabad than Russell. He coveted the immense fortune of the Nizam. Hardly a year had passed before he entertained the thought of acquiring the fabulous Golkunda treasure for the East India Company and of foiling the desire of the Nizam to appoint his younger brother as his successor on the *masnad* after his death.<sup>12</sup>

Sometime in the early part of August, 1826, the infant daughter of the Nizam Sikander Jah died. This sad family bereavement plunged him into deep despair. His affection for this youngest child was so great that he was almost upset at her death. His grief became too intense to be overpowered. He became very gloomy and melancholy. At old age this grief crippled his health very much. There remained little hope of his survival for long.<sup>13</sup> At this time Chandu Lal, who was known for his courteous

8. P. C. 7 March, 1823, No. 40.

9. Letter from Metcalfe to Swinton, 13 September, 1823; 30 June, 1825; Harrington's Minute, 10 October, 1825

10. P. C., 26 May, 1825, No. 56.

11. P. C., 21 October, 1835, No. 108.

12. Secret Consultation, 8 September, 1126, No. 8.

13. Ibid.

behaviour, entrusted Chandni Begum, his steady supporter in the household of the Nizam, with the work of soothing, comforting and tranquillising the afflicted mind of the Nizam, assuaging the poignancy of his affliction. To this lady, who was in the pay of Raja Chandu Lal and virtually his spy in the palace, the afflicted Nizam, apprehending the approaching close of his existence, disclosed his desire to proclaim his younger brother, Akbar Jah, as his successor in defiance of the claims of his eldest illiterate son Nasir-ud-dowla and to make arrangements for the distribution of his personal jewels and private treasure.<sup>14</sup> The intelligence of this wish of the Nizam, communicated to Chandni Begum in confidence immediately reached Raja Chandu Lal who had maintained a very efficient spy system everywhere in the State including the royal household. Considering this news to be a very serious matter worthy of careful attention, he reported it to Martin in a special interview. The Resident gave serious thought to the entire issue and immediately communicated the matter to the Vice-President-in-Council at Calcutta with his own suggestions and measures which he contemplated to adopt in concert with the minister of the State to tackle the problem of succession and to frustrate the intention of the Nizam<sup>15</sup>.

The reasons why the Nizam wanted to appoint his younger brother as his successor in defiance of the claims of his eldest son are not exactly known. But a clear inference can very easily be drawn from the circumstances of the Nizam, the prevailing conditions in his State and his consciousness of the root cause of all ills of his realm, that he wanted a strong man as his successor who could control the minister, reduce the control of the Resident and restore the impaired sovereign authority of the Nizam. His brother, Akbar Jah, was a strong man known for his hostility to British interests<sup>16</sup>. By selecting him as his successor the Nizam only wanted to exhibit an ostentatious display of independence, jealousy of British power and rooted aversion to British interests. In short, he wanted to emancipate himself from the thralldom to which he was reduced<sup>17</sup>. It was no doubt an extraordinary measure contemplated by the Nizam, but there was nothing unnatural in this attitude of a man greatly afflicted by injuries inflicted upon his sovereign authority. In the absence of a law of primogeniture and a well-established order of succession in the State of Hyderabad, if he considered the projected scheme of succession as a remedial measure it cannot be condemned as an outright act of indiscretion. It was certainly a special case and a bold and a desperate measure, but eventually it only showed the Nizam's failure to realize that the British control had gone too

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. P. C., 17 August, 1127, N. 52.

far to be curtailed or checked and that it was impossible to achieve success in this bold but desperate venture.

Having known the intention of the Nizam, Chandu Lal and Martin felt greatly alarmed.<sup>18</sup> In course of discussion Chandu Lal assured Martin of his determination to dissuade the Nizam from prosecuting his intention and to impress upon him the propriety of adhering to the order of succession according to which the Nizam himself was seated on his father's *masnad*.<sup>19</sup> If, however, the Nizam remained insensible to the force of arguments and showed persistence in his resolution, Chandu Lal decided to draw his attention to the propriety of consulting the British Resident without whose knowledge and advice, a question of so great importance and magnitude affecting deeply the interests of the subsisting alliance with the British Government should not be decided.<sup>20</sup> Martin agreed with this course. This contemplated proposal to the Nizam to consider it obligatory to take the advice of the Resident in selecting his successor and the support of the British Resident to this proposal clearly showed the lengthening shadow of the British paramountcy and its trend to control every phase of State's activity.

W. B. Martin took keen interest in the affair. But he could not clearly estimate the motives actuating the Nizam's conduct. He felt that probably the proposal of the Nizam was prompted by the desire to display independence in selecting a successor, hostility to British interests in the State and jealousy of British control over the affairs of the State. Feeling that this trend had uniformly characterized the Nizam's conduct, he condemned it as absurd and treated it as a deliberate attempt to effect arbitrary exclusion of a legal heir to the throne in whose succession the British Government had confidence.<sup>21</sup>

Taking the Nizam's desire in this light Martin interpreted his proposed move as a measure directed against the growing British influence and the ascendancy of Chandu Lal through whom this influence was exercised. He apprehended that the declared will of the Nizam would attach dangerous plausibilities to the cause of Akbar Jah and open flood gates of opposition to British interests in the State.<sup>22</sup> He also feared that the licentious population of the turbulent city of Hyderabad would gather under the banner of Akbar Jah whose anti-British inclination were not unknown.<sup>23</sup> In fact, he suspected that Akbar Jah's faction and its intrigues and artifices were behind the Nizam's move. He found the British political

18. S. C., 8 Sept., 1826 No. 8.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

and economic interests at stake in Hyderabad. With these suspicions and apprehensions in his mind Martin charged the Nizam with a calculated move to select a line of conduct most contrary to the interests and wishes of the British Government. Therefore, for the security of British interests and for the preservation of Chandu Lal's government he considered British interference imperative. Obviously basing his support on the principle of legitimacy he upheld the claims of Nasir-ud-dowla.<sup>24</sup>

As regards the policy to be pursued and the measures to be adopted to frustrate the schemes of the Nizam, Martin had a definite scheme in mind. In his letter to the Calcutta Government he indicated that the measure necessary for the attainment of his purpose would be regulated by the circumstances in which the Nizam might finally manifest a disposition to execute his design and by the character of his measures for its accomplishment. However, he promised in the first instance to confine himself to conciliatory measures and to exhaust all possible means of amicable expostulations and remonstrances before ultimately adopting any harsher expedients to obviate the mischievous consequences ensuing from an eventual competition between the rights of the Nizam's eldest son and the rival pretensions of his brother who enjoyed the Nizam's favour and was expected to find a multitude of adherents to maintain him at all hazards.<sup>25</sup>

The reasons why Martin chalked out a scheme of active interference in this question of succession were dictated according to his own statement, partly by the considerations of general policy of the British Government towards the Indian States, partly by the hostile character of the proposed candidate in whose hands the British interests were considered insecure and partly because of the desire to appropriate the fabulous private treasure of the Nizam deposited in the famous Golkunda fortress, estimated to amount to a crore and a half of rupees which Sikander Jah had accumulated during his life time. In support of his stand and determination to counteract the schemes of the Nizam he quoted Russell's policy towards Hyderabad in 1819-20<sup>26</sup> and the views of Metcalfe in which the succession of Nasir-ud-dowla was enjoyed in the event of the Nizam's death.<sup>27</sup>

This question of succession does not seem to be an altogether new question. In fact, this issue had received the consideration of the two former Residents—Sir John Russell and Sir Charles Metcalfe. Both of them had accorded support to the candidature of Nasir-ud-dowla as against all possible claimants including his younger brother, the son of Jahan Parwar

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Correspondence of Russell with the Government of Calcutta, 1819-20, particularly his despatch of July 20, 1820.

27. Private Memorandum drawn up by Sir Charles Metcalfe when he proceeded on his tour of the Nizam's dominions.

Begam. Towards the end of 1819 the Calcutta Government had expressly directed Russell in a private and most secret despatch to acknowledge Nasir-ud-dowla as successor to the Nizam.<sup>28</sup> Martin supported his claims to succeed the Nizam on grounds of his character being most suitable for that destination, priority of his birth, prevalent order of succession in India and above all the security of British interests. He felt confident that the personal qualities of Nasir-ud-dowla, aided by the countenance of the British Government, would ensure peace in the country.<sup>29</sup>

The Government of India recognised the superior claims of Nasir-ud-dowla to British support and emphatically denied the claims of a brother in preference to those of an eldest illegitimate son.<sup>30</sup> They approved the policy and the line of conduct Martin had pursued and sanctioned his projected scheme of interference in the question of succession in the event of the Nizam's injudicious action to proclaim his younger brother Akbar Jah as his successor.<sup>31</sup> They also sanctioned the cupidity of Martin to secure eventually the immense Golkunda treasure.<sup>32</sup> Thus equipped with authority to deal with the eventual crisis, Martin interposed his influence and made known to the Nizam the disastrous consequences of his contemplated desire. His strong and firm attitude had its desired result. But for the wise decision of the Nizam not to carry his scheme to its extremity a crisis could not have been averted. The Nizam survived the shock for some time but could not prolong the span of his frustrated life for long. Old in age and shattered in health, he breathed his last on May 23, 1829 and with British support his illegitimate son, Nasir-ud-dowla became the Nizam.<sup>33</sup> Stringent measures were taken to nip in the bud any upheaval against the recognised authority. The vast Golkunda treasure was acquired by the Residency to be appropriated to the exigencies of the State. Thus the Nizam's desire was given a decent burial and the wishes of the British Resident prevailed.

28. Despatch from the Calcutta Government to the Resident in Hyderabad, 20th September, 1819.

29. A letter from Martin to Swinton, 21st, August, 1826.

30. S. C., 8 Sept. 1826, No. 9.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Boulger, D. C., *Lord William Bentinck*, p. 133.

## THE "LIBERAL POLICY IN AFGANISTHAN" DURING 1880-84

PROF. DILIP KUMAR GHOSE, M. A.

The Afghan policy of the Liberal Government during 1880-84 is generally understood to have been "based on the principle of inverting and reversing...the action of their predecessors".<sup>1</sup> Lytton's pet theory of disintegration of Afganisthan was discarded and the question of placing a British Resident at Kabul was dropped. Instead, Sher Ali, the English nominee at Kandahar, was pensioned off to Karachi, and the British troops were eventually withdrawn from Afganisthan. Abdur Rahaman, whom the Conservatives had placed only upon the throne of Kabul, was recognised as the Amir of Afganisthan, while a Muslim agent was appointed at Kabul in accordance with the treaty of 1855.<sup>2</sup> The Amir, of course, agreed not to enter into relations with a third power except with the consent of the English Government, and was granted in return an annual subsidy which was subsequently raised to 12 lakhs of rupees.

On the face of it, therefore, the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon appears to have seen a reversion to the policy of non-interference in Afganisthan. In fact, while Lytton was seeking to carry out his policy of dismemberment the Liberals loudly opposed it, and with Sir William Harcourt as their spokesman, averred that "nothing was to be expected but disaster if you forsook in any particular the strict Lawrence doctrine of non-interference in Afganisthan".<sup>3</sup> Ripon was indeed sent to India to give effect to the Queen's Declaration "that the occupation of Kandahar shall not be permanently maintained".<sup>4</sup> After his arrival in India the Viceroy was informed by the Secretary of State that "Her Majesty's Government have deliberately adopted the view that the true defence of India consists not in the acquisition of strategic positions at a greater or less distance from the frontier, nor in competition with any other Power for influence in Central Asia...".<sup>5</sup>

But the Viceroy with the concurrence of the Ministry at Home, made a settlement which the Conservatives, if they were longer in power, might themselves have effected. That they opposed to the last the Liberal policy

1. Lytton's speech in the House of Lords, Jan. 10, 1881. *Hansard*, 1881, CCLVII, p. 285.

2. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1877-78, Vol. LVI, p. 376.

3. Buckle, "Life of Disraeli", Vol. LVI, p. 482.

4. *Hansard*, 1881, Vol. CCLVII, p. 4.

5. Despatch of Hartington to Ripon, 3rd December, 1880. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 237-39.

of withdrawal from Kandahar seems to have been a mere party quibble. In fact, the theory of disintegration was a new departure from the Conservative policy. No English Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, had ever desired the dismemberment of Afganistan. Since the First Afghan War the English policy had been to help establish a friendly and independent State of the Afghans. This policy was suggested and help even by the framers and advocates of the Forward Policy like Jacob<sup>6</sup> and Rawlinson<sup>7</sup>, Roberts<sup>8</sup> and Sandeman.<sup>9</sup> Jacob and Rawlinson, further suggested that an advance should be made to Quetta in the direction of what Roberts called the "noman's land which lies on our immediate frontier."<sup>10</sup> Lord Lytton too had never seriously contemplated the occupation of Kandahar, and was highly satisfied by the annexation of Quetta. "I do not consider," he wrote referring to the annexation of Kandahar, "that such occupation would greatly strengthen our western frontier."<sup>11</sup>

It was only to cover the folly of the Second Afghan War that Lytton adopted the theory of disintegration. The theory was his own and occurred to him after the assassination of Cavagnari, the Resident at Kabul. Yet, whatever turn Lytton might have taken after this unhappy incident, there is no doubt that the treaty of Gandamak<sup>12</sup> was the apogee of his Afghan policy. That treaty had secured to the English an effective control over the Amir of Afghanistan and the two advanced posts of Pishin and Sibi. The Forward School acclaimed the treaty as having attained a great triumph. Yet, the treaty was rejected and the policy of disintegration adopted, because the Kabul massacre, as Lytton argued, <sup>13</sup> had irrevocably cancelled the Gandamak treaty. It is however, very difficult to understand how the entire purpose of the treaty of Gandamak could be defeated by the failure of one single clause. Too much, indeed, seems to have been made of the assassination of Cavagnari !

Naturally, therefore, Lytton's new policy was not welcomed even by the Conservatives themselves. Their leader, Lord Beaconsfield, referred to it as "premature"<sup>14</sup> and Lord Salisbury doubted if it could "be a permanent arrangement".<sup>15</sup> As a matter of fact, the Second Afghan War

6. *Views and Opinions*, pp. 375-85.

7. *England and Russia in the East*, pp. 263-92

8. Robert's speech on Forward Policy in the House of Lords, March 7, 1898. *Hansard*, 1898, LIV, pp. 750-62.

9. Memorandum on Kandahar, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 272-74.

10. *Hansard*, 1899, LIV, pp. 752.

11. *Parl. Papers*, Afganistan (1881), No. 2, p. 9.

12. *Parl. Papers*, 1878-79. LVI, pp. 691-93.

13. *Vide* his speech in the House of Lords, Jan. 10, 1881. *Hansard*, 1881, CCLVII, p. 293.

14. Letter to the Queen, Oct, 23, 1879. Buckle's *Disraeli* VI, p. 482.

15. Letter to Lord Dufferin, Dec. 4, 1880. Lady Cecil's "*Life of Salisbury*", Vol. II, p. 377.

was considered "quite unnecessary" <sup>16</sup> by Beaconsfield, while Salisbury complained that the Viceroy had forced "the hands of the Government".<sup>17</sup> The Cabinet had entered upon the war with great reluctance, and reluctantly they came round to Lytton's view of disintegration. Yet, once the die was cast, the policy of Lytton "must be supported—and supported as the Queen urged and Beaconsfield agreed with as much cordiality as if there had been no initial difference of opinion".<sup>18</sup>

That was because the last months of the 1874 Parliament were very critical and uneasy. Among other things, the anarchy in Afganisthan raised a storm of protest in the House of Commons. There was a talk of impending dissolution of the English Parliament and the Liberals began to prepare for the General Election. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign made a very favourable impression upon the country, so much so, that "his tremendous projectiles had pounded the ministerial citadel to the ground, and...he had a nation at his back. What had been vague mis-giving about Lord Beaconsfield grew into sharp certainty; shadows of doubt became substantive condemnation". <sup>19</sup> Beaconsfield, however, pretended indifference as he wrote to Lady Bradford on Nov. 28, 1879 "...all this (i. e., Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign) was planned on the wild assumption that Parliament was going to be dissolved...whereas...Parlt. will not probably be dissolved till the year after the next."<sup>20</sup> But the dissolution came three months, and not two years, later!

