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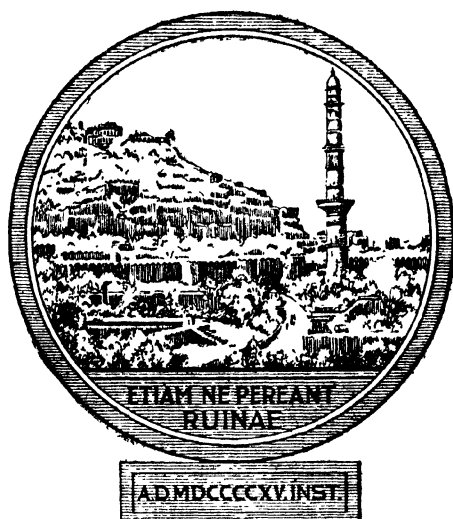
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HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL
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FOR 1917



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THE
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THE JOURNAL

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JANUARY.

I

THE SECOND CAPTURE OF HAIDARABAD BY THE MUGHALS AND THE COMMENCE- MENT OF THE SIEGE OF GOLKONDA.

BY JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., P.R.S.

(*Paper read on 17th October, 1915.*)

Our sources of information are—

- (1) *The Masir-i-Alamgiri*, the official history of Aurangzib's reign, written by Saqi Mustaid Khan at the instance of his last Secretary, Inayatullah Khan, on the basis of State papers.
- (2) Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, recording the personal experiences and observations of a civil officer of the Mughal army, who visited Haidarabad three days after its capture by Shah Alam and witnessed the siege of Golkonda.
- (3) *The Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwardas Nagar, a minor Mughal official of the province of

Gujrat, who has naturally made some mistakes of fact in writing of events that happened so far from his province.

- (4) Khafi Khan, whose work begins to be valuable, based as it is on the testimony of the main actors of this period.
- (5) Nivmat Khan Ali's record of some episodes of the siege of Golkonda. The value of the first four of these authorities has been critically discussed by me in my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II., pages 302-305.

For nearly thirty years after Aurangzib's accession to the throne, the kingdom of Golkonda had enjoyed a respite from Mughal attack. It had not been so openly hostile to the empire as Bijapur, and the pre-occupation of the Mughals with Sivaji and his patron, Adil Shah, prevented them from turning to Golkonda. Qutb Shah had also paid tribute to the Imperial Government more regularly than his brother sovereign of Bijapur.

But his attitude to his suzerain had been one of covert disloyalty and, on three occasions, even that of open rebellion, though varied by the offer of presents at intervals. His faults were many. First, the war indemnity promised in the treaty of April 1656* and the older annual tribute of two *lakhs* of *hun* were perpetually in arrears; but that was the normal condition of vassal States during the Mughal times. Secondly, for a long time he had made persistent attempts to keep in his own hands the extensive *jagir*—almost equivalent to a kingdom—

* J. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I., 240-41.

which Mir Jumla had won in the Karnatak when in his service,* and he had taken advantage of the war of succession among Shah Jahan's sons to wrest Gandikota and Sidhout from Mir Jumla's agents. But after the second anniversary of his coronation Aurangzib had recovered these places. In more recent times, when the Mughals captured Gulbarga, in the declining days of Bijapur, the officers of Qutb Shah had seized Malkhed, Seram, and some other districts beyond their western border and politically appertaining to the Mughal province of Bidar, after raising the false plea that these tracts had formerly belonged to Telingana and were therefore lawfully included in the kingdom of Golkonda.

During the Mughal invasions of Bijapur under Jai Singh in 1665-6, under Dilir Khan in 1679, and under Prince Muhammad Azam in 1685, the Sultan of Golkonda had openly sent his troops to assist his brother in distress. The first two of these acts had been condoned or atoned for by the payment of tribute. The last brought ruin on him.

But, in the eyes of Aurangzib, his worst offence was his fraternising with infidels. He had effectively helped Sivaji with the sinews of war after his flight from Agra in 1666, and thus enabled him to recover his forts from the Mughals. Again, Qutb Shah had rapturously welcomed Sivaji on his visit to Haidarabad in 1677 and behaved like a humble vassal of the Marhatta, placing a necklace of gems round his horse's neck and promising him an annual tribute of one *lakh* of *hun* for the defence of his territory. Above all, he had made the Brahmans

* *Ibid.*, i., 246-17.

Madannā and Akannā, his chief ministers, and thus allowed Hindu influences to predominate in the administration.

As the Emperor* wrote to his envoy at the Golkonda Court, "This luckless wretch (meaning Abul Hassan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his State to a *kafir* and made Sayyids, Shaikhs and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed all kinds of sin and vice (in his realm,) [meaning taverns, brothels, and gambling houses].† He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins, through his excessive devotion to drink, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's commands and prohibitions, by sending aid to infidel Powers, and by promising one lakh of *hun* to the *kafir* Sambha, he has made himself accursed before God and man."

The active help that Qutb Shah gave to Bijapur during its siege brought his quarrel with the Mughals to a head and sealed his fate. Aurangzib had begun his attack on that fort (in March 1685) by warning Abul Hassan Qutb Shah not to assist Sikandar Adil Shah in any way. Next, as a precaution he had, immediately after his arrival at Sholapur (24th May), detached Bahramand Khan to watch the Haidarabad frontier. In the Imperial camp at Sholapur the two Golkonda envoys were kept under watch, and their correspondence was opened by the Mughal police. At the end of June a letter

* Khafi Khan, ii., 328.

† Contemporary European travellers speak of Hyderabad as the modern Babylon in point of immorality. (Tavernier, i., 158.)

from Abul Hassan to these agents was intercepted, in which he wrote, "The Emperor is a great man, and has acted magnanimously up to this time, but now, finding Sikandar a helpless orphan, he has laid siege to Bijapur and pressed him hard. It is, therefore, necessary that while the Bijapur army and Sambha with his countless hordes are offering resistance from one side, I should, from this side, send 40,000 men under Khalilullah Khan to enter into the war. We shall then see on which front the Emperor can meet and repel his enemies."*

At this clear proof of Qutb Shah's disloyalty, Aurangzib's anger boiled over. Though he knew that a diversion of his forces would delay and hinder the success of the undertaking against Bijapur, he at once detached Prince Shah Alam with a vast army to march on Haidarabad, and ordered Khan-i-Jahan to advance from his outpost of Indi and join the Prince on the way. (July 1685.)

This Mughal force marched south-eastwards along the north bank of the Bhima river. The 70 miles between Sholapur and Gulbarga were easily passed, as this country was Imperial territory. Then Khan-i-Jahan, in charge of the advanced division, reached Malkhed, 25 miles further east, while the Prince stayed 3 or 4 marches behind. But when the Mughal Vanguard under Jan Nisar Khan approached Seram, 8 miles east of Malkhed, he found his path barred by the Golkonda army, variously estimated from 40,000 to 70,000 men, under Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, the premier *peer*, Shaikh Minhaj, and Madannā's gallant nephew Rustam

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 260.

Rao. The enveloping movement of the Deccanis was defeated after hard fighting ; but the Mughal advance was stopped and Jan Nisar Khan fell back on Malkhed. Every day there were skirmishes with the enemy, who hovered round the Imperial army and tried to assail it at a disadvantage. In view of the enemy's superior numbers, Khan-i-Jahan ran up walls round his camp at Malkhed and practically stood a siege there. As Bhimsen writes, " He fought on the defensive, because it was difficult for him to advance one step." * After some time the Prince arrived on the scene with the rest of the army. Some days were passed in negotiations, but the Deccani generals insolently rejected the Prince's offer to secure a pardon for Abul Hassan on condition of his submitting to the Emperor.

The Mughals deposited their baggage at Malkhed and their Van advanced under Khan-i-Jahan to a way towards Haidarabad. The Deccanis outnumbered this force as three to one ; but the Mughal troops, especially those under Himmat Khan and Sayyid Abdullah Khan of Barha, fought with obstinate bravery, and, in spite of heavy losses, always succeeded in beating the Deccanis back at the end of the day. Khan-i-Jahan himself was attacked by a Golkonda captain named Bari Khan, who was celebrated for his skill in throwing stones with the accuracy of a musketeer marksman ; but the Mughal general shot him dead with an arrow. On one occasion a Mughal defeat is said to have been averted only when an infuriated elephant of Rajah Ram Singh was driven into the enemy's ranks, with a three maund iron chain swinging from its tusk, which

* *Dilkusha*, 187.

unexpected charge caused the horses of several Deccani captains to rear and overthrow their riders. Each such encounter was followed by a halt of three or four days on the Mughal side.

It was already August, and the heavy rain caused great hardship to the Mughal troops and impeded their advance, while the Deccanis were reinforced by 10,000 fresh horsemen of Madannā's own contingent. Jan Nisar Khan, who had taken the mud-fort of Seram, was invested there by the enemy, but held out gallantly. In the daily fights that followed, both sides suffered heavy losses in killed and wounded. The Mughals, worn out with the day's murderous contest, had to rest content with a bare victory, and had no strength left in them to pursue the vanquished. They were, besides, weakened by quarrels among their generals, by the resentment of Khan-i-Jahan at the Emperor censuring him for slackness, while younger officers like Itiqad Khan and Khwajah Abul Makarim were openly praised for energy and courage, and finally by the tame and unenterprising spirit of their supreme commander, Shah Alam. It is also evident that these heavy losses at last took the heart out of the Mughal soldiery. So, the Imperial generals halted and wasted two months in the neighbourhood of Malkhed without fighting, their camp being occasionally fired upon by the enemy with rockets at night.

Then a stinging rebuke from the Emperor and an unusually audacious act of sniping on the Prince's camp, roused him to seek battle again. After a very bloody contest the Deccanis were pushed back to their camp at noon, when the Prince very chivalrously granted them a few hours' respite to remove

their women to a place of safety, as it was a war between *men* on both sides. Thereafter, the battle was renewed ; but at sunset the Deccanis retreated, after Shaikh Minhaj and Rustam Rao had been wounded and both sides had suffered heavy losses. Next morning it was learnt that they had fled towards Haidarabad. The cause of this sudden breakdown of the Deccani resistance was dissension between the commander-in-chief, Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, and his second-in-command, Shaikh Minhaj, and the seduction of the former by the Mughals. The Prince, being now unopposed, rapidly marched towards Haidarabad. It is said in some histories* that Ibrahim's intended treachery was suspected by the Golkonda Government and a plan was formed to arrest him, but he forestalled it by escaping to the Prince's camp, when the Mughals arrived in the vicinity of Haidarabad, in the beginning of October, 1685.

The flight of the commander-in-chief paralysed the defence of Haidarabad. Though more than half the army and several generals were still loyal, Qutb Shah did not know whom to trust. Shaikh Minhaj told him that as Mir Ibrahim was Madannā's *protegee* the desertion of the general must have taken place with the consent of the prime minister, who also would take the same step soon. Losing faith in his long accustomed guide and all-powerful minister, the weak imbecile king thought only of securing his own safety. He fled to Golkonda, an impregnable fort, which had baffled Aurangzib thirty years ago and might do so now. Madannā very wisely advised him not to shut himself up in Golkonda, but to go to

* *Dilkusha*, 189, Ishwardas 91a, Khafi Khan, ii., 305.

Warangal or some other distant fort, so that, in the event of Golkonda being besieged by the Mughals, he would be free to move about and reinforce its defenders.* But this advice only deepened the king's suspicion of his wazir's sinister design, as suggested by Shaikh Minhaj.

The king's flight to Golkonda was so precipitate that all his property was left behind. When the people learnt that the city of Haidarabad was abandoned by the Government and that the enemy were at hand, there was a mad scramble to flee to the fort. "Thousands of high-born persons, who had no time to procure conveyances or remove their property, grasped the hands of their wives and children in bewilderment and, without giving them time to dress fully, ran towards Golkonda." The confusion was aggravated by the indiscriminate looting which began immediately. "A noise and tumult rose like that of doomsday. The royal property worth 4 or 5 *krores* of rupees and the belongings of the soldiers who had left their families at Haidarabad began to be plundered at once."

Some citizens removed to the fort, in the course of the night, whatever they could carry away on their own persons or by means of hired porters. But most people had to stay in their own houses, dazed and helpless, as Bhimsen found them a few days afterwards. The city presented the spectacle of a sack after assault by an enemy. "Before the news of the king's flight could reach Prince Shah Alam's camp, the ruffians and robbers of the city began to loot it . . . In every ward, street, and market place, there were lakhs of Rupees worth in cash, property,

* *Dilkusha*, 190.

China-ware of the nobles and tradesmen, and carpets of the king and the aristocracy, besides horses and elephants. These were looted in the midst of a terrible uproar. Many Hindu and Muslim wives and children were kidnapped and some of them outraged. Rich carpets, too heavy to be carried off, were slashed with the sword or dagger and the pieces removed by the robbers . . . Even the doors were taken off their hinges.”*

Haidarabad was then the richest and most voluptuous city in the Deccan, the seat of a gorgeous court, the home of many fine arts and an extensive trade, and the abode of thousands of women of pleasure; and its accumulated wealth was almost inexhaustible.

Next day Shah Alam sent a party of his soldiers to protect the citizens, but these men themselves joined in the plunder!† “So many tents were taken away from the city that in the Prince’s camp no old tent could be seen.” Fires lighted by the ruffians blazed in the city, destroying what had escaped plunder. After two days the Prince appointed Khan-i-Jahan to police the city, and he succeeded in restoring order to some extent. But by that time everything portable had disappeared, and the Imperial provost-marshal (*kotwal*) and *diwan*, who were sent to attach the property of Abul Hassan, could secure only a small fraction of it. At this disappointing result Aurangzib grew angry with his son and suspected him of concealing the loot for his own use, or at least of showing culpable negligence in looking after the Emperor’s interests.

* *Dilkusha*, 191.

† K.K., ii 307, *Dil.*, 190-1.

The Mughal army made this, its second, entry into Haidarabad about 8th October 1685. The Prince first came by way of Dhobipettah to the Gagan-pahari suburb, and thence, after a few days, removed to the Gosha-mahal palace and garden of Abul Hassan, close to the fort.* For some days after this date, Qutb Shah continued to send agents to the Prince, helplessly appealing to him to make peace and promising "to agree to every demand" of the Mughal Government. Many more Deccani nobles now deserted to the Prince, among them being Sharif-ul-mulk, the husband of Abul Hassan's sister.

At the Prince's recommendation, which reached the Court on 18th October, the Emperor consented to pardon Abul Hassan on the following conditions :† (1) He must pay one *krone* and 20 *lakhs* of Rupees in settlement of all past dues, and in addition a tribute of 2 *lakhs* of *hun* every year. (2) He must dismiss Madannā and Akannā. (3) He must give up all claim to Malkhed and Seram, which the Imperialists had already occupied.

While the Prince was waiting for the fulfilment of these terms, a small party sent by Aurangzib approached the city, carrying costly rewards for Shah Alam and his chief officers, in recognition of their splendid success in capturing the enemy's capital. But the Golkonda administration was now in utter disorder, and every man acted for himself without obeying the king or his agents. At Mangal, 8 miles from Haidarabad,‡ the deputation was attacked by

* Ishwar, 91a, *Dil.*, 190-1.

† *M. A.*, 267, K.K., ii., 307.

‡ There is a town named Moonagal, 28 miles west of Hyderabad, a title north of the railway line

Shaikh Nizam and a body of Afghan mercenaries ; its leader, Mir Abdul Karim, was wounded and carried off into captivity, many of his followers were slain, and all the Imperial gifts, as well as the property of the traders who had joined the party in a caravan for the sake of the escort, were plundered (middle of November). Qutb Shah disavowed and apologised for this outrage, released the captive Abdul Karim, and restored as much of the lost property as he could get out of the plunderers.

Shah Alam stayed for some months, first close to Golkonda and afterwards at Qutb Shah's request at Kuhir, for the collection of the war-indemnity. Considering the ruined state of Golkonda finance and the disorder in the administration, this was no easy task. Abul Hassan put off the dismissal of Madannā as long as he could. At this his discontented nobles lost all patience. They regarded Madannā as the cause of all their sufferings at the hands of the Mughals,—“ the cause of the ruin of the State and of the slaughter of Muslims and soldiers.” In a day of national disaster, the popular fury naturally turns against the ministers who have failed to avert it, as John DeWitt of Holland had discovered to his cost only 13 years before this. A plot was formed against Madannā by the discontented Muslim nobles, whose leader was Shaikh Minhaj, and by Sarumā and Jani Sahiba, the widows of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who now ruled over the king's harem with despotic powers. One night, early in March, 1686, just after Madannā had left his master's presence, he was set upon and murdered in the streets of the capital by Jamshid and other slaves, with the help of some of the minister's own guards cor-

rupted by the conspirators. Akannā, who was with him, shared his brother's fate on the spot. Their brave and accomplished nephew, Rustam Rao,—whom Khafi Khan calls “a renowned master of the pen and the sword alike,”—was pursued to his house and there stabbed to death. The minister's family residences were plundered. Next a general attack was made by the mob on the Hindu quarter of the town,* and “many other Brahmans lost their lives and property in that night.”

The Dowager Sultana now sent the heads of the obnoxious ministers to Aurangzib as the best of peace-offerings. The Emperor being thus assured that henceforth Golkonda State counsels would not be swayed against the Mughal interests, and also wishing to bring the siege of Bijapur to a decisive issue, recalled Shah Alam to his side at Sholapur, where the Prince arrived on 7th June 1686.† Five days later Qutb Shah's envoy was received in audience and presented 100 elephants on behalf of his master. Golkonda territory was now completely evacuated by the Mughals, and all the resources of the empire were concentrated against Bijapur.

Bijapur fell on 12th September that year, and its fall set the Mughal forces free to deal the death-blow at the Qutb Shahi monarchy. On 14th January 1687, the Emperor definitely set out “to punish that luckless man, Abul Hassan,” as the Court historian records it, and on the 28th he arrived within two miles of Golkonda. Meantime Abul Hassan had again fled from his capital to the fort, and the city of Haidarabad was occupied for the third and

* K.K., ii., 308.

† M. A., 274.

last time by the Mughals, under Firuz Jang, (the father of the first Nizam,) who had been detached after the fall of Bijapur to capture the fort of Ibrahimgarh and then take possession of Haidarabad.

As the Mughal official historian writes,* “ Abul Hassan was in utter despair and perplexity. His lips were strangers to laughter ; his eyes were full of tears ; his head was vacant of sense ; his tongue was speechless. He offered to make his submission to the Emperor, with new protestations of devotion. But the Emperor’s only reply was the sword.” Golkonda was ordered to be besieged. On 28th January, 1687, hostilities were begun ; the Mughals attacked the Deccani army sheltering under the fort guns and in the dry ditch, and they also made an unsuccessful attempt to rush into the fort by a *coup de main*, in which the first Nizam’s grandfather was mortally wounded. On 7th February trenches were opened ; and finally on the 21st September of the same year the Mughals succeeded in entering the fort not by the force of arms, but through the treachery of an officer of the garrison, named Sardar Khan Pani. Thus fell the last of the Qutb Shahs, and the goal that Akbar and Shah Jahan had merely dreamt of and Aurangzib had fruitlessly pursued during the first 70 years of his life, was at last reached. All the Muslim States of the Deccan were annexed to the empire of Delhi.

The Fort of Golkonda has had the closest connection with the dynasty that now holds it. On the glacis of Golkonda, the grandfather of the first Nizam received his death-wound, as every true sol-

* M. A., 287.

dier would wish to receive it, being foremost in the charge and last in the retreat.* At the final siege of Golkonda the father of the first Nizam was nominated commander-in-chief. It is, therefore, only according to the natural fitness of things that Golkonda should be the guardian fortress of the capital of H. H the Nizam-ul-Mulk.

* The incident is thus described in the court-history of Aurangzib: "On 28th January 1687 the Imperial army arrived two miles from the fort of Golkonda. The Emperor ordered the enemy's force which had assembled at the foot of the fort to be driven away. The Imperialists exerted themselves greatly. The enemy fled away, leaving their property, children and wives in the hands of the Mughals. Qalich Khan [the grandfather of the first Nizam] galloped up to the fort and wanted to enter it immediately....A *zamburak* ball hit him on the shoulder blade. Save Lutfullah Khan, who had heroically accompanied him, none advanced to his aid. So, Qalich Khan had to ride back from that place of slaughter. When the surgeons were extracting the splinters of bones from his shoulder he sat composedly talking with the persons around, without twitching a muscle of his face, sipping coffee from a cup held in the other hand, and remarking, "What an admirable tailor I have got!" (in reference to the surgeon who was stitching up the wound.) In three days he died." (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 289-290.)

II

GARLA AND ITS REMAINS.

BY T. STRINIVAS.

‘Thou canst not find one spot
Whereon no city stood.’

This declaration of the poet is peculiarly applicable to His Highness the Nizam’s dominions, where, in former days, dynasty after dynasty rose into power, fought for supremacy, won and lost and lost and won, and left traditions of cities, palaces and temples having once spread widely in many places.

