

(314)

CONTENTS

	PAGE
OURSELVES	1
THE ARUVAYMOLI PASS OR THE OPEN GATEWAY OF TRAVAN- CORE. By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Trivandrum	3
THE SOURCES OF ARABIC CULTURE. By Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, D.D.	23
ARAB THEORIES OF EDUCATION. By Dr. A. S. Tritton, Muslim University, Aligarh	35
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SILK INDUSTRY IN INDIA. By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A. PH.D., Principal	42
THE PALACE OF AKBAR AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI. By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay	53
ETCH ACCOUNT OF MOGUL ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS. H. Moreland, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.	69
LEMENT OF BARAMAHAL AND SALEM FROM THE RECORDS. By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Pachaiyappa's College, Madras	84
THE OPERATIONS LEADING TO THE CAPTURE OF ALMORA IN 1815. By J. C. Powell-Price, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S. ...	101
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES—'The Ocean of Story,' 'History of Malabar,' 'The Early History of India,' 'The Glories of Magadha' and 'Rajaputs.'	111
REVIEWS OF JOURNALS ON ORIENTAL SUBJECTS	126
JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS	145
CORRESPONDENCE	150

JL
V200, N22
N25



Notice to Contributors

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'Sri Venkatesa Vilas,' Nadu Street, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indention at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (' ') for actual quotations.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by

the significant words of the titles ; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics ; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (*JA.*, *JAOS*, *JASB.*, *JRAS.*, *ZDMG.*) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

Remittances, correspondence relative to subscriptions, and notices of change of address should be addressed to—

THE MANAGER,

Journal of Indian History,

'Sri Venkatesa Vilas,'

Nadu Street, Mylapore,

MADRAS, S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Ourselfes

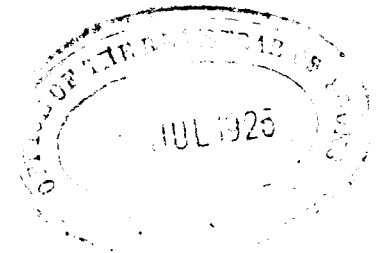
WITH this number the *Journal of Indian History* enters on its fourth year of existence and with it let us hope a new lease of life. The third year proved a crisis in its existence, as Professor Khan of the Allahabad University found it impossible to continue it on its old basis. It threatened to go out of existence for lack of support, and in the absence of any offer from the Universities or other public bodies to take it over, I ventured to take upon myself the editorial and business management of the journal in the hope that it would be possible for me to secure for it adequate support not merely to keep it going, but to stimulate sufficient public interest to assure it a permanent existence. This, it is hardly necessary to say, could only be done with public support. Workers in the field of Indian History can extend their sympathy by contributing an occasional article of value to the journal. Other individuals taking interest in the subject would support it equally by subscribing for the journal. If public institutions and individual scholars interested in the subject make up their minds to support the journal, its future is assured.

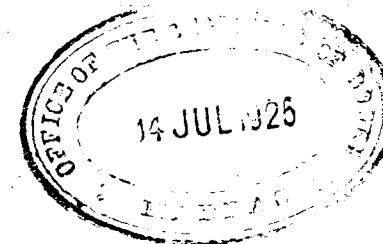
As at present advised, the journal will continue on the same footing as heretofore, and the Editor will have the co-operation and advice of an influential Editorial Board. It is proposed that the journal should, in addition to the original articles, make a feature, as far as may be, of giving the salient features of work done in the field of oriental research in different countries, and published in different languages. A certain number of scholars have undertaken to assist in the matter, and it is hoped that the scheme will receive its fulfilment soon. Some of the Universities have promised support in

various ways, and it is hoped that in course of time, the support of the Universities generally would be given to the journal, so that it may become something like an all-India organ of Indian History.

The journal is intended primarily for work on the historical aspect of oriental research, and its distinctive feature, from other oriental journals, will be this historical bias. Various lines of work seem possible if only sufficient financial support is forthcoming. Several of the historical works in Indian languages require to be presented in translations where they do not exist, and in revised translations where the translations already existing have left room for improvement. There are records of historical value lying buried in various libraries, and archives which require to be worked up, and put in form for use by students of history. A considerable amount of that work could be done by a Journal of Indian History if those that are responsible for these records would take a liberal view and provide facilities for such work being done. It is hoped that in course of time these facilities will be provided, and work can be undertaken on them.

It is none too soon that the journal was started, and it would have been nothing short of a calamity to the progress of Indian historical studies if it should have been allowed to die. We hope that adequate support would be forthcoming, both in point of matter and of means, to give the journal the very best chances of continuing a useful existence. We leave it in the hands of our enlightened countrymen, and scholars interested in historical research elsewhere to see to it that the journal gets the chances that it badly needs.





The Aruvaymoli Pass or The Open Gateway of Travancore

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., TRIVANDRUM

UNASSAILABLE as Travancore, or Vēṇāḍu as it was called in early days, may generally be considered to be on her landward frontier, because of the mountainous ramparts which would have rendered her immune from the invading armies of many an ambitious king and intrepid general intent on conquest, the few mountain passes that breach her natural bulwarks like so many embrasures, constituted the vulnerable points through which she was now and then attacked by her enemies. Of about a dozen passes that pierce this otherwise impregnable mountain-barrier, three, namely, the Achchancōil, the Āryankāvu and the Āruvāymoli Passes, stand out as the most important of the highways that connected Travancore on one side of the Ghats and the plains of the Coimbatore, Madura and Tinnevely districts on the other, for purposes of commerce and travel in former days. The first two of these passes run through well-wooded hill country ; and the South Indian Railway which has utilized the second to connect Sheñcōṭṭa, the eastern limit of Travancore on the other side of the Ghats, with the port of Quilon in Travancore proper, has only followed the track furrowed by the creaking country cars of the pre-locomotive centuries. But the Āruvāymoli Pass (the Aramboly Pass of English nomenclature) in the extreme south, about ten miles to the north of Cape Comorin was found to be the most convenient highway from very early days ; for, a distinct break in the chain of hills has left at this place a gap of over two to three miles width, through which ran the precursor of the level Trunk Road of the present day, with none of the difficulties generally associated with Ghat section communications—no gradients to climb, no sharp hair-pin curves to turn, no deep gorges to cross and no mountain torrents to negotiate. This pass consequently formed the portals through which the adventurous Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, Vijayanagara generals and the



THE ARUVAYMOLI PASS, SOUTH TRAVANCORE (a bird's-eye view)

Madura Nāyaks poured in from the other side of the Ghats, time and again, whenever the whim of conquest swayed them or the lust of loot tickled their cupidity.

In those days, however, when the science of war was yet in its infancy, when the soldier's hand was more familiar with a sword and a bow than with the trigger of a rifle or the fuse of a siege-gun, when primitive catapults were the only engines of war used to sling out a few random shots of stone projectiles, and when aeroplanes had not been dreamt of even in the unbridled fancies of poets, this strategic position must have been held, with more or less success, by simple fortifications of stone walls fringed by a broad belt of thorny jungle beyond, while a main entrance on the level plain, midway between the two hills, must have been defended by a stout garrison. The debris of these walls are still traceable in the ruined heaps of loose stone lying about *in situ*, and the thorny belt of *karuvēl* trees, the ragged survivor of a more effective *kāḍaraṇ* of former days, still serves as a wholesome deterrent to smuggling activities on this frontier station.

THE PANDYAS

The neighbouring Pāṇḍya kings of Madura were naturally the first to enter through the open door of the Āruvāymoli Pass and to annex the southernmost apex of the Peninsula to their dominions; so that we find Cape Comorin¹ mentioned in early Tamil literature as having formed part of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, the goddess Kanyābhagavatī as having been revered by the Pāṇḍya kings as their family deity next in importance, of course, to goddess Minākshī of the capital, and the Paṇṇai² river—probably the Paḷaiyāru in South Travancore,—as having flowed within Pāṇḍya territory. Thus for the purposes of this paper, the Pāṇḍyan occupation of the southern corner of the Indian Peninsula which is now included in Travancore territory can be considered in the light of an invasion, only when the present-day

¹ தெற்குமரி கடற்பெருங்கடல்

குணகுட கடலாகியதென

are the boundaries of Pāṇḍya Neḍunjeḷiyan's dominions—*Puranāṇūru*, v. 7.

கடலைப்புகிற செங்கலையென தெற்குமரிக்

கடலைப்புகி யருவிசம்பெறிய கங்குலியென—*Iraiyaṇār-Agapporuḷurai*, v. 245.

² தென்னகம் நங்குளத்தென தெற்குமரியை நம்—*Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. i, p. 22.

செடியே

எனக்கி பகற்றவி மணவிலும் பாலென—*Puran*, v. 9.

area and configuration of Travancore in her southern frontier, is taken into consideration.

The earliest of the Pāṇḍya kings, who invaded Travancore (in her above-mentioned extended definition) and of whom something is known from Tamil literature, is Ollaiyūr-*landa* Bhūtappāṇḍiyan, the poet-king of Madura. He is the author of two verses¹ in the two early Tamil anthologies, the *Puranāṇūru* and the *Aganāṇūru*, and is known to have won a battle at Ollaiyūr. He mentions a chief named Ditiyaṇ. This king was the contemporary of Neḍunjeḷiyan, the victor of the Talaiyānaṅgāṇam battle, who defeated the same Ditiyaṇ and who has been identified² with Śēliyaṇ-Śēndaṇ (c. A.D. 620-50) of the Vēlvikkuḍi plates and who can therefore be assigned to the first half of the seventh century A.D. Tradition as embodied in the Malabar chronicles, the *Kēraḷolppatti* and the *Kēraḷa-māhātmyam*, appears to state that the fierce mien of the soldiers who had accompanied this king in his Vēṇāḍu expedition must have struck such superstitious terror into the hearts of the inhabitants that the invaders were considered goblins, that black magic and Paraśu-rāma's (?) help had to be utilized to expel these truculent hordes, and that on their retreat, Bhūtappāṇḍi, a village six miles from the Āruvāymoli Pass on the Travancore side, was fixed as the boundary between the Pāṇḍya dominions and Vēṇāḍu.³

The next king that we read of as having distinguished himself by an aggressive movement on the Travancore side of the Pass is Arikēsari Māṇavarmaṇ, the contemporary of the boy-saint Tiruṇāna-sambandha, by whom he was converted to the Śaiva faith, and who must have therefore flourished in the second half of the seventh century A.D. This king appears to be identical with the hero, whose military exploits have been eulogized in Nakkīrar's commentary on the *Iraiyaṇār-Agapporuḷ*⁴ according to which this Pāṇḍya ruler defeated

¹ மன்பதை எக்குளீய குடிசிறந்த

தென்புலம் காலவெழு இப்பேர

என்புலங்காலவின் மாறியான் தேக்கே—*Puran*, v. 71.

விடுகொழுதடக்கைப் பொதியிற் செங்கல்பொலக் தேத்திதினின்னென

வியத்திற் கற்குந் கெடுகை யருவிய எடிநகதேரே—*Aham*, v. 25.

² *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan* (K.V.S. Ayyar), p. 111.

³ *Travancore State Manual*, vol. i, p. 221.

⁴ *Historical Sketches*, pp. 123-5. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxvii, p. 193 where a different identification has been attempted.

the *Vaṇavar*, *Śēralar* and *Śilaimaṇṇar* (all of which names are synonymous with the Chēras) in nine battles, at Kōṭṭāru, Viḷijñam, Śēvvūr, Nāraiyaṛu, Pūlandai, Āṇṇukkuḍi, Kaḍaiyal and Śēnilam. It however seems probable that the Chēra¹ king who had crossed swords with the victorious Pāṇḍya king in some of these battles, especially at Kōṭṭāru² and Viḷijñam,³ was only the Vēṇāḍu viceroy of the imperial Chēra further north at Mahōdai. It is also noteworthy that the Chēra king of the time was connected with his Pāṇḍya contemporary in the relationship of *marumagaṇ*⁴ (sister's son or son-in-law); but this consanguinity does not appear to have prevented them from fighting each other.

Arikēsari Māṇavarmaṇ Rājasimha, the grandson of the last-named sovereign is, according to one interpretation of a passage⁵ in the Vēlvikkūḍi plates, reputed to have renewed the walls of the three capital cities of Kūḍal (Pāṇḍya's Madura), Kōḷi (Chōḷa's Uraiyūr) and Vañji (Chēra's Tiruvañjaikkalam or Koḍuṇḍōḷur); but this king is not known to have had any actual conflicts with his Chēra or Vēṇāḍu neighbour. It is also possible that the building achievements attributed to him were only in respect of some fortifications in his own capital, which were, perhaps, named after the two other premier enemy capitals of the time.

Jaṭila Parāntaka (c. A.D. 745-75), the fortunate discovery of whose Ānamalai inscription⁶ has provided Epigraphy with an important dated landmark for the determination of Pāṇḍyan chronology, claims, in his Madras Museum⁷ copper-plate record, to have defeated the

¹ பாண்டியர் தனிச்செங்கோற் கோட்டைப் பலமுறை யுருகிமைச்சற்கு
யானையும் புரிசையும் மதிற் புவினை.....வென்ற—Vēlvikkūḍi plates, *Q.J.M.S.*, xiii, 456ff.

² வானவர் கானமுன்னகர்
குருகாடுமெறிற் கோட்டைநாற் சென்னை தென்னக்கன்னிப்
பெருமான் கரோதபன் சொல்லியஞ்சாலப் பெண்ணொடிக்கே—*Kaḷaviyal-urai*, v. 37.

³ மின்னிற்ரு பொலிந்த செங்கோல் வலத்தான் விழிஞத்தெறிந்த
மன்னிற்ரு வலந்தகோடுத்த செங்கோல் மன்னன்— *Ibid.*, v. 10.

⁴ கலிமன்னு வண்டெர் கைதவவையுப்க்கண்டல் வின்தென்னடென்
தவிமன்னு வெண்மணற் பாயினி தேசடரேர் மருமா
னலிமன்னு செங்கோலதீசய குற்றக்குடியுள் வென்ற
வெளிமன்னு முத்தக்குடை மன்னன் கன்னியுப் பொழிலே—*Ibid.*, v. 44.

⁵ கடல் வஞ்சி கோழி என்னும் மாடமாதின் புதக்கியும்.

⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, p. 319.

⁷ விழிஞத்தெறிந்த செங்கோல் உறை சீக்கி வெற்றித்தனை வெண்மன்னன் வென்றிற் தவன் விருகிப்பொடு
குன்றமன்ன குலக்கனிதும் கடத்தையவுள் குவதனமும் கன்னுமென கொண்டும்—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii,
p. 70.

king of Vēṇāḍu, destroyed Viḷijñam and captured all the Chēra's elephants and riches. A hero-stone (*naḍukal*) which was discovered near Āruvāymoli and which has now been preserved in the Napier Museum at Trivandrum,¹ appears to commemorate the death of a warrior named Raṇakīrti who fell fighting in one of such skirmishes in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ, when the Chēra army which had been scattered by the enemy, rallied together and advanced on Karaikkōṭṭai (near Āruvāymoli).

Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala was the next king who waged war against the Kēraḷas and defeated them in the two battles fought at Kuṇṇūr and Viḷijñam.² The nameless Kēraḷa kings referred to were, in all probability, rulers of Vēṇāḍu; but we have no more details about the results of these wars.

The southern portion of the present Travancore State continued to be under Pāṇḍya domination for nearly five decades thereafter, during the reigns of Śrīmāra's successors, until the time of Parāntaka (A. D. 907-53), whose conquest of Madura in A.D. 910 marked the beginning of Chōḷa ascendancy in the south and the subversion, for the time being, of Pāṇḍyan power.

THE CHOLAS

The once powerful Chōḷa dynasty, which had had its capitals at Puḡār or Kāvīrippūmpattīṇam and Uraiyūr (near Trichinopoly), with a gubernatorial seat at Kāñchīpuram, had been thrust into an umbra of obscurity with the recapture of the town of Kāñchī by the Pallava king Kumāravishṇu³ in the middle of the fifth century A.D., and had to continue in such a state of mediocrity for over four centuries. Towards the middle of the ninth century A.D. it contrived, however, to emerge out of this eclipse into the penumbra of Pallava vassalage, as heirs to the territory ruled over by the Muttaraiyas of Tanjore, whom they appear to have displaced. Vijayālaya was the first member who established this revived Chōḷa line on a firm footing with

¹ கோமரஞ்சடைபற்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தேழாமாண்டு கோமரம்படை விழிஞத்த புறத்த விட்டுழக்க
கொக்கோட்டை அழிப்பான் வ.....—*T.A.S.*, vol. i, p. 158.

² *Sinnamanūr plates*, *M.E.R.*, 1907, p. 65.

தேவமழைபொழிற் குன்னாரிலுஞ் சிங்கவத்தும் விழிஞத்தம் வடாத வாகை குடி.

³ गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरस्ततोभूत्कुमारविष्णुस्तमरेषु जिष्णुः।—*Velūrpālayam plates*, *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 508.

the capital at Tanjore,¹ and when his son Āditya I² killed the last great Pallava king Aparājita (c. A.D. 854-80) in the battle of Śrī-purambiyam in the beginning of the last quarter of the ninth century, the foundation was securely laid for the future imperial greatness, which the Chōla dynasty attained under its warrior-kings, Rājarāja and his son Rājēndraśōla.

Both Āditya and his son Parāntaka had maintained amicable relations with the Chēras, which were further cemented by diplomatic matrimonial alliances between the royal lines; and there were therefore no feuds between these two great ruling dynasties. It was the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi³ of the famous Kottayam Christian copper-plates, who had helped the Chōla Āditya to throw off the yoke of Pallava allegiance; and Parāntaka, the latter's son, had espoused two Chēra princesses as his queens—Kōkkilāṇḍigal,⁴ the mother of Prince Rājāditya and Villavaṇ-Mahādēvī (?) the daughter of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar.⁵ Princess Nīli,⁶ daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāgadēva was in the heart of the Chōla dominions on a visit to the venerable Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr in A.D. 936. Parāntaka who was the first to distinguish himself, by the conquest of Madura⁷ early in his reign and who also led a victorious expedition into Ceylon itself, does not, however, appear to have undertaken any expedition on Kēraḷa even though the Pāṇḍya king fled to the latter leaving Ceylon, but appears to have maintained

¹ निवेशयामास च शोलदेशे नवीनतादोषगुणप्रवृद्धाम् ।

कञ्जासनाद्यैर्मरैः प्रगीतां तञ्चापुरीनाम पुरीन्नरेन्द्रः ॥

—Kanyākumari Record, v. 54 (T.A.S., vol. iii, p. 142).

² अपराजितमथ्यसौ रणे जितवान् पल्लवमुल्लसद्बलम् ।—Tiru. pl., v. 49.

³ S. I. I., vol. iii, p. 221 and T. A. S., vol. ii, p. 76.

⁴ T.A.S., vol. iii, p. 162.

⁵ पञ्चवेदस्यर्पणायस्य क्षितिमर्तुः किल केरलेश्वरस्य ।

तनयामुदुवाह राजलक्ष्मीमिव मूर्त्तमिवनोपतिस्स एषः ॥

Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II.—(Ep. Ind., vol. xv, p. 61.)

⁶ S. I. I., vol. iii, p. 236.

⁷ Compare his title *மதுரைக்கோட்டை கரையகாரி* (3rd year), *மதுரைப் புதுக்கோட்டை* (37th year).

The following lines of *Silappadigāram* mention Kanni (Cape Comorin) and the Chōlas:—

திக்கையால் வெங்குடைபாற் சென்றோம் கரையகாரி
என்றிதற்குப் புனத்திதழ்ப் புலவாய் வாழிசெய்தோம்—(எனவளி).

such cordial relations with that sovereign, as were calculated to augment Chōla influence in the south. A few records of his are found at Suchindram and Agastīsvaram in the southern taluks of the present Travancore State.

The successors of Parāntaka, namely, Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla and Āditya-Karikāla II were of course engaged in subduing the Pāṇḍyas, as their titles '*Madhurāntaka*' and '*Pāṇḍyanṇalai-koṇḍa*' indicate; but there do not appear to have existed any direct hostilities between them and the Chēra kings.

With Rājarāja I, the first imperial king of this dynasty, Kēraḷa came under more direct Chōla domination; for, having had to fight with the Pāṇḍyas again on his own account, the southern portion of the present day Travancore also became his by right of conquest and the country from Cape Comorin in the extreme south up to the southern portion of the Pudukkōṭṭai State in the north, including the intervening districts of Tinnevely and Madura was conveniently clubbed together into one provincial unit of administration called the Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, after his own name and in commemoration of his victories. This king marched up to Kollam¹ and Mahōdai (Koḷuṅgōlūr) the capitals² of the Chēras, and defeated their navy at the roadstead of Kāndaḷūr, an ancient Chēra sea port, ten miles south of Trivandrum. His inscriptions are actually found at Cape Comorin where he built a beautiful Śiva temple called Rājarājēśvaram, and at Suchindram, Darsanaṅkōppu, Eraniel and Tirunandikkarai. The Chēra chief whom he had encountered in southern Kēraḷa territory was probably Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai or his successor Gōvardhana-Mārttāṇḍa; but the Chēra Emperor of the time was, however, Bhāskara-Ravivarman³ (A.D. 979-1036), whose records are found in many places in North Travancore down to Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittāṇam in the Chengana-cheri Taluk.

His son Rājēndraśōladēva I (A.D. 1013-45) was the next sovereign who had to repeat the Travancore invasion. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates mention that this Chōla king pursued the Pāṇḍya to the Malaya mountains where he had taken refuge and subdued him together with

¹ Cf. *செங்குட்டுவன் காலத்திலுள்ள...கடல்வரைவின் செல்வரும்...தண்டிற் சென்ற...*—Also No 394 of 1911.—M.E.R., 1912, p. 59.

² T.A.S., vol. ii, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-49.

after having driven the defeated Pāṇdyas to take refuge in impenetrable forests, after having captured Kanni (Cape Comorin) and after having slain many soldiers of the Kēraḷa king, Kulōttuṅga established many military outposts as far south as Kōṭṭār,¹ so as to keep a vigorous control over the conquered territories. Another inscription from Chidambaram² and the panegyric poem called the *Kaliṅga-tupparani*³ of Jayanṅṇār refer to this storming of the fort (*durgam*) of Kōṭṭār, the capture of Viḷijñam, the destruction of ships at Kāndaḷūr⁴ and of the defeat of the Pāṇdyas, that had preceded this exploit. Several inscriptions belonging to this king are found at Chōḷapuram, Agastiśvaram, Suchindram and Cape Comorin.

After the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the Chōḷas' hold on the southernmost corner of their imperial possessions seems to have been loosened; for when the system of appointing Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys fell into desuetude owing to the paucity of efficient princes in the royal line, the Pāṇdyas who had been smarting under their reverses which had reduced them to the unenviable position of vassals to Chōḷa suzerains, now began to put forth strenuous effort to regain their original position; and, although they could not achieve definite success for nearly a century, their hostile attitude to their overlords considerably weakened Chōḷa prestige in the south.

A BRIEF INTERREGNUM

The war of succession between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and his rival Kulaśēkhara in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. marked the

¹ கன்னியக் கைக்கயைக்கு தென்புறத்தில் கட்டி குடமலை கட்டுவதன் காலத்திலாவது தனி விசம்பேற மரகதேயநகர் கருதினித்தலைகரைக் குறுகல்குலைப் சேட்டாறப்பாட நெற்றோறம் கிளைவிட்டருளி — *T.A.S.*, vol. i, p. 287.

पाण्ड्यादण्डेन जित्वा प्रचुरशरमुचा पञ्च पञ्चाननश्रीः
दग्धा कोट्टारदुर्गान्तृणमिवसु यथा खाण्डवं पाण्डुसूनुः ।
पिष्ट्वां तत्करेलानां बलमतिबहलं श्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोळ
श्वक्रे शक्रप्रतापस्त्रिभुवनविनयस्तम्भमम्भोधितोरे ॥
स श्रीमानस्तशत्रुः प्रबलबलभरैः पञ्च पाण्ड्यान्विजित्य
क्षुभ्यत्क्षमापालचक्रं स विधिकमकरोच्छीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोळः ।

— *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v., p. 103.

² சென்னைச் சேட்டாறம் புதுவையக்குட

மெத்தைய மீதவைய மெக்கிலைக்கும்—*Parani*, iii, 21.

³ கன்னியைக் கைக்கயைக்கு தென்புறத்தில் கட்டுவதற்கு காலத்திலாவது தனி விசம்பேற மரகதேயநகர் கருதினித்தலைகரைக் குறுகல்குலைப் சேட்டாறப்பாட நெற்றோறம் கிளைவிட்டருளி — *Parani*, xi, 71.

beginning of the Chōḷa decline and of Pāṇḍya revival. Kulaśēkhara's claims received the support of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja II, while Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha, the Singhalese general crossed over to the mainland for the help of Parākrama; and the war was waged with varying fortunes. By the time the Singhalese army was forced back to Ceylon, both the rivals who had started the conflict died and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, the Chōḷa partisan's son managed to crush the other rival's son, Vira-Pāṇḍya, with the effective help of Kulōttuṅga III.¹ These events show that the Chōḷa's status in these wars was more that of a powerful ally and neighbour than of an undisputed suzerain, and that the Pāṇḍya king's claims were already begun to be admitted. The grandiloquent title of Kulōttuṅga III, namely, that he 'took Madura and Karūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya king,' does not therefore signify any permanent political exaltation.

With such a tilting of the balance of power in the Pāṇḍyan territory, it was but natural that southern Travancore should have been immune from either Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya domination and been left to enjoy a brief period of respite. Suitably to this state of political fluctuation, we find some stone records belonging to this period, at Suchindram, Chōḷapuram and a few other places, being dated only in the Kollam era, without the mention of the names of any regnant kings, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya or Vēṇāḍu. The villages in this tract of country must have fallen back on their original political institutions and carried on their parochial administration by means of their village *sabhas* and their own petty chieftains, without the unifying influence of a central authority. There are, of course, some inscriptions² dated in the Kollam years 301, 320, 336, etc. (corresponding to A.D. 1126, 1145, 1161, etc.), and referring themselves to the reigns of the Vēṇāḍu kings Vira-Kēraḷavarman, Kōḍai-Kēraḷavarman and Vira-Ravivarman, respectively, which are found in the villages of Puravaśēri, Chōḷapuram and Suchindram, but the smallness of their number indicates that the jurisdiction of the Vēṇāḍu rulers began to creep into the regions evacuated by the retiring Chōḷas only by slow degrees and that it was

¹ Compare the following descriptions of his achievements :—

விக்கிரமபாண்டியற்கு கட்டிய கைக்கயைக்கு தென்புறத்தில் கட்டுவதற்கு காலத்திலாவது தனி விசம்பேற மரகதேயநகர் கருதினித்தலைகரைக் குறுகல்குலைப் சேட்டாறப்பாட நெற்றோறம் கிளைவிட்டருளி — *Parani*, xi, 71.

² See *Travancore Archaeological Reports for 1085-87, M.E.*

only later on in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Kollam era that Vēṇāḍu supremacy was indisputably established in the southernmost taluks of the present Travancore State.

MEDIEVAL PANDYAS

Of the Pāṇḍyas who administered their own territory as vassals of the Chōḷas during the political supremacy of the latter, the name of Parāntaka-Pāṇḍya occurs in two records¹ which are found in the Kanyābhagavatī temple at Cape Comorin. From certain historical particulars furnished in the introduction prefacing these inscriptions, we are enabled to locate this Pāṇḍya as a contemporary of Kulōt-tuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1119) and his successor Vikramachōḷa (A.D. 1117-35). When the system of appointing Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys was discontinued, as noted already, the southern dominions appear to have been left in charge of members of the Pāṇḍya royal family who administered them in the capacity of Chōḷa vassals; but the weakness of the later kings of the Chōḷa dynasty tempted the Pāṇḍyas to make a bold bid for independence. With the termination of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1177-1216) therefore, the Chōḷa power in the south passed away, for his successor Rājarāja III (1216-42) had enough trouble at home with his Pallava² feudatory Kōpperuñjiṅga; and the Pāṇḍyas once more took the lead in southern politics, thanks to a succession of famous kings—Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and II (A.D. 1216-37 and 1237-51), Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I³ (A.D. 1251-71) who claims to be the uprooter of the Kēraḷas, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya who defeated Vēṇāḍa³ and Māḡavarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1268-1310). But these kings were sufficiently busy on their own side

¹ *T.A.S.*, vol. i, pp. 20-26.

மலைபுத்த கல்பொறித்தல் சேலநகர் செருவில்லென்ற நிறைநகரென வாகை குடிக்க
உபயோகம் காட்டுபவர்க்கு குலவிழித்துக் கைக்கொண்டு கன்னியபுரம் செந்தருளிக் கந்தனாழி
செலவழிமற்றது.....அந்தப்புரம் தென்மாதரு கிலவியபொருளினின்று கிடைத்தெய்தப் பத்தமெய்த.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, pp. 160-9.

An account of how Rājarāja III, was imprisoned at Śēdamāṅgalam by his Pallava feudatory Kōpperuñjiṅga and how the Hoysala king came to his rescue is detailed in an inscription at Tiruvēndipuram.

³ செருத்தெய்து செருக்கன்தெய்திய and செலநகரென்ற கன்னனாழி கைப்பத்தைக் கைக்கொண்டருளி.

—*Sendamīl*, vol. iv, p. 515.

—சில

செருத்தெய்து கிடைத்தபொருள்கள் மெய்ப்பு

புராண புராணப் பொருள்.—No. 365 of 1913.

of the Ghats, and as their expansion embraced the line of least resistance up to Nellore in the north, Vēṇāḍu was fortunately left in peace, and her rulers had wit enough to conserve their energies and rise to some prominence in southern Travancore.

The Muhammadan raid under Malik Kafir, the eunuch-general of Alla-ud-din Khilji, which swept over southern India like a terrible tornado in A.D. 1310-11 and bruised the shortlived vitality of the reviving Pāṇḍya dynasty with such ruthlessness as to drive it into comparative obscurity in the Tinnevely District, did not, however, affect Travancore in the least. The exhausted condition in which the Pāṇḍyas were left after this Muslim visitation gave Travancore some opportunities of expansion, and, although the Quilon ruler Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra¹ overran the eastern districts in a magnificent, but necessarily an ephemeral raid, as far north as Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District, his successors on the Vēṇāḍ throne inaugurated a policy of aggression only slowly, busying themselves in occupying such of the tracts on the eastern side of the Āruvāymoli Pass as they could, without the fear of active Pāṇḍyan reprisals. Except for a few reciprocatory skirmishes between Vēṇāḍu kings on one side and the Tinnevely Pāṇḍyas on the other, such as that of Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, whose record dated in A.D. 1371 is found at Chōḷapuram,² Travancore enjoyed an enviable immunity from foreign invasion for some period,³ until the time of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya (A.D. 1530).

VIJAYANAGARA KINGS

During the rule of southern India by the Vijayanagara dynasty, there were two invasions of Travancore—one in the reign of king Achyutadēva-Mahārāja which was headed by his brother-in-law, Salakarāja-Tirumalarāja, and the other in the reign of his successor Sadāśiva, under the joint command of Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva and his brother Chinna-Timmarāju.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, pp. 145-52 and vol. viii, pp. 8-9.

² No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084, M.E.