In fact, Beaconsfield knew in his heart of hearts that his party had lost the confidence of the country and Gladstone had really "a nation at his back". That is why he hastened to effect a settlement in Afganisthan, "so that", as Beaconsfield wrote to the Queen on Dec. 5, 1879, "we may meet Parliament with a distinct policy".<sup>21</sup> At the same time, Dec. 5, 1879, Gladstone was passing an "overpowering day"<sup>22</sup> at Midlothian. To try to explain it away as a mere coincidence would be psychologically foolish. On Beaconsfield's own confession the Conservative Party was suspected by the nation of "hesitation and feebleness"<sup>23</sup> because they had no distinct and definitive policy in Afganisthan. So, when the Liberals were carrying on a vigorous campaign, the Conservatives proceeded to work out a rough-and-ready settlement, being unnerved by the prospect of a Liberal victory at the polls.

16. Buckle, p. 388.

17. Ibid, p. 387.

18. Ibid, p. 388.

19. Morley's *Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 594.

20. Buckle's *Disraeli*, Vol. VI, p. 503.

21. Ibid, p. 484.

22. Morley, p. 590

23. Letter to the Queen, Oct. 23, 1879. Buckle, p. 482.

The new policy proposed to give Kabul and Kandahar to two independent Chiefs and Herat to Persia. Obviously, the arrangement was neither practicable nor desirable. No ruler of Kabul could easily reconcile himself to the loss of Kandahar and yet remain a friend of the British Government. The Kandaharis were not well-disposed towards the English, while with Persia England's relations were never unceasingly cordial. Hitherto, the English Government had found it difficult to exercise influence over only one Chief. How could they now hope to control three different rulers? But then, the policy was adopted, as the Conservatives maintained, for the apparent absence of a Chief who could unite and rule over the whole of Afganistan. If so, the Conservative could very well proclaim their intention to withdraw from Afganistan while continuing to hold it in their effort to find out a suitable Chief for the whole country.

On a broader view, the disintegration of Afganistan was the least desirable. Admittedly, the whole Afghan question was subordinate to the problem of "the safety of the Indian Empire"<sup>24</sup> against foreign aggression. As possible invaders, Afganistan and Persia were of little or no account. The only source of danger, if at all, was Russia. But the dismemberment of Afganistan would have facilitated the very object which it was the desire of the British Government to check. The one very sure result of disintegration would have been anarchy in Afganistan, which, in its turn, would have afforded Russia the opportunity of fishing in troubled water. With Persia in Herat, Russian interests in Central Asia would have received an impetus rather than a setback. It is futile to presume that friendship with Afganistan was no longer possible after the Second Afghan War because, as Sandeman had rightly pointed out, "the people showed no determined hostility towards us until we deported the Amir Yakub Khan"<sup>25</sup> and adopted the policy of dismemberment. The theory of disintegration could indeed work with little or no chance of success. Even its author frankly confessed the "indefinite"<sup>26</sup> character of his policy, "which was subject to such modification as may hereafter be dictated by increased knowledge and experience".<sup>27</sup>

Viewed in this perspective, the withdrawal of the British Resident from Kabul and the retrocession of Kandahar were two very expedient measures calculated to secure the British interests in Afganistan. The demand for a British envoy was made the least necessary by the control over the foreign relations of the Amir and the appointment of a Muslim agent at Kabul. The retrocession of Kandahar, however, was opposed by the Conservatives on

24. Lytton's letter to the Secretary of State, 7 Jan. 1880. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 42-46.

25. Memorandum on Afganistan, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX pp. 272-74.

26. Lytton's letter to the Secy. of State, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 42-46.

27. *Ibid.*

political, financial and strategic grounds. But, while the burden of proof lay with the Conservatives, as they had gone out of the way to annex a large territory in Afganisthan, the opposition failed to prove its case, and was defeated in the House of Commons on March 26, 1881, by 336 votes to 216.

Politically, it was argued, the retrocession of Kandahar would lower the prestige of the British Government in India and abroad because it would be "regarded as a confession of weakness, fear and instability of purpose...."<sup>28</sup> Secondly, the British rule "would be popular...with the people of Kandahar"<sup>29</sup> as the Kandaharis were "tired of the Barakzai rule."<sup>30</sup> Thirdly, Abdur Rahaman was showing "undisguised leanings towards Russia",<sup>31</sup> and hence it was necessary to keep a watch upon him from the neighbourhood.

It is, however, very difficult to understand how the prestige of England could suffer in India by the withdrawal from Kandahar. After the murder of Cavagnari and the disaster of Maiwand had been sufficiently avenged, the withdrawal was more likely to inspire admiration and confidence amongst the Indians. During the First Afghan War the English had held Afganisthan, but they withdrew when the war was over, not out of fear or weakness but on the ground of rational policy. By the treaty of Gandamak the same policy was once again adopted by the Conservatives. On what ground, therefore, did they now presume that the evacuation of Kandahar would affect British prestige in India? Besides, as Sir Henry Norman, War Secretary and later Member, Ripon's Executive Council, said, "I do not see why this should be alleged of Kandahar more than of Kabul, the retirement from which place seems to have been followed by no such result."<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, both in India and abroad the position of the English was more likely to be strengthened by the knowledge that they were not "embarrassed by complications beyond our Indian frontier".<sup>33</sup>

That the Kandaharis themselves desired British rule is a make-believe which does not merit much consideration. Sir Alfred Lyall,<sup>34</sup> Sir Henry Norman,<sup>35</sup> General Stewart,<sup>36</sup> and Lord Roberts<sup>37</sup>—men who had

28. Minute of Stokes, Member, Ripons, Executive Council, Jan. 31, 1881, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, Vol. LXX, pp. 251-53.

29. *Ibid.*

30. General Stewart's Memorandum on Kandhar. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 173-174.

31. Minute of Rivers Thompson, Member, Ripon's Executive Council, Feb. 25, 1881, *Parl. Papers*, 1881 LXX, pp. 240-44.

32. Memorandum on Kandhar. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 180-181.

33. Memorandum of F. Baring. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-23.

34. Memorandum of Sir Alfred Lyall. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

35. Sir Henry Norman's note on Kandhar. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-201.

36. Memorandum of General Stewart. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

37. Memorandum of Lord Roberts. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

personal knowledge of the temper of the Afghans—agree on the point that the Kandaharis were hateful of the English and could, therefore, never desire their rule. Whether “the Kandaharis were tired of the Barakzai rule”, and if so, how much indeed they disliked the Kabulis, are matters of conjecture. True, Kabul and Kandahar had, at times, remained separated; yet they were looked upon by the whole nation as constituting “integral parts of one Kingdom”<sup>38</sup> and had been really so under the Amirs Dost Muhammad and Sher Ali.

The charge against Abdur Rahman of complicities with Russia is unfounded in so far as there was no “distinct proof of the Sirdar’s duplicity”.<sup>39</sup> On the contrary, the Amir, though an erstwhile pensioner of Russia, had been eager—as is evident from his correspondence with Griffin, the Chief Political Officer, Northern and Eastern Afganistan—<sup>40</sup> to enter into a subordinate alliance with the Government of India and never preferred a Russian alliance to the English. That it was so was acknowledged by Griffin himself when he wrote to General Stewart, “He (Abdur Rahaman) had publicly, privately, by letters, circulars, and in public speeches in his daily durbars, declared his firm intention of making friendly arrangements with the British Government.”<sup>41</sup> Further, the idea of undermining political intrigues at Kabul from Kandahar was a fond hope which was inconsistent with the recent experiences in Afganistan. During the latest occupation of Kandahar the Liberal Government received no information from Kabul except such as “the Afghans themselves voluntarily conveyed”.<sup>42</sup> The late Government had a still further bitter experience. On Sept. 2, 1879, Major Cavagnari, referring to the conditions in Afganistan, cabled to the Viceroy “All well”. Yet, surprisingly, the very next day, Sept. 3, the British Embassy at Kabul was massacred !

Financially, the Conservatives tried to assert, Kandahar would prove no burden, because irrigation and agriculture, which “would extend under our rule”,<sup>43</sup> would yield a fair revenue and “the financial benefit of increasing our trade with Persia and Central Asia”<sup>44</sup> would be considerable. The Conservatives, however, did not produce any comprehensive estimate except that of Col. St. John<sup>45</sup> which showed a surplus revenue of

38. Speech of Earl of Derby in the House of Lords, March 3, 1881, *Hansard*, 1881, CCLIX. p. 106.

39. Ripon’s letter to Hartington, 27 July, 1880. *Parl. Papers* 1881, LXX, pp. 81-83.

40. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881, LXX. pp. 85-86.

41. Letter from Kabul, 4th August, 1880. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, p. 89.

42. *Hansard*, 1881, CCLIX, p. 1864.

43. Minute of Whiteley Stokes, Member, Ripon’s Executive Council, Jan. 31, 1881. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 251-57.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 246-248.

Rs. 6,00,000 in Kandahar. The controversy ultimately centred round the moderate estimate of Sir Henry Norman, who calculated the cost of occupation at £1,400,000 per annum for the maintenance of a garrison of 15,000 strong, and inferred that even the surplus, anticipated by Col. St. John "would leave us heavy losers".<sup>46</sup> Henry Norman based his calculations upon the ordinary cost of troops in India adding to it an extra cost of 100% for incidental charges, consequent upon occupation.

As against the estimate of Sir Henry Norman the Conservatives argued that no more than "12,000 or 13,000 men would be required"<sup>47</sup> for the occupation of Kandahar, and that too not in "addition to the force of India".<sup>48</sup> And, instead of Sir Henry Norman's 100%, an extra cost of 50%<sup>49</sup> would be enough to meet the incidental charges of occupation. But the recent experiences in Afganisthan proved just the contrary of what the Conservatives tried to assert. General Primrose's army of 12,000 men, all beyond the old frontier, proved inadequate when Ayub Khan marched upon Kandahar. To suggest, therefore, that a Russian advance could be held in check by less than 15,000 men is futile. Presuming that the Kandahar force, if less than 15,000 strong, could be supplemented in the hour of need by the forces in India, this would have been tantamount to exposing the Country to dangers within. The 100% extra cost, estimated by Sir Henry Norman, was no exaggeration as even it did not include the cost for barracks, fortifications and railways—items that the Conservatives themselves regarded as essential for retaining Kandahar.<sup>50</sup>

As a matter of fact, in making estimates it is always wiser to take the highest, and the Conservatives too were aware of this. The total cost of the last Afghan War was out of all proportion to the estimate of the Conservatives. So much so, that Lytton had to cable home on 8th April, 1880, "Outgoing from our treasury for the war very alarming, far exceeding estimate".<sup>51</sup> What is more, even the £1,500,000 was far too heavy for the resources of India and it could be only met by public debts and additional taxes. This was sure to provoke discontent among the Indians, and, as the Afghan problem was subordinate to the question of safety of the Indian Empire, the retention of Kandahar on financial grounds was an absurdity. Frontier or no frontier, there could hardly be any security for the Empire in India, save in the contentment and happiness of its people.

46. *Ibid*, pp. 106-201.

47. Speech of Marquis of Salisbury in the House of Lords, 3rd March, 1881. *Hansard*, 1881, CCLIX, p. 120.

48. *Ibid*.

49. *Vide* the speech of Stanhope in the House of Commons, 24th March, 1881. *Hansard* 1881, CCLIX, p. 1838.

50. *Vide* the Memorandum of Napier of Magdala. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, p. 223-25.

51. *Parl. Papers*, (Afg.), 1880, C2560, p. 69.

Commercially, too, Kandahar did not hold out any bright prospect, first because the Central Asian trade could scarcely be controlled from there, as the trade dues were levied not at Kandahar but at Herat, Maimaneh and Balkh; and secondly, because the balance of trade between Kandahar and India was not all too favourable to the former. It showed a deficit in 1879-80 and though there was a surplus in Kandahar's favour in each of the financial years 1877-78 and 1878-79<sup>52</sup> it was insignificant when compared to the cost of occupation as estimated by Sir Henry Norman. The retention of Kandahar was in the nature of an insurance against a remote, if possible, contingency, but the premium proposed was rather too high for the risk covered.

On grounds of strategy, the Conservatives averred, the occupation of Kandahar was of imperative necessity. The Herat-Kandahar road was "the only...from Central Asia to India along which wheeled carriages and heavy guns can be moved...Russia will soon be at Mery and then unless we show an unflinching front, she will occupy Herat, which as we know to our cost, is within striking distances of Kandahar".<sup>53</sup> With Russia at Herat, the Conservatives believed, the safety of the Indian Empire would be at stake.

Yet, to prevent any invasion by Russia, either alone or in alliance with Afganistan, the retention of Kandahar was equally unnecessary. If Russia was to force a passage through Afganistan she was sure to be opposed by the Afghans, and in that case, the English could go to Afganistan as her ally. If, however, an alliance with Afganistan was feasible—and what better cause than the retention of Kandahar could throw the Afghans into the pocket of Russia?—it could yet be of little help to the Czarist Government. The march from Herat was long and difficult, and Afganistan produced little beyond what was necessary for the support of her own people. An advance through Afganistan, therefore, involved a great privation for the invading army which could be increased by the retrocession of Kandahar, because the longer line of communication the greater would have been the difficulties of Russia. Besides, as Sir Henry Norman said, "Our being at Kandahar would not prevent Russia from advancing upon Herat if she desired to do so. An occupation of Herat could only be prevented by our sending a considerable army there, and not by remaining at Kandahar".<sup>54</sup> In fact, the occupation of Kandahar would have pledged the Government to an offensive attitude and unlimited responsibilities. It was in the nature of a risky experiment which was not worth

52. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, p. 248.

53. Minute of Stokes, Member, Ripon's Executive Council. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX. pp. 251-53.

54. Memorandum of Henry Norman. *Parl. Papers*, LXX, 1881, pp. 196-201.

the trial as a measure of safety against a contingency, whose possibility was remote and character uncertain.

If, however, Kandahar was relinquished, the Liberal Government retained Pishin and Sibi in violation of their original scheme to acquire no "strategic positions at a greater or less distance from the frontier".<sup>55</sup> The advanced posts, secured by the treaty of Gandamak, were now retained as they constituted "in most respects a satisfactory frontier, and in that position we can lay our hands on Kandahar at any moment..."<sup>56</sup> Not only that, the Amir had earlier agreed to conduct his foreign relations with the advice of the British Government. This was secured against the deliberate objective of Her Majesty's Government not to enter into "competition with any other power for influence in Central Asia."<sup>57</sup> The Liberals thus effected a settlement which was an exact replica of the treaty of Gandamak except in one negligible particular. The treaty of 1879 was certainly the high water mark of the Forward policy, the object of which was to secure British influence in Afganistan and extend the North-West Frontier of British India upto its logical limits. Of that policy the annexation of Quetta was the first step; the retention of Pishin and Sibi was the next step forward in the same direction; and, the creation of the Durand Line and the Frontier Province was its ultimate consummation.

### THE SATI IN HYDERABAD

PROF. NANI GOPAL CHAUDHURI, M. A.