Garla, a village with a Railway Station next to Dornakal Junction, on the Secunderabad side of the Wadi Bezwada line of the N. G. S. R., is, in a humble way, one of such places. It is now a small village, surrounded on all sides by forests, containing two small old temples in which worship is still carried on, and the remains of four more in various stages of decay. Within a radius of about three miles are four other temples, two of which are deserted and partly ruined. Of those in the village itself, two dedicated to Siva are in good condition. One of these is three shrined with *sikharas* and a small *mandapa* at its proper left, and the other is single shrined, with a Nandi in the open yard in front and a few images of Alwars, probably taken from a ruined Vishnu temple

close by. The remains of four other old temples are found in the village, of which one must have been a big Vishnu temple. A tall Dhawaja Stambham (about 18' high), crowned with a miniature *mandapa* sheltering Garuda, the roofless outer *mandapa* and a big Koneri are all that is left of it now. Another is a small Vishnu temple, intact but covered on the roof and sides with vegetation. It has a closed *mandapa*, 15' square with four pillars in the middle, an ante-chamber and an empty shrine. The jambs of the *antaralam* doorway bear the usual figures of Hanuman and Garuda, while Gaja Lakshmi is depicted on a panel in the shrine lintel.

About two miles to the East or South-east of Garla, in the middle of the jungle, are two temples, one Sivite and the other Vishnuite. The former is single shrined, with a big Linga which must certainly have belonged to a much larger temple. The latter, called Venkateswar Gudi, is also single shrined, but with an ante-chamber, a small *mandapa* of recent construction and a *Dhawaja Stambha*. Figures of *dwarapalas* are carved on the door jambs, and there are some carved slabs with Hanuman and Garuda at the foot of the Dhawaja Stambha. Both these temples have stepped *sikharas* built of brick. There is a Koneri in front of the Vishnu temple. Occasional worship is still carried on in both temples, and an annual *jathra* is also said to take place here. About a mile to the North-west of Garla there is a deserted Vishnu temple, of no consequence, in the middle of the jungle.

In the jungle to the North or North-east of Garla, there are three huts of Lambadis who are clearing this portion of the jungle for cultivation. The place

is dignified by the name of 'Seripur'. Within a stone's throw of this Seripur are found the most interesting of the remains at Garla, in the shape of a Siva temple now known as the Kondamma Gudi, *i.e.*, the temple of the 'Hill Goddess', probably because of its situation near the foot of a short range of hills on the East

This temple, though small, presents one of the chief characteristic features of Chalukyan design, standing as it does on a narrow terrace about 3 feet high, and represents one of the three well-defined forms of their plan in that it has a plurality of similar shrines attached and opening on an enclosed mandapa. It is three shrined with the middle cell facing the South, and not the East as is the general rule, and once possessed a portico in front. The walls of the temple are double throughout, the inner ones in the shrines and ante-chambers being built of large blocks of well-dressed stones laid horizontally, and the outer of upright blocks with mouldings of various thicknesses at the top and bottom, and a number of thin double fillets running right round the building. The whole structure is erected without mortar, the joints being carefully fitted.

The temple is approached by a flight of broad steps from the South, and these are now strewn with the fallen stones of the ruined portico. The entrance to the temple is choked with some thorny climbing plants, and the roof is also overgrown with vegetation. On entering the temple we find a closed *mandapa* (28' $\times$ 28' inside measurement) with four well-carved pillars, which stand at the corners of a square 18' $\times$ 18', supporting the roof. The inner walls of the *mandapa* are built of upright blocks of stone carved with flowers,

pilasters, etc., alternating with others bearing sculptures of characteristic Siva images. Of these latter there now remain only three, although originally there must have been fourteen carved blocks. The ceiling of the *mandapa* is divided into numerous compartments carved with lotuses, the portion within the pillars bearing a proportionately big lotus. The beams over the pillars are carved on all the three visible sides with a creeper design, with a *yali*'s head in the middle.

The temple contains three shrines ; the main or the middle Shrine facing the south, and the adjacent ones facing the East and West, open on to the *mandapa*. As is common in Chalukyan temples, none of these three shrines possesses a Pradakshina, although each has an ante-chamber. The jambs and lintels of the ante-chambers and shrines are all overlaid with sculpture. The bottom of the jambs are carved with figures of devotees, *dwarapalas* with clubs, drums, etc., and female figures with *chauris* in their hands. The lower parts of most of these figures are buried in the ground, which is not paved or, if originally paved, the stones had been carried away since. The upper portions of the jambs are divided into five or six fascias carved with flowers, creeper or other geometrical designs with a pilaster in the middle, the exception being the jambs of the *antaralam* doorways, whose outer sides are pierced with square holes in two vertical rows of seven each. All the lintels have projecting canopies with small drops, and the pediments above them are carved with two Anna birds or flowers between three miniature *sikharas*. The lintels of all the three shrines have panels in the middle, with Gaja Lakshmi bathed by elephants.

The shrines are all empty, without even the *salankas*; only in the Western shrine is there a large square block of stone, probably the base of a Salanka. There seems to be a belief that this stone covers the mouth of a deep well. The roof of the *antaralam* before the main shrine is open to the sky, as the big carved ceiling stone in the middle has fallen down. The main shrine has sunk bodily about a foot or more into the ground at the Northern end, thus causing a split at the junction of the side walls with the main structure.

A specially noticeable feature of the temple exterior is the deep ornamental cornice over the walls, carved with rows of small pendants and other ornaments on its curving under sides. The outer walls of the temple are formed into panels as if they were intended for sculptures—and as a matter of fact there are two or three such—which for some reason or other were never executed.

This temple, which now goes by the name of Kondamma Gudi, must have been constructed for the worship of Siva. The indications are clear that it was never completed and hence could not have been consecrated. Generally shrines of the size of this temple possess *lingas* of fairly good proportions, and *salankas* about 4' or 4½' square and at least 3' high with the base; and had these shrines ever possessed them, it is difficult to account for their total disappearance now. Further, excepting the floor between the four pillars of the *mandapa*, which is covered by a single slab of stone 7'-8" x 7'-8" square, no other portion of the temple seems to have ever been paved. Again, the plain surfaces of the outer walls are not

in keeping with the amount of labour displayed in the elaborate ornamentation of the under sides of the cornice mentioned above. Also the walls have been formed into panels, apparently for the carving of sculptures and excepting in two or three instances they are absent. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the *modus operandi* was to dress blocks of stone to the required outline, fix them in their positions in the building and then carve them *in situ*. For the above reasons our Kondamma Gudi may be said to belong to that category of buildings, mentioned by Alexander Rea in his "Chalukyan Architecture," in which a great profusion of detail had been intended and had in part been carried out, but not completely so, doubtless due to the disturbances in the kingdom. This temple may, therefore, be said to belong to a period not earlier than the 12th century.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.

King.		Building.
Ibrahim Quli	<u>1550—80 A.D.</u> <u>957—88 H.</u>	Husain Sagar Band constructed <u>1575 A. D.</u> <u>983 H.</u>
Muhammad Quli ..	<u>1580—1611 A. D.</u> <u>988—1020 H</u>	City founded in <u>1591 A. D.</u> <u>999 H.</u> Char Minar, Char Kaman, and Purana Pul built in <u>1593 A.D.</u> <u>1001 H.</u> ; Ashur Khan constructed in <u>1594 A.D.</u> <u>1002 H.</u> ; and Jami Masjid built in <u>1598 A.D.</u> <u>1006 H.</u> . Dad Mahal and Dharush-Shifa also constructed in this reign. Do do. do.
Muhammad Qutb Shah .	<u>1611—26 A D</u> <u>1020—35 H.</u>	
Abdullah Qutb Shah ..	<u>1625—72 A. D</u> <u>1035—83 H</u>	Mir Jumla Tank constructed <u>1625 A.D.</u> <u>1035 H.</u> ; Travernier's visit in <u>1667 A.D.</u> <u>1078 H.</u> ; The venot's visit in <u>1667 A.D.</u> <u>1078 H.</u> ; Mecca Masjid constructed <u>1611—25 A.D.</u> <u>1020—35 H.</u> ; Toli Masjid <u>1634—73 A.D.</u> <u>1043—1082 H.</u> . Daira Mo-min was also established in this reign.
Abul Hasan Tana Shah.	<u>1672—87 A D.</u> <u>1083—99 H.</u>	Gosha Mahal, Khairatabad Black Rocks(Naubat Pahar) Lingampalli Gardens built during this reign. Mian Mishk Mosque constructed in <u>1678 A. D.</u> <u>1089 H.</u>

King.		Building.
Mughal Period	<u>1687—1724 A. D.</u> <u>1099—1137 H.</u>	A minaret of Char Minar struck by lightning, and rebuilt. City walls constructed during the Governorship of Mubariz Khan. Mecca Masjid Gate erected in <u>1693 A. D.</u> <u>1104 H.</u>
Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah	<u>1724—48 A. D.</u> <u>1137—1161 H.</u>	Flood of the Musi.
Nizam Ali Khan	<u>1762—1803 A. D.</u> <u>1167—1218 H.</u>	Flood of the Musi <u>1771 A.D.</u> <u>1185 H.</u> [M. Raymond died in <u>1798 A. D.</u> <u>1213 H.</u>]
Sikandar Jah	<u>1803—29 A. D.</u> <u>1218—45 H.</u>	Residency commenced in <u>1800 A.D.</u> <u>1215 H.</u> ; Purana Pul repaired in <u>1821 A.D.</u> <u>1236 H.</u> ; and Mir. Alam Tank constructed in <u>1810 A.D.</u> <u>1225 H.</u>
Nasir-ud-Daulah	<u>1829—57 A. D.</u> <u>1245—73 H.</u>	Chaddarghat Bridge built in <u>1833 A.D.</u> <u>1251 H.</u> ; Rambold's Kothi and Pestonji's Kothi also built.
Afzal-ud-Daulah	<u>1857—69 A. D.</u> <u>1273—86 H.</u>	Afzal Ganj Bridge constructed in <u>1861 A.D.</u> <u>1276 H.</u>
Mir Mahbub Ali Khan ..	<u>1816—1912 A. D.</u> <u>1286—1330 H.</u>	Char Minar renovated in <u>1861 A.D.</u> <u>1276 H.</u> ; Musallam Bridge constructed in <u>1896 A.D.</u> <u>1314 H.</u> ; and Falak Numa purchased in <u>1897 A. D.</u> <u>1315 H.</u>

III.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF THE CITY OF HYDERA- BAD AND SOME OF ITS ANCIENT BUILDINGS.*

BY P. A. BHAUNANI, B.A., C.E.

The city of Hyderabad is not a very old city. It was founded in the year 1591 (999 H.) by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, and is therefore three hundred and twenty-five years old. It corresponds to the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the English History. Before that time Golconda was the capital of the Qutb Shahi kings, Golconda itself originally being a small fort constructed by one of the Rajahs of Warrangal, who ceded it together with its dependencies to Muhammad Shah Bahmani of Gulbarga in 1364 A.D. In 1507 A.D. (913 H.) Qutb-ul-Mulk Muhammad Quli, the Bahmani Viceroy of Golconda, taking advantage of the distracted condition of

* The following books have been consulted by me in writing this paper :—

Archæological Survey of Western India. Vol. VII.

Imperial Gazetteer.

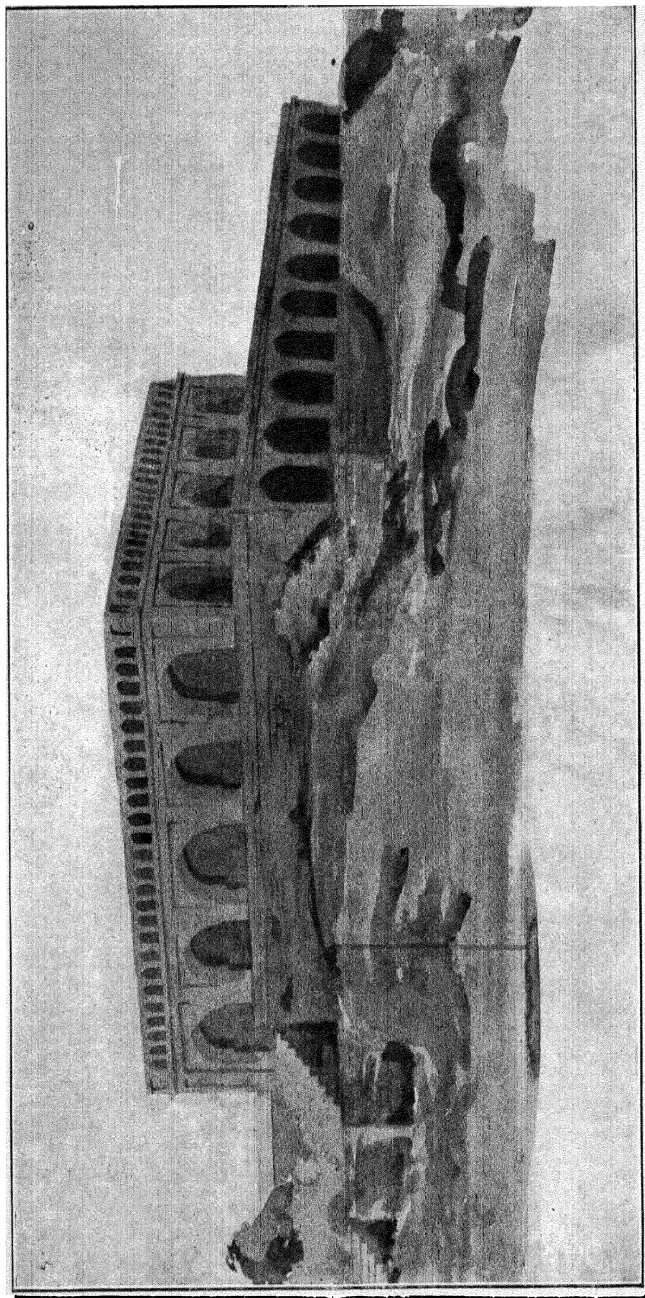
Tavernier's Travels.

Tarikh-i-Dekhan, Silsila Asafia (so far as dates are concerned).

Town Planning Review.

Sayed Husain's *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness' Dominions.*

My paper is based largely on Sayed Husain's book. The maps and drawings were made by me, and the inscriptions read direct from the stone and translated.



From a painting by P. A. Khanuani.

BARADARI OF BHAGMATI (NEAR GOLCONDA), HYDERABAD.

PAINTED BY P. A. KHANUANI. 1904.

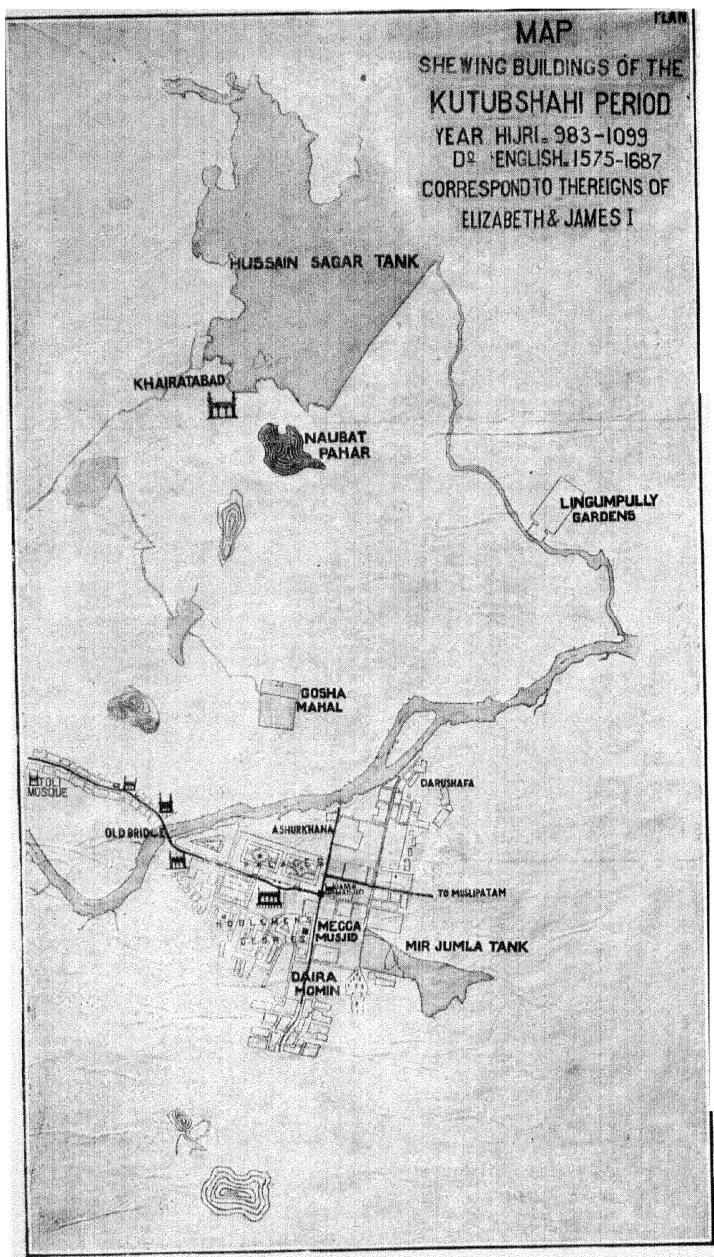
affairs, declared his independence and established the Qutb Shahi dynasty. Golconda is so called from the word *Golcar*, which means a shepherd. It was a shepherd who pointed out the place first for the building of a castle thereon.

In the days of the fifth Qutb Shahi King, Muhammad Quli, Golconda became overcrowded and unhealthy, and the water supply was scanty. This led to the selection of a new site for the city. The choice fell, in 1591, upon the site of the present city of Hyderabad. No reasons can be discovered as to why this particular site was selected, specially as it was across an unbridged river, which at times brought down tremendous floods, and which had frequently to be crossed to keep up the communication between the real capital of the kingdom, *i.e.*, Golconda and the New Town. Whether it was the plentiful water supply, or the salubrious climate of the place, or its elevation, or for reasons of defence, or the attraction of a Hindu mistress's bright eyes, historians have not recorded. There was only a small village by the name of Chachal Banda existing here. Soon after the king selected the site, a large town sprang up, styled Bhagnagar after one of the king's Hindu mistresses, whose baradari (Plate I) can be seen to this day about a mile to the southwest of Golconda. The baradari is said to have borne an inscription to the effect that they who built it died in 1625 A.D. It is not visible now. Shortly after the death of the mistress, some of the religious advisers of the king induced him to change the name of the city from Bhagnagar, so that posterity might not comment on his connection with a Hindu mistress. The name was altered to Hyderabad,

after one of the titles of Ali, though to the present day the *sowcars* style the city Bhagnagar in their account books. As regards the removal of the seat of government from Golconda to Hyderabad there are no data, but it seems probable that this was accomplished towards the close of the sixteenth century. No attempts at fortifying the new city were made, Golconda being still looked upon as the citadel of the new town. Later, the Qutb Shahis became tributary to the Mughals. About 1683 Abu-ul-Hasan, the Qutb Shahi king, appears to have become irregular in payment of the tribute to Delhi and this brought the imperial forces against the city, which was taken and sacked. Still later on, the fort of Golconda, to which the king had retreated, was besieged and taken, and Hyderabad then became a dependency of Delhi. In 1724 (436 H.) Mubariz Khan, Subedar of Hyderabad, marched against Nizam-ul-Mulk and was killed in the battle of Shakar Khera in Berar. Early in the following year the first of the Nizams arrived at Hyderabad: he completed the partially erected walls of the city and made it his capital.

This short account of the different dynasties who ruled the city will suffice to show that its growth can be divided into three periods:—

- 1st The Qutb Shahi period from 1575 (983 H.)—1687 (1098 H.), corresponding to the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II.
- 2nd The Mughal period from 1687 (1098 H.)—1724 (1136 H.), corresponding to the reigns of William and Mary, Anne and George I.



From a Drawing by P. A. Bhaionani.