³ A few records of the later Pāṇḍyas such as Jaṭavarman *alias* Srivallabhadēva (1535), Kulaśēkhara *alias* Parākrama-Pāṇḍya (1545), Aḷagan-Perumāl (1570) and Varaguṇarāma (1616) are actually found in Sāmbūr-vaḍagarai and Shencottah (near Tenkāṣi), which now belong to Travancore; but this Pāṇḍyan occupation of territory which now belongs to Travancore, was not by way of the Āruvāymoli Pass.

The causes that led to this invasion of Travancore by Achyuta are referred to in the *kāvya* called the *Achyutarāyābhyudaya*,¹ composed by poet Rājānāthakavi. During the imperial rule of Krishṇadēvarāya, Kāñchi-Nambi *alias* Vira-Narasimha,² son of Taḷuvakkulaindāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ, who had the title of Śāluva-Nāyaka and was also known by the endearing surname of Śellappa, was the Vijayanagara viceroy of the Chōḷa dominions. This veteran soldier did not apparently relish the close control exercised by the Emperor on the administration of the outlying provinces of the kingdom, and when a fitting opportunity offered itself in the illness of the Emperor, he rose in revolt with a view to cut off his allegiance to the Vijayanagara throne.

Being defeated in a battle by the imperial troops, he however managed to escape to the Travancore territory,³ and with the help of its king, he made war on the Pāṇḍya ruler and ousted the latter from his kingdom. Krishṇarāya would have himself quelled the rebellion, but as death snatched him away, the work of bringing this recalcitrant viceroy to book (and of reinstating the exiled Pāṇḍya king) fell on his half-brother Achyutadēvarāya, who succeeded him on the throne in about A.D. 1530.

According to the version of the story as given in the Sanskrit panegyric referred to above, the Emperor collected a huge army and started out on his expedition. After visiting Tirupati, Kālahasti, Tiruvannāmalai and Kāñchipuram on the way, he finally reached

¹ Valuable extracts are given in Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (1919) and a connected narrative is found in the *Introduction* to that book.

² This Vira-Narasimha is different from the elder half-brother of Krishṇarāya, the son of Narasa by Tippāmbā. The identification of this rebel-chief of the Chōḷa dominions with Śāluva Narasimha II whose records are found up to A.D. 1506-7 and then cease, and who must have been superseded and posted to a distant viceroyalty by Vira-Narasimha, son of Tuluva Narasa-Nāyaka, has been incorrectly suggested by Mr. T. A. G. Rao. As against this is the statement of Nuniz, not very reliable, that Narasimha II died or was murdered even during the life-time of Narasa-Nāyaka—see *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. vi, p. 96.

छन्नविग्रहतया पलायितश्चेष्टुपो वसति चेस्सोमनि ।

तच्छरण्यधरणीभुजा समं शिष्य एव स चिरायुषा त्वया ॥—*Sources* (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar), p. 162

Śrīraṅgam. There his brother-in-law Salakarāja-Timmarāja¹ offered to lead the southern expedition himself, on the plea that the punishing of a rebel was not so great an undertaking as to require the Emperor's personal command of the campaign. He was accordingly put in command; and, while the pious Vaishṇava king Achyuta stayed in Śrīraṅgam worshipping god Raṅganātha, Timmarāja started out southward and putting to rout the combined armies of Vira Narasimha-Nāyaka and his friend, the Tiruvaḍi king Akhilakalāvallabha Udayamārttāṇḍavarman, on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī² took both the rebel and his ally as prisoners. The victorious Vijayanagara general marched thence to Tiruvannātapuram³ (Trivandrum) and, after having paid homage to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Tiruvaḍi kings, returned to Śrīraṅgam from his eventful campaign.

Although the battle took place only on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī and there was no actual fighting within Travancore territory, this campaign may be considered in the light of an invasion, because her aggressive king who was implicated in having sided the rebel-chief against his imperial suzerain, was not only punished and reduced

¹ प्रेम्णः पात्रोक्तुश्च प्रियरमणमुवः प्रेयनादेष दोम्भ्यां

नेष्ये प्रेष्यं हि गर्वप्रहिलमिह जवच्चेलुरं चेस्सोमः ।

प्रस्थाप्येत्युक्तवन्तं सत्त्वानुपसृतं पद्मनाभांतरङ्गे

रङ्गे भक्त्युत्तरङ्गः कतिचन दिवसान्धातुमैच्छन्महेच्छः ॥—*Sources* (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar), p. 164.

² अगमद्विलङ्घ्य मधुरां महतीमथ ताम्रपर्वमिहितां सरितम् ॥

स च सङ्गराय चतुरङ्गबलैस्तिरयन्दिशस्तिस्वटिक्षितिपः ॥

अधिगम्य चोलपतिना नतवानपरावतारममरेन्द्रतरोः ॥

अयमर्षिसस्तव पदाम्बुजयोरधमः स तिर्वटिरधर्मपरः ।

इति तं निगद्य समदान्दिरदानुपदोचकार रयगांस्तुरगान् ॥

अनुगृह्य नम्रमसुरक्षणतः स्थितिमान्नये तिरुवटिक्षितिपम् ।

अपि पाण्ड्याभूपमदसोयपदाम्बुधिकप्रतिष्ठमतनिष्ठ नृपः ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ शयने शयानमुदधिं समया पदसौरभोर्मिपरिणाहवति ।

अथ नन्तुमच्युतमगादवनेरधिभूरनन्तशयनाभिमुखम् ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 164.

occurred during the regency of Maṅgammāl. Ever since the time of the earlier invasion noticed above, Travancore was a subordinate of Madura and had consequently to pay an annual tribute; and whenever there was a delay in its payment the 'Vaduga' army swooped down on Travancore territory in the vicinity of the Āruvāymoḷi Pass and harassed the people in diverse ways.¹ On one such occasion, the Travancore king Ravivarman (A.D. 1684-1718) who was himself hard-pressed at home by the machinations of his feudal barons called the Eṭṭuvittil-Pillamār, entered into an alliance with the Nāyaka army and utilized its help in disposing of these mischievous ministers. But when this danger was past, the Travancore king inveigled the Madura army into the Kalkuḷam Fort and falling on it unawares, hacked it to pieces. Queen Maṅgammāl's invasion² of A.D. 1697-8 was therefore undertaken in a spirit of vengeance to wipe out this disgrace; and the Madura army overran Nāñjinād and wrought considerable havoc to the people. The Travancore king was finally obliged to come to terms and sue for peace by the payment of all the arrears of tribute and other presents. An extremely misspelt record of Queen Maṅgammāl is found near a well at Kōṭṭar,³

After the extinction of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty with the death of Queen Minākshī in about A.D. 1739,⁴ Chandasahib became all-supreme in the south, and Madura fell under Muhammadan domination as a *subah* of the Nawab of Arcot. Mafuz Khan and Yusuf Khan, who subsequently wielded power in the Madura and Tinnevely districts had some conflicts with the Travancore king, which were finally settled by the intervention of the East India Company in A.D. 1766.⁵ These were not, however, of any great magnitude, as they were only in the nature of frontier disturbances.

¹ These occasional raids of the Nāyaka army into Travancore are referred to in a stone-record at Vaḍaśēri, which opens thus:—

சுபக்சர் படைவந்த எஞ்சினாட்டில் அளமுடி ௧ [A.D. 1677] முதல் பவளமும் படைவந்த படை
செடி கருகை கொண்டு.....அளமுடி முதல் அளமுடி கடை பூ யரும் நம் திசைகொடுக்கப்பட்ட.....

This has been translated as:—

'Whereas owing to heavy losses sustained by people on account of the invasion of the Nāyaka's forces at different times from 852 M.E. (A.D. 1677), we have remitted *añjāli* tax in arrears from 1674 to 1694 for 15 crops.'

² *Travancore State Manual*, vol. i, pp. 316-8.

³ No. 118 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M.E.

⁴ No. 2 of 1099 M.E. gives Ś 1660 for Queen Minākshī.

⁵ *Travancore State Manual*, vol. i, p. 379.

MYSORE SULTANS

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D., the incubus of foreign invasion again threatened the peace of modern Travancore, which had been enlarged to its present proportions by the military ability and diplomatic tact of the warrior-king Bālamārttāṇḍavarman and his equally illustrious nephew Rāmavarman; but as the invaders swooped down this time from the northern side, the Āruvāymoḷi Pass was for once cheated out of its age-long honour of being the 'open-door of Travancore.' Hyder Ali, the *parvenu* but ambitious sultan of Mysore, and his son Tippu, a few years later, made two attempts at subjugating the Travancore king and annexing his dominions; but both of them fortunately proved abortive. With the repulse of Tippu from the Travancore Lines in about A.D. 1790 and his final defeat by the English, in the storming of Seringapatam (A.D. 1799), which ended the third Mysore War, young Travancore entered on a new era of peace and prosperity under the aegis of the British flag, and has become, what it is at the present day, one of the foremost of Indian States and the 'Land of Charity,' whose pious-minded sovereigns still continue to cherish, though in slightly modified forms consistent with the stress of modern conditions, their family motto of '*dharmaśmat kula-daivatam*.'

THE ARAMBOLI PASS TO-DAY

In the foregoing paragraphs, an attempt has been made to describe, though in the barest outline, the important part which the Āruvāymoḷi Pass has, by reason of its strategic position on the highway between the eastern and western side of the Western Ghats, played in the vicissitudes of Travancore history. This Pass has had quite an eventful past, extending over more than a millennium and a quarter. It had seen many a brilliant army of the Pāṇdyas and the Chōḷas, Vijayanagara generals and Madura Nāyaks pass and repass its gates glowing with the full flush of satiated triumph or crestfallen with defeat. In these tame days of peace and progress, however, the surrounding hills no more resound with the din of battle, the parched road is no more kicked into dust-clouds by the measured tread of soldiers on the march, nor does the equatorial sun shine on polished

sword and bull-hide buckler; and the Āruvāymoḷi Pass has degenerated into the prosaic *role* of a toll-gate, that has to open wide its portals to every fussy Ford-bus, which chooses to dash along in annoying frequency with its motley load of passengers, leaving behind suffocating clouds of dust and petrol-stench in its wake. From behind the outworks which must have, in earlier days, bristled with soldiers armed with bloodthirsty javelin and sword, pops up now and again a sleepy squad of the myrmidons of the Excise, who bustle about the harmless passengers like animated sulphur-matches and sink back to the noon-day lethargy of the tropics from which they had just been disturbed, until such time as the impertinent 'toot-toot' of another approaching 'eight-seater' hustles them again into a brief spell of remonstrant animation. Such is the Āruvāymoḷi¹ Pass of the present day!

¹ The etymology of the name of the Āruvāymoḷi Pass is one of interest and various interpretations have been suggested. In ayacut registers the name is given with a long *ā*, and ஆரவாய்மொழி may be considered as a corrupt derivative of ஆரவாய் வழி, the gateway of the fortifications (ஆரை). If the botanical signification of ஆரை—'a kind of plant' is taken, the place may be considered to have derived its name from the plants which may have grown in abundance in its vicinity. அருவாய் வழி and its meaning of the 'way of the Buddhists' who are alleged to have come through the Pass *en route* Ceylon appears to be a fanciful interpretation. With the short *a* as the name occurs in late inscriptions—அருவாய்மொழி may also be considered as derived from அருவாய் வழி which has the same connotation as ஆரவாய் வழி noticed above. If the last syllables மொழி have to be given prominence, then a vague resemblance may be seen between this name and அருவமொழி one of the titles of Rājarāja I, the Chōḷa king, who was the first to christen his southern conquests in his own name. மொழி may have been paraphrased into மாய்மொழி and அருவமொழி may have then been expanded into அருவமாய்மொழி from which அருவாய்மொழி may have been the colloquial derivative. The Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates give this title of Aruṇmoḷi to Rājarāja I:—

अधिकरमथ रेखाङ्गिणौ शंखचक्रौ दधतरुणमोक्षवर्मा तस्य सुनुर्मुरारिः

—S. I. I., vol. iii, 396.

The Sources of Arabic Culture

BY

DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

Lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac, Bristol University.

In his admirable lectures on the history of Arabian Medicine, Professor Browne says 'I pointed out that the term "Arabian Medicine" (to which "Islamic Medicine" would be preferable) can be justified only if we regard the language which serves as its vehicle, and the auspices under which it was evolved; that it was an eclectic synthesis of more ancient systems, chiefly Greek, but in a lesser degree Indian and Old Persian, with a tincture of other exotic systems less easily to be identified.' (Browne: *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 65). This statement, it will be noted, is made with reference to medicine only, but to a large extent it holds good of Arabic culture generally, though in some details it may need qualification when applied to other branches. It represents the usual western attitude towards Islamic culture which receives its extreme expression in Andre' Servier's *Islam and the Psychology of the Mussulman* (Eng. tr. 1924) which regards that culture as simply an oriental edition of Hellenistic culture, as being in substance Greek science and philosophy reproduced in the Arabic language so that the Muslim scholars were at most transmitters who tried to pass on the results of Greek learning and did so with imperfect success: the valuable material, M. Servier considers, was Greek and this translated into Arabic suffered, as translations always do suffer, and to the material thus handed on the Arabic writers contributed nothing, or at least nothing of any particular importance.

It is no use trying to refute this by maintaining the complete independence and originality of Arabic culture. The tendency of modern cultural anthropology is very definitely in the opposite direction. A few years ago it was commonly held that culture started sporadically and broke out naturally at a particular stage of racial development: but of more recent times the tide has turned very

strongly in what we may call the 'historical' direction, one form of culture after another has been traced back to deliberate copying until it seems probable that all culture will eventually appear as derived from one or two sources. It seems as though civilization were rather like some form of infectious disease which can only exist where contact with some carrier of infection has taken place. No doubt it all had a beginning, but that lies so far back in remote antiquity that it has not yet been brought into the field of practicable research. The utmost that any social group has done has been to add something to the material it has received, its capacity to do so being due to that which it has received, and the only sense in which we can speak of the rise of a new culture is that a new combination of borrowed materials took place and on this resultant the borrowers impressed some superficial form characteristic of themselves. So, if we speak of Arabic culture as 'an eclectic synthesis of more ancient systems' we may speak in the same way of every other form of culture known to us. The ancient Greek, the early Chinese, the native American, and every other cultural form is a similar synthesis and in the main the 'more ancient systems' thus utilized seem to be the same few under perpetually varying combinations. The only difference is that Arabic culture comes late enough in the history of human society to be illustrated by a wealth of documentary evidence, whilst the origins of such as Greek and Babylonian culture have to be deduced from circumstantial evidence. So in itself the description of a cultural type as 'an eclectic synthesis of more ancient systems' is no more a contemptuous dismissal of its importance than the description of a man as merely the offspring of two parents.

Professor Browne refers to this eclectic synthesis as 'chiefly Greek, but in a lesser degree Indian and Old Persian, with a tincture of other exotic systems.' This describes the main sources as Greek, Indian, and Old Persian, with some other sources of admittedly minor importance, and is no doubt an accurate description. But let us note here at the outset that we are not in a position to estimate each of these sources with equal justice. In dealing with the Greek material we have a very large fund of evidence every item of which has been subject to minute investigation and every step of whose progress can be traced. We know the history of the later neo-Platonic and neo-Aristotelian schools, we can follow their development in a series of

commentators, we see the texts translated into Syriac, many of those translations, either complete or in considerable fragments, being still accessible, we can trace fairly well all the material available to the Arabic scholars of the 'Abbasid period, we can explain some of their peculiar views by our knowledge of the commentaries they used, and we can account for others by their mistaken use of texts which they supposed to be Aristotelian, e.g., the so-called 'Theology of Aristotle.' By the light of this very large body of material we see the Arabic philosophers as a link in a chain which represents the transmission of an eclectic Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy in which that philosophy was still a living thing so that Greek, Hellenistic, Syriac, and Arabic are all successive stages of an ordered organic growth.

But when we turn to the Indian and old Persian material we are in a totally different position. At present our evidence is extremely fragmentary, much of it consists of no more than casual references made by writers living at a time when they themselves had to make use of information at second hand, much of it indirect and circumstantial in character. It is probably too much to say that this evidence is very scanty, but it is true to say that it has received but scant attention to the present time. Professor Browne, who certainly does not desire to give a one-sided picture,¹ having mentioned that there are Indian and old Persian elements, confines his attention almost exclusively to the Greek material, though here and there slight indications appear with tantalizing suggestiveness that there are other sources of rather more importance than is definitely stated. In one place¹ he gives a summary of a medical compendium, the *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat* finished in A.D. 850, in seven parts which deal with the system of Greek medicine and an appendix on Indian medicine,—but the work is not accessible in a printed edition: elsewhere² he notes that the terminology of the Arabic pharmacopeia is mainly derived from the Persian. Professor Browne gives far more attention to the Persian influences than other writers have done so far, but has to remark with reference to Persian medical works, 'this vernacular medical literature of Persia remains almost unexplored'³ exactly, we have to give most attention to the Greek influence because it is the one whose evidence is most accessible.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 37 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

In the golden age of Arabic culture under the 'Abbasids there was a large literary output of prose works dealing with history, geography, and romance, as well as with science and philosophy. So far as we know no Greek historians, biographers, or writers of legendary or romantic literature were known to the Arabs, or at least were not used by them, nor is Arabic history, etc., based on Greek models. But a large amount of Persian literature of this type existed, is cited in copious extracts, and related on lines borrowed from the Persian writers. To-day, unfortunately, those Persian sources for the most part exist only in their Arabic citations, but obviously we must reckon all this side of Arabic culture as of Persian, not Greek, parentage. Apparently also the bulk of Arabic astronomy is derived from Persian sources, not from Greek.¹ Arabic culture is not merely a second-hand edition of later Hellenistic thought, though in certain branches, notably medicine and chemistry, the Greek material is by far the most important.

And here we should note that Greek culture was predominantly scientific in character. It is one of the strangest transformations that Greek literature stands now for the *literae humaniores* when as a living force it was the champion of natural science as against the humanities. We now turn back to an older Greek thought of poetry and art which Greece itself had turned away from as it advanced more and more in the direction of science. Christian literature was developed entirely under Hellenistic auspices and that literature centers in doctrinal theology which is essentially an adaptation of the later Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy. It was on the purely scientific side that Arabic culture was most deeply indebted to Greece, but even on that side it was not simply an oriental edition of Hellenistic thought, and we must bear in mind that the Arabic philosophers whom the West has always regarded as the very cream of the Muslim world were in Islam itself reckoned as a peculiar sect, somewhat foreign in character, and their influence never extended beyond a limited circle. There were indeed Hellenistic elements which have entered intimately into the life and thought of Islam, but these did not come through the medium of the philosophers.

¹ Cf. Inostranzev, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* (Eng. tr.), by K. Nariman, Bombay, 1918.

To estimate truly the several influences brought to bear upon Islam in the early centuries of its existence during which its cultural equipment was developed and shaped, we must summarize briefly the various waves of culture-drift which were actively in motion in western Asia at the time. Obviously the ancient cultural systems of Babylonia and Egypt were no longer operative. A great wave of Greek influence had passed across from west to east in the days of Alexander and Seleucus I. This wave had spent its force and began to recede in the time of Antiochus II when Bactria revolted (255 B.C.) and then Parthia (250 B.C.), and from this time onwards Hellenism began to lose ground in Asia though exercising an influence which was still potent. The oriental anti-Greek reaction continued and we have as landmarks the Jewish revolt against the Seleucids in the middle of the second century B.C. which was far more a religious and cultural movement than a political one, and then the active invasion of the Roman Empire by oriental religions in the course of the first and second centuries A.D. All this shows a steady and powerful oriental tide moving from east to west; in a few centres, such as Athens, the ancient traditions of Hellenism were preserved, but they were more survivals, for the most part the Roman world had its cultural life thoroughly impregnated with orientalism, of which the philosophical thought of Alexandria, the leading university of the day, was typical. In this oriental invasion of Europe Christianity took an active part for Christianity, severely restricted within the Empire, had an early development on freer lines in Mesopotamia and it was there that its cultural equipment received its development and took its form so that Christianity tended to introduce into the Roman Empire a cultural life evolved in nearer Asia under Persian, or rather Parthian, auspices. The analysis of this oriental influence as shown in art and architecture is especially associated with the life-work of Professor Strzygowski and his collaborators and is summed up in his *Origin of Christian Church Art* of which an English translation appeared in 1923, though a great many of Professor Strzygowski's conclusions as to art and architecture seem to hold good in other branches of culture as well. We must not therefore be content to reckon the later Hellenistic and Byzantine civilization as a Greek type which has decayed in a degenerate oriental atmosphere, but as Hellenism profoundly modified by a vigorous and aggressive orientalism which had been moving steadily against the West,

If we take the brilliant enterprise of Alexander as the starting point of the Greek cultural invasion of Asia, we may perhaps regard the missionary work of the Indian Buddhist king Asoka as the primary move of this counter-invasion from Asia. But in the fourth century A.D. Christianity became a tolerated religion and soon afterwards a state church in the Roman Empire and under these changed conditions developed a definitely Greek character and a missionary vigour which was mainly due to an extremely efficient and centralized organization, an efficiency and centralization due to its being remodelled strictly on the lines of the Roman civil state. Professor Strzygowski shows how, after being the medium by which a Mesopotamian architecture was imported into Europe, it became the vigorous champion of a Hellenistic architecture which it endeavoured to press forcibly on the Asiatic churches. And the organized Christian church which tried to force Greek architecture on its adherents in Asia was even more insistent in propagating amongst them Greek science and philosophy, so we have a further Greek wave which in the fifth to seventh centuries A.D. was once more moving from west to east but did not make any great impression east of the Tigris.

In these successive culture movements and counter-movements the western part of Persia, the province of Mesopotamia, was the debatable land and it was in this area, conquered in the days of the Khalif I, that Islam began to develop its cultural life as distinguished from its purely religious life built up in Arabia. At the time a Hellenistic influence largely, though not exclusively, associated with Christianity was most active and energetic in Mesopotamia and this consequently takes the first place in the cultural forces operative in the evolution of Arabic civilization; but as Islam moved eastwards into Persia, as it very soon did, it got out of the Hellenistic sphere of influence and into the oriental one. At the back of this latter was the Indian influence but its exact potency at the time is difficult to estimate. Buddhism was still vigorous in Balkh when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Chuang¹ in A.D. 629, the seventh year of the Hijra, and some time later the Muslim invaders found many Buddhists there. But in Muslim times the great monastery of

¹ Cf. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Hsuen-Tsiang, translated by S. Beal, London, 1906.

Nawbahar, which was purely Buddhist when Hsuan-Chuang visited it, had become Mazdean and its Buddhist origin was ignored, even its hereditary guardians the Barmaks had discarded Buddhism. Obviously the religion of the Buddha was in retreat before the advance of Islam had reached as far as the Oxus. It seems most probable that the Indian material which figures in the earlier stage of Arabic culture was only known through a Persian medium. A good instance of this appears in the well-known *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* where the main substance is Buddhist material but had been for some time in a Persian dress before it was rendered into Arabic. Yet though the Indian influence was at the moment receding, it had a great prestige so that we find the 'Abbasid Khalifs sending to India for physicians and mathematicians and thus a direct Indian influence enters at the second stage of the evolution of Arabic culture when its distinctive characteristics were already fully developed.

The brilliant outburst of literary activity and scholarship under the earlier 'Abbasids was due to impulses derived from various sources, mainly Greek in philosophy and natural science, exclusively Persian in history and biography, perhaps mainly Persian in astronomy,—in this connection Persian includes Indian material rendered into Persian. But behind all this is an earlier phase of Arabic culture already sufficiently developed to impress its own form on these borrowed materials, or, as in the case of Greek philosophy, to raise a barrier against that which is not sufficiently plastic to receive an impression. That earlier culture seems to have been confined to a circumscribed area which was practically that of the ancient kingdom of Hira and was especially connected with the study of grammar. The actual transmission of the traditions, which includes the basis of jurisprudence, and the reading of the Qur'an, were associated with Madina, but peculiar conditions prevailing in 'Iraq compelled the Muslims there to meet requirements unknown in Madina and in doing this they laid, quite unconsciously no doubt, the foundations of secular culture. Precisely similar developments took place in architecture. The primary essentials of the mosque were already laid down in Madina, but the models on which later Muslim architecture was based were laid in 'Iraq and the lines of treatment were those suggested by the 'Iraqi builders. Very little, if anything, was borrowed from Damascus where the Arabs were able to use buildings already erected

renaissance there was a sharp reversion to another type of thought, a study of ancient literature which was in the first place due to a desire to consult the scientific authorities in use, and this passing fashion of the schools obtained an unexpected vogue and importance by the accidental invention of printing. For all that the dominant spirit in western education was decisively scientific and the western mind very soon recurred to this tendency. The literary type of scholarship evolved in the west at the renaissance was precisely the same type which had long flourished in Islam, and still flourishes there. It does not seem that there was any direct connection between the two, but it is worth noting that what appears in Europe as a 'classical' education in post-renaissance times is in general character and in detail the same kind of education which has maintained itself in the Muslim community.

In the other direction the Arabic grammarians took an entirely new departure which, by a curious accident, anticipated the most recent attitude of western grammarians. In their effort to attain a correct knowledge of words and their use those grammarians were led to attach a great importance to the speech of the Arabs in the remoter districts whose language had not been contaminated by intercourse with foreigners, and so we find them visiting the tribes of the Najd who knew nothing of written literature and recording their manner of speech, even those expressions and forms heard only once in the utterance of a perfectly illiterate tribesman. This careful recording of the spoken usages as well as the observations made on the dialectal errors of those who had learned Arabic only in later life have no parallel in the Greek and Latin grammarians nor indeed in the work of any students of grammar until quite recent times.

In the evolution of a system of grammar amongst the Arabs, therefore, we see their main line of intellectual culture which is of primary importance because, unlike the work of the 'philosophers', which was confined to one section of the community and was regarded as an alien and somewhat heretical science by the majority, it permeated the whole community so that Arabic culture was Hellenistic just so far as the grammarians drew from Aristotle, and this Hellenization was operative in the Hira area during the 'Umayyad period. The Aristotelian material thus used was not read in the Greek text but

only in the Syriac versions circulating in Mesopotamia, and of the logical treatises (in Syriac versions?) there was at that date an abundant supply.¹

In another direction also we find traces of Hellenistic material amongst the pre-'Abbasid Arabs. It has often been noted that elements obviously derived from the Roman Civil Law are to be found in Muslim jurisprudence. To some extent these may be explained as due to the recognition of customs already existing in the provinces conquered during the expansion of Islam. As soon as the Arabs began to rule over urban communities with a highly developed cultural and economic life, including commercial relationships of a type unknown to Arabia, they admitted the legal provisions they found already prevalent in those communities. But even before that, in earlier days in Madina, there was a local customary law which the Muslims took over and which shows itself most plainly in the legal system of Malik ibn 'Anas who, significantly enough, was for many years Qadi of Madina and based his treatment of customary law upon the usages prevailing in that city. It was in Madina that the community of Islam had its cradle and it was the customary law of Madina which formed the starting point of Muslim jurisprudence. At the time of the Hijra a group of Arab tribes was ruling there, but before that the city had been a Jewish colony and the Jewish community still remained resident, though reduced to a subordinate position. That community had formed a commercial colony on the great high road by which merchandise was conveyed from the southern kingdoms of Arabia to the north and we may well suppose that the customary law of Madina, in so far as it dealt with commerce, inheritance, etc.—matters which lay outside the experience of the Arab ruling castes which had been composed of simple nomads before their entrance into Madina,—was substantially that of the Jewish colony. In view of these circumstances we may reasonably conjecture that the material embedded in early Muslim jurisprudence which shows derivation from the Roman Law was (i) in part learned from the Roman usages which the Jewish colonists had carried to Madina, and (ii) in part due to the law prevailing in the provinces invaded and occupied by the Muslims.

¹ Cf. Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristotelis*, Leipzig, 1872.

In general summary, therefore, we may conclude :—

(i) Arabic culture like every other known form of culture is a combination of earlier forms which were primarily Greek but also contained old Persian and Indian elements as well as some minor factors. Although apparently the Greek element was predominant we must be on our guard against exaggerating its importance, a tendency rendered probable by the large bulk and the accessibility of the evidence available as contrasted with the paucity of evidence bearing on the non-Greek sources.

(ii) The predominance of Greek material is most marked in scientific studies and especially in medicine, later Greek influence being very strongly scientific. It was least marked, in humanist studies.

(iii) The genius of Arabic culture was humanist rather than scientific, the scientific work being confined to a limited circle which was always regarded as alien and semi-heretical ; it never brought its influence to bear on the community at large.

(iv) The area of the ancient kingdom of Hira was the cradle of Arabic culture and there Hellenistic influence was in the ascendancy and had already been brought to bear upon the Arab community before the rise of Islam.

(v) The Hellenistic influence brought to bear upon the culture of Islam had already passed through a Syriac medium and had been re-shaped in an area where the oriental anti-Greek tide though receding was still powerful. The orientalized Hellenism was not a decaying or corrupt off-shoot, but one altered by the operation of antagonistic forces.

(vi) The characteristic form of Arabic culture was already attained before the accession of the 'Abbasids and the Hellenistic culture assimilated by it must be looked for in the work of the grammarians and jurists ; that Hellenistic material which was introduced by the philosophers came too late and was too alien in character to be fitted into the life of Islam.

Arab Theories of Education

BY

DR. A. S. TRITTON, MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

IBN KHALDUN prefixed to his history an introduction which is a philosophy of history. In this he devoted several chapters to education. Naturally theory occupies the larger place, but some description of actual practice is given. The statement of his own doctrine is introduced by and mixed with criticism of existing ideas and methods.

According to his ideal the educated man is the master of all knowledge ; able to appreciate the opinions of specialists in any branch. His development is not onesided ; he has not spent so much time on one subject that he is ignorant of others. The historian, however, recognizes that this ideal is becoming impossible and he regretfully admits the existence of the specialist who has devoted a lifetime to one subject and knows nothing outside it. He makes this concession grudgingly : it is wrung from him by force of circumstances. He has not the idea of knowledge for its own sake ; he could not understand Browning's grammarian. His idea of education is almost entirely intellectual. It is the gaining of knowledge, the training of the mind, but there is no direct reference to the training of character. Teaching is of two kinds, direct and indirect. The second includes conversation, intercourse and the force of example. Therefore it is good that a man should not be limited to one teacher. He must travel from teacher to teacher and will learn from their individual differences what he could never be taught by direct instruction. This is almost his only reference to the training of character.

The branches of knowledge are divided into two classes : those which are an end in themselves and those which are a means to the study of others. In the first class are the various religious subjects, the physical sciences and metaphysics ; in the second Arabic, arithmetic and kindred subjects, which are necessary for the study of

religious subjects, and logic, which is needed in philosophy and—according to the doctrine of the moderns—in speculative theology and *fiqh*. A student should not spend too much time on this second class of subjects which are only 'tools'; otherwise he will fail to reach his goal which is a knowledge of things that are really profitable to his own soul or the bodies of his fellows. The historian admits that full knowledge of one of these subsidiary subjects demands the scholar's whole time.

Teaching has to be graduated. Whether the scholar be a beginner or an advanced student, instruction has to be proportioned to his power of understanding. Ibn Khaldun's plan for this progressive teaching is that a subject should be studied three times. In the first course the subject is to be dealt with in outline; only the important things will be taught and general explanations given. The student will have a sketchy survey of the whole field. This preliminary course is necessary because the pupil's first grasp of a subject is hazy and general; he needs material analogies to help his understanding. When this general outline of the subject has been gained the time has come for the second course of study. In this generalities are avoided and details are discussed. Points on which there is difference of opinion are explained. In the third course nothing is omitted: all obscurities and matters of controversy are treated exhaustively and the student becomes a thorough master of the subject.