Requested by Lord Hardinge's Government the Nizam prohibited the rite of Sati in his dominions in 1847. But the orders issued by the Nizam were not effective, for in Berar even after promulgation of the orders burning of a Sati took place. A Hindu woman after the death of her husband immolated and burned herself and did not listen to the prohibition of the Deshmukh. So, the Nizam was requested by the Resident to enforce the orders which he had formerly issued. To this the Nizam's peshkar replied that there had been a compact between the Hindus and his Government to the effect that the latter 'would not hinder or prevent the performance of their customs and that therefore the Shastris should be assembled' to enquire into the injunctions of the religious scriptures of the Hindus. At the same time he assured the Resident that as Sati had been abolished from the Company's dominions and the other 'Native States' and as the abolition

55. Hartington's Despatch to Ripon, *Ibid*, pp. 237-39.

56. Memorandum of General Stewart. *Ibid*, pp. 173-74.

57. Hartington's Despatch to Ripon. *Ibid*, pp. 237-39.

of Sati had been supported by the Shastris of Company's dominions, orders for the abolition of Sati in Hyderabad should be again issued and given effect to. The Government officials whose duty it was to prevent the Sati that lately occurred in Berar should be punished.<sup>1</sup>

The Nizam's attention being drawn to the subject by the Resident, the Nizam informed the Resident that 'even if the Shastris' decision was in contravention of the orders formerly issued, it should not be given effect to' and the orders abolishing Sati should be again issued and the Government officers would see that those orders were strictly obeyed.<sup>2</sup>

The Peshkar of the Nizam being requested by the Resident to furnish him with a copy of orders to be issued, the Peshkar sent a copy of the same. In the last portion of the *ahkam* or orders the preventive measures were thus prescribed:

"That all the government officials administering the affairs of the private and public domains proclaim, throughout them, that no Hindoo woman shall burn herself along with her husband's body, and if any woman attempts this forbidden practice, her relatives are to prevent her, and if she will not attend to them, they are to make known her intention to the government officers residing in those parts and it will be their duty after receiving this information to prevent her by every means and in every way in their power. If after the issuing and giving effect to this order it should be disobeyed, first the relations and after them the government officials under whose authority this forbidden practice may take place will be responsible, and a suitable punishment will be inflicted upon them, and they will be reprobated and considered vile by the Circar even after."<sup>3</sup>

The *ahkam* issued by the Nizam contained some ambiguity which the Resident pointed out to the Peshkar. It was stated therein: "Further this kind of Suttee is not proved to be in accordance with the Shastras of the Hindus"<sup>4</sup>. From this the Resident inferred that there was then a kind of Sati which was 'established and lawful'. The Resident requested the Peshkar to inform him what kind of Sati was 'established and lawful' and until he did it the Resident would not send the copy of the *ahkam* to the Supreme Government in Calcutta.<sup>5</sup>

To this the Peshkar replied, "The meaning of *ahkam* in which it is written that this kind of Suttee is not proved to be in accordance with the Shastras is that Sati is a mode of expression—if from the prevention of any one or the obstruction of any one it is not hindered or stopped—even as far as

1. Pol. Con., 14th June, 1850, No. 261: From Peshkar, 24th April, 1850.

2. Pol. Con., 14th June, 1850, No. 261: From Peshkar, 28th April, 1850.

3. Pol. Con., 28th June, 1850, No. 103.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. From the Resident, 2nd May, 1850.

being placed in fetters and confined in a locked up house—and if in spite of fetters and locks the woman who intends to perform Sati—appears on her husband's body and does not agree to be placed in durance and will not separate from her husband's body but will burn with it—this is the kind of Suttee that cannot by any means be prevented—and it is lawful that (the woman) burn with her husband.”<sup>6</sup>

The Resident sent back the orders of the Nizam and requested the Peshkar to get the sentence in question expunged from the Nizam's *ahkam*, as it was not the wish of the Company's Government that any woman should burn herself with her husband's body out of her own free will or otherwise.<sup>7</sup> In conformity with the suggestion of the Resident the sentence alluded to was expunged and a fresh copy of the *ahkam* was sent to the Resident for transmission to the Governor-General-in-Council.<sup>8</sup>

Copies of the Second *ahkam* were sent to the European military officers of the Nizam's contingent stationed in different parts of Hyderabad. These officers were advised by the Resident that on receiving news that the rite of Sati was contemplated in any part of the Country under their jurisdiction, they would move immediately a military party to the locality in question to enforce the prohibitory orders of the Nizam.<sup>9</sup>

But the Nizam's *ahkam* was of no avail and the Resident was mortified to receive now and then intimation of the occurrences of Sati from various parts of Hyderabad.<sup>10</sup>

## THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

### AND

## THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY, 1885-1905

SHRI BIMLA PRASAD, M. A.

### Summary

The Indian nationalist movement, though primarily concerned with working for the freedom of the country, always kept itself abreast of international developments and formulated its own policy towards them. On some issues this policy was the same as that of the Government of India, but on others it was different from it. During the period 1885 to 1905, the

6. Pol. Con., 28th June, 1850, No. 103; Peshkar to Resident, 2nd May, 1850.

7. Ibid, From Resident, 3rd May, 1850.

8. Ibid, From Peshkar, 3rd May, 1850.

9. For. Dept., Pol. Con., 28th June, 1850. No. 104. Military Secretary's Circular, 4th May, 1850.

10. For Dept., Pol. Con., 8th Aug., 1851. No. 90.

most important international development which affected this country was the Anglo-Russian rivalry. It is this which provided the background for almost every move of the Government of India in the field of external relations. The Indian National Congress, the chief organisation of Indian nationalists, reacted to every aspect of this rivalry. Being in that early period, attached to the British rule, the Congress pledged its wholehearted support to the British Government in the event of the threat of the Russian invasion of India ever materialising. It used the British necessity of India support to strengthen its demand for the betterment of the economic conditions of the country. It also used this situation to push forward the claim of Indian participation in the defence of the country. But it did not support every thing that was being done by the Government of India in the name of preparing the country for defence against Russian invasion. Thus it consistently opposed the increase in the military expenditure of the Government. It also voiced strong opposition to the forward policy on the frontier, protested against the Government's action in Chitral and Tibet and warned against the policy of involvement in Persia and Afghanistan. The Congress declared the forward policy to be in the British imperial interest and not in any way in the interest of Indian defence and demanded that Britain should bear a proportionate share of the expenditure incurred on account of that policy. It thus tacitly agreed to bear its share of the cost of the British imperial policy. But it always opposed British moves against the independence of neighbours on India's frontier and thus stood up for a policy towards them which should be based on the principles of non-interference and friendliness.

#### EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE HILL TRIBES OF ASSAM

SHRI KESAV NARAYAN DUTT, B. A. B. L.

##### Summary

The recent news of a massacre in the unadministered tribal area beyond the Abor Hills district of the North East Frontier Agency in which some Assam Rifles men and a number of tribal people who accompanied them lost their lives at the hands of the hostile tribe of Tagin Dufas, shocked the people of India. A military expedition to bring the offenders to book and to extend the limits of orderly administration to the area in question has already been started.

The intransigence of the Naga tribes of the Naga Hills district of Assam in their opposition to the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution under which they are to be governed, and their obstinate demand for independ-

ence has created a tangle in the affairs of the tribal areas of Assam which the State Government has to grapple with firmness and foresight.

That the incident in the Abor Hills area above referred to is not an isolated incident and the first of its kind, and that the demand for independence put forth by the Naga National Council—a recent creation of some political adventurers without any historical precedent or moral basis for it—is not justified by the facts of history so far as these tribes have any history, will be borne out by a study of the records illumining the history of British relations with the hill tribes of Assam, especially in the nineteenth century, after their annexation of Assam in 1826, when the strategic importance of the north-east frontier was more fully recognised by the British authorities and the foundations of their frontier policy were more or less securely laid.

The old records preserved in the Assam Secretariate Archives clearly unfold the policy formulated by the British rulers for the defence of the frontiers of their possessions in Assam and for controlling their relations with the border tribes. The circumstances which dictated that policy and eventually led to the extension of British rule over these tribes, whose territories are geographically inseparable from India, are described in detail in these records. This paper deals with this important aspect of Indian frontier policy on the basis of these unpublished papers.

#### THE SUBSTITUTION OF ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR LANGUAGES FOR PERSIAN IN THE REVENUE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT

DR. HARI RANJAN GHOSAL, M. A., B. L., D. LITT.

##### Summary

The paper is based on a study of some unpublished documents found among the Collectorate records of Muzaffarpur (Bihar). Its chief interest lies in the views expressed by the Governor-General and the Sadar Board of Revenue, Calcutta, on the subject of gradually replacing Persian by English and Vernacular languages in the proceedings of the Revenue Department. The relative importance of English and the Vernacular language in the eyes of Government has been discussed in the light of these documents; and it has been pointed out that knowledge of the Vernacular tongue on the part of their European and Indian Officers was considered more important than that of English. It was expressly made clear by the Sadar Board, in accordance with the sentiments of the Governor-General, that ignorance of English was not to be deemed a disqualification for the

ministerial officers of the Collectorate. It was further laid down that in correspondence among themselves the European officers were to use English, while in their communications with the people they were to write in the vernacular language of the district. In short, it was the view of Government that the vernacular language, "so long banished in the transaction of the business of the country", should resume its proper place. And the Commissioners of Divisions were asked to report on the progress made in introducing the change on 1 July, 1838 and 1 January, 1839, one year being allowed for effecting the change.

#### A NOTE ON BAIZA BAI'S LIFE

DR. K. L. SRIVASTAVA, M. A., PH. D.

An attempt has been made in the article to remove some of the misrepresentations about Baiza Bai. She was not a "crafty, false, intriguing" woman. She maintained high ideals of a Maratha lady. She bravely faced all the difficulties of her life and tried to make the best out of a bad situation.

#### GORE OUSELEY ON HARFORD JONES

SHRI SHILENDRA K. SINGH

The controversy between the rival embassies to Persia of Sir John Malcolm and Sir Harford Jones produced a great deal of trouble. Light is thrown on the character of Sir Harford Jones by the correspondence, (microfilmed copies of which have been deposited in the National Archives of India) of Sir Gore Ouseley with his patron Lord Wellesley, at that time Foreign Secretary of England.

#### THE BATTLE OF PILLALORE, 1780

PROF. M. V. KRISHNA RAO

An attempt is made in this paper to establish that bad faith and inconsistent policy of the Company led to Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic and subsequent events that led to Baillie's disaster; that the inhumanity of Hyder's forces at the battle was provoked by the treachery and breach of surrender terms on the part of the British troops.

An examination of the actual site of the disaster reveals that the last

stand was made not at the place of the fateful halt which Baillie made on the night of 9th September, but on the rising ground to the south-west of Pillalore, where most part of the army was dispersed and killed. That several escaped from the shattered square and climbed the Pagoda at Pillalore to resort to firing and harass Hyder's troops, is supported by tradition and local accounts. All accounts of the second battle of Pillalore fought by Sir Eyre Coote on the 27th August, 1781, state that Coote's army had to march over the bones of Baillie's troops to meet the foe.

### Haidar Nāma—ITS AUTHORSHIP

D. S. ACHUTHA RAO

Dr. M. H. Krishna, while briefly noticing the *MSS Haidar Nama* in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1930, described it as "an anonymous work," but certain references in *Haidar Nāma* and in a late Telugu composition contained in the same *MSS* enable us to infer that Kacheri Krishnaiah who began his service as a Karanik and subsequently rose to the position of Bakshi in the Court of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wadayar II and a contemporary of Haidar Ali was the author of the chronicle.

### ASSASSINATION OF JAYAPPA SHINDE

V. S. CHITALE

Bakhat Singh usurped the Jodhpur throne and drove away Ramsingh to seek the help of the Maratha arms to regain his lost crown. But he did not succeed, even though Jayappa rendered him some help in May, 1752, in which year Bakhat Singh died and was succeeded by his son Bijay Singh. In 1754, when Raghunatharao had been in the north at the request of the Mughal Emperor to check the activities of Suraj Mal Jat, Ramsingh waited upon him and begged military help; but Raghunatharao declined. While at Delhi Raghunatharao, however, detached Jayappa Shinde and ordered him to advance against Marwar. Bijay Singh had taken shelter at Merta with his whole army and so Jayappa besieged it and defeated him completely in a battle fought on 15 September, 1754. Bijaya Singh then fled to Nagore which was also besieged by the victor.

The siege of Nagore lingered on for months and want of water and food played havoc in the camp of the Rathors. So Bijay Singh opened negotiations with a secret plot to murder Jayappa by treacherous means. The envoys of Bijay Singh, followed by assassins dressed as Deccanims, marked their time and stabbed Jayappa to death on 25 July, 1755. Pandit Vish-

weshwar Reu and Sir Jadunath Sarkar picture a different story which is not supported by Marathi documents which tell a different story altogether. One has, therefore, to think twice before he writes about the murder of Jayappa and take into consideration Marathi documents along with others.

The death of Jayappa was a national loss to the Marathas and a Maratha news-writer, in one of his letters, said that the Rathors did not give an equitable battle and must be stamped out as treacherous and dishonest.

### SIDE LIGHTS ON THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MIR JAFAR AND THE COMPANY

DR. ATUL CHANDRA ROY, M. A., PH. D. (London)

The paper is based on a piece of important evidence from unpublished records of the India Office Library. Its purpose is to reveal the extortionate nature of the English officials at Fort William in their dealings with Nawab Mir Jafar Khan during the latter's second Nawabship (1763-65). A fresh agreement was concluded between the parties concerned. Among other Articles there was one providing for compensation to all persons for the losses they might sustain in their trade during the periods of hostilities with Mir Kasim. But the *absence of the specific amount of compensation to be paid* became a serious bone of contention between the Company's officials and Mir Jafar and this 'deliberate omission' enabled the English officials to squeeze out a far larger sum than what the Nawab had anticipated. Over and above the demands mentioned in the main treaty, the super imposition of subsidiary demands upon the Nawab by the English officials created an unpleasant situation.

The whole period of Vansittart's Governorship in Bengal was fraught with illusion and error. Immediately after his arrival in Bengal he was determined to restore the financial position of the Company which reached its ebb due to the complete suspension of their trade and the corresponding increase of the illegal private trade of the English officials. He had neither political education nor any knowledge of the Subah of Bengal. As a consequence, he was lost in a big world he was unable to understand and could not be expected to be critical of what he saw around him. He just played into the hands of some covetous English officials whose idea of solving the Company's financial problems was by way of squeezing the Nawabs of Bengal.

THE REAL MOTIVES OF THE ENGLISH BEHIND THE CONFEDERACY AGAINST TIPU SULTAN (1790)

Synopsis

PROF. B. SHEIK ALI, M. S.

Real motives were different from what were given out—Apparently Confederacy organized to protect an ally—Tipu could not form a counter alliance and only to rescue an ally, the league was superfluous—English inability to defend themselves was also not the real cause—Cornwallis was fed up with the policy of non-intervention—His aggressive designs—Tipu chief obstacle—Destruction of Tipu was the chief aim—Radical change in Cornwallis' policy—breach of various articles of the treaty—the pleas are untenable—English mortification over the loss of commercial privileges—Tipu's inveterate hostility was made out another cause of alliance—Charges refuted—Alliance a diplomatic move to silence opposition of the Marathas.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA IN 1877

DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, M. A., PH. D. (London), F. R. HIST. S.

In connection with a proposal for complete separation of revenue and judicial functions in Mysore, the Chief Commissioner expressed the view (India Foreign Proceedings, March,—A, General, 1877, Nos. 18, 19) that "there can be no question that the utmost difficulty would be experienced in finding natives, however well trained, qualified to discharge them efficiently". The Government of India also showed a similar distrust of Indians by saying that Indians would require greater supervision and deserved less pay than Europeans.