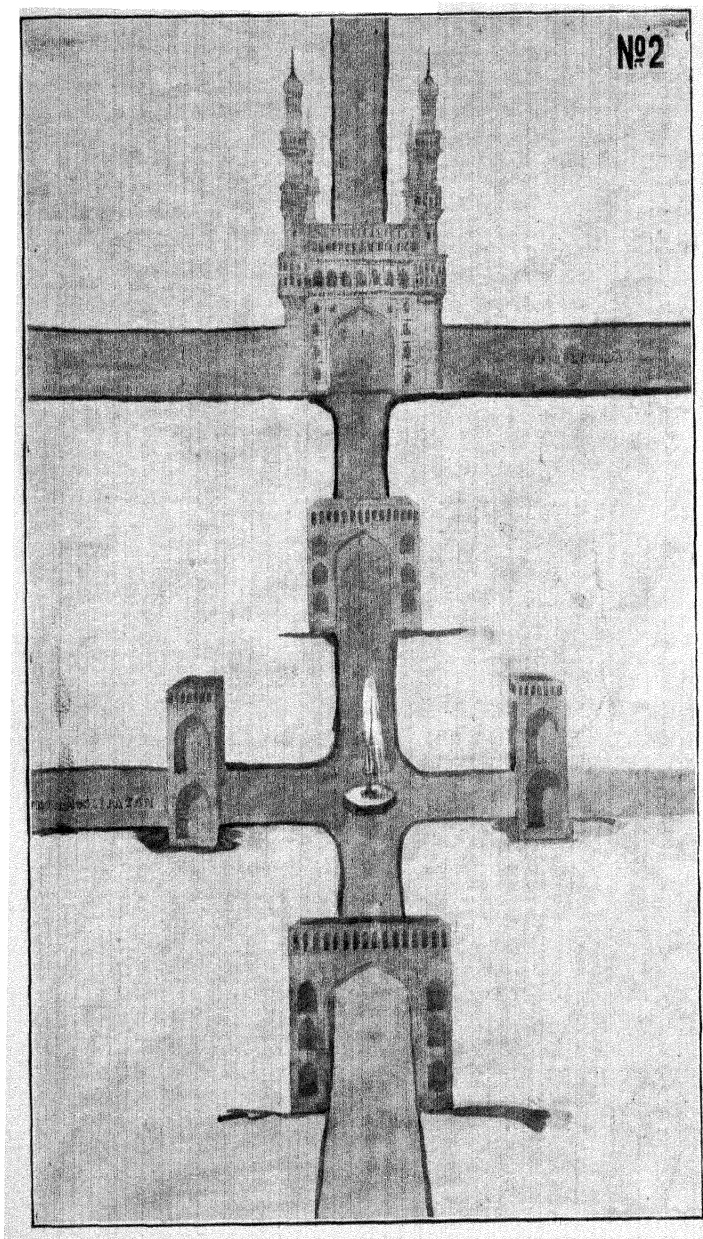
3rd The Asaf Jahi period from 1724 (1136 H.) to this day, from the days of George I up to now.

The Qutb Shahi period was the most prolific in the construction of various works of utility and beauty. First and foremost was the Husain Sagar Tank (Plate II), built in the reign of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah in the year 1575 (983 H.) *i.e.*, fourteen years before even the city of Hyderabad was founded. The bund is said to have been constructed at a cost of about two and-a-half lacs of rupees. It is reputed to have built by Husain Shah Wali, who claimed to be eighth in descent from Hazrat Banda Nawaz, the famous Saint of Gulbarga, and who came here in the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. He named the tank after himself and so incurred the displeasure of the king. It is related that the tank remained empty for four years after the construction of the *band*. The following story regarding it is given in the appendices of "Our Faithful Ally." "His Highness having been disappointed and his expectations unrealized with respect to the filling of the tank, directed a nobleman of his court of the name of Khwajah Nek Nam Khan to cause a channel to be made from the River Musi to the Hussain Sagar Tank in order that it might be filled. Nek Nam Khan accordingly cut a small channel, paying the expenses out of his private funds, and succeeded as an experiment in bringing the water into the Hussain Sagar Tank. When he had thus far succeeded he intended to enlarge the channel and make it a complete work, but he unfortunately died. One day His Highness went on a pleasure excursion to the Hussain Sagar Tank and inquired of the spectators what its name

was. They replied that its name was "Hoossein Sahib Cherroo." His Highness indignant that his own name should not be given to the Tank, resolved that another be built. He accordingly on leaving the tank proceeded to Ibrahimpatam, where he marked out the outlines of a Tank himself in order that it should bear his own name."

The channel to the Musi alluded to above was taken in hand again in 1856 and completed in 1860. It is thirty-six miles in length and is styled, as every one knows, the Balkapur channel, which brings a large quantity of water to the tank. In the Qutb Shahi period the next reign, that of Muhammad Quli, the founder of the city, was the most prominent in respect of buildings. Not only did he lay out the city on proper lines, which do credit to any town planning expert of the present day, but also built many mosques, schools, hospitals, *caravansaries*, tanks, bridges, and various palaces of which only the names remain, such as the Chandan Mahall, Hira Mahall, Naddi Mahall, Lakhan Mahall, all traces of the structures having disappeared. This king is said to have expended £3,000,000 on public buildings and irrigation works. His nobles followed his example, and the number of superb mosques and palaces erected in various parts of the Dominions were never surpassed by any other Muhammadan kingdom in the Deccan.

As for the Hyderabad city itself its plan was perfectly simple and on the gridiron principle. The first obvious thing was to extend the road from Golconda, the capital of the kingdom, lying due west till it met the eastern boundary of the site selected



From a painting by P. A. Bhaunani.

CHAR MINAR AND CHAR KAMAN, HYDERABAD.

for the city and joined the Masulipatam road. Next, a road at right angles to this running north and south and piercing through the middle of the selected site. At the crossing of these two roads was built the Char Minar, the most ornamental building in the city, familiar to every one here. Curiously enough, the same idea was favoured by the Romans wherever they founded a new city. Great attention was paid to the placing of four-way arches or *Tretrapyla* at the crossing point of the main streets, called at Antiseh and probably also elsewhere the *Omphalos* or "Naval" of the City. These, like the simpler forms of triumphal arch, probably served as pedestals for chariot groups or other monumental sculpture. In this particular case the designer had evidently a difficult problem to solve. The main road took a turn at right angles to itself for a short distance. He thus had to propose two crossings: one at the crossing of the more important road of the two, *i.e.*, the one from Golconda. Here he placed the Char Minar. The second was at the Masulipatam road crossing. Here he placed the Gulzar Hauz and the four arches (Plate III). History has not recorded whether the Char Minar was erected to commemorate any particular event. A story is told that during the year previous to its erection pestilence broke out in the city and in Golconda, which destroyed numbers of people and that it was at length stayed by the prayers of some holy men who went about in procession carrying sacred *panjas* and *tabuts*; and the king in order to commemorate the event directed the Char Minar to be built after the model of a *tabut*. It certainly has the appearance of an exaggerated *tabut* in stone. But

the story cannot be believed, as the Qutb Shahi kings were all Shias and so were a majority of the inhabitants of the city at that time and the sect is averse to a display of *tabuts*. The Char Minar was erected in H. 1000, ascertained from the words *ya Hafiz*, or A. D. 1593, two years after the foundation of the city by Muhammad Quli. Above its arches are a couple of rooms, said to have been originally used as a small *Madrasa* and *Masjid*. (Only the Municipal people now and then ascend the Char Minar for cleaning purposes and that also after giving a day's notice, as it overlooks the Chau Mahalla Palace.) The king had a channel constructed from Jalpalli by which water for drinking purposes was conveyed here and then raised to the top of the Char Minar to supply the highest apartments in the palace.

When Khwaja Bahadur Dil Khan was Subedar, after the conquest and annexation of the Qutb Shahi kingdom by Aurangzeb, the southwest minaret was struck by lightning and shattered to pieces. The *minar* was reconstructed at a cost of Rs. 60,000 from a sum left by a rich merchant who died at that time.

In July 1756 the Char Minar and the gardens which stood in its vicinity were occupied by Bussy and his troops.

The building which shewed signs of decay was thoroughly renovated about the year 1880 (1297 H.).

As for the laying out of the other buildings, I may mention that the palaces were built on the riverside extending from the city entrance to the centre of the city, to be in touch with the hub of the city and at

the same time, in case of pursuit by any enemy, to have easy access to the citadel across the river. The noblemen's *Deoris* were as near the palaces as possible, so as to be at the beck and call of the king, and behind these stood the houses of their followers. The *caravansarae* was close to the entrance to the gate and the hospital on the cool bank of the river, but at the same time away from the din and noise of the city.

Close to the Char Minar, situated on the North and South road and built about two years after it, is what is called a *Char-su-ka-hauz* (or cistern of four roads), encircled by four arches, which are placed at right angles to each other and also to the four roads. The king had a pavilion erected here, from which he used to witness the manœuvring of his troops and also received his military chiefs.

The next important work was the Purana Pul or Old Bridge, erected in this reign in the year 1593 (1001 H) to connect the citadel of Golconda with the new city. It is said to have been constructed in a year and a half, at a cost of some two lacs and a half of rupees. But as there was a saving of a lac of rupees, the king gave one-third to the engineer who built the bridge and two-thirds as alms. The date of the completion of the bridge may be conjectured from the words *Siratu-l-Mustaqim* (straight road) said to have been cut on a stone in one of the piers of the bridge, but which apparently have been obliterated.

The bridge evidently needed thorough renovation in the reign of Nizam Sikandar Jah as we see from

the following inscription, written on a stone in the old bridge gate side :—

The bridge was rebuilt in the reign of King Sikandar.

Owing to the interest taken by Raja Chandulal, it has been rendered better than it formerly was.

A voice whispered to Shadan that its date can be got from the words “ *Jai Gharibi* ” 1236 (1819 H).

The bridge will now be safe from floods like a pearl in the shell.

The Jami Masjid was the only mosque constructed during this reign. It is situated very near the Char Minar. It was constructed in the year 1006 H. or 1598 A.D. Attached to this Masjid are the ruins of an old Turkish Bath to which a number of attendants used to be allotted. It has fallen into disuse long since and is at present occupied by a Municipal Amin and his records.

An inscription on the gate of the mosque is as follows :—

A ruler who is a king of kings in whose reign
Virtue got great support.

Such a one that the heart gets comforted and
the life gets refreshed when his ruby (red
lips) utters a speech.

He has rendered the Earth so beautiful that the
Heavens envy its beauty and the ‘ Garden
of Iram ’ has been put to shame.

Under his august commands a mosque has been
built in whose roof the firmament is as if
it were a ball.

The Paradise placed in its court yard does
sweeping work every moment.

I feel proud to see that in that spot are exercised
all the virtues of Islam to one's heart's
content.

If any body asks you about the date of its
construction tell him it is 1006.

An excellent lofty building of virtue (completed
under the auspices of Malik Amin-ul-Mulk).

ENGRAVED BY BABA KHAN.

Dar-ush-Shifa and Ashur Khana are the
two other existing buildings which were also
constructed during this reign. Dar-ush-Shifa is
situated opposite the Purani Haveli. It consists
of a quadrangular court-yard paved with stone,
having chambers for the accommodation of travellers
and sick persons. It was erected by Muhammad
Quli who maintained a staff of physicians and *hakims*
here to minister to the sick. The court-yard also
contains the remains of a Turkish Bath. Ashur
Khana is a large building opposite the palace of
Nawab Sir Salar Jang. It was constructed by
Muhammad Quli in 1594 (1002 H) at a cost, it is said,
of Rs. 66,000. There are some traces yet on the
walls of fine Persian ornamental enamel work.
Most of it however has been undermined by rain
water coming through a leaky roof. At the instance
of the Archæological Department the building has
been restored recently by the Public Works Depart-
ment. One more building of interest constructed

by the same king was the Dad Mahal, which does not exist at present. It was built close to the Char-su-ka-hauz and was one of the first buildings erected after the king's palace, when he removed there from Golconda. It was an upper storied building, from one of the windows of which a long chain was suspended and connected with a bell in the king's Durbar Hall. Any person desiring to make a petition or to complain against any of the officers had but to ring the bell, when he was admitted to the presence of the king.

Dad Mahal was one of the places occupied by Bussy's troops in 1756 (1169 H.) The palace was destroyed in 1771 (1185 H.) by an explosion. In the same year the city was flooded by the overflow of the Musi, and the powder in the magazine having become damp was spread out to dry in the sun; while drying it ignited and a tremendous explosion occurred blowing down many of the neighbouring buildings and killing and wounding some people.

During the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah four works of importance were carried out, *i. e.*,

Mir Jumla Tank.

Daira-i-Momin.

Toli Mosque.

Mecca Masjid.

Mir Jumla Tank (Plate II) was constructed in 1035 H. (A. D. 1625) by the celebrated Qutb Shahi Minister, Mir Jumla. At one time most of the water used in the city was supplied from it. But it is now in a very insanitary condition. There is a proposal to cut the *band* and use the bed of the tank as a park or playground. This will be

further necessitated owing to the existence of an embankment carrying the new Gadag Railway through the bed of the tank.

Daira-i-Mir Momin, or Mir Momin's Burial-ground, in which Sir Salar Jang's grave lies, is situated near the Mir Jumla Tank. It was constructed by the same Qutb Shahi Minister, Mir Jumla.

Mir Momin was a famous Shia Saint who came to Hydera bad from Karbala in the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah. He is said to have brought some of the sacred earth of Karbala with him and to have consecrated the graveyard for the internment of the Shias. Mir Momin's tomb is a short distance to the right of the entrance gate. Both Sunnis and Shias are buried in this graveyard. It is a huge necropolis containing hundreds of dressed stone graves. Beyond the great expanse of tombs lies the Salar Jang family burial place. It is walled off from the rest of the graveyard.

The construction of the famous Mecca Masjid was commenced by Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah, but he died before it proceeded far and the work was carried out by his successors, Abdullah and Abu-l-Hasan. The latter, however, was sent into captivity by the Emperor Aurangzeb before the work was quite finished. The minarets, which were not built to the proper height, are said to have been stopped by Aurangzeb from being raised further. He is said to have remarked :—

“ None ever fully satisfied his worldly desires, whatever one ought to do ought to be on a small scale.”

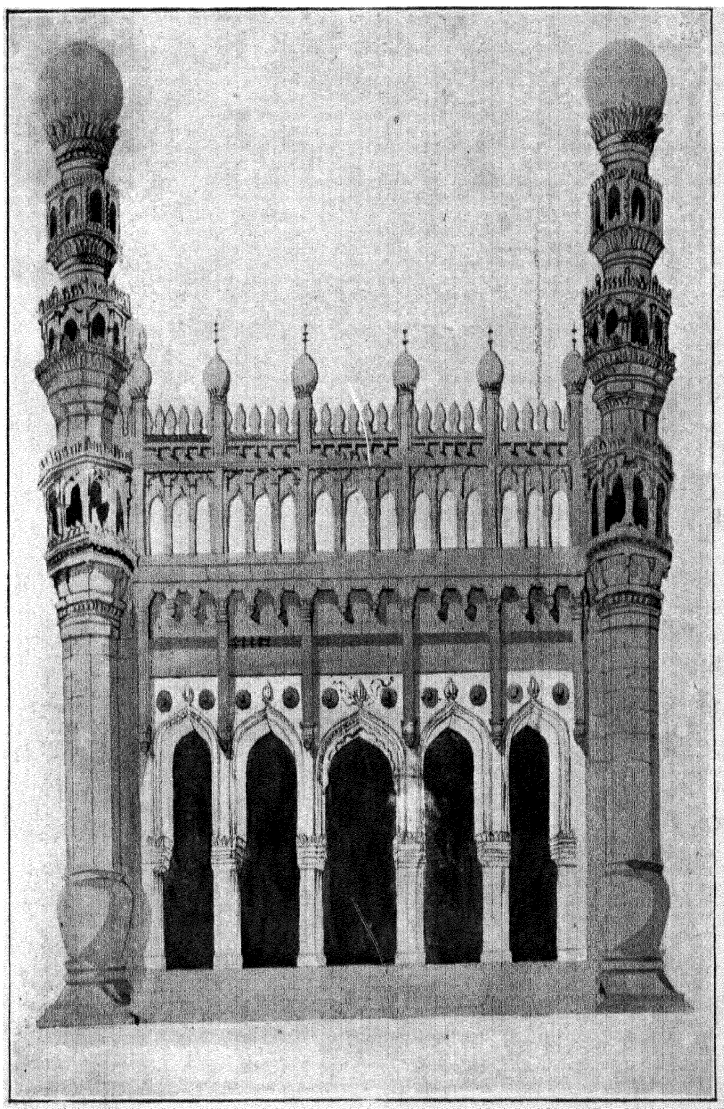
Aurangzeb is said to have been taken to task severely by religious men for stopping this. However, he completed the gateway in 1692 (1103 H.), a fact that is recorded on the gateway itself.

Tavernier, the French traveller, who saw the Masjid before its completion, wrote thus :—" About fifty years since they began to build magnificent Pagod (Mecca Masjid) in the city, which would have been the finest in all India had it been finished. The stones are to be admired for their bigness. And that wherein the nich (*mihrab*) is made, which is on that side where they say their prayers, is an entire rock of such prodigious bulk that it was five years before five or six hundred men continually engaged could cut it out of its place. They were also to roll it along upon an engine with wheels, upon which they brought it to the Pagod, and several affirmed to me that there were fourteen hundred oxen to draw it."

Toli Mosque (Plate IV) is situated half way to the Fort. It was built during the period 1634 (1043 H.) and 1673 (1082 H.). It is the most architectural building here, after which the Afzulganj Mosque is designed. It is mostly built of polished stone. There are two inscriptions extant to this day ; one inside the Mosque and one on a loose black stone lying in the courtyard. The former reads :—

(1) Whose is the Kingdom to-day.

It is God's, the Omnipotent. Musa Khan built this holy Mosque as the ruler Abdullah encouraged him to do so.



From a drawing by P. A. Bhaunani.

TOLI MASJID, HYDERABAD.

For the date of the Mosque the voice said :
 “ He constructed the Mosque in the name of God ”
 1082 H.

The latter reads :—

(2) In the reign of the King who is always contemplating good and whose courtyard is the firmament. This building attained completion by the exertions of the Shaikh-i-Peshwa (religious leader).

When I asked the invisible guide for its date, he said “ This Mosque was built by order of King Abdullah.”

During this reign Hyderabad was visited by two French travellers, *i.e.*, Tavernier and Thevenot. Tavernier visited the city twice, in 1645 (1055 H.) and 1652 (1062 H.). Thevenot visited it in the year 1667 (1078 H.).

The first account, that of Thevenot, who travelled from Aurangabad to Hyderabad in 1667 (1078 H.), thus describes Bhagnagar : “ The Capital City of the Kingdom of Golconda is called Bhagnagar, the Persians call it Hyderabad ; it is fourteen or fifteen leagues from Viziapur, situated in the latitude of seventeen degrees, ten minutes, in a very long plain hemmed in with little hills, some *coses* distant from the Town, which makes the air of that place very wholesome, besides that the country of Golconda lies very high, the houses of the suburbs where we arrived are only built of earth and thatched with straw. They are so low and ill contrived that they can be no more than huts. We went from one end

to the other of that suburb, which is very long and stops near the Bridge (Purana Pul), which is at the farther end of it. There we stayed for a note from the Kotwal to enter the Town, because of the Merchants' goods of the *Caravan* which were to be carried to the Kotwal's house to be searched. But a Persian name Ak-Nazar, a favourite of the kings, who knew the chiefs of the *Caravan*, being informed of its arrival, sent immediately a man with orders to let us enter with all the goods, and so we passed the bridge, which is only twenty-three arches over. It is but three fathoms broad and is paved with large flat stones. The river of Nerva runs under that Bridge which then seemed to be but a brook, though in time of the rains, it be as broad as the Seine before the Louvre at Paris. At the end of the Bridge we found the gates of the City, which are no more but barriers. Being entered, we marched a quarter of an hour through a long street with houses on both sides, but as low as those of the suburbs and built of the same materials though they have very lovely gardens. We went to a Caravansarai called Nimat Ullah which has its entry from the same street. Every one took his lodging there and hired two little chambers at Rs. 2 a month. The town makes a kind of cross, much longer than broad and extends in a straight line from the Bridge to the Four Towers, but beyond these towers the street is no longer straight; and whilst in walking I measure the length of the Town, being come to the Four Towers, I was obliged to turn to the left and entered into a maidan where there is another street that led me to the Town Gate (Yakutpura) which I looked for. Having adjusted my measures, I found that Bhagnagar was

five thousand six hundred and fifty paces in length, viz., two thousand four hundred and fifty from the Bridge to the Towers, and from thence through the maidan to the Gate which leads to Masulipatam, three thousand two hundred paces. There is also beyond that gate a suburb eleven hundred paces long. There are several maidans or public places in this Town, but the fairest is that before the "King's Palace." Thevenot then describes this place which contained two *debris* with Kotwal's tribunals above and prisoners' dens below, also a large basin of water in the middle, probably Gulzar Hauz, and a thick masonry wall for elephant fights. "The ordinary houses there," Thevenot continues, "are not above two fathoms high, they raised them no higher, that they may have the fresh air during the heat and most part of them only earth; but the houses of persons of quality are pretty enough. The Palace, which is three hundred and four score paces in length, takes up not only one of the sides of the place, but is continued to the Four Towers, which it terminates in a very lofty pavilion. The walls of it which are built of great stones have at certain distances half towers and there are many windows towards the place, with an open gallery to see the shows. They say it is very pleasant within and that the water rises to the highest apartments. The Reservatory of that water, which is brought a great way off, is in the top of the Four Towers, from whence it is conveyed into the house by pipes. No man enters into the Palace, but by an express order from the King who grants it but seldom. Nay commonly nobody comes near to it, and in the place there is a circuit staked out, that must not be passed over."