This is the true method. The student is led gradually into the subject, his powers of apprehension are not strained and he is fitted to assimilate further knowledge. Some teachers, says the historian, are ignorant of this the correct way of teaching, and at the first put before their students the difficult parts of a subject, thinking in this way to train and strengthen their minds. This is a mistake. Bad teaching such as this strains and wearies the mind. The pupil thinks that such exhaustion is a necessary part of knowledge; he loses hope, grows weary and avoids learning as far as possible. Some pupils are more clever than others and may master a subject in two courses instead of three.

The intervals between lessons should be short for otherwise a student will forget all that he has learned. Knowledge is regarded as a habit. A habit is formed by continuous action that is repeated.

Similarly teaching must not be interrupted and must be repeated. This gives mastery of a subject. One idea on which Ibn Khaldun lays stress is that only one subject should be taught at a time; that one subject should be finished before a second is begun. Even in his own day this rule was not followed. His argument is that by learning two subjects at once the learner's mind is distracted and that concentration which is necessary to the student is impossible.

A separate chapter deals with the education of children. This section is largely descriptive. The Qur'an must be the foundation of education, for this produces the strongest faith in God 'an undergarment of religion'; because the forces that work on a man in childhood have the deepest influence on him. The course of study varied in the different parts of the Islamic world.

In Morocco and Algiers boys began by learning the Qur'an and writing. If they failed here it usually meant the end of their education. It was the same for those who began to study later in life. In these parts men were better grounded in their knowledge of the Qur'an.

In Spain a start is made with the Qur'an, writing and the reading of poetry. The rules of grammar are then studied and, later, composition. Thus a youth has some knowledge and understanding of the Arabic language and poetry; he is well grounded in writing and composition and has besides a slight acquaintance with other subjects. But it is only a slight knowledge, 'enough for one whom God guides.' Those who can find teachers can advance in knowledge. These words throw a vivid light on the decay of learning at the time.

In Tripoli and Tunis the Qur'an and the Traditions are taught; also the principles of the various branches of learning. The Qur'an, however, is the chief subject.

Ibn Khaldun has very little information about the East. He only says that the Qur'an is not the only subject of teaching and writing is a separate subject with its own teachers. He makes these general criticisms. In Africa knowledge of Arabic is rather defective because the chief study is the Qur'an and that is inimitable, and consequently a bad guide for ordinary speech. In Spain the knowledge of the language is very good but that of other branches of knowledge is defective because they do not give enough attention to the Qur'an and Traditions which are the foundation of all other knowledge.

The system of education proposed by the Qadi Abu Bekr ibn ul Arabi is expounded with qualified approval. The subjects of study were to be taken in this order :—

1. Arabic and poetry, as in Spain; 2. Arithmetic, so that the rules are grasped; 3. The Qur'an, because a boy cannot understand it; 4. Principles of Religion; 5. Principles of *Fiqh*; 6. Syllogism; 7. Tradition. This is held to be a good system but has two defects. Two subjects are taught at once and it does not allow for the religious value of the Qur'an to the young. An early knowledge of the sacred book saves from the madness of youth. A strong religious feeling underlies all that Ibn Khaldun has to say on education.

Then the question arises how boys are to be made to learn. The historian has strong opinions on the subject. There is to be friendship between parent and child, teacher and pupil. Undue severity is useless; it only hurts. It destroys natural energy, and encourages laziness, lying and hypocrisy. The same effects are seen in boys, slaves and nations; look at the Jews! A boy should not receive more than three cuts with a whip as punishment. The instructions given by the Caliph Harun to the tutor of his sons are quoted with approval.

'The Commander of the Faithful has committed to you the apple of his eye and the fruit of his heart; stretch out your hand over them (in care). They must obey you. Occupy the position the Commander of the Faithful has given you. Teach them the Qur'an and history, make them learn poetry and the practices of religion and instruct them in the use of language. Restrain them from mirth, save in its due place. Make them reverence the heads of the sons of Hashim when they meet them, and honour nobles when they come to them in audience. Let no moment go by without wresting some profit from it. But do not depress or destroy their spirit. Be not too easy with them and let them appreciate leisure. As far as possible train them in a spirit of kindness and gentleness but if this fails, use severity and harshness.'

So far the statesman, who, with all his religious feeling, still aimed at producing a useful man of the world. An interesting contrast is Ghazali the saint in whose eyes the whole purpose of knowledge is the service of God. He sums up his ideas on education in the duties of the pupil and the teacher. The duties of the pupil are ten in number—

1. Purity of mind and purpose,

2. Freedom from ties of home and country. 'Knowledge will not give part of itself to you until you give the whole of yourself to it.'

3. Submission to the teacher. 'If your teacher goes astray it is better for you than if you go right by yourself.'

4. Only sure facts are to be learnt at first: doubtful and controversial points are to be left till later.

5. The student must never forget the great aim of all knowledge—God.

6. Teaching must be graduated: the important facts in a subject must be learnt first.

7. No subject must be begun till that on which it depends has been mastered.

8. The relative values of the various branches of knowledge must be understood.

9. The aim of learning is the development of the self.

10. The pupil must know the relation of the various branches to the goal—God.

The duties of the teacher are these—

1. Kindness to the pupil.

2. Material reward should not be the teacher's aim.

3. The pupil must not be taught a subject till he is mentally ripe for studying it.

4. The teacher must warn his pupil against evil habits by indirect methods and by implication, not by direct teaching. (Apparently the idea is that direct instruction would reveal the nature of evil of which the student is ignorant; and would so defeat its own end.)

5. He must not make game of subjects that he does not teach.

6. He must accommodate his teaching to the standard and understanding of the pupil.

7. He must not discourage a backward pupil by showing the immense extent of knowledge he has still to acquire.

8. The teacher must live up to his teaching: for while the father gives his son a body the teacher gives him life everlasting.

The influence of Sufi modes of thought is clearly seen in the position assigned to the teacher by the theologian.

To return to Ibn Khaldun. The aim of education is right thinking. To this there are two obstacles: words and confusion of

thought. These are screens which hide from a man his goal and prevent him reaching it. The right use of words and clear thinking go hand in hand. Words are either spoken or written and the first thing is to connect them one with another and with the mental processes for which they stand. This emphasis on written words may be due to the ambiguity of unvowelled Arabic as has been said: 'We read most languages to understand them, we understand Arabic to read it.' Many entangle themselves in words and never reach the meanings behind them.

Thought is a natural gift implanted in men by God. Logic is a science invented by men to distinguish correct ways of thinking from fallacious. By the very nature of thought many men, above all great men, can do without logic; it is no effort to them to think aright, specially if they are filled with pure purpose and rely on the help of God. Imperfect command of language hinders the attainment of truth; a sound understanding stripped of all prejudices and fancies is, under God, the remedy for this. In learning the process of thought is in four stages: 1. The association of the written symbol with the spoken word. 2. The association of the spoken word with the meaning. 3. The arrangement of this meaning according to the rules of logic to lead to a conclusion. 4. The attainment of the object sought by the simple action of these processes of the intellectual nature.

But the understanding often fails in this process; it is held up by words or stumbles in the chain of proof through obscurity or confusion. The remedy for these had better be given in Ibn Khaldun's words.

'If you are troubled by these two difficulties and your mind is confused and perplexed by ambiguities, leave them on one side. Tear the veils of words and hampering ambiguities, let the artificial (logic) alone entirely and rely on pure natural thought in which you are created. Let your glance roam over it, concentrate your mind to plunge into it, looking at it as great observers before you looked at it, and demanding an opening from God as he opened their minds by his mercy and taught them what they did not know. If you do this, the light of opening from God will shine on you, giving a grasp of your object, and the brain which God made a condition of thought will arrive at the object. Then go back to the forms and modes of proof, put your object in them and give it its right according to the artificial

rules (of logic). Clothe it in words, send it into the world of speech in orderly and closely knit words.' This is very close to the modern doctrine that if, after thorough study of a problem, the conclusion does not at once present itself, it is best to leave the matter alone and the unconscious mind will slowly work out the answer.

Ibn Khaldun has his own ideas on the means of teaching. He does not approve of many books. By their number they hinder learning and the different terms and varying methods they use add to confusion. One of the uses of travel is that the student learns different terminologies and sees that such terms are only a means to an end, not a part of knowledge. In the mere multiplication of books there is no profit. If a man should study the Malekite system of law with all the commentaries written on it and also the peculiarities of the schools of Kairawan, Cordova, Baghdad and others there would be no end. Life is too short. Such knowledge is a disease. The summaries of big books are also condemned. They are essentially vicious. They cram much meaning into few words and so confuse the mind; they corrupt style and by mixing the fundamental with the unimportant they violate the first rule of teaching.

The Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India

BY

DR. BALKRISHNA, M.A., PH. D., PRINCIPAL

SOME time back I happened to read Mr. Cooper's book entitled *Silk, Its Production and Manufacture*. Therein the writer asserts that (1) China was the natural home of the silk worm, since all the names of that country as China, Seres, T'sin, Sinam, Sereca signify the Land of Silk; (2) that silkworm rearing and silk-weaving were introduced into China by the wife of the Emperor W'Hang who reigned in 2500 B.C.; (3) that the cunning Chinese kept the art of sericulture secret for about three thousand years, so that *it was only about three hundred years after Christ that this secret transpired to Japan and India*. The words of the author on the introduction of silk into India are well worth consideration :

Tradition says that at about the same time (as in Japan), A.D. 300 an Indian princess visited China, or a Chinese princess married an Indian prince, and brought to India in her head-dress the eggs of silk-worms. She was enabled to teach the management of these valuable creatures to the people of India, so that the weaving of silk soon began to rival the weaving of fine cotton, for which that country had been as famous as was China for the weaving of silk.

Thus the beginnings of sericulture in India are traced by Mr. Cooper to the fourth century A.D. Moreover according to him, this art was not indigenous to this country, but was taught to the people by a Chinese princess.

Another scholar has post-dated the transmission of this secret into India by about two centuries. According to M. Arrousset, the secret of silk-worm rearing was successfully guarded up to the beginning of the fifth century. Towards A.D. 419, a Chinese princess married the king of Khotan and in peril of her life carried into her new kingdom some white mulberry seed and silk-worm eggs and taught the art of rearing the worms and unwinding the cocoons in that country. It appears that the princess was converted to Buddhism, because she issued the following decree which she had cut on the rock. 'It is

forbidden to kill silk-worms. When all the moths have come out, then the cocoon may be unwound. Whoever breaks this rule, will be deprived of the help of the gods.'

Several years later in 462, sericulture was gradually introduced into Japan, by the same processes of transmission, while from Khotan the industry spread little by little towards Persia and India.

Even the *Encyclopædia Britannica* which professes to be a repository of correct knowledge confirms the statement of Mr. Cooper about the history of sericulture in China and the beginnings of silk-worm rearing in Japan and India in A.D. 300.

It is evident from these so-called *authentic* evidences of a few scholars that the first introduction of silk-worm rearing in India took place between A.D. 300 and 500. This conclusion is so glaringly contrary to facts that one would not have taken the trouble to refute it, had it not been given recognition and prominence in a work like the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. An attempt is made in the following pages to bring together a mass of evidence on the great antiquity of sericulture and silk manufacture in India.

Etymological evidence.—(1) The words used in Sanskrit are most significant, being all of them *Yangika* or descriptive. The elementary root of the following five words clearly signifies the origin of silk : *Kaushēya, Kausham, Kaushik, Kaushambra and Kīlasūtram*.¹

Paṭṭa, Kshauma and *Dukūla*² are sometimes used to signify silk, though they generally seem to refer to Erie silk or linen. For instance, in passages like these *Kshauma* signifies silk and not linen :

Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*, x. 8.

Parāśara's *Sūtras*, vii. 30, etc.

¹ कौशेयं कृमिजं सुवर्णमुपलाद् दूर्वापि गोरोमतः । पञ्चतन्त्र १. ५४ :
कौशेयं कृमिकोशोत्थम् । अमर ।

² क्षुमायाः (of linseed or a kind of flax) विकार इति क्षौमं । क्षीरस्वामी
on Amara.

Etymology of *Dukūla* : दुष्टं (ill) कूलति (covers), Bhanuji on Amara or, दु to heat, + उलच् affix + कू augment. दूकूल = Woven silk or silk garment. *Apte's Dictionary*.

In the *Amarkōsha* too it has been laid down that *Kshauma* and *Dukūla* are two varieties of silk cloth ;

(II) The silk-worm is known as *Koshakāra*, *Paṭṭakīṭam*, *Tantukīṭam*, *Tantukrimi*, *Koshastha*, etc. All these are descriptive names meaning 'the worm that produces silk.'

(III) Then the Sanskrita language draws a distinction between *Koshakāra* and *Koshakāraka*, the former being a chrysalis and the latter being the fully developed worm.

Therefore in the very beginning it should be recognized that the Sanskrit words are far better than the European ones for signifying sericulture, silk or silk-worm. *It should also be noted that while the Europeans by using the words silk, sericulture, sericon, sericum, show their indebtedness to Seres, the Greek name of the Chinese, the Indian words for silk, silk-worm or the silk industry are in no way borrowed from the Chinese language. They are purely Sanscritic. Does it not mean that the silk-worm rearing was indigenous to this country as it was to China and that sericulture and silk-weaving were independently developed in both lands ?*

EXISTENCE OF SILK INDUSTRY, 500 B.C.

The Smritis of Manu and Yāgyavalkya and the Law Sūtras of Vishnu and Gautama, etc., which go back from the fourth century A.D. to the fifth century B.C. have laws relating to the right of sale and the purification of the defiled silk stuffs. *It means that these were so generally used by the people that instructions concerning their sale and purification were thought essential by at least half a dozen law-makers of the millennium from 500 B.C. to A.D. 400.*

Manu enjoins that wearing stuffs made of the thread of silk-worm cocoons (*Kaushēya*) and woollen stuffs should be purified with alkali. (v. 120.)

Parāśara lays it down that fabrics made of bamboo bark, wool, jute, cotton or silk (*Kshauma*) are purified by simply dipping them in water. (vii. 30.)

He is supported by Vishnu in this rule. (xxiii. 17-19.) The word used for silk is *Kaushēya*, showing that it is interchangeable with *Kshauma*.

Yāgyavalkya has interdicted the Brahmans and Kshatriyas from selling silk along with other animal products. (iii. 36-39.)

Vasistha's interdiction is no less grasping. A Brahmana and a Kshatriya, while maintaining themselves by trade, could not sell stones, salt, hempen and silk cloths (*Kaushēya*), linen (*Kshauma*), skins, dyed cloth, prepared food, etc. (Chap. ii. 29.) But he was preceded by *Gautama* in this rule. The original text runs as follows :—

ज्ञानं क्षीमं चोर कुतपाः सर्वेषां कार्पासं चाविकृतम् ॥ १०. १९.

तस्यापणयं गन्धम कृतान्निलज्ञानं क्षीमाजिनानि ॥ ७. २.

This evidence is most conclusive on the great antiquity of silk industry in India. The time of law-giver Gautama has been concluded by Bühler in these words : 'These facts will suffice to show that the Gautama Dharmashastra may be safely declared to be oldest of the existing works on the sacred law.' (Introduction, lix.)

This conservative estimate of the time of the compilation of the Gautama Sūtras carries us as far as the ninth century B.C.

That silk was worn in nuptial ceremonies even so far back as the time of Vyāsa is fully borne out by his Smṛiti. We read of a bride clad in silken garments in Śloka 4 of chapter ii. The forty-fourth couplet may be referred to in this context.

It might be asserted here that the preceding evidence in no way proves that the silk industry was indigenous to this country. It is possible that all silk might have been imported from China. Even a cursory glance on the above passages prominently brings out the fact that silk was used by all classes at home as well as on festive occasions. *Such a universal demand in a country like India could not be satisfied by Chinese silks in those days when communication by land and water was so dangerous and wearisome.* Chinese raw silk, silk yarn and silk cloth were brought on foot through Bactria to Barigaza (Broach) and were also exported to Damirica by way of the river Ganges. But the quantities brought by this unusually long and dangerous journey must have been small and they must have fetched fancy prices. Such silks could not be used by the ordinary people who, we are sure, used large amounts of it. There is no doubt that Chinese raw silk and silk fabrics were brought into India from an unknown antiquity, but they were meant for the well-to-do people. Some of these cloths, as is evident from the Periplus, were exported from the ports of Sind, Gujarat, Travancore and Bengal to Europe and other Asiatic

countries. Our contention is that along with these Chinese imports there was the simultaneous existence of silk culture and silk manufacture in India several centuries before Christ.

The evidence of the Kauṭīliyan *Arthashastra* is so important in proving the existence of a vast silk-manufacturing industry in the fourth century B.C. that it is reproduced below *in extenso*:

A Weaving Regulation.—In weaving linen or silk cloths (*Kshauma-kaushēyānām*) the increase in weight shall be from one to $1\frac{1}{2}$ (P. 254. English edition.)

Excise Tax on Silk-stuffs.—Of fibrous garments, cotton cloths, and silk fabrics, etc., the king should receive $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{15}$ as toll. (P. 139.)

Tax on Silk.—The king may demand one-sixth of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, etc.

Encouragement of Silk-weavers.—Those who manufacture linen cloths, raiments, *silk*, woollen and cotton fabrics shall be rewarded by presentations such as scents, garlands of flowers, or any other prizes for encouragement. (P. 141.)

Native and Foreign Silks.—The above will explain the fabrics known as *Kaushēya*-silk cloth, and *Chīnapaṭṭa*, fabrics of China manufacture. (P. 94.)

In this passage the native silk cloth known as *Kaushēya* has been differentiated from that made in China and called *Chīnapaṭṭa* in the *Arthashastra* and *Chināmśuka* in the works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and other later poets.

Now it will have been evident from the above passages that sericulture was so firmly established and so profitable as to allow the state to levy a tax of one-sixth of its sale price. Silk formed one item of the forest products and must have been quite common like other things, to bar any preferential treatment being given to it. A new industry in every country requires state aid in the shape of subsidies, protection and preference. The establishment of sericulture and silk-weaving in France and England was fostered by all these means. In the absence of any preferential treatment meted out to silk culture, in the fourth century B.C. it is clear that sericulture was quite an old and profitable industry in India.

The silk-weaving industry was no less extensive. The State could impose an excise duty of about 7 to 10 per cent on cloths manufactured in the country. Chinese silks were also imported into India in those days, but the above-mentioned taxes finally amounting to about 23 to 26 per cent on silk stuffs, are incontrovertible evidence of the facts that our manufacturers were not at all afraid of the

Chinese competition in those remote days and that the industry was so prosperous as to pay to the State one-fourth of the sale price of all cloths.

Rhys-Davids, the greatest Buddhist scholar of our day, in writing on the economic condition of the country during the sixth century before Christ, made these noteworthy remarks on the weaving industry:

The weavers not only made the cloths which the people wrapped round themselves as dress but manufactured fine muslins for export, and worked costly and dainty fabrics of silk cloth and fur into rugs, blankets, coverlets and carpets.

Further on,

Silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory work, jewellery and gold (seldom silver)—these were the main articles in which the merchants dealt. *Buddhist India*, pp. 90, 98-100.

Thus one thousand years before the time specified by Arbousset for the introduction of sericulture in India, the people were so expert in sericulture and silk weaving that fine and costly fabrics were exported to Greece. Dunker has truly remarked that the industrial skill of the Indians was not unknown to the Greeks. As early as the fifth century B.C. fine Indian clothes, silken garments called Sindones or Tyrian robes, were brought by the trade of the Phœnicians to Hellas. *History of India*, p. 436.

When Indian silk manufactures had reached such a pitch of prosperity and efficiency that dainty fabrics could be exported to Europe in the face of Chinese competition during the fifth century before Christ, it must have taken a long time for the establishment, growth and efficiency of the silk industry. It is fortunate that we do not depend upon deductive inferences but can actually trace the existence of silk weaving to several centuries back.

The *Sankhya* and *Nyāya Darshanas* give analogies of the silk-worm wrapping itself in its own material. *Sankhya*, iii. 73.

The *Rāmāyana* has in several places mentioned silk stuffs, but the reference to Eastern Bengal as the Land of Silk will be of special interest. In the search for Sītā various countries were visited, such as the land of the Magadhas, Mahāgrāmas, Puṇḍras, Angas, of silk-worms, and that of silver mines. *Kishkinda Kāṇḍa*, 40. 23.

In the *Balakāṇḍa*, 74. 4, there is a mention of *tens of millions of rugs and beautiful silk fabrics*.

The *Mahabharata* is replete with the evidence of the existence of the industries of sericulture and silk weaving. In the *Sabha Parva*, (51. 25-26) silk fabrics are distinguished as *Kīlaja*, produced from worms, and *Paṭṭaja*, made of *Paṭṭa*, probably meaning Chinese silk, as has been shown on the evidence of the *Arthashastra* and *Mṛichhakatika*.

The *Vana Parva*, Chap. 159. 18, describes certain nymphs and gods as attired in white silk garments and Lord Hari as clad in purple silk robes, *Kaushēya Vāsasam*. (Chap. 202. 17.)

But the passage in the *Shānti Parva* (330. 28-29) furnishes conclusive evidence that the author was acquainted with silk-worms. It is said that 'like a silk worm that covers itself in its own cocoon, you are continually covering yourself in a cocoon made of your numberless deeds born of stupefaction and mistake. Alas! why do you not form correct apprehension of your situation. No need of attaching yourself to earthly objects. Attachment to earthly objects produces evils. The silk-worm that forms a cocoon round itself is at last destroyed by its own deed.'

The Digest of Vasiṣṭha is also very ancient, as its style is just the same as that of the Sūtras of Baudhāyana. It is written in prose as well as in verse and contains copious quotations from old Vedic texts. Then from (V. 8) विज्ञायते होन्द्रिषोर्षाणि त्वाष्ट्रं हत्वा etc. we cannot but conclude that it is one of the oldest works extant in the literature of law.

The antiquity of the present versified code of Vyāsa cannot be substantiated. It appears to be a metrical redaction of the original code written in aphorisms. Baudhāyana refers to this ancient law-giver in II. v. 169 as 'Om, Vyāsam tarpayāmi,' i.e., 'Om, I worship Vyāsa.' As the exact time of these writers is hidden in the vistas of a dim distant antiquity, we have relegated them to a comparatively later period.

The evidence of Vararuchi is no less weighty. In i. 25 he gives rules for transforming the Sanskrit word *Dukūla* into its *Prākṛita* form. He lays down the aphorism that the 'u' of *dukūla* optionally changes into 'a,' but when it is retained, the 'l' is not doubled. (दुअल्लं, दूऊलं). There is not much controversy on the time of

Hiuen Tsiang places him about 300 years after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, of which the date is 543 B.C. Hence Vararuchi can safely be said to have flourished in the third century B.C. According to Cowell, however, he lived at the latest, in the first century B.C.

Along with the preceding evidence, we should take *Mṛichhakatika*. In Act V. 3 there is the passage विद्युद्गुण कौशेयः that is 'the cloud has risen with yellow silk garments in the form of lightning.' Then in Act IV, the Vidūshaka on entering the eighth court of Vasantsēna's palatial residence, asks the question :—

भोदि, को एसो पट्ट पावारअपा ?

'Madam, who is this person covered with a silken upper garment?'

The drama of *Mṛichhakatika* is almost unanimously recognized to have been written in the first century B.C.¹

The grammars of Pāṇini and Śākatāyana, the former belonging to the ninth or tenth century B.C. afford very valuable data on the point. They both give etymological rules on the formation of the word *Kaushēya* or silk which has been stated to be a product from the cocoon of a worm as has been explicitly explained in the *Amar-kōsha*. The explanation of Pāṇini's aphorism brings out all the different meanings of the word *Kaushēya*.² It is said that the affix 'दृञ्' comes after the word 'Kosha' in the sense of 'Adopted to that.' Then कौशे संभूतं कौशेयं वस्त्रं mean 'silken clothes.'

(1) कौशेयं कृमिकोशोत्थम् । *Amarkōsha*.

The word *Kosha* means 'cocoon'. *Kaushēya* may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of a cocoon. The word *Kaushēya* is however derivative and means 'silken'.

Another testimony of the same period, i.e. about one thousand years before Christ, is furnished by the law book of Baudhāyana. In I. 8. 39-42, rules for the purification of silk fabrics (*Kaushēya*) have been given. Now the time of the compilation of this ancient law book has been approximately fixed in the eighth to tenth

¹ Introduction to Paranjpe's edition, p. 7, and Preface to Hīrānanda's edition, pp. v-viii.

² 11. 4. 3. 42, Pāṇini.

centuries B.C. The line of argument for so doing is given further on.

The evidence from another independent source is sure to prove very interesting. The world-known work on Indian medicine, entitled the *Suśruta Samhita* after its compiler, has numerous references to the uses of silk. The following passage in full will suffice :—

अथर्वन्तं महाभागं कुमारं सा प्रसूयते ।

दुकूलं पट्टं कौशेयं भूषणादिषु दीहताम् ॥

The time of *Suśruta* has been very ably discussed in the Introduction to the *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus*—a work which was some years back published by the University of Calcutta. The author arrives at the conclusion that '*Suśruta* could not have flourished later than 1000 B.C.' (P. 15). Cf. also K. L. Bhishagratna's *Suśruta Samhita*, vol. i, Introduction.

Thus in that remote period the Hindus were acquainted with fabrics of *Dukūla*, *Paṭṭa* and *Kausheya*—silk obtained from silk-worms.

The accumulated evidence of the *Baudhāyana* law book, *Suśruta*, and *Pāṇini* works which date back to 1000 B.C., incontestibly proves the existence of silk culture from silk-worms and of silk fabrics manufactured in the country itself. *The uses to which silk was put by the ordinary people, show a flourishing industry existing even in those days.* If we take *Paṭṭa* to mean Chinese silk, then on the basis of several passages of the *Suśruta Samhita*, it will be admitted that foreign silk was imported into our country even one millennium before the birth of Christ.

Having proved the existence of the indigenous silk industry one thousand years before Christ, we can go even beyond that period on the foundation of other data.

The *Baudhāyana Sūtras* quote the law-giver *Vaikhānasa* in III. 3. 15-22, showing that the latter preceded the former. But in the *Vaikhānasa Dharma Prasna* we meet with the *Sūtra* that 'silk and woollen stuffs should be purified with alkaline earth and *amsupatṭa* or linen with fruit called *Sirphala*.'

Curiously enough, these words are to be found with a slight change in the present redaction of the *Manusmṛiti*. (Chap. v. 120.)

It means that the jurist *Vaikhānasa* borrowed them from the primeval law-giver *Manu* who composed the *Dharmasūtras*—Aphorisms of Law—in a very remote age.

The importance of the above passage lies in the use of the word *Kausheya* for silk. The same word must have been in the original *Mānava Dharmasūtras*, because it is found even in the present metrical translation of the *Sūtras*, known as the *Manusmṛiti*. Then we cannot escape the conclusion that the people not only knew the origin of silk at the time of the compilation of the *Sūtras* by *Manu*, but they had an autochthonous industry flourishing in their country in that remote age.

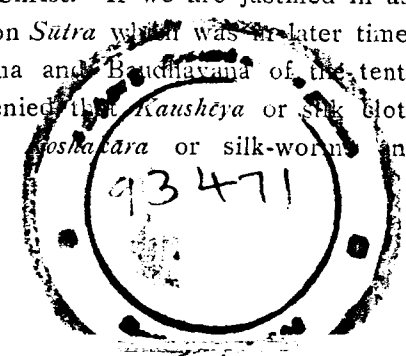
Now on the basis of the genealogies given in the *Purāṇas* and, by allowing an average of thirty years' rule to each king, the time of *Manu*, the grandfather of *Ikshvāku*, the founder of the Solar Dynasty, can be placed between 3600 and 4000 B.C.

From *Ikshvāku* to *Rama* the Great, the names of thirty-three kings have been given as having ruled in *Ayodhya*. It means that *Rama* was separated from the Founder of the Solar Dynasty by 1000 years.

(2) The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* gives a genealogy of the Solar kings from *Rama* to *Yudhishṭhira*. There are only thirty-nine kings who preceded the time of *Yudhishṭhira*. If the *Mahābhārat War* is taken to have been fought in the fourteenth century before Christ, then the time of *Rama* goes back to twenty-fifth century B.C. Taking the average rule of each king as twenty-six years only, we arrive at $1400 + 39 \times 26$ years = 2414 years B.C. for the rule of *Rama*.

But if *Yudhishṭhira* be taken to have lived 3100 years B.C. as several Indian scholars contend, then the time of *Rama* is pushed back to 4100 years and that of *Ikshvāku* to 5100, so that the law-giver *Manu* can be said to have lived either in the thirty-sixth or fifty-second century before Christ.

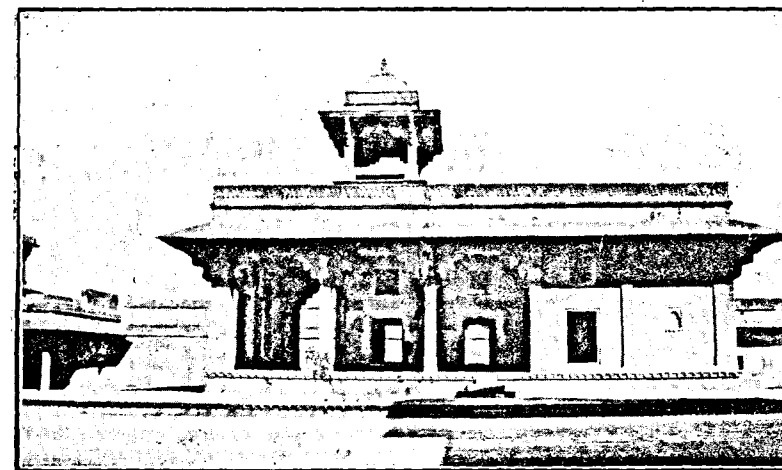
If the genealogies of the Solar Dynasty as stated in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purāṇas* are correct and there is *ipso facto* no reason to disbelieve them, then the law-giver *Manu* can be said to have flourished about 4000 years before Christ. If we are justified in asserting on the basis of the common *Sūtra* which was in later times borrowed by *Vaikhānasa*, *Gautama* and *Baudhāyana* of the tenth century B.C., then it cannot be denied that *Kausheya* or silk cloth made from stuff obtained from *poshāṭāra* or silk-worm and



produced in the country itself was largely used by the people. All this leads us to the conclusion that some forty or fifty centuries before Christ an independent silk industry indigenous to this country existed. This time precedes the introduction of silk culture in China and though the people of that country attained to very great skill later on, yet the Indians did not owe to the Chinese anything in learning the arts of silk-worm rearing, silk-winding and silk-weaving. It might indeed, for ought we know, be the other way.

Such a remote antiquity will prove most unpalatable, astounding and illogical to many Europeans, but if we weigh the above evidence with an unbiassed mind, we shall find that (1) silk-rearing and silk-weaving were developed independently in this country ; (2) they were widespread industries going back to about forty centuries before Christ ; and lastly (3) if such an antiquity appears fabulous, even then, a flourishing industry is traceable on many independent and various lines of evidence as far back as 1000 B.C.