DELHI URDU AKBAR, 1840-1841

SHRI KRISHNA LAL SACHDEVA

In the National Archives of India there is one bound volume of a weekly newspaper entitled *Delhi Urdu Akbar* covering the years 1840-41. Although it did not contain any editorial, comments were given along with the news.

News items covered not only various Indian States and towns, but also foreign countries like Afghanistan, Nepal, Tibet, China, Russia, England, France, Egypt, etc. Interesting details are given about the personal life of Bahadur Shah II. We get a glimpse into the social and religious life of the imperial city and also its administration.

### HUMAN SACRIFICE IN ORISSA

SHRI R. K. MISHRA, M. A.

Offering of Human Sacrifice to the Earth God was one of the most common practices in Orissa, some portions of the modern Andhra Desha, and the adjoining States in the first half of the 19th Century. The sacrifice was offered by the Kandhs, the Gonds, the Kols and even by other castes.

This Human Sacrifice was offered at least once a year, though periodical sacrifices were not infrequent. Though Hunter holds that the Kandhs and the Brahmins were immune from being sacrificed because of the purity of their caste, it has been proved from the observations of contemporary English officers, like Mr. Russel, Lieut. Hill, Mr. Bannerman and others that there was no discrimination so far as the victim was concerned. Young boys and girls were bought from the plains and reared up and kept in reserve, to be immolated in case of an exigency.

The nature of the sacrifice was horrid. The Meriah or the Victim was made senseless by toddy or some other intoxicant and while in this state was cut into pieces, bits of flesh being taken out of his body till the head and the face were left, to be buried with the bare bones. Among some classes of Kandhs of Chotanagpur and the adjoining regions they even ate the flesh of the sacrificed human being. On all occasions, the flesh was cut when the Victim was still alive.

There is a very interesting document in the Sambalpur Collectorate which deals with a case of Human Sacrifice alleged to have been practised by the Zamindar of Borasambar in 1877. This Zamindar had been to Puri on a pilgrimage and while there or while on the road was attacked with Cholera. He returned to his place and suddenly rumours sprang up that while at Puri he had vowed to offer up Human Sacrifices. People were very much panic stricken.

An enquiry was conducted into the case by Chintamani Nand and Mr. Berry, the Tahasildar and S. P. of Sambalpur, who however, confirmed the existence of the rumour and the panic among the people.

**SECTION VI (Local)**

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, SOCIAL  
AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, RELIGION AND LITERATURE  
OF ANDHRADESA BETWEEN 225-610 A. D.

PROF. R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T., M. E. S. (Retd.)

*Political organization*

The Andhra king as the head of the kingdom, was the supreme authority. He was the centre of the administration and all officers, even the highest ministers and generals, held office at his pleasure. He made no new laws but only administered the good old customs and the Brahmanical laws. He rarely interfered with the country-folk's daily lives. He had his advisers on whom rested the bulk of his duties. Enthusiasts, like king Jayavarman, would himself sign "a grant of land". Often, he would tour his kingdom to find out for himself the actual needs of the people, visiting the holy places and giving charity to Brahmins and to temples. The Pollava kings of Andhradesa issued their donative charters from such camps.

The king was advised by a Privy Council. A privy Councillor was known as *Rahasyādihikṛta*.<sup>1</sup> For purposes of administrative convenience, the kingdom was divided into provinces. This view is strengthened from the fact that many inscriptions, for example, the Peda-vegi plates of Śāṅkāyana Nandivarman, the Hirahadagall plates<sup>3</sup>, and Mayidavolu grant<sup>4</sup> of Pallavas refer to head of a *desa*, royal princes, royal representatives of Andhrapatha respectively. The *Hirā dagalli* and the *Uruvapalli* plates<sup>5</sup> mention rulers of districts prefects of Counties. Below the District officials were the heads of villages. A village head-man is known from the *Bhaṭṭiprolu* inscriptions of the third century B. C. and the *Bhojaka* of the inscriptions of this period was a higher limb of power. Thus *Kavachakāra Bhoga* was a subdivision of *Karmarāhtra*.<sup>6</sup>

Besides the regular bureaucracy are mentioned messengers in the *Pikira* plates. The roaming spies mentioned in the *Hirahaagaḍli* plates remind us of such in *Kautilya's Arthasastra* which deems them as indispensable as the eyes and ears of the king. The existence of the following departments can be seen from the reference given to them in the inscriptions of the period. There was a department responsible for the Collection

1. (Sayam chato) kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, E.P. Ind., VI.
2. Peadavegi Nandivarman's C.P. inscription J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II
3. E.P. Vol.
4. EP. Ind. VI. 86 (Pallava yuva Maharaja Sivaskandavarman.)
5. I.A. Vol., V.
6. E.P. Ind. Vol. iii, p. 233

of royal dues from Crown lands, imports, customs, court fines and fees, collection of numerous taxes in villages excluding exempted Agraharas. Connected with it was the department wherein land grants were prepared. The preservation of records at the district level is proved beyond doubt.<sup>7</sup> The maintenance of law and order within the villages could be proved from the references to Talavaras. The existence of an organized military force is proved from references to graded military officials. The dispensing of justice to the people at higher and lower levels or an organized and of a rigid stage is to be inferred from references to ordeals in a Vishnukundin inscription<sup>8</sup>.

Here is a short list of officials with its modern equivalents:—

Vyāprta = executive officer

Āyuktaka = ruler of a district

Vishayapati = Ditto

(Go) Vallabha = Superintendent of Cows

Adhikārapurusha = Government official

Rahasyādhikṛta = Privy Councillor

Ajñāpti = executor of grant.

#### *Social conditions*

The Society was divided into the well-known divisions on the basis of Varṇa. The rulers increasingly patronized Brahmanism and proudly proclaimed that they upheld Dharma. Caste system become rigid towards the middle of the period.

#### *The position of women*

From the sculptures of the Ikshvaku period one would find that women, at least royal ladies, enjoyed equal status with men. The sculptures referred to are those of Court holding by the king and Queen. During this period the royal ladies increasingly showered their benefactions on the Buddhist Church and made Sri Parvata the beauty spot in the Andhra country. Pious Buddhists came to Andhradesa from many Eastern countries.

#### *Marriage*

Marrying foreigners like the Sakas of Ujjain continued, during the period of Ikshvakus. Two things come out prominently from the inscriptions of the period. One, the practice of marrying princesses to nobles, and two, Baudhayana writes in his Dharma Sutras (I ii. 1-4) that marriage with daughters of maternal uncle and daughters of father's sisters is an established custom in South India. At present the former is known here as Menarikam.

Inscriptions record kanyādāna, i.e. the gift of virgins in marriage.

7. Incharge of the record office of the District Desaksapataladhikṛta. Bhratpro-stam grant of Umavarman, E.P.I.

8. Palamuru grant of Madhava Varman I, J.A.H.R.S, Vrl. VI 17ff.

We have evidence of polygamy among the kings. Ikshvaku king, Virapurshadatta, had five Queens.

#### *Economic Condition*

The prevalence of coinage testifies to the advanced stage of economic development of the society.

There was mainly agricultural economy in the country though some industries on a small industrial basis existed. In the society there was the gulf between the well to do and the bread earners. References are not lacking of forced labour, quartering of soldiers in villages and serfdom<sup>9</sup>. The prevalence of these should have undoubtedly acted as a source of grievance to many people.

The existence of many ports within Andhra land, the carrying trade of the Andhra merchants and enterprising Andhra colonisers, and the references to numerous trades and vocations<sup>10</sup> in inscriptions of the period testify to the growing civilization in the Andhra country.

#### *Land grants*

The kings granted lands to brahmins and temples. In the land-grants we come across some of the following expressions—agrahāra, brahmadeya, devabhoga; terms of land-measure mentioned include nivaratana, paṭṭika and patti. Lands granted to learned brahmins were exempted from many vexations payments enumerated in inscriptions. For example, the exempted agrahāra was free from entry of royal servants, from salt-digging, etc, the donee was exempted from customary payments to the king like food, cots, dwellings, bullocks, etc. From Ikshvaku epigraphs<sup>11</sup> we know that the rulers at times supplied ploughs, cows, etc, to encourage agriculture.

The land-grants given to learned brahmins and temples served a useful purpose. The brahmins, the intelligentsia of the community, were imparters of knowledge. Ghatikas (centres of learning) are mentioned in an inscription<sup>12</sup> Each agrahāra was a place of learning. Mostly, the lands given to brahmins and temples were actually tilled by tenants. So, the germs of absentee land-lordism could be seen here. We know of the existence of serfdom and also forced labour in this period.

#### *Religion*

During this period Brahmanism and Buddhism prevailed. Gradually the former wiped out the latter. The history of the religion of the times is

9. EP. Ind, Vol I.

10. Vilavatti grant of Simhavarman, EP. Ind. XXIV, pp. 296-303. Donee to relieve taxes from the village of Vilāvatti payable by leather and metal workers, keepers of out-castes, actors, divers, weavers, barbers, etc.

11. Nagarjunikodna inscription of Sri-Virapurushadatta's time EP. Ind. XX Nagarjunikonda inscription number B2.

12. Vishunukundim Indrabhattara kavarman, father of Vikramindravarman donor of bikkulla plates, EP. Ind, IV—193-98.

nothing but the gradual disappearance of Buddhism as popular religion and the gradual incoming and prevalence of Brahmanical Hinduism. At the end of the period Brahmanism was firmly established.

#### *Buddhism*

In the Ikshvaku period the inscriptions refer to the donations of Queens like Chārudevī and princesses like Chāntisri. The reign of king Virapurushadatta was a "red-letter day" in the history of Buddhism. During the long reign of this king patronage was extended to Buddhism. Many stupas, Chaityas, and viharas excavated at Nagarjunikonda belong to his day. Nāgārjuna and Buddha Ghosa, the great Buddhist teachers lived during this period and wrote many books on medicine, logic, alchemy, etc.

#### *Hinduism*

The father of Srī Virapurushadatta patronized Hinduism. The founder of Vishnukundin dynasty, Mahendravarma, performed Rājasūya, Purushamedha, and Ekādasāsvamedhas. His inscriptions proclaim that he made Vājapeya, Bahusuvarna, Paundarikādi sata sahra kratus. Sun worship was a feature of this period. Srīsailam was a wellknown saivite centre. Some rulers worshipped Siva, some God Vishnu, etc. The Gods mentioned in inscriptions include Mallikarjuna, Chitrarathasvami and Gokarnesvara. The Vishnukundins who were related to Vakatakas and who in turn were related to the Gupta were responsible for introduction of North Indian culture, Vedic learning and religion and Sanskrit language. The performance of horse-sacrifices involving much ritual and Karma was done by kings and the influence of priests naturally increased. Varṇasrama dharma was established. Vedic scholars were richly rewarded by grants of agraharas made free from payment of all kinds of taxes and obstacles.

#### *Language*

The Ikshvaku inscriptions are in Prakrit. We may believe that Prakrit was the medium communication of ideas among the people. The script employed in early Śālikāyana inscriptions is known as Prakrit. In later inscriptions, Sanskrit was used. The subject matter of the land-grants was composed in Sanskrit. The script is Vengi or Tel-kannada. The grant portions contain some Telugu words.

#### *Literature*

The influence of Kannada on Telugu is abundant as could be seen from literary works. The alphabet used in inscriptions is known as Tel-Kannada.

The existence of poetics is evident from Chadovichiti of Janāsraya. Śri B. V. Krishna Rao in his Early Dynasties of Andhra desa writes: "it is not improper to assume that the Janāsraya mentioned in the work was the same prince as Mādhavavarman III of Vishu Kunḍin dynasty." In the same work various metres are used like Sirsaka. The book also mentions Dvipada and tripada varieties. In the telugu literature the former occupies a place of honour even now.

GURZALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE EARLIEST IKSHVAKU  
RULER SRI-RUDRA-PURUSHA-DATTA.

SRI S. K. DIKSHIT, M. A.

Not very long ago, my friend Mr. S. P. Nainar, brought to my notice a passage in the 'Palanāḍu-charitram' (The History of Palnāḍ), written by Srī Rāvīpāti Lakshmi-nārāyaṇ in Telugu, which refers to the existence of Pāli inscription on the tahsil town of Gurzala. This record was found by me on a stone pillar lying inside the compound of the Office of the Tahsildar of Gurzala; and a preliminary investigation showed that the author of the Telgu work was partly correct in so far as the said record, inscribed in the ancient Brāhmī-script, is written in what is known to scholars as the "Monumental Prakrit" (Senart) of "Lena Prakrit" (Pischel). In order to facilitate the understanding of the record, we shall first of all give the reading of it below, in the way that it was actually written,—beginning with what would now appear to be the line 2 :—

- 1.
2. Sidha[m]. Bhagavate (to) (Bu) dhasa Halapūrasāminam apaṇo ayu-  
vadhanikam
3. I—na (Ikhākuna?) Duka-siri śatam sampadatām Mahārajasa
1. Siri-Ruthra-Pūrisa-dātāṣa Sam 10 4 Gri(?) pa 1 Diva 10.3.

The afore-given inscription clearly begins with the line 2, runs through the line 3, and ends with the line 1, according to the contextual probability. The line 1st is written on one side of the central ornamentation of the pillar, and the other two lines (Nos. 2 and 3) are written on the other side of it. It would appear that after having begun writing the inscription, and finished nearly two-thirds of the inscription on the proper right hand side of that pillar, the scribe found out that he had utilised the whole of the "readable" space of the pillar on that side, and that, therefore, he later on made up his mind to write on the other (the proper left hand side) of the pillar, where there was some space available.

This inscription begins with a well-known Buddhist formula, which, however, the scribe does not appear to have given in the proper way. It would appear that he has forgotten not a few letters even at the outset; and it is difficult to judge if he has forgotten them elsewhere also, in view of the fact that not all the letters that were in all probability originally written elsewhere are preserved for us now. Immediately after the commencing benedictory word "Sidha" (which stands for "Siddham"), it would appear that the word "namo," which should ordinarily precede the phrase "Bhagavato Buddhāsa", appears to have been omitted; and we find the second

word, "Budhasa", written, not in the line itself, but above it, since it was evidently forgotten while inscribing that line originally.

From a palaeographical scrutiny of this record, it is easy to date it in about the latter half of the second century A. D. or the first half of the third century A. D. A comparison of this record with the Ikshvaku inscriptions of Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjuna-konda would show that here we have a record, which is definitely earlier than those records, and that the elongation of the letters which appears to have reached its height in those records, had probably only begun in a nascent state in this record.

The Gurzala Tahsil Office Inscription is dated probably in the 14th regnal year of a "Mahārāja,"—a title, which was not assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era (to which this record belongs) by vassals, but only by sovereign rulers. The name of this Mahārāja appears to be mentioned in this record as "Ruthra-Pūrisa-dāta", which is the same as "Rudra-Purusha-datta" in Sanskrit. This name at once reminds us of the name of the famous Ikshvāku ruler "Vira-Purisa-datta" (or "Vira-Purusha-datta" in Sanskrit). In the light of this fact, one is tempted to read the blurred letters at the beginning of the third line as "I[khāku] na[m]," though, of course, it is in reality of little consequence even if this reading is incorrect as is shown below; for there are other indications to show that this is an Ikshvāku record. *En passant*, we may note that the third letter in the name of the king under discussion, which is read by us as "Pu", presented some difficulties in its reading in the beginning, and that it was only after a careful examination of this letter here and elsewhere in this and other records of the Ikshvākus, that I have come to the conclusion that it should be definitely read as "Pū."