“There is another square maidan in this Town where many great men have well built houses. The caravansarais are generally all handsome, and the most esteemed is that which is called Nimat-Ullah in the great street opposite to the King's Garden. It is a spacious square and the court of it is adorned with several trees of different kinds and a large basin where the Mahomedans perform their ablutions.”

“That which is called Four Towers is a square building of which each face is ten fathoms broad, and about seven high. It is open in the four sides by four arches, four or five fathoms high and four fathoms wide, and every one of these arches fronts a street, of the same breadth as the arch. There are two galleries in it one over another, and over all a terrace that serves for a roof bordered with a stone balcony and at each corner of that building, decagonal tower about ten fathoms high and each tower hath four galleries with little arches, on the outside, the whole building being adorned with roses and festoons pretty well cut. It is vaulted underneath and appears like a dome which has in the inside all round balusters of stone, pierced and open as the gallery in the outside, and there are several doors in the walls to enter at. Under this dome there is a large table placed upon a Divan, raised seven or eight feet from the ground, with steps to go up to it. All the galleries of that building serve to make the water mount up, that so being afterwards conveyed to the King's Palace, it might reach the highest apartments.”

“Nothing in that town seems so lovely as the outside of that building and nevertheless it is sur-

rounded with ugly shops made of wood and covered with straw, where they sell fruit, which spoils the prospect of it."

"There are many fair gardens in the Town, their beauty consists in having long walls kept very clean, and lovely fruit trees, but that have neither beds of flowers nor water works, and they are satisfied with several cisterns or basins with water. The gardens, without the Town, are the loveliest, and I shall only describe one of them that is considered the pleasantest of the Kingdom. At first one enters into a great place which is called the first garden, it is planted with palms and areca trees, so near to one another that the sun can hardly pierce through them. The walls of it are straight and neat with borders of white flowers which they call Gul Daudi, the flowers of David, there are also Indian Gilly flowers with some other sorts. The house is at the end of this garden and has two great wings adjoining the main body of it."

"There are many officers and men of law at Bhagnagar, but the most considerable is the Kotwal. He is not only Governor of the Town, but also Chief Custom's Officer of the Kingdom. He is besides Master of the Mint House and supreme Judge of the City, as well in Civil and Criminal matters, he rents all these places of the King for which he pays a good deal of money. There are in this Town many rich Merchants, Bankers and Jewellers and vast numbers of very skilful artisans; among the inhabitants of Bhagnagar we are to reckon the forty thousand horse, Persians, Moghals and Tartars whom the King entertains that he may not be again sur-

prised as he hath been heretofore by his enemies. Besides the Indian Merchants that are at Bhagnagar, there are many Persians and Armenians, but through the weakness of the Government the owners sometimes squeeze them."

"The most current money in this Kingdom are the Pagods, rupees of Moghals, the half rupees, quarter rupees and Paichas. The Pagods are pieces of gold, of which there are old and new ones. When I was at Bhagnagar the old were worth five rupees and a half, because they were scarce then and the new were only worth four rupees, but both rise and fall according as people stand in need of them."

The next traveller, Tavernier, also a Frenchman, gives the following description of his visit :—"At Bhagnagar you cross the river over a bridge no less beautiful than Pont-Neuf at Paris (he means the Old Bridge). The City is little less than Orleans, well built and full of windows."

"There are many fairly large streets, but not well paved. So soon as you are over the Bridge, you enter into a large street that leads you to the King's Palace, on the right hand are the houses of some Lords of the Court and four or five Inns two storied high, wherein there are fair halls and large chambers to let in the fresh air. At the end of this street there is a large piazza (Char Minar) upon which stands one of the sides of palace, in the middle whereof there is a balcony wherein the King comes to sit, when he pleases to give audience to the people. The great gates of the palace stand not upon this piazza but upon another very near adjoining (he means Char-su-ka-Hauz) and you

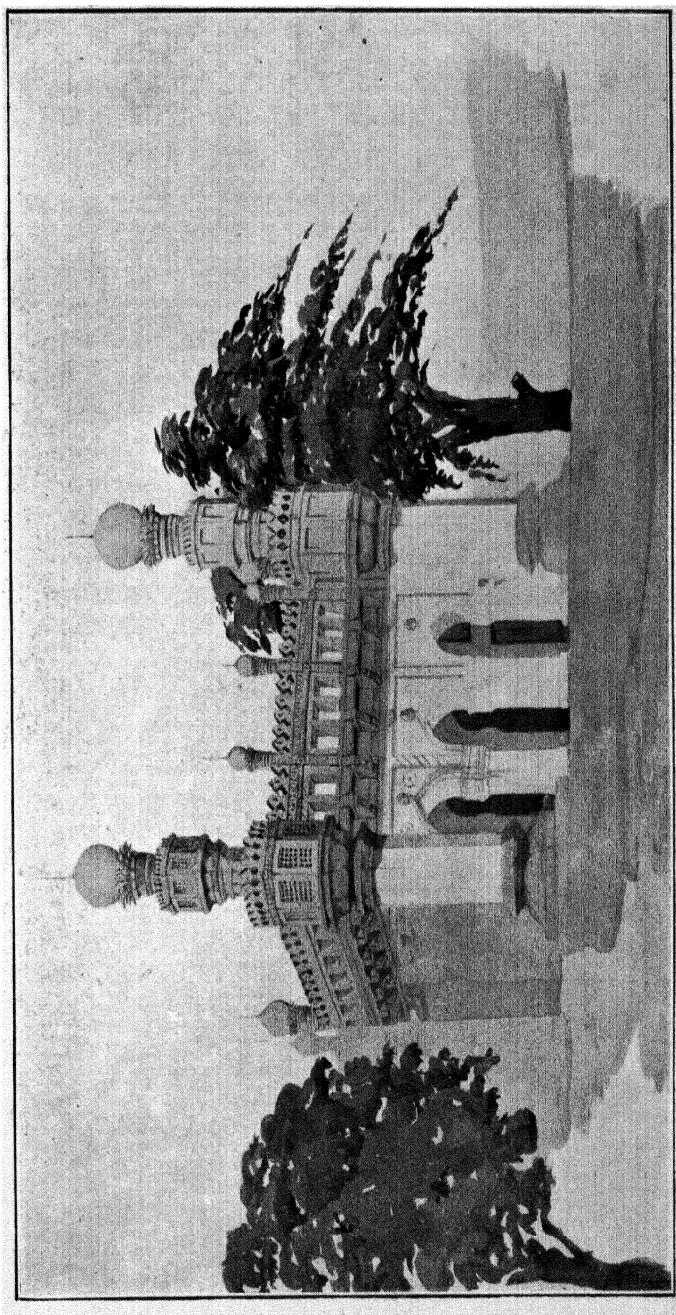
enter first into a large court surrounded with porticos, under which lie the King's Guards. Out of this court you pass into another, built after the same form, encompassed with several fair apartments, the roofs whereof are terraced upon which as upon these where the elephants are kept, there are very fair gardens, wherein there grow trees of that bigness, that it is a thing of great wonder how these arches should bear so vast a burden. As for the government and policy which is observed in the City, in the first place, when a stranger comes to the gates they search him exactly to see if he have any salt or tobacco about him, for these commodities bring the King his great revenue. Sometimes a stranger shall wait a day or two before he shall have leave to enter. For a soldier first gives notice to the Officer that commands the Guard and then he sends the Darogah to know what he shall do. Now, because it happens many times, the Darogah is busy, or gone to take a walk out of the City or else for that sometimes the soldier himself pretends he cannot find the Darogah, only to create himself more errands to get the more money, a stranger is forced to endure all this delay, sometimes as I have said before for a day or two."

Tavernier, then in his account of the city, describes the processions of elephants, camels, horses and *palkis* of noblemen who in turn mount the guard in the city. He also describes the dress of the soldiers and their arms. He states also how many common women existed then under a license and lastly he gives in detail how much the custom of drinking *Toddy* was in vogue then as now and how much revenue was derived from this.

We come now to the reign of Abu-l-Hasan Tana Shah, the last Qutb Shahi king, in which the construction of the Gosha Mahal took place. This was laid out as a pleasure garden with cisterns and fountains. Tana Shah also built a residence here for his *zenana*. This is the place which is said to have been connected with Golconda by an underground tunnel. The French physician, Bernier, who visited India just about this time, states that it was at this place, Gosha Mahal, that on Mir Jumla's advice and in league with him, Aurangzeb disguised as an ambassador was received by Tana Shah. But when he found out who Aurangzeb really was, Tana Shah took to horse and fled to Golconda, leaving the city to be plundered by the Mughal emperor and his troops.

One of the few architectural buildings that have remained *intact* on the road from Purana Pul to Golconda is the Masjid and Caravansarai of Mian Mishk, constructed during the reign of Tana Shah (Plate V). At the present day, on either side of the road for quite half the distance to the Fort the ground is covered with the ruins of old buildings, many of which are unrecognizable. There are still existing a good many mosques, *dargahs* and *caravansarais*, which tell a story of the olden days.

The *Masjid* and *Caravansarai* of Khwaja Mishk was built by an eunuch of Abdullah Qutb Shah. An inscription over the gateway gives the date of erection as 1032 H. (1622 A.D.). There was a Turkish Bath attached to the mosque, which is maintained to this day. The founder's tomb and *caravansarai* contain a number of Arabic inscriptions, some in praise of the king but the majority chiefly quotations and prayers from the Quran.



From a painting by P. A. Phannani.

One of the inscriptions gives the conditions of grant of different villages for the maintenance of the mosque and the *caravansarai*. It reads as follows :—

“The officials of the Kotwal Khana and the Police Station of the villages of Mustaidpura, Atapura and the suburbs of Muhammad Nagar Fort are hereby informed that the Mutamad-ul-Khidmat Malik Mishk, Key-keeper, having begged that the revenue of the bazaar of the mosque and eight gardens and three plots of land under cultivation being his own grant, and the allowance of the mosque and the corn being the grant of Mir Malik, having been purchased by him and situated in that same village, may, after reserving the sum required for the necessary expenses thereon, be thus allotted :—

320 *huns* for Langar, Ashura and Alams.

40 *huns* annually for Abdar Khana and for the Langar of the mosque and lighting expenses.

80 *huns* annually and the corn from the lands of Mir Malik for the allowance holders of the Langar of the mosque.

60 *huns* Mutawalli.

10 *huns* Muazzin.

6 *huns* Farrash.

6 *huns* Oil for lamps.

2½ *huns* Floor of the mosque.

6 *huns* Cook.

6 *huns* Water Carrier.

12 *huns* Petty repairs to mosque.

7	<i>huns</i>	..	..	Plants.
12	<i>huns</i>	..	..	Two porters.
6	<i>huns</i>	..	..	Sweeper.
84	<i>huns</i>	..	..	Clerk.

The expenses of the Bath to be 98 *huns*, to be allotted as follows :—

40	<i>huns</i> annually	..	Wood.
16 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>huns</i>	..	..Purchase of bucket and rope, and feed- ing of bullocks.
6	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Mukka Mal (Sham- pooer).
10	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Kisa Mal (Rubbing man).
6	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Farrash.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Oil for lamp.
$\frac{1}{4}$	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Matting.
12	<i>huns</i>	..	.. Mali and Water- driver.

That the above revenue, being thus religiously bequeathed to be offered to the twelve Imams (may they be blessed), they should prepare food and therewith feed the beggars and others deserving of it, and should provide for the expenses of the Ashura, the Bath, and the salaries of the servants.

The request of the aforesaid was thereupon granted, and august orders were accordingly issued that the allotment of the property of the aforesaid, as made by himself, should continue year after year without interruption and any change in it should be guarded against, and whatever is collected from the ground rent of the bazaar and the garden and the cultivated lands should be spent to meet the above

expenses. Anybody who disobeys these orders or is avaricious of money, be he a Hindu or a Musalman, will be involved in the wrath of God and be deprived of the help of the Intercessor (the Prophet Muhammad) on the day of Judgment, by Muhammad Mustafa (may he be blessed !) 1089 (1678 H.)”

Before concluding the Qutb Shahi period, mention must be made of three suburbs, two of them gardens suburbs, established during the Qutb Shahi period.

(1) Khairatabad, *vide* Plate II, named after Khairatbi, a daughter of Sultan Ibrahim Qutb Shah, an old tomb close to the Khairatabad Masjid is believed to be her grave.

(2) The Black Rocks, *vide* Plate II, near Husain Sagar, where the Qutb Shahis reigned at Golconda ; the hill was named Naubat Pahar. It was so called from the fact that in olden times all official communications of the Mughal emperors with the Nizams were proclaimed from this rock to the sound of music. The place was a favourite resort of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah who laid out a large garden at its base and built pavilions and pleasure houses on the summit. All traces of the gardens and pavilions have long since been swept away.

(3) The Lingumpully gardens, *vide* Plate II, some of which were laid out by the Qutb Shahi kings, in whose memoirs there are frequent references to the gardens of Lingumpulli, their beauty and the fine fruit which they grew.

The mosques erected during the Qutb Shahi period have a style of their own. Their chief charac-

teristic is the profusion of plaster decoration over the façades, the minars, and the outline of the latter, which is different from that of those of any other Muhammadan centre. The deep arched ornamental galleries round the minars are prominent features.

We next come to the Mughal period. Only two works of importance were done in this period. First, restoration of one of the minarets of the Char Minar, which we have described already ; and secondly, the erection of the city walls in the time of the Mughal Subedar Mubariz Khan. A portion of the wall that remained incomplete in his government was finished by the first Nizam. The wall is pierced with 13 gates to all of which one can motor down. They are—

1. Chaddarghat Darwaza.
2. Delhi Darwaza.
3. Afzal Darwaza.
4. Champa Darwaza.
5. Puranapul Darwaza.
6. Dud Baoli Darwaza.
7. Ghazi Banda Darwaza.
8. Aliabad Darwaza.
9. Lal Darwaza.
10. Gwalipura Darwaza.
11. Mir Jumla Darwaza.
12. Yaqutpura Darwaza.
13. Dabirpura Darwaza.

Beside the gates there are also twelve *khirkis* or posterns. Some of the gates are closed every night, even to this day, and the key is sent to the Kotwal at night and brought back in the morning to open the gates.

The wall is built in the form of a parallelogram, six miles in circumference and two and a quarter square miles in area.

It was during the Mughal period also that the site known as Fateh Maidan received its name from one of Aurangzeb's generals, who defeated a body of Sultan Abu-l-Hasan's troops here.

We do not hear again anything in the building line till the reign of Sikandar Jah, except the construction of the Purani Haveli during the days of the first Nizam. From 1724 to 1800, for about a century, no work of importance seems to have been constructed. On the other hand there were two disastrous floods in the Musi. First in 1748 (1161 H.) the river rose to a great height and destroyed many houses. Numbers of lives and much valuable property was lost.

The next flood however was the most disastrous. It occurred in 1771 (1185 H.). The river rose rapidly and breaching the City wall in a number of places flooded the whole town, hundreds of houses were swept away and two thousand people are said to have lost their lives. During the same year Hyderabad was visited by a tremendous hailstorm.

In this blank period, also occurred the death of one of the most remarkable Frenchmen, Monsieur Joackim Raymond. With 15,000 well disciplined troops at his command he was a powerful person at the court of the Nizam. Colonel Malleeson writes of him "No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him in India ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives of the

country." M. Raymond used to make his own guns and constructed the foundries, the most well-known being called Top-ka-Sancha near Fateh Maidan. The French gardens in which Raymond and his officers resided, and close to which the troop lines were situated, are about half a mile from the hill where his tomb is situated. They are now held in Jagir by some Nawab. Raymond died at Hyderabad on March 25th, 1798. His tomb lies on a hill near Usmangarh, on the way to Sarurnagar. It consists of a granite obelisk twenty-three feet high standing in the centre of an oblong platform. The obelisk contains no inscription but simply the letters J. R. The tomb is worshipped by both Hindus and Muslims, by the former as that of Musa Ram and by the latter as that of Musa Rahim.

We come now to a much brighter period so far as the growth of the city is concerned, *i.e.*, from the year 1800 (1215 H.) downwards. In the year 1800 (1215 H.) the Residency was commenced and finished six years afterwards. Previous to its erection the Residents used to occupy a garden house of one of the ministers. The present building was commenced while Major Kirkpatrick was the Resident.

It was constructed under the supervision of Mr. Russell of the Madras Engineers who also designed it. In connection with the furniture it is worth mentioning that the chairs, couches, mirrors, etc., which were first sent out after the building had been finished had been the property of the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV who sold them to the Company a pretty high figure.

Some years ago the grounds contained a house styled Rang Mahal, built by Colonel Kirkpatrick for a Muhammadan lady whom he married. The building was demolished many years ago. The cemetery close by contains a number of graves, amongst which are the tombs of three former Residents :—

Mr. G. A. Bushby (who died at Bolapur) in December .. 1856

Mr. A. Roberts " " " .. 1868

Col. Davidson " " " .. 1861

and to these alas has been lately added the grave of our first President Sir Alexander Pinhey.

In the year 1221 H. or 1810 A. D., Mir Alam Tank was constructed. It is named after the Nizam Sikandar Jah's Minister, Mir Alam. It is said to have cost eight lakhs of rupees. Mir Alam led the contingent forces of the Nizam during the war with Tipu Sultan in 1799, and he is said to have built this *band*, the *baradari* in the city overlooking the river, and several other buildings out of the prize money which fell to his share after the fall of Seringapatam. It was constructed by French engineers in the service of Government.

In the year 1831, the next work of importance, the Chaddarghat or Oliphant Bridge was built by Col. Oliphant with the assistance of the sappers attached to the old Russell Bridge, during the reign of Nizam Nasir-ud-Daulah.

During this reign also were completed two large Kothis, one named Rambold's Kothi and the other Pestonji's Kothi. Rambold's Kothi was the house of Sir William Rambold who was a partner in

the firm of Palmer & Co. He was a grandson of the famous Governor of Madras, and came to India with a fortune of £8,000 a year during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hastings, having married a ward of that nobleman's. He subsequently joined the firm of Palmer & Co., and remained a partner till its failure. Sir William Rambold died here in 1833. The building is now an annexe of the King Kothi. Pestonji's Kothi is a large building standing well back from the main road erected on an immense stone basement.

The erection, alone, of the original walls which surrounded the grounds is said to have cost a lakh of rupees. The house was built by the famous Parsi bankers, Pestonji & Co., who farmed the revenues of Berar. They succeeded Puran Mal in 1839. In 1845, Pestonji was compelled to give up his districts. The Kothi is now named as Mohsin-ul-Mulk's Kothi and was purchased by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk for a lakh of rupees.

It was during the reign of the Nizam Afzal-ud-Daulah that private house construction got a great spurt. Most of the small upper-storied houses which line the principal street of the Afzalganj quarter were erected during the reign of this Nizam, after whom the street is named. The same Nizam built the fine mosque near the Afzalganj Bridge for one of his wives, at a cost, it is said, of a lakh of rupees. The *Masjid* is said to have been modelled after one of the old Qutb Shahi mosques in the Caravansarai. Adjoining the Afzalganj was started the Begam Bazaar, the chief grain market of Hyderabad. It is so styled because in those years the revenue of the place were allotted to the chief Begam of the Nizam.

Chadderghat, the principal of the suburbs, so called from an anicut therein across the river and forming a Chadder or sheet of falling water, also sprang up in 1854 in about 30 years. In fact in 1850, with the exception of the Residency and the bazaars under its walls, there was scarcely a building where houses may now be counted by thousands. The Public Gardens, the Saifabad Palace, the Nam-pully Railway Station, the King Kothi have sprung up since then. Ground which at that period was given to any one for the asking cannot be had now for less than four to five rupees per square yard.

This reign also saw the construction of the most central and useful bridge of all the four, namely the Afzalganj Bridge. It was erected in the year 1865 by the late Minister Sir Salar Jang. It is named after the Nizam Afzal-ud-Daulah. Prior to its construction visitors to the City had to drive to the Residency and proceed from thence on elephants, as that was the only manner in which the river could be crossed. There is an inscription carved in a stone fixed on the gate of the bridge. It may be translated thus :—

In the reign of Afzal-ud-Daulah Bahadur
Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah of the time.

O Lord, till the Moon and the Sun continue to shine, may the Sun of his glory continue to shine too. Mukhtar-ul-Mulk is his excellent well-wishing Minister ; Col. Davidson is the generous hearted and magnificent Resident.

Under the supervision of Mr. Marrett, this bridge is constructed like the vault of seven apartments (Heaven.) “The straight way over the river Musi”—read the date from this hemistich.