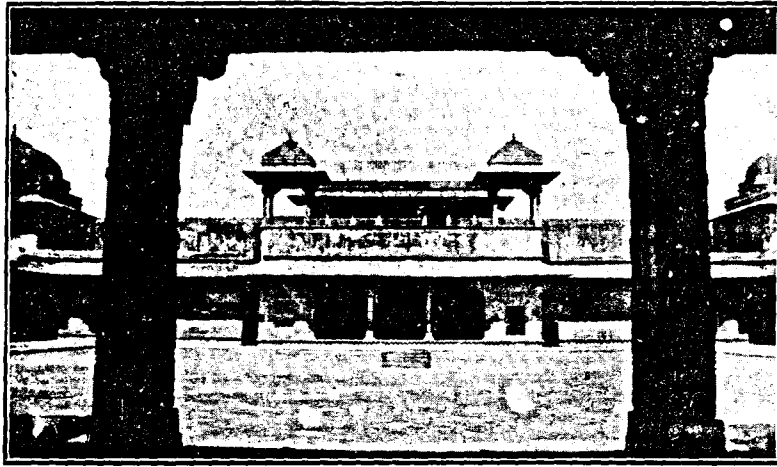
*In the face of these facts, how can we believe the assertions of Western writers that silk culture was introduced into India in the fifth or third century after Christ ? May we hope that Western scholars and works like the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will revise their statements in the light of the evidence produced in these pages ?*



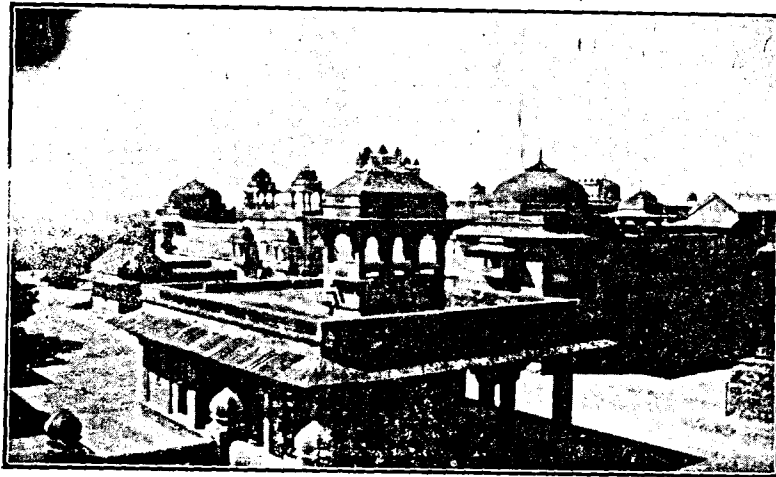
THE HOUSE OF FR. R. AQUAVIVA AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI (*Miriam's House*)



PALACE OF AKBAR AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI. AKBAR'S RECEPTION ROOM
(*Hindu Chapel*)



PALACE OF AKBAR AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI. VIEW OF THE WING ALLOTTED TO THE QUEENS AND OF THE COURT-YARD



THE PALACE OF AKBAR AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI. IN THE FOREGROUND
FR R. AQUAVIVA'S HOUSE

The Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri

By

THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J., BOMBAY

THE identification of the palace of Akbar among the remaining buildings of the romantic Fatehpur is of great importance for an historian. We cannot look indifferently at a building that witnessed the infancy and boyhood of Prince Salim and his two brothers, the evolution of Akbar's religious ideas and the final proclamation of the *Din Ilāhī*. Akbar was there living when the news of the rebellion of his brother at Kabul reached his ears, and even in 1601, he paid a flying visit to his abandoned residence when returning victorious from his conquests in the Deccan.

Naturally the historian, and even the mere tourist, while at Fatehpur, looks for the palace of the great sovereign but does not succeed at all in his search. If he asks the guides, they will only show him the small two-storeyed building named the *Khās Mahal* in the south of the court-yard overlooked by the *Pānch Mahal*, and then another one facing the tank called the *Khwabgah*, or the Emperor's House of Dreams. But were these two edifices—the palace of Akbar—his ordinary dwelling?

It may be naturally expected that the imperial palace is the largest residential building of the city; but when you reach that, they will tell you that it is the palace of Jōdh Bāi, one of the wives of Akbar. This opinion is also that of several authors.

But Mr. Edmund W. Smith in his very valuable work of four volumes on *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, published in 1896, writes on this point: 'A little to the south-east of Bīr Bal's house stands the largest of the domestic buildings gracing Akbar's capital of Fatehpur-Sikri, erroneously known as Jōdh Bāi's Mahal, and sometimes called Jahāngīrī Mahal. According to Blockmann, Jōdh Bāi was the wife of Jahāngīr and not his mother and daughter of Moth Rājah of Jōdhpur.'¹ This archæologist, who is recognized

¹ Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 17.

as the first authority on Akbar's temporary capital, rejects the appellation 'Jōdh Bāi's palace', but does not ascribe the *Mahal* to anybody although a little further on he adds: 'The probabilities are in favour of the view that it was the abode of a Hindu princess, possibly the mother of Jahāngīr.'

Almost the same is said by Syad Muḥammad Latif in his *Agra, Historical and Descriptive* published the same year, although he seems to speak with more certitude: 'South-east of the above (Bīr Bal's house) is the place wrongly attributed by the guides to Jōdh Bāi, who, as already noted, was the consort of Jahāngīr, and not his mother.'²

Mr. E. B. Havell, follows this view in his *Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikrī and the Neighbourhood*, 1904, when stating: 'Though "Miriam's House" is generally regarded as the abode of Mariam Zamānī, there is a great deal to support the view that the spacious palace known as Jōdh Bāi's Mahal, or Jahāngīrī Mahal, was really her residence.'³ The same was the view of the author nine years later, in 1913, when he published his book on *Indian Architecture*.⁴

Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Agra and its Neighbourhood, published in 1909 by M. E. A. Duncan, supports the same view: 'The palace of Jōdh Bāi', says he, 'the north-east wall of which forms part of the western boundary of Mariam's House Court, is a structure of red sandstone, traditionally and doubtless correctly assigned to the wife of Akbar who was the mother of Prince Salim, the heir-apparent. The name, however, of this queen was Mariam Zamānī, while Jōdh Bāi, the wife of Jahāngīr, never resided here. But as both these queens were Rājputānīs, ignorant guides, never remarkable for the exactness of their historical knowledge, have classed them together as Jōdh Bāi's. Hence this palace, actually belonging to Mariam Zamānī, is erroneously known as that of Jōdh Bāi.'⁵

When visiting Fatehpur two years ago, I had no doubt as to whom that great building belonged. Is it not the greatest and richest of all

¹ Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 18.

² S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 115.

³ Havell, *Handbook to Agra*, p. 120.

⁴ Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 172.

⁵ Duncan, *Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Agra*, p. 238.

the palaces at Fatehpur? There is something royal in that filigreed entrance, in the magnificent court-yard, in the large terraces and verandahs crowned with pretty four-pillared pavilions. Its style is the same as the one of the so-called palace of Jahāngīr in the Fort of Agra, which was none other than the palace of Akbar himself. In both places the same carved Hindu columns, the same elaborated capitals, the same pine ending brackets may be seen. So much so, that Edmund Smith says: 'A close and striking family resemblance exists between this Palace and Jahāngīr's in the Fort of Agra.'¹

The same Mr. Smith affirms that 'the building is probably the oldest in the city, and was erected soon after Akbar decided on making Fatehpur-Sikrī a royal residence.'² Now, it seems probable that when the order for the building of Fatehpur was issued in 1571, the Emperor's palace would be the very first to go up in the new site selected for the capital; especially considering the inclination of Akbar towards those hills which were the birth-place of his two elder children, Salīm and Murād Pahārī. Abu-l Faẓl tells us that the Emperor used to spend frequent stretches of time at Shaikh Salim Chisti's residence in the ridge of Sikrī.³ Now, the Chisti's abode was by no means a comfortable mansion, because it belongs to a highly reputed holy man. An old picture, reproduced by Mr. Vincent Smith,⁴ represents him at the entrance of a small hut, which seems to be his ordinary dwelling. All this confirms our opinion that the palace of Akbar was the first building erected in the new capital.

Moreover, in the rear of the so-called Jōdh Bāi's palace, the stables for horses and camels are still shown. Of what use would they be next to the house of one of Akbar's wives? Very much more natural it seems to suppose that the horse stables would be adjacent to the Emperor's palace. Abu-l Faẓl, after having stated that His Majesty was very fond of horses, says that 'there are always kept in waiting two horses of the stable of forty.'⁵

But the best means for identifying Akbar's palace at Fatehpur is no doubt afforded by Fr. Monserrate's *Mongolica Legationis*

¹ Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, l. c.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge's translation), ii, p. 530.

⁴ Smith, *Akbar, the Great Moghul*, facing p. 104.

⁵ *Ain Akbari* (Gladwin's translation), vol. i, p. 118 (Calcutta, 1897).

Commentarius. This Jesuit Missionary, who lived at Fatehpur from March 4, 1580 to April, 1582, being the tutor to the Emperor's second son Murād, gives an admirable description of the palace of the great sovereign, which cannot be applied but to the so-called Jōdh Bāi's palace. I am quoting from the fine translation of the *Commentarius* published by Messrs. J. S. Hoyland, M.A., and S. N. Banerjee: 'The splendour of his palace', says Monserrate, 'approaches closely to that of the royal dwellings of Europe. The structure is magnificently built, from foundation to cornice, of hewn stone, and is decorated both with painting and carving. Unlike the palaces built by other Indian kings it is lofty; for an Indian palace is generally as low and humble as an idol-temple. Its total circuit is so large that it easily embraces four great royal dwellings, of which the king's own palace is the largest and finest. The second palace belongs to the queens, and the third to the royal princes, whilst the fourth is used as a store-house and magazine. The roofs of these palaces are not tiled but dome-shaped, being protected from the weather on the outside by solid plaster covering the stone slabs. This forms a roof absolutely impervious to moisture. The palaces are decorated also with many pinnacles, supported on four columns, each of which forms a small covered portico. Not a little is added to the beauty of the palaces by charming pigeon-cotes, partly covered with rough-cast, and partly showing walls built of small blue and white bricks.'

Fr. Monserrate's words repay careful study.

The most striking feature of his description is the magnitude of the palace: 'Their total circuit is so large that it easily embraces four great royal dwellings.' The writer means, no doubt, the four wings of the building, which can really be called four different houses, because each one is larger than, for instance, the so-called Mariam's house or the Turkish Sultana's palace. Fr. Monserrate goes on to say of those four palaces or wings: 'The King's own palace is the largest and finest.' This must be the west wing opposite the entrance; Bir Bal's house and the camel and horse stables are attached at its back. Moreover this wing is the finest of them all; no room in the whole of the building is as richly ornamented as this part of the palace. Its majestic hall on the ground

¹ *The Commentary of Fr. Monserrate*, pp. 190-200.

floor, the so-called Hindu chapel, (no features of a Hindu temple may be found there) was most likely Akbar's reception room; it is truly worthy of the court of the greatest King that ruled over India, in modern times. In this hall the first meeting between Akbar and the Jesuits took place after the latter's arrival at Fatehpur. 'At length,' says Monserrate, 'they (the Fathers) were taken before the King, who, having looked at them from his high dais, ordered them to come nearer to him, and asked them a few questions. Thereupon they presented to him an atlas, which the Archbishop of Goa had sent as a present. This he graciously received. He was greatly pleased to see them, but was not too warm in his greetings, and shortly afterwards withdrew partly in order to hide his true feelings, and partly to preserve his dignity.'

'The second palace belongs to the queens,' says Monserrate. This is probably the north wing of the palace. From it a viaduct, formerly enclosed by stone screens breast-high, leads to the Zenāna garden abutting on the waterworks. The facade of this wing, overlooking the lake and the amphitheatre built by the Emperor under the north side of the ridge, has in its centre a small projecting room, the walls of which are entirely made up of beautiful stone lattice work; this pavilion is known as the *Hawa Mahal*, the *Palace of the Winds*. This name recalls to our mind the famous Hawa Mahal of Jaipur, birthplace of Akbar's favourite wife, Mariam Zamānī. Was, perhaps, this small *mahal* of Fatehpur built by Akbar in order to please the mother of the future Jahāngīr as with a recollection of home? 'The Hawa Mahal,' says Edmund Smith, 'was probably used exclusively by the ladies of the harem. The latticed sides, like glass, afforded protection from the rain, but at the same time admitted free ventilation and enabled the ladies of the court to recline at ease in full view of the surrounding country, the gardens, etc., without the slightest fear of being overlooked.'

Now, was this wing the harem described by Abu-l' Fazl as 'an enclosure of such immense extent as to contain a separate room for every one of the women, whose number exceeds five thousand.'³ There is no building of such an extent among the royal mansions at

¹ *The Commentary*, p. 28.

² Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, vol. i, p. 31.

³ *Ain Akbari*, vol. i, p. 45-46. (Calcutta, 1800).

Fatehpur.¹ Monserrate only says that 'the second palace belongs to the queens'. The concubines, who, no doubt, were the most numerous, did not enjoy this honorific title. Accordingly the north wing of Akbar's palace was occupied by his first-rank wives only, i.e. 'the ladies of the first quality', as Abu-l-Fazl says:²

'And the third palace belongs to the royal princes' continues Monserrate, 'whilst the fourth is used as a store-house and magazine'. Now since the south wing contains the royal baths, it seems that this part of the building was employed for general uses and was therefore 'the store-house and magazine', according to the Jesuit's statement. In this supposition, the only remaining wing, facing east, which embraces the entrance and main facade of the whole of the building, would probably be the prince's abode.

To this fourth wing inhabited by Akbar's sons, Fr. Monserrate used to go every day, after being appointed tutor of Prince Murād. 'The prince's education,' says Monserrate himself, 'was conducted as follows':—at the beginning of each lesson he invoked the names of Jesus and Mary as is the Christian custom; then he made the sign of the Cross on his forehead, lips and breast; finally he paid reverence to the picture of Christ which was in his book. The same practice was observed by the prince's school-mates, who had been chosen by the king from the children of the higher nobility. The children were taught Christianity out of a little book of Christian doctrine, and their copy books contained pious sentiments as models. The young prince was an ideal pupil as regards natural ability, good conduct and intellectual capacity. In all these respects, it would have been hard to find any Christian youth, let alone a prince, surpassing him. He was obedient to his teacher, and so submissive that he sometimes did not even dare to raise his eyes to his teacher's face when he was reproving him. Before three months were up, he had learnt to read and could imitate his tutor's handwriting so cleverly that he might easily have been thought to have spent a year at that task. All this greatly pleased the King, his father, who had bidden him to repeat to him his daily memory and reading lessons. Under such stimulus the boy worked hard. For the King's nature was such that, though he

¹ The only building now extant at Fatehpur that contains an approximate number of rooms are the *Karwan Sarāi* and the so-called Mint.

² *Ain Akbarī*, vol. i, p. 46

loved his children very dearly, he used to give them gruff orders whenever he wanted anything done; and he sometimes punished them with blows as well as with harsh words. He gave the prince's tutor authority to punish his pupils if they committed any offence. When the young prince found that this authority had been given to the priest, he stood in the utmost dread of him, until the kindly words of his tutor reassured him. For the father told him that he need fear nothing from himself, since it was not the custom of the Portuguese to allow princes to be beaten by anyone except their own parents and, in their infancy their nurses; and in addition to this, it was not fitting that a stranger (although the custom of that country allowed it) should chastise the son of so great a ruler. The tutor also told the prince that the King's gracious permission and confidence in this matter would indeed act rather as a check than an excitement upon the teacher's severity, and the King in his great wisdom had not overlooked the fact that he would not avail himself of this privilege. This assurance and the rest of the master's treatment, which was very different from that of other masters, so endeared him to the hearts of the prince and his two brothers, that they all three became the closest friends of the Fathers. The prince's name was Pahārī which means 'Mountaineer'.¹

The identification of Akbar's palace with the so-called Jōdh Bāi's is confirmed by the following words of Monserrate a little further on: 'There is another great building, as large as the palace, in which is the tomb of Pirxecolidexcamus' (Pir Shaikh-ul Islām, i.e. Salim Chistī).² True, the enclosure of the mosque and Salim Chistī's tomb is larger than that of the so-called Jōdh Bāi's palace; 515 by 458 ft. being the size of the former, while that of the latter is 231 by 215 ft. But looking at a plan of the buildings, it can easily be recognized that the so-called Jōdh Bāi's palace is the largest building after the enclosure of the mosque, excepting the *Karwan Sarāi*, at the foot of the ridge, and the Mint, before entering the *Diwān-i-ām*, the purpose of which is well known. Hence the so-called Jōdh Bāi's palace, although smaller, is the only building that can be compared with the mosque enclosure. Moreover Monserrate was out of Fatehpur when he wrote this part of his *Commentarius*—probably during

¹ *The Commentary*, pp. 52-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

his captivity in Arabia, because it is written after his narrative of the martyrdom of his companion at Fatehpur, Fr. Rodulph Aquaviva; it is not a diary of every day's happenings, like the first part of his work, but a summary of his recollections of Fatehpur. Now, if he did not possess the dimensions of both buildings, as likely he did not, it is not strange he should compare them to one another, both having a very large court-yard.

The second feature which Fr. Monserrate affords to identify Akbar's palace lies in its decorations: 'They are,' says he, 'magnificently built from foundation to cornice, of hewn stone, and are decorated both with painting and carving.' It is true that Jōdh Bāi's palace is not as richly carved as the pretty small house of Rājā Bir Bal; but still the visitor admires the beautiful carvings in the walls of the former, the embroidery-like stone screens, the nicely carved capitals and pillars, the variously elaborated brackets supporting the lintels, the royally ornamented windows and balconies, as you can see in the plates of vol. ii of the aforesaid Edmund Smith's work. Among them there are several reproductions of different details of painted ornamentation, which still remains after three centuries. 'The interior of the rooms,' says Smith, 'it is to be regretted, have been, like many others in the city, during recent times thoroughly spoilt by being thickly coated with whitewash. Where portions of the whitewash have scaled off coloured decoration is traceable upon the walls, as well as upon the sides of the drum of the domes.' The same author states that 'the whole of the front of the parapet over the drip-stone was originally beautified in colour.' 'Traces of this,' says he, 'are extant, and can easily be seen, notwithstanding that some aver that the palace is devoid of colour decoration. . . . Colour decoration,' he continues a little later on, 'was not relegated to the parapets, but it was freely used upon the exterior of the domes to enrich the side of the drum. The same colours were employed as upon the parapets, and the patterns emanate from the same school, but are much richer in design. When the whole of the colouring was fresh and crisp it must have added considerably to the architectural effect of the building and to a great extent relieved its present sombre and almost prison-like appearance.' ²

¹ Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Finally, Monserrate says that 'the roofs of these palaces are not tiled but are dome-shaped, being protected from the weather on the outside by solid plaster covering the stone slabs. This forms a roof absolutely impervious to moisture. The palaces are decorated also with many pinnacles, supported on four columns, each of which forms a small covered portico.' The bird's eye view photograph of the palace published herewith wonderfully illustrates this extract. It is taken from the top floor of the *Pānch Mahal*. Over the north and south wings there are chambers covered by wagon-shaped stone roofs. Four gracefully plastered domes crowned by lotus-like pinnacles covered the apartments upon the corners of the building. Next to these domes as well as upon the central projecting block of the east facade the four-pillared pavilions mentioned by Monserrate are also to be seen. There are also pavilions alike on the west facade, and even, though smaller on the *Hawa Mahal*. The plaster mentioned by Monserrate is also commemorated by Smith as covering the roof and the parapet.¹ The same author in plate lxxxi of vol. ii presents a coloured view of some blue bricks found in the top of this edifice. They must be remains of the pigeon-cotes, which Monserrate speaks of: 'Not a little is added to the beauty of the palace by charming pigeon-cotes, partly covered with roughcast, and partly showing walls built of small blue and white bricks.'

In 1896 Smith wrote as follows: 'Jōdh Bāi's being the biggest and most commodious of all the palaces, it is probable that Akbar spent a great portion of his time here.'² This probability has now become certitude. The detailed description written by an eye-witness, who lived so near to the great Emperor, does not permit any doubt in the future about Akbar's palace at Fatehpur. Jōdh Bāi's palace must be called hereafter the palace of Akbar.

What then was the use of both the *Khās Mahal* and the *Khwabgah*? They were no doubt dependencies of the imperial palace. There was formerly a covered passage going straight from the front elevation of the palace to the *Khās Mahal*. Most likely Akbar spent occasionally the hottest hours of the day in this small *Mahal*. The proximity of the tank made the place somewhat cooler than the enclosure of the royal palace itself. There Akbar took his *khāna*, probably in the

¹ Smith, *The Moghul Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

ground floor of the *Khwabgah*; the large room supported on pillars, which is said to have been the residence of a Hindu priest, is more likely the dining room of Akbar; local tradition seems to confirm this opinion; when I visited the place my young guide spontaneously told me that that hall was Akbar's dining room. The remains of the beautiful mural paintings of it are far more suggestive of such an imperial service than of the abode of a Hindu priest. The stone platform supported by two splendid shafts, upon which the Hindu priest is supposed to have performed his devotions, was most likely intended for the musicians who played during the Emperor's refectory. The first room to the east, next to this dining room, is believed to be a sort of library, and the numerous recesses formed by the very panels of the walls are supposed to be for holding books, documents and valuables. It is more natural to suppose that this was the imperial pantry, and the recesses were used for storing the provisions of Akbar's table.

On the other side of the *Hauz Khas* or royal tank and in its north-east angle there is a pretty one-floored palace, called the *Turkish Sultana's House*. Though very small, the profusion and finish of the carvings of every surface both within and without, show that this building did also belong to the imperial family, and there is no reason for rejecting the traditional appellation. The Turkish Sultana was Akbar's first wife, Sultana Rakiya Bēgam, granddaughter of Bābar, and therefore cousin of her husband, by whom she was held in high regard. Facing the Turkish Sultana's house in the north-west corner of the tank, but with a small projecting wing towards the north there is another two-storeyed building, called the *Girls' or Female School*. We are sure this was not the destination it had while Akbar was living in the capital. It seems more probable that this house belonged to one of the other queens, perhaps Mariam Zamānī, who like Akbar and his first wife occasionally went there to spend the hottest part of the day near the royal tank. Hence this small quadrangle was like an expansion of the imperial palace.

The *Pachisi Court* extending north to these small mansions and the characteristic *Panch Mahal* were likewise two extensions of Akbar's palace. The former was devoted to the Emperor's recreation, as the stone throne in the centre of the court still shows. The latter was used most likely by the members of the imperial

household for spending the leisure evening hours in overlooking the city and the whole country around the Sikrī ridge. Leaning once against the stone latticed railing of the fourth storey, I myself enjoyed a view of the grandiose sunset behind the domes of the imperial palace and fancied it a scene from fairyland.

To the east of the *Pachisi Court* the majestic enclosure of the *Diwān-i-ām* extends with impressive plainness, and to the north of the same court the *Diwān-i-Khas* with its two apparent floors and its graceful pavilions crowning the corners shows one of the queer conceptions of the eclectic Emperor. Within those four walls and in the presence of Akbar himself seated on the throne over the octagonal pillar in the centre of the building, many a religious disputation took place during the period of evolution in Akbar's religious ideas. Hiravijaya Sūri, Dastūr Meherji Rānā and lastly Fr. Rodolph Aquaviva challenged there the knowledge of the Mullāhs and infiltrated some of their tenets into the sovereign's mind.

In the centre of all these buildings in the north-east corner of the royal palace, there stands a small house known as Miriam's house. This is, so they say, the abode of the mother of Jahāngir, and the guides, always ready to impose upon the innocent tourist, even affirm that this Miriam was the Christian wife of Akbar. This legend is now sufficiently exploded.¹ But was this really the house of Mariam Zamānī? And if not, where does the appellation *Bibi Miriam ki Khott* come from?

Now, Mariam Zamānī, being one of the queens, lived with the others in the wing of the royal palace allotted to them; she had most probably another house next to the royal tank, as it is said above, but there is no reason for assigning this house also to her. This mansion located almost completely between the walls of the imperial palace and those of the *Khas Mahal*, was not suitable for recreation purposes, as the houses around the tank were. The reason of the appellation will be found in Fr. Monserrate's *Commentarius*.

When the Jesuit Fathers first settled at Fatehpur, their lodgings were very inconvenient on account of the great noise made by the passers-by. Monserrate relates that three or four months after their arrival 'on Easter Sunday they went to pay their respects to the King

¹ See my article 'The Story of Akbar's Christian Wife,' *J. of I. H.*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 234.

in order that they might congratulate him. . . . Furthermore . . . he (the King) accompanied them to that place of his palace selected by him for their dwelling in order that they might be nearer and more ready to teach him. After Easter the Fathers moved from their inn, which was crowded and inconvenient, to the house which the King had showed them in the precincts of the palace.' ¹

Where was this second house situated? In the precincts of the royal palace, says Monserrate. On account of this circumstance, and of the fact that the missionaries left this for a third one,—which indicates that they were not very comfortable in the new place—I am inclined to believe that this second residence was one of the small buildings that are still surrounding Bir Bal's house. Its location near the *Hathi Pol*, which was the way to the lake and the amphitheatre, would be very inconvenient for religious purposes, just as the first one had been.

This would likely be the reason why the Fathers 'began to plan to remove their quarters into a house which was actually built against the palace wall, so that by making a door through this wall a secret means of meeting might be devised. When they told the King of this plan and its purpose he immediately ordered the ointments, perfumes and very numerous jars of scented water to be conveyed out of that house into another; for the house (which the priests wanted) was used for the manufacturing and storing of ointments and perfumes, whence it was called the store-house of perfumes. When the place had been cleared out, slightly repaired in accordance with their request, and furnished with couches, they moved into it.' ²

We have two details for identifying this third house, where Fr. Rodolph Aquaviva lived for two years: its proximity to the royal palace and the fact that it had previously been the store-house for the perfume.

As to the first, there is no house so close to the palace of Akbar as *Miriam's house*. It is situated in the middle of the imperial dependencies. Miriam's house is really 'built against the palace wall, so that by making a door through this wall a secret means of meeting might be devised.'

That it had ever been the perfume-store in former days is stated neither by tradition nor by the *Ain Akbari*. Abu-l-Fazl says only

¹ *The Commentary*, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*

that the Emperor was very fond of perfumes and aromatics, that were kept in a store-room. Moreover he mentions many kinds of flowers from which those perfumes were extracted.¹ Might not some of these flowers be those painted in the small panels or simulated windows outside the main hall in the ground floor? This would be the only hint for identifying Miriam's house with the old *Khusbor Khana*.

The oral tradition of the place, which keeps the old appellation *Bibi Miriam ki Khōti*, recalls to our mind neither Mariam Zamānī nor Akbar's Christian wife, but the chapel erected by the Jesuits in their own house and dedicated to Bibi Miriam, the Blessed Virgin Mary. As for the appellation of *Bibi Miriam ki Khōti* at Fatehpur,' says Fr. Hosten in the Introduction to Fr. Monserrate's *Commentarius*, the reader will discover in this book good reasons to believe that it commemorates to this day the house and domestic chapel which Fr. R. Aquaviva and his companions had close to the Emperor's lodgings. Hence the name would commemorate the fact that it contained the picture of our lady, Bibi Miriam, which Akbar came repeatedly to venerate in 1580.² The same is the opinion of Prof. S. N. Banerjee.³

Moreover, the Capuchin Fathers of Agra, who were the immediate successors of the last Jesuits in that Mission, have always pointed out Miriam's house as the house of Frs. Aquaviva and Monserrate, even long before the *Commentarius* was published.

Finally, the indoor convenience of the house for a small religious community agree with the fact that some repairs were made in it by Akbar's order, according to the request of the same Fathers. Setting aside the two small rooms in the ground floor, used perhaps as a parlor and dining room, and the other two in the first floor, which were most likely the private rooms of the two Fathers; the most interesting apartment of the house is the beautiful hall, two storeys high, with five gates opening to the verandah that surrounds half the building. On my first looking at it I recognized the old chapel of the Jesuits. At the south end the vaulted arch, resembling an apse, which was no doubt one of the repairs ordered by Akbar, offered the most suitable place for the altar. The very floor of that spot confirms

¹ *Ain Akbari*, pp. 79-91.

² *M. of the R. A. S. of B.*, viii, p. 531.

³ *The Commentary*, p. 59, note.

this, because it is not paved like the rest of the house, but merely a concrete surface at the same level. This means that there must have been a wooden platform over the concrete serving as predella for the altar, by which three of the entrances from the verandah would be blocked, leaving two other entrances open. Another hint, very important, indeed, almost escaped my eyes: in the centre of the ceiling, between two of the slabs that cover the hall, you can still see a strong iron ring, from which the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament could be hung, according to the Catholic rites; in no other room of the city did I see anything of the kind. In the second floor and between the two small sleeping rooms mentioned above, there is a dark lobby which we may call the choir of the chapel because it has a square window overlooking it. It is an ordinary convenience for religious communities to have near their apartments such windows, from which the members can see the altar and engage in private prayer by night. I was looking into the chapel through that window when a new idea came suddenly to my mind. We know that house was the perfume store of the Emperor before the coming of the Fathers. Is it not strange that such a large two-storeyed hall should have been used for a perfume store? I am inclined to believe that the whole chapel was one of the alterations made by Akbar at the request of the Fathers: there were also two storeys in that part of the building in former days, but the floor was then removed and the door to it was made into a window. I found many remains of lime or gypsum, around the transom of this window; hence something must have been attached to that place; could it be an organ? I at once remembered a passage in Badaoni, who was himself a contemporary of the Fathers at the court of Akbar. This historian speaking of the events that happened in the last month of 1580, which was precisely the month when the Jesuits took possession of this house, says as follows: 'At this time an organ, which was one of the wonders of creation, and which Hāji Habi-ullah had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box of the size of man. A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on five peacock wings (the bellows) and all sorts of sounds come forth.'¹ From the chapel choir two stairs go up within the

¹ *Al-Badaoni* (Low's translation), vol. ii, p. 299 (Calcutta, 1884)

wall to the terrace, from which a splendid scene can be enjoyed. The three-arched pavilion was perhaps used as a belfry; as a matter of fact, we know from the aforesaid Badaoni that they used to ring the bell before their services.

This was the chapel several times visited by Akbar. We read in one of the photographed letters of Fr. Aquaviva to the General of the Society of Jesus the following items: 'He (Akbar) came twice to the chapel we have fitted up here. He came alone the first time, took off his turban and kneeling down on the floor he prayed with great devotion before the image of Christ and that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, worshipping in three different ways: Firstly, as we do, then as the Muhammadans do, and finally in the Gentiles' way, viz. prostrating himself on the ground, and he said that God deserved every kind of homage. After this, he sat down upon the floor, and myself too, and we talked a great deal: he said and confessed that the miracles of Christ could not be worked by a man only, but how God could have a son passed his comprehension. He wanted an explanation of this, and when he should understand it, he would become a Christian, he said. The other time he came to the chapel, he was accompanied by his three children and the chief men of his kingdom, and the king came barefooted and afterwards ordered his children and others to do the same, and to make a reverence before the image.'²

Fr. Monserrate narrates in his *Commentarius* another visit of the Emperor to the chapel: 'They (the Fathers),' says he, 'adorned the chapel with rich silken curtains. They made models of the grotto where Christ was born, of the crib in which his mother laid him, and of the mountain on which the shepherds watched. The people were represented by tiny statues and all was made true to life. The King and a few of his intimate friends whom he brought with him, were greatly delighted by this spectacle. He examined everything, and began to talk about the birth of Christ. The same evening the King sent his sons to see the crib. They were greatly delighted with it.'²

¹ From Fr. R. Aquaviva to Fr. E. Mercuriano, Fatehpur, July 18, 1580. We have photographs of this and other letters of Fr. Aquaviva from Fatehpur, the originals of which are kept among the historical documents of the Society of Jesus.