If we accept the afore-given suggestion that the reading of the commencing letters in the third line gives us the name of the dynasty of the "Ikshvākus," it would appear that imperial dynasty belonged originally to Halapūra, or at least claimed to be masters primarily of the city of that name, just as in later times they perhaps, belonged to "Sri-Parvata." One wonders if the name of the city of "Hala" has got anything to do with the latter part of the name of the present city of Gurzala. If we accept the reading "Ikhākunam", then the members of this dynasty, who were the masters of "Halapūra," and "donors of hundreds" (of gold coins), certainly included the Mahārāja Rudra-Purusha-datta. Even otherwise, from the similarity of the name of this Mahārāja and the name of the famous Ikshvāku Mahārāja Sri-Vira-Purusha-datta, it is quite clear that this ruler is related to him and that the name of the dynasty to which he belonged was "Ikshvāku." Under this second interpretation, however, the Mahārāja mentioned in this record is in no way connected with the rulers of Halapūra, mentioned in it. In view of the fact that this is one of the earliest inscriptions of the Ikshvākus so far known, and certainly the earliest one amongst those that

definitely mention any Ikshvāku ruler, the phrase “Śatam sampradatām” can easily be regarded as a precursor of similar phrases found in the Ikshvāku records of the time of Sri-Vira-Purusha-datta and others. Finally, a careful comparison of the present record and the known records of the Ikshvākus also brings out a general family likeness between them, especially in respect of the method of dating; since in all these records we find the name of the reigning ruler actually preceding immediately the dating, which is given in the Samvat years, together with the season of the year, the paksha and the day (or *tithi*). In view of these two last-mentioned facts, it would be quite reasonable to suppose that the reading given above of the commencing letters of the third line is not out of the mark, though, be it admitted, there would remain some serious difficulties in the explanation of the succeeding word “Duka-siri” as well as of the preceding phrase “apaṇo ayuvadhānika.” It must also be remembered at this stage that a few letters may be actually missing at the end of the second line, immediately after the lastmentioned phrase.

As is made clear above, the ruler mentioned in this record, Mahārāja Siri-Ruthra-Pūrisa-dāta (or Maharaja Sri-Rudra-Purusha-datta) is the earliest of the Ikshvāku rulers, known so far,—according to the palaeographical evidence at our disposal. The only rulers, known so far from other records, as being connected with Sri-Parvata, are the following three, known mainly to the scholars from the inscriptions at Nagarjuna-konda and Jaggayyapeta :—

1. Chāmta-mūla (Kshānta-mūla),
2. Vira-Purisa-dāta (Vira-Purusha-datta),
3. Bahu-vala-Chāmta-mūla (Bahu-bala-kshānta-mūla).

It is somewhat unfortunate that lack of the knowledge of the rules of philology has been responsible for some scholars giving to the world a somewhat inaccurate Sanskrit equivalent of the names of the first and the third of these Ikshvāku kings. It is forgotten that “Sānta-mūla” in Sanskrit would have become “Sāmta-mūla” in Prakrit, and that the correct Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit “Ksha” is the Prakrit “Cha.” Secondly, an unfortunate mislection, or perhaps only a caligraphic slip, in the name of the last ruler in only one of the three records mentioning his name has been responsible for changing the very meaning of his name, Bahu-bala, (given in Prakrit as “Bahu-vala”),—which means “one endowed with great prowess.” In other records that I had the opportunity of examining in the original, I observed that the name is correctly spelt as “Bahu-vala.” It will be observed that the name of this last ruler is after that of his grandfather, only with the addition of an epithet. It will also be seen that in a similar fashion the name of “Vira-Purusha-datta” is after that of a king who appears to be a predecessor of his father,—whether immediate or intermediate. In view of this similarity, there is at least a *prima facie* case

for supposing that Siri-Ruthra-Purisa-datta (Sri-Rudra-Purusha-datta) was a grand-father of Srī-Vīra-Purusha-datta, and that in this dynasty, as in many others of Southern India, there was the custom of naming the grand-son after the grand-father. If this conclusion is accepted, then the latest known king of the Gurzala Stone Pillar Inscription becomes not only the first of the known Ikshvāku rulers of this dynasty, but also the father of Srī-Kshānta-mūla. With the addition of this king, we know four generations of the Ikshvāku rulers, by name, and we are further inspired with the hope of finding out other rulers of the same dynasty, which, according to the Purānic account, gave to South India no less than seven rulers.

It is well-known that there exists some apparent confusion in the account of the two ancient ruling dynasties mentioned in the Matsya and other Purāṇas as having succeeded each other, since both of them have been named in them as the "Andhras." The earlier of these two dynasties is better known to the epigraphists as the, 'Śṭavāhana-kula', whereas the latter is known as the "Ikshākus." Of these the latter had according to the Matsya Purāṇa seven rulers that are dubbed as the "Āndhra-bhrityas" and that are said to have ruled immediately after the end of the first "Āndhra" dynasty. The Vāyu Purāṇa on the other hand calls the immediate successors of the first "Āndhra" dynasty "Srī-Parvatīya Andhras," i. e., those that ruled from the capital of Srī-Parvata, and gives 52 years as the total duration of all the rulers of that dynasty. Of these 52 years, mentioned by the Purānic traditions, we can now account for over half the number, with the addition of 14 years of the Gurzala inscription to those that are already known. It must be noted that if we do not take into account the Ikshvāku rulers, we can lay our finger on no other line of kings, belonging to Srī-Parvata, as having ruled in immediate succession of the Śātavāhanas. Further, we also find that the dynasty of these Ikshvākus, that we know from the inscriptions, is not otherwise mentioned,—for instance, by their own real name,—in the Purāṇas. Again, a majority of the known Ikshvāku rulers have left their records in the region, which is sought by me elsewhere to be proved as being identical with the ancient Srī-Parvata. Again, according to what appears to be a law of historical happenings, it is quite possible that the rulers of Srī-Parvata, viz., the Kkshvākus, were originally vassals of the Śātavāhanas or the earlier "Āndhra" dynasty, and, therefore, correctly recognized in some of the Purāṇas as the "Andhra-bhrityas." It would appear from a study of the coins, that of these successors of the Śātavāhanas, the king, that we know from the Gurzala Stone Pillar Inscription, viz., Srī-Rudra-Purusha-datta, was possibly the earliest independent sovereign, and that it was he who first took the possession of the Srī-Parvata area. We are making this statement for two reasons, viz., that this ruler does not issue, what we have shown elsewhere as the peculiar Ikshvāku coins of the Srī-Parvata area, and that yet he was in all probability in pos-

session of that area probably newly acquired as can be very well guessed by the find spot of this inscription, which is not far removed from that hill.

There is also another reason. We may point out here that before we found out the name of this king from the record on the pillar at Gurzala, the coins of this king were already known to the scholarly world, though not identified as those of an Ikshvāku ruler; in other words, "Siri-Ruda" (Sri-Rudra) of the coins was recognized, not as a member of the Ikshvāku family, but as a member of the Sātavāhana family. The date, to which these coins are attributable, would support the above statement.

It appears to us that in mentioning the coin-types of this king, Prof. Rapson has committed a serious mistake in mixing up together the coins of this king with those of another. It is to his credit, however, that he has left sufficient indications to enable the future numismatists to distinguish between these two rulers. It is clear from his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, that these two rulers are :—

1. Siri-Ruda (or Sri-Rudra), and
2. —ḍa-Sātaka (ni),—a name which can probably be restroed only as Chamyā-Sātakarṇi,—apparently the 29th (or penultimate) ruler of the imperial Andhra or Sātavāhana dynasty.

To the former of these two rulers belong the coins of the Fabric B, of the Krishṇā District, whereas to the latter belong those of the Fabric A of the same District,—according to the clearly cited evidence of that learned numismatist himself. The Fabric A is distinguished from the other by a number of points, including the more uniform thickness, the clearness of letters, and the uniformity of the symbols on the obverse and the reverse,—which are as follows:—

Obv. :—The so-called 'Chaitya' (or correctly 'Mountain') symbol.

Rev. :—The so-called "Ujjain Symbol,"—which is found on the reverse of a vast majority of the coins of the Sātavāhanas.

Prof. Rapson has named this "joint king" (as I would call him) "Sri-Rudra-Satakarni," but from the data given by him, it is quite clear that we have here the coins of the two rulers, by name Sri-Rudra and "Satakarni." For, when he speaks of the Fabric A, he is careful to put the letters "Sri-Rudra" in square brackets, showing the utter uncertainty of this reading; and when he speaks of the Fabric B he similarly puts the letters "Satakarni" within square brackets, undoubtedly for the same reasons. Indeed, when he speaks of the Fabric A, he even makes the reading of the very uncertain letters of the coins of this "joint ruler" an exception to the general rule, that he himself states, viz., that these coins (of the Fabric A) "admit of no doubt as to the correctness of their readings."

There is, therefore, no warrant to suppose that the Fabric A attributed by Prof. Rapson to Sri-Rudra was ever coined by him, or, in other words, that the latter part of his name was Satakarni. As will be now clear, his

full name is *Srī-Rudra-Purusha-datta*. He issued the coin-type, with the "Elephant" on the obverse, and the "Ujjain Symbol" on the reverse. Prof. Rapson is on the whole correct in pointing out that the "Elephant" type, which first appears during the reign of *Srī-Yajña*, is continued by his successors *Srī-Rudra*, and possibly a second *Chandra*." It is clear from Prof. Rapson's wording that he wishes to distinguish this "*Chamḍa*" from *Srī-Chandra-Sāti* or *Chandra-Sānti-karṇa* (the 29th *Sātavāhana* ruler of the *Purāṇic* list). These coins, with the "Elephant" on the obverse are associated with the *Andhra-desa*. Prof. Rapson opines that this "Elephant" type appeared "in the latter part of the reign of *Srī-Yajña*" and that the other type that he issued, belongs to the earlier days of his reign. Prof. Rapson attributes certain misreadings to the *Purāṇas*, and by dint of this device, he is able to reverse the chronological position of the 27th and the 29th rulers of the *Sātavāhana* dynasty, mentioned in the *Puranic* list, viz., of *Srī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi* and *Srī-Chandra-Sāti*. Since this latter king, distinguished from the "second *Chandra*" (whom he regards as the successor of the 27th ruler, *Srī-Yajña*), is known to have issued both the "Horse" and the "Elephant" types, he is enabled to draw from this assumption of his, the natural conclusion that the former type (viz., the "Horse") was issued by *Srī-Yajña Sātakarṇi* during the earlier days and the latter type (viz. the "Elephant") was issued by him during the later days of his career.

But if we set aside his assumption about the inaccuracy of the *Purāṇic* list, there would be no reason to attribute those types chronologically in this fashion, and then, there also would remain no reason to duplicate "*Chandra*", looking upon one of them as earlier and the other as later than *Srī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi*. In reality both these types attributable to "*Chandra*" belong to the "*Chandra-srī-Sāntikarna*," the 29th *Sātavāhana* ruler. These types may be regarded as the products of different regions and not of different times. This means that the two types, viz., the "Horse" and the "Elephant," both of which were issued by *Gautamīputra Srī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi*, were copied from him, in our opinion, by one of his successors, *Srī-Chandra-Sāti*, in different provinces; and of these, only the "Elephant" type was copied by *Srī-Rudra-Purusha-datta*. It would thus be possible to hold that the lower reaches of the *Krishṇā* passed out of the hands of the *Sātavāhana* into those of the *Ikshvākus*, almost certainly after the reign of *Srī-Chandra-Sāti* (the 29th ruler).

Elsewhere,—in our "*History of the Śakas and the Sātavāhanas*" (to be published), —we have drawn attention to an astute observation made by the late *Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit*, regarding a *Sopara* coin of *Srī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi*, which he concludes with the following remark:—"I am inclined to believe that *Yajña-Srī-Sātakarṇi* was a younger contemporary of *Rudradāman* and his occupation of the *Kshatrapa* territories may account for the gap between the earlier and later reigns of *Rudrasimha I* as *Mahā-*

kshatrapa. The date of the present (Sopara) coin then would be Saka 110-112," (i. e., A. D. 188-190). We have shown in that work that this date fits in very well with the general chronology of the later Sātavāhanas, that we were able to build up independently. The 28th Sātavāhana ruler is supposed to have ruled for a short duration of only 6 years. The 29th ruler Chandra-Śrī-Śanti-karṇa may, therefore, be supposed to have ruled about 18 or 20 years later than the date of the Sopara coin, i. e., in about 205-210 A. D. This would, perhaps, enable us to fix the date Śri-Rudra-Purushadatta in about 225 A. D. It is best to remember that the Gurzala record found out recently is dated in the 14th year of his reign. In view of this date, the approximate dating propounded by us will, we hope, not be found far from the truth.

### ON VISHNUKUNDIN KING

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*The origin* :—The problem that deserves consideration first is the origin of the Vishnukundian kings. Opinion is divided on the subject. Some like K. V. Lakshmana Rao are inclined to believe that the Vishnukundins like the Chalukyas who came later to the Andhra country as conquerors and established themselves there were foreigners, although they do not altogether rule out the possibility of the Vishnukundins having been an indigenous tribe of the Andhra country specially associated with Vinukonda in the Guntur district.<sup>1</sup> B. V. Krishna Rao is, however, more positive. He is definitely of opinion that they were Andhras. Developing the suggestion made by Kielhorn that the term Vishnukundi is a sanskritised form of Vinukonda, a town in the Guntur district, he states that 'Vinukonda' seems to be a variant of the Prakrit form of Vinhukundi or Venhukonda or the Sanskrit term Vishukundi? that the Vishnukundins 'took their original name from the original place of their habitation or rulership', that 'the ruling house of Vishnukundinagara and Vishnukundipura acquired the family appellation Vishnukundi on account of their long association with the town; and that 'the Prakrit form Vinhukundi or Venhukonda gradually changed and finally became Vinukonda'. Summing up his discussion he declares that 'the original home of the Vishnukundians thus seems to have been the region on the Southern bank of the Krishna and in the heart of the Andhradesa. It is also certain that the Vishnukundins were an indigenous family and were therefore Andhras.'<sup>2</sup> Some other facts gathered

1. Bharati VII

2. Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, pp. 423-24.

from the Vishnukundin inscriptions are adduced in support of this thesis. (1) 'The Vishnukundins called themselves *Bhagavat Sriparvatasvami-pad-anudhyatasya* "who meditated on the feet of the holy Lord of the Sriparvata." 'The Holy Lord of Sriparvata whom the Vishnukundins worshipped was Mallikarjuna-Siva, established on the summit of the Srisaila in the Kurnool district.' Therefore, 'their original home was only in the vicinity of Sriparvata either in the Kurnool or in the Guntur district.' (2) 'The title Trikota-malayadhipati of Madhavavaraman II, that occurs in the Ipur Plates second set, admirably supports this conjecture.' Trikota is Kotapakonda in the Guntur district which is referred to in old inscriptions as Trikotaparavata and Trikotadri, and Malaya is a local ancient name of the Eastern Ghats in Eastern Andhradesa.' It is therefore clear that Madhavavaraman II referred to the celebrated peaks of mountains of his home province.'<sup>3</sup>

The foundation on which Mr. Krishna Rao builds up his elaborate theory is the name Vinukonda which he believes to be an ancient town known as Vishnukundinagara or Vishnukundipura. The name Vinukonda is not heard of in the early history of the Telugu country. It seems to have sprung up in the middle ages and is referred to perhaps for the first time in the literature and inscriptions of the fourteenth century. Some of the local powers that held sway over this part of the country in the middle ages realising probably the strategic importance of the place seized the hill and fortified it, and a town arose around it gradually. However that may be, there is no evidence to show that the town was in existence before Vijayanagara times.