St. George's Church was also constructed during this reign. It was commenced when Sir George Yule was the Resident here. There was no other place of worship then in Chadderghat and the Resident headed a subscription list with a handsome donation.

During the reign of the late Nizam, two constructions of importance added to the growth of the City—first the Musallam Bridge built in the year 1896, and second Falaknuma built by the late Sir Viqar-ul-Umara, and afterwards purchased by the Nizam for a sum of 35 lakhs of rupees.

We come now to the present reign and see the completion of such buildings as the Town Hall—the starting of such monumental buildings as the High Court and River Garden, boulevards, new Railway Station, and the projection of several buildings of utility such as a general hospital and the City High Schools, the College, a State Library, etc. The growth of the city in this reign is being given as great an impetus as in the days of the founder.

Muhammad Quli founded the city as a mediæval town containing in its mosques, gates, walls, principal streets and bridges, an interesting series of mediæval remains. But it has grown since his days by fits and starts. Whatever buildings have been constructed subsequently have been cheap and of a transitory nature. Not a single stone building has

been erected from the Qutb Shahi days till now. Some of these are mere huts, such as those that were washed away from the river banks by the disastrous flood of 1908, which committed such a havoc. The city has grown higgledy piggedly without any plan, without any bye-laws, as it suited the interests of each builder. Even the original roads marked out by the founder have been considerably encroached upon. Some plan, however, is being evolved, some laws enforced and some new ideas introduced. Buildings are started on as large a scale as in the days of the founder, in size, in material, and in proportion. Let us hope that the present reign will leave as lasting a name to posterity as that of the founder has left to us.

IV

MEGALITHIC REMAINS OF THE DECCAN—A NEW FEATURE OF THEM.

BY G. YAZDANI.

In June, last year, a trip was planned to Raigir in the Nalgonda District by Dr. E. H. Hunt, in consultation with several members of the Hyderabad Archæological Society including myself. Our object was to open a cairn there, on a site which had been visited previously by Mr. L. Munn, who discovered there a necklace of beads and some pottery. The megalithic remains at Raigir are all cairns of the same type as those opened by me at Maula Ali, North Group ;¹ and in our excavations at the former place on 11th June, 1916, we noticed nothing unusual except the peculiar position of three skulls and a heap of bones belonging, evidently, to three bodies, but lying all mixed up in the northern half part of one cist. The three skulls were arranged in a row along a large, black, highly polished pot, which was placed in the middle of the northern side of the cist. The skulls were all in their natural position, *i.e.*, the jaws and the chins were touching the ground, and it was evident that they had been separated from the body before they were buried in the cist. The huddled up condition of the bones seemed to indicate one of two things : it is possible that before

¹ For a full description of this group, (see *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, 1915-16, Hyderabad*, pp. 6-10).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49		
50	51	52	53	54	55			56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74		75							
76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89				
90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107
108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120					
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131							

G. YAZDANI.

DIAGRAM OF 'MARKS.'

being placed in the cist they were buried somewhere else and on an auspicious or opportune occasion were exhumed and reburied together in one grave, the skulls, which could be easily distinguished at the time of re-interment, being arranged in a row at the head of the cist and the bones, the sorting of which would have been a difficult task, being piled together in the middle of the grave; or, the three bodies to which the bones belonged were cut to pieces, the heads being given the place of honour in the graves and the mangled fragments of the bodies thrown together making a confused mass. Some archæologists may favour the latter opinion and attribute the dismemberment of the bodies to 'Human sacrifice', which is still secretly observed among the aborigines of India in the Nilgiri Hills and Chota Nagpur. But against this view it may be noted that there were no traces of an entire body in the cist, in whose honour the three victims might have been slaughtered.

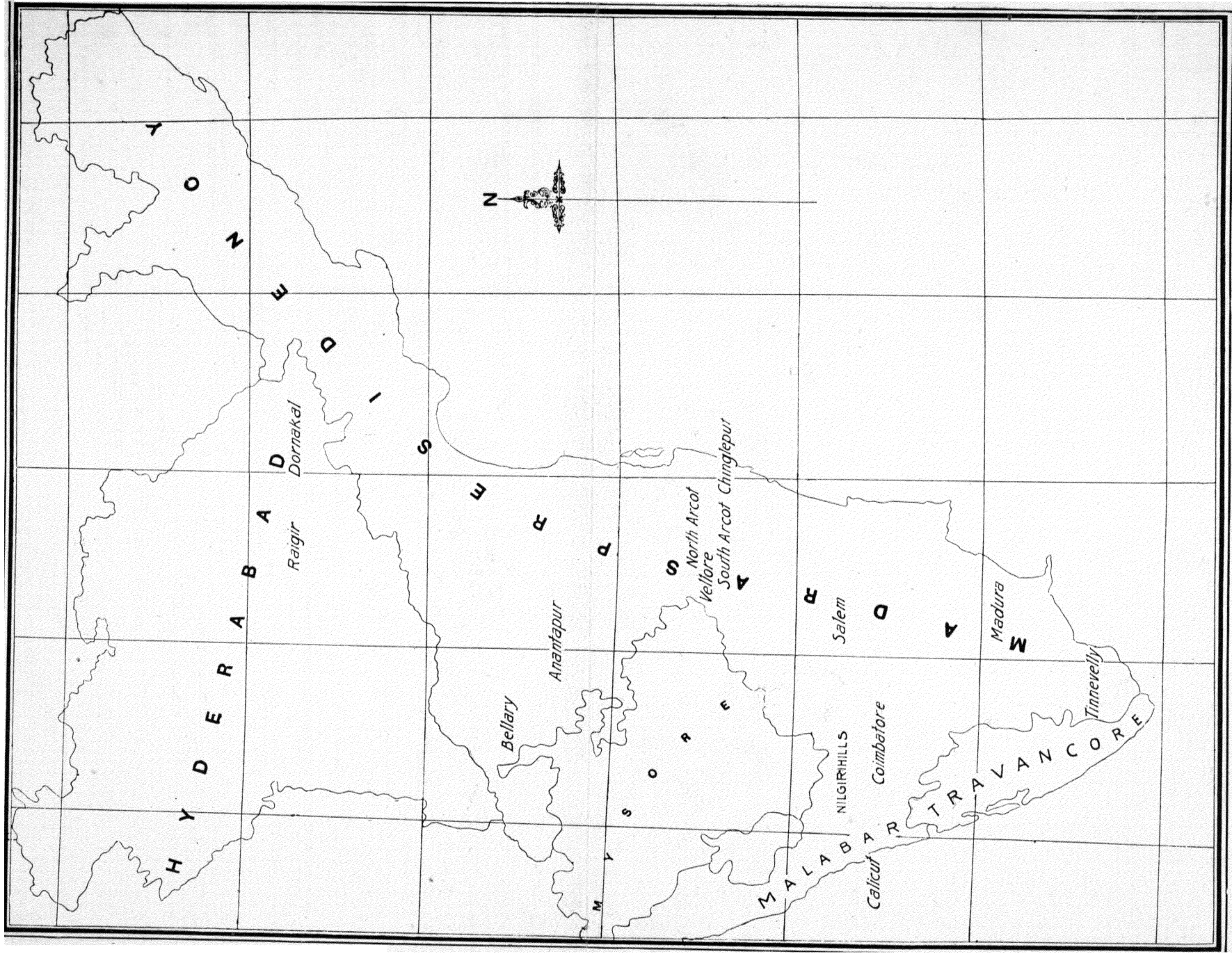
The pottery dug out from the grave was both black and red and was highly polished.¹ At the conclusion of our operations it was taken by me to Hyderabad, and while cleaning the vessels I noticed peculiar 'marks' on them. These marks, which were probably scratched by a sharp pointed instrument after the pottery was baked,² in some cases were so faint that they would have

¹ In shape and manufacture the pottery is identical with that dug out at various places in Southern India (see *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, Madras Museum, by R. Bruce Foote, Pls. XIX and XXV, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, Tinnevely District, by A. Rea, Pls. VI-VIII and X, and *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, July, 1916, Pls. XLV and XLVI).

² The Assyrians made use of a cuneiform stylus to impress characters on terra-cotta cylinders and tablets when the clay was soft. (*The Five Great Monarchies* by G. Rawlinson, Vol. I., p. 478).

escaped my notice, being mistaken for an ordinary scratch, but for the identity of one of them with a character of the Brahmi script (𑀘), which was fresh in my mind as I had only recently finished my eye copies of the newly discovered Asokan edict of Maski. The identity impressed me and as I continued to wash and examine the pots I noticed that every one of them bore certain marks. I communicated the observation to Mr. M. A. N. Hydari, Secretary to His Highness' Government, General (Archæological) Department, to Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, Director General of Revenue, who formed one of the party at Raigir, and to Dr. E. H. Hunt. Subsequently the pots were exhibited at a meeting of the Society held on the 29th June, 1916, and similar marks were discovered in the meeting on pots previously cleaned by other members of the Society. A report of the marks was sent to Sir John Marshall also, and later on when I showed him, at Simla, some of the pots bearing the marks, he was convinced of their significance and advised me to visit the Madras Museum, because the late Mr. Bruce Foote had noticed some marks on the pottery in the collections of the Museum which he considered to be 'Owner's marks.'¹ The proposal of Sir John Marshall was communicated to His Highness' Government who readily consented to it, and the Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident in Hyderabad, was gracious enough to provide me with a letter to the Museum authorities, asking them to afford facilities to me to study and photograph the collection of pottery there. My special thanks are due to Dr. J. R. Henderson,

¹ *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities* by Bruce Foote, pp. XVII, VIII, and Pl. XXXV.



Superintendent, Madras Museum, and to his able assistants, who displayed much interest in my work and most willingly rendered me all the assistance that I required of them.

In the course of my investigation each vessel and potsherd of the large collection of the Museum was carefully examined, and I found marks either identical, or analogous with those on the Raigir pottery, on potsherds and vessels from fourteen districts of the Madras Presidency, and various sites in the Mysore and Travancore States. The accompanying map shows the places where marked pottery has been dug out.

The marks hitherto collected represent one hundred and thirty-one different forms (*vide* Diagram of Marks); but the number cannot be final as pottery from every fresh site may add to it.¹ Seven of them are identical with letters of the alphabets of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, *e. g.* , , , , , , and a close examination of them leads one to surmise that they are like the Egyptian hieroglyphs and have been used sometimes as ideographs to express ideas, and sometimes phonetically to represent syllables or letters. It would seem, moreover, that a word or syllable has been expressed by multiplying the marks which denoted the whole or part of it, just as was the case in Egyptian writing in the age of Ramses II. For instance, marks Nos. 1-20, 22 and 50 are repeated twice or thrice on the same vessel. Another feature which the marks indicate is the free use of horizontal, vertical and slanting

¹ Since my visit to the Madras Museum, Dr. E H Hunt has opened several cairns at Raigir and Dornakal and on the pottery dug out there, some new marks have been noticed.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I; Plate facing p. 329

lines, probably representing different vowels, a use not uncommon in languages wherein the characters are scarce. To wit, marks Nos. 3, 10 and 12 (, , ,) are identical with Nos. 1 and 5, except the addition of horizontal, vertical and slanting lines. It would be presumptuous to make an attempt to enter into a systematic study of the marks at the present stage ; but it may be possible to do so when His Highness' Dominions which contain over a thousand different groups of megalithic tombs are fully explored, and more substantial data are collected on the subject.

Bühler in his scholarly monograph on Indian Palæography¹ attaches special importance to the alphabet of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions in determining the age and origin of the Brahmi script. He observes: " More important results for the history of the Brahmi may be obtained from the Dravidi of the relic caskets of Bhattiprolu.....The elaboration of the Brahmi was completed about B.C. 500 or, perhaps, even earlier, the *terminus a quo*, about B.C. 800, may be considered as the actual date of the introduction of the Semitic alphabet into India. This estimate is, however, merely a provisional one, which may be modified by the discovery of new epigraphic documents in India or in the Semitic countries. If such a modification should become necessary, the results of the recent finds induce me to believe that the date of the introduction will prove to fall earlier, and that it will have to be fixed perhaps in the 10th century B. C. or even before that."²

¹ *Indian Palæography* (Appendix to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, p. 8.)

² *Ibid*, p. 17.

Cunningham supposed that Brahmi was derived from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics,¹ which hypothesis does not seem to be unreasonable in the light of our discovery of these marks, although the Semitic alphabet might have played an important part in giving the Brahmi characters a definite shape. The commercial relations of Western India with Semitic countries on the basis of the Jatakas and Dharmasutras can be proved back to the eighth century B. C.,² but perhaps they go back far earlier, especially when we remember that several of our marks are identical with letters of the Etruscan alphabet, the script of a civilization which flourished about 1000 B.C.³ Rev. Isaac Taylor in his well known work *Etruscan Researches* considered that the people of Etruria were of Ugric or Turanian origin, and he has based his hypothesis on philological, religious and artistic data. It will be interesting to note here some of the affinities because they bear on our subject. Among the scanty remnants of Etruscan speech, Mr. M. J. Walhouse observes,⁴ there is a word *Nathum* written over a Fury-like figure in a sepulchral painting. Mr. Taylor connects this with *Natagai*, a great God whom Marco Polo describes as worshipped by the Mongols and also with *Natha*, a lord or ruler; one cannot but also connect this with *Nath*, bearing the same meaning entering into the names of Indian deities of non-

¹ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 52 seq.

² Bühler's *Indian Studies*, Vol. III, p. 16 ff., and Dahlmann, *Das Mahabharata*, p. 176 ff.

³ My attention to this identity was drawn by Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., who also kindly furnished me with a copy (in proof form) of his valuable monograph entitled "*Some Dravidian affinities and their sequel*", wherein he has referred to our marks. See also Sergi's *The Mediterranean Race*, pp. 303-06; *Catalogue of Vases in British Museum*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 3, 34, 75, 78, 89, 90, 104, 133, 175, 189, 196, 205, 225, 226 and 238, and Hall's *Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 220-32.

⁴ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 276-77.

Vedic origin, as in the names of all the twenty-four gods of the Jaina faith.

Eka Suthi is a phrase frequently written over the doors leading to tombs, and Mr. Taylor interprets it as meaning 'Here is the tomb.' It is probable that the Turanian word which underlies *suthi* will mean either to burn or to bury; hence *suthi* meant originally 'place of cremation' and next a 'tomb.' Mr. Walhouse thinks it is difficult not to see some connection between this and *sati*, a custom once so general and about which the Vedas know nothing. As regards the word *Eka*, Mr. Taylor interprets it as meaning 'here'; in the Dravidian language Telugu, *here* and *there* are *ikkada* and *akkada*, not distantly removed from the Etruscan word.

Far great resemblance has been noticed in the megalithic remains of Etruria and Southern India, and Mr. J. M. Walhouse remarks that when he noticed a careful pen and ink drawing of Saturnian megaliths by Captain S. P. Oliver, he supposed that the drawing could have very well represented many a group in the jungles on the Coimbatore and Mysore frontier, and elsewhere.¹ On the hypothesis of the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans it would not be strange if the people of South India may also have belonged to the same stock. The early settlers in India as well as in Etruria might have brought with them their rude megalithic tomb-building habits, as also a speech and some hieroglyphs which gradually were considerably modified by local and foreign influences.

It would be rash with our present knowledge to fix a period for the migration of these people of

¹ *Ibid*, p. 277.

evidently Turanian origin into India, but it may be observed that they entered this country through the old province of Makran, where to this day are found sepulchres so peculiar to them, and a dialect called Brahui akin to the Dravidian languages. It can hardly be doubted that once they occupied the plains of Chaldæa, because besides the worship of the Sun and the Moon and the Serpent, the burial of the dead in a clay coffin, shaped like a 'dish cover' is so peculiar with the Chaldæans that except in Southern India, where it has been found freely, it has not hitherto been noticed in any other part of the world.¹ The migration of these Turanian people to India and Etruria may have taken place simultaneously, as a result of the growing influence and the power of the Semite, and might date back to several thousand years before the Christian era.

Evidence is forthcoming from research in independent fields of the relation of the Aegæan races to the pre-Vedic people of India and it is not unlikely that the megaliths of Southern India when carefully explored and their marked pottery systematically studied, may confirm that relation and help in the determination of the alphabet which was common to these races, and ultimately in the decipherment of the inscriptions which are now sealed records.

A list of the marked pottery with brief notes regarding its shape, colour, provenance, etc., is appended below.

¹ See *The Five Great Monarchies* by G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 108-115 and 153-161, and also *Chaldæa and Susiana* by W. K. Loftus, pp. 201-203. Mr. William Gowland has noticed a few terra-cotta sarcophagi in Japan, but first, they do not seem to be very old, and, secondly, the builders of dolmens in Japan were not the aboriginal inhabitants, but migrated there from the West (see *Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan*, pp. 34, 66 and 67).

APPENDIX.

List of 'Marked' Pottery.

ABBREVIATIONS.

C. R.—*Catalogue Raisonné*, the Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, by R. B. Foote.

C. P. A.—*Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities*, Government Museum, Madras, By R. B. Foote.

C. A. P.—*Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, Madras Government Museum, by A. Rea.

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

1. On pottery, black and red, highly polished, dug out at Raigir. Cairn No. I. Also noticed on pottery from the following places:—

(i) On the lip of a black, polished bowl (finger bowl type), dug out from a mound south of Malyam (Bellary District). Bruce Foote considers the pot to be of the neolithic type (C. R. No. 1565-17).

(ii) On an elongated vessel (mouth diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", height $2\frac{1}{4}$ "), from Adichanallur (C. A. P. No. 111).

2. On black, polished pottery (bowl with conical lid), dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on the following:—

(i) A horn-shaped seed box, halves cemented together, red earthenware, from Mysore State. (C. P. A. No. 1304).

(ii) A small pot, black neck, red body, from Salem District (C. P. A. No. 1156).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

3. On a pot, red, polished. from Dornakal (Mr. L. Munn's Collection). Also noticed on the following :—
 - (i) The side of a deep vessel. red, painted (Neolithic or earliest Iron Age), from an old site south of the 95th mile-stone on the Bellary Harihar Road (C. R. No. 1530-16).
4. On pottery, both black and red, polished, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on a small cup-like vessel, ornamented with dotted lines, painted, from Tinnevely (C. A. P. No. 434).
5. On a ringstand, red, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on a *chatty*, half side and neck, red, polished, 11½" high, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1069)
6. On a vessel, black, polished, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on :—
 - (i) A bowl, black and red, polished, from an old site on the north bank of the Cauvery opposite the Narsipur Sangam (C. R. No. 234-115).
 - (ii) A *chatty*, deep red, polished, from an old site, West Hill, French Rocks, Mysore State (C. R. No. 252-63).
 - (iii) A small wide-mouthed vessel, flat conical base, black and red from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 23 [Pottery]).
7. On the lid of a cup, black, polished, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I.
8. On a pot, black, polished, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I.
9. On a bowl, black, polished, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I.

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

10. On a fragment, lip and side of a bowl, from the north bank of the Cauvery (Mysore), Iron age earthenware (C. R. No. 234-18). Also on an earthen *lota* (containing calcined bones), brown and red outside, polished (C. R. No. 234h-3).
11. On a *chatty*, side of, brown-red, from south of Malyam, Bellary District (C. R. No. 1565-128).
12. On a *chatty*, red, dug out at Raigir, Cairn No. I.
13. On a saucer, black and red, dug out by Col. R. Branfill at Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1312a).
14. On two small pots (containing calcined bones), red, polished, from Madura District (C. P. A. Nos. 976-77).
15. On a ringstand, red, unearthened at Raigir, Cairn No. I.
16. On a fragment, lip and side of a bowl, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-24). Also noticed on :—
 - (i) A small bowl, black and red, from Lakshampur, Mysore State (C. R. No. 237-15).
 - (ii) A *lota*, black, half polished, from West Hill, French Rocks, Mysore State (C. R. No. 252-47).
 - (iii) A bowl, flat base, black, polished, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1284).
 - (iv) A bowl, blunt conical base, black and red, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1288).
 - (v) A bowl, round base, black and red, from Jala, Mysore State.
 - (vi) A fragment, black and red, polished, from Anaguttahalli, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1321).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

- (vii) A three-legged vase, red, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151f).
 - (viii) A three-legged vase from Calicut (Longhurst Collection).
 - (ix) A large urn. red, unpolished. round base. four fillets round shoulder. from Calicut (Longhurst Collection).
 - (x) A very large urn, red, unpolished, from Calicut (Longhurst Collection).
 - (xi) A drinking cup, red, painted all over with many whitish lines, from a cairn in Travancore (C. P. A. No. 928b).
 - (xii) A finger bowl, conical bottom, red and black, from Tinnevely District (C. P. A. No. 948).
 - (xiii) A fragment, neck of a *chatty*, reddish, of sandy texture. from Malabar (C. P. A. No. 1070).
 - (xiv) A conical lid, black, polished from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1110)
 - (xv) A three-legged vase, red. from Coorg (C. P. A. No. 1165).
 - (xvi) A bowl, black and red, from Tralabanda (C. P. A. 1205).
17. On a small bowl, black red, brightly polished, from an old site on the north bank of the Cauvery. opposite the Narsipur Sangam, Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-89).
 18. On a lid, black, polished, top a sharp cone, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1287).
 19. On a *lota*, black. Exhibited in the Madras Museum, Pre-historic Antiquities Block (upper flat). Also

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

- on a ringstand, red, from Anaguttahalli, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1325).
20. On a broken bowl, black and red, from Anaguttahalli, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1322).
21. On a *chatty* (fragment), red, dingy, five small grooves round shoulder, from Nanmangalam, 6 miles south of St. Thomas' Mount, Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1174).
22. On a cup or lid, black, polished, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1286). Also noticed on :—
- (i) A bowl, black and red, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1294).
 - (ii) A vase, tall, red, from Nilgiri Hills (C. P. A. No. 609).
 - (iii) A small bowl, round base, red, but shows traces of black polish inside and outside, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 10).
23. On a *chatty*, large, plain, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1231a).
24. On a small bowl, round base, black and red, badly weathered, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1297). Also on a large globular vessel, grey, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 58).
25. On a bowl, rounded base, large constricted neck from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1327c).
26. On a dish, round bottomed, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. P. A. No. 929a).
27. On a lid, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 83).
28. On a globular pot, cylindrical neck, red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 210).