² *The Commentary*, pp. 59-60

In another letter of Fr. Aquaviva to Fr. Ruy Vicente, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Goa, which we have seen in the British Museum, the holy Missionary says as follows: 'On Tuesday, September 24, the King came towards the evening to be present at the marriage of Dominic Pires in our chapel. He invited himself. We adorned the chapel very nicely for him and I had three devices of honours painted for him, and Dominic Pires ordered a banquet to be prepared for him in the Portuguese style here in our house. The King was pleased with everything and showed me great affection for having given him the best reception possible. In the discourse at the wedding to the married couple, as the bride did not understand Persian, the King was pleased to be interpreter and explained to her in the vernacular what I said in Persian. The King stayed at our house till nearly eight o'clock at night. He was delighted to bring with him his principal captains, both Muhammadans and pagans; and one of the pagans, who is governor of these realms, was much astonished, and made a profound reverence in the chapel.¹ The three sons of the King were also present, and dined in the house, as well as some of the chief Muhammadan captains, whom the king called.'²

The enchanting city of Fatehpur-Sikri still keeps within its walls many interesting recollections of Akbar's reign. We shall deem ourselves extremely happy, if we have succeeded in bringing to the light some of these forgotten recollections. The *Commentary* of Fr. Monserrate and the private letters of Fr. Aquaviva are an invaluable source of information for the years spent by Akbar next to the tomb of his great friend Salim Chisti. New light is still expected from the study of these and other Jesuit sources to resolve many an obscure problem in the history of that great monarch of Hindustan.

¹ I suppose this man was Rājā Bīr Bal:

² *British Museum, MS. letters in Marsden Collection*, No. 9854, pp. 1-4.

A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods

BY

W. H. MORELAND

Writing of some Dutch sources for Indian history in the *Journal* for May, 1923 (p. 222) I referred to the series of commercial reports which were prepared early in the seventeenth century. I have since been able to arrange for a translation of what I judge to be the most interesting of these, Pelsaert's report from Agra, and I hope shortly to publish it in full. The Gujarat report presents greater difficulties, partly because of its length, and partly because so much of it is devoted to religious topics, dealt with in phraseology which is frequently hard to interpret at the present day. I have not yet succeeded in finding anyone both competent and willing to undertake a translation of the whole report, and in this paper I offer, by way of an instalment, a version of all the references it contains to the practical working of the Mogul Administration in Gujarat, a subject which the writer took some pains to illuminate from personal knowledge, and in regard to which his language is as a rule intelligible.

The Gujarat report was completed in the year 1629. Similarities of phrasing indicate that it had reached Europe in time to be utilized by J. de Laet in his *Account of the Mogul Empire* published in 1631, while J. van Twist also made use of it in his *General Description of India*, drawn up a few years later. The report was apparently never published in Holland, and no copy of it appears to have been preserved in the official records of the Dutch Company; our knowledge of it is due to the fact that a copy, with some later notes, was kept by a factor named Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jongh, who made an extensive collection of commercial documents during his long career in the East. This collection was deposited in the Church at Alkmaar, where he settled on his retirement, and it remained there until the year 1912, when it was transferred to the Public Record Office at the Hague. The report is No. 28 of this collection; the

translation which follows has been made from photographs of the original.

The MS. is not signed, and it gives no direct indication of the author's name. Dr. J. de Hullu, who catalogued the collection, considers that the report was almost certainly written by Geleynssen himself, and at any rate, it may be regarded as his work until some other candidate appears. The MS. is in a clerk's script, but it contains a number of corrections in Geleynssen's own hand, and some of them are so trivial that I doubt whether anyone but an author proud of his work, would have troubled to make them. The experiences referred to by the writer agree with Geleynssen's record of service, and I cannot find any other Dutch factor who had the same experience at the same time.

The following account of Geleynssen's life is abbreviated from Dr. de Hullu's introduction to the catalogue of the collection. He was born in 1594, entered the Dutch Company's service as a lad, was in the Spice Islands from 1615 to 1621, and went home in 1622. Next year he came out to Surat, and served as upper-factor, first in Burhanpur and then in Gujarat, till 1632, when he went home again. In 1634 he served in Batavia, in 1635 in Borneo, and in 1637-40 in Agra. He was Director of the Dutch Agency in Persia, 1641-43; in 1644 he was rear-admiral of the fleet sent against Goa; in 1645 he returned to Persia as Director; and in 1647 his long service ended with the rank of Extraordinary Member of Council at Batavia. He reached Holland in 1648, received a decoration from the Company, settled at Alkmaar, his native town, where he filled various public offices, and died there in 1674. His career in the East was thus meritorious, but not brilliant. He appears in the English records as Mr., or Signor, Willibrant (*English Factories in India*, 1624-29, p. 191; 1630-33, p. 224).

Whoever was its author, the report gives a good idea of his character, and I think anyone who wades through the whole of it will agree with me that the writer was a plodding, conscientious man, essentially religious, hungry for facts and figures, and without a trace of brilliancy or imagination. He recorded primarily the facts within his personal knowledge, and, when that failed, asked for information from his business-associates—Jains and Parsees, Hindus and Moslems—with whom he was obviously on friendly terms. His style is so

laboured and redundant as to be almost intolerable. If he is writing about marriage, he describes it as 'marriage, or wedlock, or the holy state of matrimony,' and in the same way he brings out lists of synonyms on every possible occasion. He trusts nothing to the reader, and, when he has once mentioned a place or a person, he is careful to refer to the fact at each subsequent mention. He wraps one parenthesis inside another, strings his sentences on an almost interminable chain of relative pronouns, seems to have lost his way hopelessly, and then at last gets to the point. A strictly literal translation would be barely intelligible, and in the extracts which follow I have pruned most of his synonyms, omitted most of his cross-references, straightened out his sentences, while preserving his actual words. I shall give just one sentence exactly as it stands, partly to justify the slight curtailment I have effected, partly because it shows how the writer worked, partly because it indicates his limitations. The writer has been describing at great length the topography of the town of Broach, and he now starts out to connect it with the sea. This is how he gets there:

(f. 2r).—'The town Broach, whereof I have spoken above, lying on a fine river coming from up-country through Decan and Mando, which Mando is 50 leagues inland from Broach and Decan about 200 kos or 100 leagues from Mando, to wit the place whence the said river takes its origin, and from there the said river still stretches far higher up, so that one cannot very well know the true origin, or whence the said river takes its beginning, indeed these inhabitants do not know whence it takes its origin, the said Broach lies about 16 kos or 8 leagues east from the sea.'

In style and method this sentence is a fair sample of the whole. The writer starts to go down the river from Broach, but, having mentioned the river, he feels he must account for its existence before going farther, so he obviously sets out to ask his friends where it comes from. Some one names Mando, and that goes down: someone else takes him 200 kos further to 'Decan,' and that goes down too, but as a place instead of a region; and third informant says the river goes still further up; and at last he extracts the admission that nobody really knows. Having reached this conclusion he finishes what he has to say. As a matter of fact, it is unlikely that anyone in Broach could have answered his question with certainty. The

regular trade route eastwards from Gujarat branched at Burhanpur, north to Agra, and south-east to Golconda, and the large sector of country between these lines was rarely, if ever, visited by merchants from the coast: they would know Mando, near which the road to Agra crossed the Narbada, but beyond that their knowledge could not be expected to extend. In regard to distant places then, and the same is true regarding distant times, the writer, who had clearly not travelled far in India, was dependent upon the answers he could obtain from men who might, or might not, know the facts: his position was different when, as in describing the local administration, he was dealing with facts which must have been notorious, and some of which he could observe for himself.

I give the extracts which follow in the order in which they occur. This involves some repetition, because the writer occasionally refers to a topic in successive chapters. There are six of these, marked by very lengthy titles which may be abbreviated into (1) Broach, (2) Baroda, (3) Cambay, (4) Ahmadabad, (5) Manners and Customs, (6) Parsees.

(Chapter i, f. 9).—Broach is under the rule of the Great Mogul, who for the present has granted it, with all its revenue, for maintenance to a great Amir, or commandant of 1,500 horse. For this the said commandant, whose name is Nahir Khan,¹ must maintain that force for the King's service, in addition to 1,500 foot, elephants, etc. The towns which are within the jurisdiction of Broach are held by his horsemen and foot-soldiers in the name of the King. All other places are in the same way granted from time to time by the King at his pleasure, according to his opinion of the Amirs or commandants. Some of them are transferred yearly, or half-yearly or every two or three years, according to their position in the favour of the King and his lords, so that no commandants can make any certain calculation in advance regarding the places which are granted to them, for to-day they are masters of a great place, to-morrow they are removed from it; and then they must return to the King in order to obtain another place, or, if they do not go in person, must trust to good friends, to put in a good word for them to the King. In that case a letter from

¹ The effect of this and subsequent statements in the text is that Nahir Khan, who was Viceroy of Gujarat, held in *jagir* the sarkars of Broach and Ahmadabad, as well as part of Baroda, and some other places.

the King is sent to him [*sic*], appointing him to be lord of some place or other, according to the King's pleasure, and with that place he must now be contented; so that I say the Mogul's servants have no assurance of any place, still less any assurance of their life, for anyone may bring false charges against them lightly and on trifling grounds—if only they have plenty of money—and they are lucky if they can buy their life with money and goods. The fact is that practically all these great Moslems make little or no use of arguments, if anyone is once accused, whether rightly or wrongly, provided only he has money or means; for there is a common saying amongst them 'Strike first, and hear the reasons afterwards.'¹ If then an offence has been committed, or a quarrel has arisen, the man who has the power to injure, and who can complain to the magistrate first, will have the best right, even though he may be greatly in the wrong. Such procedure is practically universal in the Great Mogul's territories, and is their [?] custom,² which is followed more readily than any other sound principles; so that, as I have said above, the first complainant will have the greatest right.

(f. 10.—After explaining that the garrisons in Gujarat were not rendered necessary by any danger from external enemies, the MSS. goes on): The troops have to guard against thieves and vagabonds, who gather together in bands, and rob and injure, or sometimes even kill, travellers on the roads. They usually stay in the mountains at a distance of ten or twenty leagues from the town (Broach), resorting to the protection of certain rajas or governors,³ who also live in the mountains, and cannot easily be found; for if they are hunted out of one place, they run to another in the same mountains, because they know all the roads in the vicinity. Some indeed of these rajas or governors have under them 3,000 or 4,000 men, taking horse and foot together. [One⁴ should not provoke these rajas], for, generally speaking, they are considered to be better fighters than the Moguls;

¹ For this saying, see below, f. 20r.

² The text is nearly illegible here, and I may have misread the word I render 'custom'.

³ In Dutch, as in Portuguese, 'Governor' means usually the Amil or administrator of the sarkar, but the plural 'governors' is sometimes used more loosely in the sense of officials. In this passage I suppose it means the officers of the hill-chiefs, who were such a terror to Gujarat merchants.

⁴ The words in brackets give the apparent sense of an ungrammatical clause.

they are usually without reason or pity; when they meet anyone, they strip him of whatever he has; and sometimes they also take prisoners, in cases where they think there is a chance of ransom. Because of these and similar robbers, the traveller must carry arms; they are needed little or not at all against other forms of violence.

(f. 10r).—In this town (Broach), as in other places throughout Hindustan, petty offences are disposed of and judged by a Kotwal, whose position is generally similar to that of a *Schout* (Provost) in our country. Serious offences, capital and other crimes, are disposed of by the Governor and some of the oldest citizens,¹ together with the Kazi, who is appointed to the town by the King, and also any prominent men whom the Governor may call in for the purpose. But the Governor has all the power, and the decision depends on his will and word; the other persons, who are in the position of councillors, have little or nothing to say to it. Here, and nearly everywhere else, the almost universal practice is that very few offences which deserve death are punished capitally, but nearly all are redeemed by money-fines. The reason why many are sentenced to fines instead of capital² punishment is that all fines and penalties are added to the Governors' profits, and fill their chests; they amount to a large annual sum, and keep their kitchens smoking finely. The prevalence of fines in place of capital punishment results in much lawlessness, and many injuries to travellers.

(Chapter ii, f. 13).—Baroda has been granted by the King for maintenance to one of his Amirs, or commandants, named Nahir Khan, who has to hold it for the King and protect it with 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot, who must always be ready for the King's service when he calls on them. The same commandant holds also Broach and its revenue, protecting it also with his troops and defending it against robbers, while he enjoys the fruits and revenues of the villages. This commandant is a native of Gujarat; he was formerly a Hindu or Rajput, but subsequently became a Moslem. Baroda is administered on his behalf by a commandant named Pir Khan, who has a garrison

¹The share of citizens in criminal trials is indicated in greater detail in a subsequent extract (f. 20).

²The original expression may possibly cover mutilation or corporal punishment in addition to the death sentence.

in the town of about 600 horse and 600 foot, sometimes more and sometimes less. There are about 210 villages, great and small, under the town, lying within a circle of twenty or twenty-five kos.¹ Pir Khan administers seventy-five of these: the other thirty-five² have been granted to other commandants and great men for maintenance, so that Nahir Khan has the revenue only of the town and seventy-five villages, the others being separated.

(Chapter iv, f. 19 r).—In Ahmadabad citizens are little troubled with tolls or exactions. One pays heavy³ or little duty on exports or imports, merely a recognition to the Governor, and the Kotwal (or Provost), for each cart that is loaded. A large business is done here annually by merchants of all sorts, Turks, Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, and other foreigners, while the Dutch and the English also turn over a large sum yearly, and sell much merchandise, so that the offtake of goods is large, and everybody, workmen as well as merchants, want to live here because of the small expenditure on tolls, charges, or exactions, both for citizens and for merchants. Any merchant or artisan is free to settle here, and live by his craft or his business without molestation or interference by anyone, except that a merchant may not buy gunpowder or saltpetre without a formal license from the Governor; having obtained a licence, he is free to buy up to the quantity specified therein, but not more.

The administration of the town is vested mainly in three chief individuals, the Governor, the Kazi (appointed by the King to settle all important causes, and determine them according to their laws, for⁴ he is an ecclesiastic), and thirdly, the Kotwal, or Provost. In addition there are various other officers (f. 20) who punish the daily-occurring petty offences and misdemeanours, but all with the knowledge of the three named above. There are also two or three

¹ Other passages show that the writer took the kos as equal to a mile and a half.

² Read either 175, or 135, probably the latter; elsewhere in the MS. an initial unit appears to have been occasionally dropped by the copyist.

³ From the context I suspect 'heavy' to be copyist's mistake for 'none': in the script used at this time the initial 's' (in *seer*, or heavy) resembles the 'g' (in *geen*, or none), while the final 'n' and 'r' are often slurred. I would read 'little or no duty.'

⁴ The causal connection seems to be that the laws (*wet*) were religious laws; in other places the writer interchanges 'law' and 'religion' in a way that is rather confusing to modern readers.

*monsterheeren*¹ (inspectors) resident in the town on behalf of the King, who inspect and train the soldiers in all parts of Gujarat, but have no authority in the administration of the town. All merchants, but particularly the Dutch, English and Portuguese, must make friends of these inspectors, because their letters of recommendation are indispensable for all ordinary journeys with merchandise, in order to travel without being molested by the garrisons posted at different places on the road; without letters from these inspectors, or from Governors, it would be impossible to pass without paying guard-fees; or [?] *chauki*² as they say; but payment is avoided by such letters, which are of the nature of a pass, or in their language *formanna*.³ All the same one must pay a small recognition to the chief men of the town or village, accompanied with abundant compliments in their style, as is the regular custom.

Criminal cases are heard and disposed of by the three officers named above, as principals, together with two, three or four men of the town, called in their language *mukaddam*, who may be compared to *schepenen*⁴ in Holland. These men sit, indeed, in council beside the others with the Governor, but they have little voice and get little attention in the proceedings, so that they are employed as intercessors rather than officers of justice; for they have to submit to the will of the Governor, and, according to his pleasure, support or oppose the claim, as he chooses—in fact they are beside him as a matter of form, rather than to assist in the maintenance of justice. The Governor, in a word, is ‘cock of the walk’,⁵ there and everywhere else, and anyone who needs anything (*f. 20 r*) or has committed any offence, must approach him and fill his hands (and also the Kazi and the Kotwal), to try to secure his support with some presents. When you have done this,

¹ I take these ‘inspectors’ to be the Faujdar and his deputies: the MS. nowhere mentions this title.

² The text has ‘gooky.’ In the absence of a recognized sign for the sound *ch*, Dutch writers represented it in a great variety of ways, and I suspect the ‘g’ stands for it here.

³ I take *formanna* to be a hybrid word. The correct title for such letters would be *parwana*, but *farman* would be more familiar, and either writer or copyist might fuse the two.

⁴ *Schepenen* may perhaps best be rendered as ‘justices’ in the older sense of the word.

⁵ A colloquial expression, literally ‘cat of the path’.

and have these three for your friends, things can hardly go wrong, or your case be lost, even if your opponent has been injured; for it is an ordinary saying¹ in Hindustan *Pello marcau pittghie bat son*, or *Pahle lat pichehhe bat*, that is to say, strike first and hear reasons afterwards. The first to complain has always the best right before the magistrate, even if he be in the wrong; it is often said that ‘the first to complain must be in the right, because he is the first to come to us; if his opponent had been in the right, he would have come to us like the other.’ In a word, if anyone has a quarrel, and strikes or assaults his adversary, or commits any similar injury or other abuse, contrary to their laws, he must take care to be the first to complain to the Kotwal, Governor, or Kazi: then no matter how wrong you are, you are found in the right, and held to be more reasonable than your adversary. The whole of Hindustan and Gujarat is administered practically on these lines, and the above-mentioned principles observed; the rich are protected, and the poor kept under.

Murder, robbery, and theft are here often, and indeed more frequently, punished on the body.² Other offences, such as fraud, fornication,³ and many other offences of the sort are usually punished by fine; while theft, murder, and robbery are more often redeemed by money than punished on the body. The reason thereof is that all fines accrue to the Governor, who is under no obligation to share them with anyone: and if the criminals (in all proper cases) were punished on the body, the Governor’s purse would not be filled, so that

¹ The shorter form of this saying, which is inserted in the margin in Geleynssen’s handwriting, explains itself, and I have given it in modern transliteration. The longer form, which I give as it stands, is apparently corrupt. Sir G. Grierson tells me *pello* is a Gujarati form, and it may be taken as representing *pahle*: the second word stands, I think, for *mar khao*, and the third is certainly *pichehhe*. *Son* may be for *sun*, but the change from plural to singular is not idiomatic, and possibly either *suno* or *sunao* is intended, though Sir G. Grierson regards the latter as improbable. The general sense is however sufficiently plain.

² The expression translated ‘on the body’ now means ‘capitally’, but three centuries ago when various forms of bodily punishment were familiar, it seems to have been occasionally used in the wider sense, and I leave the ambiguity open. The statement in the text is directly contradicted just below; there would be no contradiction if ‘punishable’ stood instead of ‘punished’, and I conjecture that the writer meant to give first the theory, and then the practice, of the courts.

³ From other passages in the MSS., I gather that this word is used in the restricted sense of seduction.

here, as in many other places (*f.* 21) money sweetens many punishments, the more so that punishment lies solely in their hands, and they alone are sovereign, so long as the King leaves them in the post or government. Their tenure lasts for not more than one, two, or, as often, three years, and while they are masters, they endeavour to provide for themselves as well as they possibly can.

Ahmadabad and the neighbourhood is administered by one Nahir Khan, who is one of the most eminent of the King's commandants, having under him 15,000 horse,¹ which he must maintain for the King's service out of the revenue of Ahmadabad and the neighbouring places within its jurisdiction.

The annual revenue is over 62 tons of gold;² it was formerly somewhat more, but the peasants, from whom all of it must come, are more oppressed than formerly, frequently abscond, and cannot pay the tithe so well as in former times; consequently much land is left unsown, and the revenue has decreased, and cannot now yield as much as formerly.

In the jurisdiction of Ahmadabad there are twenty-five large chief-villages³ or small towns, and below them 2,898 villages or hamlets, which have to contribute to the said twenty-five towns, and account to them for their sown land. In the same way these twenty-five towns must account to the Governor of Ahmadabad for all the land they have sown. Three-fourths of the yield are paid to the lord,⁴ and one-fourth is for the cultivator, who has to live thereon; so that the peasants in the country cannot earn more than their subsistence, and there is little difference between them and serfs such as are found in Poland, for here the peasants must all sow, and on them the great men must live and maintain their position.

The allotment of land to the husbandman is done in the following way:—Anyone who wants to cultivate any land goes to the headmen of the village (*f.* 21 r), who are called *mukaddams*, and asks for as

¹ Read 1,500 for 15,000, as in previous extracts.

² This represents 6,200,000 guilders, or, at the conventional exchange, nearly 20·7 karor of dams. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the revenue of sarkar Ahmadabad is given as 20·8 karor.

³ The *Ain* shows 28 mahals in the sarkar, but two or three of these were apparently exceptional in constitution. 'Chief-villages' may thus be identified as the head-quarters of the ordinary mahals, presumably identical with purgasas.

⁴ The writer consistently uses *heer* (lord) for the jagirdar or assignee.

much land as he wants at the place which suits him. This is rarely refused, but almost always granted, because here not one-tenth part of the land is cultivated, and so anyone can easily obtain his choice, and the area he needs; and he may sow as much as he can till, on condition of paying the dues to the lord. When the land has been cultivated by the *mukaddam*, or whoever he has appointed to do so, and the crop is nearly ripe, it is measured and valued; and when the harvested produce has been collected, three-fourths of it are given to the lord, and one-fourths to the peasant, which is little more than he needs for his household, so that here one finds few husbandmen possessed of means, and their share is usually consumed before it is gathered.

[*f.* 23. After referring to the extensive system of exchange which centred in Ahmadabad, the MS. proceeds]:—These means of remittance are used largely by merchants and their agents, when (as often happens) the roads are unsafe for travellers with money, and merchants require funds at this place or that. The insecurity of the roads arises largely from the fact that the Banian or Hindu merchants, who are constantly despatching their goods in all directions, send very few armed servants, or none at all, along with them. The highway robbers, therefore, who meet them attack and plunder them without any difficulty, for these merchants would rather lose their goods than kill anyone, even if he were an enemy, a fact which the thieves or highwaymen know perfectly well. If trade were carried on only by Moslems or Christians, and the roads were used by them, so many thefts would not occur as now, because the Moslems or Moguls, like the Christians, would rather fight to the death than let their goods be taken by robbers.

(*f.* 23r).—The Governor of this place (Ahmadabad) is held in great respect in all parts and towns of Gujarat, because it is the capital of the whole province. Merchants who trade by sea, particularly the Dutch and the English, must, therefore, above all things, keep on friendly terms with him, as much as with the Governor of Gujarat,¹ and this cannot be done without presents. Here as in most parts of the world, the great men are eager for presents, firstly for the respect and

¹ 'Governor' here seems to denote the Viceroy, or Sar-i-Suba of the province, not the Amil of the sarkar.

recognition they imply (for they stand very strictly on their reputation), and secondly for the gratification, because most of them are exceedingly covetous and avaricious. The reason why his friendship is essential is that these two nations are resident in practically all parts or towns—Surat, Broach, Baroda, Cambay, Navsari, Dabhoi. Ahmadabad is the capital, where all disputes coming from these towns must be settled, and what cannot be settled there must be carried to the King's Court. (f. 24). If then they suffer any vexation¹ at the Governor's hands on the road in the transit of their goods, or in their business in the town, they must have recourse to the Governor² of Ahmadabad, and seek from him redress for the wrong or oppression you (*sic*) have suffered. He will then have you recompensed for the injury you have suffered, or nearly recompensed, for they (*sic*) want their own share. Before, however, one obtains such a decision, one requires many friends, and if the matter or loss is not large, most of it must be spent on them, so that, as sometimes happens, it is better to settle such a dispute or injury, or to drop it altogether, than to seek further redress at Ahmadabad. Wherever one is then, the best course, and the most profitable for residents' employers, is to have the Governor for a friend, and try to get him on your side by the best methods you can, and accommodate yourself to his disposition. You should visit him occasionally, if he likes your company: if he likes merriment, you should provide it: if he likes drink, you should occasionally present him with some strong drink: if he is given to sport, you should sometimes join him, provided you can spare the time³: if he is avaricious, as the Moslems commonly are, one must try occasionally to give him some foreign trifles, which often please them more than common things of greater value. By these and similar means one should win their favour, and this is the best plan to carry on your trade freely, for our nation has no authority in these

¹ The grammar of this sentence in the text is defective, but the general sense is plain enough.

² The effect of this passage is to exhibit the Amil of Ahmadabad in authority over the other Amils of the province. Either the Viceroy of Gujarat is meant, or, possibly, the Viceroy may have delegated the hearing of such commercial disputes, which would be of little interest to a courtier, to the Amil at his capital.

³ I am not sure of the meaning of this clause: it may also mean 'provided you can stand the weather'.

quarters, and our threats do not disturb them; they know perfectly well, and say, that our ships cannot come overland with all their guns, while they leave the sea for us.¹

(Chapter v. f. 27r).—Practically all offences are here punished by fine; if they are capital, by the Governor, Kotwal (or Provost) and Kazi, together with three or four representatives of the town, summoned by the Governor for the purpose; otherwise they are disposed of by the Kotwal, for the Governor's profit. Execution, whether civil or criminal, is effected by the Kotwal and his subordinates. Exceedingly few misdeeds (f. 28) are here punished on the body,² particularly in the case of wealthy men; they are merely condemned to a fine, and then pardoned. The reason is that all forfeitures, confiscations, or fines accrue to the profit of the Governor, and nobody else has any share; these are³ [?], and the chief reasons why the roads are so dangerous for merchants and travellers. It would be a vast improvement if all highway robbers and evil-doers were punished on the body, as is done in the kingdom of Persia; occasionally indeed it is done here, if any are captured who are poor and without means, but otherwise money can liberate them, and keep the head on the body, though according to the King's orders it ought to stand on a stake by the highway; and the body ought to be impaled or placed on a stake also on the road, as a spectacle for all who pass by.

Various forms of torture are used, firstly a great whip of plaited cord, called by them *koria*, which they employ to make a man,⁴ as well as to punish petty offences, in the same way as criminals are flogged in Europe. Some times people are whipped with it until they swoon and become entirely faint; then they are dragged back to prison, and then brought back before the Kotwal or the Governor,

¹ This passage has some significance in regard to Dutch policy in the East. Batavia held by the tradition, established mainly by Coen, of settling all disputes by the strong hand; it worked, on the whole well in the maritime towns where it was usually applied, but Dutch officers in India soon realized that the policy of the Mogul Empire could not be dominated from the sea, and there are indications in other records of the period that they stood out against the enforcement of the Coen tradition.

² 'On the body': see note to the last extract but one.

³ Two words here are unintelligible to me.

⁴ A word seems to have slipped out of the MSS. at this point. From the context, I conjecture the original was 'to make a man confess'.

sometimes on three, four, or five days, and if a man will not confess what is laid to his charge, he is dealt with in the manner aforesaid. This may happen to a man several times, or only once, according as he can endure, or is willing to confess. Anyone who is imprisoned for debt, and will not pay promptly, is treated similarly on the fourth or fifth day, until he has satisfied and paid the Governor or his adversary, but some die in prison, because they cannot endure the flogging.

(f. 28r).—The second method of torture is to beat the sole of the foot with a thong. This causes great pain, so much so that some are left lame, and unable to walk. Some are confined in small cells, where they cannot stretch, sit, or lie down. Some are placed in stocks with head, as well as arms and legs, fastened so that they cannot stir; and various similar methods of torture are common. The Governors think very little of employing them on anyone, because they are liable to no punishment, and absolute in everything, so that those subjects are exceedingly badly off who have a severe, or tyrannous, or ignorant, man sent as Governor. One sees occasionally that, when an unreasonable man is appointed Governor, the merchants and citizens depart with their families to other places, deserting the town so long as he remains there, leaving house and garden at his disposal, or allowing someone else to live in it as circumstances permit. Sometimes they depart without the Governor's knowledge, for fear that he might detain them, and in such cases they leave their people in the house, or sell it, if they have the opportunity. The owner must wait patiently while the Governor's term of office lasts, but on his departure resumes his house, and inhabits it as formerly.

It is said that the Governor of Broach in the year 1622, a servant of Itimad Khan named Yakub Beg¹ caused several persons to be flayed alive, because they could not pay the sums to which he had sentenced them, and had many hung and beheaded for similar reasons. When this came to the King's ears, he sent another Governor, and since then the town has been more civilly and discreetly administered, though they are still rigorous enough.

(f. 29).—It is a common occurrence that Governors, who are

¹ Yakub Beg's name will be familiar to students of the English correspondence of the period. It will be noted that these barbarities are reported on hearsay, and we may presume they are exaggerated.

transferred by the King, and come to know of it sometimes 20 or 25 days beforehand, sorely tax, plunder, and rob (f. 29 r) the inhabitants of their towns in whatever way is convenient, be it with a false charge of having injured some one, or of not having paid the tithe due, or any similar accusation; whereupon they sentence the person accused to a fine of a sum of money, according to their knowledge of his means. These and similar methods of procedure are very commonly employed by Governors when vacating their posts, all to plague the ordinary man and enrich themselves unjustly. The money often goes the way it came, for if a Governor falls into disgrace with the King, as happens frequently, and is suspected to have accumulated much money, then everything he has in the world—whether rightly obtained or wrongly—is taken away from him; and then he must beg for some new appointment from the King or his courtiers, unless he has fallen into utter disgrace or has been imprisoned, as often happens.

(The two short extracts which follow relate to the position of the Parsees with regard to the administration. f. 57).—These Parsees,¹ wherever they reside, are subject to the laws of the country, just like natives, and enjoy neither more freedom nor less. Like the other inhabitants, they may live by trade, shopkeeping, labour, handicraft, etc., precisely like the natives, and without any interference. . . . (f. 63 r). The Parsees have no magistrate of their own over them, unless it be that one of them may have been given some appointment by the Moslems, and have thus become the servant of Moslems or Banians. It is quite customary that one or two of the most respectable persons among them are chosen by general consent as their headmen, to represent them before the local officers in all disputes that may arise. It is seldom that there are none of these disputes, but they are not so numerous as among the Moslems and Banians, among whom scarcely a day passes without quarrels and disagreements. The Parsees will, if possible, avoid bringing their disputes before the Moslems or Banians, for fear lest the Kotwal (f. 64) should lay hands thereon, and try to settle the matter among themselves. They live in their own quarters of the town much more quietly and peaceably than any other nation, but, of course, the number of them in any one seaport is very small, compared with that of the Moslems or Banians.

¹ The name appears in the text indifferently as *Persians* and *Persis*.