It is very doubtful whether the name Vishnukundin is a Sanskritisation of Vinukonda and Vishnukundin means, as pointed out by Lakshmana Rao long ago, Vishnu-pit (a sacrificial fire pit technically called Vishnu). Vinukonda means 'a hill that hears', obviously so called on account of the echoing quality of its rocks and Vinukonda Vallabharaya, a subordinate of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1377-1404), correctly renders it into Sanskrit as *Sruta-parvata*.<sup>4</sup> *Vinu* the first member of the name cannot be Sanskritised as Vishnu, for in Telugu the name Vishnu is directly borrowed Sanskrit, and its derivative form Venna through the Prakrit Venha is also known, Sanskrit Kunda becomes *Gunda* in Telugu and never *konda*. Therefore, the name of the place should have been Venna-gunda and not Vinukonda to give rise to the Sanskrit form Vishnukundi.

The devotion of the Vishnukundin kings to Sriparvatasvami need not necessarily imply that their original habit was anywhere in the neighbourhood of the sacred hill. Sriparvata or Srisaila was the most important

3. Ibid, pp. 425-28.

4. Kridabhiramam, 20

shrine of the Saivas in the Deccan in the early centuries of the Christian era rivalling even Benares in holiness. It was customary for the donors of charitable gifts to append at the end of their gift deeds the imprecation that the violaters of the charities mentioned in them would incur the sin of destroying then *linga* at Srisaila, instead of the slaying of cows and brahmins on the bank of the Ganges at Benares of the later inscriptions. This sufficiently indicates the great sanctity and holiness of the Sriparvata, and a devotee of the Lord of the Sriparvata might have lived in any part of the Deccan. The following example may serve as an illustration of the point. In the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli, it is said that Kapaya Nayaka was a devotee of Visvesvara and that by the command of the God he assumed the Government of the country. God Visvesvara mentioned in this record is none other than celebrated diety of Kasi, a fact explicitly stated in Kapaya Nayaka's own Guraja grant.<sup>5</sup> Following the line of Mr. Krishna Rao's argument we have to infer that Kapaya Nayaka was an inhabitant of Kasi or its neighbourhood, but he was as a matter of fact a native of southern Andhra country, and it is even doubtful whether he had ever visited Kasi. Similarly the Vishnukundin kings who were *Sriparvata svami Padanudhyatas* need not necessarily have been the natives of the country around the Sriparvata, they might have belonged to any part of the country where the worship of the God was popular. The epithet *Trikuta-malayadhipati* is associated only with the name of Madhavavarman II of Ipur plates ii, it certainly indicates his sovereignty over Trikuta and Malaya in the Andhra country; but has no bearing on the question of the origin of the family as he is believed to have inherited the kingdom from his father and grandfather. On the otherhand there are not indications wanting in the Vishnukundin inscriptions which point to their foreign origin. Madhavavarman of the Ipur I and Polamuru plates who was in all probability the first Vishnukundin prince to rule in the Telugu country was a gallant who pleased the hearts of the young women in the palaces of Trivaranagara, which was very probably his home or the place with which he had long been associated. He married a Vakataka princess, and his son Vikramendravarman is said to have been *Vishnukundi-Vakataka-vamsadvay-alamkara janma*. It is not therefore unlikely that the Vishnukundins were foreigners who came to the Andhra country as conquerors.

*Geneology*:—The geneology of the Vishnukundin kings like those of some other royal dynasties of South India is not definitely settled owing to the uncertainty of the position of the lists of kings furnished by their inscriptions in the family pedigree. These lists are given below for the convenience of reference.

5. J.I.A. II., pp. 106-7, Bharati xi., p. 956.

(1) The Chikkulla Plates.<sup>6</sup>

Maharaja Madhavavarman performed 11 asvamedhas and 1000 Kratus - Sarvamedha, Bahusuvarna, Pundarika, Purushamedha, Vajapeya, Yuddhyoshodasi, Rajasuya, Pradhirajya, and Prajapatya.

Vikramendravarman (Vishnukundi-Vakataka-vamsa-dvayalamkara janma)

Maharaja Indrabhattaraka varman scattered his kinsmen by mere contraction of eye-brows—Anekachaturdanta samara-samghatta vijayi, founded Ghatikas gave away much wealth, a paramamahesvara.

Maharaja Vikramendravarman, eldest son had all kingly qualities even in infancy, Paramamahesvara, gave in the tenth year the village of Regonram, S. E of Ravireva on the Krishnavenna to the Siva temple from his camp at Vijaya-Lendulura.

(2) The Ramatirtham plates.<sup>7</sup>

Maharaja Madhavavarman, worshipper of the Lord Sriparvata, ornament of the Vishnukundins, performed 11 asvamedhas 1000 sacrifices.

Vikramendravarman, an ornament of two families (not mentioned).

Indravarman, a paramamahesvara, Anekachaturdanta-samarasamghatta Vijayi. Donated from Puranisamgama in the 27th year of his reign the village Perivataka in Plakirashtra to a Brahmin.

6. E.I. IV. 193-8

7. E.I. XII, pp. 133-6

(3) Ipur I.<sup>8</sup>

Maharaja Govindavarman, worshipper of the Lord of Sriparvata, member of the Vishnukundin family, a devotee of dharma, a donor of cows, land and gold.

Madhavavarman, Hiranyagarbha prasuta, Trivaranagara bhavana-gata yuvati-hridaya nandanah, performer of 11 asvamedhas and 1000 agnishtomas; donated the village of Vilembali in Guddavadi vishaya to Agni Sarman of Vatsa-gotra from the camp at Kuduvada in the 37th year of his reign.

Manchyana Bhattaraka, beloved son of the donor and the executor of the grant.

(4) Polamuru Plates.<sup>9</sup>

Sri Vikramahendra

Govindavarman, Vikramasraya, victor of many battle.

Maharaja Madhavavarman Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-Yuvati-jana viharanaratah, Hiranya garbhprasutah. has performed 11 asvamedhas 1000 kratus-Janasraya. When the king had just crossed the Godavari to conquer the eastern region in the 48th year of his reign he made the gift of the village of Pulomburu in the Guddavadi Vishaya to Sivasarma son of Damasarma and grandson of Rudra Sarma of Gautamasa-gotra, a resident of Kundura in Karmarashtra.

(5) Ipur II.<sup>10</sup>

Maharaja Madhavavarman,

8. E.I. XVII. pp. 334-7

9. JAHRS VI. pp. 17-24

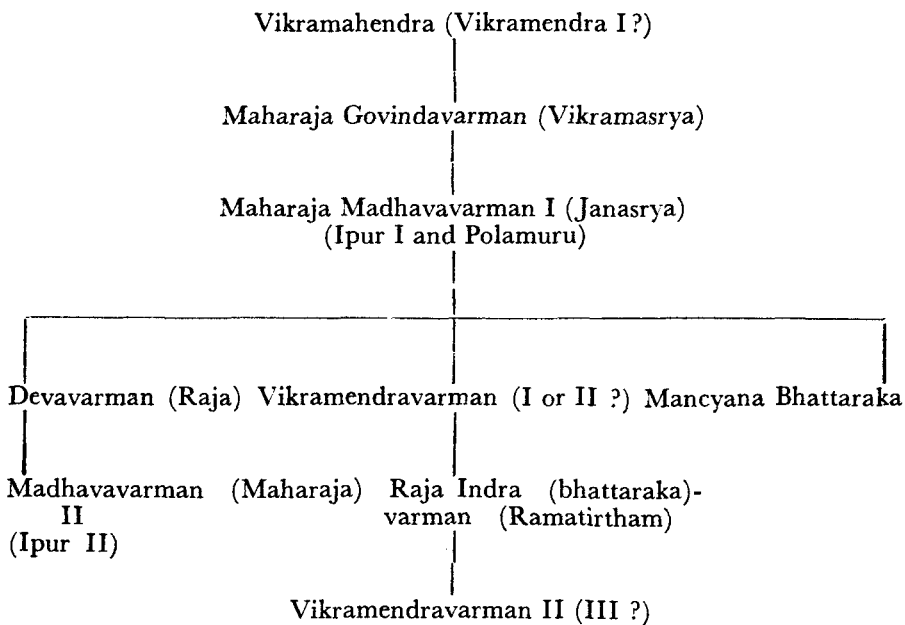
10. E.I. XVII. pp. 337-9

performer of 11 asvamedhas  
and 1000 agnishtomas.

Devavarman of  
great valour.

Madhavavarman,  
Trikutamalayadhipati, devotee  
of Sriparvata-svami. Grant  
issued from Amarapura in 47  
(or 17) th year of his reign.

The lists of kings furnished by the records have been combined by scholars in different ways in their attempt to formulate the complete genealogy of the dynasty; but the one scheme that appears to be most satisfactory, though not altogether free from difficulties is the following put forward by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his *successors of the Satavahanas* :—<sup>11</sup>



From this it is seen that Dr. Sircar has combined all the Madhavavarmans mentioned in the Vishnukundin inscriptions excepting Madhavavarman II of Ipur plates II into one person, on the ground that the performance of eleven asvamedhas and a thousand kratus (agnishtomas) is attributed to all of them. This is certainly very important. There is, however, one

11. See *Successors of Satavahanas* p. 104

difficulty which appears at first sight insuperable. The donee of the Polamuru grant of Vishnukundin Madhavavarman as stated above was Sivasarman, son of Damasarman and the grandson of Rudrasarman of the Gautamasa-gotra, and the same family figure as the donees in the Polamuru grant of the Eastern Chalukya Jayasimhavallabha I (A. D. 641-73). This record registers the regrant by the king of the village of Pulomburu in Guddavadi vishaya to Rudrasarman, son of Sivasarman and the grandson of Damasarman.<sup>12</sup> The family of the donees in both the Polamuru charters may be represented for the convenience of comparison as follows.

## (1) The Polamuru Plates of Madhavavarman

Rudrasarman of Gautamasa-gotra

|  
Damasarman|  
Sivasarman

## (2) Polamuru grant of Jayasimhavallabha

Damasarman of Gautamasa-gotra

|  
Sivasarman|  
Rudrasarman of Asanapura, Purvvagraharika

The last two names of the first and the first two names of the second are thus seen to be the same. It has been assumed that Rudrasarman the donee who secured the regrant of the agrahara from Jayasimhavallabha was the son of Sivasarman who originally obtained it from the Vishnukundi Madhavavarman, and consequently the E. Chalukya conquest of Vengi followed immediately after the death of Madhavavarmans and E. Chalukyas succeeded the Vishnukundins as the masters of Vengi. This line of argumentation would make the Madhavavarman of the Polamuru Plates the last Vishnukundin monarch of Vengi instead of the first, and therefore he must have been different from the Madhavavarman who established the Vishnukundin sovereignty in the Telugu country.

A few facts which militate against this conclusion must be considered here. In the first place the E. Chalukyas did not conquer Vengi from the Vishnukundins. According to the tradition embodied in the E. Chalukya inscriptions coming down at least from the time of Gunaga Vijayaditya III (A. D. 848-91), Kubja-Vishnuvardhana conquered Vengi not from the

12. Bharati VIII. p. 315

Vishnukundins but the Durjayas.<sup>13</sup> That this tradition is based on genuine historical facts is proved by the Tandivada plates. Prithvi Maharaja of Rama-Kasyapa-gotra, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Maharaja Randūrjaya. The record which registers the gift of Tandivada in the Pagunara Vishaya to the brahman Bhavasarman of Kamakayanasa-gotra, son of Prithvisarman and grandson of Vishnusarman was issued from the king's residence Pisthapura in the 40th year of his reign.<sup>14</sup> The characters of the record unmistakably point to the first half of the 7th century A. D., and as there was no room for the Durjaya rule at Pisthapura and the Godavari delta after the Chalukya conquest in A. D. 624, the rule of Prithvi Maharaja must have preceded it, and as he is said to have ruled for 46 years, the period of his rule must have lasted from A. D. 578 to 624. Vikramendra the name of the father of Prithvi Maharaja is reminiscent of the Vishnukundin royal family in which it occurs no less than three times. It is not unlikely that he was named after Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla Plates, who according to the geneological scheme adopted in this paper was the last Vishnukundin monarch who was probably overthrown by Prithvi Maharaja himself.

Apart from this, a few facts unnoticed so far indicate that Madhavavarman of the Ipur I and Polamuru plates was the first king of the dynasty who conquered Vengi and established the sovereignty of his family in the Krishna-Godavari delta. These two charters which were issued by him give two important facts about him not mentioned elsewhere. First, he was '*Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata parama-yuvati-hridaya-nandanah*', and '*Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata parama-Yuvati-jana-viharana-ratih*'. Dr. Sircar and following him Prof. Mirashi take Trivara-nagara to mean the city of a king called Tivara whom they identify with a Panduvamsi Sripura king of that name; and contend further that Madhavavarman even captured Tivara City.<sup>15</sup> This is far from the truth. What the passages cited above actually mean is that Madhavavarman 'caused delight to the hearts of the young women living in the mansions of Trivara-nagara', and that he 'was devoted sporting with the very young women residing in the Palaces of Trivara-nagara'. They do not even remotely suggest 'hostile relations' as Dr. Sircar would have us believe. Trivara appears to be a corrupt form of Tripuri, the celebrated capital of the Chedis, and not the nameless city of a king called Tivara. It was either the home town of Madhavavarman or a place with which he was long associated enjoying amorous sports with young women resident therein. He was in all probability a foreigner who came to the Telugu country in search of dominion. Another interesting

13. Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi p. 18.

14. JOR. pp. 188-94

15. NHIP VI. p. 89.

fact which has escaped notice so far is his sovereignty over thousand villages (*dasa-sata sakala-dharani-tala-narapatih*), which is obviously a reference to Vengi thousand.<sup>16</sup> This represents the earliest stage of Vishnukundin power when it was confined to the thousand villages of the Vengi district. It is doubtful, notwithstanding the grandiloquent language of his inscriptions, whether he was able to extend his rule beyond Vengi Thousand. In his 37th year he was encamped at Kudavada (Gudivada in the Krishna District), and until his 48th year was not able to cross the Godavari. The result of his invasion of the eastern region is not known. However that may be, his authority was never recognised outside the Vengi district. It was left to his successors reduce to neighbouring princes to subjection and under their rule a large part of the coastal country embracing Kalinga in the east and Karma-rashtra in the South.

The seals of Vishnukundin inscriptions tell us an interesting tale. Only three seals have survived. The seal of Ipur Plates I of Madhavavarman has 'two registers: Upper one has Lakshmi or Svastika on a pedestal flanked by two lamp stands surmounted by Sun and Moon, Lower register bears legend: Sri Madhavavarman<sup>17</sup> The seal of the Ramatirtham plates Indra (bhattaraka) varman has a 'lion advancing to proper right with the left fore-paw raised.' Similarly the Chikulla Plates of Vikramendravarman II, has on its seal 'a lion standing to proper right with a fore-paw raised.' The lion with its fore-paw raised and twisted tail became the peculiar emblem of the Vishnukundins. The fact that Madhavavarman of the Ipur plates I had a different emblem upon his seal shows that the lion was not yet adopted by the Vishnukundins. That was only natural. The lion was originally a buddist symbol specially associated with the stupa of Amaravati, it appears to have been the emblem of Amara-Durga, the tutelary deity of Amaravati. It was adopted by some of the Pallava rulers who held sway over the northern rashtras of the Pallava kingdom. The Uruvapalli and the Pikrira Plates, have a lion portrayed on their seals. When the successors of Madhavavarman of the Ipur I and Polamuru Plates extended their dominion into Karmarashtra, they seems to have changed the emblem on their family seal and adopted the lion in the place of the original Lakshmi or Svastika as a mark of their victory over the Pallavas.