No of Mark.

Pottery.

29. On a pot, dull red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 58).
30. On a bowl, blunt conical base, black and red, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1293).
31. On a vase, four-legged, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151*q*).
32. On a bowl, conical, flat base, red, from Vellalur (C. P. A. No. 1092).
33. On a bowl, round base, black red, from North Arcot (C. P. A. No. 1200).
34. On a vase, round base, red, polished, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1228).
35. On a *lotah*, round base, black, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1220).
36. On the above *lota*.
37. On a vase, pointed base, red, polished, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1229).
38. On a ringstand, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1226).
39. On a ringstand, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1225).
40. On a saucer, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1098).
Also noticed on :—
 - (i) A saucer, dark red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1103).
 - (ii) A lid, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1108).
 - (iii) A *chatty*, round bottomed, red, wavy lines from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1112).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

- (iv) Four other *chatties* of the above description, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. Nos. 1113, 1114, 1116 and 1117).
 - (v) A bowl, round bottomed, red, wavy lines, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1120).
 - (vi) A *chatty*, round bottomed, red, wavy lines, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1123).
 - (vii) A ringstand, medium, rough, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1146).
 - (viii) A bowl, round base, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151j).
 - (ix) Two other bowls of the above type, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. Nos. 1151g and 1151h).
 - (x) A bowl, round conical base, black and red from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1359).
41. On a vase, deep conical base, red, polished, from Nilgiri Hills (C. P. A. No. 609).
 42. On a lid, black and red outside, black inside, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 83).
 43. On a globular vessel, broad mouthed, red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 331).
 44. On a pot, red, with a coating of ash, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 3).
 45. On a bowl, shallow, black, from an old site on the north bank of the Cauvery, Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-114).
 46. On a bowl, round base, red with wavy lines above, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151i).
 47. On a saucer, red, from Vellalur (C. P. A. No. 1095).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

48. On a *chatty*, round base, red with wavy lines above, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151c).
49. On a *chatty*, flat base, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151b).
50. On a fragment, lip and side of a bowl, large, black and red, from an old site on the north bank of the Cauvery, Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-85). Also noticed on :—
- (i) A *chatty*, small, red, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-120).
 - (ii) A *lota* containing calcined bones, brown and red outside, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 264h-3).
 - (iii) A fragment, red and black, from the *cinder* camp at Halakundi, Bellary District (C. R. No. 1338).
 - (iv) A ringstand, red, rough, exhibited in the Madras Museum, Bruce Foote's Collection (not labelled).
 - (v) A bowl, blunt conical base, black and red from Jala (C. P. A. No. 1289).
 - (vi) A *chatty*, red, plain, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1231a).
 - (vii) An urn, four-legged, red, weathered, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1030).
 - (viii) A vase, pointed base, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1230).
 - (ix) A pot, cylindrical neck, red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 204).
 - (x) An elongated vessel, black, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 326).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

- (xi) A ringstand, black, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 331).
- (xii) A pot, conical bottom, narrow neck, black at the top, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 406).
- (xiii) A vase, round base, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151v).
51. On a *chatty* round base, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1217). Also noticed on a pot, wide flat body, cylindrical neck, dull red, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 46).
52. On a *lota*, black and red, polished, from an old site on the north bank of the Cauvery, Mysore State (C. R. No. 234—109).
53. On a bowl, blunt conical base, black and red, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1291). Also noticed on another bowl from the same place (C. P. A. No. 1292).
54. On a *lota*, black and red, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234—109). Also noticed on :—
- (i) A bowl, blunt conical base, black and red from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1295).
- (ii) A *lota*, red, polished, from Jala, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1300).
55. On a bowl, round base, black and pale red, from Anaguttahalli, Mysore State (C. P. A. No. 1324). Also noticed on a pot, broad mouthed, globular body, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 323).
56. On an urn, pointed base, red, weathered, from (?) Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1350).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

57. On a bowl, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 133).
58. On a *chatty*, red, sandy texture, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1016).
59. On an elongated bowl, sharp conical base, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 400).
60. On a *chatty*, red, highly polished, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 497).
61. On a *chatty*, red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 510).
62. On a pot, conical bottom, narrow neck, dark red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 547).
63. On a *chatty*, full of earth with calcined bones dark red, from (?) Madura (C. P. A. No. 1375).
Also noticed on :—
 - (i) A *chatty*, round base, full of earth with calcined bones, from (?) Madura (C. P. A. No. 1376).
 - (ii) Two bowls, black and red, one full of earth with calcined bones, from (?) Madura (C. P. A. Nos. 1377-78).
64. On a fragment, side and base of a bowl, deep red, from Lakshampura, Mysore State (C. R. No. 237-8).
65. On a fragment, shoulder of a *chatty*, from West Hill. French Rocks, Mysore State (C.R. No. 252-64).
66. On a fragment, lip of a bowl, black, polished, from Malyam, Bellary District (C. R. No. 1565-19).
67. On a small *lota*, black and red, from Coimbatore (Longhurst Collection, Madras Museum).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

68. On a bowl, black, from Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1188).
69. On a lid, conical, flanged lip, brown, polished, from Calicut (C. P. A. No. 1036). Also noticed on a bowl, round base, black red, from Tralabanda (C. P. No. 1208a).
70. On two vases, three-legged, red, rough, from Calicut (Longhurst Collection, Madras Museum).
71. On a *chatty*, flanged base, red, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1124).
72. On a lid, bell-shaped, black, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151m).
73. On a small *chatty*, black and red, polished, from Coimbatore (Longhurst Collection, Madras Museum).
74. On a vase, pointed base, black neck and red body, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151u).
75. On a vase, elongated base, four-legged, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151t).
76. On a large pot, red, polished, from Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on :—
 - (i) A bowl vase, round base, black and red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1351).
 - (ii) A bowl, red, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1010).
77. On a large bowl, black and red, polished, from Madura District (C. P. A. No. 993).
78. On a stand, red, rough, from (?) Anaguttahalli (C. P. A. No. 1314).
79. On a bowl, round base, red, from Vellalur (C. P. A. No. 1191a).

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

80. On a saucer, black and red, from Vellalur (C. P. A. No. 1094).
81. On a saucer, red brown, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1104).
82. On a saucer, black and red, from Coimbatore (C.P.A. No. 1096).
83. On a saucer, red brown, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1105).
84. On a saucer, red brown, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1107).
85. On a saucer, red brown, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1106).
86. On a bowl, round base, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151*k*).
87. On a bowl, black, from Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1188).
88. On a cup, red with wavy lines above, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1082).
89. On a cup, flat base, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1081). Also noticed on another cup from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1083).
90. On a large pot, red, polished, from Raigir, Cairn No. I.
91. On a lid, black, polished, from Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1182).
92. On a pot, red, polished, from Raigir, Cairn No. I.
93. On a pot, red, polished from Raigir, Cairn No. I.
94. On a small, wide mouthed vessel, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 31).

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Pottery.

95. On a fragment, lip and side of a bowl, black and red, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-11). Also noticed on :—
- (i) A vase, four-legged, red, from Coimbatore No. 1151v).
 - (ii) A *chatty*, red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1231a).
 - (iii) A bowl, black and red, from Madura District (C. P. A. No. 998).
 - (iv) A broken *chatty*, half side and neck, red, polished, from Malabar (C. P. A. No. 1069).
 - (v) A vase, pointed base, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1230).
96. On a bowl, black, polished, from Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1190).
97. On a jar, red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 234).
98. On a *lota*, round base, black, from Tralabanda (C. P. A. No. 1213). Also noticed on a small wide-mouthed vessel, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 2).
99. On a vase, round base, red, polished, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1228).
100. On a lid, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 47).
101. On a pot, red, polished, from Raigir, Cairn No. I. Also noticed on a globular vessel, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 49).
102. On a small cup-like vessel, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 62). Also noticed on :—
- (i) A small wide-mouthed vessel, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 75).

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Pottery.

- (ii) A small cup, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 79).
103. On a globular vessel, black and red, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 51).
104. On a lid, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 88). Also noticed on a small globular vessel from the same place (*Op cit.*, No. 240).
105. On a small pot, round base, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 110).
106. On a small wide-mouthed vessel, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 140).
107. On a bowl, pointed bottom, from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 235). Also noticed on two broad-mouthed vessels, pointed base, from the same District (*Op cit.*, Nos. 523 and 525).
108. On a large globular vessel, dull red, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 14).
109. On a pot, conical base, red, from Perumbair (C. A. P. No. 62).
110. On a tumbler, barrel-shaped, black and red, polished, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1034).
111. On an urn, pointed base, red, from (?) Chingleput District (C. P. A. No. 1350).
112. On a ringstand, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1138).
113. On a bowl, round base, red with wavy lines above, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151*i*).
114. On a lid, conical top, black, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1151*n*).
115. On a *chatty*-bowl, red, from Salem District (C. P. A. No. 1158).

- | No. of Mark, | Pottery. |
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| 116. | On a ringstand, red, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1139). |
| 117. | On a cup, red with wavy lines above, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1078). Also noticed on a cup from the same place (<i>Op cit.</i> , No. 1079). |
| 118. | On a <i>chatty</i> , red, rough, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-122). |
| 119. | On a bowl, round base, black and red, from Madura District (C. P. A. No. 987). |
| 120. | On a bowl, red with wavy lines above, polished, from Coimbatore (C. P. A. No. 1077). |
| 121. | On a fragment, lip and side of a bowl, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 234-220). |
| 122. | On a fragment, lip of a bowl, black, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 252-51). |
| 123. | On a fragment, neck of a <i>lota</i> , brown red, polished, from Mysore State (C. R. No. 237-33). |
| 124. | On an urn, four legged, red, polished, from Malabar District (C. P. A. No. 1027). Also noticed on a broken <i>chatty</i> , red, from the same district (<i>Op cit.</i> , No. 1070). |
| 125. | On a <i>lota</i> , red, weathered, from Calicut (C. P. A. No. 1048). |
| 126. | On a saucer, black and red, from Vellalur (C. P. A. No. 1094). |
| 127. | On a <i>lota</i> , round base, black and red, from Anantapur District (C. P. A. No. 1221). |
| 128. | On a large pot, red, polished, from Raigir, Cairn No. I. |

No. of Mark.

Pottery.

129. On a fragment, rim of a large urn, red, coarse from Tinnevely District (C. A. P. No. 158).
130. On a *chatty*, round base, red, polished, from South Arcot District (C. P. A. No. 1170).
131. On a pot, wide flat body, cylindrical neck, dull red, from Perumbair (C. P. No. 48).
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Correspondence.

Extract from a letter from Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., to the Secretary to the Hyderabad Archæological Society, dated 1st August, 1917.

“ In the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1907-08) you edit a Golkonda epitaph giving 3rd Muharram 1083 as the date of the death of Abdullah Qutb Shah. This is in conflict with the *Masir-i-Alam-giri*, p. 143, which states that the Emperor, then at Hassan Abdal, learnt on 29th Shaban 1086 that Abdullah, the king of Haidarabad, had died. I deduct eighteen days for the transmission of the news from the Deccan to the Panjab, and get 11th Shaban as the approximate date of his death.

“ This is supported by three facts, *viz.*, (1) on 2nd Shawwal, 1083 presents were received by Aurangzeb from the envoy of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who must have been alive a month before that date. (*M. A.*, p. 123).

“(2) Shortly after 29th Shaban, 1086, Aurangzeb received tribute worth 9 *lakhs* of rupees from the envoy of Abul Hasan, king of Golkonda ; and the amount looks like a fee at succession (*nazrana*) paid to the suzerain. Hence Abul Hasan's succession must have taken place shortly before. A similar *nazrana* was paid by Sikandar Adil Shah at his accession.

“ (3) The English records at Madras, dated 23rd July 1676, speak of Madanna being in sole control at Golkonda, and we know that Madanna became

prime minister shortly after the accession of Abul Hasan. (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i., 356)

“ Now, the question is—how old is the epitaph on Abdullah Qutb Shah's tomb ? Is it contemporary and therefore reliable, or was it added by the Nizam or the British Government in the 19th century ? The language of the epitaph suggests the latter theory. I attach no importance to the calculation of the length of reign and life of the king given in the epitaph, and supporting the theory that he died in 1083, for these may have been adjusted to the wrong date of his death. Are you sure that the epitaph bears the figure 1083 and not 1086 ?

“ If the epitaph is modern and incorrect, I suggest the following explanation of its error. The *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 117, mentions that an Abdullah died on 3rd Muharram 1083. But he was the son of Muhammad Amin Khan (and grandson of Mir Jumla) and was cut off by the Afghans in the Khaibar pass.

“ Please let me know your views on the points raised by me, and insert this letter in your Society's *Journal* for further discussion.”

Note.—The date of the death of Abdullah Qutb Shah as mentioned in the epitaph is 3rd Muharram 1083 A. H.; the words are absolutely clear on the stone and admit of no alternative reading. This date is not in conflict with the information on the subject contained in the *Mauithir-i-Alamgiri*, *Muntakhabu-Lubab* and other histories. The first work states that Aurangzeb learnt of the death on 29th Shaban 1086, i.e., three years and eight months after the incident. The delay is not surprising when we remember that Aurangzeb was not agreeable to the succession of Abul Hasan, and that being so, the latter would not be in a hurry to report the death of his father-in-law to the Emperor before he was firmly established on the throne. Moreover, at the death of Abdullah Qutb Shah, a war of succession ensued in which Abul Hasan

had to contend against a strong rival in Sayyid Ahmad, the elder son-in-law of Abdullah Qutb Shah. (*Khafi Khan*, ii, pp. 311-12). The decision of the struggle itself must have taken some time, and even at its termination Abul Hasan would not have been very eager to communicate the news to the Imperial Court.

(2) As regards the presents received by the Imperial Court from Abdullah Qutb Shah, on the 2nd Shawwal 1083, we must allow for the possibility that the envoy may have taken several months to reach the Imperial Court, delay being due either to his indisposition on the way or to political reasons. Professor Sarkar's conclusion that Abdullah Qutb Shah *must have been alive a month before the receipt of the presents at the Imperial Court* is not a safe deduction, because envoys taking large presents ordinarily do not march with the same speed as the *Dak-Harkaras*.

(3) If we accept the view that the death of Abdullah Qutb Shah was not intimated to the Imperial Court immediately, then the receipt of presents sent there by Abul Hasan in 1086 does not appear to be a strange circumstance.

(4) The entry in the English records at Madras (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i, p. 356) showing that in 1676 A. D. (1087 A. H.) Madanna was in sole charge of Golconda does not prove that Abdullah Qutb Shah died a few months before that time. Khafi Khan writes that at the accession of Abul Hasan to the seat of Government, Sayyid Muza'ffar, who had espoused his cause in the war of succession, was made premier, but shortly after Madanna was appointed to this office. This information is not in conflict with the entry in the Madras records.

(5) The epitaph was evidently carved on the grave in the reign of Abul Hasan, because after him the dynasty became extinct. The desolate condition of Abul Hasan's grave is well known; and if Abdulla Qutb Shah's tomb had not been finished during his son-in-law's time it would have been in a similar melancholy condition to-day.

(6) Professor Sarkar's suggestion that the epitaph may be modern and that the writer of the inscription may have confused Abdulla Qutb Shah with Abdulla, son of Muhammad Amin Khan, who died on the 3rd Muharram 1083, seems to me to be beside the point.

Editor.

(*Discussion is invited.*)

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

The following résumé of the articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1916 is published for the convenience of the members of our Society.—*Editor.*

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

January Number, 1916.

The first paper is a continuation of M. Tseretheli's systematic comparison of Sumerian with the languages of the Georgian group, which are a valuable auxiliary to the study of Assyrian, and deals with the vocabulary from E to Z. Georgian is one of the languages of the Japhetic group, which includes, besides, Mingrelian, Lazian, Iranian, Haldian, Neo-Susian, etc. M. Tseretheli makes an effort to determine the relation of Georgian to the non-Aryan and non-Semitic languages of the cuneiform inscriptions.

Mr. Beveridge has an interesting paper on the *Rashahât-i'-Ainal-Hayat*, or "Tricklings from the Fountain of Life," a Persian manuscript which takes us back to the early sixteenth century and gives us glimpses of conditions in Central Asia just before the Moghul conquest of India. The writer was the son of the author of the famous *Anwār Suhailî*. His manuscript is about the Naqshbandi Khwājās of Central Asia, and specially of the Samārkand saint, Nasiru-d-din 'Ubaid Ullah.

Mr. H. F. Amedroz has written an able commentary (to be continued) on the Hisba Jurisdiction in the *Akham Sultaniyya* of Mawardi. The Hisba is based on the duty imposed on Moslems by the *Kūran* III, 100, of enjoining good and forbidding evil actions.

Prof. L. Mills has a paper on the Indian equivalents of *Yasna* 32, 9-15.

Dr. F. W. Thomas continues his notes on the edicts of Asoka : in this paper he deals principally with the word *vivāsa*. Undoubtedly *vas* (dwell), its causative *vāsay*, and the compound *vivas* are all commonly used with words meaning “night.” In the Sārnāth edict *vivāsāy* means “cause to dwell away.” In the Rupnāth edict the general meaning of the word *vivas* is also certain ; but it is uncertain whether it is transitive (cause to dwell away or travel) or intransitive (dwell away or travel) ; if the former, we must read *vivāsetaviya*, with the first a long. But to “cause” people to travel is a somewhat novel duty to be imposed on civil officers, and it is suggested that there was some normal objection—as there was in Europe in the Middle Ages—to free travelling, and that the real meaning of the causative here is to ‘allow people to travel’. If *Vivasetaviya* is to be taken in a non-causal sense, the grammatical form should be *vivastavya*. We may remember, however, that *vāsayati* is stated to be intransitive. On the whole, can we register any advance in our understanding of this word, of more importance than mere travels or absence from the capital ?

Dr. Thomas believes there are such connotations, both positive and negative. For the positive he points to certain passages in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Suttanipātā*, and to the case of Arjuna's *vivāsa* for the purpose of practice in Arms (*Mahābhārata* I. 432 to II. 164). The negative aspect is given by Asoka himself, in Rock Edict X: it is the necessary neglect of his imperial functions ; he devotes himself to a religious mission.

In the miscellaneous section of the *Journal* Professor A. A. Macdonald has a note in which he gives the gist of his previous paper on the development of early Hindu Iconography, based on his contribution to the *Festschrift Ernst Windisch* in September 1914. Prof. Macdonald points out that literary evidence shows that regular images of gods were not made until the latest Vedic period. The gods of the Rig Veda were not as yet iconographically represented : they were only vaguely anthropomorphic, and were differentiated mainly by the weapons they wielded or by the animals that drew their cars. He believes that the period at which the innovation of many arms and heads was introduced into Hindu Iconography can be fixed with some definiteness at 50-100 A.D. In the *Nala* the gods have definitely normal human figures, but in other parts of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ramāyana*, the *Purānas* and classical Sanscrit literature, the most important deities have four arms and one (Brahma) has four heads as well. From the 8th century onwards Viṣṇu and Siva appear with eight arms, and, later, the

latter with sixteen. Thus the number grew. Now, with regard to the reason for these innovations, the Professor thinks it is impossible to suppose that the artists were inspired with a mere taste for fantastic abnormities. The purpose, he holds, was the practical one of supplying a means of displaying the symbols without which the gods could not be identified when represented by themselves apart from the adjunct of *vāhana*, the original arms being engaged in action. Prof. Macdonald does not agree that these monstrosities are derived from some form of popular religion, or that they are due to Semetic influence, or to symbolise the superhuman strength of the divine powers. He holds that the notion is indigenous in India, having been suggested by figurative expressions occurring in the oldest Veda.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith has contributed a note on the authenticity of the *Kautilīya Arthasastra*, which, on account of its importance, has been ascribed definitely to the Minister of Chandragupta. Prof. Jacobi contends for this position ; but he has not proved his case, and we cannot say, except as a hypothesis, that the *Arthasastra* belongs to 300 B.C. Hillebrandt apparently goes against the authorship of Kautilīya himself and ascribes it to his school, but Jacobi, with Shama Sastri, controverts this suggestion. Prof. Keith shows that there are certain indications that the statesman was not the actual author of the book as we have it, and that it is a work of the 1st century B. C., while its matter may be considerably older.