The Settlement of Baramahal and Salem from the Records¹

BY

PROFESSOR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,
PACHAIYAPPA'S COLLEGE, MADRAS

WHEN Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty with Tippu Sultan on March 17, 1792, the Ceded Districts of Salem and Baramahal were, within eighteen days after the treaty, entrusted to the organizing genius of Captain Alexander Read in preference to any of the Revenue Officials of the Madras Presidency who lacked the necessary qualifications for administering a newly annexed country. For the same reason Read chose as his Assistants, Captains Munro, Graham, and McLeod to administer respectively the countries of Dharmapuri (central division), Krishnagiri (northern division) and Salem (southern division). It is superfluous to write of the great qualities that Munro displayed even thus early; while the other two did remarkably good work. The Baramahal region itself occupied the northern extremity of Salem and consisted, strictly speaking, of twelve palaces or *Mahals* which included Krishnagiri. Buchanan gives us the name of the twelve *Mahals*; while Colonel Miles in his *History of Hydur Naik* speaks of the Baramahal as the 'Twelve Parganas'. In 1799, on the fall of Tippu, several sections of the Upper Karnatik were annexed to this district such as the taluks of Hosur, Venkatagirikota, etc., and a portion of the Allambady Taluk which lies to the west of the Kaveri together with Punganur and a few other *pālayams*. Thus the three divisions came to be known as the Balaghat (really a part of the Mysore tableland); the Baramahal, an extensive basin lying between the tableland and the plains and bounded on the east by a second line of Ghats; and the Talaghat comprising Salem, Áttur, and the neighbouring taluks. The land receives a share of both the monsoons and the field produce is of three main kinds; dry crops, rice and

garden crops. The whole district had then an average length of about 140 miles and a width of about 60 to 70 miles; and the total population numbered probably a million. Captain Read who was in charge of supplies during the campaigns of Cornwallis, fixed the date of the Treaty of 1792 as the period from which the revenue should be collected by the English power. As early as June of that year Read proposed the idea of a lease-settlement for not less than five years; and he was anxious to start immediately regular survey and settlement operations. In November of the same year the Madras Board of Revenue instructed him to lose no time in forming a settlement with the cultivators from three to five years; and they further intimated that 'in case the headmen (of villages) should oppose these measures the land might be let out in small portions to strangers'. The Madras Government decided in the next month that the settlement should be for five years in the first instance as they were under the impression that the survey and assessment of the arable lands would have been completed by that time. The Board of Revenue's view of what the settlement should be is well expressed in Mr. White's Minute, dated March 25, 1793.¹ He says: 'In the Baramahal, Salem . . . and such *havelly* lands to the northward as have suffered less from the effects of famine or rapacious renters, it might be eligible to take the first opportunity of settling for a long period for a permanent arrangement with the inhabitants. A thousand advantages must result from a plan of permanency not only by exciting the people to improvements, but by enabling Government to effect a reduction of the revenue officers . . . ; by reducing in general the charges of collection, by insuring regular payment, by rendering the revenue accounts more simple and above all by putting a stop to intrigue and corrupt practices.'

Thus, settlement in lease having been decided upon, an exhaustive inquiry was begun by Read and his Assistants. In a paper submitted to the Board of Revenue dated Baramahal, June 1793,² Read declared that 'an enquiry into the nature and progress of agriculture is the

¹ Quoted in pp. 273-90 of vol. ii of the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812* (Madras Reprint, 1866).

² Letter to David Halliburton, Esq., President of the Board of Revenue; p. 120 of the *Baramahal Records*. Section vi, *Land Rent*, Madras Government Press.

¹ [A Paper presented to the Indian Historical Records Commission at their Seventh Sitting at Poona (January, 1925)].

surest means of ascertaining an equitable mode of assessment and collection of land rent. Half the produce generally, whether in kind or in money, is considered the right of Government. In the first endeavour to procure a revenue nearly the same every year it must have been early discovered that the inhabitants could not afford the equivalent of half the produce of plentiful years and that the Government would lose by only requiring that of unproductive, which had most probably suggested the taking of half the average. In the Tirupattur District the average gross produce is reckoned 75 per cent of the dry, and 87½ per cent of the full crops. But the relative proportion is not everywhere the same. Every plot has its standard rent which the inhabitants affirm never alters . . . ; both the dry and the wet grounds are distinguished into the first, second, third and the fourth sorts, and every sort has its standard'. After describing the various modes of revenue assessment and management with remarks on each, Read gave it as his opinion that the arguments in favour of improvement and the certainty of revenue are however still more in favour of giving a number of villages in farm to wealthy individuals with security; and he added, 'The greater the division of the country into farms, the more beneficial to the commonalty and favourable to population; and the larger the farms are to a certain extent, the more certain the increase of cultivation and the receipts of revenue. The assigning of whole villages individually or in number to the most responsible of their present tenants, giving each a grant of the farm or estate for the time of the lease, on condition of paying the rent that may be regulated by the present valuation, binding each to be separately answerable for the payment of their own rents, and jointly so, for the payment of the whole revenue of their corporation, is a mode that has occurred as the best for combining all the advantages to the inhabitants in general and to revenue.'¹

The local inquiries of Read and his Assistants, based on the work of native surveyors and assessors, were always directed to the Village Registers which served as the chief guide in the assessment of revenue for the first years. In the absence of such registers in a few localities recourse was had to the opinion of the neighbourhood. Concerning the value of Read's assessment, Mr. J. W. Ballantine

¹ *The Baramahal Records*, Section vi, p. 18.

Dykes of the Madras Civil Service, writing in 1853 thus testifies² :— 'The assessment might have been conducted on more scientific principles. The different soils of the district might have been chemically tested and arranged in classes and rated accordingly, and due attention having been paid to the varying climate at these several elevations and its effects, the distance from markets and state of internal communications, tolerably correct results might have been obtained. But if operations had been conducted on these principles, but little progress would have been made. . . . The whole system of taxation was examined and defined accurately; minute inquiries were instituted into the state of the country and recorded; more than two million five hundred thousand acres were surveyed; and one million one hundred and twenty five-thousand acres were duly assessed; and these important operations conducted on Tipu's frontier amidst the confusion of a newly acquired country with the consequent necessity of maintaining all military precautions as well as in addition to the current business of the day were all brought to a close in five years.'

This survey valuation gave a result of twenty-one per cent excess in the amount of revenue collected—this excess being mainly due to the bringing to light of a vast amount of cultivated land in the hands of influential persons, who, under pre-British rule, had escaped assessment or had been under-assessed. This difference was least, being only four per cent, in the division of Captain Munro who was even then regarded as an officer of great talents; while in the other two divisions the excess in the final assessments was considerable. Munro justifiably hesitated to raise the assessment to its utmost limit and thus make it hard for the ryots to pay.

Read's account of his methods of assessment is given in detail in his letter dated Baramahal, July 1, 1793, to the Governor-General.² His methods are printed in the *Salem District Gazetteer*³ as containing all the main principles of the *Ryotwari* settlement still in force in our Presidency and 'as being evolved directly from the indigenous system which he found in vogue in the Salem district in 1792.' He ascertained first the gross revenue as settled by Tippu three years

² *Salem, An Indian Collectorate* (1853), W. H. Allen & Co., pp. 42-3.

² *The Baramahal Records*, Section vi, pp. 20-57.

³ pp. 61-65, vol. i, part ii.

In 1793, as pointed out by Read, there was a considerable increase in the extent of cultivation; but in the next year there was again a fall. Orders were issued by Government that the annual settlement of 1794 should be considered permanent pending the conclusion of the survey; and that as the survey of each district was completed, the settlement with each individual ryot should be introduced. Read was careful to instruct his assistants that in the survey operations they were fixing an assessment which was to last for a term of years, and it might be, for ever. Again in 1796, shortly before the survey was completed, Read addressed a memorable circular¹ to his assistants which discouraged the annual raising of assessments and instructed that the lease system might be established forthwith in some portions of each of their divisions.

Read had however a shrewd suspicion that settlement under leases was impracticable in the district—since the share taken by the state was so large and favourable terms to the ryots were essential for lease settlements to be successful. There was 'in fact nothing left to the cultivators from which might be created the capital absolutely requisite for a strict adherence to such engagements'. The sundry rules for making a careful settlement that Read embodied in this, his circular, were the foundation-stones of the *Ryotwari* settlement of which he was the real originator.

'The principles of *Ryotwari*,' so Read at first wrote, 'would seem at first sight to be more suited to the management of a private estate.' But he now turned round and declared, 'I now build on facts and experience, while formerly I could only argue on suppositions.' And Mr. Dykes, an enthusiast for the *Ryotwari* system adds, 'The *Ryotwari* system was what Read's mind foresaw, would be the natural result of a northern sun on tropical vegetation, the growth of the village institutions under the British Government.' Read issued his famous *Ryotwari* Proclamation to the ryots of Salem on December 10, 1796, which consisted of 29 rules given in full by Mr. Dykes and Sir A. J. Arbuthnot.² The keynote of the so-called charter is its third paragraph which runs thus:—

'The assessment of every individual field is fixed for ever.

¹ Dykes, pp. 83-86; and *Salem Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 5-6.

² Dykes, pp. 90-103; and Arbuthnot's *Selections from the Minutes and other Writings of Sir Thomas Munro* (new edition, 1886), section i, *Revenue*, pp. 3-11.

Government is never to require more or receive less . . . unless when those fields actually dry shall hereafter be converted into wet by the construction of tanks, etc., at the expense of Government, when the rates will be proportionately raised according to the consequent increase of the produce and in like manner fixed for ever. But if you carry on such works at your own expense, plant topes of palmyras, cocoanuts, etc. . . . on which a high rent has been formerly exacted, you may depend on receiving the advantages accruing from these and from every other improvement of your land while you continue to pay the established rates; those constituting except in the case above mentioned, the annual demand upon them on the part of the Sarkar for ever.'

Read was strangely enough opposed both by the Board of Revenue and by his Assistants, of whom, Munro criticised the Proclamation, para by para, in a letter dated Dharmapuri, November 15, 1796, 'in that free and searching spirit of inquiry which Read always strove to promote between himself and his Assistants.'¹ Munro desired (1) an explicit statement that the settlement was intended to be permanent; (2) that the proposals for applying changeable rates to fallow land should be made less intricate; and (3) that the regulation for annual tenures embodied in rule 11, being calculated to discourage long leases should be amended. Generally reviewing the whole scheme, he thought that the rules of assessment were too complicated and that the proposed regulations would tend to the relinquishment of the more productive and the cultivation of the less productive lands, thus diminishing the gross produce of the country. He also pleaded for the reduction of the assessment by 20 per cent, by which measure land could be rendered more saleable and cultivation would be more extended; and he was in favour of not only making over the lands to the ryots in perpetuity, but also of fixing the money assessment permanently. In this long letter Munro showed himself to be a warm advocate, as he ever had been, of moderate and fixed assessments, so far as fixity could be ensured 'compatibly with the financial requirements of the state'; though his later opinion veered against a

¹ This and two other letters written to Read were not included in the *Revenue Selections* published by the Court of Directors, nor in any other publication until Ballantine Dykes included them in his book.

permanent settlement.¹ Both Read and Munro agreed that all lands were to be made over to the ryots outright; but the latter would not subscribe to the rules which gave perfect freedom to the ryot to transfer his capital from one land to another and to make such changes annually.²

'The Board of Revenue who were ignorant of Read's proposals required a report on the survey so far accomplished and on the possibility of the permanent settlement of the districts in lease. Read was anxious to give his proposals a fair trial; the revenues of the two succeeding years fell off to some extent as many of the ryots taking advantage of Read's Proclamation, had cancelled their engagements in lease and began to throw up each year what lands they were not able to cultivate. Thus the settlements of Fasli 1207 and 1208 (1796-1798) during which Read remained as Collector and of a few subsequent years were annual, the assessments being those fixed by the survey on the lands. The lease system survived to a very insignificant extent.'³ 'In October, 1798, the Board of Revenue pointed out how it had been their impression all along that the annual and temporary settlement for 1794 was to be upheld till progressively supplanted by quinquennial leases as the survey of each district was concluded; whilst now to their extreme astonishment they learnt for the first time after the lapse of no less than four years not only that neither policy had been carried out, but that the whole lease system in direct opposition to the opinion of his three Assistants had been formally annulled and that too on Colonel Read's own responsibility, though such authority vested in the Government alone.'⁴ They peremptorily demanded a prompt and minute explanation for the change which resulted in such a loss of revenue as by nearly two lakhs.

Soon afterwards, before Read could justify himself or give the demanded explanation, both he and Munro were recalled to their military duty in connection with the last Mysore war and put in charge of a corps collected in the Baramahal. Read had, however, before

¹ Arbuthnot's note on p. 10 of Munro's *Revenue Selections (Minutes and Writings of Sir. Thomas Munro)*.

² See Dykes, pp. 84-171; and *Printed Selections from District Records* (pp. 19-321); and LeFanu's *Salem Dt. Manual*, vol. i, p. 247, et. seq.

³ *Gazetteer of the Salem District*, vol. i, part ii, p. 8.

⁴ Dykes, p. 175.

his departure for England, drawn up and presented to the Board of Revenue an exhaustive report of his work containing a vast amount of commercial and agricultural statistics, 'classified with great care and accuracy and forming most valuable data for comparing the state of the district now and then.'¹ Thus there was no one in Salem to assert the merits of the system introduced by Read; for though McLeod of the original four remained, he had never counted for much in the gradual formulation of Read's policy. 'The way was therefore clear for assimilating the policy of Madras to that of Bengal; and the *Zamindari* System was to blight the Baramahal and Talaghat.'

During the last years of his stay in the Baramahal, Munro was coming to veer round to the views of Read. In a letter to the Chief Collector, dated of July 18, 1797, Munro pleaded for a reduction of the rate of assessment if the ryots should not be made to throw up some portion of their lands and enunciated certain rules which would, if annual settlements were to be adopted, afford to the ryots every advantage that could be granted to them; he then continued:—'I do not think it is a thing to be desired that Government should have no tenants, but a few great proprietors. They would contribute nothing to the security of the revenue, for they are as likely as the petty farmers to fail from misfortune or imprudence and more likely to do so from design. . . . On the contrary by adapting the system of collection to the condition of the inhabitants, the country is filled with a multitude of small independent farmers who extend or contract their farms according to their different success. This freedom will, in time, produce all the various gradations of rich and poor proprietors for large and small farms. The fairest chance and the widest scope is given to the progress of industry and population. The people are themselves happier than they could be parcelled out among great land-holders; they are also more easily managed. . . .'²

'Thus Munro's opinions were changing and the supplementary or subsequent portion of the letter written two months later³ is the only link now required to complete the chain by which he, whom aftertimes called "the Father of the *Ryotwari* system," came to think not only that yearly settlements were the best, but that the ryots must

¹ *Baramahal Records—Management, Property, etc.*

² Arbuthnot, *Revenue Selections*, p. 21; and Dykes, p. 136.

³ Letter dated Tiruchengodu, September 5, 1797.

also be further left to choose for themselves—and must not be bound to hold for a second year what they do not want—fields which they find it better not to keep.’¹

In the same communication Munro tries to reconcile himself to the new policy of allowing the farmers the option of varying the quantity of cultivation every year. He thus says: ‘Though the farmers have the option of throwing up their lands, they will cultivate nearly the same quantity every successive year and they will cultivate at least the same quantity as now, upon an average of years. . . . This liberty, though attended with little loss to the public, is of wonderful service to the farmers, because it enables them to accommodate themselves to the seasons. It is beneficial to them immediately and also ultimately to the revenue.’ Munro however was in favour of withdrawing this option in proportion as the circumstances of the cultivation should improve under the influence of the British peace and security (para 10 of his letter).² At the end of the letter he summarizes the various heads of securing a permanent revenue on this basis like (1) a reduction of 15 per cent to be made on the lease assessment of Read which was admitted to be high on all sides; (2) the country was to be rented immediately of Government by small farmers; (3) settlements were to be annual; (4) every cultivator was to have a part or the whole of his land in lease if he wished it; (5) villages and districts were to be responsible for all individual failures; (6) all lands included in the lease settlement should remain invariably at the rents then fixed after the proposed reduction of 15 per cent; (7) all lands not included in the lease should be rented at the averages of the respective villages to which they belong; (8) all castes, whether natives or aliens to the district, were to pay the same rent for the same land; (9) no additional rent was to be ever demanded for the improvements by the farmer who might convert dry land into rice fields or gardens; and (10) no reduction of the established rent was ever to be allowed except under rare conditions.

Munro thus admitted that all the advantages of the lease system could be secured by the *Ryotwari* settlement proposed by Read. But he did not affirm that the new scheme should and could be introduced anywhere and everywhere; though he was convinced that the lease

system was unsuitable so far as Salem was concerned, where the general poverty of the inhabitants, the frequency of the change of holdings from year to year, the great fluctuations of livestock owing to fluctuating exports and outbreaks of severe distemper, and the high rental exacted by previous governments ‘generally afforded no other reward to the cultivator than the wages of labour’. Munro himself had recommended in the course of the letter to Read quoted above, an able and detailed report on the state of the people when the country came under British occupation. His deliberate conclusion was that land was cheap, not only because of the high rental imposed, but also on account of the operation of a number of other causes like the general poverty of the people which hindered them from stocking their farms well. Both high rentals and general poverty operated against the enlargement of farms by leaving little profit to the cultivator and preventing the accumulation of stock. All this is only a further proof that the principle of *Ryotwari* were sorely needed by the ryots of Salem.

Munro’s private opinion about the scheme is expressed in a letter addressed to his father dated, Tiruchengode, September 21, 1798.¹ It was that the rents of Baramahal as fixed by the survey were too high, though on an average they were only nearly what they were under Tipu. ‘This circumstance’, he says, ‘joined to the general poverty of the people is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement; and it has hitherto prevented the lease from being settled. Government have desired it to be made so as to sit lightly on the inhabitants; but they were not aware that in order to effect this, they must relinquish 20 or 25 per cent of the present revenue. This reduction will be recommended to them by every argument that can be thought of.’

‘I do not myself approve of attempting to establish a general lease at once all over the country. There are many arguments against such a measure founded on the poverty, the ignorance and the manners of the people which it would be tedious to detail. I rather wish to continue the plan now followed of letting every farmer please himself . . . and, as every field has a rate of assessment which

¹ Dykes, p. 137.

² Quoted in Arbuthnot’s *Revenue Selections*, p. 37

¹ G. R. Gleig, *Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro* (three vols., Bentley, 1830), vol. i, pp. 200-6.

never varies, he knows perfectly what he has to trust to, and that his rent can never rise or fall but exactly in proportion to the extent of land he occupies. . . . By persevering in this system the farmers would soon know how much land they could manage; they would cease to abandon whatever fields they have in any degree improved; and this practice which would answer every purpose of a lease would gradually extend over the whole country. If we endeavour to establish a lease everywhere at once, it could not be permanent for ignorance and inexperience, both on our side and on that of the farmers, would lead many of them into engagements which they would not be afterwards able to fulfil. The great number of farmers in the Baramahal necessarily occasions much detail in the management of the revenue, but there is no difficulty in it—nothing is required but constant attention, and, where this is given, it is both better for the country and easier for the Collector to receive the rents directly from 60,000 farmers than by the medium of 10 or 12 zamindars or great land-holders.'

Read's cherished scheme was soon sacrificed by the Government to other exigencies. In 1802 by Regulation 25, they declared for a *Zamindari* settlement and attempted to create a class of zamindars in Salem who should possess the self-same rights of their brethren in Bengal. A Commissioner was deputed to the district to create the estates and their holders; he first parcelled out the lower portion of the district and sold at auction so many lots at a time to the highest bidders who forthwith became land-holders under the title of *Mooladars* (*Mittadars*). In two years the whole of the southern portion had been thus parcelled out. By 1805 the central portion of the Baramahal was also sold out, though the estates did not fetch such high prices as in the first case. About 205 estates were thus created, the average assessment on each estate being about £800. 'When the country to be sold was very mountainous the villagers themselves in some instances had been left the Zamindars. The *peshkash* of each estate (or *mitta*) was fixed on the basis of the calculated land revenue from which were deducted the *sukhavāsi* remission,'¹ the *swarnādāyam* which included miscellaneous items of revenue like the tax on grazing,

¹ Deductions of assessment in favour of certain privileged classes on the ground that they could not personally engage in agriculture.

taxes on various occupations, etc., and imposts known as *motorpha* (*muhatarpha*—taxes on bazaars, etc.). The pay of the village servants as well as the profits of the *mittadars* were deducted, and what remained was fixed as the permanent *peshkash*. The *mittadars'* profits were not calculated at a uniform rate and were influenced partly by the amount of cultivable waste lands in the *mittas*. Government retained in its own hands tobacco and betel licenses, and also control over the *abkari* farming and *sāyar*. Government soon resumed the *motorpha* rights in all *mittas*; and a few years later the courts also ruled that *motorpha* could not be collected by the *mittadars*.

All the sales in the Baramahal were completed by 1805, and the country was permanently settled according to regulations. But after four years the amount realized from these estates began to decrease steadily; while the number of *mittadars* who regularly paid their dues diminished still more rapidly. By 1821 the revenue had fallen to less than half of what it was in 1806. Even in the very next year (1803) after the *mittas* began to be created, as many as 32 estates had to be attached by the Government for arrears of revenue. Mr. Hargrave who was the Collector from 1803 to 1820, had soon to request permission from the Board of Revenue to retain in his own hands some of the worst estates so that they could be improved. 'Of the 197 sales up to 1813, no less than 39 were purchased on behalf of the Government; and the Government even sanctioned a special outlay for the buying in of the worst estates. The price paid was afterwards limited to the amount arrears thereon; and it cannot be said that the rapid return of the country to the *Ryotwari* system which followed this order was a mere matter of trading.'¹ According to the calculations made by Mr. Dykes, the collections in the 94 estates which had reverted to Government had fallen by more than 20 per cent. By 1835, 212 estates had been purchased by the Government which also showed the same deterioration of the annual value.² The failure of the *mitta* system was due to the high original assessment of Read, of which Munro had all along been complaining, to the unwillingness of the new landlords to sink capital in the improvement of their estates, to the difficulty of dealing with the ryot beginning to be conscious of the new freedom secured by British rule, to the power of dividing the estates possessed.

¹ p. 18; *Salem Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii.

² Dykes, p. 196.

by their holders which acted both ways—'accelerating the return of some of the country to the *Ryotwari* system and elsewhere establishing more firmly the new landlords'—and to the harsh rules of the collection from the ryots which were introduced by Regulation 28 of 1802 and which placed all the machinery of the courts at the disposal of the Zamindar. The only redeeming feature of the revenue history of this *mitta* period was the comparative lightness of the assessment of dry land which according to the settlement of Munro, varied between half a Rupee and a Pagoda per acre.¹ It is this latter fact that tended to produce greater stability among the *mittadars* of the Baramahal region where dry land predominated, and where Regulations 29 and 30 of 1802, purported to secure the welfare of the ryot under this system. It was Munro whom the people of Baramahal had come to reverence almost as a superhuman being, that introduced the Police Regulations of 1816 and was enabled thereby to effect a large curtailment of the arbitrary powers of the landlords and the consequent increase of the freedom of the ryots. In 1821 Munro, as Governor of Madras, passed Regulation 20 of that year and thereby secured the freedom of the ryots' holdings from distraint by the Zamindar without the knowledge of the Collector who was now empowered to summarily dispose of all points of difference that might arise between the Zamindar and the ryot. Even so, and in spite of other remedial measures passed by the Government, the condition of the ryots in the *mittas* and elsewhere continued to be very bad.

In 1816 the Board of Revenue had, after careful inquiry, reduced the assessment in the lower portion of the district by about 10 per cent in those estates which had come under the direct management of the Government. This reduction was obviously insufficient. Two years later the Collector was directed, in cases where an accurate and personal investigation had convinced him of the necessity, to reduce the assessment as much as 30 per cent. Mr. Cockburn, Collector from 1820 to 1829, was at first of opinion that it was not the excessive assessment, but the cruel conduct of the landlords that had ruined Salem peasantry. He soon changed his mind and recommended that a 15 per cent reduction be made all round, as otherwise any attempt

¹ Gleig, vol. i, p. 206.

to improve the condition of the ryots would be in vain. He then introduced in 1822, the so-called ¹ *Cowle* Rules, under which if a ryot took up land that had not been cultivated three years previously, only half the assessment was to be paid for the first, and three-quarters for the second year of cultivation; while a permanent reduction of 25 per cent assessment was to be granted at the close of a progressive *cowle* on all fields that had been waste for ten years and more; no assessment whatsoever being paid for the first year; and larger immunity being given to lands which had been longer out of cultivation. Such rules led to the rapid increase of the *cowle* tenure which influenced a large number of the *Ryotwari* cultivators, leading to a large reduction of the survey rates. The Collector was aware of the abuses of the *cowle* system which interfered prejudicially with the cultivation of regularly assessed land already occupied, and kept up an appearance of extensive cultivation.

These abuses led to a revision of the *Cowle* Rules in 1833 and 1835 when it was declared that 'no land was to be granted on *cowle* to any ryot who was not able to cultivate it in addition to his usual *patkat* lands,² and the ryots had no rights to pick out the best fields of his holding, land to leave the remainder waste.' This last rule was diametrically opposed to the very essence of the *Ryotwari* Proclamation of Read; and it marked the definite breakdown of one of the most important of pure *Ryotwari* maxims. The *Cowle* Rules, it is true, gave immediate relief to the tenants, but their effect on the general agricultural policy of the district was on the whole bad. The problems of *cowle*—tenure and assessment were indeed very difficult to tackle with. During the period of Mr. J. D. Gleig's Collectorate (1838–1845), the Board of Revenue passed a series of orders stiffening the *Cowle* Rules as a result of which the grant of *cowle* was prohibited in dry lands which had been waste for less than five years and in lands less than a single plough in extent or the assessment of which did not exceed two rupees. No land might be given on *cowle* which was not overgrown with jungle and trees; and a ryot owing *patkat* and *cowle* lands was

¹ *Cowle* = the document granted by Collector, proprietor or receiver of the revenue to the subordinate payer or the actual cultivator—(vide H. H. Wilson's *A Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 70).

² Lands held on leasehold tenure—*patta* land in the Madras Revenue terminology.

forbidden grant of fresh lands on *cowle*, while those who neglected their *patkal* and retained their *cowle* lands were required to pay their full assessment on these latter from the time they had been taken up. When the ryot desired to abandon *patkal* lands he had to abandon good and bad lands in proportion. Finally there came what Mr. Dykes describes as the *Ryotwari* Code of 1844 by which the ryot was to be permitted on no account to throw up bad land alone. The rigour of this good-and-bad-land rule was mitigated by succeeding Collectors; and it was only in the Collectorate of Mr. Brett (1853-1862) that there was effected some reduction in the rates of the old survey assessments known as *Taram Kammi*. In 1859 the ryots were informed that they were at liberty to give up what lands they liked; and 'this order annihilated the last remnant of the meddlesome and illiberal rule requiring good-and-bad lands to be given up in equal proportions.'

About 1850, the close of our period of study, there were nearly 700,000 acres cultivated under the *Ryotwari* system in the district; as early as 1820 nearly two-thirds of Salem had reverted to *Ryotwari* system and fifteen years later there were more extensive changes. The assessment of land had much to do with this growing change to *Ryotwari* tenure. 'Not only was the assessment too high where the zamindars failed, but the over-assessment was greatest where those failures were the most extensive.' The first assessment of Read was tried by the Zamindari system and then found to fail even under the influence of other conditions. The Code of 1844, stringent in the fashion of Maratha codes, did not improve matters. The revenue story of the district down to the middle of the last century is well expressed in the following statement:—'Surveyed, assessed and settled with extreme care (by Read); for twenty years ground to the dust by errors as truly English as well-meant; for a like period nursed with *cowle*; for the last ten years subjected to the rule of good and bad; in 1850 the district of Salem notwithstanding all these changes promises well for the future;' and the circumstances of the ryots though not good, had greatly improved.

¹ Dykes, p. 433.

The Operations Leading to the Capture of Almora in 1815

BY

J. C. POWELL-PRICE, M.A., F.R.HIST.S., I.E.S.

THE accounts of the operations in Kumaon during the Nepal War are somewhat confusing and there are certain tactical points which require elucidation. It is these considerations which have led the writer to attempt a short sketch of what actually took place.

It will be remembered that during the eighteenth century there had been considerable internal differences among the Kumaonis culminating in the invasion and conquest of the country by the Gurkhas.

The latter's rule was very harsh and was much resented by the people; so much so indeed that the phrase 'Gurkha Raj' has become proverbial for oppression. This is important as it explains the ease with which long lines of communication were held by the British during the operation.

In other theatres of the war the British troops had met with little success. The generals were, with a few exceptions, incompetent. In the eastern theatre Major-Generals Marley and Wood had done nothing and the latter had actually deserted his troops in the field. General Gillespie had been killed near Dehra Dun, while General Ochterlony was held up further west.

What were the hopes nourished by the Gurkhas can be seen from the following extracts from a letter of Amar Sing Thapa, the famous Gurkha Commander, to the Nepal Raja¹:—

'If I succeed against Ochterlony, Ranjit Singh will ride against the enemy. In conjunction with the Sikhs my army will make a descent into the plains. . . . The Raja of Lucknow may be expected to take a part in the cause.'

Elsewhere² he says, 'I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution but cannot manage it, the English being always in a desperate hurry to fight.'

¹ Fraser, p. 523.

² *Ibid.*, p. 526.

It was obviously bad policy for the British to wait, so the design was formed of striking at the Gurkhas' new province of Kumaon. Here the people were well disposed to any enemy of their tyrants and its possession would divide the Gurkha forces in half. But the means at the disposal of the Governor-General were not very large, and conditions elsewhere prevented him from detaching a body of regular troops for the attempt.

In the circumstances therefore Lt.-Col. Gardner, the founder of 'Gardner's House', an officer who had won renown in the service of the Raja of Jaipur, was entrusted with the task of raising a body of irregular troops for this purpose. These were largely Rohillas from Rampur and later from the neighbourhood of Hapur. The artillery consisted of four 6-pounders carried on elephants. Gardner's force was in all about 3,000 men. At the same time a detachment of 1,500 men under Captain Hearsey, who had also been in the service of Jaipur was to march from Pilibhit *via* the Timla Pass into Kali Kumaon with the object of preventing the Gurkhas from crossing the Sarda and reinforcing Almora from that direction. His force was afterwards increased to 2,000, all irregulars and he was joined by about a hundred Kumaonis. Another body of 500 men was to march from Rudrapur to Bhim Tal by the present route, and, after they had taken the Gurkha post in that neighbourhood, they were to try and effect a junction with Gardner's force *via* Ramgarh and the Gagar Pass and Peora. This expedition, however, never got further than Bhim Tal, and in any case was too small to have effected anything, except perhaps to keep some of the enemy's forces occupied.

About February 15, 1815, Gardner set off followed by a large baggage train. The route chosen was from Kashipur through the Chilkia Pass along the valley of the Kosi. Some Gurkha posts guarding the route were evacuated by the enemy and the advance was not disputed in any force though there were skirmishes here and there. It is not clear whether it was the intention of the British Commander to advance along the Kosi past Khairna to Almora or not, but the orders issued to the small detachment proceeding to Bhim Tal seem to suggest that it was. However news was received that a force of Gurkhas from Almora had advanced to Bujan near Khairna and were ready to dispute the passage. Here the Kosi runs through a narrow gorge and the position was perhaps a difficult one to force,

It must be borne in mind that the British troops were all raw irregulars, and though they greatly outnumbered the Gurkhas their commander probably did not think they were sufficiently blooded for a regular engagement. The number of Gurkhas available for the defence is not known, but most of their troops were Kumaoni levies commanded in most cases by Gurkhas. There were probably not more than 1,500 Gurkhas all told in Kumaon. They were armed with match locks and the celebrated kukri, as well as swords and bows and arrows. Their muskets were not good and they had hardly any artillery. But as fighting men they were superior even to the Company's regular troops.

An old Subedar who fought in the Nepal War has left this description of them¹:—'The Gurkhas had the reputation of being very brave soldiers. Everyone feared their kukris, the mere touch of which meant death. . . . Their arrows came from the jungle without a sound or a person being seen and the men said they were the result of supernatural agencies. They fell thick and fast and we replied with volleys but the jungle was so thick that there was no evidence of their effect.'

Such was the awe with which they were regarded by even veteran soldiers and it is no wonder that Col. Gardner resolved not to attempt to force his way through.

Accordingly he turned off to his left along a path that climbed the range between the Kosi and the Ramgunga leaving the valley of the river which comes down below the present cart-road from Ranikhet on his right. This was apparently the usual route from Kashipur to Almora as it was the one that Bishop Heber² nine years later took on his march from Almora to Kashipur. The accounts mention a high hill called Chaumua Debi or Chaumukhia, the same as Bishop Heber's Chamoka, probably on this ridge, which Gardiner seized. It is not marked on any map nor has the writer been able to identify it with any certainty but it is obviously opposite the Ranikhet ridge. After seizing this commanding position Gardner advanced a little further along the ridge towards Ranikhet to a hill called Kapenake Danda separated from the Ranikhet ridge by the valley of Tarkhet. The Gurkhas who had failed to prevent him from occupying Chaumukhia

¹ *Khwab-o-Khayal*, p. 34.

² *Bishop Heber's Journal*. The route was apparently that followed by the present cart-road from Ranikhet to Ramnagar.

now took up a strong position at Kompore (Ranikhet) and blocked his road to Almora. Gardner reached here on February 22 and remained a whole month awaiting reinforcements before making a further move. In the meantime the Kumaonis flocked into his camp bringing supplies and promises of support. Many desertions took place at this time from among the Kumaoni levies of the Gurkhas.

A further body of troops now joined Gardner in the shape of a thousand Rohillas from Hapur; and he at last thought himself strong enough for further action. Still thinking his levies too undependable for a direct attack on the Gurkha stockades, he determined to try and manœuvre the enemy out of their position. The means he adopted have been greatly praised by the various writers on the war, but have little from a tactical point of view to recommend them save their success. He followed the principle, so dangerous against a clever commander, of dividing his forces. There was no apparent military object in doing what he did nor should the Gurkha commander have worried about the movement in the least. Perhaps Gardner with his experience of service in Indian States knew the effect a threat to their flanks has on the 'moral' of eastern armies. This was very clearly seen during the last war in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

However that may be, on March 22, he despatched a force of 1,200 men to seize Siahi Devi, a high hill over 7,000 ft. to the south-west of Almora, but divided from it by a deep gorge and the rivers Kosi and Sual.

The military importance of Siahi Devi in those days of short range guns was nil. As a base for an attack on Almora it was useless as the Almora ridge rises steeply from the river here, and in the words of Bishop Heber is such 'that a few resolute men could defend it against an army.' But this division of forces was a very dangerous expedient as, if Bam Sah, the Gurkha Commandant, had had any military skill at all, he could have attacked Gardner's forces piecemeal. The Siahi Devi post was quite isolated and the troops there could not have been supported and were an easy proposition if attacked. The whole manœuvre was a risky one. It was carried out at night and as the Gurkhas were between the British and Siahi Devi, a considerable detour had to be made and very difficult country crossed.

Still it succeeded in its object and the Gurkhas retired from Ranikhet to Katarmal and then across the Kosi to Almora.

OPERATIONS LEADING TO CAPTURE OF ALMORA 105

This is one of the most perplexing points in the whole course of the operations. The commanders in the Nepal War on the British side were not remarkable for their tactics. It is nothing but a story of terrible mistakes by the generals with the exception of Ochterlony himself. The remarks of the Governor-General on the final capture of Almora in praise of Col. Nicolls, and the fact that Gardner himself was soon after this superseded in the command seems to suggest that he was considered too rash. Still as has been said before Gardner may have done all this with his eyes open. There were plenty of deserters from the Gurkhas in his camp and he may have learnt from them the small numbers the Gurkha commander had at his disposal, and his knowledge of Bam Sah's character may have induced him to take what appeared to him no risk. It is also possible that in his ignorance of the country and having no maps, he did not realize how isolated Siahi Devi was.

It will be seen that Bam Sah at a later period did the very same thing; but he suffered for his rashness.

The Gurkhas now took up their position on the Sitoli ridge about two miles north-west of Almora and parallel to the Almora ridge. They also had a post on Kalimat, a high saddle-backed hill to the north of the town. Gardner recalled the majority of the troops from Siahi Devi and took up his position at Katarmal with the Kosi between him and Sitoli.

Meanwhile Captain Hearsey after some initial success including the taking of Champawat had been attacked by a force of Gurkhas under Hastidal, one of the royal houses of Nepal and a brother of Bam Sah. His levies made no stand against the Gurkhas. Hearsey was wounded and taken prisoner. Hastidal then marched to Almora which he reached on April 6. His arrival much inspired the enemy though the reinforcement he brought could not have been very large. Hearsey was lodged in the Almora Fort and well treated.

On April 8, Col. Nicolls of the 14th Foot Quartermaster-General (afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief in India), arrived at Katarmal and took over command. He was followed by over 2000 regular troops consisting of the 1/4th N.I., the 2/5th N.I., and a detachment of the 15th N.I. together with two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, two small and two large mortars.

For some little time there was no movement on either side. The

Gurkhas had sent for reinforcements from Nepal but they were not in time. Their Kumaoni levies were leaving them in large numbers and it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain supplies.

On April 22 a force under Hastidal composed of regular Gurkha troops was dispatched in a northerly direction over Kalimat to Gananath.

The object of this move has aroused considerable speculation and some authorities have considered that it was meant as a threat to the British left flank and their communications, but Atkinson¹ is probably right in stating that it was simply to keep communications open with the north and the Gurkha force operating against Ochterlony.

Whatever the intention, however, it was a grave error in tactics and enabled the British Commander to strike a heavy blow and led directly to the fall of Almora. This tendency to divide their forces into 'pockets' is noticeable on both sides during the operation in Kumaon. Gardner had escaped from the consequences of his division, owing to the lack of initiative on the part of Bam Sah, but Hearsey in Kali Kumaon who had divided his force to watch the Sarda was caught and paid the penalty for his mistake.

Now again the same thing happens. The British Commander got early intimation of this movement from the country people and at once dispatched Major Paton and about 900 regular troops along to Kosi to try and cut Hastidal off. This was on April 23. The British caught up with the enemy on the steep ascent to Gananath before he had time to entrench himself. They attacked at once and Hastidal being killed, his force dispersed but very few returned to Almora. Thus the Almora garrison had lost a large portion of its defenders and a prominent leader.

On receipt of the news Col. Nicolls made immediate preparations for the assault of the Sitoli ridge.

At one o'clock on April 25, he advanced intending to place his mortars in position and bombard the stockades, but finding that the troops, to adopt a modern phrase, 'had their tails up,' he went straight on and attacked and took the stockades on the northern end of the ridge. Meanwhile Gardner and his irregulars advanced up a parallel ridge and extending to the right on reaching the summit took

¹ *Gazetteer of N. W. P. Himalayan District*, vol. ii.

the remaining stockades. The two ridges mentioned are probably those which run down towards the Kosi on both sides of the present bridle path from Hawalbagh. It must be remembered that at that time the Sitoli ridge was bare and not covered with trees as it is now. A narrow neck running east and west connects the Sitoli ridge with that on which Almora stands. It rises up into a high hill called Hiredungi and to the north joins the Kalimat hill. Somewhere on this connecting ridge near the Sitoli end was another stockade which the attacking troops took in their stride and then pushed on after the retreating enemy. Col. Nicolls in his dispatch¹ talks of five roads which the retreating Gurkhas took. What is meant by this is difficult to say. The connecting ridge is very narrow and there is not room for more than three columns, one on each side and one on the top. Possibly he refers to the different routes taken by the enemy after leaving the ridge, one to Hiredungi, one to Kalimat and the others to the different fortified positions in the town itself. The Gurkhas on Kalimat had taken no part in this stage of the fighting.

The attacking troops had climbed from the Kosi to Sitoli in a little under two hours. Within three hours from the start they had captured Hiredungi, a third of the town and the Raja's palace.

The despatches are not very clear as to how far the advance was pushed. There were two palaces, one a summer palace on Hiredungi, and the chief one on the site of the present Ramsay High School in the town itself. It appears that this is the one meant and Bam Sah in his account of the day² states that the troops occupied the Dip Chand temple which is not far from the school. The mortars were mounted on the little eminence where the L. M. S. Church now stands and opened fire on the Fort at 6 p.m. that evening. That night at eleven o'clock the Gurkhas on Kalimat made a determined attack on the British post on Hiredungi and actually took it. Reinforcements soon arrived however, and Col. Gardner led his irregulars to the rescue in a most gallant manner and the enemy were driven out with great slaughter on both sides and the post reoccupied. Bam Sah states that the attack was due to his orders, and at the same time the Gurkhas from the Fort attacked the advanced British post in the town. It was during this fighting that Lieut. Tapley of the 21st N.I. was killed. He

¹ Fraser, p. 532.

² *Atkinson Gazetteer*, p. 665.

is buried on the Sitoli ridge and a monument now marks the spot. In this somewhat confused night fighting no less than two hundred casualties occurred on the British side, many apparently due to the fire of their own men. There is a local tradition that the enemy disguised themselves as Rohillas and got inside the Hiraungi position before the trick was discovered. But how Gurkhas can disguise themselves as Rohillas is not explained. The next morning early the British advanced post was pushed up to within 70 yards of the Fort. This Fort was the one in the town which is now used as the *Kutcherry*. Atkinson makes a queer mistake and calls it Fort Moira. This is the present Fort near the Club now used as married quarters for the regiment stationed there. An inscription at the entrance states that it was captured by the British when Almora was taken, but this is not actually the case as it was then in the course of being built.

At this juncture several of the garrison were seen leaving the Fort and the advanced parties tried to effect an entrance but were repulsed by heavy fire. The position of the defenders was now desperate. The mortars had been firing all night and the levies were, in the words of Bam Sah 'altogether useless.'

The commander of the body which had made the attack on Hiraungi and which had retired to Sintola was sent for and after discussing the situation with him and other officers Bam Sah sent over a flag of truce at 9 a.m. requesting a suspension of hostilities while terms were discussed. He was informed that the terms were, as stated before, that they should retire across the Kali and send an accredited agent to arrange peace. After some hesitation these terms were accepted on the evening of the 27th and it was arranged that the Gurkhas with their arms and baggage should evacuate the country in ten days.

Thus was Almora taken after a campaign which is one of the most interesting in the whole of the military history of the time. The General Order by the Governor-General is significant.

'The Governor-General has singular satisfaction in acknowledging the important service rendered by Col. Nicolls in the reduction of the province of Kumaon.

The judgment of Col. Nicolls in his preparatory measures, the unremitting activity with which he pursued the object entrusted to his management and the gallant promptitude with which he seized and

improved every opening that could lead to the fulfilment of his instructions not only reflect the highest credit on himself but afford so salutary a lesson for the army that his lordship cannot let slip the opportunity of recommending it to their attention.

The success of Col. Nicolls under the complicated difficulties presented by the country, the fortification by which the natural strength was assisted, and the obstinate resistance of a courageous enemy, should prove the superiority conferred by military science, and a certainty that strenuous application of its principles must entail honourable distinction on a commander. . . . It is only in unusual situations demanding readiness of resource and animated efforts that the difference between officer and officer can be displayed. And it ought to be always present to the mind of every military man that he . . . who tries and fails has to plead those chances from which no operation in war can be secured; while he who contents himself with urging difficulties as an excuse for doing nothing, voluntarily registers his own inefficiency'. Lt.-Col. Gardner is hardly mentioned. One is somewhat inclined to think that part of the order is aimed at him. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why he does not obtain greater recognition.

The people of the country had had a great deal to do with the success of the British though they did not join to any great extent in the actual operations. Yet by deserting from their service in the Gurkha levies, by bringing in supplies and intelligence, they rendered very great assistance. The influence of Harak Beb Joshi whom Hearsey called the 'Warwick of Kumaon' was exerted strongly on the British side and in one case the country people compelled the Gurkhas to evacuate one of their forts. In Kali Kumaon some Kumaoni levies were actually enrolled in Hearsey's force.

Some of the Gurkha garrison of Almora were enrolled in the Provincial Battalion raised by Sir R. Colquhoun, sanction for which was obtained on June 11, 1815, as may be seen from a letter in the Naini Tal Kutcherry. This battalion was paid from civil funds and is now represented by the 1/3rd Gurkha Rifles who are still stationed at Almora.

It is unfortunate that many of the records dealing with the operations have been lost, while the most important which were once in the Commissioner's Office have been transferred to the Imperial

Records Office in Calcutta and can only be inspected there. A certain amount of interesting information however is still to be found among the records in the Commissioner's Office at Naini Tal.

Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the Himalayan District* is full of information and J. B. Fraser's *Journal of a Tour of the Himalaya Mountains* published in 1820 contains several of the despatches. Prinsep's *Political and Military Transactions* which appeared in 1823 has a good account of the earlier operations under Gardner but his account of the actual attack on Almora is poor and inaccurate.

Reviews

'THE OCEAN OF STORY'

BY

PROFESSOR J. JOLLY, WURZBURG

[*The Ocean of Story* being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* now edited with Introduction, Fresh Explanatory Notes and Terminal Essay by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S. in ten volumes. Vol. I with a Foreword by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart.—(London). Privately printed for subscribers only. Crafston House, W. 1. 1924.]

THIS handsome, beautifully printed volume is the first instalment of what bids fair to be a very prominent and substantial contribution to oriental literature in general and the study of Indian fiction and folklore in particular, and at the same time a splendid tribute to the memory of that eminent Sanskritist, C. H. Tawney, who in his position as Professor and Principal in the Presidency College had so many grateful and devoted Indian pupils and later on, Chief Librarian of the Indian Office, did so much to assist and promote the researches of his brother Sanskrit scholars of all countries. Tawney's bulky translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which being out of print is being re-edited by Mr. Penzer in the *Ocean of Story*, is his *magnum opus*, in which he has succeeded in reproducing the elegant verses of the Sanskrit original in good English prose, without taking liberties with the text. Indeed it has been 'literally translated into English prose', like Tawney's previous translation of the drama *Malavikāgnimitra* (1875).

The importance of this vast collection of tales, composed by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva about 1070 A.D., for the study of Indian civilization in all its aspects, in religion, law and usage, court life, gambling and drinking habits, need not be dwelt upon. It is equally important for comparative folklore, as showing 'what a great debt the western tales owed to the East', which latter point has been well brought out in Mr. Penzer's Introduction and is also mentioned as one of the various possibilities regarding the origin of the tales hinted at in the thoughtful foreword supplied by Sir R. C. Temple. The latter writer has particularly referred to the non-Aryan origin of certain tales in this collection. 'Even if we trace a tale or an idea to the *Jātakas* or to the very Vedas themselves, that does not make it

Indian in origin.' Thus Śiva's necklace of skulls corresponds to the Andamanese custom to wear skulls of deceased relatives. The Andamanese, whose usages have been explored by Sir R. Temple himself, may be taken to be among the most untouched aborigines in existence. On the other hand, the likeness of so many Slavonic superstitions to those of India, e.g., in the case of the Vetāla-vampire, is attributed by Sir R. Temple to the Aryan migration eastwards from Southern Russia to India.

Mr. Penzer has not confined himself to bringing Professor Tawney's translation thoroughly up to date; he has added to it several long appendices and notes and a large number of footnotes, in which an enormous amount of antiquarian and folklore information is contained, so that his work, infinitely exceeding in bulk the original edition as it does, might almost serve as a complete manual of Indian antiquities and folklore. Thus the first volume contains four appendices, on the mythical beings mentioned in the *Ocean of Story*, on the use of collyrium and kohl in India, ancient Egypt and the Moslem East, on the craving of the pregnant woman as a motif in Indian fiction, and on sacred prostitution. The long notes at the end of a chapter refer to the magical articles motif in folklore, the entrapped suitors motif, *Gāndharva* form of marriage, the *Paisāchi* language, the *Garuda* bird, the external soul motif, the chastity index motif, the story of Devasmitā, and Deisul or circumambulation. The footnotes treat of the world-egg, the admiration for moles, cakes of phallic form, gold-producing articles or animals, the entering another's body motif, the laughing fish motif, the letter of death motif, the custom of *suttee*, *śrāddhas*, the sacred *darhha* grass, the history of the *dināra*, the austerities of Hindu ascetics, sign-language, bath of blood, stories of the greatful snake, names of famous swords, poison detectors, the hiding of men in imitation animals, tales of precocious children, and other subjects.

Many of the questions treated by Mr. Penzer are so vast that it would be easy to make this or that addition to his learned notes. Thus the remark¹ that Hindus are very cautious about waking up a sleeping friend lest his soul be absent, might have been corroborated by a reference to legal Sanskrit literature, which contains a general

¹ p. 37.

prohibition to wake a person sleeping.¹ The entrapped suitors motif has been effectively traced throughout both Asia and Europe² but no example of it having been quoted from German literature, we may be allowed to refer to a Fastnachtsspiel entitled *Die ehrlich Beckin mit ihren drei vermeinten Bulen*, by Jacob Ayrrer, the Nürnberg dramatist of about 1600. The three gallants entrapped by the baker's wife have in this play been turned into a goldsmith, a tailor, and a shoemaker, but otherwise correspond to the domestic priest, head magistrate and minister of the Indian story of Upakōśā in the *Ocean of Story*. The baker arrives, when his wife makes the three suitors enter the oven and creep into three sacks. The baker threatens to heat the oven. The sacks are finally brought into the market-place to be sold and are bought by the respective wives of the three gallants. The sacks and the oven may be compared to the large trunk and the lamp-black used for smearing the gallants in the Indian story. The interesting note on the language of signs³ might have been enriched by a reference to the valuable works of Colonel Mallery on the sign-language of the North American Indians, also to those passages of the Kautīliya *Arthaśāstra* in which communication by signs is referred to. The latter work (I. 20) might also have been quoted on the subject of detectors of poison⁴ where it states that certain plants serve to keep away poisonous snakes and that certain birds shriek or swoon or feel uncomfortable or die or have their eyes reddened in the vicinity of poison. Regarding the practice of circumambulation of an object of reverence with the right hand towards it, there is a characteristic passage in the *Code of Manu*⁵ to the effect that a man should pass by a mound of earth, a cow, an idol, a Brahman, clarified butter, honey, a crossway, and well-known trees, turning his right hand towards them. Dohada, the craving of a pregnant woman, has been rightly explained as meaning 'two-heartedness', the pregnant woman having two hearts and two wills in her body.⁶ This craving is supposed to be connected, as medical Sanskrit texts show, with transmigration which invests the embryo with all the sensations and tendencies peculiar to it in a previous existence. It is to be hoped that the promised nine other volumes will follow in due time and will make equally fascinating reading as the present volume.

¹ See M. 4, 57; Y. I, 138; VI. LXXI, 56.

² p. 80f.

³ p. 110

⁴ iv. 39

⁵ pp. 42-4.

⁶ p. 221.

HISTORY OF MALABAR

A History of Kerala: Written in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar. By K. P. Padmanabha Menon and edited by Sahityakusalan T. K. Krishna Menon., vol. i. (printed at Ernakulam Government Press and published by Mrs. K. P. Padmanabha Menon.), 1924, 10 X 6, pp. xxiii, 43, and 562. Rs. 8.

The peculiar form of this book, we are told in the Preface, was entirely due to the pious solicitude of the author for historical accuracy, as he knew that if he were to write a continuous and complete history of ancient Malabar, 'There would be breaks which he could not very well fill up with authentic materials.' Thus it is that he took for his text the Letters of Jacobus Canter Visscher, a Dutch chaplain who lived at Cochin in the years 1717-1723 and wrote in the form of letters his observations on the manners and customs of the people, their kingdoms and modes of administration, their laws, rites and ceremonies. Canter Visscher's Letters have been largely made use of by other writers on the history of Cochin; and Mr. Padmanabha Menon himself has used extracts from it for his account of the National Assemblies of Malabar which appeared in vol. v of *The Malabar Quarterly Review*. His *History of Cochin* in two volumes, written in Malayalam, which has been pronounced by a critic to be 'unique in the annals of Malayalam literature,' is, according to the Editor, merely a collection of bouquets he prepared from the superfluous flowers he gathered for this rare garland of *Notes on Canter Visscher*.

The Letters which form the basis of this volume include topics of varying importance, like the situation of Malabar, and the significance of the name, traditions of its first colonization, the prevalent diseases of the country, a description of Cochin, Calicut and other places of interest, the customs of the Portuguese, the methods of Dutch colonial administration and the state of English trade. His account of the manners and customs of the people is naturally based on hearsay; but that of the forts of the country, of the Dutch methods of administration, of the weaknesses of the Portuguese and of the defects of the English trade system, is naturally more valuable, particularly his enumeration of the rules to be observed for the successful management of factories. His characterization of the English is rather cruel, but was based on their conduct in the settle-

ment of Anjengo in those times. We are told that 'as they (the English) always oppress the natives, the English gain from them little in return, but hatred and abuses; and the feeling thus engendered often results in deeds of violence and murder.'¹ Dutch sources of information for the history of Cochin are indeed more numerous and valuable for the two or three centuries preceding the British occupation of the region—among them Baldeus, Nieuhoff, Canter Visscher and Stavorinus being the most important. But to attempt to give in the form of elaborate, and in some places very discursive, notes on the topics raised in the Letters of Canter Visscher, information about the ancient history of the whole of Malabar, is a very difficult task, though the present attempt has, in our opinion, been attended with a considerable amount of success. The arrangement of the matter has, however, to be necessarily disjointed, being a collection of notes of varying length and importance on different subjects, the value of some of which we cannot easily overestimate. The more elaborate notes certainly deserve careful perusal—especially those on the National Assemblies of Malabar² and on Chēramān Perumāl.³

In the first of these, we have a great deal of instructive information about the national assemblies which existed even in the prehistoric days of Brahmin government. Thus there were three kinds of assemblies or *kūṭṭams*—those of the *tara* (village), of the *nāḍu* (district) and of the whole Kērala country. The first was the meeting of the villagers as represented by the *kāraṇaṇars* of the families to discuss matters of local interest, while the assembly of the *nāḍu* discussed matters of wider importance, and was, according to Mr. Logan, a representative body of immense power which set at naught on occasions even the authority of kings.

From the *Kēralolpatti*, which professes to give in detail an account of the reclamation of Malabar, its colonization and early system of government, we learn that after the Perumāls began to rule the country, the Brahmins, with a view to impose some checks on royal authority, organized the country into eighteen divisions and supplied the kings with assemblies which were always to be consulted on all important matters. Assemblies known as 'The Five Hundred,'

¹ p. 33.

² Note 14 in Letter 3.

³ Note 5 in Letter 8.

'The Six Hundred' and 'The Six Thousand' are mentioned in the early Syrian Copper Plate No. III of Logan's collection and in the Tirunelli Copper Plate, which are said to belong to the ninth and eighth centuries respectively. The former plate issued by Sthanu Ravi about A.D. 824 mentions the Six Hundred and also the *Anchuvannam* and the *Manigramam*, the latter two being identified by Mr. K. N. Daniel with the Jews and the Christians who were granted various privileges.¹

Mr. Padmanabha Menon refers to various inscriptions which mention village assemblies and other local bodies and to the notice of these bodies in the writings of travellers like Dr. Fryer (1672-1681). This is a feature which bears close similarity with the well-known growth of local representative bodies in the Tamil country of which we have got such abundant testimony in the Later Pallava, Chōla and Pāndya records. The village assembly of Kerala met under the presidency of the *āsan* or headman, decided social disputes, settled petty cases and attended to the various requirements of the temple. It is the early British administrators of Malabar that ignored altogether the *tara* organization of the Nairs and 'adopted the Mysore system of sub-division for revenue purposes which was subsequently changed into the *hōbali* or *amsam* system without caring to know that the Nair *taras* were originally not mere revenue or administrative divisions, but were organizations to which was entrusted the management of local concerns.'² The great assembly of the whole country was held once in twelve years at the *Mahāmākhā* festival. It was originally presided over by the Valluvanād or Vallattiri Raja till the twelfth or thirteenth century when the Zamorin, becoming supreme, assumed the presidency of the assembly; the last celebration of the assembly was in 1743.

Elsewhere also we get glimpses of this vital local autonomy of the Kerala country. The local administration seems to have been in the hands of hereditary chiefs. The land was divided into a number of *nāḍus*, each presided over by a *nāḍuvāli*, and each *nāḍu* was divided for military purposes into *deśmas*, some of which were presided over by hereditary *deśavālis*, which the others, being the private property of the *nāḍuvāli* or the king, were administered by these latter directly or

through deputies. 'The *deśam* was further sub-divided, not into territorial units, but into caste or tribal groups, such as the *grāmams* of the Namburis, the *tara* of the Nairs, and the *chēri* of the lowcastes, the territorial limits of which, though more or less well defined, overlapped each other. The *nāḍu* and the *deśam* of this coast differed from analogous territorial divisions elsewhere in that they consisted not of so many towns and villages, but of so many Nairs....' The same writer, it may be incidentally remarked, pays a tribute to Canter Visscher for having given some account of the National Assemblies of Malabar which no Portuguese writer had done to his knowledge.

Chēramān Perumāḷ seems to have been the generic title of the later kings of Kerala. Epigraphic evidence tells us that portions of Kerala were invaded and subjugated several times by the Cholas, the Pandyas and other neighbouring kings. 'The confusion of the tradition relating to the rule of the Perumāḷs of the early centuries of the Christian era and of that relating to the rule of the Chola, Pandya and other kings and their viceroys in the subsequent centuries, seems to be the genesis of the *Kēralolpatti* narrative.' Twenty-five elected Perumāḷs ruled over Malabar from about A.D. 216 to 825, and the last of them was known by pre-eminence as the Chēramān Perumāḷ. In the main tradition we are told that the Perumāḷ became a convert to the Bauddha faith and abdicated his throne after dividing his kingdom among his chief nobles and relatives. Muhammadan accounts which came to be embodied in the *Kēralolpatti* give particulars as to the Perumāḷ having turned a Mussalman; while the *Tohtul-ul-Mujaheddin*, an Arabic history of the first settlement of the Muhammadans in Malabar, observes that the Moslem conversion and the Mecca pilgrimage of the Perumāḷ took place in the life-time of the Prophet. Apart from the obvious chronological improbabilities, we can find no early Arab traveller or indeed any writer from the time of the merchant Sulaiman (*cir.* A.D. 850) to the days of Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1324-54) and Abdur Razzak (A.D. 1441) making any mention of this story.² But Portuguese writers from Barbosa onwards mention the story; while the great poet, Camoens, includes it in

¹ Vide *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. liii, pp. 357-60.

² p. 261.

¹ Achyutha Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, p. 48.

² pp. 437-8.

his epic, the *Lusiad*.¹ The Portuguese admittedly got this account from a Moor of Tunis, Monsayde, who was at Calicut when Vasco da Gama first landed there and from whom the Portuguese first learnt of Malabar, its history and its people. Visscher himself entertained great doubts as to the authenticity of these traditions and declared that 'the narration I have followed is however filled with trifles and does not hang well together.' Modern historians do not give credence to the account. The author of the book under review points to this as well as to another account that it was another ruler Bāṇa Perumāḷ who turned Moslem and performed the Haj. He, as is but proper, does not place reliance at all on the supposed tomb of Chēramān at Zahfar on the Arabian coast, and explains the real nature and the value of the evidence as to the existence of the tomb, the alleged inscription on it and the conclusion derivable therefrom. Possibly the story of the conversion of the Perumāḷ is based on the great influence wielded by the Moorish traders on the Zamorin of Calicut whose prosperity rested largely on their co-operation; and a ceremony which was performed at each Zamorin's coronation is suggested by our author as being very likely 'a relic of the apostasy of one of the Zamorins and of his pilgrimage to Mecca, the change of religion being perhaps the result of a *liaison* which the then Zamorin had with a Moplah woman.'² There is also a valuable note by the author in this connection on the Jain traits found in the Malabar temple architecture and another on the Śaiva devotion of the Perumāḷ as based on the accounts in Śaiva works.

We have dwelt at some length on the above two topics, as they seem to require some elaboration for a proper understanding of their bearings. The accounts in the *Notes*, of particular localities like Anjengo, the 'famed Muziris,' Quilon, etc., are all samples of the author's patient and assiduous scholarship. That on Muziris is particularly long and interesting as its early glory is veiled in the mists of Hebrew and Phoenician connections. The bearings of this early Semitic connection with Malabar may prove a valuable link in the chain of evidence that is now being forged by scholars for proving the close bonds that knit together early Dravidian and early Mesopotamian and allied cultures. Later than the Phoenician contact

¹ Canto 7 stanzas 33-4.

² p. 455.

came the closer Graeco-Roman intercourse with South India which is proved abundantly by philological, literary and numismatic evidence. Of all this, Cranganore (Muziris) was the most significant centre; and it enjoyed great prosperity under the Perumāḷs to whom is attributed the foundation of the Jewish and the Christian communities as autonomous guilds with special rights and privileges. Pliny described Cranganore as the *Primum Emporium Indicae* of his days, and according to our author it deserved that distinction very well indeed.

Anjengo, the earliest English factory on the Malabar coast (though some writers like Pinkerton assert that there was an earlier settlement) was rendered famous by its close association with Robert Orme, *The Thucydides of British India*, and with Mrs. Daniel Draper, *Sterne's Eliza*, as also with James Forbes, the author of the charming *Oriental Memoirs* and the grand father of Count Montalembert.

Other notes give us interesting glimpses of Travancore history, of the political condition of Malabar in the early eighteenth century, of the great Mārthāṇḍa Varma, of his minister Rāmayyan Daḷawāy, of the formidable Brahmin and other factions, besides topics too numerous to mention in this review. The martial spirit that was cultivated among the Nairs is also well brought out. The editor is to be congratulated on his careful work which has contributed largely to the attractiveness of the book; he has done his best with the material left in its peculiar form by the author, and we look forward eagerly to the succeeding volumes.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA

By

V. A. SMITH

[Fourth Edition, Revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.

Clarendon Press. Price, 6s. net.]

V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* from 600 B.C., to the Muhammadan Conquest, the first edition of which was published in 1904, just twenty years before the fourth edition, has now come to be a recognized book of authority for the period covered by the work. It had undergone two revisions already by the author, who was

reference. The third and the fourth lectures deal with the subject of the Edicts of Asoka, and his imperial organization studied in the light of the *Arthaśāstra*. The following two lectures have to do with the two universities of Nalanda and Vikramaśīla.