16. The observations of Mr. M. S. Sarma are of considerable interest. "Dasa-sata-sakala-dharani tala-narapatih" means that he was the lord of the territory *dasa-sata* i.e., a thousand in extent. Originally Vengi was a country of one thousand villages (Vengi-grāma-sahasrakam' SH. IV. 1158). Vengi-sahasra-kashamadhishah (SH. VI. 96) which corresponds to *desa-satta-sakala-dharani talapatih* of the present inscription. Though not specified by name the *dasa-sata charani-tala* of which Madhavavarman declares himself to have been the king was Vengi Thousand itself.—Bharti VII. p. 475 n. 6.

17. IC, XV. p. 14.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that Madhavavarman of the Ipur I and Polamuru Plates could not have been the last but the first monarch of that name who established the Vishnukundin power in the Telugu country.<sup>17a</sup> How then are we to account for the similarity of the names of the donees of the two Polamuru grants of Vishnukundin Madhavavarman and the Eastern Chalukya Jayasimhavallabha I. The names of the donees in the two sets of grants are undoubtedly similar, but the bearers of these need not necessarily have been identical persons. Owing to the common practice of naming children after grandparents, names not only of individuals but of two or three consecutive generations are known to repeat themselves in the royal genealogies. What is true of royal families can equally be true of the common folk. Therefore the similarity of the names in the records mentioned above must not be taken to imply their identity of the persons bearing them.

*Chronology* :—The Vishnukundin rule over Vengi lasted perhaps for about a century. Madhavavarman I the founder of the dynasty ruled for 48 years: his sons Devavarman, Vikramendra Varman and Manchyana Bhattaraka appear to have predeceased him. They did not at any rate succeed him. After his death the succession to the throne was probably disputed. Madhavavarman II, the son of his son Devavarman ascended the throne and ruled for 17 years.<sup>18</sup> As he speaks of himself as Trikuta-Malaya-dhipati, his authority appears to have been recognized in the whole coastal area extending from the Agency Tracts in the East Godavari District to Karmarashtra in the Guntur district.<sup>19</sup> He seems to have been the first Vishnukundin monarch to rule over the South of the Krishna. It was probably this Madhavavarman that over threw the Pallava power in Karmarashtra either during the reign of Vishnugopavarman II of the Chura Plates (A. D. 525-550 ?) <sup>19-a</sup>, or immediately after it. His reign seems to have ended in disaster. His cousin Indrabhattaraka rose up in

17. Ibid. p. 13.

17a. Dr. Sircar holds that Madhavavarman I was not the first king of the family and that his father Govindavarman and his grandfather Vikramahendra ruled in Vengi before him (Successors of Satavahana P. 126, n. 1). There is no evidence in support of this. The mere fact that they were mentioned in the genealogical lists does not warrant the conclusion that they ruled over Vengi. Take for instance the decessors of Pulakesi I of the W Chalukya and of Vijayalaya of the imperial Chola family. Did they rule in Badaini and Tanjore respectively. Similarly the father and grandfather of Madhavavarman of the Ipur Plates I need not have ruled in Andhra.

18. Hultsch (EI. XVII pp. 337-9) reads the date of his Ipur plates II as 47, but B. V. Krishna Rao (EDA. pp. 482-3) assumes it to be 27; and D. C. Sircar takes it to be 17. As a long reign of 47 years immediately after the 48 years rule of Madhavavarman I must be considered unusual, Krishna Rao's date is merely based on an assumption. Sircar's date appears to be reasonable.

19a. CP. 3 of 1913-14.

rebellion, seized the throne and ruled for 27 years. Indrabhattaraka was succeeded by his son Vikramendravarman who ruled for 10 years. Adding up the regional years of these kings we get (48+17+27+10) 102 years which may be taken to indicate roughly the duration of their rule.

'The lord of the Andhras, wholly given to fear, took up his abode in crevices of the Vindhya mountains.....went to the Raivata mountains.....among the warriors of the Andhra army who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (from the scabbards)..?'

Fleet's observation on this passage must be remembered in this connection. 'But the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Isvaravarman (the father of Isanavarman) or one of his descendants.'<sup>22</sup> This doubt is cleared by the Harsha inscription of Suryavarman, the grandson of Isvaravarman mentioned above. Verses 8, 9 and 10 of the inscription are devoted to a general description of the greatness of Isvaravarman. These verses contain no reference to any victory which Isvaravarman might have won. As contrasted with this, his son Isanavarman is said to have won victory over the Andhras and others :—

'Who being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the Andhras who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Sulikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gaudas living on the seashore in future to remain within their proper realm.'

As the Harsha inscription is dated in Saradam (samvat) 611 (A. D. 553), Isanavarman's victory must have been won before that date. Now, who was this Andhra king that suffered defeat at the hands of Isanavarman? It is said that he was the Vishnukundin Madhavavarman I.<sup>23</sup> This is a mere assumption unsupported by evidence. The Nalanda seal of Mukhari king Avantivarman holds the clue which leads to the correct identification of the Andhra king defeated by his ancestor.

'.....Isanavarma tasya-putras-tat-pad-anu dhyato Lakshmi-vati-bhattarika-mahadevyam utpannah maha rajadhiraja Sri. Sarvyavarmma tasya putras tat pad anudhyata Indrabhattarika mahadevyam utpannah parama mahesvaro maharajadhiraj Sri Avanti varmma.'<sup>24</sup>

20. Malaya was the name of hilly tracts at the foot of the E. Ghats in the Godavari Dt. The Chalukya Inscriptions refer to this region as Vengi-nanti-malaya-mandalam. (SII. IV 1177).

22. CII. III. pp. 229-30

23. EI. XIV. pp. 110-120.

24. Raychaudhuri PHAI 2nd ed. p. 70. Successors of Satavahanas pp. 126-7

25. EI. XXIV. p. 285

From this it is obvious that 'Sarvavarman, the son of Isanavarman' had as his queen Indrabhattaraka obviously a daughter of a prince called Indrabhattaraka, which was curiously enough the name of the Vishnukundin monarch who was the grandson of Madhavavarman I. The Vishnukundin Indrabhattaraka was a famous warrior who is said to have been an expert in battles in which Chaturdantas were employed. He must have been the Andhra adversary Isanavarman. The Maukhari army was perhaps led by Isana's son Sarvavarman. Being worsted in the battle, Indrabhattaraka gave his daughter in marriage to his victorious enemy and concluded peace with him. If this identification is not contrary to reason, it may be definitely stated that Indrabhattaraka ruled over Vengi in first half of the Sixth century; and his son Vikramendra who succeeded him appears to have been the last of the Vishnukundin monarchs; and the Vishnukundin power was overthrown by Prithvi Maharaja of Rana-durjaya family either during his own time or immediately after his death.

#### SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF TELANGANA

SRI K. LAKSHMI RANJAN, M. A.

The subject of the present paper is study of the Social and Political conditions in Andhradesa in the Middle ages. This is based on the information supplied by 'some unpublished inscriptions of Telangana'. At the very outset, I wish to express my thanks to Dr. P. Sreenivaschary, M. A., Ph. D., Director of Archaeology, Government of Hyderabad for having kindly permitted me the use of these unpublished inscriptions which he and his able assistant the veteran Shri Dupati Venkata Ramanachary Garu collected of late by diligent labour.

Telangana is the Telugu area of the Hyderabad State consisting (now) of nine districts and comprising nearly one half of the area of the State. It played a weighty role in the history of Deccan in general and in the history of Andhra in particular. The Eastern Chalukyas, the Western Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas and the Velama Kings ruled over this part of the country and left traces of their rule in the form of inscriptions, monuments and works of Art and public utility. Among them the Kakatiyas left a great legacy behind them and the land is strewn with their inscriptions and cultural remains. Much has been done to collect the inscriptions of Telangana both by the Government of Hyderabad and learned private bodies. The following are some of the efforts in this line.

- (1) The Archaeological Department of Hyderabad published some important inscriptions of Telangana under its 'Archaeological Series'.

(2) The Lakshman Raya Parishodhak Mandali of Hyderabad, brought out a volume 'Telangana Inscriptions'.

(3) Later the Hyderabad Government published a comprehensive set of Inscriptions—'A corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions'.

Impressive as the work appears, it is not far from truth to say that much more remains to be done by way of collecting the inscriptions of this area and we are indebted to the present Director of Archaeology for realising this need and taking steps to fulfil it. One may imagine the extent of the work awaiting to be done when we say that so far only a few of the districts of Telangana are brought under survey for inscriptional purposes. The large majority of inscriptions so far collected are from Warangal and Nalgonda Districts. Mahboobnagar and Karimnagar occasionally come up. Even the Eastern Taluks of the Warangal District are left waiting in the queue.

Hence the present collection of the inscriptions of Telangana gains in importance. These inscriptions are chiefly from the eastern taluks of Warangal District, now constituted into a new revenue division, the Khammam District. A number of them are from Mahboobnagar and its western fringes. A few are from Karimnagar District. The light which these throw on the history of the ruling dynasties, the social and religious life of the times is corroborative rather than revolutionary. Their evidence confirms our previous knowledge of the history of this area. A few local dynasties are brought into relief, the Recerla family; the Viriyala family, the Chodas of Vardhamanapuree and a few minor ones. New and interesting features of the life of the times come to the surface under the microscope. The period which they cover is roughly the age of the Kakatiya and the Velama rulers of Rachakonda viz from 11th century A. D. to middle of the 15th century.

The historical information gleaned from these inscriptions may be summarised as below :—

#### I. *THE KAKATIYAS* :—

The kings of this dynasty from Prola II to Pratapa Rudra Deva (II) figure in these documents. Two inscriptions are dated in the reign of Prola II and mention his activities. One of these a fragmentary inscription found in the Library at Hanumakonda refers to a few of the heroic acts of this king.

(1) He established the son of Gokarna on his throne (2) He defeated Medaraja and conquered Pulavasa Desa (3) The land which Prola acquired, he conferred on one Gangaraja. This Gangaraja built a temple for God Prasanna Kesava in Hanumakonda. Now with regard to the first of these acts of Prola, viz. establishment of the son of Gokarna on his throne, requires elucidation. Who is this Gokarna and what is the name of his son.



in marriage to the Kakatiya King. Rudra is said to have burned the town of Polasa (Pulastyavasa).

Rudradeva was succeeded by Mahadeva Raja, his brother. So far no record was discovered which mentioned this King. In the present collection there is one Orugallu inscription, discovered in a Mosque in the fort of Warangal. This mentions that Mahadeva Raja cancelled the previous grants to God Rudreswara and donated instead some wet land in the village of Kameoddepalli.

Queen Rudrama Devi is mentioned in one of the numerous inscriptions discovered at Uma Maheswaram. This record dated 1280 A. D. states that one Ramayyengar, accountant of the Queen's treasury built a number of temples and Mathas for the Saiva devotees. His wife Malasani also shared in this pious enterprise.

The last of the Kakatiya monarchs Prataparudra Deva figures in five records of the present collection. They are dated in the years A. D. 1303, 1310, and 1320 years which were critical in the history of the Kakatiya Kingdom. Malik Kafur, the general of Alladdin Khiljee led his tempestuous expedition on Telangana in A. D. 1303. Twice had this soldier of fortune to withdraw in defeat, having tasted the sharpness of the swords of the Telugu generals. It was a time of nation-wide rejoicing and thanks giving. It was perhaps in this happy mood that the townsmen of Katukur, the eight castes, Kapulu, Baliye Setti—Kandru and others assembled together and donated lands to God Gopinatha of Katukuru for the virtue of King Pratapa Rudra. The year A. D. 1310 was again a critical period in Kakatiya history. The relentless Malik Kafur led another plundering expedition in 1309 on Telangana. This time luck favoured him and Pratapa Rudra had to purchase peace by agreeing to pay a heavy tribute. The people of Telangana heaved a sigh of relief at the departure of the predatory forces. Lo! the patriotic citizens of the town of Katukura again rose to the occasion. They made grants of land to Gods Malleswara and Kesava of the town for the virtue of their beloved monarch Prataparudra Deva.

The year A. D. 1320 confronted the Andhra realm with a yet more dangerous crisis. Alladdin Khilji was silent in the grave. Ghiasuddin Tughlaq occupied the Delhi throne. He despatched his son Uluf Khan with great hordes for the conquest of Telangana. The Kakatiyas were faced with other domestic troubles. The prospect for the realm was gloomy. The Reddis were in revolt and established an independent principality in the coastal districts of Andhra. Perhaps it was in this threatening period in order to ward off the impending storm that the inhabitants of 18 villages assembled together at Uma Maheswaram and made elaborate donations to the God Maheswara for the virtue of Prataparudra Deva. This inscription is interesting from other points of view also which we shall refer to later. So much for the light thrown by the present set of inscriptions on Kakatiya History.

The successors of the Kakatiyas in Telangana, the Velama Kings of Rajukonda and Deverkonda figure in four of our Inscriptions. A few points emerge out of a consideration of these. The Kandikonda inscription reveals that Mada Naidu (brother of Anavota I) had a son named Venna. This prince ruled by his father's orders at Skandadri (perhaps Khammammet). This Venna is not mentioned in the Velugotivari Vamsavali. The Ainavolu inscription refers to the donation of the village by Anavota I to God Milara Deva. The Uma Maheswara inscription of Mada I refers to the conquest of the Bhills by Daca, general of Prataparudra. This may have taken place during the campaign of Muppidi Nayaka on Kanchi, during which campaign he defeated the \* 'Manne chiefs'. The description of this conquest in the record is couched in slesha and it seems to import that these wild tribes were called 'ambars'.

The Sayampet inscription may be important for the annals of the Recharla dynasty. The Velugontivari Vamsavali traces the independent rule of this dynasty in Telangana upto the time of Sarvajna Singama III in about 1433 A. D. The line of Anavota I seems to have ended there. But the Sayampet inscription takes this dynasty forward by another 30 years. In 1464 A. D. Rao Dharma Rao who claims to be the great grandson of Anavota I donated the village of Muccerla in Warangal Sima to God Tiruvenguleswara. He seems to have been an independent ruler though not of much consequence. It can also be inferred that he heavily leaned on the Gajapatis of Cuttak because most of the Brahmins who received lands under this grant seem to hail from Utkal. Their names are an indication of this. It is well known that Hamvira, son of Gajapati Kapileswara conquered Telangana and captured Warangal about 1461 A. D. Rao Dharma Rao may have been the protegee of the Gajapatis.

Much useful information is furnished by the present collection of inscriptions about the local dynasties that were contemporaries of the Kakatiyas. The Chodas of Kandur and Vardhamanapura; the Viryala, Malyala, Gona families and other less known families who played a worthy role in this epoch come up for consideration. A connected account of the history of these families has to be written if we are to get a full view of the Kakatiya age and its glory. The limits of the present paper preclude a detailed treatment of the subject.

The Choda families contested the spread of Kakatiya authority into Mahboobnagar District. There is more than one Gokarna and one Bhima in the geneology of these families. There are an appreciable number of inscriptions in which the Chodas appear. They range from A. D. 1097 to 1187 by which time Rudradeva must have completed their subjugation

\* see Velugotivari Vamsavali page 7 introduction.

or destruction. With the aid of the Telangana Inscriptions we may succeed in tracing the dynasties to a date earlier than 1097 A. D. even. The question of the inter-relation between these Choda families and their struggle with the Kakatiyas is an intricate study but it is well worth making. The Gattu Timmena, Lingala, Uppunutala, Mamillapalli inscriptions shed valuable light on these problems.

Similarly the subordinate families who were the allies of the Kakatiyas deserve an individual study. The Morapirala, Umrabad and Kattagaru inscriptions add to our knowledge about the Viriyala family. Milama Devi of this family married Chonuda of the Malyala family, another pillar of Kakatiya power. The Gona family also had matrimonial relations with the Malyalas. Gona Kuppamba married Malyala Gunda Dandanatha. The author of Ranganatha Ramayana, Budha Reddy hails from Gona family as every one knows. But who this Budha Reddy was is still a matter of controversy. Apart from their political activities these feudatory familiarities are of interest to us for their pious and philanthropic deeds. Time that effaces every thing did not efface the memory of their humanitarian activities. It is this that makes them dear to us at this length of time.

Turning to the social life of the times we find that the heroic men of this period were as much lovers of war as of peace. They were indeed hard fighters, well skilled in the use of weapons known to the age. In the Vardhamanapura inscription Malyala Gunda Dandanatha is said to be expert in a number of war weapons. He was an expert horseman, skilled in controlling turbulent horses. Formidable forts both in plain and on hill top were the normal features of the military strategy of the age. Sometimes a fort was made all the more impregnable by growing round it dense forests of palm trees. This would blockade the approaches to elephants, war horses and carts. This was the strategy adopted by Meda Raja, the inveterate enemy of Rudra Deva. Bhima of Vardhamanapura also seems to have relied on such a defensive system. Rudra Deva cut down the barrier, burnt the cities or converted them into tanks. The danger of permitting feudatories to possess forts seems to have been realised by Rudra Deva. With Cromwellian sternness he razed these forts to the ground to prevent them from becoming a source of trouble to the Central authority.

The constant wars in which the Kings engaged naturally dislocated the peaceful life of the country. Surely there must have been much misery for the common man. But this was alleviated to a great extent by the acts of rebuilding undertaken by most kings and their generals. Rehabilitation was as rapid as destruction. The innumerable grants of which we read in inscriptions were steps in the process of rehabilitation. People were actuated by religious and dharmic motives. The Kings and generals established Agraharas and furnished them with all civic needs. The nobles and

well-to-do people built temples, constructed or repaired tanks, donated rich fields and gifts for the upkeep of the temples.

The temple was by far the most typical example of the philanthropic activity of the middle ages. Generally the Gods Siva, Vishnu and the Sun formed the divine trinity to be consecrated in temples. The ferocious aspects of Siva and Vishnu were also worshipped under the names Milaradeva and Narasimha. The Velama king Anavota I consecrated Milaradeva at Ainavolu. The Kakatiya realm, both kings and their subjects had ardent leanings towards Saivism though they did not banish Vishnu from their adorations. Numerous were the structures which donors constructed for temples. The Munnatur inscription mentions that Nandi Malla Reddy raised the following structures to God, the inner sanctuary, the inner Mantapa for private life, the auditorium for dance, the Dhvaja Stambha, the kitchen, the place of marriage, the assembly hall for wise and saintly men, the great dome at entrance, the high compound wall; well built stone steps to the tank in the temple area, tank, garden etc. Besides some devotees constructed and offered the great chariot for the God.

The donors took care to dedicate sources of permanent income for the daily services and festive celebrations of the deities. The most common source of revenue was by dedication of fields. These lands were of two types and perhaps the wet and dry fields. These fields were generally irrigated by water from tanks or canals issuing from them. The lands of the temples were generally in the most favourable sites. Some temples had fruit and flower gardens and a separate staff to look after their maintenance. The Morapirala and Umamaheswara inscriptions mention mango groves and flower gardens for the God. Providing for the oil to burn continuous lights and sky lights in temples is another pious deed. A donor sometimes donated the oil crushing apparatus in support of the lighting for which he made provision.

In one of the Gattu Timmena inscriptions it is stated that Dhenu Maha Devi, Queen of Kanduru Nalla Bhima Deva Choda, offered daily one seer of oil for God's lights. In lieu of this it is said she donated rupees two every month. The cost of oil in those days works out at 15 seers per rupee. She further sanctioned Rs. 2-4-0 per month for Bukka and Gulalu and for Tambula of the God. She took care to state in the end that the gift was made of her own free will and with hearty desire. This reminds us of our modern practice in documents.

Ladies vied with men in their pious and humanitarian activities. In the Buthpur inscription it is stated that Kuppamba, wife of Malyala Gunda constructed a temple at Buthpur in memory of her late husband, established Siva Lingas and made many donations for its up-keep. Similarly in the Katuguru inscription it is stated that Milama Devi, wife of Chaunda Senani made a number of pious establishments. In this village she set up two

excellent tanks. The water in these tanks was so clear that the swans forgot about the heavenly river Ganges. She erected three great temples and consecrated God Mallikarjuna in her name, Anneswara in the name of her father, and Aiteswara in the name of her mother. Milama also made a tank in honour of her father-in-law.

Sometimes these pious activities were undertaken on a community level. The residents of one village or several villages joined together to make such pious establishments. One of the Uma-maheswara inscriptions contains an instance. The inhabitants of 18 villages who were followers of Saivism joined together and set up a pious establishment for God Maheswara. This is a pretty long inscription and mentions the several villages that partook in this gift. They dictated detailed instructions for the services of the God and the corresponding source of revenue. It appears that the villagers taxed the cloth dealers or the weavers who dealt in cloth. The proceeds went to the temple. They also seem to have levied some thing like a toll gate which was assigned to the temple and its various establishments. The villagers also surrendered the siddyama of 16 villages for the sake of the God. Siddyama is explained as the savings out of money collected for expenditure.

Temples had their own problems and difficulties. Sometimes a God ran into debts like us mortal men. All his services were paralysed. In the inscription quoted above the devotees rescued God Maheswara from such a predicament. The accountant of the temple, Gunaka Veerayya assembled all the villagers of the 72 professions and perhaps made an appeal to them about the plight of the temple's revenues. It was on this occasion that the villagers made those elaborate arrangements. Besides cash gifts the villagers donated rich fields and expressly laid down "that from the year Raudri to Prabhava, during these 8 years the whole debt of the God should be liquidated. The executors shall not sell the lands during this period nor raise further loans. Those who lend money or purchase temple lands during these 8 years shall be sinners and be liable to punishment by the King".

We can only peep into the normal life of the people of these times. There are no direct references. Agriculture seems to be in a flourishing condition. There were enough irrigational facilities because almost every record mentions a tank or a canal. These canals were named after Kings or eminent persons. One of the Katukaru inscriptions mentions a 'Bata Raju Kaluva'. One Kuchimanchi inscriptions refers to Tailapa Deva Cheruvu (tank). There seems to be two crops in a year one in the month of Vaisakha and another in Karthika. Some fields could get water supply only for the 1st crop. When gifts were made the extent of dry land was generally double the extent of wet land is evidently on account of their varying degrees of servcability. Further the practice while donating fields to

temples seems to be to give the small patches in various sites. We cannot say whether this was an economic arrangement.

While levying taxes it appears that the fields belonging to Brahmins had light assessment. The Katukur inscription of the time of Pratapa Rudra Deva lays down that on fields yielding double crops, for every Marturu of land brought under the plough, one Chinnamu should be paid for each season to the temple. Nambi ryots tilling the lands assigned to temples are exempt from this cess. If the ryots are of other castes (Kapulu) they have to pay this assessment. If a Kapu cultivates the fields belonging to Brahmins the Kapu must pay the cess and not the owner of the field.

These inscriptions are of great value to the student of language in order to trace the development of Telugu. The practice of writing verses in inscriptions seems to be fading out. At any rate almost all the inscriptions unless they are Sanskrit ones, are in Telugu prose. The prose is easy and clear except when technical terms or measurements are mentioned. Occasionally there is an attempt at ornate style. Classical forms are found here and there. The forms of the plural of nouns are interesting.

Some of the names and house names mentioned in these records are interesting. The Sayampet inscription gives a full list of donees with their names and surnames. It appears that there was a large influx of Utkal Brahmins into Telangana at the times of the Gajapati conquest.

In conclusion I wish to state that if these inscriptions are published they will prove a valuable addition to our knowledge of Telangana.

## CERTAIN WRONG THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE ANDHRAS REFUTED

SRI KOTA VENKATACUALAM

(1) The Western Indologists have invented certain theories about the origin of the Andhras which I propose to examine here. One such theory ... is:

### THE STORY IN THE AITAREYA BRAHMANA

“Viswamitra cursed his fifty elder sons, owing to their disobedience to him in respect of their relationship with Sunassepha. According to this curse, they became out-castes and they are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* along with such tribes as Pulinda, Pundra, Sabara, Mutiba etc. These sons of Viswamitra were called Andhras and the name of the eldest son of Viswamitra must have been “*Andhra*”.

It is wrong to conjecture that the name of the eldest son of Viswamitra was “*Andhra*”. The most reliable source for the history of India is the

historical material contained in the vast Sanskrit Literature. Our conjectures can lead us only to wrong theories like the present one. From Sir Willian Jones (1774 A. D.) to V. A. Smith (1915 A. D.), all the historians were led by the unfair motive of curtailing the antiquity of Indian civilisation and of showing that all the Indian peoples are so many mixtures of castes and races, as their own European nations are. The name of the eldest son of Viswamitra is 'Ashtaka', that of the second son is Harita, that of the third is Jayanta and that of the fourth is "Sumada" and so on. This is clearly stated in the ninth Skandha of *Bhagavata*. The conjecture that the name of the eldest son is "Andhra" is therefore wrong.

It must be pointed out that the Andhra tribe is not the creation of Viswamitra's curse but had been there long long before Viswamitra, from times immemorial, as is known from the mention of Andhra, Pundra, Pulinda etc., as Bāhyajātis or out-castes in *Manusmriti*, where certain laws regulating the lives of these out-castes are also mentioned. The cursed sons of Viswamitra became degraded, forgot their vedic lore, took to theft and other foul occupations and got mixed with the out-castes. The *Aitareya Brahmana* clearly says that the sons of Viswamitra mostly got mixed with the 'Dasyus'.

"Bahavo Vaiswāmitrā Dasyūnām Bhū is-āh"

"बहवो वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः"

The European authors of our history have thus misinterpreted the version of the Aitereya Brahmana. A worse concoction of those historians is the statement that the cursed sons of Viswamitra settled on the territory between the Krishna and Godavary rivers. This has no basis in the *Aitereya Brahmana* or any where else in the whole of Sanskrit literature.

The un-Aryans, the Ayajvans, the Dasyus, the Mlechchas, and the Bahyas were all formed from the Aryans. As the Aryans grew in numbers, they migrated gradually from Brahmavarta, the land between Saraswati and Drushadvati (rivers in North Western India) to the various places of Bharata-varsha. The Brahmavarta is, in fact, the birth place and the cradle of the Aryans, who were the original human race, from which sprang up all the other races of the world. All through the ages, the Aryans and the out-castes were living side by side in all the parts of our country and the point that they lived as neighbours in the Vindhya region is of no special significance, although the historians thought that it lent support to their theory.

## (2) THE "ANDHAKAS" AND "ANDHAKAVANA".

It is said that a tribe named "*Andhaka*" is mentioned in the Buddhistic literature and that "*Andhakas*" must be synonymous with "Andhras"! This is a wonderful bit of research! Still more wonderful is the statement that there is a forest called "Andhakavana" in Uttara Kosala and the "Andhras" originally lived there! Our historians thought that this would

lend support to the theory but we shall presently see that it cuts at the very root of their theory.

It is ridiculous to assert that the "Andhakas" were identical with the "Andhras". Andhaka, also called "Jindanodaka Dundhubhi" was the 48th person in the line of Yayati of the Lunar Kshatriyas. Ugrasena was the 7th person of this line after 'Andhaka'. His son 'Kamsa' was killed by his nephew Sri Krishna at the end of Dwaparra in the year 3218 B. C. These "Andhakas" were kinsmen of the Yadavas. Theirs is a pure respectable Kshatriya Dynasty following Vedic Dharma. The Brahmanda Purana and Bhagavata say that those that read the history of this dynasty will be blessed with widespread progeny and prosperity. It is absurd to say that this dynasty is of a Bāhyajāti, (Out-caste).

Three terms, here, are to be clearly understood—1. The "Andhras" (with short initial "A"—"Andhra" mentioned in the Aitereya Brahmana. 2. Andhakas of the Lunar Kshatriya line. 3. "Andhras" "with long initial "Ā" (Āndhras) are pure Āryans who had among themselves the fourfold caste-system and who followed the Vedic Dharma. The western historians have confused these three terms and made a mess of the whole thing.

Andhakavana is, our historians say, the forest inhabited by the out caste "Andhras". (Vide article by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma in *The Hindu* dated 1-10-53).

For one who has read the history of "Andhakavana" in *Devi Bhagavata* (V. Skandha), this conjecture appears to be wrong. The following is the history of "Andhakavana" as told in *Devi Bhagavata* :—

Long ago (about a crore and a half years ago) there lived an 'Asura' called "Mahishāsura" inhabiting the Himalayan regions, He conquered the whole of North India and ruled over it. He was killed by "Prasakti". Among his vassal kings, there was one "Andhakāsura" ruling over Uttara Kosala, which he had conquered after driving out the Solar Kshatriya king of that country. The forest territory in which he lived was called Andhakavana. Andhaka too was killed by "Prāsakti" After the death of Andhaka and Mahisha, this empire passed into the hands of "Sathrugna" a descendent of Lakshmana, the brother of Ram.

There was another occasion in the history of Andhakavana, when its name might have become significant. In the *Bhagavata Purana* (Xth Skandha) we are told that Kamsa persecuted the Yadus, the Vrushnis, the Bhojas, the Marus, the Dasarhas, the Kukurus and the "Andhakas" who were forced to leave Madhura and its surroundings and migrate to other places. Among these, the Andhakas settled in Uttarakosala, (perhaps in this very Andhaka forest which had abundant grass for their cows). Later on, it is stated in *Bhagavata*, that all these refugees were called back by Sri

Krishna after Kamsa's death. (*Andhra Maha Bhagavata* By *Bammera Potanamatye X-54 verse*)

What on earth "Andhaka" has to do with "Andhras", our historians alone know !

### (3) ASMAKA AND MULAKA

Our historians say that according to the Buddhistic literature (*Suttanipatta*) the Asmaka and Mulaka were the first kings to settle in the Godavary valley and rule over that territory. (Vide article by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, in the *Hindu* dated 1-10-53).

They conclude from this that the Assakas and Mulakas were two sub-tribes among the "Andhras". They say that the Satavahanas also were a sub-sect of the "Andhras" who were out-castes and that the Andhras Desa has derived its name, from the "Andhra sect" who were out-castes.

It is a pity that many of our contrymen are misled by the western Indologists and they blindly follow their theories, little caring to know what our own ancient literature has got to say on the subject. Disrespect and contempt for everything Indian and a blind superstitious faith in the writings of the westerners seems to be the guiding principle of our historians.

Now, let us see what our literature has got to say on Asmaka and Mulaka. The *Bhagavata* and other *Puranas* say that Asmaka was a king of the Solar dynasty ruling over the Ayodhya kingdom, and his son was known by the name of Mulaka, because he became the mula or the only seed of the dynasty left after the extermination of the Kshatriyas by Parasurama. It is also stated that he was called 'Narikavacha' because he sheltered himself from Parasurama's axe by hiding himself among the Kshatriya ladies.

After Asmaka, Mulaka was the only remnant of the Suryavamsi dynasty. So, it is absurd to suppose that he migrated to the Godavary valley and it is equally absurd to think that Asmaka who had died much earlier came down to the Godavary valley along with Mulaka. Except these Solar kings, there were no other kings of these names. There is absolutely no ground to suppose that there ever existed two tribes of these names.

It is a pity that the Andhras are represented as an out-caste, uncivilised tribe engaged in such vile professions as 'Robbery, and Butchery' while as a matter of fact there is abundant material in Sanskrit literature to show that they were a highly civilised and cultured Aryan community.



## APPENDIX

### OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1953

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| <i>Vice President :</i> | Dr. R. C. Majumdar<br>Mahamahopadhya D. V. Potdar |
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