In another note Prof. Keith rejects, perhaps too lightly, Dr. Spooner's theory of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history. (Members of our Society will find a résumé of Dr. Spooner's work on pages 149 to 165 of our *Journal*, dated July 1916.) He concedes the position that Iran doubtless did lend India many ideas, but he holds that a Zoroastrian period of Indian history never existed. Nor does he accept Dr. Spooner's evidence for the equation of the Mauryan palace with the palace of Darius.

In still another note Prof. Keith deals with Dr. Fleet's remarks on the question of night and day in India. Dr. Fleet thinks that *rātri-divasa*, "night and day", is rather a peculiar term for India, where the day has always run from sunrise, not sunset, and suggests that the terms *naktam-divam* and *rātrimdivam* used in Pāṇini are due to euphonic considerations. Dr. Keith quotes evidence to show that these are genuine old expressions preserved in Pāṇini, and that the idea of night preceding day was naturally enough one that persisted even when the contrary view was more prevalent.

Dr. Keith also argues against Prof. Hillebrandt's view of the early origin of the Indian drama. Hillebrandt's main object is to fix an early date: he holds that the puppet play is essentially posterior to the drama and presupposes its existence, and he places the origin of the drama, not in religion, but in the primitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives. Keith argues that the separate and independent origin and development

of the puppet play seems perfectly natural and reasonable, and he rejects Hillebrandt's evidence for an early date for the drama. We are left, Keith says, with the old evidence alone, that of Patanjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and there the drama is essentially religious in origin. Indeed, the historical evidence in Greece and India alike is clearly in favour of a religious origin of drama, and the religious seems to have been the only way in which in Greece and in India, by a parallel development, not by borrowing, the drama came into full being. He says the first authentic drama known to us is the work of Asvaghosa, probably in the 2nd century A. D.

Mr. S. V. Venkateswara writes on the date of Sankaracharya. He gives his reasons for rejecting the traditional date (477 B. C.), Telang's date (6th century), the date of Prof. Pathak and Dr. Bhandarkar (788-825 A. D.) and fixes the true date at 805-897 A. D.

The meaning to be attached to the term *gana* in *Mālavaguna-Sthiti* of the inscriptions forms the theme of the last contribution to the January number of the *Journal*. Dr. Thomas writes again on the subject. He reads the word as meaning "communities" against Dr. Fleet's "tribe : " The idea, he says, is a constitutional one, not the idea of a tribe, which implies relationship by descent. The point is rather important.

April Number, 1916.

This number opens with a lengthy article which will interest students of both philology and phono-

logy. Mr. R. L. Turner writes on the Indo-Germanic accent in Marāthī. There have been three prominent and sharply divided theories about the part that accent has played in the development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Pischel maintained that certain sound-changes in the Prākṛit dialects could be ascribed only to the influence of an accent corresponding in position with that of Vedic Sanscrit. Jacobi denied the existence of this accent or its effects in Prākṛit, and argued that the accent of Prākṛit was a stress, corresponding in place with that usually ascribed to Classical Latin. Lastly, Jules Bloch, in reminding us that we know nothing certain about the accent in ancient times, pointed out that there is much that is doubtful and inconsistent in the theories of Pischel and Jacobi; that the modern languages possess no stress; and that an accent theory is not necessary to explain Marāthī phonology. Mr. Turner sets out to solve some Sanscrit-Gujrāti-Marāthī equations, and he arrives at the conclusion that the parent of Gujrāti is the language that was represented in literature by Saurasēnī, and that Marāthī has come down from a language which appeared in literature under the form of Mahārāstrī. But, he adds, "it must always be borne in mind that Mahārāstrī was a literary language strongly influenced not only by Sanscrit but also by the Prākṛit dialects," and he says that the original tone of Sanscrit itself descended from the Indo-Germanic tone. Such a statement suggests the query whether the Indo-Germanic tone had any individuality of its own?

Prof. A. H. Sayce is responsible for the next article on "The Arzawan letters and other Hittite Notes." He deals chiefly with the Second Arzawan Tablet, which was found at Tel el-Amarna and is now in Berlin. It is in the Hittite language. The text is a letter to the king of Arzawa from a Hittite named Labbaya, who was employed in escorting the caravans from Khalirabbat or Eastern Cappadocia to Canaan, and who, with his two sons, was accused of intriguing with the enemies of the Pharaoh. Labbaya figures prominently in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence.

Prof. Hoernle has contributed a paper on a recension of the Saddharma-pundarika which appears to be earlier than the recension published by Kern in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. The fragments in question were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in September 1906, in the sand-buried ruins of Khadalik. The first set consists of two large pieces, about $6\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches: and the text is from the beginning of the tenth chapter of the Saddharma-pundarika, corresponding to pp. 224-6 of Prof. Kern's edition. The second set also consists of two pieces, measuring about $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches: the text is from the middle of the nineteenth chapter and corresponds in Prof. Kern's edition to pp. 380-7.

Dr. F. W. Thomas writes on two Kharosthi inscriptions from Taxila: (1) a narrow copperplate inscription which was discovered by Captain Pearse at Shāh-Dheri, in a stupa, No. 14, next to the one which yielded the Taxila vase, on the road from

Rawal Pindi to Hazara, and (2) an inscription on a gold plate, discovered in tope No. 32 at Taxila. The language of the copperplate inscription is Pali, written in Aryan characters, and it contains the Greek word *Meridarches*, which is an official designation belonging to Seleucid and Ptolemaic times. It records the erection of the stupa by an inhabitant of Taba. In the casket inscription found in the Pathan country, the *Meridarches* is named *Theadore* = *Theodoros*. The casket inscription associates itself with the oldest Kharosthī records and probably, after the Asoka Edicts, is the most ancient of all. But this copperplate from Taxila is a rival claimant to posterity. It appears from the casket and copperplate inscriptions that the Meridarchs at Taxila and the Pathan country were different : “ accordingly we conclude that under the Greek rulers of these regions the title of Meridarch was a regular official designation. Both inscriptions refer to Buddhist foundations and verify thereby the early penetration of Buddhism into the districts of the north-west.” Dr. Thomas contributes to the interpretation of the goldplate inscription, which has not received much attention since the early days of Kharosthī decipherment. There are, however, three readings, by Rājendralāla Mitra, E. C. Bayley and Cunningham. The relics consisted of a beautifully made circular stone box, about a foot in diameter and three inches in depth, containing a small, hollow crystal figure of a *hansa* or goose, inside which was a thin gold plate $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and nearly one inch broad, inscribed with Ariano-Pali characters. The

inscription records the fact that Amtiyoha, the sister of Looda, or possibly "Loota and his sister", deposited the relics of the Bhagavat in Sīrā (now Sir Kap). Are Amtiyoha and Looda distorted forms of the Greek Antioche and Leontes ?

Mr. H. F. Amedroz concludes his article on the Hisba Jurisdiction in the *Akham Sultaniyya* of Mawardi.

Mr. L. C. Hopkins has written a paper of considerable interest on Chinese numerals and notational systems. It appears that the Chinese have two systems in current and concurrent use for writing their numerals. One of these is the ordinary notation, with characters of pictographic origin; the other has been called the "commercial" notation, and is essentially a series of tally strokes or counters symbolized. The paper deals with the commercial notation or *Ma Tzu*. It seems to be the simpler of the two.

In the miscellaneous section Prof. A. B. Keith has criticised Ridgeway's theory of the origin of Indian Drama. Three or four years ago Prof. Ridgeway published a book on *The Origin of Tragedy*, in which he advanced the theory that Tragedy originated, not in the worship of Dionysus, as had been hitherto supposed, but in the rites in honour of deceased "heroes." This new theory was subjected to much criticism, and Prof. Ridgeway has replied to his critics in his new book, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races in special reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy*. The theory

which Prof. Ridgeway first applied to Greek Tragedy, he has now sought to establish by a careful examination of the dramas and dramatic dances of non-European races, including India. Prof. Ridgeway defends the offensive against the theory, started by Mannhardt half a century ago and made familiar to British readers by *The Golden Bough*, which attributes the periodic celebrations in Europe and elsewhere to the observances of the agricultural seasons, the worship of trees and of a more generalised "Vegetation-Daemon." Prof. Ridgeway's thesis as originally enunciated in *The Origin of Tragedy* was at least arguable : possibly it was sound. But he seems to have been stirred by criticism into going greater lengths than he intended or than were at all necessary to support his argument. For if not asserted in so many words, it is implied that *all* dramatic performances grew out of rites at the graves of deceased chieftains and heroes and that *all* gods are deceased human beings. Hence Prof. Keith says : "It is a fixed principle with Prof. Ridgeway that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead, and that all drama is born from such reverence." Prof. Ridgeway does not attempt any detailed proof of his fundamental position. While he argues, says Keith, that all Indian drama grew out of performances in honour of dead heroes such as Rāma or Krishna, he suggests on feeble evidence that the actors were originally representatives of the spirits of the dead and performed the ceremonies as a means of propitiating the dead. Such an idea is wholly unknown to Indian drama, which carefully eschews

the presentation of the death of a hero : a curious fact, if it arose from funeral rites. Prof. Keith contends that the various lines of argument which give a basis of agreement in the case of Greece are wholly lacking in the case of India, and he maintains that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India.

Professor Berriedale Keith has also written on the unlucky character of the number 13, which is still an open question. The traditional view, held by so skilled an authority as M. S. Reinach until quite lately, is that it is due to the fact of the connexion of that number with the Last Supper. In India, 13 did not develop an unlucky character, and there is no clear evidence of the superstition in Greece or Rome before the Christian era. Böklen seeks to prove that the number 13 and the number 12, with which it is of course closely associated, are essentially connected in religion and in folklore with the phases of the moon, rejecting the more simple idea that the number 12 is connected with the months of the year. His citations from the *Rigveda*, as direct proofs of his theory, will not bear the meanings which he puts upon them. Prof. Keith thinks that the number 13 is to be looked at in the main as merely 12 plus 1, the normal number with a person who, like "Captain 13," is differentiated from the other 12, whether for good or for evil. The suggestion of M. Reinach that the origin of the fear of 13 is a "*tabou des prémices*" is interesting, but it can hardly be considered very seriously. As

a matter of fact, there is no evidence of any really widespread belief in the unlucky character of the number 13, and that would be the only valid explanation of the *tabou des prémices* theory.

Like Professor Keith, Dr. F. W. Thomas is far from being satisfied with the evidence adduced by Dr. Spooner in support of his theory of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history, and so he offers a few comments on *Asura Maya*, *Mount Meru* and *Karsa*. While Dr. Spooner's proposal to regard *Maya* (for which an early pronunciation *Maza* is perfectly tenable) as an adapted borrowing of *Mazdā* cannot be contested in principle, he has not demonstrated any special connexion of *Ahura Mazdā* with architecture, so that the matter has to be considered principally from the Indian side. In Sanscrit literature *Maya* is not earlier than the *Mahā-bhārata*, but doubtless the word is perfectly explicable as a derivative from the root of *māyā*, "wonder-working power," which is Vedic. Now, it is certain that Indo-European tribes were in the second millennium B.C. in historical contact and conflict with Assyria: we may therefore well conceive that the idea of the *Asura Maya*, if not his name, came into India with the earliest Aryan tribes. Dr. Thomas ventures upon a conjecture concerning the word *Asura* itself: may we not conceive that this very title *Asura* (in later Iranian *Ahura*) was derived from the name of the great god of the Assyrians? Oldenberg suggested a Western origin for *Varuna*. In point of literary chronology *Mount Meru* is rather

contemporary with *Maya*, since it appears in the *Mahā-bhārata*; it is also known in the *Jātaka*, *Divyāv-adāna*, and the earliest Pali books. The theory of a borrowing is in this case perfectly tenable, for the thing (mountain) *Meru* is certainly an importation and the name manifests the hesitation of an alien word in its variants *Neru*, *Sineru* and *Sumeru*. Dr. Thomas thinks that Spooner's etymological treatment of the name cannot be supported. To Dr. Thomas it seems that we ought to start with the form *Sumeru*, whence *Meru* will have arisen by misunderstanding. "Semetic scholars may be able upon this basis to point to a probable etymon; but it should be the name of a real or mythological mountain (e.g., the Tower of Babel), or something suggestive of an astronomical 'pole.' " Dr. Thomas also thinks that the word *Karsa*, in the sense of a certain weight, is an importation from Western Asia.

July Number 1916.

Students of modern Persian will be interested in Major D. L. R. Lorimer's notes on the Gabri dialect, which are based on information collected by him in Kerman.

Mr. R. G. Brown has a paper, incorporating local legend, on "The Lady of the Weir" at the headwaters of three canals at Kyauksè in Upper Burma.

Mrs. Elizabeth Colton Spooner follows with a paper on the Fravashi of Gautama. In all the sculptures of the Ghandhāra school, Gautama is

accompanied by a figure which has been the subject of much discussion. This figure has been called Vajrapāni because of the thunderbolt (an exact copy of Indra's weapon) which he holds. Vajrapāni has several identifications: as Sakka, the Indra of Brahmanical mythology; as Marā, the Buddhist Satan; he is regarded by Cunningham as Devadatta, the cousin and heresiarch enemy of Gautama; and Vogel holds that he is a personification of Dharma, the Law. Mrs. Spooner thinks that the thunderbolt is a symbol of divine authority rather than a weapon and that Vajrapāni cannot be Indra because he is in the same group with that god; that he is not an aggressive demon but a guardian; that if he were Devadatta he would be portrayed as a malicious human being and not spirit-like, floating in the air and, moreover, he would not be found amongst the mourners gathered around their dying master; and she controverts the Dharma theory because the Vajrapāni first appears in the scene representing Prince Siddhartha leaving home and disappears after the coffin lid had been closed on Buddha's remains at Kusinagara. The Dharma had not been revealed when the prince issued forth, and would it thus disappear at the master's nirvana? The best supported hypothesis, as Vincent Smith and Foucher think, is the one which treats Vajrapāni as a Yaksha or attendant sprite, inseparable from the person of the Buddha. In all the sculptures the attempt has been made to reproduce on the face of the Vajrapāni the expressions on the face of Gautama, expressions ranging from radiant joy

down to physical depletion. This leads Mrs. Spooner to conclude that the Vajrapāni is a double or counterpart of Gautama. Foucher suggested that the resemblances may be due to the play of light and shade on the sculptures. While admitting the force of this remark, Mrs. Spooner contends that "it would be at least unfair to the sculptors to ignore their efforts to portray identity of emotional experience." Now, so far as Mrs. Spooner is aware, the conception of a guardian angel is un-Indian, and she believes that the problem finds its only solution in the amplified doctrine of Fravashi in Zoroaster's teaching. The word Fravashi connotes a confession of faith, and, when personified, is a protecting spirit, a very part of man's personality, existing before he is born, "attaching itself" (according to H. Baynes) "to the body at birth and leaving it at death," which would account for the disappearance of the Vajrapāni after the Nirvana. Moreover, the *Vajra* which he holds, called by the same name *vazra*, is a recorded attribute of Mithra in the Persian system. Such is Mrs. Spooner's argument. As Vincent Smith and Foucher agree, it is a reasonable theory which regards the Vajrapāni as a Yaksha or attendant spirit, but to carry to Persia—herself a borrower in the art of statuary—the credit as the source of inspiration of the Ghandāra sculptures seems to be fanciful. Allowance must be made for the fact that Neo-platonism had an elaborate theory of Socrates Daemon and that this ultimately had its effect on Ghandāran art; and also for another fact—that the current creed at the time of the sculptures was

Mahayana Buddhism, which is largely the Hinduism of the Puranas.

Mr. Alphonse Mingana's interesting article on the Yezidias or Devil worshippers carries us to Mesopotamia. The Yezidis, known in the Arabian world as *Yezid*, are called *Daisanites*, or followers of Bardesanes, by the Syrian christians around Mosul. Does this imply that that they are partisans of the famous second-century astrologer, Bardesanes of Edessa? To-day they are allied with the Kurds and speak Kurdish, a Medo-Persian provincial dialect. They refer to the Devil as *Malik Taous*, and carry about with them a cock of metal, called *Taous*, to whom they present divine honours. Dr. Lidzbarski considers this name to be a falsification of the name of the god Tamuz.

Mr. Vincent Smith has written on the death of Hēmū in 1556, after the battle of Panipat. This well-known incident in the life of Akbar has been related by many historians. Ferishta tells us that when the captive Hēmū was brought before Akbar, Bairām Khān, suggested that Akbar should win the title of "Ghāzī" by killing the infidel prisoner, but Akbar contented himself with touching Hēmū's head with his sword and Bairām Khān thereupon killed Hēmū. In Abu-l Fazl's version, Akbar refused outright and Bairām killed the infidel. Badāoni in recording the incident said that Akbar refused because Hēmū was unconscious from a wound in the eye, and that Bairām Khān gave the first stroke and the others standing by made an end of the unfortu-

nate prisoner. Ahmād Yādgār asserted that Akbar (who was 14 years old at the time) did comply with Bairām Khān's request and killed Hēmū, severing the head from the body with one stroke of his scimitar. The account in de Laet's *De Imperis Magni Mogolis* agrees substantially with that of Ahmad Yādgār. The last version is Jehangir's, according to whom Akbar told one of his servants to kill Hēmū. Now, the question is : Did Akbar refuse to kill Hēmū, or is he to be deprived of the magnanimous sentiment which has stood to his credit all these years ? Smith thinks that we may put aside the accounts of Ferishta, Abu-l-Fazl and Jehangir, so that the issue lies between Badāoni and Ahmad Yādgār ; and for the reasons given, which do not seem to be particularly weighty, he favours Ahmad Yādgār. Surely it is no small thing to detract, on such slender grounds, from the fame of one of the greatest and most liberal minded rulers commemorated by history.

Reinach's theory of sacrifice comes in for some close criticism from Dr. Berrideale Keith, in the miscellaneous section of the Journal. Reinach holds that the original form of sacrifice is not the gift form, but the communion sacrifice of Robertson-Smith, involving the ceremonial eating, at fixed intervals, of the animal which is the totem of the clan, in order to strengthen the bond of unity between the clan and its totem. Reinach also has a special view of the origin of the totem : he does not consider it as primarily an ancestral spirit, but holds that the relation of man to an animal is due to a hypertrophy of the social instinct, which permits the formation

of any human society by prescribing the relations of friendship between members of the same clan. The effect of Reinach's theory is to place zoomorphism before anthropomorphism and to make the two differ essentially. Dr. Keith regards this view as incorrect, and therefore he writes against Reinach and others who assert that in early days sacrifice was more a communion than a gift.

Drs. Keith and Fleet continue their argument, in somewhat heated language, on the question whether in counting time in ancient India day preceded night or night preceded day. After all, it can be only an error of interpretation, and the point is of importance only to the specialist. The lamentable death of Dr. Fleet has ended the controversy.

This number closes with three short notes by Fleet, Woolner and Dewhusrt, and a review, by Dr. Fleet, of the first number of the Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society and of the monograph on the Asokan edict at Maski. In the monograph Maski is placed at Long. $76^{\circ} 45'$ and Lat. $15^{\circ} 57'$. Dr. Fleet suggests that the site is "Mooski," in Long. $76^{\circ} 45'$, Lat. $15^{\circ} 57'$ (Indian Atlas sheet 58 of 1827), 46 miles W.S.W. from Raichur. This place is shown as "Muski" in Constable's Atlas and the Hyderabad map of 1883. Dr. Fleet also raises the question whether the ancient name is not really Piriya-Musangi instead of Piriya-Māsangi. Musangi is well known as the name of a place at which the

Chalukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by the Chōla Rajendra-Choladēva I.

The account of the presentation of the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal to Prof. A. A. Macdonell is interesting reading.

October Number 1916.

Sir George Grierson opens this number with a paper on the Sāradā alphabet, which is used in Kashmir. It is very closely related to the Tākri alphabet of the Punjab Hills and to the *Landā* or "clipped" alphabet of the Punjab. It may have taken its name from Kashmir, called the *Sārada-kstra*, or it may be named after Sāradānandana, who is supposed to have first reduced the Kashmiri language to writing. Sir George endeavours to show that the letters of the alphabet have a religious significance and are to be identified with the cult of Kashmiri Saivism. Thus, each letter represents some mystic object of worship : the vowels stand for the various Saktis, the consonants and other letters represent the higher and lower Tattvas, while Koa represents the Prana Bige or Life Seed.