Professor Samaddar brings under these convenient headings a considerable mass of matter scattered over a large volume of literature. For the most part of it, and over important periods, the history of Magadha is practically the history of India. The two lectures devoted to the study of the imperial organization of Asoka illustrate that prominently. For the earlier period up to the rise of the Mauryan Empire, Magadha remains a distinct geographical entity, and is prominently a land outside the pale of Brahminical civilization even. It proves as such a fertile field for the propagation for the reforming religions of early India such as Jainism, Buddhism, etc. Professor Samaddar deals fully with the position of Magadha as Vṛātya land and the land of Kikatas. That taint attaches to Magadha even now, and as Professor Samaddar observes, no Maithili Brahman would bathe on this side of the Ganges on ceremonial occasions. From this obscurity and attendant neglect Magadha emerges into glory with the rise of Jainism, and then of Buddhism, and advances to the position of the leading state of India giving the name to the very empire itself under the Mauryas. It is after the age of the Guptas that it loses that importance, and plays a somewhat secondary rôle till its absorption in the provinces of Bengal by the Muhammadan Conquest.

In this period of history, the capital cities play their part, and while Rājagṛha will be found to be the head-quarters of the Hindu Rulers of Magadha, it continues to maintain that position till the fifth century, in the earlier half of which, it begins to share its importance, with Pāṭalīputra ultimately giving place to it. There is no other city that comes in for anything like that degree of importance in Magadha, with the exception of perhaps Bodhgaya, which is essentially a religious centre.

Much has been written upon Asoka and his Edicts, and his imperial organization, but the study presented here by Professor Samaddar in his two lectures, is, perhaps, the first systematic attempt to study Asokan organization in the light of the Kauṭīliyan arrangements of the *Arthaśāstra*. While there may be details here and

there in which one may differ, there is an illuminating freshness in the whole of the study.

The chapters on the Universities for the first time bring the fragments of information scattered over a large number of books, together in a convenient form. If Professor Samaddar did nothing more than that, it would be very good work. Professor Samaddar brings a certain amount of local knowledge to bear upon the question, which enhances the value of the lectures. We congratulate Professor Samaddar and the Patna University upon this course of Readership lectures.

Some few slips have met our eyes here and there, and we are sure that they would be corrected when a new edition should be called of that book. But there is one to which we would like to draw the Professor's attention, and that is the use of the term 'Palaeographic', where he means 'Epigraphic,' particularly in lecture vi. On page 139 reference is made to Pushyamitra to the second century A.D., obviously an error for the second century B.C.

Let us hope that with this beginning the Patna University will rapidly advance to take her place in the front rank of Indian Universities in the course of a small number of years in the matter of published work.

RAJAPUTS

BY

C. V. VAIDYA

['History of Mediæval Hindu India', Volume II,
Published by the Oriental Book Supplying Agency,
Poona, 1924. Price, Rs. 7.]

This work deals with the period A.D. 750 to 1000, and is concerned mainly with the early history of the Rajaput dynasties that succeeded to the empire of Harsha. It is divided into three books, the first dealing with the origin of the Rajaputs, the second with the set of Hindu kingdoms founded by them, and the third with a miscellaneous variety of matter, with chapters on language, castes, and social condition, religious and political condition of the country, civil and military administration, etc. There are as many as eight appendices,

and one map dealing with various important topics which require detailed treatment for the understanding of the subject as a whole. The whole subject is treated with the learning that we are accustomed to associate with the Rao Bahadur, whose works on the *Riddle of Ramayana*, the *Great Epic of India*, and *Epic India* are well known.

In connection with the origin of the Rajaputs he has necessarily to discuss the theories of the foreign origin of the Rajaputs as a whole, which have been elaborated by the late Mr. Jackson and others. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of Calcutta is the latest and perhaps the ablest exponent. Incidentally the author here has to treat of the Agnikulas, the foreign origin of the Gurjaras, and *Gotra* and *Pravara* of the Hindus. All these subjects in detail receive from the author the full treatment that they deserve, and the conclusions that he arrives at are the direct negative of those adopted by Professor Bhandarkar and those that had gone before him.

It would be impossible to deal with the whole subject in a review in any detail. While appreciating the new light that he throws upon many of the subjects, we do find occasionally that he arrives at conclusions somewhat too definite where such definition seems hardly admissible. In regard to *Gotra* and *Pravara*, he arrives at the illuminating conclusions, 'that Kshatriyas must have had their *Gotra* and *Pravara* firstly as Aryans and descendants of the original four Aryan stocks. Then again they must have had *Gotra* and *Pravara* as descendants of Kshatriya Mantrakrit or composers of Vedic hymns. Lastly even by adoption for purposes of sacrificial ritual they must have taken certain *Paksha*, or *Gotra* and *Pravara*, there being differences of ritual among the different *Pravara* in minor matters.' That seems to us quite a sound position.

In regard to the Agnikula tradition, the learned Rao Bahadur is too definite in the position that he has taken that the tradition is a myth, and has no earlier authority than Chand Bardai, or the poet Chand. The Agnikula tradition may be taken back far earlier elsewhere than in the tales of Rajaput chivalry.

Tamil literature knows of the tradition; there is certainly one specific and unmistakable reference to it in connection with one of the early chieftains, whose name figures in the literature known as *Sāgam* literature. The chief has to be located somewhere in the region that constitutes the modern State of Mysore at present, not far from

where Sātavāhana lead coins were found as well as inscriptions, referring to a family of chieftains known as Angiyakulavadana, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Āgnēyakulavardhana, the father of the great Sātavāhana queen, Nāganikā. Of course this expression was interpreted as meaning, 'coming from the dynasty or family of Anga', which, to say the least of it, is fanciful. Our point at present is merely to indicate that the tradition in the details in which it is found in connection with the origin of the Rajaputs, is found on record in a Tamil poem ascribed to the Sangam celebrity Kapila and addressed to the chieftain Irungovēl, whose capital city was Arayam. The details, as given there, are that he came of a family which originally appeared from the sacrificial fire of a *rshi* at Dvārakā, and had already counted forty-nine generations before him. Whether this tradition has really anything to do with a large stratum of population generally known by the name of Vanniyan, which name is derivable from one of two sources, either from Vanni or Agni and Vanni, the tree, the tree from which fire was produced by the drill. Apart from the question of its historical character or otherwise, the tradition is traceable to a period centuries before the date of Chand.

Similarly in regard to the tradition connected with the name of Prathihāra coming from the Sanskrit term meaning gate-keeper. The tradition could be traced again to early Tamil literature. There is a continuous tradition tracing the Chōlas to the Sūryavamśa, the family of Śibi. The Pallava chieftain Ilam-Tiraiyan, who is Chōla by the father and Nāga by the mother, is described in a contemporary poem as the descendant of an younger brother of Vishnu, which is explained by the commentator as meaning the younger brother of Rama, i.e. Lakshmaṇa, the Prathihāra, par excellence. In dealing with traditions, therefore, it would seem requisite to widen the field of investigation and see where they lead to, before jumping to conclusions. This applies to the Rao Bahadur, and his conclusions as much as the conclusions of my friend Professor Bhandarkar, who sees in the term Prathihāra, the Sanskritization from the Prakrit to which a different meaning is attached. If the Pallavas could trace their descent from Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rama, other families could do so more appropriately, if not historically in either case.

These are only instances here and there; but on the whole, the work is an illuminating commentary upon what has to be regarded as

an obscure period of Indian History, and will pay the trouble if serious students take to study it carefully. We would only suggest to the Rao Bahadur to take a little more care about proof-reading and references personal and other, and see that the small slips and blemishes of English even do not occur, as they tend to create unnecessary prejudice against an otherwise informing and illuminating work which deserves well of all interested in the advancement of the study of the History of India.

Reviews of Journals on Oriental Subjects

'THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'

THE number of this learned publication for April begins a new series under the editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and Professor Shaikh Abdul Kadir, and gives promise of useful service to the world of scholars. This number begins with a note on the Āra Inscription by that veteran scholar and epigraphist, Sten Konow. The learned scholar subjects the inscription, already edited by him with great ability and scholarship in the *Epigraphia Indica*, to a re-examination of the reading itself of the document, and all that that reading involves. He still holds that his former reading, that of Dr. Lüders, is correct. The peculiarity of this inscription is, among a variety of other minor points, the title 'Kaisara' used along with the other titles associated with the Kushanas generally. This is the same as the Roman 'Cæsar', and the learned Doctor points out that, as against Dr. Fleet, this title was in general use in the eastern part of the Roman Empire during the early empire, and continued even with the later emperors, Septimius Severus, 193-211, Caracalla, 211-217, and Elagabalus 218-222 as well, with this further peculiarity that while the other titles are translated into Greek, this retains its original form. It becomes clear that the late Dr. Fleet's position that the title could not have been introduced into India after the time of the Emperor Hadrian, becomes untenable. The learned Doctor arrives at the conclusion that, while the title could not have been introduced earlier than Augustus, the later limit, it is impossible to fix. He, however, regards that the title must have been imported into India at a time when the Roman Empire reached its highest point of glory in Asia, and fixes that period in the latter half of the second century A.D. In this manner he finds that there is no incompatibility in the occurrence of this title in the Āra Inscription with the initial date of the Kanishka era, which, according to him, is A.D. 134.

Next he proceeds to examine the term 'Vajheṣkaputrasa', both in respect of its reading, and its philology with his usual learning, and arrives at the position that the form 'Vajespha' would be against the phonetical laws prevailing in the north-western dialect, while 'Vajheṣka' is of common occurrence. He, therefore, adopts the latter as the reading in the Āra Inscription.

He then proceeds to the main question whether the Kanishka referred to in the inscription is the famous Kanishka, or one of his less famous descendants, and arrives at the conclusion that he was a grandson of the famous Kanishka by his son Vajheshka, and holds the view that the empire was divided between the two sons of Vajheshka, who succeeded Kanishka, and that Kanishka was ruling the northern possessions while Huvishka was ruling the Indian part of the Kushan empire, as against the opinion of the late Dr. Fleet, who regarded Vajhespa as a different person, and that the Kanishka of the Āra record was the ruler, who came after the great Kushan ruler Vāsudēva. After considering the references to the Kushanas in the *Rajataranginī*, the learned Professor arrives at the conclusion that the empire of Kushana passed intact to his son Huvishka, who was succeeded by his son Kanishka II, probably outside India, while the territory in India proper was ruled by Huvishka, the empire uniting again under Huvishka, after the death of Kanishka II, and further believes that in the year 40, even before the death of Kanishka II, Huvishka had made himself independent, thus making it easy for him to be the acknowledged ruler of the whole empire after his death.

This is followed by a number of hitherto unpublished copper plate charters of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi. This refers to as many as twenty plates, in various stages of imperfection, giving the text of full sixteen documents relating to this particular dynasty. They are of the usual order of Valabhi grants, and add a few new dates in connection with some of the rulers, and supply a few other minor particulars in regard to some of these. One important point that comes out is that these grants seem to confirm the surmise that the famous Valabhi of old is represented by the modern locality of Vala, wherefrom the copper plates are obtained.

This is followed by two full grants of the same dynasty found in the Bhavnagar Museum, among nine of which five have already been published, and two more are awaiting publication by Mr. R. D. Banerji.

The two plates published here are full documents, and such. This is followed by notes on a certain number of Valabhi grants by Mr. G. V. Acharya.

Then follows an interesting article by Mr. Alfred 'On Stress Ascent in Modern Guzarati,' which is of perhaps to readers of this journal. Then follows an article on the *Pantavārttika* and the *Dharmaśāstra* literature by Mr. P. V. Kane. It proves to be a very important study as the age of *Dharmasūtras* is not known, and generally accepted as in the eighth century. Kumarila quotes the very important *Dharmasūtras*, those of Gautama, Vasiṣṭa, Śankhalikhita, Hārīta, Baudhāyana and others, which stand apart, according to him, from the *Purāṇas*, the work of Manu, and the *Itihāsa*. He makes the further remark that the *Grihya* works are studied in different Vedic schools as is the case with *Pratiśākyas*. Then Mr. Kane takes up for detailed investigation all the *Dharmaśāstras* quoted in Kumarila's work, and makes many instructive notes regarding them. He finds that according to Kumarila, '*Dharmaśāstras* give instruction as to the differences of castes, and that as the *Dharmaśāstras* are mostly uniform, the *Dharmaśāstras* agree with one another, and are called *Smṛti* equally with the *Angas*.' According to Kumarila, Manu seems to be the highest in his esteem both in point of authority, and even of age. Gautama seems to follow next. The *Manusmṛti* is then referred to by the term *Manava*, and therefore by about A.D. 750 the existing *Manusmṛti* had attained to high authority as a text-book.

Mr. Kane draws attention to an interesting discussion in regard to *Saddhara* by Kumarila, who quotes the *sūtras* of Gautama that 'transgression of *Dharma*, and also rashness are seen among the great' giving a number of instances of such transgression, and explaining them almost from the point of view of comparative mythology. From the point of view of cultural history, the study is a very important one, and a work like that of Mr. Kane will prove to be of great value.

This is followed by Dr. Sukthankar's review of *Bhasa's Prakrit* by Wilhelm Prentz. A philologist himself who has made a careful study of *Bhasa's Prakrit*, Dr. Sukthankar's criticism is of the highest value. Dr. Sukthankar draws pointed attention to the assumption of

are of value as of unpublished

Master, I.C.S.

little interest

article on the

P. V. Kane.

of Kumarila

middle of the

Dharmasūtras,

Āpastamba,

him, from the

s the further

Vedic schools

takes up for

actually in

garding them.

give instruc-

Dharmaśāstras

another, and

to Kumarila,

t of authority,

the *Manusmṛti*

by about A.D.

authority as a

in regard to

Gautama that

among the

transgression, and

comparative

the study is

will prove to

of the highest

assumption of

the authorship of these plays that runs through the finality as to review, and points out that there is about as much work under the one side as on the other, and that in particular the evidence on these dramas is liable to so much corruption that even if the authorship is settled in favour of *Bhasa*, it would be still hazardous to build upon this basis as the learned scholar has done. He then points out the faulty conclusions of the author in regard to the division of his thesis. After an elaborate examination of these, Dr. Sukthankar points out that any attempt to arrive at a chronological basis of the prakrit of these dramas would be conclusions on prakrit of these dramas is liable to far greater changes futile. The defective knowledge in the scribes who copied these from time to time, as none of the manuscripts of these dramas is more than 300 years old. Those who are interested in the subject would do well to consult the work itself, and Dr. Sukthankar's learned criticism.

Then follows a thesis on the oblique form, and the dative suffix which may not interest readers of this journal.

Next the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., translates some original letters, upon the alliance between the Portuguese at Goa and the kingdoms of the Deccan as against Akbar. Father Heras discusses this question with the first-hand knowledge which we are accustomed to associate with him, and raises a strong presumption in favour of his conclusions, which are given categorically as follows:—

(1) That the Portuguese were aware of the designs of Akbar against the kingdoms of the Deccan.

(2) That, as a consequence, and as a measure of self-protection, the Portuguese sought the defence and alliance of the Deccan States.

(3) That, although the direct evidence refers only to Bijapur, there is room for regarding that the other States were as much concerned as Bijapur itself.

(4) That, during the period of Salim's rebellion, the existence of the alliance was forgotten, as the attention of the emperor was called elsewhere.

Dr. Sukthankar next has an important note on the *Bhasa* riddle, solution of his own. After a survey of the previous and proposes a

article that the discussion on the subject, Dr. Sukthankar finds in this inconclusive arguments so far advanced on either side are all of the main argument one way or the other, and proceeds to state on the Sūtradhāra in of the thirteen Trivandrum plays beginning with the is no point in contradistinction to the classical plays, that there is Sūtradhāra, as all Bāṇa's statement that the *Bhasa* plays begin with Sūtradhāra, as all classical dramas begin with the Sūtradhāra in fact as he has himself to recite the Nāṭya Darpaṇa and thus this special character is out that the as it was called, ceases to have force. Then he points like those of arguments adduced to prove that these plays are the arguments adduced are quite inadequate. He disposes of easily that the Nyayaśāstra of Mēdhādithi referred to in the Pratiṃhā Nāṭaka name, which is has reference to the commentator on Manu of the name occurs. undoubtedly incongruous in the context in which the is carried too Then he considers the prakrit argument which has been argument. The far, and points out the futility of building upon this argument among which prakrit is capable of variation for a variety of reasons, factor. It is the Provenance of the plays would be an important followed any matter for grave doubt whether the writers of dramas are seriously considered whether in the employment of varieties of prakrit in grammatical dramatists did not adopt a sort of school prakrit based upon argument would text books. If such had really been the case, the argument would lose all force as a decisive factor of age. The learned Doctor then proceeds to consider the final question of the sloka referred to in the *Nāṭya Darpaṇa*. Not being found in the *Svapnavasāvatī* at there is an shed, the Doctor makes the illuminating suggestion that appropriate-apparent omission where this sloka can with the greatest effect be brought in. Then he considers the other example. He considers *Nāṭya Lakṣhaṇa*, not mentioning the name of *Bhasa*. similarity to be that the quotation from *Nāṭya Lakṣhaṇa* has sufficient style Trivandrum identified with the stage direction as it appears in the play may play, and hence he adopts the conclusion that while practitioners of the not be exactly the same, as that known to the rhetoricians of the twelfth century, it does not differ from that sufficient Trivandrum play distinct difference in the text. He regards the Trivandrum play as an abridged adaptation to the Malayalam stage. There is much more of value in this illuminating note of the editor.

on this to another subject, the date of the *Bhāgavata*. We pass from this to another subject, the date of the *Bhāgavata* which has been referred to the twelfth century A.D. in *Macdonnell's History of the Sanskrit Literature*, adopting probably the suggestion of Wilson. The learned Mr. C. V. Vaidya who has an admirable acquaintance with Purāṇic and Itihāsa literature, and whose opinions deserve the very best consideration, arrives at the conclusions that the Purāṇa South Indian poet of ability. The first argument he composed by reference to the mention of Rādhā as chief among the Gopis. He refers to the Gopis being transformed into 'ardent Gopis'. He refers to the stage of evolution from the ideas of the *Mahābhārata* into the *Bhāgavata* notwithstanding the fact that the cult of Rādhā finds no mention, while it has in the *Mahābhārata* prominent feature in the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadēva of come to be a point out that in answer to a question by Parikshit, A.D. 1164. He points out that in regard to this particular point the conduct of Śuka answers blameable, and that other people are not exactly to follow Krishna was of great men, but more their precepts. There is a section the example of Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravartika* to which Mr. Kane has drawn in Kumarila's *Śaṅkara* where a similar question is put and Kumarila pointed out the same problem, and leaves the question unanswered propounds the question that good practice differs from country to country. with an implicit in the light of this, the reply found in the *Bhāgavata* to Whether or not, is not of about the same age as that of Kumarila, Parikshit's question, and he dily accept that the *Bhāgavata* was anterior to Jayadēva; we could reach a difficulty is the lower limit. The lower limit is, of but the actual *Vishṇu Purāṇa* without doubt. But whether the outlook course, the *Bhāgavata* upon Buddhism and Buddha offers a definite of the *Bhāgavata* the learned Rao Bahadur has accepted, is perhaps open to datum that the Rao Bahadur comes to the conclusion that the Buddha question. The *Bhāgavata* an *Avatar* of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata* while the *Vishṇu* is accepted as a false semblance of Viṣṇu sent to *Purāṇa* merely as a device. Still the learned scholar finds that the *Bhāgavata* delude the Daśartha to Vedic sacrifices, unlike Buddhism. Jayadēva, attaches importance to Buddha as an unalloyed benefactor as the ninth however, regards him for discountenancing animal sacrifices incarnation, a passion. Thus he comes to the conclusion that the out of comparison midway between the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and Jayadēva. So *Bhāgavata* is

far it is unexceptionable. But he proceeds further and says that Buddhism went out of existence practically after the age of the *Bhāgavata* must have come a considerable time after. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan finds support for this argument in the *Bhāgavata* itself. He says that the Sāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila as compared with the Sāṅkhya of Śaṅkara regards Kapila the founder of Sāṅkhya as a different person from the Kapila, *Avatar* of Viṣṇu. The system as explained in the *Bhāgavata* makes it a development which is regarded as a development which is later than Śaṅkara. If Śaṅkara set himself to refute Kapila, the Sāṅkhya system as the incarnation of Viṣṇu should have been prevalent, and on that basis how could be regarded as later than Śaṅkara is rather difficult to stand. Then he draws upon the argument that the *Bhāgavata* is neither that of Madhva, nor that of Rāmānuja, therefore the *Bhāgavata* must have been composed between the dates of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. Then he proceeds to find geographical and historical statements in the *Bhāgavata* to find confirmation for this conclusion. Among other things he refers to the 'Kilakila Yavanas' datum. We must say frankly that this specific datum is too far-fetched. As to the Kilakila, it is hard to see why the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Bhaviṣya* texts in regard to the Yavanas should be overlooked, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* text should be overlooked for authority. It is easily demonstrable that the *Bhaviṣya* texts. A critical study of these texts leads to the identification of the Kilakila Yavanas with those of the Vindhyaśakti. There is fairly good ground for identifying the Vindhyaśakti as the same ruler as the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. In the particular which the Kilakila Yavanas are ascribed as the rulers of the country, the Āndhra country was certainly under the Eastern Satavahana, and would

take Zoroastrianism into account, we have not come across any reference to the age of the term 'Yavana' is used in the Dharmapāla Inscription. Haraprasad Shastri, in regard to which Sir William Dandridge, is open to discussion whether the Yavanas referred to in the epigraph are not the Kambōjas, and the Yavanas of Orissa were not people far other than the Kilakila Yavanas. Whether they were Greeks or no, whatever to connect these with the so-called Kilakila Yavanas. This datum, therefore, leads us nowhere. The twelfth book, to all the *Ālvars*, and that may give us the Purāṇa as having been composed in the tenth century A.D. But before arriving at a conclusion we ought to make sure that the portion of the *Jātaka* is not a later addition. There is, besides, a Tamil *Vaiṣṇava Prabandha* contains numerous references to the Yavanas. An interesting article by I. Banerji, 'The Yavanas of Nāhapana or at the end of the Kōśālas in the twelfth century A.D.' should have coincided with the various articles, and caters to a large number of India is his life. Our contemporary a successful career.

C. C. Mitra.

H. Heras of

the power of

NAHAPANA AND THE SAKA ERA

This is from Mr. R. D. Banerji, writing in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society* (1925, Part I) tries to estimate the real significance of the inscriptions in cave No. 3 of the Pandu Lena Group. He shows that the inscriptions must have been dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarni and interpreted as Nos. 4 and 5 had been incised in the walls of this original enlargement by Queen Gautamī Bālasrī when inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3 were incised on another wall. There are four different inscriptions and four different dates in cave No. 3, the exact date of which has been examined at length by the writer in the lost race of this paper. He criticises the presentation of facts contained in these in *The Indian Antiquary* and points out how if the different inscriptions in cave No. 3 are regnal years

the further investigation of which may lead to a definition of Śa and then *Bhāgavalam*.

Then follow the usual reviews, book notices, and will still holds out. We have already taken up too much space, and will close this issue with the new series of this important journal will have a grandrum dramas, useful career under the editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, are ascribable colleague.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume I, part 1, March 1925.

EDITED BY NARENDRANATH LAW

We welcome this quarterly to the ranks of Indian journals, as we more warmly as a yoke-fellow to the *Journal of Indian History* which for the past three years has been labouring alone as a pretty large array of articles, and caters for a large variety of subjects. We wish our contemporary a successful career.

NAHAPANA AND THE SAKA ERA

Mr. R. D. Banerji, writing in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925, Part I) tries to estimate the real significance of the inscriptions in cave No. 3 of the Pandu Lena Group a portion of which must have been dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarni and inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 had been incised in the walls of this original cave before its enlargement by Queen Gautamī Bālasrī when inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 were incised on another wall. There are four different inscriptions and four different dates in cave No. 3, the exact significance of which has been examined at length by the writer in the first part of this paper. He criticises the presentation of facts connected with these in *The Indian Antiquary* and points out how if the dates of the different inscriptions in cave No. 3 are regnal years of Pulumāyi, we are faced with a difficult problem. He then proves how (1) The cave dedicated by Gautamī Bālasrī in the year 19 of the reign of her grandson Pulumāyi was different from that which Śātakarni calls his

own baster up to the time of the Rig Veda rather than bring down and (2) the Rig Veda to the lower date of Zoroaster. Then there is a gift of a but uncompleted account by that veteran Mm. Dr. proof of the patri who gives a popular account of the discovery of No. 3, or pccripts in Nepal, and connected with the Nepalese incision of srit literature. Then follow two articles 'Bhāravi and cave No. 19 of K. De, and another 'Some Aspects of Economic is no evident India', by P. C. Basu. The former is based upon time of the pts recently discovered by the Madras Manuscripts' or its gift tivantisundari Kathā, and Avantisundarikathāsāra, one in

He also other in poetry. Then follows an article 'On Aryan Bhandarkar', by Mr. Gunavardhane of Colombo. In this article for 1918—makes an attempt to show that the well-known ruling though it be Chandra, Surya, and Agni Vamsas, were non-Aryan defeated and that the so-called Aryan rule is a myth. This is a learned article by Dr. B. M. Baruva, 'On the Barhu dynasty'—the learned article by Dr. B. M. Baruva, 'On the Barhu Nahapana is and the tale that they tell on Buddhism.' This mean that matters of visitāna as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. the utmosholar who hold that the *Bhāgavata* treatment of these latter; arms from the Tamil *Prabandha*. If that is so, the *Bhāgavata* which state of a later date than this. But one cannot be certain does not the commentators of these *Prabandhas* usually quote for

Again regard to the details, the *Vishnu Purāṇa* rather than the viz. 'It a which is a clear indication that in the time of these Kushana 68, twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the *Bhāgavata* did him to save authoritative text-book in regard to these matters. There And he mr point in the Rao Bahadur's article to which we must that Chāsn, and that is, that since the *Bhāgavata* mentions the acceptable places like Vēnkaṭa, Śrīraṅga, etc., the work must be of reign of Gury. The learned scholar calls these 'modern holy places.' that the Ahte sure what exactly the specific significance of 'modern' of Rudrad of the Rao Bahadur. But the holy places specifically career of ce at least as old as the classical Tamil literature, and inscription of great repute in the days of the earliest Tamil Vaishṇava and conse therefore, their mention could be of no assistance in Mahaksha is particular century to which the *Bhāgavata* has been would be the learned scholar. Notwithstanding all these, the was conq learned scholar raises many points of great importance,

Observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire.' This article 'Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata' follows philological notes on certain words in the Mahābhārata by Muhammad Shahidullah of Dacca. This is followed by the article 'the Bhasa Problem', by K. R. Pisharoti, who is mentioned in the theory of Ganapati Sastri that the Trivandrum inscriptions have been thirteen in number discovered by him in manuscript. This is followed by three or four miscellaneous articles, among which 'Some Wall Paintings from Kelaniya' and 'Kāśmīrī Chāṭi'. Then follows 'Pāvāpuri and its Temple' by Puran Chand Nahar. There is an interesting article on the Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārika contributed by V. Bhattacharya. There is a short note following on 'Sena's Flight from Nadia' wherein Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya says that the accounts of the Muhammadan Conquest of India which have them, are far from the actual truth. Then follow articles 'Rasātala or the Under-world', by Nundo Lal Banerji, and 'Ancient India', by B. C. Law. This is a variety of tastes of the other; none the less, we welcome it, as it is to contain two journals for historical work bearing on the Saka should easily meet the demands of the two and more. The question in connection with this is the organization of the work being done in the field of Indian History in the widest possible term, so as to feed regularly the journals, which off that date, medium for such work. We, therefore, welcome the journal as a rival, but as a friendly collaborator in the same field.

The number before us provides nearly 200 pages of large variety. It contains twenty-two articles of varying interest, besides miscellaneous communications, about the Nasik inscriptions, reviews, select contents of oriental journals. These together provide a large array of historical information. This journal leads with an introduction by Professor Stein, a venerable savant, who occupied the position of Epigraphist in the Government of India, and for a number of years edited the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*. This is followed by Professor Keith with a long note on the date of Zoroaster, which is mainly a summary of Professor Hertel's German work, *The Time of Zoroaster*. Keith dissents from the conclusions of the German scholars on the date of the Saka conquest of India.

Refutation or that jointly with his mother in inscription No. 5 the Gautamīputra Śātakarni had ceased to live at the date of the cave by his mother Gautamī Bālasrī. There is additional fact in inscription No. 2 itself. It is evident that cave portion of it must have existed about the time of the inscription No. 4; quite a year before the dedication of the reign of Pulumāyi. The writer concludes that there found it to prove that Gautamīputra Śātakarni was alive at the time of the dedication of cave No. 3 by his mother Gautamī Bālasrī as a gift to the Bhadrāyāniya monks.

He refutes some curious observations made by Dr. D. R. Yacharya about Nahapana which appeared in *The Indian Antiquary*. Among others, the remarks that 'the reign of Nahapana in consequence gloriously, came to a disastrous end. He was opened and killed by Gautamīputra Śātakarni of the Śātavāhana dynasty, the evidence available only attesting that some coins of the former were restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarni which can only a poet the date of Śātakarni is later than that of Nahapana or at least that the former ruled over a portion of the territory of the latter'. The inscription No. 2 at Nasik of the year 19 of Pulumāyi shows that Gautamīputra exterminated the Khakharāta race, but mentions that he killed Nahapana in battle.

Of that Mr. Banerji refutes another conclusion of the same scholar, named after the destruction of the Kshaharāta family the same overlord appointed Chāshtana to be a satrap and dispatched him to find as much as possible from the clutches of the Śātavāhanas. The hypothesis maintains that the suggestion of Messrs. Rapson and Smith that Vasuhtana was a satrap of the Kushan family is not easily refuted. He would also reject the assumption of the simultaneous contention of Chāshtana and his grandson Rudradāman. He says that all the inscriptions prove is that Cutch was in the possession of the Kshaharāta in the year 52 of the Saka era and that he started his kingdom some time before that year. Moreover the Andhra inscriptions add the epithet *Rājan* before Chāshtana and Rudradāman. Consequently we have no right to assume that Chāshtana was a tributary and Rudradāman a Kshatrapa in the year 52 Saka. He believes that most probably the kingdom of Chāshtana in Malwa was overthrown by the Great Kushana emperors in the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

Vol. 45, No. 1—

The Place of Amorites in the Civilization of Western Asia.

G. A. Barton.

Words of Defamation in Sanskrit Legal Language. By E. W. kins.

Untersuchungen Zum Mokshadharma. E. Frauwallner.

Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)

Tome XXIV, 1924, Nos. 1 and 2

Les versions Chinoises du Milindapanha, pp. 1-303. By Paul De ville. Contents : 1. State of the Extant and Re-extant Recens; 2. History of the Chinese Versions; 3. Comparison of Chinese with the Pali Versions; 4. Menander; 5. Nagad 6. Doctrinal Value of the Work. Appendices.

Journal Asiatique

July to September, 1924—

The Buddhist Antiquities of Haibak in Afghan Turkistan consist of the remains of a Sanghārāma, stūpa halls, pillars, etc.
A. Foucher.

The Visvabharati Quarterly

January, 1925—

Development of Religious Thought amongst the Indo-Aryans.
Sten Konow.

April, 1925—

Development of Religious Thought amongst the Indo-Aryan
(concluded).

Bengal, Past and Present

(Calcutta Historical Society)

January to March, 1925—

Survivors of the Black Hole. By J. J. Cotton.
Mir Jumla's Invasion of Assam.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

March, 1925—

Om Mani Padmē Hum. By Dr. Sten Konow, PH.D.

Annual Meeting, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.