Dr. Rudolf Hoernle writes on a Sanscrit version of the Sutta Nipāta, which was recovered, with other manuscript fragments, by Sir Aurel Stein in Khadalik. In his translation of the Sutta Nipāta ("Sacred Books of the East"), Fausböll remarked that some portions of that work, including the Atthavagga, are very old. It is just the Atthavagga that happens to be preserved in these fragments, and this imparts a peculiar interest to the discovery. The surviving

Sanscrit version corresponds to the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Suttas of the Atthavagga, or the 4th Section of the Sutta Nipāta.

The texts inscribed on a very beautiful Nepalese *Vajra* (an instrument of protection against evil or angry deities) belonging to Mr. Sofoulis of Shanghai form the subject of a short note by L. de la Vallée Poussin and F. W. Thomas. The chief interest of the inscriptions, which are in pure gold, lies in the old form of the characters, several of which are wanting in Bühler's and Bendall's tables.

Mr. L. C. Hopkins concludes his contribution on Chinese numerals. In this paper he deals with the series of the Normal Numerals and also with the homophones in use by accountants and bankers.

An entertaining paper on the Eight Immortals is provided by Mr. Percival Yetts. Chinese artists delight in portraying a venerable figure in an attitude of profound reverie, as part of a wild and romantic scene of forest, crag or torrent. He belongs to a strange race, peculiarly Chinese and apart, and known to them as *Hsien*. The *hsien* do not exactly fit in with the Fairies, Immortals, Genii or Rishis. Possibly they were intended to symbolise the untarnished thought and feeling of early Taoism. Amongst the *hsien*, the favourite and by far the most ubiquitous are the *pa hsien*, known to Westerners as The Eight Immortals. Their names, according to the generally accepted version, are Chung-li Ch'üan, Ho Hsien-Ku, Chang Kuo, Lü Tung-pin, Han Hsiang Tzū, Ts'ao Kuo-chin, Li T'ieh-Kuai and Lan Ts'ai-ho.

Just when the eight came to be grouped together is as much a mystery as the reason for their preference over other *hsien*. It seems that the tradition which establishes them as a definite unit is traceable to no higher antiquity than the Yüan period. Many mythical tales about them are told. Chang-Kuo, for instance, was an adventurous spirit. It was his habit to ride tens of thousands of *li* a day on a white donkey. Whenever he stopped to rest he folded his donkey up and it became no thicker than a sheet of paper and was slipped into his cap box. To restore the donkey to its asinine shape and vigour it was only necessary for Chang Kuo to squirt water from his mouth over it. Lü Tung-pin is the literary member of the group and occupies the place of chief importance and popularity amongst the Eight Immortals. Anatomically he was peculiar; he had a high-domed head like a crane, an arched back like a tortoise and eyes as brilliant as the phoenix's.

Dr. Fleet has contributed an important paper on Sālivāhana and the Saka era. The Saka era of 78 A.D., although it was of northern origin, became the chief reckoning of Southern India and was known as Sālivāhana-Saka, *i.e.*, the Saka or era of Sālivāhana. The popular belief is that the Vikrama era was founded by Vikrama, reigning in B.C. 58 at Ujjain, and the Saka era by Sālivāhana, reigning in A.D. 78 at Pratishtāna, the present Paithan, in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. But the popular belief is fiction. Dr. Fleet attempts in this paper to determine, from the available evidence, the time when the name first became connected with the era,

the circumstances in which the connection was made, and the detail in the history of India on which it rests. Dr. Fleet takes the evidence which Prof. Kielhorn had before him in 1897, *viz.*, six dates ranging between 1173 A.D. and 1354 A.D.; three of these (the Kurgōd dates of 1173 and 1181 and the Sravana-Belgola date of 1278) are given in stone inscriptions, the other three (Thāna dates of 1272 and 1289 and the Harihar date of 1354) are from copperplates. Dr. Fleet favours the Harihar date of 1354 as the earliest known certain use of the name of Sālivāhana in a date. He rules out of account the other dates because the name does not really occur in any of them, being introduced subsequently and quite gratuitously by Pandits. With regard to the personal idea which underlies this connection of a king Sālivāhana with the Saka era, epigraphic research has shown that the nexus is certainly not based on the existence of a real king of that name reigning in 78 A.D., and also that there is no valid reason for supposing that it commemorates any Sālivāhana of later times. The clue is to be found in the illustration given in Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar, as an instance of the change of t to l. in the name Sālivāhana as a later form of Sātavāhana. The latter was the family name of a branch of the great Sātakarni kings, who ruled over the Deccan between B.C. 225 and A.D. 225, and one of whose capitals was Pratishthāna, the modern Paithan. But they had nothing to do with the foundation of the Saka era : the name in that connection was introduced in the first part of the 14th

century by the court pandits of the Vijayanagara kings.

The Miscellaneous Section begins with Prof. Ridgeway's reply to Dr. Keith's remarks, reproduced above, on his theory of the origin of the Indian drama. Dr. Keith's note, says Prof. Ridgeway, may be described "as a rearguard action of the cuttlefish type to cover the retreat of the vegetationists." He refuses to accept Keith's interpretation of his position. The point at issue is this : Was Krishna (in whose cult Keith and other Sanscrit scholars see the origin of Indian drama) a vegetation spirit or some other abstraction, or was he, as all Hindu traditions declare, once a real human chieftain ? Keith's grounds for the vegetation spirit theory are that the slaying of Kansa, Krishna's uncle and persecutor, by Krishna was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded in Hindu literature. In this performance the Granthikas divided themselves into two parties—those following Kansa had their faces blackened ; those following Krishna had their faces red (but Krishna himself was black). "Red man slays black man : the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of dark winter. We are entitled to say that in India as in Greece this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived." So wrote Prof. Keith. But it must be remembered that Krishna is black, so red men led by black man slay black men, which can only mean that winter aided by the spirit of spring and summer slays winter ; in other words, winter is divided against himself and

commits suicide. Ridgeway is led by various lines of evidence to the conclusion that Krishna, whose cult plays so large a part in Hindu sacred drama, was a real historical person.

Mr. J. Kennedy has written on the *Periplus* of the Erythræan sea, a handbook for the trade—half a sailing directory and half Baedeker. The writer of *Periplus* was an Alexandrian sea-captain. The date is a question of interest for Indian history. C. Muller put it between 80 and 89 A.D., Mommsen placed it in the reign of Vespasian ; and the general opinion now seems to be that it was written about 70 A.D. The chief clue is the mention of Malichos, whom the author of *Periplus* calls the king of the Nabatœans.

Mr. L. Rice has a note on the new edict of Asoka published in the Hyderabad Archæological Series. He says the inscription is another version, somewhat curtailed, of those at Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jatinga Rāmesvara discovered by him in the Mysore State, and at Sahasrām (Bengal), Rupnāth (C. P.) and Bairāt (Rajputana). On the whole, the Hyderabad inscription apparently bears the closest resemblance to the Rupnath and Sahasrām versions.

A. G. M.

Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, 1916-17.

17th October, 1916.

A meeting of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall, about fifty members and one hundred visitors being present. The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E., newly elected to the office of the President of the Society, occupied the chair. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, of the Patna College, delivered a vivid and scholarly lecture on the "Second Capture of Hyderabad by the Mughals, 1685-87."* A discussion followed in which the President, Dr. E. H. Hunt, and Messrs. Hydari, Yazdani and the speaker took part. Mr. Hydari, while proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, also offered a warm welcome to the new President and expressed the hope that the Society, under his guiding hand, would make rapid progress in the useful work which it had begun.

21st December, 1916.

A meeting of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall, the President being in the chair.

It was resolved that Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., LITT.D.,

* The lecture is published in the *Journal*

in recognition of his interest in the antiquities of India generally and in particular in appreciation of his valuable services to the cause of Deccan Archæology, be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Council for the year 1917 was constituted thus :—

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E. (*President*).
- (2) R. I. R. Glancy, Esq., C.I.E.
- (3) The Nawab Sir Faridun-ud-Daulah Bahadur, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
- (4) M. A. N. Hydari, Esq.
- (5) A. C. Hankin, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.
- (6) G. E. C. Wakefield, Esq.
- (7) Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Esq. (*Hon. Treasurer*).
- (8) Sayyid Ross Masud, Esq., M.A.
- (9) M. Karamat Ullah Khan, Esq., F.C.H.
- (10) Dr. E. H. Hunt, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.
- (11) P. A. Bhaunani, Esq., C.E.
- (12) G. Yazdani, Esq., M.A. (*Hon. Secretary*).

Mr. P. A. Bhaunani read a paper on the "Foundation and Growth of the City of Hyderabad."* A discussion followed in which the President, Mr. R. I. R. Glancy, and Mr. Hydari took part. The latter in the course of his speech drew attention to the following points :—

- (1) The legend in connection with the building of the old Bridge owing to Muhammad Quli riding across the river to see Bhagmati.
- (2) The builder of Husain Sagar, Nek Nam Khan, is the same as the person whose tomb is in a corner of Muhammad Quli's Tomb in Golconda, with a headstone giving the *sanad* to the villages around.

* The paper is published in the *Journal*.

- (3) Pemamati's tomb has been identified owing to an inscription which has been reproduced also on the door of the mausoleum, the inscription being—*Bud az azal guli jannati Bimmati*. The *bi* being the equivalent of *pi*.
- (4) As to the connection of the Char Minar with the form of a *tabut*, the Shias do have *tabuts*, only they are carried in a much more solemn fashion.
- (5) Dad Mahal.—There are still granite foundations near the Mussalam Jang Bridge not very far from the High Court, which were pointed out as being the foundations of the Dad Mahal Palace. It is in the fitness of things that the new High Court should not be far off from the old Dad Mahal.
- (5) The Mir Momin cemetery has many famous graves, amongst others that of Nimat Khan Ali, the Shia Secretary of Aurangzeb, between whom and the Emperor many witty repartees are recorded.
- (7) There are several big *serais* still existing on the old road between Golconda and the Old Bridge passing by Mustaidpura, named after the Mustaid Jang referred to in the lecture and one of whose descendants is an officer in the Regular Troops of His Highness' Army, Nawab Mustaid Nawaz Jang.

8th January, 1917.

A meeting of the Council of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall, the following being present :—

The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E. (in the chair).

M. A. N. Hydari, Esq.

Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Esq

Sayyid Ross Masud, Esq.

Karamat Ullah Khan, Esq.

Dr. E. H. Hunt.

G. Yazdani, Esq.

The President observed that the time had come when the Society ought to begin collecting books on archæological subjects in a library to be situated in the Society's Rooms at the Town Hall, since without books, rarely to be found in private ownership, it would be impossible for members to fulfil the objects for which the Society existed, and study fruitfully the widely varied archæological problems of the Deccan.

Resolved that the matter be laid before His Highness' Government with a request for an initial grant of Rs. 10,000 for the purchase of necessary books, with book cases to hold them.

(2) The question of the Pinhey Medal was discussed at some length, the points at issue being :—

(a) Whether the competition for the medal should be limited to the Deccan or the British Empire, or made still wider ?

(b) Whether the field of research should embrace subjects relating to Deccan archæology only, or should Deccan history be also included in it ?

(c) How the judges should be selected, and who they should be for the present ?

Resolved that the advice of Sir John Marshall, an Honorary Member of the Society, be secured in framing the terms on which the Medal should be awarded.

(3) The Secretary referred to the Society's decision regarding the acknowledgment of Lady Pinhey's gift of a portrait of the late President to them.

Resolved that a suitable letter to Lady Pinhey be drafted by the Secretary in consultation with Messrs. R. I. R. Glancy and M. A. N. Hydari, and issued under the signature of the President.*

(4) The following gentlemen were elected as Ordinary Members of the Society :—

(1) Nawab Saad Jang Bahadur, M.A.

(2) Prof. Abdur Rahman Khan, B. Sc.

On this day a general meeting of the Society was also held. Prof. P. Neogi of the Rajshahi College delivered a lantern slide lecture on the "Use of Iron in Ancient India." A discussion followed in which the President, Mr. M. A. N. Hydari and Dr. E. H. Hunt took part.

* This letter was sent to Lady Pinhey—

DEAR MADAM,

I am desired by the Council of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society to convey to you an expression of gratitude from the Society for your very acceptable gift of a portrait of their late President. The memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey is sacred to the members of the Society, not only as that of their first President, but also on account of his real and deep interest in Deccan Archaeology, and they welcome the portrait as a source of permanent inspiration to them in the pursuit of the objects for which the Society has been founded.

Yours truly,
S. M. FRASER,
President.

23rd February, 1917.

A meeting of the Society was held this day in the Town Hall at 5 P.M., about fifty members and one hundred visitors being present. Mr. R. I. R. Glancy presided. Prof. Rushbrook Williams of the Allahabad University delivered a most interesting and instructive address on "Mughal Warfare". A discussion followed in which Messrs. Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Abdul Majid Khan, and the Chairman took part.

6th March, 1917.

A meeting of the Society was held this day at Dr. E. H. Hunt's house, Lallaguda, the President was in the chair. Dr. E. H. Hunt read his second paper on the "Hyderabad Cairns," which was illustrated by lantern slides. The paper will be published in the *Journal*.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE
HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

FOUNDED JULY, 1915.

Corrected to April 30, 1917.

TOWN HALL, HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

MEMBERS.

N.B.—The marks prefixed to the names signify—

* Original Members.

† Members who have served on the Council.

PATRON.

His Highness Asaf Jah, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wal Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, G.C.S.I.

1915. Abdul Haq, B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Aurangabad.*

1915. Ahmad, Bashir-ud-din, *Retired Taluqdar, Khari Baoli, Delhi.*

1915. *Ahmad, Muhammad Fasih-ud-din, *Joint Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

1915. Ali, Hamid, L.R.C.P. & S., D.P.H., L.M.R.C.P. (Dublin), *Health Officer, Chadarghat, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

5 1915. *Ali, Muhammad, *Subedar, Warangal.*

1915. *Ali, Muhammad Masud, B.A., *Divisional Judge, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

1915. Ali, Sayyid, B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Nalgunda.*

Hon. 1916. Barnett, Lionel D., M.A., Litt. D., *British Museum, London.*

1915. Barzoo Jang, • Nawab Bahadur,
Subedar, Aurangabad.
- 10 Hon. 1915. Beadon, W. R. Coleridge, F.G.S.,
c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9,
Pall Mall, London, S. W.
1915. Beg, Mirza Hyder Jivan, Khan
Bahadur, *Divisional Judge, Aurang-
abad.*
1915. †*Bhaunani, P. A., B.A., C.E., *Officer
in charge, City Improvement Trust,
Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Bilgrami, Sayyid Aqil, *Secretary, Ilqa
Sarf-i-Khass, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- Hon. 1915. Bilgrami, Sayyid Husain, Nawab
Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, C. S. I.,
Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 15 1916. Bilgrami, Sayyid Mehdi Hasan, M.A.,
*Secretary to Government, Public Works
Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Bilgrami, Sayyid Muhammad Hasan,
*Auditor, Railways Department, Hyder-
abad, Deccan.*
- Hon. 1915. Bishop, L., *Hatti Gold Mines,
Raichur.*
1916. Bowen, Captain, R.E., *Secunderabad.*
1915. Brown, Rev. G. E., M.A., *Church
House, Station Road, Hyderabad,
Deccan.*

- 20 1915. †*Burnett, K., M.A., *Professor, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendra Nath, B.A., *Assistant Accountant-General, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Colli, Rev. H., *R. C. Chaplain, Secunderabad.*
1916. Coorlewala, R. N., F.R.C.S., etc., *Afzal-ganj Hospital, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Devlin, J. H., *First Assistant Secretary, Financial Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 25 1915. *Egerton, Sir Brian, K.C.I.E., *Sadr-ul-Maham of Paighas, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Engler, Mrs. M., *Inspectress of Schools, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. *Faridoon-ud-Daulah, the Nawab Sir, Bahadur, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Assistant Minister, Political Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Fazil, Mehr Ali, L.C.E., *Special Engineer, High Court Works, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. †Fraser, The Hon'ble Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Resident in Hyderabad.*
- 30 1916. Gangooly, O. C., *Government Art School, Calcutta.*

1915. †*Gayer, W. A., *Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. †*Glancy, R. I. R., C.I.E., *Assistant Minister, Finance Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Gough, Hugh, *Director, Veterinary Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. †Hankin, A. C., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Director-General of Police and Jails, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 35 1915. †*Hunt, E. H., M.A., M.B., M.C.H., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *Lallaguda, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. *Husain, Qadir, M.A., *Professor, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. †*Hydari, Muhammad Akbar Nazr Ali, B.A., *Secretary to Government, Judicial, Police and General Departments, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Kannayya, L. P., *Inspector of Schools, Warangal.*
1915. †*Karamatullah Khan, Muhammad, B.A., F.C.H., *Superintending Engineer, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 40 1917. Khan, Abdur Rahman, B.Sc., *Professor, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. †Khan, Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad, *Accountant-General, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

1916. Khan, .Ghulam Ahmad, *Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Khusrau Jang, the Nawab Major, Bahadur, *Saifabad, Hyderabad.*
1916. Latif, Hasan, C.E., *Executive Engineer, Aurangabad.*
- 45 1915. Lodge, F. A., C.I.E., *Conservator of Forests, Oxford Street, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1915. *McClay, A. G., *Assistant Secretary, Home Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Mallanna, S., M.D., etc., *Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Marris, Rev. G. Stainton, B.A., *Wesleyan Mission, Nizamabad.*
- Hon. 1915. Marshall, Sir John Hubert, Kt., C.I.E., LITT. D., F.S.A., *Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla, E.*
- 50 1916. †Masud, Sayyid Ross, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, *Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Mirza, Ahmad, M.D., C.M., etc., *Chadarghat, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Mirza, Khurshid, *Engineer, Mining Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

1915. Mohi-ud-din, Ghulam, B.A., B.T.,
Principal, Normal School, Hyderabad, Deccan.
1916. Mukherji, Lalit Mohan, C.E., *Executive Engineer, Nalgunda.*
- 55 1915. †*Munn, Leonard, *Inspector of Mines, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Naidu, Major M. G., M.B., etc.,
Hyderabad, Deccan.
1916. Nazir Jang, Nawab Bahadur, *Secretary to Government, Military Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Nizamath Jang, Nawab Bahadur, M.A.,
Bar.-at-Law, *Chief Justice, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Nundy, G., M.A., LL.D., *Inspector-General of Registration and Stamps, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 60 1915. O'Dowd, G. R., B.A., *The Club, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Palairat, C. R., *Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1915. *Prendergast, W. J., B. LIT., *Professor of Oriental Languages, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Puzey, E. D., *Engineer, Montgomery Hotel, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1917. Rao, Anantha Krishna, *Municipal Survey Office, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

- 65 1917. Reporter, R. M. E., *Customs Office, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Rosenthal, F., *Executive Engineer, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Ruddle, W. H., *Secunderabad, Deccan.*
1917. Saad Jang, Nawab Bahadur, Bar.-at-Law, *Puisne Judge, High Court, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. Salar Jang, Nawab Bahadur, *Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 70 1915. *Shawcross, H. W., *Head Master, Chadarghat High School, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Stevenson, Major A. L., *Gough Barracks, Trimulgherry.*
1916. Stonebridge, A. W., *Special Engineer, Water Distribution Scheme, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. *Strinivas, T., *Bar.-at-Law, Masulipatam.*
1915. Szcypanski. Major H. *The Club, Secunderabad, Deccan.*
- 75 1916. Tarapoor, S. Behram, L.R.C.P., etc., *Medical Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. †*Wakefield, G. E. C., *Director-General of Revenue, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

1915. *Welinkar, N. G., M.A., LL.B., *Chief Inspector of Schools, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1916. Wright, W. McK., *Professor, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1915. †*Yazdani, Ghulam, M.A., *Superintendent of Archæology, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 80 1915. Yusuf, Muhammad, B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Raichur.*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1915. Sir John Hubert Marshall, K.T., C.I.E., *Simla.*
1915. W. R. Coleridge Beadon, F.G.S., *London.*
1915. L. Bishop, *Raichur.*
1915. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., *Hyderabad (Deccan).*
1916. Lionel D. Barnett, M.A., LITT. D., *British Museum, London.*

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NOTE:—The number of Honorary Members is limited by Rule 2 to ten.

PINHEY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

The Hyderabad Archaeological Society, on the 21st April, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I. C.I.E. the Founder and first President of the Society

Regulations

(1) The Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archaeology or History in accordance with the subjoined conditions

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archaeology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or if published it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal

(4) Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of October 1918 and subsequently in the October of every third year i.e., in October 1921, 1924 and so on

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value the Medal shall not be awarded in that year

(7) If the thesis is written in any language other than English the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof