

I

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Vol. IV

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Editorial Note

WITH this number for January Volume IV of the Journal is complete. An index to the volume will be issued as early as practicable.

It is proposed to bring out all the three parts of the journal within the limits of the calendar year. The numbers will, therefore, issue in April, August and December respectively. This arrangement will be adopted for 1926.

Other changes of an educational character are also in contemplation. These will be carried out and the journal made more useful to teachers of the subject, and it is hoped that more support would be forthcoming to justify these changes being carried out.

The journal has delayed somewhat this time owing to illness of the editor. It is hoped that that contingency will not arise again.

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 indentation 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,

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'Sri Venkatesa Vilas,'

Nadu Street, Mylapore,

MADRAS, S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Ourselfs

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

2A

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

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 Āruvāymoḷi 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 Shencōṭṭa, 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 Āruvāymoḷi 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 Pāṇdyas, Chōḷas, Vijayanagara generals and the

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 *kāḍavaṇ* 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 Kanyābhagavati 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 Pahruli² 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 தெற்குறி கடபெருக்கல்

குறுகுட கடல்கெய்தல்—

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

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—² தெற்குறிக்க

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—*Irāiyaṇār-Agapporuḷurai*, v. 245.

³ தெற்குறிக்க தெற்குறெய்தல் தெற்குறெய்தல்—*Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. I, p. 22.

செய்யுள்

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—*Puranāṇūru*, 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 Oilaiyūr-*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 Oilaiyūr. He mentions a chief named Ditiyan. This king was the contemporary of Neḍunjeḷiyan, the victor of the Talaiyānaṅgāṇam battle, who defeated the same Ditiyan and who has been identified² with Śeliyan-Śēndan (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-mahātmyam*, 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 Maṇavarman, 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 Nakkirar's commentary on the *Irāiyaṇār-Agapporuḷ*⁴ according to which this Pāṇḍya ruler defeated

¹ ஸபைந் தரத்திற் குடிசெய்த

தெற்குறிக்க கடல்புறத்திற்—*Puranāṇūru*, v. 71.

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—*Puranāṇūru*, v. 71.

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—*Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. I, p. 22.

கடல்புறத்திற் செல்வோர்க்கே—*Trav. Archl. Series*, vol. I, p. 22.

² *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* (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. 103 where a different identification has been attempted.

the *Vāṅavar*, *Śēralar* and *Silaimanṇar* (all of which names are synonymous with the Chēras) in nine battles, at Kōṭṭaru, Vilijñam, Śēvvūr, Nāraiyaṅṇu, Pūlandai, Āṇṇukkūḍi, Kaḍaiyal and Sēnnilam. It however seems probable that the Chēra¹ king who had crossed swords with the victorious Pāṇḍya king in some of these battles, especially at Kōṭṭaru² and Vilijñam,³ was only the Vēṇāḍu viceroy of the imperial Chēra further north at Mahōḍai. It is also noteworthy that the Chēra king of the time was connected with his Pāṇḍya contemporary in the relationship of *marinaṇṇu*⁴ (sister's son or son-in-law); but this consanguinity does not appear to have prevented them from fighting each other.

Arikēsari Maṇavarman 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 Kuḍal (Pāṇḍya's Madura), Kōḷi (Chōḷa's Uraiyūr) and Vañji (Chēra's Tiruvaṇjaikkaḷam or Koḷuṅgōḷur); 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 பாண்டியர்களோடு போரிட்ட வேண்டிய பலமுறை புலிசைமற்ற
மன்னரும் புலிசையும் மத்தி புலிசை.....வென்ற—Vēlvikkūḍi plates, *Q.J.M.S.*, xiii, 456ff.

² காவலன் காவலுண்டை

குருமாமெறிந் கோட்டாரைச் சென்னை நகரின்
பெருமான் கரோதபன் கொல்லிபுத்தூரைப் பெண்டொழுக்கே—*Kaḍaiyal-mai*, v. 37.

³ வினாற்றுப் போல்கு செவ்வேல் கருதான் விதித்தெறிந்
மன்னிற்று காவலன் கொடுத்த செவ்வேல் மன்னன்—*Ibid.*, v. 19.

⁴ சரிமன்னு கன்னியன் காவலன் மருபுக்கண்டல் வினாற்றின்மேல்
தரிமன்னு வெண்மலர் பாலித் தேடரேர் மருதா
னரிமன்னு செவ்வேலிசை ஒற்றாருயின் வென்ற
வெளிமன்னு முத்தக்குடை மன்னன் கன்னியன் பொதிலை—*Ibid.*, v. 44

⁵ கூடல் கடுசி கோழி எனவும் மடமாமதின் புதக்கயும்.

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

⁷ விதிமுறையின்போற்றேல் மறை சீக்கெற்றந்தரின் வெண்மலர் வென்றத் தகல் விழுந்திப்போடு
குன்றமன்ன குலக்களிறும் கூத்தமரையும் குவந்தரும் எனமுனைவ கோண்டிம்—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii,

king of Vēṇāḍu, destroyed Vilijñam and captured all the Chēra's elephants and riches. A hero-stone (*naḍukaḷ*) 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 Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ, when the Chēra army which had been scattered by the enemy, rallied together and advanced on Karaikkōṭṭai (near Āruvāymoli).

Śrīmāra Parachakrakōḷāhala was the next king who waged war against the Kēraḷas and defeated them in the two battles fought at Kuṇṇūr and Vilijñam.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

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¹ கோமாதஞ்சைப்பற்றி வான்டு இருபத்தேழாமாண்டு சேரமன்னன் விதித்த புத்த விட்டுழைக்க
கரைக்கோட்டை அறிப்பன் கா.....—*T.A.S.*, vol. i, p. 158.

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

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³ गृहीतकाञ्चोनगरस्ततोमूकुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ।—Velūrpālaiyam plates, *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 508.

the *Vaṇavar*, *Śeralar* and *Śilaimaṇṇar* (all of which names are synonymous with the Chēras) in nine battles, at Kōṭṭāru, Viḷijñam, Śevvūr, Nāraiyaṛu, Pūlandai, Āṇṇukkuḍi, Kaḍaiyal and Śennilam. 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 *marumagan*⁴ (sister's son or son-in-law); but this consanguinity does not appear to have prevented them from fighting each other.

Arikēsari Māṇavarman 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 Tiruvaṇjaikkaḷam or Koḍuṅḡōḷur); 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 பாண்டித் தனிச்செங்கோற் கோண்டிப் பலமுறைப் புருளிமைசெந்து
பாண்டியப் புரிமைபுத் மதிற் புவினை.....கென்ற—Vēlvikkūḍi plates, *Q.J.M.S.*, xiii, 456ff.

² காவல் காவலுக்காக

குருமகெடுமதிற் கோட்டாற்றான் கொண்ட தென்னகன்னிப்
பெருமான் வசோதபன் கொல்விபஞ்சாலப் பெண்கொடிக்கே—*Kaḷaiyal-urai*, v. 37.

³ மின்னிற்ரு பொலிந்த செங்கோல் வலத்தான் விதிஞத்தெறிந்த
மன்னிற்ரு வான்கொடுத்த செங்கோல் மன்னன்—*Ibid.*, v. 10.

⁴ கலிமன்னு வண்டெரி கைதவையாழ்க்கண்டல் அண்டென்னடேன்
தரிமன்னு வெண்மணற் பாயினி தேசடரேர் மருமா
னலிமன்னு செங்கோலதெய குற்றக்குடியுள் வென்ற
வெளிமன்னு முத்தக்குடை மன்னன் கன்னிபுயற் பெயர்வே—*Ibid.*, v. 44.

⁵ கடல் வஞ்சி கோழி என்னும் மாடமாதின் புதுக்குயில்.

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

⁷ விதிமுதலியக்கொற்றவேல் உறை சீக்கி கொற்றத்தான் வெண்மன்னன் வென்றித் தவன் விடுக்கிப்போடு
குன்றமன்ன குலிக்கலிற் கடத்தமாயுக் குவதனும் கன்னுமென கொண்டு—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii,

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 Mārañjaḍaiyan, 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.

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தென்மதுபொதிற் குண்டூரினுக்கு நிக்கனத்தம் விதிஞத்த கடத்த வந்த குடி.

³ गृहोत्काञ्चोनगरस्ततोभूकुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः।—Vēlvipālayam 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 Śrīpurambiyam 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, Rājārāja 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-Mahādēvi (?) the daughter of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar.⁵ Princess Nīlī,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 नवीनतादोपगुणप्रवृत्तम् ।

कञ्जासनाद्यैर्मरैः प्रगीतां तञ्चापुरोन्नाम पुरोन्नरेन्द्रः ॥

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

² अग्राजितमण्यसौ रणे जितवान् पट्टवमुल्लसद्बलम् ।—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 पण्डितैर्यथापराङ्मुखस्य क्षितिर्भर्तुः किल करलेश्वरस्य ।

तनयामुदुवाह राजलक्ष्मीमिव मूर्त्तिमवनोपतिस्स 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 *மதுரைகொண்ட சோழமன்னர்* (3rd year), *மதுரைப் புழுங்கொண்ட* (37th year).

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

தென்குமரம் கொண்டுமார் சென்னிசெம் சோழமன்னர்
சென்னிசெம் புலங்குளம் புலவர் வாழியசென்—(சாப்பாடி).

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 '*Madhurāṇṭaka*' and '*Pāṇḍyanṇalai-konḍa*' indicate; but there do not appear to have existed any direct hostilities between them and the Chēra kings.

With Rājārāja 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 Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, after his own name and in commemoration of his victories. This king marched up to Kollam¹ and Mahōḍai (Koḍuṅgōlūr) 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 Rājārājēśvaram, and at Suchindram, Darsanaṅkōppu, Eraniel and Tirunandikkarai. The Chēra chief whom he had encountered in southern Kēraḷa territory was probably Śrīvallabhaṅgōḍai 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 Tirukkāḍittāṇam 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 Tiruvāṅgaḍu 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. *செழியன்மலை வரலாற்று...* குடகொண்டே செல்லும்...தண்டை கொண்ட —Also No 394 of 1911.—M.E.R., 1912, p. 59.

² T.A.S., vol. ii, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-49.

the Chēra king,¹ and that his son Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍya² was left in charge of these conquered tracts as a viceroy, with the significant title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. An inscription of the time of this Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍya found in the Vishṇu temple at Mannārkōyil³ (Tinnevely District) states that it was built by the two Chēra kings, Rājarāja and Rājasimha, in honour of their Chōḷa suzerain, after whom it appears to have been named Rājendraśōḷa-viṇṇagar; and it is not unlikely that these were the kings whom Rājendraśōḷa had subdued. With Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍya's viceregal appointment, a new feature in the governance of southernmost India was instituted, and lithic records have revealed the names of at least four such royal members, who were posted to the outlying territories to guard the imperial interests in the distant frontiers of the Empire, and who assumed the distinctively Pāṇḍya titles of Jaṭavarman and Mājavarman also. Rājendraśōḷa's inscriptions are found at Cape Comorin, Tērūr and Suchindram, while the Śiva temple of Rājendraśōḷiśvaram-udaiya-Nāyaṇār at Chōḷapuram⁴ appears to have been erected in his reign in about A.D. 1020 by Madhurāntakaṇ, a chief who must have followed him or his son the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy to the south. Viḷijñam,⁵ the old sea-port near Trivandrum, which was renamed Rājendraśōḷa-paṭṭinam shows the extent up to which direct Chōḷa influence was felt in his time. Epigraphs of his son, the southern viceroy Jaṭavarman *alias*

¹ पाण्ड्यक्षितिपतिं विजित्य

तत्र प्रतिष्ठाप्य तदीयराष्ट्रक्षार्थमात्मोद्यतनूजमेनम् ।

श्रोचोळपाण्ड्यं रविवंशदोपो जेतुं प्रदीचोन्दिशमुच्चगाम ॥ —*Tiru. Pl.*, v. 93.

अतिलङ्घ्य सह्यमपनोतभयः मधुरान्तकसपदि केरळेश्वरम् ।

सबलं रुरोद तदनु क्षितिपक्षयकारि युद्धमभवद्भयङ्करम् ॥

जित्वा केरळभूपतिं भृगुपतेरित्वा तपोरक्षितां

पृथ्वीं पार्थिवनन्दनो निजपुरं प्रायात्स धामश्रियः । —*Ibid.*, v. 97.

² श्रोचोळपाण्ड्यं स्वसुतं विधाय पाश्चात्यभूमेरभिरक्षणाय ।

काञ्चीं स काञ्चीमिव भूमिद्व्यास्समाविशत् तैलकुलैककालः ॥ —*Ibid.*, v. 99.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, pp. 292-6.

⁴ *Epig. Annl. Report for 1099 M.E.*, p. 13.

⁵ *T.A.S.*, vol. iii, p. 198. — *சிறிஞ்சம் இரண்டாம் இராசேந்திர சோழன்* என்பதற்கு உதாரணம்.

Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍya who held this office from about A.D. 1020-48 have been found in Nāñjil-nāḍu in the villages of Suchindram, Chōḷapuram and Chēra-maṅgalam. These approximately indicate what portion of southern Travancore was under Chōḷa domination, in the person of their viceregal 'Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya' representative.

We next come to the reign of Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendraśōḷa I, who claims for himself a victory over the king of Vēṇāḍu,¹ which involved the destruction of the Chēra flotilla at the Kāndaḷūr roadstead. This king appears to have followed up this conquest by an invasion further north where he overcame the three kings of Irāmakuḍam (Rāmaghaṭa).² As this king ascended the throne only in A.D. 1045 after the death of Rājendraśōḷa I, even though he had been anointed heir-apparent so early as A.D. 1018, he must have won his military spurs in these campaigns in the lifetime of his father, when he was yet a prince-elect.

His brother Virarājendra (A.D. 1063-69) was preoccupied mainly with northern disturbances, especially with the Chāḷukya king Āhavamalla, and excepting the fact that he vaguely claims in his Tamil inscriptions to have conquered the Kēraḷa³ and to have annihilated that dynasty root and branch, we have no definite knowledge as to whether he was directly concerned in any southern expedition. A long Sanskrit record of his is found at Cape Comorin.

After the death of Virarājendra, the Chōḷa history itself entered on a new phase of activity, when Kulōttuṅga I, who, as the grandson of Rājendraśōḷa through his daughter Ammaṅgādēvi and as the son of the Chāḷukya king Rājarāja, combined in himself the best traditions of both the Chōḷa and the Chāḷukya royal houses, succeeded to the Chōḷa throne and ruled for a period of nearly half a century from A.D. 1070-1119. His invasion of Travancore took place before he had completed the fourteenth year of his reign, for the historical introduction prefacing his stone records dated in that year, says that

¹ சூழலில் வேளுட்டாணகம் செனுட்டெடுத்தி, வேவுபுதிராமகுடமுள் செழுவிந்த, விடங்கெடு வில்ல வர் குட்டாழக்சொல்லி தங்குவிட்டோழக் கடு புத்சொரிப்ப, அஞ்சியப் புதமார் மலைநாட் செஞ்சுவில் வேலு செழுந்தருள்செயல் ஸமர்த்த—*Historical Introduction*.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 161-75.

³ வரீசுவர சமர்தேவநாற்கு...பெரிசுநதலம்சல் குழ பகதலயபரிசுது

உறையிற்சொர் தங்குலச் செந்தேரபெரும் வேரப்பநிந்தேடி. மேலடங்குவித் தாண்டருகுசி செழுந்தி —*Historical Introduction*.

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 *Kalīṅga-tupparani*³ of Jayaṅḡḡār refer to this storming of the fort (*durgam*) of Kōṭṭār, the capture of Vilijñam, 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, Agastīsvaram, Suchīndram 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 கன்னியம் என்கின்ற தென்னாற்காடு கடல் கடந்த குடமலை என்னும் என்னென்றால் தனி விசம்பேர வசனையதன் அருத்தித்தலைகளைக் குறையாகிய சேட்டாறுப்பட செறிதோறும் நிலைபட்டாதி — *T.A.S.*, vol. i, p. 287.

पाण्ड्यादण्डेन जित्वा प्रचुरशरमुचा पञ्च पञ्चाननश्रीः
दग्धवाहोद्वज्रान्तणमिवस यथा खाण्डवं पाण्डुसूनुः ।
पिष्ट्वा तत्केरलानां बलमतिबहलं श्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोड
श्वके शक्रप्रतापस्त्रिभुवनविनयस्तम्भमभोधितोरे ॥
स श्रीमानस्तशत्रुः प्रबलबलभरैः पञ्च पाण्ड्यान्विजित्य
क्षुभ्यत्क्षमापालचक्रांसविधिकमकरोच्छीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोडः ।

— *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v., p. 103.

² செட்டாறுப் சேட்டாறுப் புலையாக்குட

செட்டாறு மீதான மொத்தென்கும்—*Parani*, iii, 21.

³ கலிங்கதோறும் விஜயமரித்ததற்கு என்னென்னவது தன்கொண்டதென—*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 Suchīndram, 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 Suchīndram, 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:—

விசம்பேரபண்டியற்கு கடல் கடந்த... முடிவழங்கி... திருவிழை தென்னவழங்கி சென்றும் வந்தொரு பரிவணமிக்கி திருக்க... செடிவழங்கி வில்லவற்கு சென்றும் பெருதிருவழங்கி வீரோவன் விரல் தரித்த—and—மதையுக் கருகும் பண்டியன் முடித்தெய்தென்கொண்டு வீரபிஷேகமும் விஜயபிஷேகமும் செய்தருளிய குலோத்தங்க சேழ்நேமி.—*Historical Introduction*.

² See *Travancore Archaeological Reports for 1885-87, 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 Kulōttuṅga 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 Rājārāja III (1216-42) had enough trouble at home with his Pallava² feudatory Kōpperuñjīṅga; and the Pāṇḍyas once more took the lead in southern politics, thanks to a succession of famous kings—Māṇavarman 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 Vēṇāḍaṅ³ and Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1268-1310). But these kings were sufficiently busy on their own side

¹ *T.A.S.*, vol. i, pp. 20-26.

மணியத்தல் ஸம்புரத்தல் சேலநாடு செருவியென்ற திறநாடு வந்த குடி
கயங்கோடு வந்தபுலக குலியிடுக கங்கோடு வந்தபுலக செருவியி ஸந்தகுடி
செலவென்றது.....ஆகத்தயிற் செலவரு சேலியெனவெனின்கு சிவநெய்யப் பத்தமென்றது.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, pp. 160-9.

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

³ செருநாடுவரு செருவியென்றது and செலவென்றது என்பனவற்றிற் செலவென்றது கங்கோடுவரு.

—*Śēndamiḷ*, vol. iv, p. 515.

—செல

செலவென்றது கங்கோடுவருவரு செலவென்றது
புலக புலக செலவென்றது.—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 Saṅgrāmadhira¹ overran the eastern districts in a magnificent, but necessarily an ephemeral raid, as far north as Kāñchipuram 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 Āruvāymoḷi 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* Śrīvallabhadēva (1535), Kulaśēkhara *alias* Parākrama-Pāṇḍya (1545), Aḷagan-Perumāl (1570) and Varaguṇarāma (1616) are actually found in Sāmbūr-vaḍagarai and Shencottah (near Tenkāsi), which now belong to Travancore; but this Pāṇḍyan occupation of territory which now belongs to Travancore, was not by way of the Āruvāymoḷi Pass.

The causes that led to this invasion of Travancore by Achyuta are referred to in the *kāvya* called the *Achyutarāyābhīrudaya*,¹ composed by poet Rājānāthakavi. During the imperial rule of Krishṇadēvarāya, Kāñchi-Nambi *alias* Vira-Narasimha,² son of Taluvakkuḷaīndāṇ-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, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai 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.

³ छन्नविग्रहतया पलायितश्चेष्टुपो वसति चेसोमनि ।

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 Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṇ, on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī² took both the rebel and his ally as prisoners. The victorious Vijayanagara general marched thence to Tiruvanaṇṭapuram³ (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

प्रेम्णः पात्रोक्तेष्वप्रियस्मरणभुवः प्रेम्णादेव दोम्भ्यां

नेष्ये प्रेम्भ्यं हि गर्वप्रहिलमिह जवचेष्टुपं चेसोमनि ।

प्रस्थाप्येत्युक्तवन्तं सत्यगृह्यसुतं पद्मताभांतरङ्गे

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

अगमद्विलङ्घ्य मधुरां महतीमथ ताम्रपर्वमिहितं सरितम् ॥

स च सङ्गराय चतुरङ्गबलैस्तिरयन्दिशस्तिरुवटिश्रितिवः ॥

अधिगम्य चोलपतिना नतवानपरावतारममरेन्द्रतरोः ॥

अयमर्षिसत्तव पदाम्बुजयोरधमः स तिरुवटिरधर्मपरः ।

इति तं निगद्य समदान्दिरदानुपदोचकार रयगांस्तुरगान् ॥

अनुगृह्य नम्रमसुरक्षतः स्थितिमानये तिरुवटिश्रितिवम् ।

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

शयने शयानमुदधिं समया पदसीरभोर्मिपरिणाहवति ।

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

to the status of a subordinate, but had to give back to the Pāṇḍya feudatory at Tinnevely the territory which he had himself unlawfully annexed earlier in his reign.

A few years later, Travancore had to sustain another Vijayanagara invasion under Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva Mahārāya and his brother Chinna-Timma,¹ both of whom were cousins of Aḷiya-Rāmarāya, the *de facto* ruler in the reign of Sadāśivadēva-Mahārāya, the last king of the Tuḷuva dynasty. This expedition² was fitted out apparently with the idea of curbing the aggressions of the Travancore kings and to bring back to the allegiance of the empire the Paravas, whose conversion to Christianity by the Jesuit missionaries plying their proselytizing trade on the coast had made them in effect subjects of Portugal. With the help tendered by the loyal Madura governors Viśvanātha-Nāyaka and his son Kumāra-Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, the Vijayanagara general concluded these wars with success and remained in the south as an imperial viceroy for a period of nearly twelve years, settling the country to ordered administration. The miracle, which the Jesuit Missionary St. Xavier is alleged to have performed with success by appearing in front of Vijayanagara army drawn up in battle array near Kottar and striking it with consternation, is perhaps reminiscent of a diplomatic mission, which this friend of the Travancore king 'Iniquitribirim' (accomplished) and which stayed the punishing hand of the imperial viceroy from committing much slaughter and shedding much innocent blood. During this campaign, Viṭṭhala advanced as far as Suchindram, as corroborated by two important records³ dated in the Kollam years 720 and

¹ Chinna-Timma's connection with the Travancore invasion is inferable from some slight references in the Telugu *Bālabhāgavatamu* (*Sources of Vij. His.*, p. 208).

கேரளத் திருவிழாபாண்டிச்சேர்வோடிக் கித்திநாத்தவரு... வாரியாஜனிலிச்சி
....and திருவிழாபாண்டிச்சேர்வோடிக் கித்திநாத்தவரு.

² *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. xv, p. 176.

³ Nos. 65 and 100 of the Travancore Epig. Colln. for 1092 and 1096 M.E.

The Suchindram *gōpura* has the following:—

श्रीविठ्ठलेश्वरसहितोनुजेन श्रीशुचोन्द्रहरेः प्रोत्य कारयामास गोपुरम् । and
விட்டலேஸ்வரேஸ்வரே... வானுஜபயபுத்த ஜயித்து கெக்கிணலகூ
தில் ஜயலுண்டி நாட்டி ஸாமீ உத்திலே ஹரிக்கு மெய்வாஃ கட்டி.

722, which are engraved on the base of the *gōpura* of the Sthānu-nāthasvāmin temple in that village. The first of these inscriptions records the fact that Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva built the *gōpura* of the temple for the god Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha and the second dated in the reign of Venṇumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūtalavira Rāmarāya mentions that this Vēṇāḍu ruler made some gifts of land for conducting some service in the temple for the merit of the Vijayanagara viceroy, his suzerain.

MADURA NAYAKAS

During the Nāyaka rule of Madura, Travancore was again subject to invasions on two occasions,—once during the reign of Tirumala-Nāyaka (A.D. 1623-59), and a second time in the reign of the Queen-Regent Maṅgammāl (A.D. 1689-1706).

The causes¹ that impelled Tirumala-Nāyaka to invade his neighbour's territory are not clearly known; but the raid, for it was nothing more, must have been due to the refusal, or, at any rate, temporary stoppage, by Unṇi Kēraḷavarmaṅ (A.D. 1632-50) of the customary tribute which had apparently been fixed to be paid by the Travancore kings to Madura on behalf of the Emperor, from the time of the previous invasion of Viṭṭhala, when Travancore had been reduced to the position of a Vijayanagara feudatory. This invasion and the damages it had caused to the eminently agricultural population of Nañjinād are referred to in a royal edict.² The record which is dated in Kollam 810 helps us indirectly to fix the date of the invasion to have been between before Kanni and Kumbham 810, i.e., in about the end of the year 1634 and the beginning of 1635. The Nāyaka's invasion must surely have overwhelmed the Travancore king and reduced him to his original position of vassalage, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to shake off.

The *Mugilaṇṇadai*³ or the temporary raid on Trivandrum perpetrated by a Muhammadan captain and his mounted followers, in the reign of the Travancore queen Umayammai Rāṇi (A.D. 1678-84), is too insignificant to be noticed in this paper.

The second invasion of southern Travancore by the Madura army

¹ *History of the Madura Nāyaks* (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924), pp. 120-1.

² *Travancore State Manual*, vol. i, p. 302, quotes a royal order (from a cadjan) relating to the remission of certain taxes on the lands, which had to be left uncultivated owing to the Nāyaka invasion.

³ *Travancore State Manual*, vol. i, p. 312.

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 Āruvāymoli 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 Kalkulam 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 Nāñjināḍ 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 Vaḍaṣeri, which opens thus:—

செவ்வகல் படைத்த எஞ்சியிருக்க அந்நாடு ௧௬ [A.D. 1677] முதல் பன்னாற்பது படைத்த செவ்வகல் படைத்த.....அந்நாடு முதல் அந்நாடு, என் பிறகு என் தீர்ச்சிசெய்யப்பட்டது.....

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 Bālaśantāpavarman and his equally illustrious nephew Rāmavarman; but as the invaders swooped down this time from the northern side, the Āruvāymoli 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 many attempts at subjugating the Travancore king and annexing his dominions; but both of them fortunately proved abortive. With the rise 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 Āruvāymoli 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 Chōlas, 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 ஆரவாய் மொழி may be considered as a corrupt derivative of ஆரவாய் மழி, the gateway of the fortifications (ஆர). If the botanical signification of ஆர—'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 மழி 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 மழி which has the same connotation as ஆரவாய் மழி noticed above. If the last syllables மொழி have to be given prominence, then a vague resemblance may be seen between this name and அருவாய்மொழி 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 மயமொழி and அருவாய்மொழி may have then been expanded into அருவாய்மொழி from which அருவாய்மொழி may have been the colloquial derivative. The Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates give this title of Aruṇmoḷi to Rājarāja I:—

अधिकरमथ रेखाविणो शंखचक्रौ दधतरुणमोक्षवर्मा तस्य सुसुमुरारिः

—S. I. I., vol. iii, 396.

The Sources of Arabic Culture

BY

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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, 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 place ¹ 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: elsewhere ² 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 G. 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-Dinnah* 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

by the Christians: the architectural style which prevailed in Islam prior to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople was a style developed in 'Iraq under the influences prevalent there.

In 'Iraq there were the two great Arab colonies of Kufa and Basra and in these the purely religious studies of Madina were reproduced. But in close contact with the Arab colonists was a non-Arab population, numerically very much in the majority, some of whom embraced Islam and most of whom became Arabic speaking. But the Arabic of these non-Arabs was so defective as to be hardly intelligible, and very soon this began to react on the speech of the Arabs in contact with them. It was not then suggested that the Qur'an should be translated or that men might pray in any other language than Arabic, and the only alternative was to improve the speech of the non-Arab population so that they might use intelligible forms in reading and prayer. The first measure in this direction was the provision of vowel points and other orthographical signs to assist the correct reading of the sacred text. Very soon afterwards this was followed by the commencement of a scientific system of grammar based on the analysis of the sentence and its parts. Tradition ascribes this to 'Ali and that traditional association with the one khalif who ruled at Kufa is significant.

The earliest grammarian whose work has come down to us is Sibawaih (d. 177-793), who lived in 'Abbasid times, but there are many recorded dicta of two series of earlier grammarians, the one showing a regular succession of grammatical teachers at Kufa, the other a similar succession at Basra, whilst Sibawaih's work displays a maturity which can only be explained by the fact that he inherited the results of the labours of others who had been working for a considerable period. The Arabic grammarians owed nothing to the Greek and Latin grammarians nor to the Syriac writers who based their work on Greek foundations, and so evolved an entirely independent system. That system was not however a product of the Arabic mind, as Rénan¹ supposes, but was an adaptation of the logic and *Rhetoric* of Aristotle² not merely that the Arabs borrowed an Aristotelian terminology, though that terminology, which Merx examines in detail, very plainly

¹ *Hist. des langues Semit.*

² Cf. Merx., *Hist. Artis., Gramm. apud Syros*, Leipzig, 1889, ch. ix, pp. 137 sqq.

betrays its origin, but the whole system of treatment is drawn from the Aristotelian logic. The study of Aristotle by the Arabic philosophers was confined to a particular school and never exercised a very wide influence upon the community of Islam, but the Aristotelian studies of the 'Iraqi grammarians have permeated the whole Muslim body and left a deep impression on its mode of thought.

In the *Rhetoric*¹ Aristotle gives five essentials for the correct use of Greek: (1) the proper arrangement and connection of words; (2) the use of the right terms; (3) the avoidance of ambiguity; (4) the correct agreement of genders; and (5) the correct concord of numbers. These same five requirements Sibawaih demands for the right use of Arabic. A breach of any of these Aristotle calls speaking in a barbaric (i.e., alien) way or *σολουκίζειν*. Sibawaih found no Arabic word ready at hand to translate this so he simply transliterates it as *سليقى*. Arabic grammar evolved under these influences necessarily paid much attention to lexicography, i.e. the choice of right terms² which could only be attained by an accurate knowledge of their meanings and this led to the peculiar development of Arabic grammar, operating in two directions. On the one side it led to the study of Arabic literature and as that literature, outside the Qur'an, was unwritten poetry, it resulted in the collection and committal to writing of the ancient poems and subsequently to the study of later poets and prose writers so that indirectly and unintentionally it produced a type of scholarship closely akin to the 'humanities' of the West. But the western humanities practically date only from the renaissance: in the middle ages grammar and rhetoric were very subordinate studies, mediaeval thought centered in the purely scientific tradition derived from Hellenistic culture, even theology was based, not on a study of the Bible text but on a development of the neo-Aristotelian philosophy into which the Scriptures were worked as accessories. Prior to the renaissance therefore western scholarship was predominantly scientific and this scientific character was not nullified by the fact that the supreme science was theology as theology was simply the final expression of the scientific speculations employed in every branch of study. At the

¹ iii, 5.

² ii, above.

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

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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

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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. Arboisset, 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 *Kīṭasātram*.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 सुवर्णमुपयद् दूर्वापि गोरोमतः । पञ्चतन्त्र १. ९४ः
कौशेयं कृमिकोशोत्थम् । अमर ।

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

Etymology of *Dukūla*: दुष्टं (ill) कूलति (covers), Bhanuji on Amara or, दु to heat, + उल्च् affix + कृ 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*, *Paṭṭakiṣam*, *Tantukīṣam*, *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 Sanskritic. 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 :—

शाय श्रौम चोर कुतपाः सर्वेषां कार्याणि चाविकृतम् ॥ १. ७.

तस्याऽपण्यं गन्धम कृतान्नविलक्षणं श्रौमाजिनाणि ॥ 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 Kautīliyan *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 (*Kṣhauma-kaushēyānam*) 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 *Kaushīya*-silk cloth, and *Chīnapatta*, fabrics of China manufacture. (P. 94.)

In this passage the native silk cloth known as *Kaushīya* has been differentiated from that made in China and called *Chīnapatta* in the *Arthashastra* and *Chīnāmśuka* 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 Darśhanas* 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 Sitā 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 *Kiṭaja*, produced from worms, and *Paṭṭaja*, made of *Paṭṭa*, probably meaning Chinese silk, as has been shown on the evidence of the *Arthashastra* and *Mṛichhakaṭika*.

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 होन्द्रस्त्रिशोर्षाणि त्वाष्ट्रं दन्वा 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 tu parāmi,' 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 *Dukula* into its *Prākṛita* form. He lays down the aphorism that the 'u' of *dukula* optionally changes into 'a,' but when it is retained, the 'l' is not doubled.

(दुअह्लं, दूऊलं). There is not much controversy on the time of this author.

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 *Mṛichhakaṭika*. 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 *Mṛichhakaṭika* 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 'Kōsha' in the sense of 'Adopted to that.' Then कोशे संभूतं कौशेयं वस्त्रं mean 'silken clothes.'

(1) कौशेयं कृमिकोशोत्थम् । *Amar-kōsha*.

The word *Kōsha* 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 Hirānanda'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 Yudhisṭhira. There are only thirty-nine kings who preceded the time of Yudhisṭhira. 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.

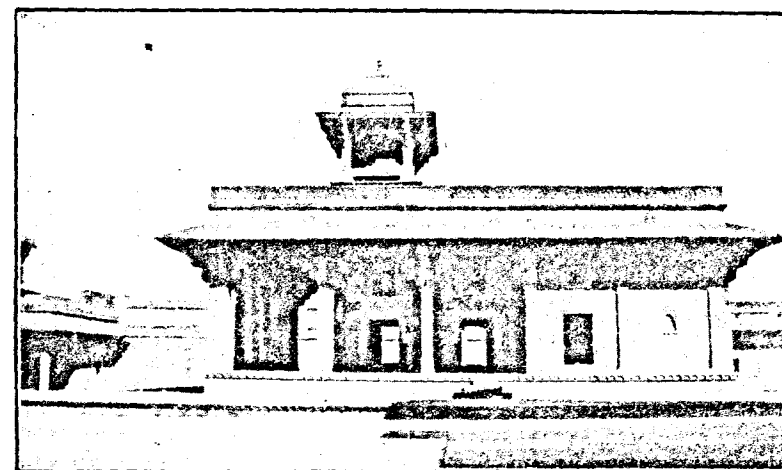
But if Yudhisṭhira be taken to have lived 3100 years B.C. as several Indian scholars contend, then the time of Rama is pushed back to 4100 years and that of Ikshvāku to 5100, so that the law-giver Manu can be said to have lived either in the thirty-sixth or fifty-second century before Christ.

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 *Koshakāra* or silk-worms and

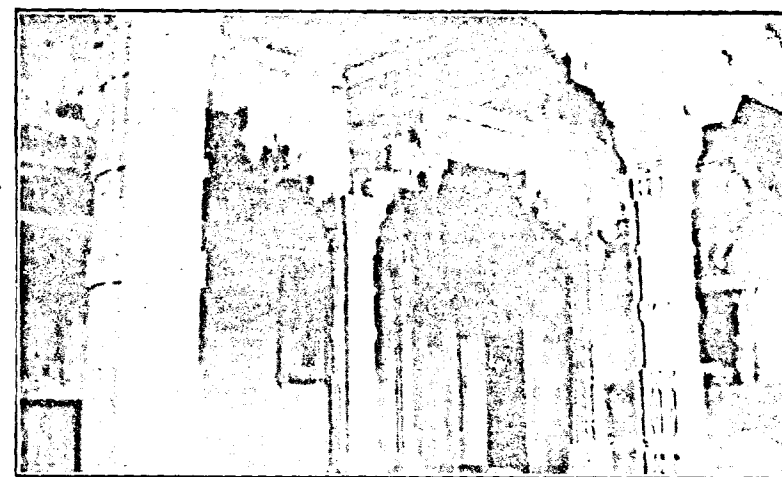
produced in the country itself was largely used by the people. All this leads us to the conclusion that some forty or fifty centuries before Christ an independent silk industry indigenous to this country existed. This time precedes the introduction of silk culture in China and though the people of that 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.

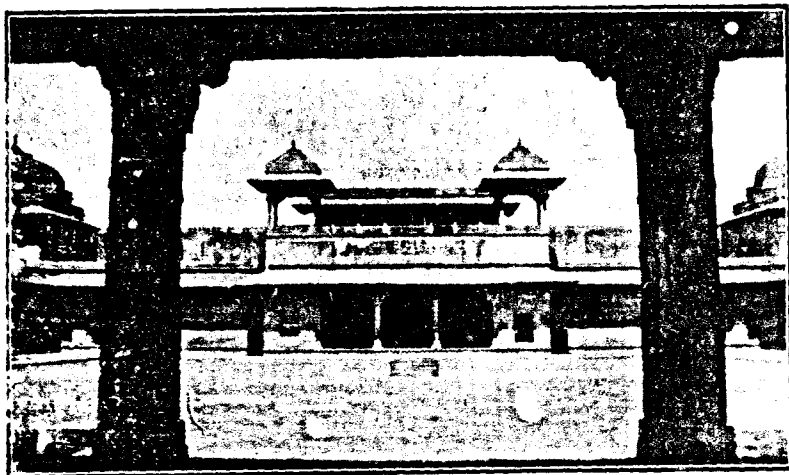
*In the face of these facts, how can we believe the assertions of Western writers that silk culture was introduced into India in the fifth or third century after Christ ? May we hope that Western scholars and works like the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will revise their statements in the light of the evidence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



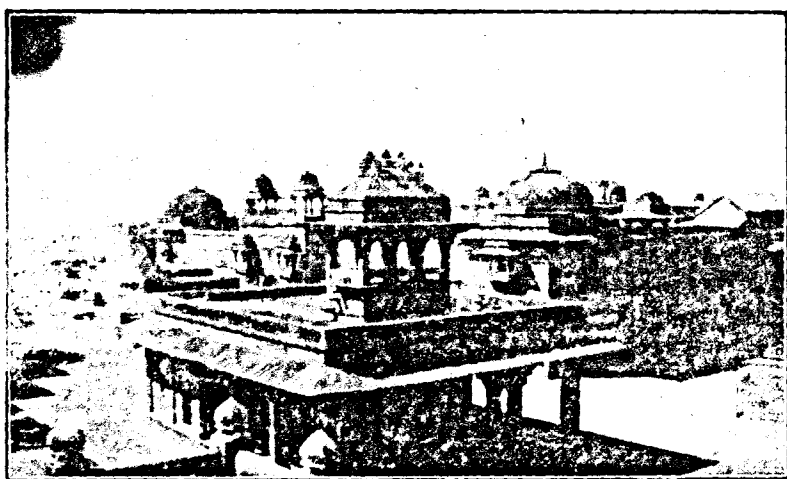
THE HOUSE OF FR. R. AQUAVIVA AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI (*Miriam's House*)



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 PR. 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 Bir 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 Jahāngiri Mahal. According to Blockmann, Jōdh Bāi was the wife of Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir.'

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 Jahāngir, and not his mother.'²

Mr. E. B. Havell, follows this view in his *Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri and the Neighbourhood*, 1904, when stating: 'Though "Miriam's House" is generally regarded as the abode of Mariam Zamāni, there is a great deal to support the view that the spacious palace known as Jōdh Bāi's Mahal, or Jahāngiri 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 Zamāni, while Jōdh Bāi, the wife of Jahāngir, never resided here. But as both these queens were Rājputanis, 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 Zamāni, 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 Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir's in the Fort of Agra.'

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-Sikri 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, Salim and Murād Pahāri. Abu-l Faḍl tells us that the Emperor used to spend frequent stretches of time at Shaikh Salim Chisti's residence in the ridge of Sikri.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 Faḍl, 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.'¹

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.'²

'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 Zamāni. Was, perhaps, this small *mahal* of Fatehpur built by Akbar in order to please the mother of the future Jahāngir 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.'³

Now, was this wing the harem described by Abu-l' Faḡl 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

² *The Commentary*, p. 28.

³ 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 Akbari*, 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 *Shāikh*-ul Islām, i.e. Salim Chisti).² True, the enclosure of the mosque and Salim Chisti'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. Rodolph 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 Bār'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 Bār'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 Bār'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. 29.

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 refection. 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 Khās* 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 *Pānch 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 Sīkri 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-Khās* 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 Rāṇa 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 Jahāngīr, 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 *Bibī Miriam ki Khōṭi* 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 *Khās 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 *Haiki Pul*, 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. 53.

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 Khohi*, recalls to our mind neither Mariam Zamāni 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 Khohi* 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. 79-81.

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.' 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 Muḥammadans 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.'¹

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 Bir 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 [?] *chanki*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 purganas.

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

much land as he wants at the place which suits them; they know perfectly refused, but almost always granted, because here not a portion of the land is cultivated, and so anyone can easily get one-tenth part and the area he needs; and he may sow as much as he chooses, on condition of paying the dues to the lord. When he can till, on land cultivated by the *mukaddam*, or whoever he has appointed to do so, and the crop is nearly ripe, it is measured and valued; the harvested produce has been collected, three-fourths is sent to the lord, and one-fourth to the peasant, which is, if it are given to him for his household, so that here one finds little more than the means of subsistence, 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

not

unin

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

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

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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 Hydr 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, Attur, 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 testifies¹ :— '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 Tippu'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

¹ *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.

before 1788 when he realized the highest revenue, and then his own collections in the preceding year; then he checked the ryots' estimates of the produce with those of his own officers as well as with the offers made by *patels* and others who came to bid for the leases. By all this examination he was enabled to form an idea of what each district was worth; and he determined that 94 per cent of Tipu's revenue might be taken as the standard amount for which the districts might be rented. Read's papers are tedious to read and lacking in lucidity; his reasoning powers were generally 'as strong and clear as his writings were obscure;' 'he sadly wanted that perspicuity of style which was so essential for an office that he held otherwise so worthily and which his assistant Munro possessed so eminently.'¹

In a letter to Read, dated Tenkaraikottai, July 31, 1793² Munro makes his own independent criticism on the fifth revenue report submitted by the former to Lord Cornwallis. He thus points out the defects of Read's scheme:—'The principle, which of all others one would think required the most proof, you have assumed as an axiom, and have told us as laconically as Euclid could have done, "the produce of the soil increases in half the ratio of the labour." I should draw a very different conclusion from your data, viz., that the produce of labour is not in a standard, but a progressive ratio to a certain degree; for instance, in dry grains as little or nothing is produced by a first ploughing and no excess arises after the fifth, it appears that this ratio has a rise and fall; it is therefore probable that at some of the intermediate points between 1 and 5, it is more and at others it is less than half the produce. I should also think you have allowed too much for subsistence and contingencies and my reason for this supposition is the near correspondence of your estimate with the *karnams*', (village accountants'). You have omitted some trifling articles of the farmer's gains by selling cattle and ghee. You have also in your account of labourers forgotten some of their allowances.' But pointing out the value of the report, Munro continues, 'I do not imagine that any investigation of revenue affairs so minute, so original and so correct as this fifth report has ever been made by any European; but the summary has all the faults of the fourth report

and many more. The materials are all in it; but they are not arranged.' Again he brings home to Read the important truth that 'Revenue ought not to be so that the subject can pay but only what the necessities the state require . . . (and) it is neither wise nor just to demand more and the remainder will be more beneficial to the country in the hands of the subjects than in the treasury of the Government.'

The Report of Read includes a very useful summary of the various heads of information to be comprised in a revenue survey (para. 85); and it contains a strong plea (para. 78) that the rents fixed at the time of the survey should not be increased during the period of the lease on any other ground or plea than that of the probable increase of stock. It also regulates the method of payment in three *kists* or revenue instalments—'To stipulate the amount of every individual farmer's *kist* that the payment of it shall be on or before a certain date and to regulate these several proportions to the whole by the average monthly produce.' (para. 81.)

In his sixth report submitted to the Board of Revenue and to the Governor-General, dated August 10, 1794,³ Read said that he and his assistants had surveyed the greater part of the districts assigned to them. Every district was to be settled village by village in small farms 'as the best method to establish property and excite a spirit of industry among all classes of inhabitants.' Read says, 'In the first settlement (for Fasli 1202—A.D. 1792-93) I judged it advisable to make only a village settlement of the land rent; but this year I have extended my original plan of dividing landed property, pursuant of that many of the arms composing village-lands are now given in rent to the first and second class of ryots below the *patels*, by which these ryots now hold then immediately of Government. . . . By that means they are advanced from a state of dependent servitude and extreme poverty to be the proprietors of their own farms, and to be more immediately under the protection of the Collector; they are freed by their rents being fixed, from the vexation of additional assessments on every favourable crop and the profits of farming being thereby extended to many thousands more than last year is a circumstance proportionally in favour of population.'⁴

¹ Dykes, p. 89.

² *Baramahal Records*, Section vi, — *Land Rent*, pp. 58-61.

³ The *Baramahal Records*, Section i, — *Management*, pp. 202-3. Madras, 1907.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3 (para. d the

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 for law, 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.

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.'³ 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 Dykes, pp. 83-86; and *Salem Gazette*, i, part ii, pp. 5-6.

² Dykes, pp. 90-103; and Arbuthnot's *Notes from the Minutes and other Writings of Sir Thomas Munro* (new edition, 1871), section i, Revenue, pp. 3-11.

³ 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 Tippu. ‘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 *milla*) was fixed on the basis of the calculated land revenue from which were deducted the *sukhavasi* remission,'¹ the *swarnādāyam* which included miscellaneous items of revenue like the tax on grazing,

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

² 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 *mifla* 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 *miffadars* 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 *miffas* 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 '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;'¹ 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

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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 Raja:—

'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.'

² 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 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, 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.

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-back 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 1st Foot Qd. Brigadier-General (afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief of India), arrived at Katarmal and took over command. He was supported by over 2000 regular troops consisting of the 1/4th N.I., 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 trench 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 on 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 his phrase, 'had their tails up,' he went straight on and attacked 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

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 Hiradungi 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 Hiradungi, 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 Hiradungi, a third of the town and the Raja's palace.

The despatches are not very clear as to how far the attack was pushed. There were two palaces, one a summer palace in the town itself and the chief one on the site of the present Ramsay. It appears that this is the one meant. In his account of the day² states that the troops occupied a temple which is not far from the school. The mortars were placed 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 Hiradungi 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 Gazetteer of N. W. P. Himalayan District, vol. ii.

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 caught Sah 'altogether useless.'

Now commander of the body which had made the attack on Hir. early intim and which had retired to Sintola was sent for and after once dispatched situation with him and other officers Bam Sah sent over a Josi to try a at 9 a.m. requesting a suspension of hostilities while te. night up with discussed. He was informed that the terms were, as sta. time to that they should retire across the Kali and send an acc. ing ed agent to arrange peace. After some hesitation these terms we. 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

THE PALACE OF AKBAR

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.'¹

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

Records Office in C and can only be inspected there. A certain amount of interesting nation 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. Crafton 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 *dindara*, the austerities of Hindu ascetics, sign-language, bath of blood, stories of the grateful 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 Ayser, 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 Upakōśa 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. I, 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 *tura* (village), of the *nādu* (district) and of the whole Kērala country. The first was the meeting of the villagers as represented by the *kāranavars* of the families to discuss matters of local interest, while the assembly of the *nādu* 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 2.³ 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 Firunelli 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 *Anchuzannam* and the *Manigrāmam*, 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 *aśan* 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 *hobali* 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 *Mahāmākhāṁ* 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 *naḍus*, each presided over by a *naḍuvāli*, and each *naḍu* was divided for military purposes into *deśams*, some of which were presided over by hereditary *deśavālis*, which the others, being the private property of the *naḍuvāli* or the king, were administered by these latter directly or

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

² p. 261.

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 *naḍu* 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....'¹ 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 *Kēraḷolpatti* 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 Buddha faith and abdicated his throne after dividing his kingdom among his chief nobles and relatives. Muhammadan accounts which came to be embodied in the *Kēraḷolpatti* give particulars as to the Perumāḷ having turned a Mussalman; while the *Tohtut-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 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 Phœnician 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 Phœnician 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 Marthāṇḍa Varma, of his minister Rāmāyān 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

unfortunately not spared to carry out the third revision. This had been entrusted, in accordance with the wish of the late Dr. Smith himself, to Mr. S. M. Edwardes, one of the Joint Editors of *The Indian Antiquary*, and the result of that revision is the fourth edition before us.

One special feature of the work of the late Dr. Smith, which he was never tired of impressing upon others in the field of research, was the up-to-dateness of the references and authorities upon which he relied for his conclusions in the text. The third edition having been out as early as 1914, and full ten years having elapsed since, the accumulation of new material was certainly great even for the assiduous labour of the author. His collection was made over to Mr. Edwardes, who himself was keeping his interest alive in all subjects of study connected with Indian History. The fourth edition is the result of Mr. Edwardes' revision of the third edition of this work.

The work of revision is carried out with a conscientious thoroughness which actually enhances the value of the edition. The references and foot-notes are all up to date, and there is nothing of importance in recent work that has not been considered and to which reference is not made. As revised, the book is a most useful hand-book for those who wish to study Indian History not merely for general information, but for the more serious purpose of understanding its trend on the actual basis of the study of the authorities at first hand. Mr. Edwardes' efforts to make the revision worthy of the author deserves the highest commendation.

BOOK NOTICES

'THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA'

By J. N. Samaddar, Professor, Patna University.

[*Readership Lectures, 1922, published by the Patna University.*]

This is a volume of six lectures delivered by Professor Samaddar of the Patna College, for the Patna University, of which the first deals with the 'Land we live in', and takes us in a retrospect through the historical period up to the Muhammadan Conquest. The next lecture deals with the capitals of Magadha, treating of Rajagṛha and Pāṭaliputra in particular, Vaiśālī coming in for some

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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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Medieval 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 *Sangam* 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 Śāngam 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 *ṛshi* 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 Vishṇu, 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 *Rajatarangini*, 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 are of value as such. This is followed by notes on a certain number of unpublished Valabhi grants by Mr. G. V. Acharya.

Then follows an interesting article by Mr. Alfred Master, I.C.S. 'On Stress Ascent in Modern Guzarati,' which is of little interest perhaps to readers of this journal. Then follows an article on the *Tantravārttika* and the *Dharmaśāstra* literature by Mr. P. V. Kane. It proves to be a very important study as the age of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa is well known, and generally accepted as in the middle of the eighth century. Kumarila quotes the very important *Dharmaśūtras*, those of Gautama, Vasiṣṭa, Śankhalikhita, Hārta, Āpastamba, 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 actually 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 *Sadāchāra* 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

finality as to the authorship of these plays that runs through the work under review, and points out that there is about as much evidence on the one side as on the other, and that in particular the prakrit of 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 the prakrits, and has a number of detailed references to substantiate his thesis. After an elaborate examination of these, Dr. Sukthankar points out that any attempt to arrive at chronological conclusions on the basis of the prakrit of these dramas would be futile. The prakrit of these dramas is liable to far greater changes owing to a 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 in Mahratti which may not interest readers of this journal.

Next the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., translates some original letters, which bear upon the alliance between the Portuguese at Goa and the neighbouring 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, and proposes a solution of his own. After a survey of the previous

discussion on the subject, Dr. Sukthankar finds in this article that the arguments so far advanced on either side are all of them inconclusive one way or the other, and proceeds to state on the main argument of the thirteen Trivandrum plays beginning with the Sūtradhāra in contradistinction to the classical plays, that there is no point in 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 Nandī sloka, and thus this special characteristic of *Bhasa*, as it was called, ceases to have force. Then he points out that the arguments adduced to prove that these plays are like those of Kalidasa are quite inadequate. He disposes of easily the arguments that the Nyayaśāstra of Mēdhādīthi referred to in the Pratimā Nāṭaka has reference to the commentator on Manu of the name, which is undoubtedly incongruous in the context in which the name occurs. Then he considers the prakrit argument which has been carried too far, and points out the futility of building upon this argument. The prakrit is capable of variation for a variety of reasons, among which the Provenance of the plays would be an important factor. It is matter for grave doubt whether the writers of dramas followed any spoken prakrit in their plays at all. It ought to be seriously considered whether in the employment of varieties of prakrit the classical dramatists did not adopt a sort of school prakrit based upon grammatical 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 *Svapnavasāvadatta* as published, the Doctor makes the illuminating suggestion that there is an apparent omission where this sloka can with the greatest appropriateness be brought in. Then he considers the other extract from the *Nāṭya Lakṣhaṇa*, not mentioning the name of *Bhasa*. He considers that the quotation from *Nāṭya Lakṣhaṇa* has sufficient similarity to be identified with the stage direction as it appears in the Trivandrum play, and hence he adopts the conclusion that while the play may not be exactly the same, as that known to the rhetoricians of the twelfth century, it does not differ from that sufficiently to make a 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.

We pass from this to another subject, the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 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 must be referred to the tenth century A.D., and was composed by a South Indian poet of ability. The first argument he relies on has reference to the mention of Rādhā as chief among the Gopis. He refers to the Gopis being transformed into 'ardent adulteresses' in the stage of evolution from the ideas of the *Mahābhārata* into those of the *Bhāgavata* notwithstanding the fact that in the *Mahābhārata* the cult of Rādhā finds no mention, while it has come to be a prominent feature in the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadēva of A.D. 1164. He points out that in answer to a question by Parikṣhit, Śuka answers that in regard to this particular point the conduct of Krishna was blamable, and that other people are not exactly to follow the example of great men, but more their precepts. There is a section in Kumarila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravartika* to which Mr. Kane has drawn pointed attention where a similar question is put and Kumarila propounds the same problem, and leaves the question unanswered with an implication that good practice differs from country to country. Whether or not in the light of this, the reply found in the *Bhāgavata* to Parikṣhit's question, is not of about the same age as that of Kumarila, we could readily accept that the *Bhāgavata* was anterior to Jayadeva; but the actual difficulty is the lower limit. The lower limit is, of course, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* without doubt. But whether the outlook of the *Bhāgavata* upon Buddhism and Buddha offers a definite datum that the learned Rao Bahadur has accepted, is perhaps open to question. The Rao Bahadur comes to the conclusion that the Buddha is accepted as an *Avatar* of Vishṇu in the *Bhāgavata* while the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* merely mentions Buddha as a false semblance of Vishṇu sent to delude the Daityas. Still the learned scholar finds that the *Bhāgavata* attaches importance to Vedic sacrifices, unlike Buddhism. Jayadēva, however, regards Buddha as an unalloyed benefactor as the ninth incarnation, and praises him for discountenancing animal sacrifices out of compassion. Thus he comes to the conclusion that the *Bhāgavata* is midway between the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and Jayadēva. So

far it is unexceptionable. But he proceeds further and says that since Buddhism went out of existence practically after Śankara, the *Bhāgavata* must have come a considerable time after Śankara. He finds support for this argument in the *Bhāgavata* outlook upon the Śāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila as compared with that of Śankara. Śankara regards Kapila the founder of Śāṅkhya philosophy as a different person from the Kapila, Avatar of Viṣṇu. The Śāṅkhya system as explained in the *Bhāgavata* makes it a non-atheistical system, and is thus regarded as a development which must have come after Śankara. If Śankara set himself to refute Kapila, the founder of the Śāṅkhya system as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, that opinion should have been prevalent, and on that basis how the *Bhāgavata* could be regarded as later than Śankara is rather difficult to understand. Then he draws upon the argument that the Viṣṇuism of the *Bhāgavata* is neither that of Madhva, nor that of Rāmānuja, and therefore the *Bhāgavata* must have been composed between the dates of Śankara and Rāmānuja. Then he proceeds to examine the geographical and historical statements in the *Bhāgavata* with a view to finding confirmations for this conclusion. Among others he pitches upon the Kilakila Yavanas' datum. We must say frankly that the learned scholar tries to make too much of this, and regards the Kilakila Yavanas, Kaṅkila Yavanas as he calls them, the rulers of the Andhra country in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. He draws or support from an inscription of Dharmapala A.D. 800-826, which mentions many other powers that he had conquered, and among them the Yavanas. We must say frankly that this specific epigraphical datum is too far-fetched. As to the Kilakila, it is hard to understand why the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Bhaviṣya* texts in regard to the Kilakila should be overlooked, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* text should be taken for authority. It is easily demonstrable that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* actually muddled over the texts of the earlier *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Bhaviṣya* texts. A critical study of these texts leads reasonably to the identification of the Kilakila Yavanas with those that preceded Viṇḍyaśakti. There is fairly good ground for regarding this Viṇḍyaśakti as the same ruler as the founder of the dynasty that came known as the Vākātaka dynasty. In the particular centuries to which the Kilakila Yavanas are ascribed as the rulers of the Andhra country, the Andhra country was certainly under the Eastern Chālukyas,

and in all these charters we have not come across any reference to the Yavanas. The term 'Yavana' is used in the Dharmapāla Inscription and in the *History of Orissa*, in regard to which Sir William Hunter is quoted with great approval, seems to have varying significance, and it is open to discussion whether the Yavanas referred to in the Dharmapāla epigraph are not the Kambōjas, and the Yavanas in *History of Orissa* were not people far other than the Greeks, or the Kilakila Yavanas. Whether they were Greeks or no, there is nothing whatever to connect these with the so-called Kilakila Yavanas directly. This datum, therefore, leads us nowhere.

The *Bhāgavata*, however, seems to refer, in the twelfth book, to all the Tamil Vaishṇava saints known as the *Āḷvārs*, and that may give us a reason for regarding the *Purāṇa* as having been composed in the Tamil country, and about the tenth century A.D. But before arriving at that general position we ought to make sure that the portion of the text is not an interpolation, or a later addition. There is, besides, a point that the Tamil *Vaishṇava Prabandha* contains numbers of references to matters of Viṣṇu lila as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. There are scholars who hold that the *Bhāgavata* treatment of these are adaptations from the Tamil *Prabandha*. If that is so, the *Bhāgavata* may again be of a later date than this. But one cannot be certain about it. The commentators of these *Prabandhas* usually quote for authority, in regard to the details, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* rather than the *Bhāgavata*, which is a clear indication that in the time of these commentators, twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the *Bhāgavata* did not become an authoritative text-book in regard to these matters. There is one further point in the Rao Bahadur's article to which we must draw attention, and that is, that since the *Bhāgavata* mentions the modern holy places like Vēṅkaṭa, Śrīraṅga, etc., the work must be of the tenth century. The learned scholar calls these 'modern holy places.' We are not quite sure what exactly the specific significance of 'modern' is in the idea of the Rao Bahadur. But the holy places specifically mentioned are at least as old as the classical Tamil literature, and were places of great repute in the days of the earliest Tamil Vaishṇava saints, and therefore, their mention could be of no assistance in regard to this particular century to which the *Bhāgavata* has been ascribed by the learned scholar. Notwithstanding all these, the article by the learned scholar raises many points of great importance,

the further investigation of which may lead to a definite date for the *Bhagavatam*.

Then follow the usual reviews, book notices, and brief notes. We have already taken up too much space, and will close with wishing that the new series of this important journal will have a long and useful career under the editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, and his learned colleague.

'THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY'

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EDITED BY NARENDRANATH LAW

We welcome this quarterly to the ranks of Indian journalism, more warmly as a yoke-fellow to the *Journal of Indian History* which for the past three years has been labouring alone as the medium of Indian historical research. It was perhaps awkward that the first appearance of this journal should have coincided with the rehabilitation of the other; none the less, we welcome it, as India is large enough to contain two journals for historical work bearing upon India, and should easily meet the demands of the two and more. The principal question in connection with this is the organization of such work as is being done in the field of Indian History in the widest sense of the term, so as to feed regularly the journals, which offer to be the medium for such work. We, therefore, welcome the journal, not as a rival, but as a friendly collaborator in the same field.

The number before us provides nearly 200 pages of matter of a large variety. It contains twenty-two articles of varying value and interest, besides miscellaneous communications, about half-a-dozen in number, reviews, select contents of oriental journals, and notes. These together provide a large array of historical matter. The journal leads with an introduction by Professor Sten Konow, the venerable savant, who occupied the position of Epigraphist to the Government of India, and for a number of years edited the *Epigraphia Indica*. This is followed by Professor Keith with a comparatively long note on the date of Zoroaster, which is mainly a criticism of Professor Hertel's German work, *The Time of Zoroaster*. Professor Keith dissents from the conclusions of the German scholar, and would

take Zoroaster up to the time of the Rig Veda rather than bring down the age of the Rig Veda to the lower date of Zoroaster. Then there is a readable but uncompleted account by that veteran Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri who gives a popular account of the discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal, and connected with the Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Then follow two articles 'Bhāravi and Dandin' by S. K. De, and another 'Some Aspects of Economic Life in Ancient India', by P. C. Basu. The former is based upon two manuscripts recently discovered by the Madras Manuscripts' Library of Avantisundari Kathā, and Avantisundarikathāsāra, one in prose and the other in poetry. Then follows an article 'On Aryan Rule of India', by Mr. Gunavardhane of Colombo. In this article Mr. Mudaliar makes an attempt to show that the well-known ruling families of the Chandra, Surya, and Agni Vamsas, were non-Aryan in character, and that the so-called Aryan rule is a myth. This is followed by a learned article by Dr. B. M. Baruva, 'On the Barhut Jātaka Labels and the tale that they tell on Buddhism.' This is followed by an interesting article by I. Banerji, 'The Vichitrānāṭaka' which attempts to throw light upon the life of Guru Govind. This is believed to be an autobiographical work in which Guru Govind describes the various actions in which he took part and gives other details of his life. There is an article on the Bengal School of Art by Mr. C. C. Mitra. This is followed by an article on Rāma Rāya by Father H. Heras of Bombay in which he tries to trace the development of the power of the regent, Rāma Rāya.

This is followed by another historical note on Sēniya Bimbisāra by Dr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri. The point of this is actually to show that there is a reference in the *Buddhacharita* wherein Buddha addresses Bimbisāra as being born in the *Haryāṅkakula*, which is interpreted as the Nagakula, to justify the dynastic name Śiṣunāga, and as such should be given greater value than the Purānic statement. Then follows an interesting note on the Sumērians in India by L. A. Waddell. In this Mr. Waddell draws attention to the bearing of the important finds in the Punjab and Sindh to propound that in origin the lost races of the early Aryans were the Sumērians, whose branches were Bharat-Kuru Pāṇchālas, or Syrio-Phoenician Kshatriyas, Khattiyas of Pali, identical with the Khati or the Hittites of Asia Minor. This is followed by Professor R. C. Mazumdar's 'Some

Observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire.' This is followed by an article 'Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata,' and then follows philological notes on certain words in the Asoka Inscription by Muhammad Shahidullah of Dacca. This is followed by a short article 'the Bhasa Problem', by K. R. Pisharoti, who still holds out against the theory of Ganapati Sastri that the Trivandrum dramas, thirteen in number discovered by him in manuscript, are ascribable to Bhasa. This is followed by three or four miscellaneous articles among which 'Some Wall Paintings from Kelaniya', by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Then follows 'Pāvāpuri and its Temple Prasasti', by Puran Chand Nahar. There is an interesting article on Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārika contributed by Professor V. Bhattacharya. There is a short note following on 'Lakṣmana-sena's Flight from Nadia' wherein Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya says that the accounts of the Muhammadan Conquest of Bengal, as we have them, are far from the actual truth. Then follow two long articles 'Rasātala or the Under-world', by Nundo Lal De, and on 'The Kōśalas in Ancient India', by B. C. Law. This is a pretty large array of articles, and caters for a large variety of taste. 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 Bālasri 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 Bālasri in the year 19 of the reign of her grandson Pulumāyi was different from that which Śātakarni calls his

own benefaction or that jointly with his mother in inscription No. 5 and (2) Gautamīputra Śātakarni had ceased to live at the date of the gift of the cave by his mother Gautamī Bālasri. There is additional proof of this fact in inscription No. 2 itself. It is evident that cave No. 3, or a portion of it must have existed about the time of the incision of inscription No. 4; quite a year before the dedication of cave No. 19 of the reign of Pulumāyi. The writer concludes that there is no evidence to prove that Gautamīputra Śātakarni was alive at the time of the dedication of cave No. 3 by his mother Gautamī Bālasri or its gift to the Bhadrāyaniya monks.

He also refutes some curious observations made by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, about Nahapana which appeared in *The Indian Antiquary for 1918*—among others, the remarks that 'the reign of Nahapana though it began gloriously, came to a disastrous end. He was defeated and killed by Gautamīputra Śātakarni of the Śātavāhana dynasty'—the evidence available only attesting that some coins of Nahapana were restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarni which can only mean that the date of Śātakarni is later than that of Nahapana or at the utmost that the former ruled over a portion of the territory of the latter; and the inscription No. 2 at Nasik of the year 19 of Pulumāyi which states that Gautamīputra exterminated the Khakharāta race, but does not mention that he killed Nahapana in battle.

Again Mr. Banerji refutes another conclusion of the same scholar, viz. 'It appears after the destruction of the Kshaharāta family the Kushana overlord appointed Chāshtana to be a satrap and dispatched him to save as much as possible from the clutches of the Śātavāhanas.' And he maintains that the suggestion of Messrs. Rapson and Smith that Chāshtana was a satrap of the Kushan family is not easily acceptable. He would also reject the assumption of the simultaneous reign of Chāshtana and his grandson Rudradāman. He says that all that the Andhau inscriptions prove is that Cutch was in the possession of Rudradāman in the year 52 of the Saka era and that he started his career of conquest some time before that year. Moreover the Andhau inscriptions add the epithet *Rājān* before Chāshtana and Rudradāman and consequently we have no right to assume that Chāshtana was a Mahakshatrapa and Rudradāman a Kshatrapa in the year 52 Saka. He would believe that most probably the kingdom of Chāshtana in Malwa was conquered by the Great Kushana emperors in the 1st or 2nd

decade of the Saka era, as Malwa, Eastern Malwa at least, was included in the Kushana dominions before the year 28, as proved by the Sanchi inscription of that year of Kanishka. The general trend of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman proves conclusively that he founded a new kingdom and conquered all the countries mentioned in that record. The dominions of Chāshtana seem to have been conquered by some chieftain at the end of his reign. The fact that he struck coins in his own name proves that he was an independent sovereign; his use of the title shows that he was a descendant or successor of the provincial satraps of the older pre-Kushana Saka monarchs who had assumed royal privileges on the decline of the central power. The Andhau inscriptions prove that he had ceased to live before the year 52 Saka. Rudradāman's issue of silver coins on the model of Chāshtana's proves definitely that he was not a satrap of the Kushan empire and that he owed no allegiance to the emperors of that dynasty.

Thus as Rudradāman should have begun his career of conquest before 52 Saka, the conquest of these provinces by Gautamīputra Śatakarni cannot have been effected in a year or two after the last date of Nahapana, i.e. the year 46 which is now referred to the Saka era by a majority of scholars. Thus it is not possible to place the overthrow of Nahapana in the year A.D. 126. If the year 46 of the Junner inscription is referred to the Saka era, then it is impossible to place the conquests of Gautamīputra in or shortly after that date, because sometime must have elapsed after the fall of Nahapana or his successor and Gautamīputra's consolidation of his conquests. Also sometime should have elapsed between the conquests of Gautamīputra and those of Rudradāman which latter must have begun before 52 Saka. There is the possibility that the dates in the Nasik and Junner inscriptions of Nahapana may be referred to some other era than the Saka; and that they are regnal years.

Paleography is brought in by Mr. Banerji to prove his conclusions, viz., that more than a century must have elapsed between Nahapana and Rudradāman owing to the difference of forms between the letters of the Junner and the Nasik inscriptions and those of Junagadh. If anything, Nahapana should be earlier than Śodasa. He concludes after an elaborate comparison of the paleography of the inscriptions that it cannot be maintained that Nahapana and

Rudradāman lived in the same century and the difference between their dates is less than a century.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE NALODAYA'

Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer discusses in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 25) on the basis of a commentary on *Nalodaya* found in the Palace Library of H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore the question of the real authorship of the poem so long attributed to Kalidasa and recently regarded as the production of a certain Ravidēva.

He would on the strength of a comparative and critical study of *Yudhisṭhira-Vijaya* and *Tripura-Dahana* with *Nalodaya* which exhibits a maturer literary development. He says: 'One is therefore justified in concluding that as king Rama who has been mentioned in the opening verses of the *Tripura-dahana* seems also to be the patron eulogised in the *Nalodaya* and as the alliterative plan of this difficult, though comparatively short work could have been worked out only by a poet who had had special training in this species of composition, the *Nalodaya* must also be attributed to the poet who was responsible for the production of the other two *Yamaka-Kavyas* mentioned above.' This hypothesis receives confirmation from the final verse in a commentary on *Nalodaya*, where, in a style insignificant imitation of that of the *Kavya* itself, its author Viṣṇu has stated that a poet named Ravitanubhū had composed the work. Another copy of the same commentary adds a further sentence in which the author's name finds direct mention as Vāsudēva. Thus neither a Kalidasa, nor a hypothetical Ravidēva had anything to do with *Nalodaya*. Ravi-Vasudēva might have been shortened, possibly by mistake into Ravidēva. This poet Vāsudēva, as seen from his works was a contemporary of kings named Kulaśekhara and Rama; the suggestion put forward here is that the royal saint Kulaśekhara attributed to the first half of the ninth century A.D. has, in the last verse of his *Mukunda-Mala*, immortalized the Brahmin Ravi, the father of the poet Vāsudēva, who has himself praised a king called Kulaśekhara in his *Yudhisṭhira-Vijaya*. Vāsudēva's poetic achievements have been attributed to divine intervention in Malabar tradition. He might possibly have been the author of two other works (*Bhramara-Sandēsa*, an erotic poem on the model of the *Cloud-Messenger*, and the *Vāsudēva-Vijaya*,

a grammatical compilation on the story of Krishna's frolics) which are usually attributed to a certain Kērala Vāsudēva.

The writer further discusses the question whether the two royal names mentioned by the poet in his three works, Kulaśēkhara and Rama, represent one and the same king on two different successive sovereigns. The commentator Vishṇu, commenting on Rama, says that he was crowned with the name of Rājāditya; this would work against the supposition that the two names were of one man. In the present state of our knowledge of Kerala history of those centuries, where there are gaps and in the light of the information of the Vaishṇava *Guruparamparas* which assign a reign of eighteen years to Kulaśēkhara, the writer will not venture a definite opinion, especially as it is hazardous to connect the Kulaśēkhara and Rama of Vāsudēva with the Ramas and Kulaśēkharas of the inscriptions of those centuries.

THE ERA OF VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE DYNASTY OF GARDHABILAS AND OF MURUNḌAS.

Dr. R. Shama Sastry adds to the evidence now coming forth to prove that the Gardhabilas and the Murunḍas regarded by the *Vishṇu* and other Purāṇas as succeeding the Andhras, were really contemporary with them. He takes his evidence (pp. 81-6 of the *J.R.A.S. for January 1925*) from the *Prabhavaka-charita* (Life of Jaina Saints), the work really of Pradyumna Suri, composed in *Samvat* 1334 = A.D. 1278 and printed by the Nirṇaya Sagara Press, Bombay. From the fourth chapter of this work, entitled *Kālaka-Sūri-Prabandha* it is clear that the dynasty of the Gardhabilas was contemporary with the Andhras, and that while Sātavāhana of the Andhras was ruling in Pratishṭhana and Murunḍa in Pātaliputra, one of the Gardhabilas, called Gardhabila was ruling in Ujjayini. The latter was slain by the Śakas at the invitation of the Saint Kālaka, and Ujjayini passed into Śaka hands. King Vikrama drove out the Śakas from Ujjayini and established his own dynasty there, celebrating his victory by starting an era after his own name. The eighth chapter of the same work, entitled *Vyādha Vadi-prabandha* tells us of Vikramāditya as being a contemporary of King Bālamitra and of the interest which he took in the religion of the Jains. The author says that the dynasty of King Vikrama at Ujjayini lasted only for 135 years and was then destroyed

by the Śakas who celebrated their victory by starting another era after their own name. The learned doctor thus concludes :—

'Whether reliance can be placed upon this (latter) assertion is a question which I leave to scholars for decision. The nature of the event described in the life of Kālaka-Acharya appears to me to be true and inclines me to believe that the author has recorded a genuine tradition.' In the life of the saint are recorded the names of Bālamitra of Bhrigu-Kaccha, Vijayabrahma of Kosala, Murunḍa of Pātaliputra, as well as other details regarding Vikrama's patronage of Jainism.

ŚAKĀRA

Professor Jarl Charpentier, writing in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1925*, supports the view put forward long ago by Professor Sylvain Levi that the *Śakara*, the ridiculous, brawling scoundrel of a king's brother-in-law (Śyāla) in the Hindu drama, is in reality a Śaka, a type of the Scythian princes ruling nearly for four centuries in Western India, as seen from the Indian point of view, as opposed to Professor Konow who rejects this theory. Hindu grammarians looked upon the Śakāra's dialect as a subspecies of Māgadhī; but it may be well regarded as an Iranian language. He adduces some proofs for the possibility that the word Śakāra may be derived from, and in its essence intimately connected with, Śaka. The natural consequence of this suggestion would be that this character in the drama was meant to deride, and pour contempt upon, the Śaka princes of Malwa-Saurashtra—since the Śakāra is a most despicable poltroon, a liar and a tyrant who tortures all Buddhist monks whom he meets, and is of low caste, being clubbed together with *Mlechhas* and Ābhīras in the *Dasarūpa* [II 45 (42)] and in direct connection with the low castes in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹

The *Mrichchakatika* is the play where the *Śakara* appears in all his abominable wickedness and poltroonery; it was staged at Ujjayini, one of the Śaka capitals and the reputed capital of Vikramāditya, who still unfortunately remains only a *magni nominis umbra*. It was at Ujjayini and quite probably during the sway of the Śakas that the

¹ xiii. 147.

classical drama began to develop; and a type like the Śākāra might have originated in the surroundings of Scythian princelings and mercenaries. Possibly this coarse type should have originated later than the downfall of the Śaka dynasties, i.e. posterior to about A.D. 400. The type appears chiefly in the *Toy Cart* and in the *Charudatta* (Trivandrum Play) both being works of dubious and unsettled date. The passages in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* dealing with the Śākāra may also belong to a relatively late date. The word itself may be of Iranian origin and derived from Śaka by the suffix *ara*.

THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR

Demetrius C. Barlger, in *The Calcutta Review* traces the origin of the Holkar family, to the village of Hol in the Desh, and to Mulhar Rao Holkar (1726-68) surnamed the Great. The thirty years' rule of Ahalya Bai, the daughter-in-law of Mulhar Rao, the equally famous, though less creditable, record of Tukoji Holkar, who was the right hand of the Peishwa, the dark struggles between Daulat Rao Sindia and Yeshwant Rao Holkar are all described and the latter are illustrated with extracts from the unpublished despatches from Captain Collins, the British Agent with Sindia in the time of Wellesley.

The Holkar's standing aloof from the Sindia-Bhonsle combination in 1803 is explained in all its bearings and we are shown how Yeshwant Rao was a man of mystery and had views of his own. The chequered fortunes of the British in the war with him (1804-5) ended in an honourable and considerate peace for Holkar. The succeeding tragedy of Mehidpur followed by the Treaty of Mandesor, the rule of Mulhar Rao Holkar II (1811-34) and Tukoji II (1844-86) and of Sivaji (1886-1903) leading to the reign of the present Holkar, Tukoji III—these are all detailed showing a complete change in the character and policy of the rulers—who were first leaders of adventurous bands, and have developed into loyal princes intent on maintaining their fiscal security and accumulating their resources.

THE DATE OF THE 'KAUTILIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA'

The recent theory, upheld by Dr. Jolly, Dr. R. Schmidt and Prof. Winternitz, that the *Arthaśāstra* may be assigned to a

comparatively late date, somewhere in the middle of the third century A.D. has been put in definite form in the Introduction to the edition of Kautilya in the *Punjab Sanskrit Series*. The chief arguments in support of this view are controverted by Dr. R. Shama Shastri in the pages of *The Calcutta Review* (April, 1925) who says that, even if these arguments prove anything at all, they will show that instead of establishing a later date for the *Arthaśāstra* they tend to involve it in considerable doubt. According to him the chief arguments of the new theory are to be refuted as follows:—

(1) As nothing is positively known regarding the date of Kāmandaka, the mere priority of Kautilya to Kāmandaka does not establish anything positive. (2) Since there is no positive evidence to prove or disprove that Yagnavalkya versified the rules of Kautilya or that Kautilya turned the metrical rules of the Dharmaśāstras into prose, this argument for the date of Kautilya fares no better. (3) The argument that fixes the age of the Kāmasūtra and thus tries to relate the age of Kautilya to it is easily refuted by the fact that there is no evidence to disprove that it was written about the commencement of the Andhra power. (4) Regarding the differences existing between the accounts of Kautilya and Megasthenes, it should be remembered that Megasthenes is not a mere translation of the *Arthaśāstra*. (5) The references to Greek astrology and Greek coins in the Smritis of Yagnavalkya and Nārada of which much is made may be later interpolations. In this connection the writer says that the *Arthaśāstra* describing as it does, the prevalence of the *Karshāpana* of sixteen *māshas*, must necessarily have been in existence before *Patanjali*; for the *Arthaśāstra* is a life-like picture of the commercial history of the times to which it belongs, and is not like the smṛtis devoted to the description of the currency of the Vedic times merely in consideration of its sanctity. Had the *Arthaśāstra* been written in the third or fourth century A.D. the currency system described would have reference to that of the Āndhras, Śakas, or Guptas, and not so much to that referred to in the Sūtras of Pāṇini.

Again there is no reason why Kautilya should be classed among mythic personages while Pāṇini, Patanjali and a host of other writers whose lives are described in no less supernatural terms pass for historical figures. There are no accepted data to assert that alchemy, metallurgy and industries as described by Kautilya are the phenomena

of the third century A.D. and not of the fourth century. B.C. It is an ancient custom with all Indian writers to speak of themselves in the third person in their literary works. From all these it follows that the *Arthashastra* is a work of the Maurya period, and particularly, as tradition says, of the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The name of Chandragupta or any other person, however celebrated, has no logical connection with a literary work meant to be of universal application.

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- Nahapana and the Śaka Era—Part II. By R. D. Banerji (Poona).
Analysis of Meaning in the Indian Philosophy of Language. By
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- The Hindu Idea of Four Dimensionality. (*Dik-Kala*). By B. B.
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The House of Holkar. By D. C. Boulger.
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Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters. By S. C. Hill.

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Vol. V, Part II (1923-24)—

The Social Life of the Ancient Iranians as presented by the Avesta. By Dr. J. J. Modi.

The Doctrine of Pratibha in Indian Philosophy. By Prof. Gopinath Kaviraj.

Māṭhara Vṛtti. By Prof. S. K. Belvaṅkar.

A New Inscription of Aparāditya of V.N. 1126. By D. B. Diskalkar.

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The Svapnavāsāvadatta of Bhasa. By C. R. Devadhar.

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On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction. By M. Bloomfield.

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Tome XXIV, 1924, Nos. 1 and 2

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January, 1925—

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

April, 1925—

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(Calcutta Historical Society)

January to March, 1925—

Survivors of the Black Hole. By J. J. Cotton.

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March, 1925—

Om Maṇi Padmē Hum. By Dr. Sten Konow, Ph.D.

Annual Meeting, Bihar and Orissa Research Society. By the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Begum Samru. By Brajendranath Banerji.

Aboriginal Names in the 'Rāmāyana'. By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

Impression of Five Fingers. By Professor Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

Dates of Sanchi Inscriptions. By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.S.A.B.

Ajamilamokṣaprabandha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. By V. Venkataram Sharma Shastri, Vidyabhusana.

Chakṣusiyam—an *Arthaśāstra*. By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The River Front of Patna at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. By J. F. James.

Correspondence

DEAR SIR,

I trust that I may have your permission to say a few words in answer to the remarks of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar upon my review of his work in your columns.

It is with the utmost regret that I have ventured to dissent on certain points from the Professor whose eminent services in the cause of historical study I gladly and respectfully recognize. We are all under a great debt to him, which is constantly growing greater; and I take this opportunity to acknowledge the latest instalment of it by congratulating him upon the recent publication of Mr. Satyanatha Aiyar's excellent *History of the Nayaks of Madura* which he has edited and enriched with very valuable notes and introduction. Nevertheless, I must confess that on the points in question I still remain unconvinced by him.

In the first place, I must plead guilty of an unintentional inaccuracy in one detail. In referring to the early date which he assigns to the Śaṅgam works, I added the words: 'mainly basing his position upon the well-known astronomical statements on the *Paripadal*.' From his preface I gathered that he was prepared to draw from the latter more definite conclusions than was really the case, taking the data of the *Paripadal* as he actually does in connection with the mention of the planets in the *Śardūlkarna Avadāna*. I was mistaken, and I regret my error.

The main question, as to the chronology of the Śaṅgam poems, however, still remains unsolved; and, although I feel the utmost diffidence in dissenting from a scholar of such learning as the Professor, I cannot regard as finally proven the early date that he assigns to them. I need not repeat all the arguments adduced by the writers whom he mentions, nor those of Mr. K. G. Sankar; but I would beg leave to point to one fact. The Professor, on the basis of the well-known statement in *Silapp'adigāram*, writes that Śeṅguṭṭuvan 'was the exact contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon', undoubtedly the earlier of the two Gajabāhus in the *Ceylon List*¹ and accordingly fixes the date of *Silapp'adigāram* and *Maṇimekhalai*

in the second century A.D. But he overlooks the fact that *Maṇimekhalai* refers twice to *Kuccarak-Kudigai*, a chapel in the Gurjara style of architecture; and the Gurjaras did not rise into prominence until, several centuries later. It follows therefore that the *Silapp'adigāram* and *Maṇimekhalai*, in their present form at any rate, cannot belong to the second century, and hence no argument for the early date of the Śaṅgam poems can be drawn from them.

The Professor writes: 'Dr. Barnett seems to dissent from the view that the theistic churches . . . of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were offshoots of Brahmanism'. What I said was that 'perhaps . . . he is a little too confident in asserting the *natural and direct* evolution of the *Bhakti*-cults out of Brahmanism'. Every one knows that Viṣṇu and Rudra appear in the Vedas. But the origin of the worship of Rudra lies beyond the Vedas, and the worship of Viṣṇu evolved into its classical form under peculiar influences from outside. On these points I have endeavoured to set forth my views in *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, and the nature of early Śaivism in particular has been admirably explained by Dr. Arbman in his *Rudra*.

As proof of his view that the author of the *Kural* was not a Jain, the Professor quotes Nos. 543 and 560. The first of these says that 'the king's sceptre is established as foundation to the Brahman's book (*nūl*, i.e. Veda) and to the law (*aṛam*, equivalent to Sanskrit *dharma*)'; the second declares that 'if the guardian does not guard (i.e. if the king fails to maintain order), kine's produce will fail and the men of six functions (*aṛu-toḷior*, i.e. *ṣaṭkarmis*, Brahmins) will forget the book' (*nūl*, i.e. Veda). Surely these might have been written by a Jain living under a Kshatriya monarchy and a Brahman hierarchy. Their whole point is to exhort the king to rule well, with a threat that if he fails to do so he will bring disaster upon the class which he most venerates. They do not indicate that the author accepted the religious dogmas of the Brahmins.

I confess to a 'disinclination to agree' with the Professor 'in regard to the native character of the Pallava dynasty.' But it is hardly correct to impute to me a belief that the Pallavas were 'foreign Parthians.' Families of Pahlavas or Palhavas had made their home early in the Dekhan.¹ They were no longer 'foreign

¹ Cf. for example Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 55.

Parthians' at the time when the Pallava dynasty arose, but more or less completely assimilated to Hindu society. In the matter of Tamil idiom I naturally feel extreme diffidence in querying any statement of the Professor; nevertheless I venture to think that he goes too far in saying that the phrase *Tonḍi-Pallava* 'obviously cannot mean the Pallava ruler of Tonḍai as Tonḍai to my knowledge is never used by itself as the name of the country.' Winslow's *Dictionary* gives *Tonḍai* as the name of the country. Moreover it is surely more natural to understand *Tonḍai-mān* as 'King of the Tonḍai country' than as 'King of the Tonḍai-creeper.' Incidentally I may remark that I do not understand why the Professor should assert that the Aruvālar took their name 'from the scythe which must have been their weapon as cattleherds';¹ herdsmen usually do not need scythes.

The limits of space and time forbid me to discuss in detail these and the other interesting points raised by the Professor, and I must leave him, assuring him of my deepest respects.

LONDON,
December, 1924.

L. D. BARNETT.

'SRI VENKATESA VILAS',
NADU STREET,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS,
March 10, 1925.

We publish with the greatest pleasure the above note of Dr. Barnett, and close this correspondence. Without getting into any detailed discussion, we may be permitted to make the following remarks:—

1. The age of the Śaṅgam is referred to the early centuries of the Christian era, as the cumulative result of the three or four lines of evidence, of which the Gajabāhu datum is but one. The equivalent of *Kuccharam*, in *Kuccharakuḍigai*, with the Gurjaras does not seem to be necessarily compulsory; but this is subsidiary to the position that the Gurjaras were foreigners, and were unknown in India earlier than the fifth or sixth century A.D. There is more reason to be

¹ *Ancient India*, p. 158.

unconvinced of this thesis than of the earlier age of the Śaṅgam. There is, besides, the possibility that a single word like this may be a misreading, or even an interpolation due to misunderstanding.

2. In regard to outside influences, especially concerning the worship of Vishnu, and of the worship of Śiva lying beyond the Vedas, the matter is still open to discussion. Different views may be held. But as far as it can be traced in South Indian literature our position seems quite tenable.

3. So far as *Kuraḷ* is concerned, we have no quarrel with Dr. Barnett if he thinks that it was a Kshatriya monarchy and a Brahman hierarchy that are involved in the author's statement. Why the Jain author, in exhorting the king to rule well, should hold a threat that the Brahman would forget the Veda of all things, is very much more than could be understood, knowing as we do, that Jains do not regard the Veda as even a work of authority, much less a work of revelation. We quote below the *Kuraḷ* under reference and one śloka from the *Mahābhārata* in comparison and leave it there.

Ā payan kuṇṇum aruṭolilor nūl maṇṇappār
Kāvalan kavān enin. (ch. 56. 10).

Majjettirayi dandhātāu hātāyām sarvē dharmāḥ prakṣayeyu
viruddhāḥ ;

Sarvē dharmāschāśramāḥ hātāḥsyuḥ, kṣātre naṣṭe rāja dharmā
purāṇē — *Mahābhārata*, Śānti, 62. 23.

4. In regard to the Pallava question, and the foreign origin of the Pallavas there is absolutely no direct piece of evidence offered for connecting the Pallavas of Kanchi with the other Pallavas. That is the main argument. The compound *Tonḍai-Pallava* is derived from *Tonḍai Pallavar*, which means the ruler or king of the *Tonḍai*, and therefore, *Tonḍamān* will not make the sense of 'king of the creeper,' but 'king of the people of the *Tonḍai*-creeper,' which is no more inappropriate than to make 'Tonḍai' the name of the country. If 'Tonḍai' is already the name of the country, *Tonḍai Nadu* will be a tautology.

5. In regard to the term 'Aruvālar', two derivations are possible. 'Aruvā' is the name of the *Nadu* or country. People of the country of 'Aruvā' may be called 'Aruvālar' by a double affix. The *aruvāḷ* was the weapon of the South Indian herdsmen of these

parts who carry with them an *aruvā* to cut leaves to feed their cattle, so that it is not unusual for herdsmen, much rather habitual for them, to carry one of these weapons with them. I am not attempting to convince anybody. It is evidence that must convince them. Discussion must go on and further evidence must accumulate, and I daresay conviction would then follow inevitably. We close the correspondence in the hope that we shall be able to confirm the correctness of the position ^{as the} by us by further evidence, and in the meanwhile give our learned colleague assurance of our great respect for his scholarly interest in these subjects.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

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The Kāśīs in Ancient India

BY

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Kāśī—Its Location and Extent

KASĪ, one of the *mahājanapadas*¹ of Janbudvīpa, was the ancient name of the kingdom of which the chief city was Bārānāsī, the modern Benares, which probably derives its name from the River Baraṇāvati and is situated at a distance of eighty miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges, at the junction between it and the River Baraṇā.² The Baraṇā or Varāṇa is a considerable rivulet which rises to the north of Allahabad and has a course of about hundred miles. The Asi is a mere brook. From the joint name of these two streams which bound the city to the north and the south, the Brāhmaṇas derive Barāṇasī or Vārāṇasī which is said to be the Sanskrit form of the name of Benares.³ Bārānāsī had other names also. It was called Surundhana⁴ in the Udaya birth, Sudassana⁵ in Cullasutasoma birth, Brahṃavaddhana⁶ in the Soṇananda birth, Pupphavati⁷ in the Khandahala birth, Ramma City⁸ in the Yuvāñjaya birth and Molinī⁹ in the Saṃkha birth. In the Chinese versions of Buddhist works, the terms Kāśī and Bārānāsī are generally given in transcriptions. But the former term is sometimes translated by Ti-miao. This means reed-

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, vol. i, p. 213; vol. iv, pp. 252, 256 and 260.

² *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

³ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 435-6.

⁴ *Jātaka*, iv. 104, 15, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 119, 28; v. 177, 12, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 119, 29; v. 312, 19, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. p. 131.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 119, 26, etc.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. p. 15.

sprouts. Ti-miao may have been used to translate Kāśī as supposed to be connected with Kāśa.¹

The city proper, as Rhys Davids says, included the land between the Baraṇa and a stream called the Asi, as its name suggests. Its extent including the suburbs, is often stated to have been, at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom (i.e., sometime before the rise of Buddhism) twelve leagues or about eighty-five miles.² In the *Jātakas*, we find the extent of the city mentioned as twelve *yojanas*.³ Benares extends for four miles along the bank of the river, which here descends to the water with a steep brink. Down this brink are built flights of steps known as ghats, at the foot of which pilgrims bathe and bodies of the dead are burnt.⁴

The little kingdom of Kāśī was bordered by Kōśala on the north, Magadha on the east and Vatsa on the west.⁵ It had abundance of seven gems, wealth and prosperity.⁶ The Buddha predicted that, when the lease of life of human beings would be 80,000 years, Bārānasi would be known as Kētumati which would be the capital of the Jambudvīpa and the king would be Saṁkha who would be the universal monarch possessing seven gems.⁷

Kāśī in the Vedic and Sūtra Literature

The *Saṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* mentions Kāśya, the King of Kāśī, and Jala, son of Jātukarni, who became the king's chaplain after having performed the religious sacrifice for ten nights (xvi. 29, 5). Kāśya was a warrior belonging to the family of warriors as the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* informs us (iii. 8, 2). The *Bṛhadāranyaka* and *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣads* speak of Ajātaśatru, another king of Kāśī, and Bālāki, son of Balākā, told him that he would speak of Brahma to him (ii. 1. 1; iv. 1). The *Baudhayana Śrauta Sūtra* tells us that Āyu, son of Purūravā, renounced the worldly life and he wandered in the countries of Kāśī, Kuru and Pañchāla (xviii. 44). From the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we learn that Śatānika, son of Satrājita, performed the *Govāta Yajña* taking the horse of the king of Kāśī, Kāśya. Afterwards the kings of Kāśī performed the *yajña* (xiii. 5, 4, 19).

¹ *Walters on Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 58-9.

² *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

³ Fausball, *Jātakas*, vol. ii, p. 18; vol. vi, p. 160.

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, p. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁶ *Agullara Nikāya*, vol. i, p. 213; vol. iv, pp. 252, 256 and 260.

⁷ *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. iii, p. 75.

It further informs us that Śatānika accepted the horse of the kings of Kāśī which was meant for religious sacrifice (xiii. 5, 4, 21). The River Varāṇavati is referred to in the *Atharva Veda* (i. 7, 1), the water of which removes poison. We agree with Drs. Macdonell and Keith that though Kāśī is a late word, it is quite possible that the town is older as the River Varāṇavati may be connected with the later Bārānasi (Benares).¹

Kāśī in the Epic Period—In the Rāmāyaṇa

Kāśī was a famous kingdom in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. This is apparent from several passages. Thus we are told in the *Ādikāṇḍa* (13th *sarga*) that Vaiśiṣṭha asked Sumatra to invite many pious kings including the king of Benares together with one thousand Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. In the *Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa* (40th *sarga*) we read that Sugriva while sending the monkey-king Vinata in search of Sītā, requested him to go to Kāśī and some other countries in quest of her. In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (ch. 56, *śloka* 25) we read that Mitradeva said to Urvaśi, 'Go to Pururava, king of Kāśī. He will be your husband.' In the same *Kāṇḍa*, ch. 59, *śloka* 19, Puru, son of Yayāti, is represented as residing in Pratiṣṭhāna and ruling over the kingdom of Kāśī.

In the Mahābhārata

Kāśī figures even more prominently in the other epic of ancient India. Haryaśva, grandfather of Divodāsa, was the king of Benares. He was killed by the relations of King Vitahavya in a battle fought on the land between the Ganges and the Jumna. His son Sudēva was installed on the throne of Kāśī. Sudēva ruled Kāśī righteously but he also was defeated by the Vitahavyas. Then his son Divodāsa was anointed king of Benares. He built the city of Benares which became populated by Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The city was on the north bank of the Ganges and on the south bank of the River Gomati. Big markets were opened. The Hahayyas again attacked him. A great war ensued. It lasted for one thousand days. Divodāsa was defeated, fled to a forest and took shelter in the hermitage of the Sage Bharadvāja, eldest son of Vrihaspati. He narrated the whole event to the sage. The sage assured the king

¹ *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 154.

that he would perform a sacrifice so that the king might be blessed with a son who would kill thousands of the Vitahavyas. The sage performed a sacrifice, as a result of which a son was born. He was named Pratardana. He learnt Vedas and archery. He was anointed prince and was sent by his father, Divodāsa, to conquer the Vitahavyas. Pratardana crossed the Ganges and reached the land of the Vitahavyas in a chariot. A fierce battle was fought with the result that the Vitahavyas were defeated. King Vitahavya found all his men killed and fled to the hermitage of the Sage Bhṛgu. Pratardana also went there and requested Bhṛgu to let the King Vitahavya go. Bhṛgu said, 'There is no Kṣatriya in my hermitage; all are brāhman here.' Pratardana said, 'I am satisfied. My prowess has caused Vitahavya to leave his caste. Bhṛgu's words raised Vitahavya to the state of a *Brahmarṣi*.¹ Another passage of the *Mahābhārata* tells us that Divodāsa, the son of Bhīmasena, King of Kāśī, had a son named Pratardana by Mādhavi, daughter of Yayāti² who regained heaven in consequence of meritorious deeds done by Pratardana.³ When the Prince Pratardana became the king of Kāśī, he founded his capital in Benares and acquired great fame by offering his own son in charity to a brāhman.⁴ A king of Kāśī, we are told, gave his daughter, Sārvasenī, in marriage with Bharat, son of Duśmanta, king of the Kuru dynasty, and Śakuntalā, daughter of Viśvāmitra.⁵ Another king of Kāśī had three daughters, Ambā, Ambikā and Ambalīkā who were won by Bhīṣma for his brother Vichitravīrya in a *svayambara*.⁶ Suvāhu, King of Kāśī, was conquered by Bhīma before the *rājasūya* sacrifice.⁷ On the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Abhimanyu, the King of Kāśī and others were invited by Yudhiṣṭhira to a city named Upaplavya near Virāṭa.⁸ The King of Kāśī was an ally of Yudhiṣṭhira and helped the Pāṇḍavas in the Kurukṣetra war.⁹ Kāśī, Karuṣa and Chēdi armies were under the leadership of Dhr̥ṣṭaketu in the battle of Kurukṣetra.¹⁰ The king of Kāśī was the best archer. He blew his conch along with Śikhaṇḍi, Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna and others.¹¹ Śaivya and the king of Kāśī

¹ *Anuśāsanaparva*, ch. 30, pp. 1899 and 1900.

² *Udyogaparva*, ch. 117, p. 746.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 123, pp. 746-49.

⁴ *Anuśāsanaparva*, ch. 137, pp. 1905 and 1906.

⁵ *Adiparva*, ch. 95, p. 105.

⁶ *Udyogaparva*, chs. 172-194, 791-806.

⁷ *Sabhāparva*, ch. 31, pp. 241 and 242.

⁸ *Virātparva*, ch. 72, śloka 16, p. 627.

⁹ *Udyogaparva*, ch. 72, p. 714.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 198, p. 807.

¹¹ *Bhīṣmaparva*, ch. 25, p. 834.

guarded the centre of the Pāṇḍava army, with thirty thousand chariots.¹ Both of these had blue horses.² Alibhū, King of Kāśī, was killed by the son of Vasudāna.³ The king of Kāśī rode horses decorated with gold and garlands in the Kurukṣetra war.⁴

Saṁhvarṭta driven by his brother Vṛhaṣpati became an ascetic and lived in Benares. At the request of King Marutta, Saṁhvarṭta consented to be his sacrificer and asked the king to make the sacrificial pot of gold available on the mountain called Munjavāna on the top of the Himālayās. The king did so and had the sacrifice performed by Saṁhvarṭta. Later on the articles used in this sacrifice were utilized in a sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.⁵

In the *Anuśāsanaparva*⁶ we read that there lived in Benares a sage named Maitreya who used to hold, that 'Brāhmanhood is the best treasure of a brāhman. The four principal castes of the Hindus are very beneficial. Charity is very good.'

In the *Śāntiparva*⁷ we read that there was in Benares a merchant named Tulādhāra who was very pious and conversant with the mysteries of religion. He was very open-hearted. He was a dealer in fragrant substances such as musk, lac, dyā, etc.

Kāśī in the Purāṇas

Kāśī is mentioned in the *Purāṇas*⁸ as a *janapada*. It is called Avimuktakṣhetra because Rudra did not leave it (Gaurikṣhetra).⁹ It is so called because even in times of deluge it is not devoid of Shiva and Shivānī.¹⁰ Its area is five *krośa*.¹¹ It is also known as *Ānandavana* (pleasure-garden) because it is a source of pleasure¹² and it is always brilliant. The *Purāṇas* contain several stories about kings of Kāśī some of whom are, as we have seen, already mentioned in the epics. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions a king named Kaśa who was the son of Dharmavṛddha of the Nahuṣa family. The sons of Kaśa are Kāśaya, Rāṣṭra and Dirghatapā. The son of Dirghatapā was the learned Dharma.¹³ According to the *Harivaṁśa*, sons of kaśa, king of

¹ *Bhīṣmaparva*, ch. 50, p. 924.

² *Dronaparva*, ch. 22, pp. 1012 and 1013.

³ *Kaṇvaparva*, ch. 6, p. 1169.

⁴ *Dronaparva*, ch. 22, śloka 38.

⁵ *Aśvamedhaparva*, chs. 4-10, pp. 2029-34.

⁶ Ch. 120, pp. 1985-87.

⁷ Ch. 263, pp. 1668-75.

⁸ *Padmapurāṇa*, *Svargakhaṇḍa*, ch. 3; *Viṣṇudharmottaramahāpurāṇa*, ch. 9.

⁹ *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 112, śloka 2.

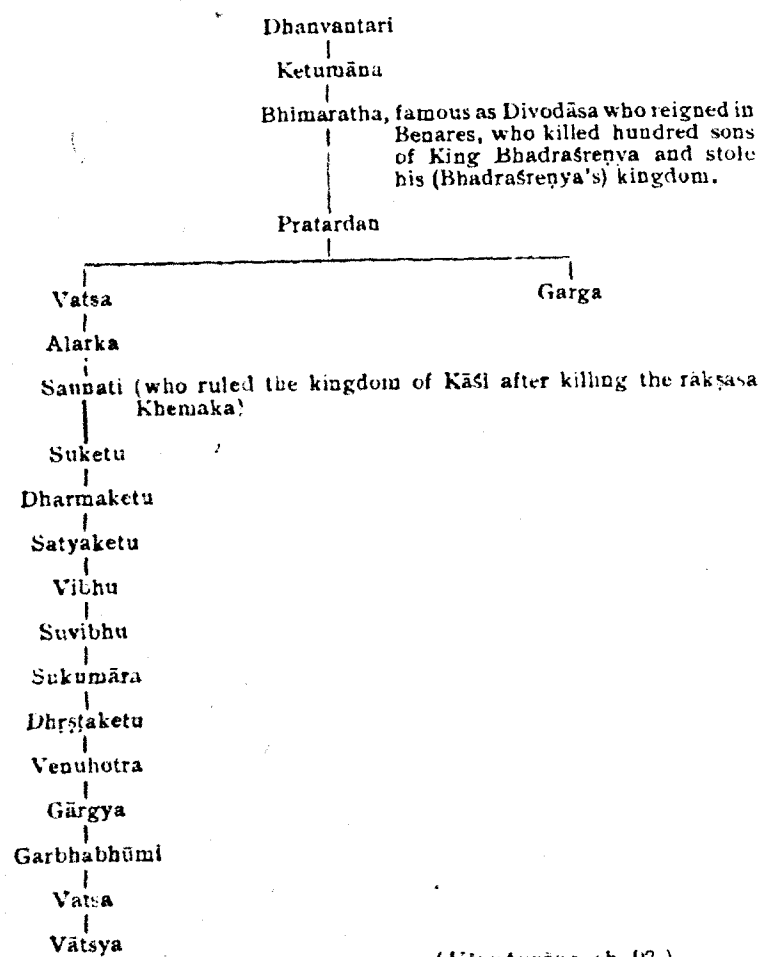
¹⁰ *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa*, *Pūrvar̥ddha*, ch. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 92.

the Anenāḥ dynasty were known as Kāśis. Dirghatamā was the eldest.¹ As a merit of the performance of penance by Saunihotra, King of Kāśi, a son was born to him. He was named Dhanvantari. He studied *Ayurveda* with Bharadvaja who taught his pupils *Ayurveda* after dividing it into eight sections.² Dhanvantari became king of Benares. He was celebrated as the author of *Ayurveda* and killer of all diseases.³ A genealogical table of the family of Dhanvantari is given below :—



(*Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 92.)

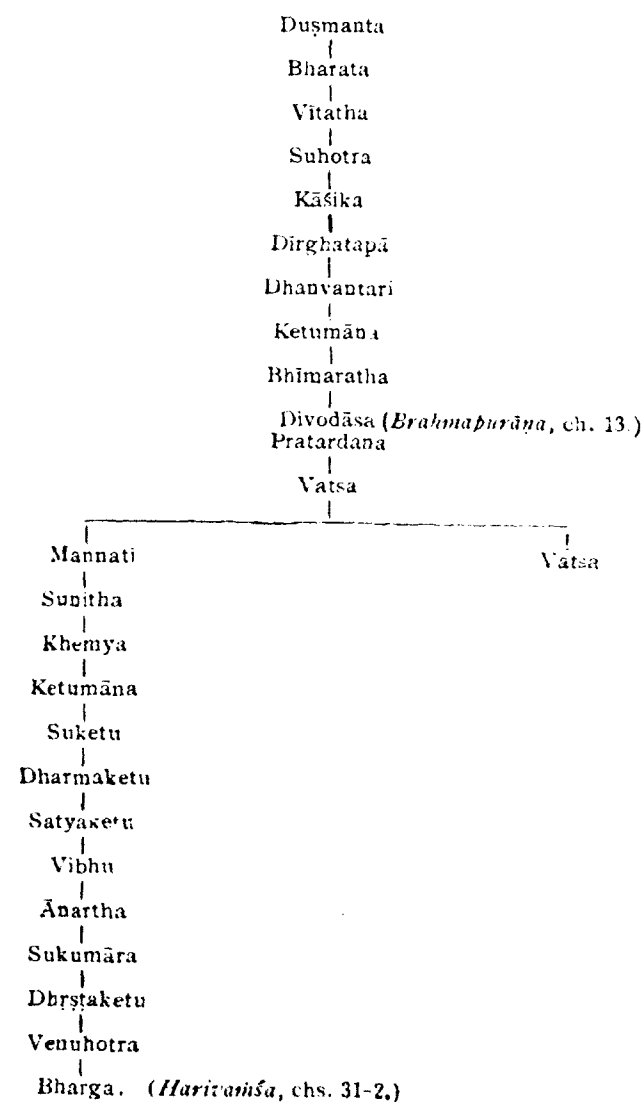
Divodāsa, grandson of Dhanvantari, was, as we have seen, a famous king of Benares. At that time Benares being cursed by Mahātma Nikumbha was deserted and a rākṣasa named Khemaka occupied it instead. Divodāsa left Benares and founded his kingdom on the

¹ *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 20.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 31.

³ *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 92.

banks of the River Gomatī.¹ Once Bhadrāsreṇya, son of Mahiṣmāna,² king of the Yadu dynasty, acquired Benares. His sons were defeated by King Divodāsa who recovered Benares and who out of mercy spared the life of Bhadrāsreṇya's youngest son, Durddama. But Durddama in course of time recovered his paternal kingdom which was again won by Pratardana, son of Divodāsa. The following tables are compiled from the *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa* :—



(*Harivaṃśa*, chs. 31-2.)

¹ *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 31-2; cf. *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. 13, śloka 75.

² *Padmapurāṇa*, ch. 12.

The *Purāṇas* refer to a famous king of Kāśī, named Alarka who in his later life, after killing the Rākṣasa Khemaka re-established the beautiful city of Benares.¹

Benares, the capital of Kāśī, figures in the story of Kṛṣṇa's quarrel with Puṇḍra. King Puṇḍra declared himself as Vāsudeva and fought with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva with the help of the king of Benares, but he was defeated and killed by Kṛṣṇa. At this time Kṛṣṇa burnt the city of Benares.²

The following items of information may also be gleaned from the *Purāṇas* :—

Kuśādhvaja, brother of Śirādhvaja was the king of Benares.³

Sages of Benares with their disciples attended Rāma's sacrifice performed in Kurukṣetra.⁴

The great ascetic Vedavyāsa knowing the good fame of Benares dwelt at Benares. As he dwelt there the paṇḍits took up their residence at Benares.⁵ Satyakarma, a descendant of Parikṣita ruled in Benares.⁶ Kāśī is mentioned as the residence of Tripurāri.⁷ The beasts and birds living at Kāśī are superior to the gods because the gods are subject to rebirth while they are not.⁸ Those who stay at Benares without taking any food for one month are superior to a king who reigns peacefully.⁹ Buddha, son of Candra, with his father's permission came to Kāśī to practise asceticism where Viśvēśvara Mahādēva lives and where one obtains salvation by staying there. Buddha established a *śivaliṅga* known as Buddhēśvara.¹⁰ The rivers Asi and Varanā fell into the Ganges flowing northwards at Benares.¹¹ At Benares there is the lake Maṇikarnikā which purifies beings.¹² The following are the holy places at Kāśī which are to be visited by the Hindus :—

(1) Gyānvāpi, (2) Nandikēśvara, (3) Tārakēśvara, (4) Mahākālēśvara, (5) Daṇḍapāṇi, (6) Omkāranātha, (7) Kirtivāsa, (8) Ratnēśa, (9) Candrēśa, (10) Kedārēśvara, (11) Dharmēśvara, (12) Virēśvara,

¹ *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. 13, śloka 74-5; *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, ch. 32, śloka 35; *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 92.

² *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Aṃśa* 5, ch. 34.

³ *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 89.

⁴ *Skandapurāṇa*, *Ayodhyāmdhātmya*, ch. 1.

⁵ *Kūrmapurāṇa*, ch. 34, śloka 32 and 33.

⁶ *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, ch. 1.

⁷ *Kāśīkhanda*, ch. 1, *Pūrvārddha*, *Skandapurāṇa*, śloka 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 3, śloka 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, śloka 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 15, śloka 45 and 46.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 17, *Pūrvārddha*, śloka 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, ch. 26, śloka 117.

(13) Kāmēśvara, (14) Viśvakarmēśvara, (15) Maṇikarniśvara, (16) Avimuktēśvara, (17) Viśvēśvara, (18) Saṅgamēśvara, (19) Hiraṇyagarbhēśvara, (20) Iśanēśvara, (21) Nakulēśvara, (22) Kālabhairava, (23) Tilaparnēśvara, (24) Lalita, (25) Bhairava, (26) Somanātha, (27) Baidyanātha, (28) Harischandrēśvara and (29) Dhunḍhi.¹ The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* informs us that a king of Kāśī named Sudakṣiṇa went to Dvārakā and fought with Krishna with the result that he was killed by him.²

Kāśī in the 'Daśakumāracharita'

We are told in the *Daśakumāracharita* that Dharmapāla, a minister to a king of Magadha named Rājahamśa had a son named Kāmapāla who went to various places and later reached Kāśī. There he fell in love with Kāntavati, the daughter of a king of Kāśī named Chaṇḍasimha. A child was born to her as a result of their secret love. A *chandalī* while throwing away the child at the cemetery was arrested and when molested by the police officers she divulged the whole matter. Kāmapāla was sent to the cemetery for being killed by the order of the king of Benares. He killed the *chandalas* and fled away. A daughter of Yakkha named Tārāvati gave him shelter and Kāmapāla lived with her as husband and wife. Tārāvati took the child from the cemetery and gave it to the queen of Magadha named Basumati for bringing it up. The child was afterwards named Arthapāla. He stayed with Kāmapāla with the help of the daughter of the Yakkha went to the bed-chamber of Chaṇḍasimha, King of Benares, who through him asked mercy from Kāmapāla. Chaṇḍasimha gave his daughter in marriage to Kāmapāla who became his minister. Kāmapāla afterwards became the ruler of Benares.³

Kāśī in the 'Saundarananda-Kāvya'

The *Saundarananda-Kāvya* of *Aśvaghoṣa* tells us that the Buddha after having acquired supreme knowledge out of compassion for the world and in order to give valuable instructions went to the city of Benares surrounded by the rivers Varanā and Asi and he preached 'the Wheel of Law' for the good of the world.⁴ It further informs us that Rishi Dvaipāyana associated himself with a prostitute at Kāśī, but he was afterwards beaten by her.⁵

¹ *Kāśī Khanda*, *Uttarārddha*, ch. 100.

² *Daśakumāracharita*, 4th *Ucchvāsa*.

³ *Skandha* 10, ch. 66.

⁴ *Verse* 10, *sarga* 3.

Kāśī in the 'Kuttinimāṭam'

The *Kuttinimāṭam* gives a description of Benares about A.D. 800. It is the ornament of the world full of people willing to attain salvation. It is a place of worldly enjoyments and if anybody dies there after enjoyment, he will become a Śiva.

It is full of temples having banners and flags decorating the sky and it is decorated with beautiful mansions like those of heaven. It is surrounded by a wall and inhabited by many *yatis* and *gandharvas*. It is free from thieves, rogues, misers, culprits and thoughtless men. It is adorned with beautiful gardens and full of learned men. It is situated on the banks of the River Bhāgīrathī and is the second Amarāvati (city of the gods).¹

Jain Sources

According to the Jains, Pārśvanātha was born in Benares about 817 B.C. His father Aśvasena was the king of Benares.² On the eighty-fourth day Pārśvanātha obtained *Kēvala Jñāna* seated under a Dhātaki tree near Benares.³

Kāśī also figures in the stories of the last Tirthankara and his disciples. There lived in Benares a householder named Chulanipiyā who was prosperous and who had no equal. His wife was called Sāmā. He possessed a treasure of eight *krore* measures of gold and eight herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand of cattle. He was the cause of prosperity whatever business was concerned with. At a certain time Mahāvira came and a congregation went out from Benares to hear him. Chulanipiyā lived in conformity with the teachings of the law which he received from Mahāvira. Afterwards through lofty ascetic practices he was reborn as a deity in the *Arunappabha* abode.⁴

There lived at Benares a prosperous householder named Śūrādeva. He possessed a treasure of six *krore* measures of gold and six herds. Śūrādeva took upon himself the law of a householder and he lived in conformity with the teachings of the law which he had received from Mahāvira.⁵

In the night in which Mahāvira died, the king of Kāśī instituted an illumination on the *Poshadha* which was a fasting day for he said,

¹ *Kavyamālā series*, No. 3.² *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48.³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.⁴ *Uvāsagadasā*, vol. ii, pp. 90-98.⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 100.

'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter.'¹

Vajrasvāmī, a great Jaina spiritual leader, had a famous disciple named Āryarakṣita who had originally been a brāhman and had studied all knowledge at Benares.²

The king of Kāśī named Nandana, the seventh Baladeva, son of King Agnīśikha of Benares exerting himself for the best truth, abandoned all pleasures and hewed down, as it were, his *karma* like a forest.³

A famous brahman named Jayaghoṣa who subdued all his senses, and who walked on the right road came to the town of Benares. He took up his residence outside Benares. At the same time another brahman named Vijayaghoṣa offered a sacrifice in Benares. Jayaghoṣa went to the sacrifice of Vijayaghoṣa to beg alms, but he was refused. Thus refused he was neither angry nor pleased as he always strove for the highest good. Jayaghoṣa said to Vijayaghoṣa, 'You do not know what is most essential in the Vedas, nor in sacrifices, nor in duties. You do not know those who are able to save themselves and others, but if you do, then speak out.' Vijayaghoṣa could not defend himself by a suitable reply.⁴

A Jaina monk named Bala stayed in a certain grove near Benares. The presiding deity of this grove became his follower. One day Bhadrā, daughter of King Kauśalika, came to that grove. Seeing the dirty monk, she could not conceal her aversion. The presiding deity of the grove to punish her for her want of respect for the Jaina monk, possessed her. As no physician could cure her madness the presiding deity said that she would recover only if she were offered as bride to Bala. The king agreed. Baddhā became sound and went to choose Bala, as her husband. Bala refused to marry her.⁵

Incidental notices of Kāśī kings and notables in Literature of the Buddhist age

A king of Benares, we are told, used to learn Vedic hymns from his *purohita*.⁶

¹ *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., vol. i, p. 266.² *Heart of Jainism*, p. 78.³ *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. ii, p. 87.⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 136-37.⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 50, n. 1.⁶ *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 28.

There is a reference in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya to the poisoning of the Kāśirāja by his own queen.¹

Brahmadatta, a king of Benares, told the inhabitants of Kāśi that those who had provision for twelve years, might remain at Benares and those who had not, might leave Benares as there would be famine lasting for twelve years.²

On account of famine many people died at Benares but one person who had enormous wealth in his possession gave alms to a *Pratyekabuddha* who went to him. The wife of the person prayed to the *Pratyekabuddha* for the boon that one pot of rice cooked by her would be sufficient for hundreds of thousands of people. The person prayed for the boon that his granary should always be filled with paddy. The person's son prayed that his treasure should always be full of wealth although he might spend as much as he liked. All the boons prayed for were given by the *Pratyekabuddha*.³

A king of Benares had a garden deity who could make sweet mangoes bitter and bitter mangoes sweet.⁴

A son of the king of Benares promised to worship a deity presiding in a *nyagrodha* tree by blood of 1,000 kings and queens of the Jambudvīpa if he got the throne after his father's death. His desire was fulfilled and according to promise he brought 1,000 kings and queens before the deity who helped them to save their lives.⁵

Śivali in a previous birth was a son of the King of Benares. After his father's death, he ascended the throne and he surrounded a city in order to conquer it, but the inhabitants did not surrender for many days. Afterwards they were forced to surrender.⁶

Udena was dwelling at Khemiya *ambavana* at Benares. A brāhman named Ghoṣamukha went to him and told him that it seemed to him that there was no pious monk. Udena replied to his question by referring to four kinds of persons.⁷

A son of a banker of Benares who used to amuse himself by tumbling brought upon himself an entanglement of his intestines and therefore he could not digest rice or milk, nor the food which he partook. In consequence he was becoming lean and thin and disfigured. The

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Tr. p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132 foll.

³ *D. C.*, vol. ii, p. 14 foll.

⁴ *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. ii, p. 157 foll.

⁵ *Dhṛtyāvadāna*, p. 132.

⁶ *Jātaka*, vol. v, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-200.

banker of Benares went to Rājagaha to see King Bimbisāra of Magadha. He approached the king and requested him to order his physician Jivaka to cure his son. The banker's request was complied with by the king. Jivaka went to Benares and cured the disease of the banker's son. Jivaka was amply rewarded by the banker and went back to Rājagaha.¹

Koliyas-descendants of a Kāśi Monarch

Rāma, King of Benares, had an attack of leprosy. Members of the harem and the dancing girls used to hate him. Hence he became very sorry and left the kingdom by placing it in charge of his eldest son. He went to a forest and lived on fruits there. He was cured of the disease by taking fruits and roots available in the forest. His body appeared like gold. He dwelt in a tree hole and later on he married a daughter of King Okkāka and thirty-two sons were born to him. Those sons afterwards built the city named Kola, and they became known as Koliyas. There were inter-marriages between the Koliyas and the Śākyas down to the time of the Buddha Gautama.²

Fight between Kāśi and Kośala

Kāśi and Kośala are represented as two independent countries the kings of which fought with each other.³ The king of Benares once attacked the kingdom of Kośala and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officials as governors and himself having collected all available treasures, returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kośala had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. Chatta came to Taxila where he acquired the three Vedas and the eighteen liberal arts. Then he left Taxila and came to a wood where dwelt five hundred ascetics from whom he learnt all what the ascetics could instruct him, gradually he became the leader of the band. He came to Benares with five hundred ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics wandering about the city for alms, came to the door of the palace. The king was charmed with their deportment and asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chatta answered all the questions and won the king's heart. The king asked the ascetics to stay in the

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, pt. ii, pp. 184-85.

² *Sunangalavāṇī*, pt. i, pp. 260-62.

³ *Car. Lec.* 1918, p. 55.

garden. Chatta knew a spell whereby he could bring to light buried treasure. While in the garden he thought, 'Where can this fellow have put the money which belonged to my father?' He repeated the spell and looking about he discovered that it was buried in the garden. With a view to recover his kingdom with this buried treasure he told the ascetics that he was the son of the king of Kośala and that he had escaped in disguise and saved his life; he informed them that he had got the property of his family and enquired what the ascetics would do. The ascetics all agreed to go with him. Chatta made some big leather sacks and at night dug a hole in the ground and pulled out treasure pots. He filled the sacks with the money and the pots with grass. Then he ordered the ascetics to take the money and to flee to Sāvattthi. There Chatta had all the king's officers seized and recovering his kingdom he restored the walls, watch-towers, etc. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took up his residence there.¹

Brahmadatta was a wealthy king of Benares. He was rich in treasures, in revenues and in troops and vehicles. At that time there was a king of Kośala named Dighiti who was not so wealthy as the king of Kāśi. Brahmadatta went to wage war against the king of Kośala, defeated him and took possession of the treasuries and store-houses of the king of Kośala. The king of Kośala with his consort went to Benares and dwelt there in disguise in a potter's house. The queen became pregnant and desired to see an army with its four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground and to drink the water in which swords were washed. The desire of the queen-consort of the king of Kośala was fulfilled. The king of Kāśi was later on informed by his barber that the king of Kośala with his wife was dwelling in the kingdom of Benares. It is to be noted that the king of Kośala with his wife and child named Dighāvu was brought before the king of Kāśi. The young boy Dighāvu became a servant of the king of Kāśi. One day the king of Kāśi ascended a chariot. Dighāvu drove the chariot. When the chariot was driven with a very high speed, it came far off from the royal retinue. At that time, the king of Kāśi became tired, stopped the chariot and put his head on the lap of Dighāvu and fell asleep. Dighāvu thought of killing the king but remembering his father's

¹ *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 115 foll.

advice he spared the life of the king. The king woke up suddenly and was terrified. Dighāvu said, 'you robbed us of our troops and vehicles, realm, treasuries and store-houses. You killed my father and mother. Now I shall kill you.' The king fell at the feet of Dighāvu and entreated him to spare his life. Dighāvu granted him his life. Then they swore not to do any harm to each other.¹

At different periods Kāśi came under the sway of the three successive suzerain powers of Northern India—the Purus of Vatsa, the Ikṣvākus of Kośala and the kings of Magadha: but it seems to have enjoyed its independent power between the decline of Vatsa and the rise of Kośala, when King Brahmadatta, possibly about a century and a half before the Buddha's time, conquered Kośala.²

From the *Mahāstava Jātaka*, it is evident that the kingdom of Benares was once seized by the king of Kośala who buried alive, up to the neck, the king of Kāśi with his soldiers and began to lord over Benares. The king of Kāśi with great difficulty came out of the pit, rescued his soldiers and by the magic power of the Yakkhas who happened to be there disputing over a corpse he secured everything necessary for a king and with the help of the Yakkhas at the dead of night when all doors were barred, he came to the usurper's bedside and frightened him. The usurper saw by the lamplight the king Goodness there, was astonished, and asked the king how he could come there. On being told the story of his escape, the usurper praised the king for his signal virtue, begged pardon of him and on the morrow gave back his kingdom before all, and himself with his troops and elephants went back to his own kingdom.³

In the *Asātarūpa Jātaka* we read that the kingdom of Benares was once seized by the king of Kośala who marched with a great force against Benares, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed, his son escaped; after a short time the prince collected a mighty force and came to Benares, pitched his camp close by and sent a message to the king either to surrender the kingdom or give battle. The Kośalan king informed him that he would give battle. But the mother of the young prince sent word to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, S. B. E., pt. ii, p. 301 foll.

² *Cambridge History of India*, p. 316.

³ *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 262 foll.

city on every side so that citizens would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince acted up to the advice of his mother. The citizens were famished and on the seventh day, they beheaded their king and brought the head of their king to the prince. The prince entered the city and made himself king. Thus he succeeded in regaining his paternal kingdom.¹

The kingdom of Benares was seized by a king of Śavatthi named Vaṅka. But it was soon restored to the king of Benares.² During the lifetime of the Buddha, Kāśi was incorporated into the Kośala dominions.³

Contest between Magadha and Kosala for the possession of Kāśi

Ajātaśatru had a battle with Pasenadi at Kāśi but Pasenadi was defeated. Again there was a battle between the two in which Ajātaśatru was defeated by Pasenadi who set him free after capturing his army. Pasenadi also took possession of Kāśi which was given to his sister by his father.⁴

In the *Dīgha Nikāya* we read that Pasenadi, king of Kāśi-Kośala, used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of Kāśi-Kośala. He used to enjoy the income not alone but with his subordinates.⁵

¹ *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 409.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 168-69.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 262 *et seq.* and 409 *et seq.*

⁴ *Samyutta Nikāya*, i, pp. 82-85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 228-29.

(To be continued)

Later Gupta History and Chronology

By

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

THERE are three names associated with the history of Harṣa of which the proper identification is still a subject of controversy. These names are Devagupta, King of Malwa, who according to an inscription of Harṣa, was defeated and killed in battle by King Rājyavardhana; and Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, the two princes of Malwa, who figure in the *Harṣacharita*, not as foes, but as friends and companions of both Rājya and Harṣa as princes. Kumāragupta is not subsequently heard of, but Mādhavagupta in Bāṇa's account accompanied Harṣa, along with other tributary kings, in his wanderings in search of his sister, even after the defeat inflicted upon Malwa by Harṣa's brother. We are therefore called upon to explain how a prince of Malwa was living at the court of Harṣa as his friend, while another prince was cultivating a different relationship and brought on him the vengeance of the house of Harṣa by his aggressions against the allied house of the Maukharis of Kanauj. We can only explain this apparent anomaly by tracing the historical relations between the three parties concerned, viz. the Guptas of Malwa, the Maukharis of Kanauj and the Vardhanas of Thānesar. The sources of their history are about ten inscriptions, besides some coins of a few apparently Maukhari kings of which the precise significance still remains to be settled. The inscriptions are described in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (vol. iii of *Corpus*) as follows:—

- (1) Apsad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena (No. 42).
- (2) Shahpur Stone Image Inscription of Ādityasena (No. 43).
- (3) Mandar Hill Inscription of Ādityasena (Nos. 44 and 45).
- (4) Deo-Barnār Inscription of Jivitagupta II (No. 46).
- (5) Asīgarh Copper Seal Inscription of Śarvavarman (No. 47).
- (6) Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman (No. 48).
- (7) Nāgārjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman (Nos. 49 and 50).
- (8) Jaunpur Inscription of Īśvaravarman (No. 51).

(9) Sonpat Seal of Harṣa (No. 52).

(10) Harāhā Inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman (studied in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiv). Nos. (1), (4), (5) and (10) help us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Maukhari kings as follows:—

Gupta	Maukhari
1. Kriṣṇagupta. ¹	1. Hariivarman.
2. Harṣagupta.	2. Ādityavarman.
3. Jivitagupta I.	3. Īśvaravarman.
4. Kumāragupta.	4. Īśānavarman.
5. Dāmodaragupta.	5. Sarvavarman. ²
6. Mahāsenagupta.	6. Susthitavarman.
7. Mādhavagupta.	7. Avantivarman.
8. Ādityasena.	8. Grahavarman
9. Devagupta.	(mentioned by Bāṇa but
10. Viṣṇugupta.	not in the inscription).
11. Jivitagupta.	

Of these kings, Nos. 1-8 of the Gupta list are mentioned in Inscription No. (1) and Nos. 7-11 in No. (4); in the other list, No. 8 is not mentioned in any inscription but in the *Harṣacharita*.

It is to be noted that the inscriptions themselves say nothing as to the territories of these kings. But they tell us of the hereditary feuds between the Guptas and the Maukharis of which the last stage is related by Bāṇa when he tells us that the son of Avantivarman, Grahavarman Maukhari of Kanauj, was killed by a Gupta king of Malwa. The inscriptions do not mention Grahavarman, but they mention Avantivarman whom Bāṇa mentions as his father.³ Thus Bāṇa helps us to locate the kings and understand their political relations.

¹ Dr. Bloch infers from a clay seal found in Vaiśālī, which mentions Govindagupta as a son of Emperor Chandragupta II by his wife Dhruvasvāminī, that Govindagupta was the same as this Kriṣṇagupta, the founder of this second Gupta dynasty. The imperial line of Chandragupta II was continued by his other son, Kumāragupta I. But as suspected by Dr. Bloch himself, the probable date of Kriṣṇagupta would not tally with that of a son of Chandragupta II (*A. S. R. Annual*, 1903-4).

² The Harāhā inscription mentions a brother of his, Sūryavarman by name, who might have predeceased his father or come after his brother and hence could not succeed to the throne.

³ Bāṇa (223) refers to an ancestor of the Maukhari kings, Kṣatrarvarman by name, who in his foolish fondness for troubadours harboured some who being his enemy's emissaries, treacherously murdered him.

Bāṇa states that it was a Gupta king, and a king of Malwa, who had murdered Grahavarman, but does not mention his name; but we know from the Madhuban Inscription that a Gupta king named Devagupta was defeated by Rājyavardhana and so we take Devagupta to be the adversary of Grahavarman. Bāṇa names two princes of Malwa,¹ Kumāragupta² and Mādhavagupta, as being the companions of both Rājya and Harṣa; while Inscription No. (1) mentions a Mādhavagupta and describes him as 'wishing for the company of Śrī Harṣa Deva' (i.e. Harṣa). Thus the statements of both Bāṇa and the inscriptions again get connected and throw their combined light on the obscure history of these kings.

If, with Hoernle (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903) we identify Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harṣa, with the king No. 7 of the same name in the Malwa list, we must work out Malwa history as follows:—Devagupta must have been the elder brother of Mādhavagupta (as well as Kumāragupta) and succeeded to the throne of Malwa after his father Mahāsenagupta. As king of Malwa, he but followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in trying to extend his kingdom at the cost of his hereditary enemies, the Maukharis of Kanauj, who were bidding for political supremacy in that region after the breakup of the Gupta Empire and the collapse of the Hūṇas after their defeat by Yasodharman and Balāditya. The imperial ambitions of the Maukharis were first embodied in Īśvaravarman who, according to Inscription No. (8), extended his conquests towards the West up to Dhārā and to the Vindhya and Raivataka (Girnar) mountains in pursuit of the Andhras; also in Īśānavarman who, according to Inscription No. (10), before he had ascended the throne, achieved three important victories in three different regions, viz. victories over the Andhras,³ the

¹ This evidence of Bāṇa is very important as proving that the later Gupta kings whose list is given above are not to be regarded as the Gupta kings of Magadha but of Malwa, until we come to Mādhavagupta as explained below. This view is against the received opinion of most scholars on the subject, but vague conjectures about a Gupta dynasty in Malwa are also made by them. (E. g. R. D. Bannerji, *History of Bengal in Bengali*, p. 105, second edition.)

² Bāṇa also refers to a curious story (*vārtā*) that Harṣa rescued Śrī Kumāra of Malwa (probably this Kumāragupta) from the grasp of a mad elephant (100).

³ In Inscription No. 8, we find a reference to 'the lord of the Andhras wholly given over to fear and taking up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhya Mountains' at the expedition of Īśvaravarman. There is also a reference to 'the warrior of the Andhra army.'

Śulikas,¹ and the Gauḍas² of the seashore, and to Inscription No. (1) a fourth victory over the Malwa King, Kumāragupta. For these victories, Īśānavarman won the title of *Maharājādhirāja*, a title which was also deserved by his son Śārvarman [who is called in Inscription No. (5) as Śārvarman Maukhari and in No. (1) only as Maukhari] by his victory over Dāmodaragupta of Malwa who was killed in the battle. Malwa, however, avenged this insult by the victory achieved by her next king Mahāsenagupta, over the Maukhari king Susthitavarman³ and the 'fame of the victory was sung as far as the banks of the Lauhitya.'⁴ But the fortunes of Malwa had a final set back in the defeat of Devagupta by Rājya followed by the annexation of that kingdom by Harṣa as related by Bāṇa.

If this history is true, we have to suppose that the line of Gupta kings in Malwa came to an end with Devagupta, but continued under Mādhavagupta and his successors in another part of the country indicated by the localities of the inscriptions. No. 1 is from Aphsad in Gayā District; No. 2, from Behar, No. 3, from Bhagalpur, and No. 4, from Arrah. It is also significant that No. 4 gives us only the genealogy of this new line of Gupta kings which starts from Mādhavagupta. Thus the facts seem to be that, after the annexation of Malwa, Harṣa provided for his friend, Mādhavagupta, by placing him in charge of some eastern parts of his empire, and, on the death of Harṣa, this new kingdom rendered a good account of itself by reviving some of the lost glories of the imperial Guptas of Magadha under the powerful successor of Mādhavagupta, viz. Ādityasenadeva,

¹ Probably connected with the country called Śaulika in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* (xiv. 8) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (lv) located in the south east along with Kalinga, Vidarbha, Chedi, etc., as pointed out in the *Ep. Ind.* (xiv, 112). The Śulikas might be the Chālukyas. We know of a Chālukya King Kirtivarman I, extending his conquest up to Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, etc. (Mahākūṣa Pillar Inscription.)

² Are these the Gauḍas of whom Śaśāṅka, the invincible adversary of Harṣa, was the king a few generations later?

³ Some historians identify this king with a king of Kāmarūpa of that names on the ground that the river of Kāmarūpa, viz. Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) is mentioned here as the limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests. But the context of the inscription rather shows that it is concerned more with the wars between the Guptas and the Maukharis than with their distant conquests, and so Susthitavarman may be a Maukhari. This view is also taken by Dr. F. W. Thomas (in his introduction to the *Harṣacharita* translation) and others.

⁴ This expression does not indicate that his actual conquests extended up to the Brahmaputra or Assam by the defeat of its king, Susthitavarman.

whose extensive conquests made him assume the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Maharājādhirāja* and perform horse-sacrifices in celebration of his imperial status. A strong ground supporting this version of the facts is supplied by the date of 66 Harṣa era, i.e. A.D. 672, given for Inscription No. (2) of Ādityasena. For this date will fit in with that of his father Mādhavagupta as the friend of Harṣa. On this view of the facts, it is also clear that, as Ādityasena of Magadha had no direct connection with Devagupta of Malwa, the name of the latter is not mentioned in the genealogy of the former¹ as given in Inscription No. (1). It is also significant that when Yuan-Chwang visited Malwa or Ujjain, he saw there a brāhman king who in that case must have replaced the Guptas whose line ended with Devagupta.

Regarding now the Maukharis, if we may take the localities of their inscriptions as indications of the extent of their power, it was the largest under Śārvarman who is called in No. (1) as simply the *Maukhari* as the most distinguished scion of his house and in Nos. (4) and (5) is described to have held sway from Arrah to Burhanpur where the two inscriptions were found. The extent of this Maukhari expansion will be evident from the fact that originally they perhaps belonged to Aṅga or Bihar, as will be apparent from the Barabar and Nāgārjuni Hill Caves Inscriptions, Nos. (6) and (7) of Anantavarman described as the son of Śārdūla 'of Maukhari family,' himself the son of Yajñavarman. Anantavarman achieved the status of *Sāmanṭa Chūḍamaṇi*, i.e. of a chief rather than that of a king. The newly-achieved political dominance of the Maukhari house is also reflected in its coinage. There have been found coins issued² by some of their

¹ The best precedent for such omissions is the Bhitari Seal Inscription which gives the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas from Gupta to Kumāragupta II without mentioning Skandagupta, because his line had ended with him and passed on to that of his brother Puragupta.

² An important find of these coins is described by R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S., in *J.R.A.S.*, 1906. It comprised nine coins of Īśānavarman, six of Śārvarman and seventeen of Avantivarman discovered for the first time.

Besides coins, the Maukharis also issued Seals, two of which were found in Nālandā with those of Harṣa. One of these shows a part of its original inscription giving the Maukhari genealogy in which can be read the names of the founder Harivarma and of his wife Jayasvāmini. The inscription left on the other seal mentions 'King Īśānavarman known for his knowledge of *Vaṅgaśāstramāhātmya* and keeping his subjects contented (*raṇṇitaparakṛit*). On the top of both the seals appears the symbol of a well-moulded bull walking to left with an attendant on either side. (*Arch., Sur. Report, Eastern Circle 1917-18*, p. 23.)

kings, viz. by Īśānavarman on whose coins are read the figures 54, 55; Śarvavarman whose coins show the figures 54, 55, 58 and 234 on his coins; and Avantivarman with his coins bearing the figures read as 67, 71 and 250. It is supposed that the figures in three digits stand for years of the Gupta era in which case the dates of the last two kings would be between A.D. 553 and 569.¹ These dates will fit in with the known date of Avantivarman's successor, Grahavarman, who was married to Harṣa's sister in the time of his father and was king of Kanauj before A.D. 606 when Harṣa became king. The numbers in two digits must point to years in some other era and it has been suggested it might be a Maukhari era beginning from, say, A.D. 553-54=A.D. 499,² the time of either Īśvaravarman³ or Īśānavarman who started the era in imitation of the imperial Guptas whom they succeeded to political supremacy by their conquests. The beginning of the Maukhari conquests was made by Īśvaravarman as will appear from his Inscription No. 51, from Jaunpur which must have been already subject to his authority. The *Deo-Baraṇark* Inscription of Jivitagupta II (No. [4] above) also indicates that the authority of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman extended as far as Arrah where the inscription was found, considering that the grant of Jivitagupta II is stated to be not an original grant, but only a confirmation of that of the two Maukhari kings, and also of Bālāditya⁴ whom they had probably succeeded in power.

¹ The year 611 of the Harāhā Inscription is taken to be a year in the Vikrama era and hence equivalent to A.D. 554, which is the same date for Īśānavarman as is given by his coins too. This is a remarkable coincidence of epigraphic with numismatic evidence on Maukhari Chronology.

The date A.D. 553, for Īśānavarman leads us, however, to the position that both he and his successor were ruling and issuing coins in the same time. Cunningham even noticed a coin of Īśānavarman bearing the date A.D. 257-576. Thus there must be some error in the reading of the dates concerning Śarvavarman (see *Ep. Ind.* xiv, 114). N. G. Mazumdar who recently examined these coins found that those of Śarvavarman did not show any date-marks now, such as could be read (*J. A.*, 1917, p. 126).

² The date of the composition of his great astronomical work by Āryabhaṭṭa and of the expiry of 3600 years of the Kaliyuga. This circumstance also makes the starting of a new era from A.D. 500 probable (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 848).

³ As pointed out by N. G. Mazumdar (*J. A.*, 1917, pp. 126-27), it is clear from the Harāhā Inscription (l. 13) that the extensive conquests of Īśānavarman were achieved during the reign of his father Īśvaravarman who, accordingly, must be regarded as the first Maukhari to have attained an imperial status.

⁴ This may be the same Bālāditya as is mentioned by Yuan-Chwang to have defeated and taken prisoner, as king of Magadha, the Hūṇa King, Mihirakula,

Besides the Guptas of Eastern Malwa and the Maukharis of Kanauj, Dr. Hoernle¹ introduces what he calls the Malwa Empire as the third factor to be considered in the then political situation of Northern India. The founder of this Mālwa Empire was Janendra-Yasodharman, Vikramāditya, originally a chief of the Mālwa clans and a feudatory of the early Gupta Empire, who rose to prominence by his crushing victory over the Hūṇas before A.D. 533 by which he delivered the Gupta Empire from barbarian tyranny. Thus he easily supplanted the Gupta Emperors, who might be either Bhānugupta (or Bālāditya), and in his Mandasor Pillar Inscription he asserts that he not only conquered the Hūṇas but had won an empire larger than that of the Guptas, including, for instance, even Kashmir, as stated in the *Rāja Tarangīn*.² He had a long reign of fifty years from A.D. 533 to 583 and was succeeded by his son Śīlāditya, the king of Malwa, who according to Yuan-Chwang had reigned sixty years before his visit, i.e. about 640-60=A.D. 580. But Śīlāditya was not as powerful and successful a ruler as his famous father. The *Rāja Tarangīn* (iii. 330) tells us that he was 'ethroned by his enemies but afterwards replaced in the kingdom of his father by the king of Kashmir, Pravarasena II, a son of the infamous Toramāṇa³ and hence a Hūṇic king. Thus while Vikramāditya was the deliverer of his country from the Hūṇas, his son Śīlāditya was a supplicant for their protection!

Now, who were the enemies of Śīlāditya against whom he could not prevail and sought the aid of the Hūṇas? They were all the neighbouring kings who did not forget the usurpation of imperial authority by the upstart Yasodharman and had, besides, their own claims to it to assert. They were the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Vardhanas of Thanesar, and the Guptas of Eastern Malwa, an offshoot of the old Imperial Gupta house. Matrimonial alliances had

which probably took place in about A.D. 525. This is fully explained below. There is, however, it may be noted, a point of serious doubt in the statement of Yuan-Chwang when he says that this Mihirakula (A.D. 502-550) had lived 'centuries' before his time! This inaccuracy has led many scholars to cast aside the history as presented by Yuan-Chwang on the particular point. What adds to the confusion about Bālāditya is that there are three Bālādityas known from the Gupta Inscription No. 79 of about A.D. 600 the first of whom is supposed by Fleet to have been the same by date as Yuan-Chwang's Bālāditya.

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 545

² ii. 7, iii. 125, with Stein's notes.

³ *R.T.*, iii. 104-9.

further united them against their common enemies, the empire of Mālwa and the Hūṇas. The Gupta princess, Harṣā, as shown in Inscription No. (5), was married to the Maukhari King Ādityavarman, while another Gupta princess, Mahāsenaguptā was married to Harṣa's grandfather Ādityavardhana.¹

The leader of this combination against Śīlāditya was Harṣa's father, Prabhākara-vardhana, who regarded himself as a special rival of Śīlāditya from the fact that his wife, Queen Yaśovati, was the daughter of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya. Thus it was a contest between a son and a son-in-law for the Mālwa imperial throne. The result of the contest is referred to by Bāṇa (101), Prabhākara was 'an axe to the creeper of Mālwa's glory'. At the same time he had to punish the Hūṇas as the allies of Malwa and came to be regarded, 'as a lion to the Hūṇa deer'. The humiliation of Śīlāditya is further evident from the fact that he was compelled to surrender a son of his to Prabhākara; for Bāṇa tells us that 'Yasōvati's brother (i.e. Emperor Śīlāditya) presented his son Bhaṇḍi, a boy of about eight years of age, to serve the young princess,' i.e. Rājya and Harṣa. The name, Bhaṇḍi, itself is a Hūṇic rather than a Sanskrit name.

Now, we can work out from Bāṇa the date of this first Malwa war which ended in the dethronement of Śīlāditya. The surrender of Bhaṇḍi marking that event was made, as Bāṇa tells us, about the time of Rājya Śrī's birth which took place in A.D. 593, according to our calculation.

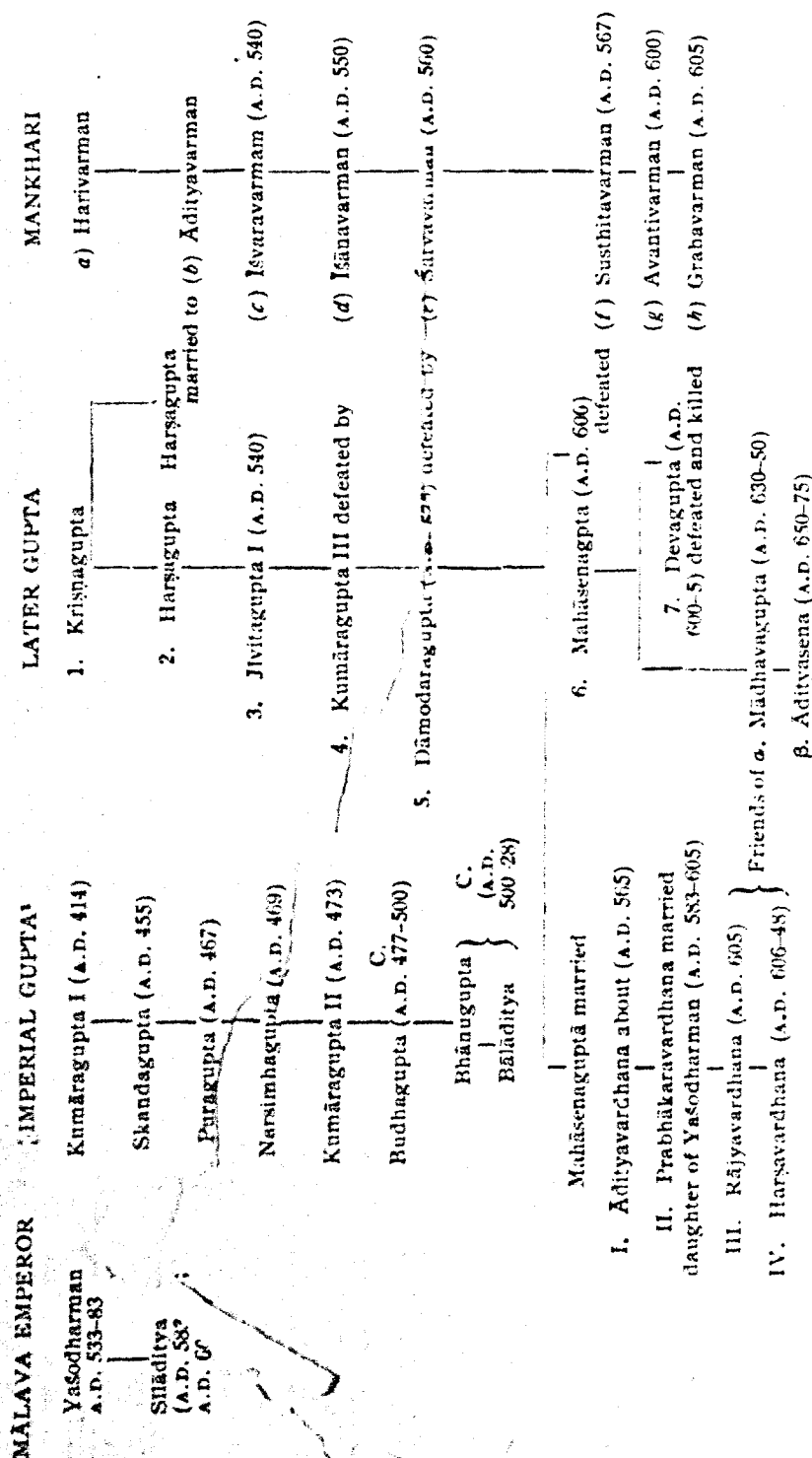
But these old enemies of Prabhākara, Malwa and the Hūṇas, troubled him in his last days. He had to send crown-prince Rājya-vardhana to fight the Hūṇas in the north, while Śīlāditya, having regained his throne in about A.D. 604 with the help of the Hūṇa king, proceeded against his old enemies, the Maukhari and Thanesar

¹ On the analogy of Harṣā and Mahāsenaguptā being the sisters of Harṣa-gupta and Mahāsenagupta we may consider Bhānuguptā mentioned in Inscription No. 35 of Fleet to have been a sister of the Emperor Bhānugupta (c. A.D. 500) whose date will tally with her date. In the inscription the date of her grandson Dakṣa is given as A.D. 533, when he was minister. If we assume that Dakṣa was born in A.D. 513 his father must have been born in A.D. 495, and his father's mother, Bhānuguptā married to his grandfather, Ravikīrti, in A.D. 494. At that time Bhānuguptā's royal brother, Bhānugupta, was not a king, but a prince under the emperor, Budhagupta (A.D. 477-500). It is possible that, after all, Budhagupta was the father of both the brother and the sister. This assumption does not at least violate their chronology as worked out here.

kings, with what results we have already narrated. The second Malwa war was brought to an end by King Rājya in the summer of A.D. 606. The friend and ally of Emperor Śīlāditya in this war must have been the king named Devagupta of Mālwa in the inscription, who is twice referred to also by Bāṇa, once as 'a man named Gupta' (224) as implicated in the conspiracy to which Rājya fell a victim, and secondly, as 'a noble called Gupta' (251). We have already examined the position of Devagupta in the list of Malwa kings.

Thus, according to Hoernle's theory, based mainly on the *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī*, the king of Malwa against whom fought Prabhākara, his son-in-law, the Maukhari Grahavarman, and his son Rājya, was not a Gupta king of Eastern Malwa proper among whose allies figured Devagupta of Eastern Malwa, and Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa. The only fact, however, that does not readily reconcile itself to this theory is that the inscriptions dealt with above show a number of Gupta kings of Malwa who were on terms of hereditary hostility to the Maukhari kings of Kanauj and do not name Śīlāditya at all in that connection, while King Śīlāditya of Mekpo (Malwa) to whom Yuan-Chwang refers has been identified by Sylvain Levi as the Buddhist king of Valabhī known as Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya. Thus the version of Malwa history and particularly of the connexion between that history and the history of Harṣa as worked out by Hoernle is not yet free from difficulties.

The confusion may be cleared up to some extent by the table given in the next page showing the chronological and other relations between the kings of several houses figuring in that age.



The following points are to be considered in fixing the chronology of the kings :—

1. Nos. III, IV, α , 7 and h are contemporaries; No. III defeated No. 7. From the known date of No. IV, we count backwards towards unknown.

2. Nos. II and 6 are contemporaries, No. 6 described as king of Mālava by Bāṇa, sent his sons to the court of No. II to be the companions of the latter's sons.

3. The date, A.D. 565, of the marriage of No. 1 is obtained by assuming that his son was king in his sixteenth year, A.D. 583.

4. No. 6, sent his sons to be the companions of Rājya and Harṣa who were only fourteen and ten years of age in A.D. 600. Thus No. 6 is taken to have ruled up to A.D. 600 at least.

5. Nos. *h* and *g* are contemporaries and relations, the former marrying his daughter Rājyaśrī, to the son of the latter, No. *h*. If Rājyaśrī was married at eight in accordance with orthodox ideals, No. *g* should have lived up to A.D. 600, Rājyaśrī being born in A.D. 593, as already shown.

6. The dates of Nos. *d, e, f, g* are obtained from their coins or Inscriptions already noticed.

7. The dates of Nos. 4, 5, 6 are obtained by their synchronism with *d*, *e*, *f*.

8. Nos. 1 to 7 are to be taken as Gupta kings of Eastern Malwa, as explained already.

9. No. 4 could have started as a king of Magadha only after the passing away from that region of the masterful personality of the Gauda King, Śaśaṅka, i.e. after A.D. 630.

10. No. 3 could have been an emperor of Magadha only after the passing away of Harsa, i.e., after A.D. 650.

11. Inscription No. 46 of Fleet mentions as predecessors of No. 3 in the sovereignty of Magadha not only No. a, but also the Maukharis, g and e, as also Paramesvara or Emperor, Balāditya, probably the Balāditya of Yuan Chwang who defended his kingdom Magadha against the Hūpa Mihirakula, and made him prisoner about A.D. 525 and before A.D. 530, when he was finally crushed by Yaśodharman. Thus Balāditya might be the same person as the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta, or his successor, the last of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

Its later history may be recalled in this connection. The Emperor Budhagupta (A.D. 477-500) exercised his way from Malwa to Magadha. His feudatory ruled between the Yamunā and Narmadā in A.D. 485 [No. 19 of Fleet]. Silver coins dated A.D. 496, were found in Benares. The Sārānāth Stone Image Inscription of A.D. 476 refers to him as the paramount sovereign in those parts, while the Damodarpur first and second plate inscriptions of the probable date of A.D. 481 [*Epigraphia Indica*, xv, 135-6] point to his sovereignty over Paṇḍravaradhana (North, and parts of East Bengal). After him the Gupta sovereignty in Malwa was lost to the Hūṇas under Toramāna (A.D. 500-502) and his son Mihirakula¹ (A.D. 502-530) who ruled for at least fifteen years (No. 37 Fleet). An attempt was made in A.D. 510 by Emperor Bhānugupta and his vassal chief, Goparāja of Malwa to recover the lost ground, but it probably failed [No. 20 of Fleet]. The Hūṇa supremacy in Malwa is attested by Nos. 36 and 37 of Fleet. Thus the sovereignty of the Imperial Guptas over Malwa was finally lost. A successful stand against further extension of Hūṇa power was made by Bālāditya as related above.

¹ This chronology was first suggested by Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., and has been since accepted on all hands. It was fixed mainly by considering the earliest and the latest date for each king as given either in his inscription or on his coin known up to now.

¹ The date 502 for Mihirakula's accession we owe to Jaina sources cited by Pathak [Bhandarkar, *com.* vol., p. 217].

The Hūṇa supremacy in Malwa was destroyed by the Mālava Janendra Yaśodharman by his victories, recorded in the inscriptions numbered 33, 34 and 35 of Fleet, and dated A.D. 533.¹ He ruled as emperor of Mālava for fifty years and was succeeded by his son Śilāditya as pointed out above.

Echoes of the imperial Gupta authority in Malwa come from inscriptions of some petty chiefs like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Saṁkṣobha of the years A.D. 518 and 528 in which the actual names of the then Gupta emperors are not given but only a general reference to their rule.² [*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, 284-87, and No. 25 of Fleet]. It is, however, clear that Yaśodharman did not become an emperor till after A.D. 528.

But we hear no longer of the Guptas in Malwa till we come to King Mahāsenagupta and his predecessors ruling in its eastern part. This new dynasty of the Gupta Kings in Malwa must have arisen under the suzerainty of Yaśodharman after A.D. 533. The first two kings, Kṛṣṇagupta and Harṣa, had to establish their position against powerful foes. The dṛiptārāṭi, particularly proud foe, of the inscription (No. 42 of Fleet), might be even Yaśodharman himself. The third king Jivitagupta I made his power felt as far as 'seaside shores' (*ibid.*), i.e. on the Gauḍas. The fifth copper plate inscription of Damodarpur is dated 224 of Gupta era (not 214 as read usually), i.e. A.D. 543 and refers to the Gupta sovereignty over Puṇḍravardhana. The sovereign's name is not legible but he might be either Jivitagupta I or his successor Kumāragupta. An epigraphist actually reads the names as Kumāra [*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xvii, 193].

The Gauḍas, however, were left to be subdued by kings more powerful than the Guptas, viz., the Maukharis, who also arrested the eastward expansion of these Guptas of Malwa.

Eventually both the Guptas and the Maukharis were lost in the empire of Harṣa.

The Gupta history in Malwa was, however, revived by Mādhavagupta and especially by his illustrious son, Ādityasenadeva, who lived to perform the horse-sacrifice on achieving his imperial position. There are many gold coins found in different parts of Bengal which are described as imitation Gupta coins and traced to these later Guptas of Magadha of whom this Ādityasenadeva was 'the first king.' These coins include, some showing horse-sacrifice and may be thus reasonably ascribed to the Gupta king who performed the horse sacrifice after returning from the Chola country. According to the Deoghar Inscription [Fleet, p. 213] Ādityasena after his conquests built a temple costing three lacs of gold *lankakas*. The word *lankaka* used for silver coins is used here with reference to 'these light-weight gold coins current during the time of these Guptas of Magadha' which were then known by this name, as ingeniously suggested by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali [*J.A.S.B.*, No. xix, 1923, No. 6, pp. 57-64].

¹ No. 35 referring to his suzerainty is dated A.D. 533; hence his conquests were achieved earlier, about say A.D. 530.

² R.G. Basak [*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv] holds that these inscriptions point to continuance of Imperial Gupta authority in Central India up to the time of Uchchakalpa Mahārāja Sarvanātha described as Gupta vassal in A.D. 533. He also thinks that Bhānugupta was not defeated, though Goparāja was killed in the battle in A.D. 510 since there was a Gupta vassal in that very region even in A.D. 518 and 528; and that Gupta authority was finally extinguished not by the Hūṇas, but by Yaśodharman in Malwa and in Surāṣṭra by the Maitraka Bhātāraka.

Pulakesi and Khusru II

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It has been confidently asserted by historians that embassies were exchanged between the Persian King Khusrū II and the Chalukya King Pulakesin II.¹ The statement has been so often repeated that it is now regarded as one of the few certain facts known about India's relations with the outside world, and few have taken the trouble to critically study the arguments on which it is based. Yet, on a closer examination, this 'historical truth' seems to rest on very flimsy foundations.

The theory was started by Fergusson as early as 1879, on the basis of five pictures from the ceiling of the Cave No. 1 at Ajantā.² These are described by Fergusson as follows:—

'Among these (pictures from the ceiling of Cave No. 1) were four very remarkable figure subjects, evidently *replicas* of the same design, with very slight variations. These were placed symmetrically at the four corners of the central square of the principal design of the roof. . . .

The principal figure in these four pictures was a stout burly man with a short black beard, seated cross-legged on a cushion, and holding a drinking-cup in his right hand, which he is raising to his lips. On his right and left are two maidens, dressed in long flowing robes, descending to, and quite hiding their feet, and each holding a long bottle or ewer, in her hands, evidently to supply the principal figure with the wine or water which he is drinking. A third female is introduced, in all these pictures, of a superior class, seated beside the principal person, as his equal, either as his companion or his wife. In one of the pictures two male figures are represented crouching in front, and offering fruit or food from a tray. In the other two pictures which were copied, the tray is represented placed on the

¹ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Third Edition, p. 426.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1879, pp. 155 ff.

ground, though the men are there omitted. Even on the most cursory glance, it was impossible not to perceive that the figures in these pictures differed in complexion, in costume, and in every peculiarity from any others represented either on the walls of this cave, or in any other excavation at Ajantā.

'Who then are these strangers? Like every one else probably, who saw them, I arrived at once at the conclusion that they were Persians. . . .'

'Besides these paintings on the roof, however, there is a very remarkable fresco on the walls of this cave, which seems to refer either directly, or it may be indirectly, to the paintings on the roof. It represents an Indian king on his throne, receiving a deputation of people, who are as evidently Persians as those portrayed on the roof. They are the bearers of a letter, apparently from some foreign potentate, and are being dismissed, as is usual, with return presents, which are displayed on a tray in the foreground.'¹

Mr. Fergusson next proceeded to determine the date of the cave, and put it down between A.D. 610 and 630-40 on grounds which do not immediately concern us here. He then easily identified the Persian king as Khusrū II who reigned from A.D. 591 to 628. He had some difficulty in ascertaining the identity of the Indian king represented in the great fresco who was receiving the Persian deputation. But the difficulty was solved and his other views were confirmed by the writings of the Muhammadan historian Tabari made accessible to him through the kindness of Dr. G. Bühler. The passage occurs in a statement alleged to have been drawn up by Khusrū II by way of replying to the charges brought against him by his son Shiruyieh. It runs thus:—

'Two years ago, Pulakesi, King of India, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you. To you he presented—don't you remember it?—an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. When we looked at the presents and at the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark "Private" on the cover in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1879, pp. 156 ff

should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter, on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for an Indian scribe, had the seal broken, and the letter read. The contents were:—"Rejoice and be of good cheer, for on the day Dai ba Âdhar, of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Chosroes, thou wilt be crowned king and become ruler of the whole empire. Signed, Pulakesi." But we closed this letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shirin.'¹

The exchange of embassy between Pulakesi II and Khusrū II thus rests upon the evidence of (1) Tabari and (2) the Ajantā paintings. Let us discuss them one by one.

The name of the Indian king, as written by Tabari, was intended, as Noldeke, the translator of the passage, himself admits, for 'Prmêsha.' But he argues that as 'R' and 'L' are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, R is to be taken as a false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be read as 'Pulikesa'.² This is however an ingenious conjecture, and altogether ignores the fact that 'Prmêsha', the word which was actually intended in the text, is a good transliteration of the Indian word 'Paramêśa' which is often applied to a king. As is well known, Indian kings are often known by these honorific epithets rather than by their proper name. M. Ettinghausen has already drawn attention to this point, and his observations are eminently just. It is impossible not to agree with him that we must give up the theory that the king's name is written as Pulakesi.³

We now come to the second evidence, viz. that of the Ajantā paintings. From the very beginning it ought to have been quite evident that Fergusson's conjecture, however ingenious they might have been, have no claim to historical value, unless corroborated by other testimonies. Why should the scene of a political embassy find a place amid religious surroundings in a cave hundreds of miles away from the capital city? In any case we require a far stronger evidence to believe this than has yet been forthcoming. Quite recently, M. Foucher has made a critical study of the paintings of Ajantā, and his remarks on this particular picture are worth quoting in full.

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1879, pp. 165 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166 f. n. 1.

³ Ettinghausen, *Harsavardhana*, p. 53

'Regarding the supposed 'Persian Embassy' in Cave I, if this picture was the only one that represents people dressed in Persian costume, there might have been some reason to consider it the unique exception from the rule: but this costume appears almost everywhere in the paintings, as one can easily make sure, and the ready knowledge of this dress shown by the artists at Ajanta is sufficiently explained by its nearness to the Western coast of India. I do not believe I am too dogmatic in saying that of historical matter, properly so called, there is none to be found at Ajanta; nor have I in the course of our review of the iconography found the least trace of historical portraits. I do not think that anybody now is likely to defend the hypothesis, as wanting, as it is seductive, that the caissons of the ceiling in Cave I, which I have already mentioned, show us the Sassanian King, Chosroës, in the company of his beautiful wife Shirin.'¹

It will thus be seen that no valid reasons exist for holding that embassies were exchanged between Pulakēśi II and Khusrū II. But there remains the interesting fact, noted by Tabari, that an Indian king did send ambassadors to Khusrū II, carrying letters and presents for him and his sons. As this embassy was sent in A.D. 626, the choice of the Indian king seems to lie between Harshavardhana and Pulakēśi II. On general grounds however, Harshavardhana seems to be much more likely the king referred to, for the reasons noted below.

In the first place, the geographical considerations favour this hypothesis, Harshavardhana's empire being closer to Persia, and there being an old and frequented route between the two countries. It is quite true of course, that there was a sea-route between Persia and China *via* Indian coast. But this must have been less convenient and more tedious than the former.

Secondly, we have actual references to intercourse between Harsha's kingdom and Persia. For according to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Harsha's horses were brought from Persia, among other countries.²

Reference may be made in this connection to the statement of Lama Taranath, the Tibetan historian, that a Persian king presented

horses to the king of Madhyadeśa and the latter sent in return a few elephants.¹ Irrespective of chronology, this statement vouches for a close intercourse between Persia and that part of India over which Harshavardhana ruled.

Thirdly, it is quite clear from some expressions used by Bāṇabhaṭṭa that the conquest of Persia was not regarded by Harsha's chiefs as beyond the range of practical politics. For among the bravadoes uttered by them we meet with the following: 'The land of the Turushkas is to the brave but a cubit. Persia is only a span.'²

Again Taranath states that Harsha once upon a time built a great religious edifice of wood, not far from Maulasthāna (probably Multan). There he invited a large number of Mlēcchhas and burnt about twelve thousand of them together with their Scriptures. As a result of this persecution the religion of the Persians and the Śakas was little practised for nearly a century. We need not critically examine this story, for it is palpably absurd; but it again proves how popular tradition has preserved the reminiscence of a close and intimate relationship between Persia and India during Harshavardhana's rule.

Lastly the Persian king refers to the Indian monarch as 'the king of India'. As Persia and Western countries in general were more intimately associated with Northern India, the term king of India could hardly apply to one who did not rule in the north.

While there is so much detailed evidence, direct or indirect, about the intercourse between Persia and Harshavardhana's empire, we hardly possess a single scrap of evidence connecting Pulakēśi II with the kingdom of Khusrū II. It is therefore legitimate to hold, at least as a working hypothesis, that the king of India who sent embassies to Khusrū II of Persia was Harshavardhana and not Pulakēśi II.

¹ Taranath, translated by Schiefner, p. 94.

² Harsha-Charita, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 210.

¹ Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1919-20, p. 99.

² Harsha-Charita, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 50

On Some New Facts concerning Indian Astrology¹

I WISH to tell you to-night of some of the results of research in what I might call the border land between astronomy and astrology. This, I fancy, is better than either telling you that astrology is an unmixed good or telling you that it is an unmitigated evil. I shall place before you some salient facts about astrology which are worth knowing and which are scarcely known, nay, scarcely even suspected, at present. Facts have this advantage over argument, that they may speak and may compel a hearing when argument may be wholly unwelcome.

I do not venture to predict what effect the eloquence of facts may have upon your astrological beliefs. They may, if the extraordinary happens, convert your belief, (if your attitude towards astrology is one of belief) into disbelief, or they may disturb your belief without uprooting it altogether; or again, if another extraordinary thing should happen, the facts may even seem to you to disclose new grounds, not hitherto suspected, for a belief in astrology. I am not concerned with these divergent effects, but I am deeply concerned that the facts and you should no longer continue strangers to each other.

2. Here are seven capital facts about Indian astrology, some of which it has taken me years to discover, and most of which I have had to discover for myself by means which may easily be imagined, namely, somewhat laborious research.

(1) Astrology is the youngest of the sciences of prediction and, unlike the rest, it has had a definite history of its own.

(2) Indian judicial astrology was *admittedly* imported from the West in the fifth or sixth century A.D.

(3) The Indian astrologer, particularly at times when he had no access to regular calendars or panchangas, has been in the habit of resting his predictions, not on astronomy, as he ought to do, but on certain abstract notions having no reference whatever to the actual,

visible, concrete heavens. Like a bad judge, he occasionally records the evidence of his witnesses (viz. the planets) *in absentia*, that is, on hearsay and not on the testimony of the witnesses themselves, tendered in open court.

(4), (5) and (6) The next three facts about horoscopes are especially noteworthy because they have hitherto never received any attention or undergone any kind of investigation.

They are :—(4) Every horoscope with even seven planets is a definite date.

(5) The date of such a horoscope is, as a rule, non-recurring : i.e., there can be no other date corresponding to the same horoscope for thousands of years.

(6) Given a horoscope, its date, however remote and whether located in the past or in the future, can be discovered by the use of appropriate methods.

(7) The first six propositions have most important and interesting corollaries in chronology.

3. Propositions (4), (5) and (6) are not only of importance in chronological investigation, for which purpose we shall use them presently, but they will be found to throw new light on numerous statements made in astrological treatises, which have hitherto been received unquestioned, because they were believed to emanate from high authority and were moreover supposed to be of immense practical value. We shall to this end devote some little time to an examination of the type of horoscope dealt with in Varahamihira's *Brihatjataka*, namely, a horoscope with seven planets and a lagna. We shall proceed on the assumption that every such horoscope is a date, which assumption we shall presently prove to the hilt, and we may dispose of the lagna for the present with the remark that in the course of a day of twenty-four hours there are bound to be twelve lagnas, so that if every horoscope with seven planets is a date, each date automatically gives rise to twelve different horoscopes of the same date, each of which will correspond to a different lagna.

4. Now how many different horoscopes with seven planets each, and not reckoning the lagna, is it possible to have in the course of a year? If you look into the portion of my *Ephemeris* called the *Perpetual Planetary Almanac*, you will find that there are, on an average, twenty-four different horoscopes in a year, without reckoning the

¹ A lecture delivered before the Coonoor Cosmopolitan Club on May 4, 1925.

moon, and that there are 174 different horoscopes, if we include the moon which enters a new Rasi every two and a quarter days. We may say roughly that there are 180 different horoscopes in a year and in 100 years there would be about 18,000 different horoscopes, reckoning only seven planets and not reckoning the lagna.

5. We could easily satisfy ourselves that in 100 years no such horoscope is repeated. If we include the lagna, these can be, in 100 years' time, not more than 216,000 horoscopes of the kind dealt with by Varahamihira: and it will follow that every human being now alive *anywhere in the world* and not more than 100 years old must come under one or other of these 216,000 horoscopes, which, considering that the world's population under 100 years of age must be at least 1,500 millions, gives an average of 7,000 persons to every horoscope. If at this stage we include Rahu and Ketu, we shall have 600 persons for every full horoscope with nine planets and lagna.

Consequently every such horoscope must be capable of at least 600 different interpretations to suit the 600 different lives to which it is common. Now what happens when you send your horoscope in answer to an advertisement in the papers, offering you a full life-reading in return for your horoscope plus a fee? Will you obtain in return your own or any of the other 599 lives with which you share your horoscope? This question raises an issue of some practical importance and we shall come back to it presently.

6. Meanwhile we might carry out a census of a different kind in regard to horoscopes. What is the total possible number of horoscopes, not in a period of 100 years, but for all time? We shall, as before, take horoscopes of seven planets each, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mercury and Venus. This is partly an algebraical, partly an astronomical problem. It is algebraical, inasmuch as the number of possible horoscopes with Sun, Moon, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, is 12^5 or 248,832. Each of these horoscopes is capable of three modifications on account of Mercury, and five on account of Venus, or fifteen in all: so that the total possible number of seven planet horoscopes is $248,832 \times 15 = 3,732,480$, or roughly three and a three-quarter millions.

7. If now we proceed to determine the period of time covered by these three and three-quarter millions of horoscopes, distributing them at the rate of 174 horoscopes for a year, which is a fair average,

we shall find that it will take not less than 21,566 years to exhaust the total number of horoscopes. As a matter of fact we may satisfy ourselves, by a series of trials, that a horoscope of this kind may not recur even once in 20,000 years. In a well-known Jaina work, the *Prabhavaka Charita*, there is a horoscope which has every appearance of genuineness, but which it is impossible to place in time unless we go back to 32056 B.C. or go forward to A.L. 24127 or to A.D. 34056. The horoscope which is a very simple one, viz. 'Sun in Mesha with Mercury; Moon and Saturn in Rishabha; Jupiter and Lagna in Kataka; Rahu in Kanya; Mars in Dhanus; Venus in Mina', is supposed to have been drawn up for the *Diksha* or consecration of Hemachandra Suri as a Jaina high priest in probably twelfth century, A.D. I suspect that Rahu in the horoscope is a mistake for Ketu and that the whole horoscope is shifted in consequence to the tune of 34,000 years. We may now form some idea of the world of horoscopes which would seem to be as vast, as ancient and as immeasurable as the world of man. Like the present human race, the living race of horoscopes, about 216,000 all told is infinitesimally small in comparison with the number of those horoscopes which, equally with the human beings whom they served, have been long dead and buried and swept into the past, never to return to life. I said 'never to return to life', but we have just seen that some of them may return after 65,000 years.

8. To render all this apparently arid speculation fruitful as well as intelligible, we want a method whereby we can locate any horoscope in time, i.e. ascertain the date, past, current or future, of any horoscope. I have had, in the course of my investigations, to devise several such methods, one of which I published in the *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. I, pt. i, pp. 100 to 122. Another method, more simple in its working and more exhaustive in its results will appear in my forthcoming publication *Panchang and Horoscope*. This last method gives a sweep of 100,000 years at a glance and may be used to demonstrate that any given horoscope is non-recurring within twenty thousand years. I may remark in passing that different methods are applicable to different problems. If I had time, I would like to give you examples of the several ways in which an exact solution of a horoscope may be obtained, but I will limit myself to one example. There is a horoscope in Varahamihira's *Brihat-jataka*,

ch. vi, v. 9, under which both mother and child are doomed to die. This dreadful horoscope is, 'Eclipsed Moon or Sun, and Saturn in lagna : Mars in eighth house'. You might imagine that such a combination is bound to occur fairly often during eclipses. As a matter of fact the conditions that the moon or sun should rise in a state of eclipse, that Saturn should be in the same sign and Mars 210° more or 150° less than Saturn make the horoscope a very infrequent one indeed. I found by simply turning over a few pages of my *Ephemeris* that the conditions were fulfilled only once during the last 363 years, on Tuesday, July 11, A.D. 1786. If you wish to find another suitable date you would have to go back several hundred years. There will be a solar eclipse at about 4 p.m. on Monday, November 12, A.D. 1928, at which most of the conditions will be fulfilled; but as the sun will not rise on that day in an eclipsed condition, there is no fear. You may perhaps feel that it is as well that such gruesome horoscopes are not recurrent and wonder why I seem to complain of their non-recurrence. What I say is this:—if all the 140 children who were born in the Madras Presidency under that particular lagna on July 11, A.D. 1786 did, as a matter of fact, die with their mothers, by all means make school children learn this in books of history; but why put it down as a rule in astrology and induce people to look out for a fulfilment which may not happen for hundreds of years to come?

9. This leads us to another most important proposition, in fact the most important of all, viz. that it is possible to discover the exact date of any genuine horoscope that we may come across in *literature* or in *inscriptions*. Since the time of Bentley, who in his *Historical View of Indian Astronomy*, attempted to discover the date of Rama from his horoscope in the *Ramayana*, no one except the person who has the honour of addressing you has used a horoscope for discovering a date. In my *Ephemeris*, vol. I, pt. i, I used a horoscope occurring in the Tamil anthology called *Paripadal* to discover a date in Tamil literature, Friday, June 17, A.D. 634. I have since been waiting to hear of other horoscopes of chronological value, but the only gentleman who has helped me so far is Dr. R. Shama Sastri, the Mysore Archaeologist, who gave me three horoscopes (A.D. 1168, A.D. 1180 and A.D. 1376) which I am publishing, together with their verification, in my forthcoming book *Panchang and Horoscope*, pp. 33 and 96.

I should like to have other ancient horoscopes for verification and investigation.

10. I have spoken before many audiences about the *Paripadal* horoscope and those interested in this particular horoscope will find a concise but full explanation in the book which is about to appear, pp. 102-104. I shall therefore now deal in some detail with a horoscope which I have had no occasion as yet to speak of in public because it was only the other day that I obtained what I consider to be a satisfactory date for it.

In a commentary called *Suddhavidyotini* on the famous poem *Saundaryalahari* of which the authorship is usually ascribed to no less a person than the great philosopher Sankara and in the course of which mention is supposed to be made of the legend of Tirugnana-sambhandhar, it is said that the author of *Saundaryalahari* was originally a king's son who was exposed on the top of a mountain, because his birth was attended by an unfortunate conjunction of planets, namely, 'Simhalagna, moon in Hastayuga, Jupiter in Mina, the Sun in Mesha, Mercury in Mithuna, Venus in Mina, Saturn in Kumbha, Mars in Makara, the Moon being swallowed by Rahu.' The expression, which I have translated as referring to an eclipse of the Moon, is *Gopatau nagabhukte*. *Gopati* in this passage may mean either the Sun or the Moon, and in either case an eclipse may be meant, the more so as nothing but a birth during an eclipse would have been considered so inauspicious as to necessitate the immediate exposure of a new born royal infant. Moreover the expression '*Hastayuga*' seems to refer to the Moon being in Hasta or Chitra, just where it would be in an eclipse in Mesha month. Mars in Makara (exaltation), Sun in Mesha (exaltation), Venus in Mina (exaltation), Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury in their own houses or *Swakshetra*, viz. Mina, Kumbha and Mithuna respectively:—these are ordinarily the very best planetary positions for a royal horoscope (see *Brihatjataka*, xi. 13), and only a birth during eclipse could have the effect of nullifying all the other good signs.

11. Proceeding on the assumption that an eclipse was meant, whether solar or lunar, I had to find a date on which the planets were in the positions named and when at the same time there was an eclipse during Simhalagna. Such precisely (or almost precisely) was the lunar eclipse which occurred at $23\frac{1}{2}$ ghatikas (9 hrs. 20') after sunrise

on Monday, March 25, A. D. 1168, which was the second day of the Indian Solar year, when the moon's longitude was that of nakshatra *Chitra* (ending at 20 hours); the Sun was then in Mesha, Jupiter was in Mina (332°), Saturn was in Kumbha (301°), Mars was in Makara (287°), but Venus was not in Mina but Mesha (30°) and Mercury was not in Mithuna, but in Mesha also (17°). In fact, astronomically, Mercury could not be in Mithuna when the Sun is in Mesha. Venus *could* be in Mina at such a time; but on the date arrived at by me, Venus was in Mesha, in fact it was entering into Rishaba. The case is one in which the date is sufficiently determined by the eclipse, the lagna (ordinarily negligible but in this case a valuable chronological aid), Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, altogether six planets (including the Moon and Rahu), and an error in regard to Venus and Mercury would not vitiate the result. At any rate there is no other date since the dawn of Kaliyuga (B.C. 3102), satisfying the assumed conditions. If my date is correct, the errors in the positions of Mercury and Venus would be accounted for by the desire for effect on the part of the commentator who tells the story, and who is evidently anxious to impress on his readers the effect of an eclipse in marring totally for a time the influence of a most auspicious planetary combination which, however, eventually asserted itself by raising the infant to fame.

12. But the expression *Gopatau nagabhukte* in the above horoscope may also mean 'Rishabha being enjoyed or occupied by Rahu or Ketu,' just as *navama charame Devaladesike* the expression used in the same horoscope for Jupiter's position may mean 'Jupiter being at the end of Mesha, the ninth house from Simha, which was lagna,' or 'Jupiter being at the end of Dhanus, the ninth constellation of the zodiac.' If we take the meaning to be 'Rahu or Ketu in Rishabha and Jupiter in Mesha' there is no suitable date since 1 A. D. If we take the meaning to be 'Rahu or Ketu in Rishabha and Jupiter in second half of Dhanus,' the date is Friday, April 24, A. D. 1640, when the positions were, Mars 287°; Mercury 49°; Jupiter 259°; Venus 354°; Saturn 309°; Ketu 43°; Sun 28°; Moon in Chitra nakshatra ending at 31 of day. There was no eclipse on this day. Lastly, if the meaning be 'Rahu or Ketu in Rishabha; Jupiter at the end of the ninth navamsa in Simha which was lagna', for this also we have a date, Tuesday, April 12, A. D. 1435 when the positions

and in all these charters we have not come across any reference to the Yavanas. The term 'Yavana' is used in the Dharmapāla Inscription and in the *History of Orissa*, in regard to which Sir William Hunter is quoted with great approval, seems to have varying significance, and it is open to discussion whether the Yavanas referred to in the Dharmapāla epigraph are not the Kambōjas, and the Yavanas in *History of Orissa* were not people far other than the Greeks, or the Kilakila Yavanas. Whether they were Greeks or no, there is nothing whatever to connect these with the so-called Kilakila Yavanas directly. This datum, therefore, leads us nowhere.

The *Bhāgavata*, however, seems to refer, in the twelfth book, to all the Tamil Vaishṇava saints known as the *Āḷvārs*, and that may give us a reason for regarding the Purāṇa as having been composed in the Tamil country, and about the tenth century A.D. But before arriving at that general position we ought to make sure that the portion of the text is not an interpolation, or a later addition. There is, besides, a point that the Tamil *Vaishṇava Prabandha* contains numbers of references to matters of Viṣṇu līla as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. There are scholars who hold that the *Bhāgavata* treatment of these are adaptations from the Tamil *Prabandha*. If that is so, the *Bhāgavata* may again be of a later date than this. But one cannot be certain about it. The commentators of these *Prabandhas* usually quote for authority, in regard to the details, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* rather than the *Bhāgavata*, which is a clear indication that in the time of these commentators, twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the *Bhāgavata* did not become an authoritative text-book in regard to these matters. There is one further point in the Rao Bahadur's article to which we must draw attention, and that is, that since the *Bhāgavata* mentions the modern holy places like Vēṅkaṭa, Śrīraṅga, etc., the work must be of the tenth century. The learned scholar calls these 'modern holy places.' We are not quite sure what exactly the specific significance of 'modern' is in the idea of the Rao Bahadur. But the holy places specifically mentioned are at least as old as the classical Tamil literature, and were places of great repute in the days of the earliest Tamil Vaishṇava saints, and therefore, their mention could be of no assistance in regard to this particular century to which the *Bhāgavata* has been ascribed by the learned scholar. Notwithstanding all these, the article by the learned scholar raises many points of great importance,

far it is unexceptionable. But he proceeds further and says that since Buddhism went out of existence practically after Śankara, the *Bhāgavata* must have come a considerable time after Śankara. He finds support for this argument in the *Bhāgavata* outlook upon the Śāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila as compared with that of Śankara. Śankara regards Kapila the founder of Śāṅkhya philosophy as a different person from the Kapila, *Avatar* of Viṣṇu. The Śāṅkhya system as explained in the *Bhāgavata* makes it a non-atheistical system, and is thus regarded as a development which must have come after Śankara. If Śankara set himself to refute Kapila, the founder of the Śāṅkhya system as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, that opinion should have been prevalent, and on that basis how the *Bhāgavata* could be regarded as later than Śankara is rather difficult to understand. Then he draws upon the argument that the Viṣṇuism of the *Bhāgavata* is neither that of Madhva, nor that of Rāmānuja, and therefore the *Bhāgavata* must have been composed between the dates of Śankara and Rāmānuja. Then he proceeds to examine the geographical and historical statements in the *Bhāgavata* with a view to finding confirmations for this conclusion. Among others he pitches upon the Kilakila Yavanas' datum. We must say frankly that the learned scholar tries to make too much of this, and regards the Kilakila Yavanas, Kainkila Yavanas as he calls them, the rulers of the Andhra country in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. He draws for support from an inscription of Dharmapala A.D. 800-826, which mentions many other powers that he had conquered, and among them the Yavanas. We must say frankly that this specific epigraphical datum is too far-fetched. As to the Kilakila, it is hard to understand why the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Bhaviṣya* texts in regard to the Kilakila should be overlooked, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* text should be taken for authority. It is easily demonstrable that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is actually muddled over the texts of the earlier *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Bhaviṣya* texts. A critical study of these texts leads reasonably to the identification of the Kilakila Yavanas with those that preceded Viṇḍhyasakti. There is fairly good ground for regarding this Viṇḍhyasakti as the same ruler as the founder of the dynasty that became known as the Vākātaka dynasty. In the particular centuries to which the Kilakila Yavanas are ascribed as the rulers of the Andhra country, the Andhra country was certainly under the Eastern Chalukyas,

going round the earth once, because the two covers would be 20,000 miles apart. Nothing short of this will accommodate every human being, past, present and future, with a horoscope of his own. Even then we shall be allowing only 300 horoscopes to a lagna, whereas we saw a little while ago that a lagna was actually common to at least 600 persons. How then do these fortunate possessors of horoscopes manage to suit all shades of customers? It is obvious that they must be having recourse to a far less circuitous method, in fact the only method which is possible in the circumstances, viz. by obtaining the details of the lives of their actual or would-be customers by direct enquiry and supplying the same details afterwards to the same persons in the guise of a horoscope. The trade is profitable because in this country every one swears by astrology and nobody suspects anything done under this time-honoured cloak and also because the infamous traffic is carried on under conditions which are so designed as to evade detection.

Baghdad¹

Just as, in the seventh century, the teachings of Mohammed united under one common religious idea the different nations of Asia and North Africa, so also, about the middle of the eighth century, such a union was effected in Europe under one common Christian idea. Round one banner, as it were—that of the Papacy—had gathered together Italy, France, Germany. In large measure this union was born of an apprehended danger from Islam to Central Europe.² Since the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs, reinforced by the Berbers, had been steadily pushing westwards. The Visigoths had been overthrown, and the Muslim army had penetrated into Gaul, where, in A.D. 752, by his victory at Tours, Charles Martel set a limit to their advance. The commanding position which Charles and his family thereupon attained, and which decided the development of Central Europe, was the result of this great military triumph.

Precisely at that critical juncture, when the destiny of world-history was in the balance, a revolution broke out in Islam's own bosom, ending the dynasty of the Omayyads—a dynasty representative of the virtues and vices of an old Mekkan family. And what were they?—feud and hatred, untamed, irrepressible. The old *Arabism* was once again plunged into anarchy and strife. The Caliphs, no longer regarded as successors of the Prophet, were looked upon merely as the chiefs of the North and South Arabian tribes—naught but princes of the noble House of Omayya. While the Omayyad Caliphs abandoned themselves to pleasure or party faction, another family of Mekka—that of Hashim—sought to revive the Caliphate in the religious sense of the term. Already, about the middle of the Omayyad rule, the family of the Abbasids, i.e. the descendants of Abbas, uncle of the Prophet, so won the esteem and confidence of the orthodox as to arouse the fears of the Omayyads. And these fears assumed greater and greater dimensions when, under Walid II, there was a split in the House of Omayya itself, and yet greater fears still,

when the most distinguished general of the ruling family definitely went over to the Abbasids.

The *Imam*, i.e. the foreman—so the representative of the new dynasty styled himself—had made over a black flag to Abu Muslim, who, under this banner, fought the Omayyads in Kufa, in distant Khurasan, and finally conquered them in a two days' battle at Mosul. The last of the Omayyads, Merwan II, fled to Egypt, where he prepared himself for one more desperate fight. He lost, and his head was sent to Abbas, who opened the line of the Abbasid Caliphs.³

Once again to the helm of the State, came a Mekkan family who, as kinsmen of the Prophet, were expected to carry on his traditions and to fulfil his destiny. But, in reality, nothing was further from their thoughts than the rehabilitation of the oldest form of the Caliphate. The ultimate goal of these efforts was the establishment of a despotism modelled upon the Persian *Chosroism*.

Not feeling very secure in the midst even of their most loyal subjects—the inhabitants of Basrah and Kufah—even after the pitiless destruction of all but one member of the Omayyad family who escaped across Africa to Spain,³ they resolved to found a new capital of their own.³ The position and the plan of this new capital reveal best the new era that had set in.

It is said that Mansur caused workmen to be brought together from Syria and Mosul, from Persia and from Babylonia, as also architects and land-surveyors; and over all he appointed four chief overseers, one of these being the Imam Abu Hanifah, well known as the founder of the Hanifites, the earliest of the four schools of orthodox Sunni theology. . . . The plan of the city was first traced out on the ground with lines of cinders, and, to mark it the better, all along the outline they set balls of cotton saturated with naphtha, and then set these on fire. On the lines thus marked were dug the foundations of the double walls, with a deep ditch outside, filled with water, and a third innermost wall round the central area, the whole thus forming concentric circles, four equidistant gateways being left

¹ Weil, *Islamitische Völker*, pp. 127 et. sqq. (Translated into English by me in the *Calc. Review*.)

² Weil, *Islamitische Völker*, pp. 255 et. sqq.

³ The towns of Babylonia—Kufah, Basrah, Anbar—did not quite please them for their capital.

¹ Joseph Heil, *Die Kultur der Araber*, ch. v.

² Ranke was the first to point out this aspect of the case.

in each of the circuits of the walls. Of these gates two, the Kufah Gate (S.W.) and the Basrah Gate (S.E.), both opened on the Sarat Canal; the Khurasan Gate (N.E.) was on the Tigris, leading to the Main Bridge of Boats, while the Syrian Gate (N.W.) led to the high road of Anbar, which came down along the northern or left bank of the upper Sarat Canal. As the Muslim writers remark, the main feature of the city of Mansur was that it was circular, with four equidistant gates, and this was a novelty in Islam, probably derived from Persia. Externally from gate to gate measured 5,000 ells, or about 2,500 yards, and this gives us a diameter for the outer circle round the ditch of nearly 3,200 yards.¹ The walls of Baghdad were built with sun-dried bricks of extraordinary size. Of the double walls the inner was the higher, and sufficiently broad to be of the nature of a rampart. According to one account this, the main wall, was ninety feet high, and, at its foundations, measured 105 feet across (another account giving the lower width at ninety ells, or 135 feet, but this appears to be a clerical error), while, at the summit, it narrowed to 37½ feet. The outer wall was, by all accounts, less massive in its construction, and apparently it is this wall whose dimensions are given by Tabari as seventy-five feet across at the foundations, narrowing to thirty feet at the summit, with a height that may be set down at about sixty feet. In the outer wall the four gates were of divers origin: the Khurasan Gate which had been brought from Syria, was said to be of Pharaonic workmanship; the Kufah Gate had been made in that city by a certain Khalid, son of Abdallah, a Muslim craftsman; the Syrian Gate, recognized as being the weakest of the four, was constructed in Baghdad by the order of Mansur; lastly, where the Basrah Gate came from is not known. Any one entering the city of Mansur would, after crossing the ditch which encircled the outer wall, pass in by one of these four gates, from each of which a thoroughfare led directly to the great central area. Each of the four gate-ways of the outer wall was surmounted by a great gate-house, the hall or passage-way of which was flanked by porticoes, both hall and porticoes being vaulted with burnt bricks set in mortar.

¹ Guy Le Strange's *Baghdad* has been largely used here. See chapter ii—especially pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23 and 26.

ARAB THEORIES OF EDUCATION

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

half, they carried out this determination with marked success. The Arab rule—under Persian influence—of which the new capital was the product and the proof—became an old oriental despotism. For want of space we must confine ourselves to a cursory view of the inner condition and the actual achievements of this dynasty.

The main support and strength of the Abbasids was the army, which had grown enormously by the admission of the new converts into its ranks. Under the first Abbasids it consisted by hundreds of thousands. In Iraq alone it reckoned 125,000. It was regularly-paid soldiery. In proportion to their increase in numbers their pay declined. At the meridian of the Abbasid power in Baghdad the soldier received only twenty *dirhams* a month per head (a *dirham* was about a *frank* in value). Along with the regularly-paid soldiers there was a body of volunteers—consisting of Beduins, peasants and towns-folk—who, from motives religious or private, took part in the wars. Within the army, the arrangement was according to nationality: the *Harabiyya*—infantry, armed with lances—consisted of Arabs; the *Jund*—infantry and cavalry—was composed chiefly of foreigners. Among the latter the Khorasanians were the most prominent. This position was deliberately assigned to them for a political purpose. The Caliphs believed that, by playing off the South and the North Arabian tribes against one another, they would control both. Scarcely a century had passed, when, along with the Khorasanians, another foreign element obtained a footing and secured an influence—more perilous by far than that of the Khorasanians. This was the fourth division of the army—the Turkish division. Year by year slaves came in larger and yet larger numbers to the markets of Baghdad, and through the markets made their way to the Caliph's court, and eventually to the Caliph's army. To this division especial consideration was shown, in the hope that they would constitute the strongest bulwark of the Caliphate. They thus became the body-guards of the Caliphs, and soon a scourge to the Caliph, where arbitrariness and violence characterized their conduct. In the course of time they got the Caliphs completely into their power, so that they set them up and deposed them at will.

Despite this—for a whole century—the army remained, in outer seeming, a tremendous instrument of outfit and armour it was indistinguishable from the

used almost the same weapons: bow and arrow, lance and javelin, sword and battle-axe. A helmet protected the head, a coat-of-mail the body, and the arms and legs were encased in iron. The Saracens used girdles, reins and swords adorned with silver. Saddles were of the same kind as those of the Byzantines, and precisely like those in fashion in the days of the

Reviews formed part of the military exercise under Mansur, who seems to have interested himself very much in military affairs, and who usually held these functions seated, on such occasions, on his throne, dressed in helmet and coat-of-mail. The troops were arranged before him in three divisions: the North Arabian (Mudar), the South Arabian (Yamanides) and the Khurasanides.² Under Mutasim a uniform was found for the troops. He dressed his bodyguard in lamask with gold girdles. Mutawakkil ordered all the mercenary troops to change their old uniform, and to wear henceforth short brown cloaks, and to carry the sword, not according to the old Arabian custom, with a shoulder-belt, but in imitation of the Persian fashion, buckled round the waist.³

And, just as in our own times so in the days of Harun-ul-Rashid, science was pressed into the service of warfare. To each corps of archers was attached a body of Naphtha-firemen, who shot at the stronghold of the army with Naphtha or Greek fire. From the account handed down, it is clear that these Naphtha-firemen wore fire-proof suits, and could penetrate into the burning ruins of the enemy's stronghold. Whichever side we turn to, we come across practices which we fondly believe to be the acquisition and achievement of modern times. The spy system was specially developed. Both sexes served as spies, and travelled to neighbouring countries—in various disguises—notably as merchants and physicians—to collect and transmit information. Nowhere was the Arab espionage more active or more widely diffused than in the Byzantine Empire, for the latter was still their honourable competitor, as it had been, in the past, their undoubted preceptor in the art of warfare. To guard against Byzantine encroachments, frontier fortifications came into existence—a form of military art testifying to the energy, method

² Khush, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 328.

Goldziher, *M.S. I*, p. 83.

Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 340, 344 and 345.

and practical instincts of the Arabs. The Syrian frontier, facing Asia Minor, had, for long, been a source of danger to the Arabs. Long, with alternating fortune, had the two rivals fought for the important strategic points there: Tarsus, Adana, Mersa, Marash, and Malatiyya.¹ Now they were captured by the Franks—now by the Arabs. Under Mansur they were retaken by the Arabs, and were strengthened and fortified anew. Under Harun-al-Rashid a frontier province—with a purely military organization—was created; numerous blockhouses were built, and every important point was provided with its own permanent garrison. Over and above their pay and allowance, by no means small, the troops were given lands which they cultivated with their families. Under Harun and his immediate successors entire peoples from the outlying provinces of the empire, were transplanted and resettled, with the result that this part of the country—devastated and depopulated by unceasing wars—blossomed into life and activity. Until the time of the Caliph Wathiq, happy and prosperous were the conditions of the frontier province, but, then, its star began to wane. Fresh wars, and their distressing consequences, acted as a blight upon it.

The navy furnishes another striking feature of Muslim activities.² As early as 34 A.H., we hear of the conquest of Cyprus and the expedition to Byzantium. Since then expeditions suggestive of a navy are repeatedly mentioned. That here, in this sphere of activity, the Arabs were deeply beholden to the Byzantines is a proposition beyond cavil or doubt. But if this is so, no less clear and undeniable is the debt which Europe owes to the Arabs in this very sphere of activity. Witness the numerous nautical expressions which the West has accepted from the Arabs and which, indeed, the West has retained to the present day. Overwhelming was the Arab influence on the people living on the Mediterranean coast. 'That the Arabian fleet of the earliest period,' says Von Kremer, 'was a model in many ways to those of the Christian countries, is patent from the fact that many Arab nautical terms have been preserved in the languages of Southern Europe, such as Cable, Arabic Hable, Arsenal, Italian Darsona (Arabic Dar-ul-sanah); Corvette, which comes from the Arabic Ghurab, i.e. Raven.'

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 347 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 356 et seq.

In military and civil administration the Caliphate attained its fullest development under the first Abbasids. The old division of the Empire into provinces under governors remained unchanged, but the danger of the governors becoming independent of the Central Government was realized and guarded against, by making the connection between the provinces and the central authority more real and intimate. The roads that lay from Baghdad to the different parts of the Empire were scenes of lively intercourse. At Baghdad was a great Postal-Divan (a sort of Government Postal-Bureau), for which relays were provided all along the route. Pigeons, as carriers of letters, were used even under the Caliph Mutasim (835-842), and itineraries of the whole empire at once assisted travellers in their tours and laid the foundation of geographical research and activity. But the postal system was not really meant for the public. It was intended for the benefit of the Government, and, as such, was a mere department of the State. The post master was the appointed supervisor of the officers in the provinces.' 'At the head-quarters of each of the large provinces,' says Von Kremer, 'was a post master, whose duty was to keep the Caliph continually informed of all important affairs. The post master had even to supervise the action of the Governor, and was, so to speak, a direct confidential agent appointed by the central government.'

Despite all efforts, decentralization could not be avoided. The governors became more and more independent, and their offices hereditary. They claimed and secured the right of appointing their lieutenant-governors, and soon became rulers of their *quondam* provinces. Even at the capital itself the reins of Government soon slipped out of the hands of the rulers. By their side, we notice the *Wazir* as their counsellor and support. The office of the *Wazir*—though varying in importance under different Caliphs—was, indeed, powerful enough to convey the impression to the public that the real wielder of power was this officer and not the Caliph, however much in theory the former might have been responsible to the crown. Theoretically it was with the sanction of the Caliph that the *Wazir* appointed judges, from whom a thorough knowledge of law was expected. In matters affecting administration and justice the *Nazar-*

³ Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 233 et seq.

ul-Mazalim or 'Board for the Inspection of Grievances' constituted the Supreme Court. This institution was borrowed from the Norman King Roger of Sicily from the Arabs.¹

Finances formed the main concern of the Government, and the clearest proof of this is to be found in the detailed reports of the State-revenues that have come down to us. These reports testify to a brilliant prosperity during the first century of the Abbasid rule, and a steady decrease of revenue in each succeeding one. The splendour of the capital kept pace with the prosperity of the Empire. Within a short time, from a fortress it grew into a world-city of fabulous wealth and glory—standing aloft as the only rival of Byzantium.

In the first century of its existence Baghdad attained the meridian of its splendour—to be absolutely precise, in the first eighty-three years. Even under its founders, the new capital began to extend beyond the limits originally fixed. Along the high roads which led from the four gates into the provinces, suburbs grew which, together with newly-arisen Rusafah—a part of the city on the eastern bank of the Tigris—covered five English square miles. Out of this sea of houses rose resplendent the palace of the Green Dome.² Up to the death of Amin (A.D. 813) this palace—regarding which our information is scanty—remained the official residence of the Caliph. Its inner arrangement and its external form were in Persian style; nevertheless, it could not long satisfy the ever-augmenting æsthetic tastes of the Caliphs. Even Mansur erected a second palace, called Khuld, outside the city limits on the right bank of the Tigris; and later a third one—Rusafah, on the left bank. While the last two received the attention, and drew heavily on the purses, of succeeding Caliphs, the Green Dome was left utterly neglected and forlorn with the result that in March 941 the Cupola, unable to resist a winter gale and a heavy shower, tottered and fell. A longer lease of life was the lot of the mosque which was contemporaneously built with this old palace in the central area of the town of Mansur.³ Of this we possess more detailed information, which shows that inconspicuous still were the artistic achievements of the first Abbasids—though they impressed

¹ For the history of this institution, see Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient and the Caliphs*, pp. 287-92.

² Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Caliphate*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

foreign talent for, and employed foreign labour upon, them. We know that the chief mosque was built of sun-dried bricks set in clay, with a roof supported on wooden columns. Most of these columns were constructed of two or more beams or baulks of timber, joined together endwise with glue, and clamped with iron bolts.

This was the first mosque built in Baghdad, and, as originally constructed by Mansur, it stood for about half a century, when it was pulled down by Harun, who replaced its somewhat primitive structure by an edifice solidly built of kiln-burnt brick set in mortar. But even of this no trace is left to-day. In the west of the Islamic Empire however—in Kairwan and Cordova—the mosques give us some idea of what the chief mosque of Baghdad was like. Sacred or profane, the buildings of the city of Mansur shared the same fate. The desire always to create something new and better, already induced Mansur to lay the foundations of a palace and a mosque on the left bank of the Tigris. There, as Crown-Prince, his son Mehdi resided, and to its neighbourhood his popularity attracted all who had the means and influence to settle down there. Thus East Baghdad—mounting to power and fame—eclipsed and overshadowed the old city. Here lived the rich and proud Barmacides, occupying a beautiful pleasure-house which, after their fall, passed into the hands of the Caliphs.¹ This Palace of Jafar, the Barmacide, which became the nucleus of the great congeries of palaces that subsequently were known as the *Dar-al-Khilafat*, was at first called the *Kasr-Jafari*, but afterwards, having come to be inhabited by Mamun, and by the Vazir Hasan ibn Sahl, it was more generally named the *Kasr-Mamuni*, or the *Kasr-Hasani*. In its grounds, after the return of the Caliphate from Samarra, the great mosque of the palace (*Jami-al-Kasr*) was erected, while, adjacent to the Hasani, were built two other palaces, namely, the *Firdus*, upstream, and the *Taj*, downstream; all three buildings thus standing on the Tigris bank, with great gardens stretching behind them, enclosing many minor palaces within their precincts.

The temporary transfer of the capital—in the ninth century A. D.—from Baghdad to Samarra, did not seriously affect Baghdad. On the return of the Caliph to the old capital—notably in the eastern portion of the town—fresh developments took place. Almost nothing

¹ Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Caliphate*, p. 243.

remains here of the artistic creations of Islam during five centuries. We are thus thrown upon our imagination to conceive the splendour of this *quondam* world-city. We should not lose sight of the fact that Baghdad was also a port. In the quays of the Tigris—extending for miles on both banks—lay a fleet at anchor, riverboats of all forms and sizes, warships, and jolly-boats of the Caliphs and her wealthy citizens.

We would have relegated to the realm of fiction all that the Arab historians and poets relate of this wonderful city—of the five boats of the Caliph Amin, built to look like a lion, an elephant, an eagle, a horse and a snake—had not recent researches ratified the statements otherwise seemingly incredible. It is reported that in East Baghdad there was an entire bazaar of Chinese wares those procurable there, included also sable, ermine, marten fur, fish bones, leather, wax, arrows, arms and slaves from the north of Europe. Tens of thousands of Arab coins found in different parts of Russia, nay, even on the Swedish Coast, confirm this report. There is thus little reason to doubt that the Arabs exported to those countries woven materials, jewelry, metal mirrors, glass beads, spices and harpoons for whaling. A glance at the exports and imports reveals the cultural superiority of the Islamic Empire. It exchanged its own products for the raw materials of the north. Sugar and the metal industry seem to have been and remained the domain of the Persians. On the other hand, Syria was the home of glass manufacture. Apart from the art of carpet-making, textiles were an old Arab industry which thrived under the new conditions, and attained great excellence. Far-famed, indeed, was the Syrian glass, but Baghdad did not long lag behind, and established her own glass factory. In fact, she quickly learnt to use glass as an object of luxury. As early as the second century of the Hijra, the manufacture of enamelled and drawn glass was known to the Baghddadis.¹ In Iraq (Babylonia) the manufacture of glass hanging lamps for the mosques, and also cups of all sizes and colours, was a speciality. Until later times South Arabia supplied the finest brocade, woven linen, and silk materials. Damask, already much in favour with the Omayyad Caliphs, became locally renowned in the Syrian capital. In the

¹ Probably glass tubing or articles of glass made by manufacturing molten glass.

heyday of Baghdad the goldsmiths' talents were much indented upon. We read of a golden tree which stood in one of the show rooms of the Caliphs, and of a golden elephant with ruby eyes. We also read of artistic timepieces ingeniously made about this time. When Maqrizi, an Egyptian, speaks of a school of painting at Basrah, and of the works of a master there, in the noticeable absence of Arab painting we are inclined to be rather sceptical about it. But, even here, recent discoveries silence our doubts, and correct our error. The little castle *Kusair Amra*, discovered in the heart of the Syrian desert by the explorer Alois Musil (and more thoroughly examined since), is richly covered in the interior with wall-paintings in Byzantine style, and shows that, even in Omayyad times, they did not refrain from painting human figures on buildings not held sacred. Thus falls to the ground the widely-accepted view that the Islamic prohibition of images had cut the life-nerve of the fine arts—sculpture and painting. In the mosque indeed—for fear of idolatry—human figures were not allowed to be painted. But *Kusair Amra* is an instance in point, showing liberal and free use of painting in buildings neither sacred nor religious. By inculcating the utility and excellence of handicrafts, Islam cast a religious halo over trade and craft, with the result that, wherever Muslims found anything new, they at once applied themselves to it, extending and developing it. For example, they chanced to hear of the art of manufacturing paper carried on in some remote corner of the Muslim Empire—possibly in China itself. It caught their fancy, and we notice that in the first years of the Abbasid rule a paper factory—possibly run by the Chinese—was established at Samarqand. Scarcely had they learnt to make paper, when they began to experiment in its production from linen and rags. In the year 794-5 the first paper factory was started in Baghdad, and the use of paper was introduced into Government offices. Gradually, throughout the Empire, paper factories were set up, and paper of newer and newer kinds produced: silk-paper, note-paper, strong and weak paper, smooth and ribbed paper, white and coloured paper. Papyrus and parchment having played their rôle, a much cheaper writing-material was found—a happy augury for the arts, the sciences, and letters.¹

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Book-Trade under the Caliphate*, (*Calc. Review*), February, 1924.

Another branch of industry was the preparation of perfumes from roses, water-lilies, stocks, orange-blossoms, musk flowers, etc. On this trade—as it existed in the neighbourhood of Damascus—we have detailed information from Al-Dimishqi. Very widely diffused, also, was this industry in the environs of Shiraz—so very widely diffused that the Government levied taxes upon buildings where rose-water was manufactured. The preparation of these perfumes required a number of chemicals. For agricultural, industrial and scientific purposes new instruments and implements were constantly needed, and these were always invented and supplied. In fact, to that industry the entire Islamic world devoted itself, and not without a tinge of pride do Arab authors enumerate its details, and dwell upon the devices hit upon for irrigation purposes.

Nor was food-adulteration unknown or infrequent. Directions, given to the police for detection of such practices, have come down to us. A whole literature grew up, dealing with poisons, spices, steel-industry, porcelain, metal, weaving, etc. This literature was chiefly the work of artisans and traders, and not of the members of learned professions; but, to be sure, of artisans and traders of a superior kind, and was designed for the working classes. Thus trade and craft, power and wealth, all helped, in equal measure, to deepen and popularize culture. With prosperity came the need for enjoyment, and the love of beauty; and, noblest and highest of all, the craving for knowledge, the search after truth.¹ Nothing brings this fact more obviously home than the educational institutions in the golden age of Baghdad. Already, under the first Caliphs, we see, in Arabia and the conquered provinces, schools established for the teaching of the Qur'an.² Under the Abbasids we find these schools spread like a network throughout the Caliphate. As even to-day in the East, the instruction imparted was, as a rule, mainly confined to the Qur'an. Grammar was not infrequently added, but the art of calligraphy was never excluded from the curriculum. Without any initiative on the part of the State a sort of compulsory school system grew up. Boys joined schools from the sixth year, and girls were not absent from

¹ Dierds, *Araber im mittelalter*, p. 311.

² Khuda Bukhsh, *Marriage and Family Life among the Arabs* (Calc. Review), August 1923, pp. 195 et. seq. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje's *Achehnese*, vol. II, pp. 1-10.

them either. Rich and poor alike enjoyed the same rights and privileges. The community paid the school master, and we read with amusement how parents arranged with the master to get their children away from the school earlier than others. The subsequent foundation of the universities shows how considerable were the results of these elementary institutions. True, however, middle schools—a preparatory stage to the admission into the universities—were lacking. Even at the universities religion retained its primacy, for was it not religion which first opened the path to learning? The Qur'an, tradition, jurisprudence, therefore—all these preserved their preeminence there. But it is to the credit of Islam that it neither slighted nor ignored other branches of learning; nay, it offered the very same home to them as it did to theology—a place in the mosque. Until the fifth century of the Hegira *the mosque was the university of Islam*, and to this fact is due the most characteristic feature of Islamic culture—*perfect freedom to teach*. The teacher had to pass no examination, required no diploma, no formality, to launch out in that capacity. What he needed was competence, efficiency, mastery of his subject. The public character of the teaching ensured the competence of the teacher. Every Muslim had free admission to the lectures. And to these lectures came, not inquisitive ignoramuses, but Muslim *savants* from all parts of the Empire. It was open to any member of the audience to question the lecturer, and a lecturer, unable to explain a point raised, or to satisfy the questioner, was forthwith disgraced, discredited. Many features of the teaching profession have come down to us. Every teacher had his fixed days and hours. On the other hand, there was no time-limit to the lectures. It rested entirely with the lecturer to fix the number of lectures on any given subject. There were no fixed holidays when all classes closed down. The lecture was usually based on a treatise composed either by the lecturer himself or by another. The lecture, delivered slowly, was taken down by the audience. By means of questions occasionally thrown out, the lecturer ascertained whether he was being followed or not. At times he stepped down among the audience, to discuss the subject with them. From the tenth century on, the older teachers employed assistant teachers to help the students in revising the subject. Until the eleventh century the teacher was left to earn his own living. Some held appointments as judges (*qadhis*), others enjoyed patronage. Others again carried on some

trade or craft. Students of languages and literature took up private tutorships, worked as companions, or composed occasional odes, for their living. Later on, academies were established by princes, where the teachers received salaries and enjoyed honour and dignity.¹ But the era of decline had then already begun. The period of Islam's widest sway corresponded with the period of the most perfect freedom to teach. There was one and only one check—copy-right. No one was allowed to use the book of another at a public lecture without written permission.

Even after the death of the author, the right to record this permission devolved on his heirs. Nor was any member of the audience allowed to make use of a lecture without the lecturer's permission. This permission was the sign-manual warrant of competence. The maintenance and enforcement of the law of copy-right served as an incentive to personal effort, to originality, to progress, in the domain of learning.

In dealing with the development of Science in Islam we cannot overlook the rôle sustained by the various nations within its fold. We must confess that the refinement of poetry, the wealth of light literature, the best portion of philosophy and historiography, are the intellectual gifts of the Persians. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that theology, jurisprudence, medicine and the natural sciences, rest to such an extent upon a Hellenistic basis that they may almost be regarded as identical with it. All this notwithstanding, we must guard against undervaluing the subtle influence of Arab psychology upon Islamic culture, difficult though it be to establish it by positive proof or conclusive documentation.² After long overestimating the Arab influence, we would fall into the opposite error³ were we to assume that Islamic *savants*—belonging, though they did, to different nationalities; possessing perfect command over the Arabic language; living, as they did, in closest contact with the Arabs; making Arab history, poetry, religious ideas, subjects of deep, penetrating study—

¹ Khuda Bukhsb, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 285 et sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, Göttingen, 1837.

² Dierds, pp. 114 et sqq.

³ I would recommend for study Renan's paper on 'Islam' and Emanuel Deutsch's *Islam in his Literary Remains*. The extravagances of one are corrected by the sober reflections of the other.

were not leavened by Arab thought, or that the uniform character of their intellectual outturn was not born of Arab influence. Nor should it be forgotten that it was the Arabs who stirred afresh in these various nationalities a craving for knowledge and offered opportunities for the satisfaction of that renewed craving to them. Nor yet should it be forgotten that it was an Arab dynasty which, officially and privately, stood out for culture and enlightenment; tending, nursing, patronizing, learning and thought generally.

When we consider Muslim learning, we must not lose sight of the fact that what we are contemplating covers some 500 years. During so long a period there was naturally ebb and flow in culture—such ebb and flow as we find in the history of every civilization. For about two centuries Arab learning remained at its zenith. In the course of the third century we observe traces of decay in politics and in letters—the symptoms, in the domain of letters, manifesting themselves in the appearance of mere commentaries and compilations in lieu of original works. More and more do these compilations and commentaries multiply as the years go by.

The intellectual activities of the Arabs group themselves into two main divisions: activities evoked by the predilections of the Arab nation; e.g., theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and activities evoked by an instinctive human desire for knowledge; e.g., philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural sciences, geography. That the Arabs, at first, directed their attention to those branches of learning to which they were drawn from motives of religion, and in which they attained a distinctive greatness, is a proof of their talents. Thus the necessity of settling and explaining the Qur'anic texts became the basis of theology. The principle, rigidly adhered to in the beginning, of the oral transmission of the Qur'an, was ultimately given up. The traditional reading was adopted, set down in writing, and amply commented upon. More important still was the theological speculation which contact with Christianity had provoked in the first century of Islam at Damascus. To these theological speculations we must ascribe the origin of the *Murji'ites*,¹ who held that even heretical views—provided belief in Allah and His Prophet remained unimpaired—did not amount to an

¹ Khuda Bukhsb, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 59 et sqq.

abandonment of Islam. In Basrah arose the Mutazalites, who busied themselves with questions regarding the essence and attributes of God, and who, rejecting the doctrine of predestination, proclaimed the free-will of man. Under the Abbasids even the eternal character of the Qur'an was called into question—a doctrine which received the Caliph Mamun's assent in his edict of A.D. 827. By this edict the Qur'an was declared to be *created and not eternal*. Through Al-Ashari (A.H. 300)—who passed over from *Mutazalaism* into orthodoxy—dialectics made its entry into Islam. Henceforth dogmatic teachings were founded on scholastic philosophy. In contrast to the hair-splitting speculations and unbending legal views of the ninth century A.D., the Sufis step forward into light. Ascetics originally—saturated with Neo-Platonic and Buddhist ideas—the Sufis developed a system of exaltation as the final goal of religious life. While some taught the various ways of contemplation leading up to merger in God, others sang, in rapturous strain, of divine love and divine ecstasy. In Al-Kushari (d. 1074) and Al-Ghazzal (d. 1111) systematic Sufi-ism—in Ibn-al-Farid (d. 1234), and Ibn-al-Arabi (d. 1240), Arab mystic poetry found brilliant representatives.

We have already seen that under the Omayyads jurisprudence branched off from theology in the form of *hadith*, i.e. collections of traditions. Originally traditions were transmitted orally, but, in the second century of the Hegira, the huge collections of traditions were found to be in a hopelessly chaotic condition, and an attempt was made to arrange them under the names of their respective narrators, and finally in chapters, according as they related to matters concerning jurisprudence or private life. The collection of Bukhari (d. 872), and that of Muslim, are the oldest in point of time. Along with four others they have enjoyed, and still enjoy, an undisputed supremacy in the entire Islamic world.¹ These *hadith* in conjunction with the Qur'an, constitute the fundamental source of Islamic law. But, with the process of the sun, conditions of life shaped themselves in such a variety of ways, that the available traditions could not meet or solve the new problems raised by altering circumstances, chiefly in the less conservative parts of the Empire—e.g. in active, surging Iraq. Thus, to the Qur'an and the *Sunna* was now added a new

¹ Morley, *Analytical Digest*, vol. I, pp. cclii et. sqq.

juristic element—speculation. Since the beginning of the Abbasid rule the cultivation and development of jurisprudence became keener and more marked than ever before, as, henceforth, the idea of a State-church, according to the Persian model, asserted itself and rose triumphant. *Government and Religion are twin-born* became the pervading, permeating view. Under its influence Islamic doctrines henceforth assumed their own special casuistic stamp. Knowledge of law became the most important branch of theology, and henceforward the theologian was called a jurist (*faqih*) or a *savant* (*ālim*).

Through conquests Muslims had become acquainted with the laws of Justinian, and as the *hadith* were not at all sufficient to furnish a guiding principle, in dealing with the abundance of cases that now called for decision, the Muslims early adopted the methods of the Roman jurists—analogue deduction (*Kiyas*) and private judgment (*ra'y*)—for adapting and extending the law to suit the times. This led to a violent conflict between the supporters of *hadith*, pure and simple, and the champions of a progressive system of law, with the result that schools of jurisprudence came into being which, in the evolution of principles, distinctly stepped beyond the *hadith*, but which yet, in outer seeming, based their decisions, in individual cases, on the materials subsisting in the *hadith*. This was naught but our old friend *legal fiction*. What wonderful disguises it has assumed in different systems! Not the first, but by far the most powerful jurist that addressed himself to *Kiyas*, was Abu Hanifa.¹ Although not a judge himself, he founded a school of law which, according to Von Kremer, is the highest and loftiest achievement of which Islam is capable. Shortly after his death, his system was officially accepted at court and throughout the Islamic Empire, and to this system most Muslims still yield assent, and pay homage. While Abu Hanifa struck the path of juristic speculation,² Malik Ibn

¹ Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, p. 13; Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 394 et sqq.; Morley, *Analytical Digest*, p. cclxii.

² Speaking of the exercise of *Kiyas* as allowed by the chief Sunni sects, Ibn Khaldun says, 'the Science of Jurisprudence forms two systems, that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl-al-ra'y wa ahl-al-kiyas*) who were natives of Iraq, and that of the followers of tradition, who were natives of Hijaz. As the people of Iraq possessed but few traditions, they had recourse to analogical deductions, and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called the followers of private judgment: the Imam Abu Hanifa, who was their chief, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this

Anas adopted the historical standpoint. He composed a *Corpus Juris* on the basis of the legal practice current under the first Caliphs. A third one—Shafa'i—moderated the use of speculation by establishing the *fundaments of law* and a methodical system. His system rapidly spread in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, where it dominates to this day. It even made its way to India, and in Java it subsists in full vigour. The last of the line of jurists was Ahmad Ibn Hanubal, who represented the uncompromising attitude of the champions of *hadith*. It steadily lost ground, and is to-day mainly confined to the interior of Arabia—chiefly among the Wahabis. These are the four schools which represent the highest achievement of Islam in the sphere of law.

An account of the development of Muslim theology and jurisprudence—brief though it be—was necessary; for, even to-day, Islam leans upon the creations of those times.

Of historical studies—the beginnings of which we have already noticed under the Omayyads—nothing need be said here, save that they found greater and greater favour among Muslims. At first it was the Prophet and Arabian antiquity that engaged their attention and absorbed their activity, but later they took to writing annals. No one not acquainted with Arab historical works can form any idea of the immense industry which they involve. To the loftier conception of history, however, they never attained—with one single exception, namely, Ibn Khaldun (d. 1401), who, in his celebrated *Muquaddama*, developed views savouring of modern times. All that Ibn Khaldun has said about the influence of food and climate, says Von Kremer, has been worked out, from the modern point of view, by Buckle in his *History of Civilization*. What the Arab thinker divined, the British publicist has proved. Between them, however, there is a gap of five hundred years! One wrote in the metropolis of the modern world, on the Thames; the other in North Africa, in an old castle (Kalat Ibn Salmah) the ruins of which are still to be

system, taught it to his disciples. The people of Hijaz had for Imam Malik Ibn Anas, and then Al-Shafa'i. Some learned circles disapproved of analogical deductions, and rejected that mode of proceeding. These were the *Zahrites* (followers of Abu Daud Sulaiman), and they laid it down as a principle that all points of law should be taken from the *Nusus* (text of the Qur'an and traditions), and the *Ijma* (universal accord of the ancient Imams)—Apud De Slane's *Ibn Khaldun*, vol. I, p. xxvi note.

in the province of Oran (Algeria) on the left bank of Miza. More difficult it is for a layman to form an idea of Arab philology, rich exceedingly though is the literature on the subject. If hazy and indistinct are its beginnings, even to an expert, how much more difficult must it be for an outsider to realize the immense intellectual labour needed to produce a grammar of the Arabic Language such as the Persian Sibwaih's? This classic, completed in the second century of the Hegira, and known henceforth throughout the Islamic Empire as 'The Book', shows at once the philological attainments of the learned, and the discriminating interest of the populace in this branch of learning. If philology owes its birth to the Qur'an—that is to say, to a need at once national and religious—it did not altogether ignore the general human interest therein. Arab activity and achievement, in this direction, at once come to mind when we think of Arab culture. Here the Arabs—we use the term in its widest sense—played a world-rôle. They took what they found, built upon it, and handed down the result of their labours as a stepping-stone for further progress.

It is not to be expected that within two centuries of their intellectual growth the Arabs unaided, wholly of their own initiative, would inaugurate all the various branches of learning. Intellectual activities of different nations are connected with one another—nay, are even dependent upon one another—whatever be the interval of time separating them. The spark of truth, once alight, is never wholly quenched. The advancement of knowledge, therefore, is never isolated, never apart from other movements, whether contemporaneous or of the ages past. There is a continuity in human progress. Unfair, therefore, is it to condemn mediaeval Islamic civilization for having used, amplified, enriched the intellectual legacies of the earlier ages.

The most precious treasure, at hand, at the time of the growth of Arabism, was the intellectual legacy of Greece.

It is at least something—something to their credit—that, in an age when the Arabs were masters of a goodly portion of the civilized world, within the limits of their sway they encouraged and patronized

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 178 (in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume); Von Kremer, *Ibn Khaldun und seine Culturgeschichte der islamischen Reiche*.

learning and literature in others—their subjects for the time^{be}. Thus, in their day, it was the Arabs who kept the torch of culture burning. They contributed what they could to the task, the glory, of preserving the Past for the Present and the Future. For this, at least, we are in their debt. Had they chosen, things *might* have been so appallingly different!

Under Greek and Roman domination Greek culture, interwoven with Christianity, was transplanted to Syria and Mesopotamia. Though not assessed at its true value by the Syrians, this culture was yet taken care of by them. In the cloisters of Syria they translated not only ecclesiastical, but also almost all the profane, writers then in vogue, devoting special attention to Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen. The Nestorians—oppressed and persecuted in the Byzantine Empire—found a home for themselves and their learning among the Persians. In the tranquillity of their adopted homes they resumed their studies, and became special purveyors of Greek culture to the world at large. About A.D. 550 the Persian King, Khusru Nushirwan, founded an academy—in the west of Persia, at Jundashapur—for the study of medicine and philosophy. This academy—an offshoot of Greek culture—continued to shed light and learning up to the time of the Abbasids. Along with the Syrian cloisters and the academy at Jundashapur, Hellenistic learning found a third home in the Mesopotamian town of Harran, whose inhabitants—loyal to their heathen faith up to the fourth century of Islam—continued till then their mathematical and astronomical studies with uninterrupted and unimpaired zeal.¹

From all these sources knowledge flowed to the Arabs. We cannot say precisely when Arab interest was awakened in the culture of the subject races—the Syrians, the Persians, the Indians. We notice, however, isolated efforts (notably in the occult sciences) even under the Omayyads. The most lively intellectual intercourse, of course, could only arise when the new religion became a binding link between ruler and ruled. This can hardly be dated earlier than the Abbasid ascendancy.

Under Caliph Mamun (813-833) translations began on a grand scale. Christians were sent to the Eastern Empire to find new books.

¹ Kanda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 269-71.

Muslims, on their travels, searched for rare works, and the rich maintained a number of translators, and paid them handsomely. Many of the translators, about this time, were not intimate enough with Arabic to render Greek into it. So they translated Greek into Syriac, and got others to turn their Syriac translation into Arabic. In these circumstances texts necessarily suffered, but the anxiety to secure correct versions led to repeated translations—each always an improvement upon the last.

Philosophical, mathematical, medical, studies were the flower and fruit of these activities. It was fortunate for the intellectual development of Islam that it took Aristotelian, and not Platonic, or its branch the neo-Platonic, philosophy as the starting-point of its intellectual voyage of discovery. Aristotle thus became the supreme teacher of the Arabs. What he taught was accepted almost unchallenged. With some slight exceptions unquestioned was his lead, or rather dictatorship. All the writings of Aristotle, then known, were done into Arabic. It is not possible to enter here into the details of the translating activities under the Caliphate. Only a brief summary of the different branches of learning can be attempted. Taking over the elements of mathematics from Euclid, the decimal system from the Indians in the ninth century, they soon made substantial progress. The adoption of the sign *zero* (Arabic *zifr*) was a step of the highest importance, leading up to the so-called Arithmetic of positions. With the help of the Arab system of numbers, elementary methods of calculation were perfected; the doctrine of the properties of, and the relations between, the equal and the unequal and prime numbers, squares and cubes, was elaborated; algebra was enriched by the solution of the third and fourth degrees, with the help of geometry, and so on. About the year A.D. 820 the mathematician Al-Khawarizmi wrote a text-book of algebra in examples, and this elementary treatise—translated into Latin—was used by western scholars down to the sixteenth century.¹ How very congenial geometry was to the Arab intellect is evidenced, not only by the results of their scientific works, but also by the highly-appreciated geometrical surface-decorations of Arab art. In the domain of Trigonometry the theory of sine, cosine

¹ Wüstenfeld, *Übersetzungen Arabischer Werke in Das Lateinische* Göttingen, 1877.

and tangent is an heir-loom of the Arabs. The brilliant epoch of Peurbach, of Regiomontanus, of Copernicus, cannot be recalled without reminding us of the fundamental and preparatory labours of the Arab mathematicians. They loved to interlace their theories with practical examples, the result being that Geodesy, the calculation of the height of mountains, of the width of valleys or the distance between two objects situated on a plane surface, reached a high state of perfection, and was particularly of service in designing aqueducts, in applying the principles of mechanics to the construction of engines of war, and of highly sensitive balances. The determination of specific weight, learned from the Greeks, was rendered more expeditious by the introduction of new methods and improved manipulations. The compass, an invention of the Chinese, became the guide of the navigators whose destination was Ceylon, the Sunda Islands and China. From the Arabs, indeed, the Italian navigators obtained their knowledge of the use of the compass, without which the great sea-voyages of the fifteenth century would have been an impossibility.

That it was not merely practical interests which gave an impetus to the study of physical sciences is especially proved by the investigations that took place in the domain of optics. Through the study of the works of Euclid and Ptolemy, the Arabs adopted Plato's theory that vision was effected by antennae proceeding outwards from the eyes. But the majority of the Muslim scientists, adopting the views of Aristotle, taught that vision was the effect of light rays passing from the objects to the eyes. The doctrine of vision, that is to say, the question how objects appear to us in the most various circumstances, and where the image is formed, was one of intense, absorbing interest to Muslim savants. On the basis of conclusions drawn from Euclid and Ptolemy, the sense deceptions, caused by refraction, etc., were more thoroughly investigated. To the solution of the same problem was devoted the theory of optics propounded by Ibn-al-Haitham (d. 1038), the Al-Hazan of the middle ages, a theory which held sway until recent times. In addition to these investigations Ibn-al-Haitham, using Greek models, engaged in researches on spherical and parabolic mirrors, and devised a sound method of finding the focus. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) brought home to Western scholars the results of his labours. Wrongly to Roger Bacon was ascribed what, in truth,

was the distinctive achievement of Ibn-al-Haitham. Other investigations of Ibn-al-Haitham concerned themselves with the camera obscura, which he was probably the first to make use of. To him, too, must be ascribed the discovery of the distinction between *umbra* and *penumbra*. The treatise of Ibn-al-Haitham on optics was translated into Latin and Italian, and served Kepler as a reliable guide in his researches. Even Leonardo Da Vinci appears to have known and used Ibn Haitham's works.

Next to mathematics, astronomy was the favourite study of the Arabs. Since time immemorial, stars had been their guides in the desert. Already the Babylonians had made a study of the heavens, and through the stars had sought to read the future. When, by translations of the writings of Ptolemy and *Siddhanta* (the latter an Indian work on astronomy) interest in this subject was revived, the Muslims made substantial progress therein.

At various centres of the Empire observatories were established under Mamun, and by exchanging observations Islam succeeded in revising the astronomical tables of Ptolemy, and in ascertaining, with greater precision, the obliquity of the ecliptic and the orbits of the sun, the moon, and the planets. In a most ingenious manner Al-Beruni determined the magnitude of the Earth's circumference. All over the Empire, by the aid of astronomy and mathematics, Islam fixed the direction of prayer, in the mosques, towards Mekka. They knew that the light of the moon was borrowed from the sun, but went astray on the position of the earth in the universe. Two of the oldest Muslim astronomers—Al-Farghani and Al-Battani (d. 929)—were the preceptors of Europe, and under the name of Al-Fraganus and Al-Batetius enjoyed high and widespread renown. The numerous astronomical terms of Arab origin (e.g., Zenith, Azimuth, Nadir, etc.) testify to the indebtedness of the West to the Muslim astronomy of the middle ages. Inherited from an unascertainably remote antiquity, astrology, throughout the middle ages, went hand-in-hand with astronomy. Possibly astrology was a powerful incentive to the study of astronomy—certainly it was not an impediment to it. Enlightened spirits, like Avicenna, cutting themselves adrift from current superstitions, waged war against astrology as much as against alchemy. But to alchemy we cannot refuse the honour of having given an impetus to experiments that were helpful, nay enriching.

chemistry. The oldest chemists, as a body, were alchemists. This notwithstanding, in their writings we find items of chemical knowledge which cannot be shown to have existed anterior to their times. They describe the methods of melting and solution; of filtering, crystallizing, sublimating. They knew alum, saltpetre, salammonia, alkali prepared from tartar and saltpetre; and among them we first notice the knowledge of mineral acids. The increase in the number of artificially-prepared substances; the perfection of methods handed down from the Greeks; the application of these methods to most diverse materials are the striking achievements of the Arabs in the domain of chemistry. If, in this direction, they advanced considerably beyond the Greeks, it was due to the fact that in the place of hazy, mystical speculations they introduced objective experiments into the study of nature. From attaining full measure of success in experimental work they were, indeed, checked in the field of medical science which they cultivated with zeal, but in which they attained only moderate success. Anatomy was forbidden, and thus Arab medical science never got beyond Galen. Different, no doubt, would it have been had no such prohibition been laid on anatomy. Nevertheless, in one branch of pathology, they made considerable advance. They thoroughly mastered the anatomical structure of the eye.

They highly developed the art of nursing in public hospitals, and the observations made and the experiences there acquired were embodied in the admirable dietetics of Ibn-Abbas Majusi. If the earlier physicians at the Court of Baghdad—Indians apart—were exclusively intent on translating the works of their forerunners into Arabic—particularly those of Dioscorides, Hippocrates, etc.—the later ones succeeded in displacing the works of Galen and Hippocrates for several centuries and substituting their own at the Universities. Of this class of original writers the oldest is Mohamed Ibn-Zakariyyah-al-Razi (850–923) who, in ten volumes, set forth, under the name of *Encyclopaedia of Medicine*. As distinguished as Razi, later in point of time, was Ibn-Sina (Avicenna), author of a *Canon of Medicines*. Up to the sixteenth century the ninth volume of the works of Razi (Lat. Rases) and the *Canon* of Avicenna constituted the basis of the lectures on medicine in the Universities of Europe.

The successes of the Arabs were not uniform in all the sciences

pursued by them. Least striking in Zoology—they achieved considerable distinction in Mineralogy and Botany. The latter they cultivated with increased and increasing interest—especially so, because of its importance to medical science. The result was a harvest of new discoveries. But they never really tried to build up a connected system of Natural Sciences out of the abundance of material at hand. However accurate in observation and industrious in their accumulation of facts, the final elaboration of a system was—as it is even to-day—the weakest point in the intellectual armoury of the Arabs. True, in the *Astronomical Tables* of Al-Beruni; in the *Scales of Wisdom* of Hazini; in the *Canon* of Avicenna; in the *Thesaurus Opticae* of Ibn-al-Haitham they have left behind comprehensive scientific treatises. But no such achievement stands to their credit in the realm of those philosophical speculations which they entered with such consuming zest. Nay, not only nothing enduring is to be discovered there, but they scarcely realized the value and worth of the legacy bequeathed to them. In analysis they shone. There, they were in their element.

Logic sharpened the weapons of polemical criticism. Natural sciences weakened the force of Quranic arguments. Reason began to extend her sway—to challenge faith. The newly arisen freedom and flexibility of mind found expression and satisfaction in travels. It seemed as if the old Beduin roving instinct had laid hold of all who had accepted Islam. Religion primarily stimulated this passion for extensive travel; for did it not enjoin pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of Mekka and Jerusalem, and later even of Cordova? From the frontiers of India to those of Morocco, the Arabic language was understood, if not spoken. It reigned supreme in the Mosques, not merely as the language of worship, but also as that of instruction. Thus—hail from where he might—the Muslim could attend every lecture; take part in every discussion held at the Mosques. The peace and security enjoyed under a firm Government promoted these extensive travels. The theologian ransacked the whole Empire to obtain traditions from the descendants of the last Companions of the Prophet; amidst dangers and privations, among the Beduins of Central Arabia, the philologist sought the key to the language of the Qur'an and the most ancient poets; those interested in other branches of learning would not rest content until they had heard the lectures

of the most renowned professors of their particular subject—though they thought and lived at the opposite ends of the Empire.

In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at if geographical knowledge increased; exhaustive books of travels were written; valuable geographical works composed.

More fateful still for cultural purposes—though not altogether free from danger for the State—was the diffusion of fresh knowledge and the circulation of fresh ideas throughout the Empire. Thus we hear how the first messenger of unfettered views was hailed with joy and acclamation in Khorasan, and how a Mekkan, hearing at Baghdad, that there they had done away with anthropomorphism—still rampant in Mekka—began, in his native town, an account of his travels with the words *I have discovered a new Islam*.

A new Islam! Among highly-cultured people—armed with mathematics, natural sciences, logic—the Qur'an could hardly maintain its unchallenged sway; and thus, despite all persecutions, on the part of the State, the freest and boldest rationalism, found and forced a way. And, with the passing years, more and ever more clearly was it realized that there was no necessity for only one single successor of the Prophet as Prince of the Faithful. Spain had long made itself independent—Africa, politically, pursued its own destiny. In *one* respect, and *one only*, the unity of the Islamic Empire remained intact, unaffected—in the search for truth, in the pursuit of beauty. Politically, the Empire had fallen into pieces. This spelled no disaster—no loss to culture.

When, in A.D. 1258, the Mogals, under Halaku, broke for ever the power of the Abbassids, and destroyed, with ruthless vandalism, their capital—effacing therefrom all vestiges of science and art—in the North of Africa and in Arab Spain Muslim civilization, undisturbed, still continued its independent, pacific course, and preserved there for us—what we mourn as lost in the East—the memorials of Islamic Art.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

Sketch of the Life and Reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan

BY

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I

Early Years

SHAH JAHAN was the son of Jahangir and was born in 1590. In his youth he was known as Prince Khurram. His father in his Memoirs speaks of him as possessing the highest intellectual endowments, and being a devoted son and grandson. He had four brothers: two older and two younger than himself. They were:—

1. Khusru who was imprisoned by his father as the result of heading a revolt. He died in captivity in 1622, nominally of colic; but in all probability he was murdered at the instigation of Shah Jahan;
2. Parviz who died during the last year of his father's reign;
3. Jahandar who died in childhood; and
4. Shahryar who, on the death of Jahangir, attempted to seize the throne, with results that will be seen later.

Shah Jahan spent a more or less uneventful childhood. He seems however to have been the favourite son of his father. He first prominently came to the fore in 1613 when he was sent in command of an army to subdue parts of Rajputana. He was entirely successful, and his victory was emphasized by the fact that two previous expeditions under other generals had failed. In addition to his capabilities as a general, Shah Jahan displayed tact and statesmanship in his dealings with the defeated King of Udaipur. Once the latter had submitted he was treated with great respect; while his son, who was sent to Agra as a hostage for his father's good behaviour, was raised to high rank. Jahangir in his Memoirs tells us how the return of Shah Jahan to court was made the occasion of a great pageant. He

was presented with a string of pearls of great value, a special elephant, perfumes, cloths of gold, suits of armour, and treasure of every description. Khurram presented his father with a ruby valued at Rs. 60,000 which he had acquired.

Both by his success in this campaign and by his recent marriage with the niece of Jahangir's Queen—Nur Jahan—Shah Jahan became a person of importance, and a dangerous rival to his two older brothers. For despite the fact that Prince Khusru was a prisoner he had by no means given up hope of succeeding his father. Prince Parviz was at this time Viceroy in the Deccan where conditions, as the result of the almost ceaseless wars, were far from good. On the other hand Shah Jahan at this time was by no means popular with the light-hearted nobles of the court. Sir Thomas Roe found him bigoted in his religion, and tyrannical in his dealings with those around him, by whom he was flattered and envied, but never loved. It was therefore by reason of his ability as much as by the help of his aunt-in-law that he so quickly outstripped his brothers in the race for power.

Shah Jahan's next campaign was in the Deccan in 1617. This district, of which Ahmednagar was the chief town, had been subdued by Akbar in the last years of the sixteenth century. Since his death however the country had been gradually drifting back into a state of chronic insurrection. The immediate cause of Shah Jahan's despatch thither was the defeat of Parviz, who, as we have already seen, was Viceroy there. Quite fair success was quickly met with and Ahmednagar was re-captured. On his return to Agra his father conferred on him the title of Shah Jahan and he writes in his Memoirs that 'an order was given that henceforth they should place a chair in the paradise-resembling-assemblies near my throne for my son to sit on. This was a special favour for my son, as it had never been a custom heretofore.' Unfortunately the effect of all this was somewhat spoilt by another rising in the Deccan led by one Malik Ambar who even succeeded in raiding across the Narbada River and besieging Mandu. Shah Jahan returned immediately, and again restored a semblance of order. It was not however till he had ascended the throne himself, as we shall see later on, that the Deccan became an integral part of the Empire. It was during this campaign that Prince Khusru so conveniently died. Shah Jahan had insisted on

taking his brother with him, for he feared, as he was very popular, that in his absence, his own power should be usurped.

Towards the close of 1618 Shah Jahan assumed responsibility for the capture of the fort of Kangra in the Punjab. Hitherto it had resisted all attempts. Even Akbar had tried, but had failed. Eventually after a long investment the fort fell on November 16, 1620 and Shah Jahan's cup of victory was full. In such troublous times however so successful a general could not be left unemployed and he was immediately sent back to the Deccan.

In the spring of 1621 operations in the South were begun in earnest. Mandu was again being besieged. The rebels however were quickly driven from there to Burhanpur, and thence to Kirki. From here Malik Ambar fled to Daulatabad, but as most of his force deserted him he submitted: and Shah Jahan was thus saved the necessity of raising the siege of Ahmadabad. Shah Jahan remained in the Deccan throughout the next year. Two events then secured his recall. The first was the capture of Kandahar by the Persians, and the second was Nur Jahan's distrust of his growing power. She endeavoured to secure her own ascendancy by transferring her intrigues to Shahryar's support. Hitherto he had been something of a nonentity. Now however she married him to her own daughter

her previous husband. In addition she secured an order for the despatch of Shah Jahan to Afghanistan. Still another reason for this was the illness of Jahangir. Shah Jahan however was not so easily to be hood-winked. He declined to move northwards, and took possession of some of Nur Jahan's estates. His father remonstrated with him, but eventually gave him permission to remain in the Deccan. He insisted however on the return of his army. This Shah Jahan would not agree to. On his army depended his position. Jahangir therefore began to make martial preparations for subduing his obstreperous son. In the meanwhile, he began to march north, but with Delhi, not Afghanistan, as his objective. A battle was fought near the capital in which Shah Jahan was worsted. He retired into Gujarat where he raised a large sum of money. The Imperial Army continued to harass him. His forces gradually dwindled and he was compelled to retreat rapidly towards the east coast. The privations of his hard-pressed army were intensified by the rain. Eventually he managed to escape into Bengal with a small army in

the Spring of 1624. Here his fortunes revived for a time. Finally however he was brought to battle near Allahabad, heavily defeated, and compelled to fly to the Deccan. Here he continued to fight till 1625, when dispirited by all his losses, he made his peace with his father.

Fortunately in 1626, Mahabat Khan, the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, rose in rebellion, supported, morally at any rate, by Prince Parviz. Thanks to this rising Shah Jahan's own rebellion was forgotten, and he gradually regained his power as Mahabat Khan lost his. Prince Parviz died in the same year. Finally in the next year Jahangir himself died and Asaf Khan—Shah Jahan's father-in-law immediately marched against Prince Shahryar and defeated him near Lahore, while Shah Jahan marched from the Deccan. Prince Khusru's son, whom Asaf Khan had placed on the throne as a stop-gap, fled to Persia and Shah Jahan thus ascended the throne at the beginning of 1628.

II

Shah Jahan's Wars

In an Empire composed of so many different races, where communications were poor, and the chances of winning a kingdom by a happy stroke of the sword were many, military preparedness was the first and last necessity. Anything else was a luxury. And that's many of such luxuries were introduced and encouraged is one of the chief reasons for assigning the title Great to Babur and his five immediate successors. First of all therefore we must turn our attention to Shah Jahan's wars.

The peace was broken in 1629 by the Uzbeks raiding into Afghanistan. Right up to the walls of Kabul was the country ravaged, and siege was laid to that town. On the approach however of Mahabat Khan with a large army they retired into their central Asian wilds. This was followed by a rising in Bandalkhand of no very great importance, although it dragged on for some time. Eventually the leader—Jhujhar Singh—submitted. A few years later he engineered a second rising which ended in his death. Otherwise the Rajputs were quiet throughout the reign. Indeed towards its close Dara Shikoh's army was chiefly composed of Rajputs.

A far more dangerous man was Khan Jahan Lodi. He was an

Afghan by birth, who, in the time of Jahangir, had risen to high military rank, and had taken part with Parviz and Mahabat Khan in the operations against Shah Jahan. On the death of Parviz the Deccan was given into his charge. He at once allied himself with the Nizam-al-mulk, ruler of the Ahmednagar district, and in 1630 turned against Shah Jahan. The Emperor decided to take the field in person, and to combine with the crushing of Lodi the final settlement of the Deccan. Lodi was in the Ahmednagar district. Asaf Khan, the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, engaged the rebel forces in detail. Lodi was defeated and compelled to fly. He attempted to reach Afghanistan *via* Bandalkhand where he tried to stir up a fresh rising. He met with no success however, and was eventually captured and put to death in 1632.

As soon as Lodi had fled over the Narbada River, Asaf Khan turned his attention to the Nizam Shah. All this time Shah Jahan was in Burhanpur with his wife, Mumtaz-i-Mahal. Operations were proceeding quite satisfactorily in the early part of 1630 when Fath Khan, son of Jahangir's old enemy Malik Ambar, the Nizam's chief minister, imprisoned his sovereign, and opened negotiations with Shah Jahan. He was promptly ordered to surrender the Nizam, and was only too willing to obey. A young boy was then placed on the throne and Fath Khan became virtually supreme. In 1631 he resisted for a short time the entry of the Imperial forces into Daulatabad, but quickly submitted. He was rewarded by being allowed to murder the youthful ruler, and to hold Ahmednagar as a fief. Thus ended the independent state of that name.

In June, 1631 Mumtaz-i-Mahaldied at Burhanpur. Her husband be-took himself to Agra, and in 1632 began there her beautiful tomb. Mahabat Khan was left as Viceroy in the Deccan.

Mohamed Adil Khan, ruler of Bijapur, had viewed with alarm the gradual decline of the power of Ahmednagar and feared an end to his own independence. His fears were well founded and Asaf Khan's invasion in 1631 did not come entirely as a surprise. He had been able to make some preparations. The country was devastated and the army retired inside the strong fortress of Bijapur. By reason of the scarcity of supplies, and the consequent disease, Asaf Khan was compelled to retire.

Mahabat Khan died in 1633 and as Shah Jahan was then in Kashmir,

things in the Deccan were allowed to drift on for a time. They were not forgotten however, and in 1635 Shah Jahan returned in person at the head of a large army. The immediate cause of his return was the rising at Ahmednagar in 1634 of Shaji Bhonsla, a Mahratta chief against Fath Khan. The rebellion was put down without much difficulty. Having brought a large army south however, Shah Jahan determined to make full use of it. The Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur were summoned to submit and hold their kingdoms as fiefs of the Empire. The former agreed to the terms. The latter however was still that Adil Khan who had so bravely resisted Asaf Khan a few years previously. Now too he resisted Shah Jahan. It proved a forlorn attempt and Bijapur surrendered in 1636. This campaign is chiefly memorable for the disgraceful severity with which it was conducted. The same year Shah Jahan returned to Agra and left his son Aurangzeb as Viceroy. The latter remained in the Deccan continuously till 1644 when he resigned as the result of incurring his father's displeasure. These years were spent in quietening the country, as after so many years of warfare it was in a state similar to that of France between the campaigns of the Hundred Years' War. The events of Aurangzeb's second period of rule in the Deccan are chronicled later on.

Shah Jahan next turned his attention to the other extremity of his Empire. Kandahar had been lost in 1622. In 1645 by bribing its Persian Governor it was recovered. In the same year Balkh and Badakshan, lying between the Hindu-Kush and the easternmost portion of the River Oxus were captured. This was the preliminary to an attempt to regain Samarkand which had thrice been conquered, and as many times lost by Babur. Persia however was aroused and in 1647 the Mughal forces were driven out of Balkh. In 1649 Kandahar was again captured by the Persians. Three times was an army sent to retake it, but all attempts proved fruitless. In 1649 and 1652 Aurangzeb was the leader of the Imperial army but in 1653 Dara Shikoh, his eldest brother, took command. Kabul, on the other hand, was successfully maintained against the frequent attacks of the Persians and Uzbeks. But Kandahar was lost to the Mughals for all time. In 1546 on his way back from Balkh, Shah Jahan razed to the ground the newly built fort at Chitor. So ended the military achievements of Shah Jahan.

III

Internal Politics

We can now turn our attention to the other events of the reign. The first to be chronicled must be the ghastly famine which in 1630-32 devastated Gujarat and part of the Deccan. The famine, as was natural, was followed by sickness which took an appalling toll of the already-weakened remnants of the population. Even the oriental historian was staggered by the catastrophe. He writes, 'Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other. And the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. . . . Those lands which had once been famous for their fertility and plenty, now retained no trace of production.' Peter Mundy in the account of his travels makes frequent mention of this famine. In one place he writes, 'We were much troubled to find a place convenient for our little tent, by reason of the number of dead bodies that lay scattered in and about the town.' During this time Shah Jahan was at Burhanpur, and according to Peter Mundy living in the lap of luxury. It is impossible to discover that the former made any effort to ameliorate the conditions in the famine area other than to remit the collection of taxes. This he was compelled to do by force of circumstances. Of Burhanpur Mundy writes, 'The bazaar by reason of the King being here is plentifully stored with all provisions from all parts. . . . Otherwise it would feel the same calamity as her neighbour towns, for little or nothing grows near it for many miles.'

Unlike his father and grandfather Shah Jahan was antagonistic to Christians and Hindus. In 1645 Sir Thomas Roe writes of his first visit to Shah Jahan. 'I was informed he was enemy to all Christians and therefore feared some affront.' In 1579 Akbar had granted a *firman* to the Portuguese authorizing them to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of present day Calcutta. The little colony grew and flourished. Unfortunately the Portuguese began to enslave and forcibly convert the inhabitants. Shah Jahan's wrath was naturally aroused. This does not excuse him however for the horrors perpetrated on the survivors when the place was captured in 1632.

The turn of the Hindus came next. Orders were given that all temples, which had been begun since permission was given to build

them in Jahangir's reign, should be destroyed. The orders were faithfully carried out. In Benares alone it was reported that seventy-six were pulled down. Shah Jahan's objection even extended to non-religious buildings; for we read in *Manucci's Travels* that 'His object is to destroy all the strong places of the Hindus of which he can get possession.'

Shah Jahan's rule can best be described as that of a benevolent despot. The government on the whole was highly centralized. Various districts were given as *Jagirs* to those whom it was desired to reward. The recipients had to contribute largely to the Imperial treasury; and possession was neither permanent nor hereditary. On the whole the country was well governed and it was certainly more prosperous than in the time of Akbar, for the revenue doubled. The army was well paid and contented, and therefore to be relied upon. Commerce unfortunately was retarded by the frequent customs barriers. They were indeed often unauthorized. On the other hand the roads were comparatively safe, except in the Deccan. Manucci tells us that 'For the use of wayfarers there are many sarais on every route. There is an official in charge of each.' The court was no doubt extravagant, but this ensured plenty of employment for all. In one place Mundy was unable to buy any cloth as all the weavers were engaged on work for the royal palace. Mandelslo too tells us of a special brocade made solely for the Emperor's use. Shah Jahan's architectural schemes of course occupied thousands of workers. The agricultural labourers were indeed in many cases very badly off. It must be remembered that they were largely Hindus and thus liable to persecution. Tavernier indeed remarks on the excellence of the cultivation. What appears to be the truth is that near the centres of government—i.e., around Agra, Delhi, and Lahore—conditions were good. Further afield the peasants were at the mercy of the Jagirdars. The Muhammadan citizens seem to have been quite contented. Finally it is worth noting that the experiences of European travellers in this reign prove that the Hindu merchants with whom they dealt were a very flourishing community. India was not therefore a land of barbarians in the seventeenth century. Indeed in some ways it was more civilized than the West. Comparison may well be made with Henry VIII of England.

That the system of punishments was barbarous there is no

visible, concrete heavens. Like a bad judge, he occasionally records the evidence of his witnesses (viz. the planets) *in absentia*, that is, on hearsay and not on the testimony of the witnesses themselves, tendered in open court.

(4), (5) and (6) The next three facts about horoscopes are especially noteworthy because they have hitherto never received any attention or undergone any kind of investigation.

They are:—(4) Every horoscope with even seven planets is a definite date.

(5) The date of such a horoscope is, as a rule, non-recurring: i.e., there can be no other date corresponding to the same horoscope for thousands of years.

(6) Given a horoscope, its date, however remote and whether located in the past or in the future, can be discovered by the use of appropriate methods.

(7) The first six propositions have most important and interesting corollaries in chronology.

3. Propositions (4), (5) and (6) are not only of importance in chronological investigation, for which purpose we shall use them presently, but they will be found to throw new light on numerous statements made in astrological treatises, which have hitherto been received unquestioned, because they were believed to emanate from high authority and were moreover supposed to be of immense practical value. We shall to this end devote some little time to an examination of the type of horoscope dealt with in Varahamihira's *Brihatjataka*, namely, a horoscope with seven planets and a lagna. We shall proceed on the assumption that every such horoscope is a date, which assumption we shall presently prove to the hilt, and we may dispose of the lagna for the present with the remark that in the course of a day of twenty-four hours there are bound to be twelve lagnas, so that if every horoscope with seven planets is a date, each date automatically gives rise to twelve different horoscopes of the same date, each of which will correspond to a different lagna.

4. Now how many different horoscopes with seven planets each, and not reckoning the lagna, is it possible to have in the course of a year? If you look into the portion of my *Ephemeris* called the *Perpetual Planetary Almanac*, you will find that there are, on an average, twenty-four different horoscopes in a year, without reckoning the

which in the writer's humble opinion, as nearly attains, the personification of perfect female grace in the abstract as it is possible a building to do. Mr. E. B. Havell, the author of many delightful books on Indian art, calls the Taj Mahal 'India's *Venus de Milo*; the apotheosis of Indian womanhood . . . more subtle, romantic and tender in its beauty than any other building of its kind.' Lastly I cannot refrain from quoting Sir Edwin Arnold.

'Not architecture as all others are,
But the proud passion of an Emperor's love
Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
With body of beauty, shrinking soul and thought;
. As when some face
Divinely fair unveils before our eyes—
Some woman beautiful unspeakably—
And the blood quickens and the spirit leaps,
And will to worship bends the half-yielded knee
While breath forgets to breathe. So is the Taj.

A man who has produced such a building may well be excused much.

V

Last Years

In September, 1657, Shah Jahan became seriously ill and the War of Succession broke out amongst his sons.

Bernier writes, 'Some years previous to the war the turbulent dispositions of his four sons had filled Shah Jahan with perplexity and alarm. They were all married; and of adult age, but in utter disregard of the ties of consanguinity, each, animated by deadly hatred towards the others, had set up his pretensions to the Crown: so that the court was divided into separate factions. . . . To save himself therefore from some impending and overwhelming calamity he resolved to bestow upon his sons the government of four distant provinces.' Dara Shikoh was sent to Kabul and Multan; Shuja to Bengal; Aurangzeb to the Deccan; and Murad Bakhsh to Gujarat.

The three youngest departed to their distant provinces. The eldest however, as he was the heir to the throne, and the favourite brother of Shah Jahan's favourite daughter Jahanara, was permitted to remain at Court. Here he gradually became all powerful, and his

grew more and more of the government of the Empire to himself, so that he could amuse himself as he liked.

To safeguard himself, however the Emperor maintained a correspondence with Aurangzeb so as to be able to play off the brothers against each other, if the need arose.

Despite the favourable position of Dara Shikoh the other three each decided to make a bid for the throne when the opportunity should arise. With this end in view they began to make all the preparations of which each was capable.

When his father became ill Dara at once collected his forces from the districts around Delhi and Agra. Shuja in Bengal raised large levies. He had indeed already assumed the Imperial title there, and had struck a coinage of his own—as had also the youngest brother in Gujarat. The latter was persuaded to join forces with Aurangzeb who, thanks to his alliance with Mir Jumla, Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief to Abdullah Kutb Shah of Golconda, was in a very strong position.

This alliance had come about in a strange manner. On the return of Aurangzeb to the Deccan in 1653 he secretly instigated Mir Jumla—to whom the army was entirely faithful—to try and extort some concessions from Abdullah. This however was abortive and so Mir Jumla offered his assistance for the re-conquering of the Deccan to Aurangzeb. The latter lost no time in securing such an accession of power, and with the reluctant consent of Shah Jahan he marched against Abdullah. Aurangzeb was anxious for this war as he was sorely in need of money and hoped to get this from the sack of Golconda,—Abdullah's capital. When the town fell Shah Jahan did all in his power to lighten the terms of surrender, being influenced in this by Dara who was a friend of Abdullah. However a very large indemnity was extracted as the surrender of Mir Jumla's family and his ill-gotten wealth had been refused.

Mir Jumla thus became the fast friend of the Mughals. He further strengthened his position by presenting to Shah Jahan the Koh-i-Nur diamond on being summoned to Delhi. There he was made the Wazir. The possession of this wonderful stone made Shah Jahan fall an easy prey to the wiles of Mir Jumla when he suggested that great treasures could be gained by the subjection of Bijapur. Despite the opposition of Dara, who realized that after her victorious campaign in the Deccan

There he was faithfully attended by Jahanara till his death in 1666 on the balcony of the Moti Masjid from where his last gaze rested on the tomb of his beloved wife.

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The Marhatta Invasion of Bengal, Behar and Orissa

By

PROFESSOR J. N. SAMADDAR OF THE PATNA UNIVERSITY

In the paper which I had the honor to contribute to the sixth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Madras in 1923 on *The Bargi Invasion of Bengal*, I dealt with the difficulties of studying this important event which dealt really the death blow to the subashiq of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. For besides Salimulla's *Tarikh-i-Bangla* Ghulam Husain Salim's *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, and Seid-Ghulam-Hossein Khar's *Seir Mutaqherin*, there is the *Maharashtra Purana* of which gave an account in the paper referred to above and of which a translation appeared in the *Bengal: Past and Present*. This practically closed the list of authorities.

Thanks, however, to the cordial co-operation of my friend Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the worthy officer in charge of the Imperial Records Department, I am able to place before scholars interested in this question, some more new material which, though it does not throw quite a flood of light, will still be considered as of some importance. This consists of extracts from the public consultation from 1747 to 1753 which refer to the subsequent events happening after the ignominious murder of Bhaskara Pandita, the Marhatta General, by Ali Vardy Khan, and more specially of what may be called the third Marhatta invasion of Bengal, under Janoji, son of Ragho Bholah. The details, of course, are available both in the *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (pp. 353ff: Abdus Salam's Edition), and *Seir Mutaqheri* (vol. ii, Cambray's Edition) and in the foot-notes of this article we will refer to these two books, without giving any other detail.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

FEBRUARY, 1747-8

At a Consultation present.

The Hon'ble John Forster, Esq.: *President*. Messrs. William Barwell, Humphry Bellamy, Adam Dawson and William Fytche.

YESTERDAY We received another Letter from the Gentlemen Cossimbuzar dated the 21st instant enclosing Copies of the Examination of three soldiers and the Zemindar who went down with Ensign Marlish concerning what had happened in the passage of the Fleet between that place and Cutway.¹ That they endeavoured to send a person from thence to the Morattoe General to try if he could by any means obtain Reparation for the same. But as such a design could not be executed, then with secrecy enough to prevent its coming to the Nabob's knowledge and the man intended to be sent being afraid of his anger declined going they leave it to us to pursue such measures therein as we think best—That besides what the Honble Company lost the Treasure and Goods with the Fleet belonging to private Gentlemen amounted to about D. M. Rupees 35,000—That being informed the Morattoes had left Cutway and carried everything away from thence they thought proper to recall the Ensign and Military they sent thither. That the Nabob still continues there under a very great Dilemma for should he Leave the City to go and assist Bellaray against Sumsheer Cawn² the whole Body of Marattoes are gathering together and advancing this way in order to march into Muxadavad on the Nabobs leaving it—That the Forces which were lately at Placey³ returned to Muxadavad,⁴ and the Morattoes are neat at hand. That a small party of them was at Chunepoor Garden, but did no great Damage. That in this situation they hope He will reinforce their Garrison as soon as possible and send them up a sufficiency of ammunition, for since what has happened at Cutway the Morattoes may grow less Timorous of the European valour and make an attack upon them. That it being very uncertain whether they may be able to send down any more Goods with safety and the merchants refusing to let them be sorted, unless they absolutely agreed to take them—They thought proper to let them alone till they received our directions concerning them. That the merchants hope He will please to order them to be taken (though they are delivered in so late) as they were provided upon account of their last Years Contract and they will be very great Sufferers

¹ Ensign Marlish, of Cutway.

² See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 1, p. 315 and 316. Also, *The History of Bengal*, by Stewart (Calcutta, 1811), pp. 316, 317, 318 and 319.

³ Placey.

⁴ Muxadabad.

by the Company if they are not because they cannot dispose of them anywhere else.

* * * *

MARCH, 1747-8

At a Consultation present :

The Hon'ble John Forster, Esq. *President*. Messrs. William Barwell, Humphry Bellamy, Adam Dawson and William Kempe.

YESTERDAY We received a Letter from Thomas Teake, Esq., and etc., Council at Dacca dated the 23rd ultimo advising of their having drawn a Bill on us in favor of Cestidass for Fifteen Hundred (1500) Arcot Rupees and that the city of Dacca is in the utmost confusion on account of the Durbar having received advices of a large force of Morattoes coming in by the way of Sundrabund¹ and that they were advanced as near as Sundra Col when first descried by their Hurcarras.²—That as they have not an answer to theirs of the 29th January they thought proper to entertain such people as the poor circumstances they are in would allow of for the Security of their Factory.

* * * *

MARCH, 1747-8

At a Consultation present :

The Hon'ble John Forster, Esq. *President*. Messrs. William Barwell, Adam Dawson, William Kempe, Wadham Brooke, Humphry Bellamy and William Fytche : (down the River).

The 8th we received a letter from Edward, Eyles Esq., Chief, etc., Council at Cossimbuzar dated the 3rd instant advising that Ruidass has sent them word as soon as the Hooley³ is over. He will bring them a Bill on his master's house at Dacca for 50,000 Sicca Rupees requesting us to inform them what Cossimbuzar notes have been discharged here since the 30th April last that the same may be adjusted with their Books—That they have confined as many of the merchants who are indebted to the Company as they could meet with in hopes it will shortly prevail with such of them as are able to discharge their Debts—That the Nabob decamped the 29th Ultimo and marched about four Coss off where he still continues and its uncertain

¹ Sunderbans.

² i.e. messengers.

³ The Holi Festival.

men that as soon as they are past he will withdraw the Factory to our orders.'

* * * *

DECEMBER 9, 1751

'The 6th instant we received a letter from the worshipful William Fytch, Esq., Chief Council at Cossimbazar dated the 2nd instant advising of that they will observe the Plan laid down for the management of the Business of the Export warehouse as far as the nature of their investment will admit of that the dearness of Raw silk and silk piece goods for some years past they find is owing to the Morattoes constantly entering the Bengal plundering, burning the people's Houses and destroying the Chief Arrungs from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts and not to any malpractices in the Gentlemen there.

EXTRACT FROM THE PUBLIC GENERAL LETTER TO COURT

AUGUST 10, 1749

* * * *

33. Mr Henry Kelsall by a Letter dated the 5th May advised us of the Morattoes being encamped within sight of the Factory and that Nabobs Force were distant but 3 croses¹ from that Place and under the date the Eighth following he wrote us that Nillapunde with the Command of a Strong party of the Morattoes Horse were Encamped close to the Factory and that their putting off the plundering of that place till the next Morning was the saving of it for as their Horse entered the Town the Nabob appeared and immediately sent part of his Forces over the River who pursued him and got up with him in a very small time that what their Loss was he count (sic) not learn the Reports being various That on the Nabobs Arrival he sent the Vacqueels to him for Permission to wait on him which being granted he met with a very gracious Reception from the Nabob who asked him if he had been to visit Mierabib but on informing him that he has not, he seemed exceedingly well pleased and told him when he returned whatever he asked should be granted.

¹ Kos = 2 miles.

35. Under date the 19th May he wrote to us that the Nabob was encamped within three Leagues of Cuttack¹ and that he hourly expected to hear the news of Meerabeebs and Auga Sheriffs being delivered into the Nabobs hands by their own Jemindar and two days following he advised us that some of the People who he had sent to follow the Nabobs army were returned with the news of his having entered Cuttack that on his Approach Meerabeeb with the morattoes fled that five of the head Jemindars stayed behind and surrendered themselves to the Nabob who immediately cut off their Heads. That no Judgment could at that time be formed how long the Nabob would stay there as Dooloobram² and Meer Jaffair³ to both of whom he offered the Nabobship⁴ having refused it as they doubted not but the Morattoes would return next season.

* * * *

We are with the Greatest Request
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS
Your most faithful and most obedient
and humble Servants.
J. DAWSON

FORT WILLIAM,
The 10th August, 1749

EXTRACT FROM THE PUBLIC LETTER TO COURT

JANUARY 2, 1752

* * * *

40. In obedience to your Honour's orders for transmitting you the reasons of the high price of Raw Silk for some years past we directed the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar to make strict enquiry into the reasons thereof who informed us it was owing to the Morattoes constantly entering Bengal plundering and burning the People's houses and destroying the Chief Aurungs from whence the workmen have fled to distant part and not to any malpractice in the Gentlemen there.

¹ Cuttack in Orissa.

² Durlabhram, vide *Riyaz*, pp. 341 and 350.

³ Vide, *Stewart*, p. 539. *Seir*, ii. 24.

⁴ Vide *Seir*, ii. 408.

EXTRACT FROM THE PUBLIC CONSULTATION

DATED THE 1ST FEBRUARY 1753

Thursday.

At a Consultation present:

The Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq. *President.* The Worshl. Rt. H. Cruttenden, Esq., Messrs. Manningham, Becher, Frankland, Mackett, Eyre, and Holwell.

Bulramgurry Letter No. 1

THIS MORNING WE received a Letter from Mr. Wm. McGwire dated at Bulramgurry the 24th January acquainting us of his Having taken charge of that Factory as deliver'd over by Mr. Kelsall and the two Chests of Treasure forwarded by us on the Belvidera Sloop that he had sent to Olmorra for the Musters of the Goods procurable there that he was in immediate want of a long Boat and requested we would supply him with one and that Several of the Weavers who resided at Ballasore have brought their Looms into the Factory and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to throw in theirs and quit the Place on Account of the great Scarcity of Rice and Provisions of all Kinds occasioned by the Devastations of the Morattoes on which Account he desires we will send him 1500 or 2000 Maunds of Rice on the Hon'ble Company's Account.

OCTOBER 19, 1753

At a Consultation present:

The Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq. *President.* The Worshl. Edw. Holden Cruttenden, Esq., Messrs. Colonel Caroline, Frederick Scott, William Frankland, Mathew Collet, William Mackett, I. T. Holnell.

YESTERDAY WE received a letter from Mr. Wm. McGuire President at Bulramgurry dated the 22nd Ultimo acquainting us the Morrataes General Duan¹ with 10000 Men had been plundering at Ballasore and thereabouts for some time, which had occasioned the Weavers to

desert their Habitations; But that since his Departure towards the Nelligreen¹ Hills they had returned and gave assurances that their whole time should be Employed in making Cloth for the Company. That as there was not a sloop then of Ballasore on which he dared venture to forward the Bales he had ready. He requested we would order one of the Honble Company's to call at the Barr for that purpose.

¹ Nilgerry.

Some Suggestions for Stabilizing the Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal made previous to 1786¹

By

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.B.E., M.A., B.LITT., F.R.HIST.S.,
Principal, Hooghly College

THE idea of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue of Bengal, which became prominent in 1776, has generally been thought to be the product of the political intuition of Sir Philip Francis who, in accordance with the provisions of the Act 13 Geo. III, took his seat on November 7, 1774, as a member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta. One problem which, among others, called for that Body's urgent investigation was the efficient and equitable collection of the Land Revenue.

It will be remembered that in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal was granted by the Emperor Shah Alam to the East India Company in perpetuity. The Company, when accepting the office, appointed as their Naib, or Deputy, Mohamed Reza Khan who was already Naib Nazim for the infant Nawab-i-Nazim Mobarak-ul-Daulah.

In the hope of securing disinterested and capable service, the enormous salary of nine lakhs was attached to the post. The arrangement was not successful; there is now every reason to think that Mohamed Reza Khan was a very much better and abler officer than the Company was willing to admit; that, however, is outside the scope of this paper. The control of the revenue administration was taken from him and eventually invested in a Committee of five members of the Governor's Council, and presided over by the Governor; this Committee was generally known as the Board.

The information which reached the Board during the years 1773 and 1774 of the state and the methods of collecting the land revenue

was extremely distressing. The methods, for which the Board was chiefly responsible, included wholesale farming by public auction of the collections and placed such collections for a period of five years in the hands, for the most part, of speculators. The assessment made in 1772 was, from ignorance and other causes, seriously excessive. The districts had fallen hopelessly into arrears; and chaos invaded the entire land revenue system.

The Board received from its senior officers in the districts a frank and faithful account of the prevailing distress and confusion, and some admirable suggestions for improving and stabilizing matters. Among these suggestions was a recommendation from the Council of Revenue at Patna giving in considerable detail a picture of the distress in their province and recommending a settlement of the province on long or perpetual leases. The letter was dated December 17, 1772². . . . 'Having been under the necessity of representing to you the desolate condition of this province, it remains that we submit to your consideration our sentiments on the measures which seem best calculated to produce a remedy. It has been successfully practised by the Hindustan Princes that where a particular district has gone to ruin to give it to the Zamindar or any other man of known good conduct for a long course of years or in perpetuity at a fixed rent, not to be increased should even the industry of the renter raise an unexpected average to himself. This plan might be adopted either in the fixing of a small zamindari or renting of an extensive district. A moderate annual income might be taken until the revenue arose to the highest rate which the taluk or pargana yielded in any year since our acquisition of the Diwani and then it might remain fixed for the renter's life. Indeed, in some cases where the difference is very great, it might be necessary to extend the lease to the life of the son. . . . Every man might then consider the lands he rented as his own secure estate. . . . We find that villages held mokarari (i.e., at a fixed rent) by officers of influence in the Government are the only ones which bear any proportion to their former value.'

The Board, in their reply, dated January 29, 1773,³ considered the suggestion to be too hazardous for immediate application; but they

¹ A paper read at the Seventh Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Poona in January 1925. (Papers were limited to a reading of 15 minutes.)

² Revenue Board Proceedings, January 29, 1773, pp. 627-33.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 636-38

fully of opinion that a person of experience with discretionary power might render great service to the Company by effecting a permanent settlement in the most eligible mode according to local and particular circumstances, and upon an equitable valuation . . . There are some parganas where the Zamindars are capable and have such a natural interest with their tenants that it would be most advantageous to make the settlement with them on a long lease. There are others . . . where the settlement must be made either with inferior taluqdars or with the ryots themselves, if possible, upon a fixed and permanent rent. . . . The plan itself may appear very difficult to execute from the greatness of the detail; but I know it to be practicable, if the ryots can be brought to give their consent, from the experience I have had in a partial trial.¹ Out of India, also the same idea was finding expression. Colonel Dow in a chapter attached to his history of Hindustan published in 1772, advocated a settlement in perpetuity with the Zamindars. (This chapter is entitled 'An Enquiry into the State of Bengal'—Dow, 2nd Edition, p. cxix).

In the same year a pamphlet was published by H. Patullo advocating similar measures. (*Vide* Firminger, i. p. CCIX, note.)

It will be admitted therefore that a lengthy or permanent settlement of the land revenue was a remedy which was proposing itself to thoughtful minds among the Company's senior officers, before the influence of Sir Philip Francis could make itself felt, and Sir Philip Francis, in his famous proposals, does little more than borrow without acknowledgment the remedies suggested by Mr. P. M. Dacres. In fact, so far had the idea of a lengthy settlement forced itself upon the Board that the plan of Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, published in March 1776, contained suggestions for a settlement with the Zamindars on the basis of two lives, and this plan was published before Sir Philip Francis brought his views formally before the Board. The deeper the study of the records of the land revenue collections of that period, the more convincing is the proof that the European district officer of the Company lacked neither humanity nor administrative ability. Of the remedies adopted by the Central Government those that proved to be beneficial were, almost without exception, the result of suggestions and advice received from experienced district

¹ Governor-General's Proceedings, July 18, 1775.

NEW FACTS CONCERNING INDIAN ASTROLOGY

visible, concrete heavens. Like a bad judge, he occasionally records the evidence of his witnesses (viz. the planets) *in absentia*, that is, on hearsay and not on the testimony of the witnesses themselves, tendered in open court.

(4), (5) and (6) The next three facts about horoscopes are especially noteworthy because they have hitherto never received any attention or undergone any kind of investigation.

They are :—(4) Every horoscope with even seven planets is a definite date.

(5) The date of such a horoscope is, as a rule, non-recurring : i.e., there can be no other date corresponding to the same horoscope for thousands of years.

(6) Given a horoscope, its date, however remote and whether located in the past or in the future, can be discovered by the use of appropriate methods.

(7) The first six propositions have most important and interesting corollaries in chronology.

3. Propositions (4), (5) and (6) are not only of importance in chronological investigation, for which purpose we shall use them presently, but they will be found to throw new light on numerous statements made in astrological treatises, which have hitherto been received unquestioned, because they were believed to emanate from high authority and were moreover supposed to be of immense practical value. We shall to this end devote some little time to an examination of the type of horoscope dealt with in Varahamihira's *Brihatjataka*, namely, a horoscope with seven planets and a lagna. We shall proceed on the assumption that every such horoscope is a date, which assumption we shall presently prove to the hilt, and we may dispose of the lagna for the present with the remark that in the course of a day of twenty-four hours there are bound to be twelve lagnas, so that if every horoscope with seven planets is a date, each date automatically gives rise to twelve different horoscopes of the same date, each of which will correspond to a different lagna.

4. Now how many different horoscopes with seven planets each, and not reckoning the lagna, is it possible to have in the course of a year? If you look into the portion of my *Ephemeris* called the *Perpetual Planetary Almanac*, you will find that there are, on an average, twenty-four different horoscopes in a year, without reckoning the

A newly discovered grant of Govinda III

By

Y. R. GUPTA, B.A.

The Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala of Poona is to be congratulated upon securing a grant of Govinda III, the greatest monarch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty who made and unmade kings.¹ It supplies us with the latest date for his reign inasmuch as his latest known record is dated Śaka 730, the Sarvajit Saṁvatsara. Dr. Fleet remarks, 'In the time of Govinda III, there seems to have been a partial division of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom, and his younger brother, Indra III, received from him the newly conquered province of Lāt, or central and southern Gujrat. This established the separate Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom of Gujrat.'² The earliest record of Govinda III's son (the one in the Kānhēri Caves) is dated Śaka 775, the Prajāpati Saṁvatsara. It is thus evident that the period from Śaka 730 to Śaka 775 for the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty was for the most part shrouded in mystery. The veil is partly raised by the discovery of the present grant. There were discrepancies in the dates of the previous grants issued.³

The present record purports to have been made while Govinda III was encamping at Mayūrahanda. (*Mayūrahandaṁ samavasthena mātā*), on the *Mahāśākhi Parvati* falling on *Vaiśākha Suddha Purnimā* of the Śaka year 732, *Virōdhi Saṁvatsara*. (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīla saṁvatsara-laiśakha-pūṇimā virōdhi (tri) mādadhikēshu Virōdhi-nāmet Saṁvatsara Virōdhi Suddha Purnimāyam Mahāśākhi parvatī*). Diwan Bahadur Pillai has kindly calculated the English equivalent of the date. His remarks: 'In the absence of a week day one cannot be very certain, but the English equivalent appears to be

Tuesday, April 23, A.D. 810, which was Śaka 732 and Virōdhi Saṁvat by the Northern Bārhaspatya cycle. The description *Vaiśākhi Parvati* seems merely to affirm the fact that it was the full moon in Viśakhā nakshatra.¹ Excepting the date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the grant in the possession of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśōdhaka-Maṇḍala is practically identical with the Wani-Dindori and the Rādhapur plates of the same king.

The donor is styled as *Parama-Bhāṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara-Śrī-Prabhūtarsha-Prithvīvallabha-Narēndradēva*. The donees are Rīśiyappabhaṭṭa, son of Anusavibhaṭṭa, grandson of Māsōpavāsīya, a celibate, of the common gōtra of Kāsyapa and Bahricha, a resident of *Va(Ba)rasīya*, versed in the four sorts of learning, 2 Mahidharabhaṭṭa of Gautama gōtra, a resident of Ērandavalli, 3 Vyāsabhaṭṭa, a celibate of Kāsyapa gōtra, who studied the Mādyandina recension of the White Yajurveda, versed in the four sorts of learning, a resident of Karahāda. The inscription records the gift of 100 *nivartanas* to the second donee and of 80 *nivartanas* to the third donee, apparently in the village of Daśapura included in the district of Khēda as also Sukali, Pipparikā, Tiyaḍi and Bhaggali, the boundaries of which are to the east the village of Windurika, to the south the village of Vṛivandasa and Tiyaḍi, to the west the village of Lādāvallikā, and to the north the Vindhya Mountain.

One Daśapura has been identified with the modern Man-Dasōr in Western Malava.²

Karahāda the original residence of Vyāsabhaṭṭa, the third donee appears to be the modern Karād or more correctly Karhād, situated at the confluence of the Kōyana, the ancient Kumudvati and the Kṛishṇā in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. Ērandavalli, the original home of Mahidharabhaṭṭa, the second donee appears to be Ērandauli in the Tasgaon Taluka of the same district.

The grant was written by the illustrious Aruṇāditya, son of the illustrious Vatsarāja. The dūtaka—the executive officer—is the illustrious Svāmi-Yapparāṇaka, the illustrious chief adviser (of the king) and the central depository of legal documents.

¹ Mr. P. M. Chaudhary, I am informed, read a paper on the record, before the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala (Poona) which will be published ere long in its Quarterly.

² *Dynasties of the Western Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 34.

³ See Dr. Fleet's *Chronology of the Kāshmir Districts of the Bombay Presidency*.

¹ His private letter to me dated May 1, 1925.

² *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. v, p. 43.



Obituary

DR. SIR RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR¹

(1837-1925).

BORN, July 6, 1837—educated at the Ratnagiri School and at the Elphinstone College—B.A., 1862; and M.A., 1863—Head Master of the Hyderabad (Sind) and the Ratnagiri High Schools (1863-68)—Acting Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College (1868-72)—Assistant to Dr. Peterson (1872-81)—and Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College (1881-93)—Fellow, Syndic and later Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University (1893-95)—C.I.E. (1887), Honorary LL.D. (1904)—Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council (1903-4), and Member of the Bombay Legislative Council (1904-5)—Fellow of the Calcutta University (1887)—Member of the following learned bodies :—

- (1) Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society (1865).
- (2) Royal Asiatic Society (1874).
- (3) German Oriental Society (1887).
- (4) American Oriental Society (1887).
- (5) Asiatic Society of Italy (1887).
- (6) St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Science (1888).
- (7) Foreign Member of the French Institute (1895).
- (8) Honorary Doctor of Göttingen University.

Contributed a paper on the Nasik Inscriptions to the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1874—attended the Vienna Congress of Orientalists in 1886 where his paper on the 'Pāncharātra System' was highly praised by Drs. Roth and Bühler.

Contributions; in large numbers to the Indian Antiquary—First holder of the Wilson Lectureship in the Bombay University—Author of 'The Early History of the Deccan' in the *Bombay Gazetteer* and of 'Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects' in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*.—Editor of *Maluti-Madhava*, President of the first All-India Oriental Conference, Poona (1919), held under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Research Institute.

¹ A fuller appreciation of his services will appear in the next number of the Journal.

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

Reviews

KAUTALYA ARTHASASTRA¹

THIS invaluable treatise on the science of economics and politics in ancient India was discovered, edited and published by Dr. Shama Sastri of Mysore in 1909 as vol. 37 of the *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* of Mysore. This was followed by an English translation by himself published in 1915. The books became so popular that both the text and translation have undergone a second edition. The revised edition of Dr. Shama Sastri's translation was published in 1923. Credit must be given to the excellent pioneer work done by him in the matter of discovering, editing and translating the great work. As it was the first attempt, the translation is not free from faults and misinterpretations here and there. This edition was closely followed by that of Dr. J. Jolly of the University of Würzburg in 1923 in the Punjab Sanskrit Series. Dr. Jolly published as volume i a new edition of the text prepared with the help of Munich Manuscript and all other sources available, with an extensive historical introduction of forty-seven pages. Volume ii contains, besides English notes for some technical words, the ancient commentary of Nayachandrika roughly from Book VII to the end of the third chapter of Book XII of the treatise. In spite of these two editions of the text, there was still a gap left to be filled in, and this was supplied by Dr. Ganapati Sastri by his edition of the text with a commentary of his own in Sanskrit. In this edition he has taken particular care to compare the readings of both the above editions with his own, which is given as Appendix No. I of the third volume of his valuable and useful edition. That the Mahamahopadhyaya is eminently fitted for the intricate task he has taken upon himself to do, no one can deny. He has the advantage of being both a pandit and a scholar, and this rare combination in him has enabled him to do a good service to the cause of Sanskrit literature in general. As the editor of the

¹ The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya with the commentary *Srātila* of Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri. Curator, Travandrum, vols. i to iii. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, the pandit has been able to edit several books in the course of a very few years. And it is well that Mr. Sastri with such a good record of work, took to this work, by no means an easy one, of writing out a full, authoritative and elaborate commentary for the whole treatise. In this the learned pandit has largely drawn from the stray and scattered manuscript commentaries in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in Sanskrit, Telugu and Malayalam. But these commentaries deal only with certain chapters of the work. Hence we are greatly indebted to the Mahamahopadyaya, but for whose indefatigable industry and strenuous endeavour, the present edition could not have seen the light of day. The edition, is decidedly an improvement on the other two editions. To this wonderful wealth of literature that is growing up around the *Arthasastra* in question, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whose scholarship and great capacity for true research are too well known, has added the other valuable commentary *Pratipadapanchika* of Bhaṭṭasvāmin published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.¹

The German School of Oriental Scholars prominent among whom are Drs. Jolly and Winternitz, seem to believe that the *Kautiliya Arthasastra* belongs to one of the various secular schools existing in ancient India, and that the work is a secular treatise. By this we are to understand that it is not based on the notions and principles governing the Dharmaśāstras or Codes of Law like those of Manu, Nārada, Yāgñavalkya and others. In his brief but elegant introduction, Dr. Ganapati Sastri discusses with ability the untenable theories now current as regards both the authorship of the work and its date, besides its real purpose and import. These and other questions have been raised by Dr. Jolly in his lengthy introduction to his new edition of the text and by Dr. Winternitz in the Readership lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on September 17, 1923, and published in the *Calcutta Review*, April 1924.

Dr. Jolly says, 'Kautilya is a mere nickname denoting falsehood or hypocrisy', and proceeds to argue from this that this author could not have occupied the place of a minister to the great Chandragupta. More or less the same idea is expressed by Dr. Winternitz, according

beginning of the Chōḷa decline and of Pāṇḍya revival. Kulaśekhara's claims received the support of the Chōḷa king Rājaraḷa 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 :—

வகிரபாண்டியற்கு உடல்மா ளாகுதித்த....முடிவழங்கி....திருவிழை தென்னவழங்கி கோனும் வந் திரைகுடி பரிபாண்டியர் திருக்க....கோடிவழங்கி வில்லவற்கு சொந்தம் பெருதிருவழங்கி வீரனோன் விரல் தறித்த—and—மதையுள் கருகும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலுட்கொண்டு வீரபிஷேகமும் விஜயபிஷேகமும் செய்தருளிய குலோத்தங்க சோழனே.—*Historical Introduction*.

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

¹ Vol. xi, part I.

demonstrated by the learned Indian scholar. It is therefore hoped that hereafter the good and fair name of Kauṭalya would be unanimously accepted and adopted throughout, thus doing justice to a writer, the rareness and value of whose work are beyond question.

So far as to the name. As to the work itself it has been criticized as we saw at the outset, as belonging to a school, and not that of an individual author. In the course of examining the authenticity of his authorship to the *Arthaśāstra*, Mr. Sastri takes up the statement of Dr. Keith besides others, namely, that the opinion of Kauṭalya in the course of the discussion of ministerial usurpation, dealt with in the sixth chapter of the *Yogavṛtta Adikarṇa* is criticized by Bhāradvāja and shows how this is incorrect from the passage itself. The correct rendering of the passage amounts to this: 'My opinion is that the minister shall make the prince assume the powers of sovereignty while Bhāradvāja, an ancient *Āchārya* thinks quite the contrary (that is, the minister shall take upon himself the powers of sovereignty) which is full of evils as it excites the anger of the people and is unrighteous and uncertain of success.'¹ On this point Mr. Jayaswal writes: 'The device beginning with contents and ending with the notes on the system of the work which unifies the whole work, and the cross references in the body of the work leave no doubt that the whole work is by one and the same author.'² Further there are pieces of internal evidence in the text itself. Kauṭalya says distinctly तेनशास्त्रमिदं कृतम्. Here the word तेन is used and it is in the singular number, and hence refers only to an individual author. Again,

स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकारसूत्रं च भाष्यं च ।

Kauṭalya is also known by other names as Vishnugupta and Chāṇakya. Fortunately this is generally recognized by one and all. Here he is very clear when he says that Vishnugupta himself (स्वयमेव, that is, with no help from any other source) wrote this work. What more evidence then, is needed to indicate that it is the avowed work of an individual author?

So far as to the individual authorship. A still more significant question which we have to consider is whether Kauṭalya, the author of

the *Arthaśāstra*, was really the minister of Chandragupta. German scholars, except perhaps Jacobi, do not lend their weighty support in favour of this view. They seem to opine that the great author of this political treatise could not have been the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. Dr. Otto Stein has examined this question in his recent work *Megasthenes and Kauṭilya* (Wien, 1922). Here he points out by a comparative study of both Megasthenes' fragments and Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* that there is a world of difference between the statements of both writers who are said to have been the contemporaries of the Emperor Chandragupta. After an elaborate study of the problem, Dr. Stein seems to conclude that Kauṭalya could not have been either Chandragupta's minister or lived during his reign. To this countenance is given by Drs. Winternitz and Jolly. Though Dr. Jolly lends the weight of his authority at first, still he is not prepared to take everything of Megasthenes at its face value. He speaks of the 'idealizing tendency' in Megasthenes that goes to impair the trustworthiness of his statements. Also unacquainted with the languages and literature of India, says Dr. Jolly, his work must be considered far inferior in intrinsic worth. It may be also that Megasthenes could have 'assigned the institutions of other countries to India'. To these Jayaswal pertinently adds that there is no full account of Megasthenes, but what we possess is only a few fragments, others evidently lost. In these circumstances, we are afraid Dr. Steins' theory could not stand. In this connection it is interesting to hear from the Mahamahopadyaya in the course of an ordinary correspondence that Professor Jacobi writes to him that a pupil of his is engaged in examining the theory of Megasthenes and Kauṭalya, and that he arrives at conclusions just the reverse of Dr. Steins'. Further distinguished scholars like Dr. F. W. Thomas in the preface to Shama Sastri's translation, V. A. Smith in the *Early History of India*, R. K. Mookerjee and N. N. Law in *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, speak in unmistakable terms the various agreements between the account of Megasthenes and the statements as found in the *Arthaśāstra*. The fact that Kauṭalya does not refer to Pāṭaliputra, or Megasthenes does not mention the name Kauṭalya are too insignificant details to build anything like a theory on them. For such theories have no legs to stand on. These do not find mention because there was no occasion for them.

One of the invaluable sources of ancient Indian history is tradition.

¹ Introduction to vol. II.

² *Hindu Polity*, part I, p. 206.

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 *Mootadars* (*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 *milla*) was fixed on the basis of the calculated land revenue from which were deducted the *sukhavasi* remission,'¹ the *swarnadayam* which included miscellaneous items of revenue like the tax on grazing,

tract (*Chakravarti kshetra*) (ix. 1), lies between the Himalayas and the ocean, ninety-two thousand *yojanas*¹ in the straight line (as the crow flies). It is hardly possible to imagine a state without neighbours; a policy towards neighbours will have to be postulated by any statesman however large his empire may be. Then we know that there were a number of neighbours in the south who were reduced in the next reign, that of Bindusāra. . . . Now we know that in no other than the early Maurya time Afghanistan, the Punjab, Western India and North Bihar at one and the same time were under the sphere of one Indian king. The fact that Kaṭalya hardly tolerates sub-kings is one which is only compatible with the Maurya times.'² Thus the theory of Government whether it be a small state or a big empire is equally the same. 'Besides' says the Mahamahopadaya, 'the author dwells especially on the mutual duties of emperor and subject-kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the seventh *Adhikarana*.'

The second point to be considered is the statement made in elucidation of the verse at the end of the book.

येनशास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगताचमूः ।

अमर्षेणो दृतान्याशु तेनशास्त्रं मिदं कृतम् ॥

Dr. Winternitz translates it thus: 'This text-book has been composed by him who quickly and impatiently raised the *Arthaśāstra* (from former imperfect text-books), passed his sword and took the earth that had passed to the Nandas (out of their hands).' Winternitz says that here Kaṭalya speaks that he has taken the kingdom from the Nandas. 'It seems to me (Dr. Winternitz) to be very improbable, that the real minister in a book, written by the order or intended for his king, would have written such words which could not be very pleasing to the king.'

The verse in question may be translated thus: 'This treatise was written by him by whom, the *Sastras* (not necessarily the *Arthaśāstra*), the science of weapons, and the earth that had passed to the Nanda kings, were soon and in jealous anger raised aloft.' The Nanda king who was deposed and slain by Chandragupta Maurya, writes

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

¹ Sankarārya's reading, Kam. Ni. Sa., I. 39.

² *Hindu Polity*, part I, p. 204.

Dr. Smith, was of low caste, and a heretic hostile to the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas.¹ He continues further that 'the dynasty of nine Nandas who were considered to be unholy persons unworthy of inclusion in orthodox Hindu annals.' From this it could be easily seen that during the time of the Nandas, who were hostile both to the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, neither the Brahminical science (the *Sāstra*) nor the Kshatriya science (the *Sastra*) found favour with them. These were practically in a decadent condition. The rescuing of the kingdom by a Kshatriya like Chandragupta evidently led to the elevation of both *Sāstra* and *Sastra* (science of arms). As a minister he was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this happy consummation. Here he explicitly shows his contempt for the Nandas and his joy for their immediate successor who is undoubtedly Chandragupta Maurya. He complements the king, by complementing himself. There is nothing more than this. He expresses gratification at the new condition of affairs under the new king, who is Chandragupta. Jayaswal writes 'the *Purāṇas* seem to give a second name of Chandragupta as Narēndra.'² And Kautilya says distinctly he wrote the science for his Narēndra who is no other than Chandragupta as is evidenced by the *Purāṇas*. Judged in this light, the king must have felt proud of having possessed such an able minister and statesman as Kautilya was. And it is right that the distinguished Professor Jacobi reads into this verse the 'proud self-consciousness of a great statesman, of the "Indian Bismark" as he calls Kautilya.'³

Still Professor Winternitz doubts that in the work under review there is more the hand of a pandit than of a statesman. The German scholar seems to be in a world of doubts, and these doubts could not take him much farther. The learned doctor need not be told that generally in ancient India all the ministers should be pandits in the sense they must have had a mastery over the science of law and polity besides general literature. This state of affairs prevailed with regard to Hindu monarchies. An unlearned (*a-pandita*) man is disqualified for the post. And it was common that an erudite scholar enriched with a practical knowledge of things in general was selected for higher posts and especially for the post of a ministership.

¹ *Oxford History of India*, p. 57.

² *I.A.*, 1918, p. 55.

³ *Calcutta Review*, p. 16.

Kautilya rightly takes a legitimate place in that noble category of pandit-statesman who adorned the royal courts of ancient India by playing the significant rôle of higher officials. In support of his theory, Dr. Winternitz cites the instance of the circle of states where the 'method of classifying is well known to us from other *Sāstras* and certainly looks more like the work of pandits than of a statesman.'

This statement holds the key to the riddle of Dr. Jolly and other scholars who seem to hold that the *Arthasāstra* is a secular treatise and its general tendency 'thoroughly realistic and worldly as opposed to the vague idealism and strictly religious principles of the *Dharma-sāstra*.'¹ I have discussed this question elsewhere² in more detail, and hence I may rest content here with saying that in his recommendation or suggestion of various and varied methods in successfully manning the ship of state, Kautilya has closely followed the previous law books and other authorities, and that his is no original work. It was simply a compilation of what already existed with his opinions thereon. In this connection the learned pandit argues how the Hindu *Raja Dharma* itself recommends certain measures and methods which would be unrighteous for the ordinary classes, but which are righteous so far as they are measures of state policy. The ordinary rules of morality could not be applied as the test for a treatise on the art and science of Government. Judged by these standards, the theory that the work is of a mere pandit falls to the ground. Jolly who practically sees eye to eye with Dr. Winternitz could not help stating that from the intimate knowledge Kautilya possesses as regards every method of a working administration, he must have been 'an official in a state of medium size where he had obtained insight into the working of the administration.' If the learned Professor could concede so much, pray why not grant him the rare and honorable privilege of a minister of something more than a state of medium size, especially in the face of the rich and continued Indian tradition. Thus it becomes obvious that the treatise was the work of an individual author who was a pandit-statesman and the minister of Chandragupta Maurya.

If it be thus proved to be the work of the minister of

¹ Jolly: Introduction, p. 3.

² Is the *Arthasāstra* secular? a paper read at the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

Chandragupta, then the problem of the date of its composition, solve itself. To place the composition of the work at any later date would be pushing the theory to undesirable, nay even absurd, lengths. It is a work of the fourth century B.C. Fixing the date of any work is intrinsically a difficult question; and when there are sufficient materials to get at a satisfactory date, if scholars misinterpret and misread things, the fault is certainly not that of the writer, who has distinctly expressed himself in the pages of his book and to whom tradition has accorded a fit place. Therefore the original theory as regards the authorship and the date of the work as belonging to the fourth century B.C. stands. This date is subject to alteration provided the date of Chandragupta is also altered. We conclude therefore that whatever period scholars assign now or in the future to the great Chandragupta Maurya, the same holds good to Kautilya and his valuable work.

Dr. Ganapati Sastri has dealt with these and other questions in his Introduction to each volume based on new facts with a wealth of evidence. His commentary is valuable in the sense it breaks, as it were, an entirely new ground. To handle such a technical subject of politics and economics is no easy task. This venture is undoubtedly the result of vast and deep learning on the part of the commentator. His expressions are free and are at once clear and simple, easily understandable even by an ordinary student of Sanskrit. It is again valuable because he has adopted the old commentaries wherever available and suitable. A new translation in English based on this Commentary is desirable, as it would throw a flood of new light upon the work.

Of the three appendices to the last volume, the most useful is one devoted to a rather elaborate index of important and difficult words occurring in the work. The one defect of Indian Sanskrit publications is generally the lack of an index, and this, our learned commentator has provided so as to meet the demands of modern research. The third gives a number of archaic words that occur in this treatise. Thus the work under review is the first of its kind, and the author, Mahopadhyaya, deserves the sincere thanks of both Indian and Western scholars.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

AKBAR AND PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT

BY

DR. J. J. MODI

DR. J. J. MODI, writing in *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute* (vol. vi, part ii) says that the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute's Mulla Feroze Library possesses two manuscripts, one containing the Persian translation of the first five *parvans* of the *Mahabharatha*; and the second that of the *Yoga-Vasistha*, both judged by learned experts like Prof. Rehatsek to be works produced by the order of the Emperor Akbar. In these translations which were primarily the work of Muhammadans learned Brahmins had also a hand. The writer also gives us a clear account of the knowledge of Sanskrit possessed by Muhammadans before Akbar's time, for instance, at the court of Caliph Al-Mamoun, of Noushirwan the Just of Persia, and of Firoz Tughlaq who had secured some Sanskrit works and by the poet Amir Khushru (d. 1325 A.C.).

As a patron of literature Akbar took an intelligent interest in Sanskrit literature; while Dr. Thomas has pointed out to Dr. V. A. Smith, that, in the Mackenzie Collection at the India Office, there exists a Sanskrit history of part of Akbar's reign. Akbar got the books of his library read from the beginning to the end by learned men; and he also got Hindi (Sanskrit), Yunāni (Greek), Arabic and Persian books translated into other languages. A list of books prepared from the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book I, *Ain* 34) and the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh* of Mulla Badaoni gives us the names of all Sanskrit books translated at the direction of Akbar and of all the translators. From the abstract of *Chahār Gulzar Shujāi* of Hari Charan Das as given by Elliot (vol. viii, p. 205) we learn that about 1785 A.C. this historian had access to the *Rajavali*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabhartha*, *Bhāgavat*, and Faizi's translation of the *Jog Basishta* which he had in his own possession besides other works which he borrowed from his friends. This historian speaks of the *Mahabharatha* as that done by Faizi, though we know that Faizi's share of the work was merely that of putting the translation into an elegant form. Faizi seems to have translated some Sanskrit historical works also, from which Gholam Hussain Khan drew a summary for the ancient history of Hindustan as given in his

Abul Fazl had a large share in these translations, but other scholars like Naqib Khan, the Mulla Badaoni, Faizi and Shaikh Sultan of Thaneshwar were also participants. Of all these works the *Mahabharatha* had the most earnest attention of the Emperor. Abul Fazl gives a long dissertation on the learning of the Hindus, wherein he describes their schools of philosophy, including the Jaina, the Bauddha and the Charvāka. Badaoni also refers prominently to the Persian translation of the *Mahabharatha* which was ordered in 1582 A.C.;—and to which Abul Fazl wrote a preface of about two sections and in which the bigoted Mulla himself had a hand. Badaoni was also asked to complete the translation of the *Bahr-ul-Asmar* (Sea of Tales) which was begun under the direction of a previous Sultan of Kashmir and which Jarrett (the translator in part of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) thinks was the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. Badaoni speaks of this book, as a 'book of fiction.' Reference is also made to the translation of the *Singhasan-Bhattisi* (a series of 32 tales of Raja Bikramajit of Malwa). Of the two Persian texts of the MSS. of the *Mahabharatha* translation, the one in the Cama Institute seems to be much nearer the original.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

It is a known fact that Portuguese records throw a flood of light on many obscure corners of Indian History. Sewell based his *Forgotten Empire* (of Vijayanagar) on the two Portuguese chronicles of *Paes* and *Nuniz* published by Prof. D. Lopez of Lisbon under the title of *Chronica des Roys de Bisnaga*. Grant Duff makes references to Portuguese records in his classical *History of the Marathas*. The India Office deputed F. C. Danvers to study the Portuguese records at Lisbon and at Evora, and the results of his labours are embodied in his two volumes of *The Portuguese in India*. The Portuguese had an extensive correspondence with the Adil Shah of Bijapur and even with the rulers of Mysore.

From a close study of the records, Mr. S. N. Sen writing in the *Calcutta Review* studies among others (1) an important document, a treaty between Raja Paramananda of Chandradvipa on Bakla and the Viceroy of Goa concluded in 1559, and (2) the Bengali dialogue attributed to the Christian catechist who converted many Hindus called Dom Antonio who was the son of the King of Bhūsna.

From the time of Shivaji the Portuguese came into intimate contact with the Marathas both as friends and foes. Shivaji organized his artillery establishments on Portuguese models; and the *Darukhana* of Sabhasad is an exact synonym of the Portuguese *Casa de Polbora*. From published Portuguese records we are enabled to know that the Portuguese were unable or unwilling to break their existing treaty and friendly relations with the Mughals, and they offered to mediate between Shivaji and his enemy, the Sidi of Janjira. Of the unpublished Portuguese records, those in the Goa archives embodied in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* give us good information about the origin of *chauth*. The Portuguese did not address either Shivaji or his son Sambhaji as Chhatrapati. They were invariably styled in the Portuguese letters as Shivaji Raze and Sambhaji Raze, although at a subsequent period their successors were addressed as Xatrapaty.

Information is also given in the Portuguese records about the naval activities under Sambhaji when the Portuguese had to fight hard for the defence of Goa. In fact we come to know how in the period between Shivaji's death and the rise of Kanhoji Angria, the Maratha fleet still continued to hold its own as in the days of the great Shivaji; and the Portuguese maritime power had little or no terror for the brave Maratha sailors.

The *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* also gives us information about Rajaram—especially its third and fourth volumes. Friendly relations between the Marathas and the Portuguese were not however destined to last long as is evident from the later letters in the collection. The full value of Portuguese records cannot be known until the archives at Lisbon to which had been removed so many records from Goa are fully explored.

'THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA'

[The *Economic History of Ancient India* by Mr. Santosh Kumar Das, M.A., Tribhuvan-Chandra College, Nepal (1925).]

Indian historical research has so far been confined to the examination principally of political theories and philosophy extant in Ancient India. But no attempt, on an adequate scale except Mr. Sammadar's short study of the economic conditions of ancient India has been made in the direction of unfolding in a systematic manner the

sociological and economic conditions that were prevalent in very ancient times. There has been much less study of the actual institutions which existed then. The present work is therefore valuable, all the more so because the author has endeavoured to give us a systematic account of the actual economic conditions which were obtaining in Vedic, Buddhist and post-Buddhist India, down to the age of Harsha.

Surveying briefly the economic condition of the Rig-Vedic age, the author draws attention to the hymn (ix. 112.3) wherein is a clear reference to mobility of labour. In the light of various details of evidence, the author proves the existence of overseas trade and commerce carried on on a large scale by ancient Indians of Vedic times. Large and durable vessels were in use both for commercial and warlike purposes. The theory of Professors Macdonell, Keith and Hopkins that the Aryans of the Punjab were unacquainted with the sea and used only small boats is examined and proved to be not well-founded. Another interesting feature of this particular age, according to our author, is the existence of unstamped metallic currency and even coins. The author's interpretation of the term *Visvarūpa* as the necklace composed of Nishka coins bearing various figures on them, though interesting and ingenious, will, we are afraid, not find general acceptance.

In examining the period of the *Brahmanas*, the author gives economic details of varied interest and importance. According to him, in the age of the Buddha the economic organization of India was mainly rural, based on a system of village communities of peasant proprietors. Various details of interest are drawn from the *Jatavak*, which demonstrate the existence of several arts and crafts, cottage industries, developed systems of horticulture, sericulture and agriculture, as also of fine arts such as music and painting. The social position of the lower classes, hirelings and slaves is examined towards the close of this chapter. Again the author cites testimony to the fact that trade was carried on on an extensive scale by means of the guild system, and that an excellent system of commercial education also prevailed.

Discussing the intricate problem of land-ownership and land-revenue, the author says: 'Apart from the royal domains which must have been considerable, the ultimate ownership of the land

were not leavened by Arab thought, or that the uniform character of their intellectual outturn was not born of Arab influence. Nor should it be forgotten that it was the Arabs who stirred afresh in these various nationalities a craving for knowledge and offered opportunities for the satisfaction of that renewed craving to them. Nor yet should it be forgotten that it was an Arab dynasty which, officially and privately, stood out for culture and enlightenment; tending, nursing, patronizing, learning and thought generally.

When we consider Muslim learning, we must not lose sight of the fact that what we are contemplating covers some 500 years. During so long a period there was naturally ebb and flow in culture—such ebb and flow as we find in the history of every civilization. For about two centuries Arab learning remained at its zenith. In the course of the third century we observe traces of decay in politics and in letters—the symptoms, in the domain of letters, manifesting themselves in the appearance of mere commentaries and compilations in lieu of original works. More and more do these compilations and commentaries multiply as the years go by.

The intellectual activities of the Arabs group themselves into two main divisions: activities evoked by the predilections of the Arab nation; e.g., theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and activities evoked by an instinctive human desire for knowledge; e.g., philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural sciences, geography. That the Arabs, at first, directed their attention to those branches of learning to which they were drawn from motives of religion, and in which they attained a distinctive greatness, is a proof of their talents. Thus the necessity of settling and explaining the Qur'anic texts became the basis of theology. The principle, rigidly adhered to in the beginning, of the oral transmission of the Qur'an, was ultimately given up. The traditional reading was adopted, set down in writing, and amply commented upon. More important still was the theological speculation which contact with Christianity had provoked in the first century of Islam at Damascus. To these theological speculations we must ascribe the origin of the *Murji'ites*,¹ who held that even heretical views—provided belief in Allah and His Prophet remained unimpaired—did not amount to an

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 59 et seq.

Government are highly useful and valuable since they throw a fresh light on the political, social, architectural, and literary condition of Hindu India. These are of inestimable value to the ancient India historian. *Samaranga of Bhojadeva* is the latest of this useful and interesting series. The authorities concerned seem to have entrusted the difficult work of collating the manuscripts and editing the text to that experienced and eminently skilful editor of Sanskrit manuscripts Pandit Ganapati Sastri of Travancore. It is a well-known fact that the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is a practised hand in the editing of works bearing on subjects as engineering, architecture, the science of polity, etc.

Samarangana attributed to Bhoja has more than ordinary interest to students of ancient Indian architecture. Unlike other works on the same subject, this treatise describes the construction and use of different kinds of machines such as the elephant machine, wooden bird machine travelling in the sky, wooden vimana machine flying in the air, doorkeeper machine, warfare machines, etc. Here is proof positive to indicate that ancient Indians knew how to construct flying machines and make use of them. Then one must concede that the vimana of the *Ramayana* was not after all a figment of the poet's imagination, but there lies underneath it a substratum of fact. There is a special chapter (ch. 49) in this volume which elaborately treats of the vimanas only besides the chapter (31) wherein are mentioned a number of other machines to be used in land, water and air. In chapter (49) again there is the traditional account of Brahma creating the five vimanas, and the accounts of three important ones, namely, the *Pushpaka*, the *Manika* and the *Trivishkha*. A number of other varieties is also dealt with.

The work, though mainly a work on architecture, contains also much other useful information. The creation of the universe, and the geographical dimensions of the traditional seven continents are given in chapters 4 and 5. The *dharma* of every *yuga* with its corresponding decrease in every succeeding age is dealt with until Prithu becomes the lord of the earth, in chapters 6 and 7. In the following chapters are given the different kinds of soil, and places suitable for establishing hamlets, villages, townships, cities, fortresses and others with various modes of buildings of one hall, two halls, four halls, etc. The description of storied buildings, and of dwelling places

for various classes of people and occupation are indeed a distinct feature of the work. Townplanning is given here with a wealth of minute details that go to prove beyond any shadow of doubt the high state of civilization and culture that must have prevailed in this ancient land. Chapter (15) speaks of the capital city wherein are instituted the palace where the king lives, the hall of justice, the store-room, the cooking hall, the park, places of sport and amusement, stables for horses, elephants, and chariots, the arsenal, the treasure chamber, the manufactories, the council-chamber, the separate buildings for princes, queens and queenmothers, educational buildings, lodgings for *sāmantas*, the gods, soldiers, commanders, etc. This is continued in chapter 18 where the surroundings of the city and the country parts are described.

Thus this work, of which there is only the first volume before us, bears on other extant works in the *Silpasastra* in the sense it furnishes us with richer and greater details couched in clear language, besides invaluable information on the construction and use of machines for all purposes including warfare. It is hoped that the second volume the publication of which is promised shortly, would also be of the same value and importance.

V.R.R.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE BHĀRATA-ITIHĀSA-SAMŚŌDHAKA-MANḌALA

THE Quarterly Nos. I-IV for July 1924-June 1925 of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Samśōdhaka-Manḍala, Poona, are just out. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vailya, M.A., LL.B., has at the outset tried to solve the riddle of the great success achieved by Mahamud of Gazani. He attributes it more to the eminent personal qualities of the great general rather than to the means he had in his powers or to the soldiers who obeyed his commands. It is doubtful if this argumentation is tenable. But his explanation is worthy of comment and criticism. Mr. K. V. Purandhare has given some account of the descendants of Rāgho-Ballāl Atre. It is rather dull. If astrology can be relied upon as a science, Mr. J. S. Karandikar's note on the horoscope of Śivāji will serve as a link in ascertaining the king's date of birth. Mr. D. V. Apte, B.A., has argued out that Śivāji in the latter part of his career made it a point to defend the Kingdom of Bijāpur and Golconda against the encroachments of the Moghals. His aim was to divide and rule. So he

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.

autocracy, often dubbed oriental despotism, unfettered by law or convention, and depending upon the autocrat's will entirely. There has been recently such an accumulation of material for mediæval times which have had the effect of calling this comfortable proposition into question seriously, and attempts at an elucidation of the problem have certainly been many, at any rate ever since the publication of Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*. It is hardly necessary to point out that the subject needed comprehensive treatment and an elaborate examination of the sources. Mr. Jayaswal himself has been at work for much more than a decade on the same subject, and the book before us is the mature production of a worker thoroughly well qualified for it, working earnestly at the subject for more than a decade. Mr. Jayaswal goes to the work with his usual enthusiasm and ability, and has presented to us a *book* on Hindu Polity, complete on the Sanskrit side of it.

He begins with the Vedic times, and exhumes, as it were, what had long lain ununderstood in several obscure texts, and exhibits to us a constitution of a republican character, more or less of the village republican kind, in the Vedic *Samiti*. His investigations in the Vedic texts as well as in post-Vedic literature go to establish the general prevalence of sovereign assemblies of people, whether it is in *Samiti* or *Sangha* with leaders who went by the name of *Rajan* or its equivalents. This only confirms what has for some time been known as the republican constitution of various tribes, which figure in the literature of Buddhism. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya is itself put into requisition, and confirmation found there for a comparatively large number of tribes having had similar republican constitutions, so much so that it can be stated as a general proposition that the early government of Hindu India was republican in character generally. These republics take on various changes of form from the aristocratic republic with two leaders to the democratic without an acknowledged leader. This proposition is considered by Mr. Jayaswal in the light of a re-examination of the Greek accounts of India, which contain details of interest to Indian constitutional history scattered through. By a number of illuminating identifications, and details that he draws from a critical study of the grammarian Pāṇini and his commentators, he establishes beyond doubt that the ordinary constitution was republican, whether the constitutional arrangement had reference to the carrying on of the government, or the management of a

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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

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-back 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 Qu. B. India, arrived (afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief of India), arrived at Katarmal and took over command. He was supported by over 2000 regular troops consisting of the 1/4th N.I., 1/5th 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

Smritis and Hindu Law, and throughout the work Mr. Jayaswal does not even for a moment lose sight of his position as a critical historian. Mr. Jayaswal has been long at work on the subject, but it is gratifying that the length of preparation has resulted in the maturity of the production, which is by far the most complete so far produced on an interesting, and extremely complicated subject.

'BHASA'S DRAMAS: A CRITICAL STUDY'

BY

PANDIT MM. DR. T. GANAPATI SASTRIAR, TRIVANDRUM

AND

THE VISION OF VASAVADATTA

BY

DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, LAHORE

IN our review notes in the April issue of the journal, we drew attention to an investigation of the Bhasa problem by Dr. Sukthankar, where we omitted to indicate that the position taken by the learned Doctor was that so far as he was concerned, the Drama, *Swapnavāsavadatta* could with safety be ascribed to Bhasa, and that his position was not so positive in regard to the other dramas of the Trivandrum group ascribed to Bhasa by the learned editor of the Trivandrum Series, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sāstrigal. Our attention was drawn to this omission by Dr. Barnett and at the same time we received copies of two publications bearing on the subject. One of them is a new edition of *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* by Dr. Lakshman Sarup of Lahore; the other is a brochure by the learned Mahamahopadhyaya himself reviewing the criticism so far advanced against his position in regard to Bhasa's plays, and a re-examination of the evidence leading to his conclusion. These two works together advance the Bhasa problem a distinct step forward, and seem to reinforce the evidence in favour of ascribing these dramas to the ancient and illustrious dramatist.

Dr. Sarup's edition of Bhasa is based upon a single manuscript in the Malayalam script, containing the name of the drama in full in the Colophon. The edition, apart from improvements of educational value, provides all the material required for a comparative estimate of all the literary evidence available for a study of the various sources of information bearing on the question. All these are given with an

juristic element—speculation. Since the beginning of the Abbasid rule the cultivation and development of jurisprudence became keener and more marked than ever before, as, henceforth, the idea of a State-church, according to the Persian model, asserted itself and rose triumphant. *Government and Religion are twin-born* became the pervading, permeating view. Under its influence Islamic doctrines henceforth assumed their own special casuistic stamp. Knowledge of law became the most important branch of theology, and henceforward the theologian was called a jurist (*faqih*) or a *savant* (*ālim*).

Through conquests Muslims had become acquainted with the laws of Justinian, and as the *hadith* were not at all sufficient to furnish a guiding principle, in dealing with the abundance of cases that now called for decision, the Muslims early adopted the methods of the Roman jurists—analogue deduction (*Kiyas*) and private judgment (*ra'y*)—for adapting and extending the law to suit the times. This led to a violent conflict between the supporters of *hadith*, pure and simple, and the champions of a progressive system of law, with the result that schools of jurisprudence came into being which, in the evolution of principles, distinctly stepped beyond the *hadith*, but which yet, in outer seeming, based their decisions, in individual cases, on the materials subsisting in the *hadith*. This was naught but our old friend *legal fiction*. What wonderful disguises it has assumed in different systems! Not the first, but by far the most powerful jurist that addressed himself to *Kiyas*, was Abu Hanifa.¹ Although not a judge himself, he founded a school of law which, according to Von Kremer, is the highest and loftiest achievement of which Islam is capable. Shortly after his death, his system was officially accepted at court and throughout the Islamic Empire, and to this system most Muslims still yield assent, and pay homage. While Abu Hanifa struck the path of juristic speculation,² Malik Ibn

¹ Goldziher, *Die Zahriten*, p. 13; Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 394 et seq.; Morley, *Analytical Digest*, p. cclxii.

² Speaking of the exercise of *Kiyas* as allowed by the chief Sunni sects, Ibn Khaldun says, 'the Science of Jurisprudence forms two systems, that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl-al-rai, wa ahl-al-kiyas*) who were natives of Iraq, and that of the followers of tradition, who were natives of Hijaz. As the people of Iraq possessed but few traditions, they had recourse to analogical deductions, and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called the followers of private judgment: the Imam Abu Hanifa, who was their chief, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this

of the milieu of the author and his works which is much better done by an attentive study of the works themselves rather than by the exercise of the critical faculty, based on other materials and other times. We congratulate the authors upon their successful effort in this direction, each in his own characteristic manner.

'HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS'

BY

C. A. KINCAID AND RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS
(Oxford University Press)

We welcome Volume III of the *History of the Maratha People* by C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, which completes the work. Since the days of Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, a considerable volume of historical material has accumulated, and has been put in critical form, chiefly through the exertions of Maratha workers beginning with the illustrious names of Ranade and Telang. The torch lighted by them has been carried undimmed by the ever-growing number of younger scholars with the result that there are a number of archives in various stages of preparation of historical material. The bulk of the work being done in Marathi, the material so far published has not been put to as much practical use as might have been the case if they had all been done into English, and the working up of that material calls for a combination of historical and Maratha scholarship, which was perhaps not quite ready to hand, till the Englishman Kincaid, and the Indian Parasnis could yoke themselves together for the work. Both of them are scholars full of Marathi lore, and soaked to the very bone in all that constitutes the background of Maratha history. The result is the work before us in three volumes carrying the history of the Marathas from the small beginnings under Shahji, father of Sivaji, down to the end of what Mr. Kincaid expressively calls the Chitpawan Epic bringing the history down to the close of the rule of Baji Rao II.

The work of Grant Duff still maintains its classic excellence, and retains a great deal of its value, because much of the material that went to the making of that work is now no more accessible. This gives it a position of authority almost among the sources for Maratha history. But the new work before us is a worthy successor, which supplements it in many places, and corrects it in many others. It is

written in a style so attractive, that, at any rate, so far as the general reading public is concerned, it is bound to supersede its predecessor. The volume is well written throughout, and the names of places and persons are made far more intelligible than in Grant Duff. Intricate situations are expounded with a clearness which is remarkable, and in some places particularly far in advance of Grant Duff. The volume before us continues the plan of the previous work, and the points of difference from Grant Duff are noted, and where there is a difference, the actual authorities are quoted from original sources. It is embellished with a number of illustrations of Maratha celebrities, and the reproduction of some of the original documents, such as letters and official documents, adds to the value and interest of the work. There are one or two reproductions of treaties from the Marathi archives also. All these enhance the value of the work undoubtedly. Mr. Kincaid has added a list of the chief authorities consulted by him in English and Marathi, containing also one work each from Portuguese, and Gujarati. It may be complained that the latter part of Volume III is compressed inordinately, and that the history stops with the end of the reign of Peshwa, Baji Rao II. The first may be met as indeed Mr. Kincaid himself does by the fact that that period is given a more full treatment in other treatises, especially Grant Duff. It would have been interesting if he could have continued the work down to the present times, as in fact he originally planned to do. The project was given up in the fear that the work may prove too long, and Mr. Kincaid hopes that some other person would write the history of the Marathas during the last 100 years. We join in the hope, but regret none the less that he could not have himself completed the work, or written a separate work bearing on the subject. Coming from him, the work would have had an added interest, as it is given to a very few to write with the facility and sympathy, and withal the critical acumen we have learned to associate with the writings of Mr. Kincaid.

'JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS,' VOL. XII

(Calcutta University)

This volume of the journal contains three important contributions on three subjects of great value. The first is an important article on

the dramas of Bhasa by Jyotischandra Ghatak, in which he reviews the Bhasa problem carefully, and as a result of critical examination, he arrives at the conclusion that the dramas belong to the third and second century B.C., on a consideration of the various lines of evidence upon which other conclusions were arrived at by scholars.

The second article is an interesting study upon 'Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus' by Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti. This is divided into two parts, and deals respectively with the philosophy of language and semasiology. By an elaborate investigation, he attempts to establish that these investigations were carried to a considerable degree of advance by Sanskritists in their early study.

The third is a valuable historical study by R. Kimura on the terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, with which is coupled the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is a contribution of the first importance bearing on the actual significance of the much misunderstood terms, Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, and is of great value as a treatise, tracing to the very roots the ideas underlying the distinction between the two forms of Buddhism. In this, and in a previous contribution, the author has traversed the whole ground of the early growth of Buddhism, constituting a history of Buddhism of the first importance.

'JAINA JATAKAS OR LORD RISHABA'S PURVABHAVAS'

BY

VIDYABUSEHANA & BANARSIDAS JAIN

(Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.)

This is No. 8 of the Punjab Sanskrit Series published by the enterprising firm, the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot. This is a revised and corrected edition of the original translation by the Amulyacharan Vidyabushana by Mr. Banarsidas Jain. The subject is the previous births of the first Jain Tirthankara, and is based on the great Jain scholar Hēmachandra's *Trīṣṭi Saṅkṣepa-puruṣa Carita*. This last work, as the name implies, is the history of the sixty-three great ones of the Jains composed of 24 Tirthakaras, 12 Chakravatins, 9 Vāsudēvas, 9 Baladēvasas and 9 Prativāsudēvas. The earliest of these *Jatakas* of the Jains is traceable in their literature to Bhadrabāhu, who died 170 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira. Bhadrabāhu, however, makes but the briefest reference to these previous lives of Rishaba

Haribhadra who flourished in the sixth century A.D. gives an extended account, ostensibly based on that of Bhadrabāhu. This receives further elaboration from Śilacharya who wrote in the ninth century A.D. His work has not yet become accessible to us, though there is reason to believe that manuscripts are in existence none of them is as yet accessible, and in a form fit for use or publication. But there is reason to believe that Hēmachandra based the whole of his account of Rishaba on the work of Śilacharya. The translation before us gives the first book of this historical work by Hēmachandra, who was a contemporary of Jayasimha of Guzerat, 1193-1243, and his successor Kumarapala, whose tutor Hēmachandra was.

The work before us is quite a readable translation of the 911 *ślokas* composing the first book of the great epic by Hēmachandra. Apart from the translation, the work is provided with an introduction, giving the sources of the work, the life of Hēmachandra, together with a number of valuable notes, without which the Jain work would be unintelligible to the general reader. There are also a few additional notes at the end, which explain important points calling for more elaborate explanation than could be given in a foot-note. There is also an appendix upon the Jaina cosmography, and there is also a useful appendix. The work is a very useful publication in a field of Indian studies not much exploited yet, and ought to be in the library of every one, who wishes to understand the history of Jainism, and Jaina culture.

'THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY'

BY

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYA, M.A. (CALCUTTA)

(Oxford University Press)

Mainly Based on *The Sādhana-mālā* and other cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals.

In the cultural history of India, Architecture and iconography occupy an important place, and the two subjects have been studied, as in fact they have to be to some extent, in intimate association with each other. This association leads naturally to the adoption of the order of evolution as the most readily available method of study. To some extent this is inevitable, and may even prove useful; but it must not be lost sight of that these are the product of human effort

deliberately planned and executed, and therefore subject to conventions laid down consciously and adopted habitually through centuries of evolution not of works of art, but of habits of thought. Of the two subjects taken together, iconography is peculiarly liable to variation, or getting stereotyped, on account of these conventions. A study of these conventions particularly in their application to actually existing specimens of this art is of the essence of any study of iconography. To a limited extent, a study of iconography on the evolutionary method is likely to be beneficial and may throw a flood of light upon the cultural aspects of a particular age; but whatever conclusions may be deducible therefrom would be liable to serious modification, in the light of the conventional standards that sway the period taken up for study. It is, therefore, of prime importance to a study of iconography that we are put in possession of the ideas embodied in rules of worship and thought by means of which alone we can hope to understand the mystery of symbolism which plays such an important part in the history of iconography, and even of architecture.

There have been several successful efforts at the study of this subject as applied to Buddhist art in this particular branch. The work of the French Savant Faucher on the art of Gandhara and that of Drs. Krom and Erp on Boro Budur are among the most recent and successful efforts at interpretation of Buddhist iconography as applied to architecture. It was in the course of a study of the iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as it prevailed outside India that Prof. Faucher felt the great importance of the study of the subject at the fountain-head in its motherland of India; and the suggestion thrown out by him fell on the fertile soil of a pupil of his and opened the path to the pursuit of a systematic study of Indian Buddhist Iconography by Mr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya (son of that eminent scholar Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri of Calcutta), the Head of H. H. the Gaikwad's Research Department in the manuscript Library at Baroda.

Mr. Bhattacharya confines himself to the Bengal school of Buddhism of the Vajrayāna, and even there to those Indian specimens only which illustrate the text of the *Sādhana-mālā*, a work bearing on Tantric Buddhism that held sway over Bengal in the centuries from the date of the Chinese traveller Itsing to that of the Maham-

madan conquest of Bengal. As a government research scholar, for sometime under M. Faucher, he had the requisite training for this kind of work and found opportunity opening before him when his father had to go to Nepal by invitation of the Durbar to examine the libraries there. The splendid opportunity was taken advantage of to the full and has resulted in the work before us. Mr. Bhattacharya advisedly restricts himself narrowly in his studies to those images purely Indian which illustrate the various modes of worship as defined in the *Dhyānas* of the *Sādhana-mālā*. We have thus, before us the description in the text of what has to be done, and, in the images, the work of art in carrying out the directions. It is a welcome prospect that the talented scholar promises to give us an authoritative work in original the manuscript of which goes back to the twelfth century and the work itself may go farther back by a few centuries, as far back possibly as A.D. 800.

Mr. Bhattacharya's work begins with an introductory book which explains the history of Buddhism, and the evolution of its doctrines. Then follows a general description of the evidence of art in regard to this history, followed by a general description of the pantheon. In the following chapters he explains the various characteristics of the Buddhas, Buddha-Śaktis, and Bōdhisattvas, and deals first of all with the various images which are traceable to the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He takes thereafter the Indian forms, and gives a list of sixty-nine plates in all each containing four images taken from photographs or line drawings together with an appendix, with a description of 108 forms of Avalōkitēśvara found in Nepal. In regard to each one of these forms, he gives an illustration preceded by the texts of the *Dhyāna* as contained in the *Sādhana-mālā*, compared here and there with other texts. Then he gives a general exposition of the description that is to be expected in the *Dhyānas*, keeping in mind the essential differentiae, and the accidents, of each one of these images. The text of the *Dhyānas* is of value only in regard to the former, while in the matter of the latter, a considerable amount of latitude is possible to the artist. There are sixty-nine plates thus provided, containing on an average four separate figures, so that the book is fully illustrated. The chief character of these illustrations is that they are all Indian, and are representative of the age of the Vajrayānic development extending from the beginning of the ninth century, or perhaps the eighth

century, down to the beginning of the thirteenth century in Bengal, wherefrom the principles and the practice of Tantric Buddhism into Nepal for an asylum, and have since continued to flourish there.

By way of general exposition, Mr. Battacharya comes to the conclusion that the Vajrayāna system is not traceable before the days of Indrabhūti, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century. The texts were actually compiled somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century, and contained as many as 300 *sādhana*s. The *sādhana*s were made by various authors far famed for Tantric lore and knowledge of Buddhist doctrines, and of these he has been able to identify as many as thirty-three names. These various *sādhana*s composed by different authors were collected together in works like the *Sādhana-mālā*. In the identification of Buddhist images there are likely to be various difficulties, because of even the variety of descriptions possible in the *sādhana*s, owing to geographical and other variations even including perhaps the doctrinal. The main point to take hold of is the Dhyāni Buddha to whom a particular image is affiliated. Dhyāni Buddhas are usually shown in miniature at the head of a particular image in the aureole or some otherwise. Again one ought to learn to distinguish the essential from the unessential parts of the accompaniments of a particular image. The first essential to identification is, as was pointed out above, the Dhyāni Buddha, and next the companions as distinct from other attendant figures, which may be added for effect or for some other purpose, and about which the artist himself is allowed a considerable amount of latitude. There is besides a reproduction in images of the letters of a *mantra* peculiar to a God shown on the aureole of the image. These may not be accidental or artistic embellishments. They are to be taken note of in the identification of images. Another noticeable feature is some of the Hindu Gods are made to appear along with the Buddhist ones. But it seems generally to be the case that the Hindu Gods and Goddesses are shown as Beings to be suppressed, and in the images they are so represented. Then Mr. Battacharya proceeds to explain the *āsanas* or the manner of seating images, in addition to the colour, weapons, etc. Proceeding to explain the 'Yab-yum' (in pairs) form ordinarily prevalent in Tibet of these images, he points out that these are the outcome of the conception of *śūnya* in the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism. *Śūnya* is in essence that about which neither existence nor non-existence, nor a

combination of the two nor a negation of the two is predicable. It is the manifestation of this *śūnya* in various forms that is represented in the large number of images of the Vajrayāna School. According to the Vajrayānists, this is the ultimate reality, and the various Gods and Goddesses are the mere conceptions of the individual of this *śūnya*, and have no real existence beyond. Vajrayāna and its conception of *śūnya* seem to challenge comparison with similar notions in Tantric Saivism. That is a department of study for which more work on both sides is a preliminary necessity.

The work is a publication of the first importance, and the reproductions of the images from photographs, and line-drawings are excellent, and do credit both to the author, and the publisher. It is matter for regret, however, that the excellence of the work is somewhat discounted by bad proof-reading, and the number of printer's errors is far too many to be excused in a work of this character. We are glad to note, however, that Mr. Battacharya is aware of this shortcoming, and we have no doubt he would remove these small blemishes from an otherwise excellent production when a next edition of his work should be called for. We congratulate the author for having given us a much needed work in the department of Indian culture, which wanted exposition badly. Let us hope, other scholars would follow in his wake, and provide systematic treatises upon various of the other schools of iconography, on the same plan as the work under review.

CATALOGUE OF TAMIL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PALACE LIBRARY, TANJORE

BY

PUNDIT OLAGANATHA PILLAI

The Palace Library in Tanjore was founded almost about the same time as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and had a wealth of manuscript material, in several departments unique. The library underwent various vicissitudes of fortune and was threatened with extinction about a decade since owing to litigation in regard to the succession to the late royal family of Tanjore. Good counsels prevailed and through the enlightened liberality of the contesting litigants, the continued maintenance of the library as a public

institution was assured. In consequence the library was placed in charge of a Committee of which the most active member was Mr. T. Sambamurti Rao, B.A., B.L.

The Committee have been able to issue as the first fruit of their labour the Catalogue of Tamil manuscripts in the library through the good offices of the Pundit editor. The Catalogue is a good piece of work; but shows that there are manuscripts in Tamil of considerable value in the library though there is none of the rarer ones. This is nothing surprising, as several are known to have migrated one way or another. It is to be hoped that the cataloguing will go on steadily as it is possible that what is wanting in Tamil by way of rarity may prove to be abundant in other languages. We congratulate the Committee and their Secretary on this first fruit of their labour.

Among the Pandya inscriptions of the Pandya period (A.D. 1190-1217) Alārayarman Pandya and Jatavarman Vira Pandya are represented by many. Two of these give us some details regarding the rates of taxation prevailing at the time: one details a dispute between the temple and the village assembly of Tirukosattiyur regarding collections. One of A.D. 1214 notes a long standing dispute between the Paraiyas and the caste-people resulting in loss of life on both sides, but settled amicably. Some records give us interesting glimpses of the taxes, *Naṅṅal*, *Anaṅṅam* and *Viniyogam* that fell upon the land.

Vijayanagara inscriptions of the year are comparatively few and not of great significance either. Among the miscellaneous inscriptions we come across the Tyagi Chiefs of Nellore, and some belonging to the Tanjore Nayakas, the Setupatis and the Kakaiyas. There are copies of ten Marathi inscriptions belonging to Maharaja Serfoji (A.D. 1793-1833) the texts of some of which were published some ten years back by Mr. T. Sambamurti Rao. The Moslem conquest of Telingana under the Bhamani King Firuz is also illustrated in one record.

C. S. S.

*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore
for the year ending June 30, 1924*

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY has given us a very valuable report full of matter of varied interest, monumental, epigraphical and literary. An Archaeological Museum was started during the year as an adjunct to the Archaeological Office 'with a view to make the study of Indian History realistic and interesting and also to link up the Archaeological Department with the Department of History in the University.' A detailed monumental survey was undertaken in several villages in the Hunsur, Arkalgud and Hassan Taluqs. The most important monument visited during the year is the twin temples at Mosale, a village to the south of Hassan, which are very good examples of Hoysala art and belong to the Kōravangala class of temples and are assignable to the twelfth century A. D.

The study of certain manuscripts revealed some points of great historical and cultural significance. Mahābhārata *Nāgakuṃṛa Cāritra* throws some light on the history of the Nāgas. The story of Nāgakuṃṛa is connected with the name of Kāṇḍi, Mūḥavāṇḍa,

King of Madura in the Pandya country and with the Śakas, with Harivarma, King of Girinagara, and Chandraprabha, King of Sindhudēsa. 'Though Śaka and Pallava are rather the names of dynasties than of individual kings, the mention of those names definitely marks the period of the adventures of Nāgakumāras.' The names of Rudrasena and Pravarasena must have had some basis of history. The report says that this Rudrasena, should, on the strength of chronological considerations, be the Śaka Rudrasena II whose date according to the chronology of the Śakas or Kshatrapas is about A. D. 258. The Pravarasena noted in the manuscript should be Pravarasena I of the Vākātakas; while the Chandragupta mentioned in the story is taken to be Chandragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty whom Dr. Shama Sastri put about A. D. 250 on the strength of several arguments which he adduced at great length in his last report.

This conclusion however still requires confirmation by epigraphical and numismatic evidence.

Another work in manuscript form is the *Gadyakarmāmṛita* of Sakala-Vidya-Chakravarti and is an historical prose work in Sanskrit modelled on Bana's *Harshacharita* and treating of a ninety days' battle between Narasimha II Hoysala and the combined armies of the Pandyas, the Magadhas and the Kādavas. The Hoysala interfered to protect the Chola Rajaraja III against Maravarman Sundara Pandya; and the Kādava referred to was apparently Kopperunjinga, the chief of Sendamangalam who even kept Rajaraja III a prisoner for a time. The Hoysala compelled the Kādava to release the Chola monarch and restored the latter to his position. This intervention of Narasimha is known as the First Hoysala Intervention and is dated (cir) A. D. 1230.

Another work, the *Guruganaralnākara* of Somacharitrangani throws a flood of light on the history of Gujarat in the latter half of the fifteenth century and treats of the life and work of a Jain ascetic, Lakshmi-sāgara-gani of Tāpagachchha. This ascetic succeeded in combining the *ganās* of the Jains under the Tāpagachchha, converted a number of Dīgambaras into Svētambaras and introduced a spirit of harmony and co-operation among the neighbouring Jaina rulers. Under him the Academy (or University) of Tāpagachchha conferred degrees of four kinds (Vāchaka, Vibhuda, Gani and Sūri) on students of the Jaina religion and philosophy and even admitted women candidates to its courses, conferring on them the title of *Gaṇini*. The

book also gives us a good picture of the harmonious relations that prevailed between the Muhammadan conquerors of Malwa and Gujarat and the Hindu aristocracy and people.

Manuscripts discovered also tell us of the Pragvata line of kings who ruled at Samadhika in Gujarat and largely patronized the Jains.

The report gives us the results of the examination of 124 records, including four grants of the early Western Ganga kings. Three of these four, the Chūkuttūr Grant of Simhavarma, the Kodanjeruvu Grant of Avinita and the Nallala Grant of Durvinita stand the primary tests of genuineness and can therefore be regarded as reliable. It is only the Ālur Grant of Narasimha whose genuineness may be questioned inasmuch as some additions are made in it after the subscription of the engraver's name. But the genealogy and the synchronistic and other historical matters mentioned in it cannot be doubted. Two important stone inscriptions of the year relate to the Ganga kings, Sripurusha and Sivamāra, seven to the Nolamba kings of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., eight to Hoysala rulers and twelve to the Vijayanagara kings; while three copper plate grants relate to the Mysore Rajahs, Chamaraja Udayar VI and Krishnaraja Udayar II.

C. S. S.

The Indian Antiquary, May, 1925

Remarks on the Andaman Islanders and their country. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart.

The Yezidis or Devil-worshippers of Mosul. By H. C. Luke.

June, 1925

Legends of the Godlings of the Simla Hills. By Pandit Sukh Chain and H. A. Rose.

Songs and Sayings about the Great in Northern India. By the late Dr. W. Crooke.

July, 1925

Waddell on Phoenician Origins. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart.

Songs and Sayings about the Great in Northern India. By the late Dr. W. Crooke.

Legends of the Godlings of the Simla Hills. By Pandit Sukh Chain and H. A. Rose.

the Spring of 1624. Here his fortunes revived for a time. Finally however he was brought to battle near Allahabad, heavily defeated, and compelled to fly to the Deccan. Here he continued to fight till 1625, when dispirited by all his losses, he made his peace with his father.

Fortunately in 1626, Mahabat Khan, the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, rose in rebellion, supported, morally at any rate, by Prince Parviz. Thanks to this rising Shah Jahan's own rebellion was forgotten, and he gradually regained his power as Mahabat Khan lost his. Prince Parviz died in the same year. Finally in the next year Jahangir himself died and Asaf Khan—Shah Jahan's father-in-law immediately marched against Prince Shahryar and defeated him near Lahore, while Shah Jahan marched from the Deccan. Prince Khusru's son, whom Asaf Khan had placed on the throne as a stop-gap, fled to Persia and Shah Jahan thus ascended the throne at the beginning of 1628.

II

Shah Jahan's Wars

In an Empire composed of so many different races, where communications were poor, and the chances of winning a kingdom by a happy stroke of the sword were many, military preparedness was the first and last necessity. Anything else was a luxury. And that's many of such luxuries were introduced and encouraged is one of the chief reasons for assigning the title Great to Babur and his five immediate successors. First of all therefore we must turn our attention to Shah Jahan's wars.

The peace was broken in 1629 by the Uzbeks raiding into Afghanistan. Right up to the walls of Kabul was the country ravaged, and siege was laid to that town. On the approach however of Mahabat Khan with a large army they retired into their central Asian wilds. This was followed by a rising in Bandalkhand of no very great importance, although it dragged on for some time. Eventually the leader—Jhujhar Singh—submitted. A few years later he engineered a second rising which ended in his death. Otherwise the Rajputs were quiet throughout the reign. Indeed towards its close Dara Shikoh's army was chiefly composed of Rajputs.

A far more dangerous man was Khan Jahan Lodi. He was an

LIFE AND REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN

Afghan by birth, who, in the time of Jahangir, had risen to high military rank, and had taken part with Parviz and Mahabat Khan in the operations against Shah Jahan. On the death of Parviz the Deccan was given into his charge. He at once allied himself with the Nizam-al-mulk, ruler of the Ahmednagar district, and in 1630 turned against Shah Jahan. The Emperor decided to take the field in person, and to combine with the crushing of Lodi the final settlement of the Deccan. Lodi was in the Ahmednagar district. Asaf Khan, the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, engaged the rebel forces in detail. Lodi was defeated and compelled to fly. He attempted to reach Afghanistan *via* Bandalkhand where he tried to stir up a fresh rising. He met with no success however, and was eventually captured and put to death in 1632.

As soon as Lodi had fled over the Narbada River, Asaf Khan turned his attention to the Nizam Shah. All this time Shah Jahan was in Burhanpur with his wife, Mumtaz-i-Mahal. Operations were proceeding quite satisfactorily in the early part of 1630 when Fath Khan, son of Jahangir's old enemy Malik Ambar, the Nizam's chief minister, imprisoned his sovereign, and opened negotiations with Shah Jahan. He was promptly ordered to surrender the Nizam, and was only too willing to obey. A young boy was then placed on the throne and Fath Khan became virtually supreme. In 1631 he resisted for a short time the entry of the Imperial forces into Daulatabad, but quickly submitted. He was rewarded by being allowed to murder the youthful ruler, and to hold Ahmednagar as a fief. Thus ended the independent state of that name.

In June, 1631 Mumtaz-i-Mahal died at Burhanpur. Her husband betook himself to Agra, and in 1632 began there her beautiful tomb. Mahabat Khan was left as Viceroy in the Deccan.

Mohamed Adil Khan, ruler of Bijapur, had viewed with alarm the gradual decline of the power of Ahmednagar and feared an end to his own independence. His fears were well founded and Asaf Khan's invasion in 1631 did not come entirely as a surprise. He had been able to make some preparations. The country was devastated and the army retired inside the strong fortress of Bijapur. By reason of the scarcity of supplies, and the consequent disease, Asaf Khan was compelled to retire.

Mahabat Khan died in 1633 and as Shah Jahan was then in Kashmir,

Aruvāymoli

BY

A. RANGASWAMI SARASVATI

Assistant Epigraphist

I READ with very great interest the learned article on the Aruvāymoli Pass in your valuable Journal from the pen of my friend Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer of Trivandrum to which you have given a deservedly notable place. In that article he has traced the history of the various periods when Kēraḷa came in contact with Imperial South India and illustrated his statements by valuable extracts from Epigraphical publications like the *S. I. I.* and the *Sources of Vijayanagar*. At the end of the article, on page 22, he has attempted to explain the derivation and etymology of the name Aruvāy of the historical pass and considers various alternative origins as ஆரவாய்மொழி, அருகன்வழி, அருவாய்மொழி, அரண்வாய்மொழி. I think my friend has entirely missed the correct import of the expression which I propose to give below. The latter portion of the name of the pass is வழி instead of மொழி which Mr. Ramanathan himself suggests. But it is only with reference to the main stem of the word that he has been misled. I give below what I think is the correct derivation of the expression.

The word is found used in two places in what is called the Sangham literature. The two works that have this word are the *Ahaṇḍāṇṇu* and the *Puraṇḍāṇṇu*, anthologies of verses culled from various authors. The references are here given:—

கனைகுர லிசைக்கும் விரைசெலற் கடுங்கனை
முரண்மிகு வடுகர் முன்னுற மோரியர்
தென்றிசை மாதிர முன்னிய வரவிற்கு
விண்ணுற வோங்கிய பனியிருங் குன்றத்
தொண்கதிர்த் திகிரி யுருவிய குறைத்த—*Aham* 281.
வரை யிறந்தவரோ சென்றனர்

வின்பொரு தென்குடயியறேர் மோரியர்
திண்கதிர்த் திகிரி குறைத்த
வலக விடைசு யடுவாய் நிலைய
மலர்வாய்மொழி தான.—*Puram* 175.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Kāśīs in Ancient India—(concluded)

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., F.R.H.S.

Kāśī as a Buddhist Centre

KASĪ regained in the domain of religion that eminence which it lost in the field of politics. From very early times it became a great centre of Buddhism. Once Kassapa Buddha was dwelling at Isipatana Migadāya (Sarnath) in Benares. Kiki, king of Benares, went to see him. Buddha preached religious instruction to him. The King was much pleased and invited Kassapa with the assembly of bhikkhus to his house. Kassapa with the bhikkhus was fed sumptuously. After dinner Kiki requested him to spend the lent there, but Kassapa refused. Kiki asked Kassapa whether he had any disciple who showed greater respect to him. Kassapa replied that there was one named Ghatikāra who used to show greater respect for him. Kassapa then related the qualities of Ghatikāra which made him the foremost of his lay disciples.¹

On another occasion, Kassapa Buddha came to Benares with 1,000 *arabats*. The inhabitants of Benares were offering alms to the guests except four sons of bankers who committed adultery throughout their life. In consequence of this sinful deed, they were tormented in the Kumbhipāka hell.²

At the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa there lived at Benares a married couple. The couple accepted the discipleship of Kāśyapa immediately before his death.³

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. ii, pp. 49 ff.

² *Dhammapadam Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 9 foll.

³ *Dīrghavadāna*, p. 22.

Bhaddā Kapilānī became the chief queen of the king of Benares on account of her approving the offering of cloth to the Buddha in a previous birth. She was afterwards given the first place amongst those remembering previous births.¹

Buddha Gautama knew that he would give his first discourse on the *Dhammacakkā* to the five disciples living at Benares who attended him during his penance and who afterwards became famous as the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus. Buddha went to Benares and met them there. They first decided not to welcome him but when he came near them, they did receive him cordially and gave him seat and water for ablution. At first they called the Buddha by his name *āvuso* (friend). They were advised not to address him thus. The Buddha said that he had attained *Nirvāṇam* (*amataṃ*) and that he would teach them. He told them that their object would be fulfilled by following his instruction. He preached before them the sermon known as the *Dhammacakkappavattana*. The sermon had the effect on Kondaṇṇa, the chief of the group of five. He became an *arahat* immediately and the remaining four became *arahats* very soon.²

It is stated in another Buddhist text that the hero went to Benares in order to establish the kingdom of the truth. When he established the kingdom of the truth and preached the most excellent truth, the conversion of eighteen koṭis of beings took place. Kondaṇṇa, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma and Assaji, the five great *theras*, attained emancipation when he preached the *Anattalakkhaṇa* discourse. Residing in Bārānaśī at Isipatana, the Jīna released the four friends of Yaśa and besides, the fifty youths. Having spent the rainy season in Bārānaśī, the Tathāgata released the Bhaddavaggiyas in the Kappāsika grove.³

The Buddha met an Ājīvaka named Upaka on his way to Benares to preach the Wheel of Law at Isipatana Migadāva.⁴ He reached Benares after crossing the Ganges at Payāga direct from Verañja as the bhikkhus were troubled much on account of famine at Verañja.⁵ A nāga king named Erakaputto was taught by the Buddha at the foot

¹ *Therīgāthā Commentary*, pp. 71-2.

² *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. i, pp. 171 *et seq.*; cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, vol. v, pp. 420 *et seq.*; *Kathāvatthu*, pp. 97 and 559.

³ *Dīpavamsa*, pp. 119-20; *Vinaya Texts*, pt. i, pp. 90, 91 and 97.

⁴ *Therīgāthā Commentary*, p. 220.

⁵ *Samanapāsādikā* (P. T. S.), vol. i, p. 201.

THE KĀŚĪS IN ANCIENT INDIA

poor Brahmans and also to bear the expenses of their teaching.¹ Visayha, a great merchant of Benares, had alms-halls built at the four city gates, in the heart of the city and at the door of his own house. He distributed alms at these six points and every day six hundred thousand men went there to beg.² In Benares, a certain rich Brahman named Śaṅkha had built alms-halls in six places, one at each of the four city gates, one in the midst of it, one by his own door. Daily he gave in alms six hundred thousand pieces of money.³

When Prince Janasandha on his father's death became king, he caused to be built six almonries at the four gates of the city, in the midst of it, and at the palace gate. There everyday he used to distribute six hundred thousand pieces of money, and stirred up all India with almsgiving.⁴

Kāśī, a centre of industry and trade

In Benares fine cloths widely known as Kāśī cloths were manufactured.⁵ In the *Lalitavistara* we find mention of Kāśī cloth being highly spoken of by Chandaka.⁶ This fine industry is still alive. Benares cloth by reason of its fineness of texture does not take the oil.⁷ There was in Benares a market known as Ivory workers' bazaar where ivory works were sold.⁸ There were stone cutters or experts in working stone-quarrying and shaping stones.⁹ Five hundred carpenters lived in a village in Benares.¹⁰ There was also in Benares a great town of carpenters containing a thousand families. These carpenters avowed publicly that they could make a bed or a chair or a house. But when they took a large advance from the people, they proved to be liars. They were then so much harassed by their customers that they had to leave the town.¹¹ A carpenter of Benares prepared mechanical wooden birds by which he conquered a tract of land in the Himavanta and became the ruler of that land. His capital was known as Kaṭṭhavāhanagara. He sent valuable presents to the king of Benares and made friendship with him. The king of Benares in return sent him the news of the advent of Kassapa Buddha in

¹ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 239.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 377.

⁴ *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., p. 92.

⁵ *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 478.

⁶ *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁸ Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, p. 215.

⁹ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, vol. ii, p. 197.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 159.

Benares. Kaṭṭhavāhanarāja sent his minister and the Yuvarāja to see the Buddha in Benares but when they reached Benares Buddha obtained *mahāparinibbāna*. Afterwards the Yuvarāja with a bhikkhu and the relic of the Buddha went back to the Kaṭṭhavāhanagara and the bhikkhu was later successful in converting the king and his subjects into Buddhism.¹

From the *Aṭṭhaka Jātaka* we find that there were in Benares rich merchants who used to trade in costly wares and sometimes used to go outside the city with valuable articles to trade.² The Benares merchants used to go about hawking goods which donkies carried for them.³ In Benares there were elephant trainers skilled in the art of managing elephants.⁴ Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to Benares for sale.⁵ Sindh horse was available in Benares. It was known as the swift-as-the-wind. It was the king's horse of ceremony.⁶ In Benares there were corn merchants who used to sell corns.⁷ A trader of Bārānāsī went to buy goods with five hundred carts, to a frontier country and bought sandal wood.⁸ A trader of Benares used to trade by putting his goods on the back of an ass. Once he went to Taxila for trade and gave his ass rest there by taking down the goods from its back.⁹

A trader of Benares was going to Sāvattī with five hundred carts full of red cloth, but he could not cross the river as it was full of water, so he had to stay there to sell his goods.¹⁰

At Benares there was a rich banker named Mahāddhanasēṭṭhi. His parents taught him dancing and music. Another rich banker had a daughter who was trained in dancing and music; and both of them were married. Mahāddhanasēṭṭhi began to drink wine and was addicted to gambling with the result that he lost his own wealth as well as his wife's. Afterwards he began to beg for alms.¹¹

A Bodhisatta Maitraknyaka neglecting his mother went to Benares and declared himself a merchant. He went to trade on the sea-shore.¹²

¹ *Suttanipāṭa Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 575 foll.

² *Fausboll, Jātaka*, vol. i, pp. 98 foll.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 109.

⁶ *Jātaka*, vol. ii, p. 338.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 198.

⁸ *Suttanipāṭa Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 523 foll.

⁹ *Dhammapadam Commentary*, vol. i, p. 123.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 429.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 129 foll.

¹² *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 593-4.

taking his brother with him, for he feared, as he was very popular, that in his absence, his own power should be usurped.

Towards the close of 1618 Shah Jahan assumed responsibility for the capture of the fort of Kangra in the Punjab. Hitherto it had resisted all attempts. Even Akbar had tried, but had failed. Eventually after a long investment the fort fell on November 16, 1620 and Shah Jahan's cup of victory was full. In such troublous times however so successful a general could not be left unemployed and he was immediately sent back to the Deccan.

In the spring of 1621 operations in the South were begun in earnest. Mandu was again being besieged. The rebels however were quickly driven from there to Burhanpur, and thence to Kirki. From here Malik Ambar fled to Daulatabad, but as most of his force deserted him he submitted: and Shah Jahan was thus saved the necessity of raising the siege of Ahmadabad. Shah Jahan remained in the Deccan throughout the next year. Two events then secured his recall. The first was the capture of Kandahar by the Persians, and the second was Nur Jahan's distrust of his growing power. She endeavoured to secure her own ascendancy by transferring her intrigues to Shahryar's support. Hitherto he had been something of a nonentity. Now however she married him to her own daughter

her previous husband. In addition she secured an order for the despatch of Shah Jahan to Afghanistan. Still another reason for this was the illness of Jahangir. Shah Jahan however was not so easily to be hood-winked. He declined to move northwards, and took possession of some of Nur Jahan's estates. His father remonstrated with him, but eventually gave him permission to remain in the Deccan. He insisted however on the return of his army. This Shah Jahan would not agree to. On his army depended his position. Jahangir therefore began to make martial preparations for subduing his obstreperous son. In the meanwhile, he began to march north, but with Delhi, not Afghanistan, as his objective. A battle was fought near the capital in which Shah Jahan was worsted. He retired into Gujarat where he raised a large sum of money. The Imperial Army continued to harass him. His forces gradually dwindled and he was compelled to retreat rapidly towards the east coast. The privations of his hard-pressed army were intensified by the rain. Eventually he managed to escape into Bengal with a small army in

these many thousand elephants and chariots, my great territory full of jewels and pearls teeming with wealth and grain of all kinds, these women like the nymphs of heaven, and all this splendour which is mine alone, is due only to an alms-gift of four portions of gruel given to four paccekabuddhas. I have gained all this through them.¹

There was a time-honoured drinking festival in which people used to drink strong drink and quarrel with one another. Sometimes their legs and arms were broken, crowns were cracked, ears were torn off.²

Slaughter of deer, swine and other animals for making offerings to goblins was in vogue in Benares.³

There were gallant warriors in Benares.⁴

There was a belief current amongst the people of Benares that when kings ruled with justice and equity, when they reigned peacefully, all things retained their respective nature and character; but when kings ruled with injustice and iniquity, when their reign became one of terror and tyranny, all things lost their respective nature. Oil, honey, molasses and the like, and even the wild fruits lost their respective sweetness and flavour.⁵ There was a superstitious belief in Benares as in other countries, that it would be an ill-omen if the wind touching the body of a *caṇḍāla* touched that of a person of other castes.⁶

In Benares there was a Brahman who professed to tell whether swords were lucky or not.⁷

The Brahmins of Benares knew that among the aquatic animals, fish, tortoise, crab and among the beings living on land, deer, swan, peacock, partridge and men were of golden colour.⁸

People of Benares used to go to Taxila, two thousand leagues⁹ away from Benares, to receive education.¹⁰ *The Dhammapada Commentary* tells us that a king of Benares learnt a *mantra* from a young Brahman by paying him 1000 *kaṭṭhapaṇas* as the teacher's fee. The king saved his life from the hands of the barber who was instigated by the *Senāpati* to kill him, by that *mantra*.¹¹

A Brahman of Taxila sent his son Susīma to learn Vedic *mantra* from a teacher who was his father's friend. The teacher taught him well.¹²

¹ *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 406 foll. ² *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 114. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 263. ⁵ *Jātaka*, Fausboll, vol. iii, pp. 110-11.

⁶ *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 233. ⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 455. ⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 335.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 47. ¹⁰ *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. i, p. 250.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 251 foll. ¹² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 445.

A young man of Benares went to Taxila to learn archery from a distinguished teacher and he was well-versed in the art and the teacher being satisfied gave his daughter in marriage to him.¹

In the city of Bārānasi there were four heretical schools.²

Government

From the *Jālakas* we learn that Benares was ruled with justice and equity. The ministers of the king of Benares were just. No false suit was brought into the court, and true cases were so very small in number that sometimes ministers had to sit idly and go away without finding a single suitor. The king of Benares was always on the alert to know his own faults. He used to wander about in the city in disguise, but none told him anything against him. Once he went outside the city to know whether there was anyone who might know anything against him. At this time, the king of Kosala who ruled with righteousness started out to find out his faults from persons outside his city. On the way the two kings met, the road was very narrow, there was no room for one carriage to pass another. Each of the drivers spoke of the virtues of his king, the king of Kosala and his driver descended from the carriage, loosed horses and moved the carriage out of the way to give place to the king of Benares.³

In the *Dhammapada Commentary*, we read that a king of Benares went out in disguise to enquire whether any of his subjects spoke ill of him. For 1000 *kaṭṭhapaṇas* he learnt from a young Brahman of Benares a *mantra* which enabled him to read the evil thoughts of people.⁴

In spite of good government the country was not free from crime. There are instances of highway robbery and house-breaking. In the *Satapatta Jātaka* we find that the Bodhisatta gathered five hundred robbers and became their chief and lived by highway robbery and house-breaking.⁵

Cakkhupāla was a physician at Benares. He gave medicine to a woman who deceived him by telling a lie. He was angry with her and gave her a medicine which made her blind.⁶

¹ *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. iv, p. 66.

² Beal's *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 28. ³ *Jātaka*, vol. ii, pp. 1-5.

⁴ *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. i, pp. 251 foll.

⁵ *Jātaka*, Fausboll, vol. ii, pp. 387 and 388.

⁶ *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. i, p. 20.

Kāśī in the Maurya, Kushān, Gupta and Pāla periods

Kāśī was a place of importance during the Maurya, Kushān, Gupta and Pāla periods. The *Aśokavadāna* tells us that Aśoka visited Benares with his preceptor, Upagupta.¹

Not far from Benares lie the ruins of Sārnāth. One of Aśoka's edicts known as the Sārnāth Edict has been discovered here. It points out that the Buddhist Church or Saṃgha should not be rent in twain by any person and that he who would do it must be expelled from the Church. It further points out that the lay disciples must make themselves acquainted with the ordinance. On every fast day throughout the year the *Dhammamahāmālā* (high officers) must attend the fast-day service in order to make themselves acquainted with the order.²

In the early centuries of the Christian era Sārnāth probably formed a part of the Kushān Empire. This is rendered probable by the discovery of many inscriptions, e.g., Buddhist umbrella post inscription of the time of Mahārāja Kaṇishka. It is written in a mixed dialect and records the erection of a Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post at Bārānāsī.

We have also a Buddhist image inscription of the time of Mahārāja Kaṇishka. This is also written in a mixed dialect. Several other inscriptions prove the importance of Sārnāth as a Buddhist centre and two of them refer to a Rājāh named Aśvaghoṣa.

(1) Sārnāth pillar inscription of the time of Rājāh Aśvaghoṣa.

(2) Sārnāth stone inscription of the time of Rājāh Aśvaghoṣa.³

In the Gupta age we have inscriptions of Kumāra Gupta, Budhagupta and Prakatāditya. The Sārnāth stone inscription of Prakatāditya was discovered by General Cunningham and is one of a king named Prakatāditya whose capital appears to have been Kāśī, i.e., Benares; it is dated but on palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription and the object of it is to record the building of a temple of God Vishnu. The chief interest attaching to this

¹ Smith's *Asoka*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. x, Appendix, pp. 93-4.

inscription consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of Bālāditya.¹

Sārnāth continued to be an important Buddhist centre down to the Pāla period. The Sārnāth inscription of Mahipāla records that in *Samvat* 1083 a Buddhist *stūpa* and a *dharmacakra* were repaired and a new *gandhakuṭi* was built by Sthirapāla and who were probably the sons of Mahipāla, king of Gauḍa.

The eight holy places which furnished the materials for the building of the *gandhakuṭi* were very likely decayed *stūpas* situated in the neighbourhood. The exact spot where the stone was found by Jagat-singh's men and where the *stūpa* repaired by the two brothers must have stood, has been ascertained by General Cunningham as lying 520 ft. to the west of the *Dhamick stūpa*.²

Fā-Hien visited the city and found it 12 *yojanas* in extent. Rather more than 10 li to the north-east of the city, he found the *vihāra* in the Isipatana Migadāva.³

Hsuen Tsang visited the city and found it 4000 li in circuit. The city-wards were close together. There were numerous inhabitants who had boundless wealth, their houses being full of rare valuables. The people were gentle and courteous, and esteemed devotion to learning. The majority believed in the other systems and only a few of them were Buddhists. The pilgrims found the climate temperate, harvests abundant, vegetation luxuriant. There were more than 30 monasteries and 100 *deva* temples.⁴

¹ *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii, pp. 264-85.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1885, pp. 139-40.

³ Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, p. 94.

⁴ Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 47.

Karunakara-Tondaiman

BY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR

It is in Jayaṅḡḡḡār's *Kalingattuparani*, a well-known war poem in the realm of Tamil that we first catch a glimpse of the hidden memories of Karuṇākara-Tonḡaimān. Besides Jayaṅḡḡḡār, there have come to light other fresh sources of information, giving us a clearer glimpse into the life-history of Karuṇākara.

In the 'All-India Oriental Conference' held recently at Madras some views concerning his identity have been put forward; and I am impelled to make an endeavour to arrive at a definite conclusion by presenting all the evidence I have been able to gather regarding Karuṇākara.

It is well known to students of history that Kulōttunga I was a powerful sovereign who occupied the Chōla throne, for forty-eight years from A.D. 1070 to 1118. His greatness was in part due to his Commander-in-Chief, who was also at one time Chief Minister of the State. The following stanzas from the poem of Jayaṅḡḡḡār bear testimony to the fact that Karuṇākara was the chief of Vaṇḡai, that his ancestors were Pallavas, that he assumed the designation of Tonḡaimān, and that he was the Chief Minister of Kulōttunga I.

“வண்டை வளம்பதி பாடரே

* * *

பல்லவர் தோன்றலைப் பாடரே (520)

“மண்ட லீகரு மாநில வேந்தரும்

வந்து வணங்கு கடைத்தலை வண்டைமன்

தொண்டை மான்முதன் மந்திர பாலகர்

குழந்து தன்கழல் குடி யிருக்கவே (314).

“இறைமொழிந்தனவி லெழுக்கவிகமவை

எறிவென்று கழல்தொழுதனன்

மறைமொழித்தபதி மாபின்வந்தருல

திலகன் வண்டைநக ராசனே”

The author of the *Tonḡaimaṇḡala-satakam*, a work of about the eighteenth century, calls him a native of Tonḡai-nāḡu:

¹ A free translation by Mr. R. Srinivāsa Dēsikan, B.A., of a Tamil Essay read by Mr. M. Raghava Aiyangar, Chief Pandit, Lexicon Office, Madras, at the second day of the 24th anniversary of the Madura Tamil Sangam celebrated under the presidency of Srinān R. Raghava Aiyangar, Vidwān, Sēthu Samasthānam.

“பண்டையொர் காளை லோரேழ் கலிங்கப் பரண்கொண்டு

செண்டையு மேருவிற் தீட்டுவித் தோன்கழற் செம்பியன்சேய்

தொண்டைநன் னாடு புரக்கின்ற கோனந்தி தோன்றலெங்கள்

வண்டையர் கோனங் கருணா கரன்ருண்டை மண்டலமே.” (92)

Some historians have therefore been led to think that Vaṇḡalūr in Chingleput District is Vaṇḡai of the poem; and they base their conclusion upon the fact that Karuṇākara had assumed the title of Tonḡaimān, that he was one of the descendants of the Pallavas, and that he was mentioned as one belonging to Tonḡaimaṇḡalam which was once the centre of Pallava activities. In the light of other fresh sources of information, this chain of argument loses much of its force. We cannot deny his Pallava ancestry; for the following sober facts of history have confirmed it:—

In the period of Chola ascendancy, the power of the Pallavas had sunk into utter insignificance. Some of the Pallava princes became either ministers, or commanders in the Chola army; while others were reduced actually to the condition of petty chieftains of villages either in Tonḡaimaṇḡalam or in Chōlamaṇḡalam. Of those men of Pallava ancestry who won renown by rising to important offices in the Chola administration, Karuṇākara was one.

Though it would seem reasonable to call him a native of Tonḡaimaṇḡalam inasmuch as his ancestors had belonged to it, yet the unearthing of new facts connected with his life clearly reveals that he belonged not to Vaṇḡalūr in Tonḡaimaṇḡalam, but Vaṇḡalaṇḡjēri in Chōlamaṇḡalam. In support of this fact we may draw the readers' attention to the following inscription:—

“ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ, கோ. இராஜகேசரி வர்மான் திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்கசோழதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு நாற்பத்துமூன்று; ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழ மண்டலத்து எயிற்கோட்டத்து எயில்காட்டுத் திருவத்தியூராழ்வார்க்குச் சோழமண்டலத்துக் குலோத்துங்க சோழவணநாட்டுத் திருநெய்யூர்ப்பாட்டு வண்டையுச்சேரியுடையான் வேளான் கருணாகரனுான் தொண்டைமான் தேவியார் அழகிய மணவாளன் மண்டையாழ்வார் வைத்த திருநுத்தாவிற்கு.” (S. I. I., vol. iv, No. 862).

From this epigraph we gather that Vaṇḡalaṇḡjēri belonged to Tirunarayūr-Nāḡu in Chōlamaṇḡalam. As this inscription came into existence in the forty-third year of Kulōttunga I, as the line *Karuṇākara-nārāṇa-Tonḡaimānār* alludes to Karuṇākara, the chief of Vaṇḡalaṇḡjēri.

Vaṇḍuvāñjēri is one of the villages that composed Tirunaraiyūr-nādu; and so it cannot allude to Vaṇḍuvāñjēri in Tirutturaippūndi Taluk as has been wrongly pointed out by some writers, since the inscriptions unmistakably state that it belonged to Tirunaraiyūr-nādu.

The name Karuṇākara which the chieftain of this place assumed has a peculiar interest for us. It kindles in us a host of sacred associations. It is a name applied to Sri Rama by ancient Tamil writers of some renown. For instance, in Dharbhaśayanam or Tiruppullāṇi near Ramnad, the recumbent Deity Sri Rama is called Karuṇākarapperumāl; and the exquisitely beautiful line in *Rāmānuja-dīpyasūri-charitai* (p. 164) confirms the statement; and it literally means 'One waiting at the door of the sea for a passage across the waters.'¹ Kambar calls him Karuṇākara² of prayer which he has placed at the beginning of his great epic the *Ramayana*. Jayan-gondār in his *Kaliṅgattupparani* refers to Rama as Karuṇākara in the following :—

“இலங்கை மேறித் தருணாகாரன்
இசைவெஞ் சிலையன் வலிகேயர்
கலங்க மேறித் தருணாகாரன்
கனப்போர் பாடத் திரமினோ”

Here the author strikes a note of similarity between Sri Rama and Karuṇākara and makes a pun upon the word Karuṇākara and incidentally alludes to both the victories which the respective heroes gained the one in Lanka and the other in Kalinga.

In the inscription under discussion we also find the beloved consort of Karuṇākara assume the name *Alakiya-Manavālinimayalai*. The suffix 'இ' indicates a feminine one, and since the Deity at Sri Rangam is called *Alakiya-Manavālin*, there is every likelihood of the female deity being called by as peculiar a term *Alakiya-Manavālini*.

“புலவீழ் தருணாயங்கட றயின்றனன் தருக்கடனோக்கி” (கம்பராய வகு
புலவீழ் வந்திவண்டு. 5); “தருணயோந்நுங்கடல் தருக்கடலோக்கி கிடத்தே”
(குறவாய்மொழியிடு—5, 10, 6; 6, 9, 3).

“வருணலயத்தை வழிவேண்டிச் சரணம்க்கிடத்த
கருணகாப்பெருமையுத் திருவடிசொழுது”

² “தாராய னுய நமவென்னு நன்னெஞ்சர்
பாராரும் பாதம் பணித்தேந்த மாற்றியோன்
காராகு மேனிக் கருணகாழர்க்கி
காரா தனியென் னறிபாமை யொன்றமே”

Now that she took the name *Alakiya-Manavalini* and made a gift of a perpetual lamp to the Vaishnava Deity at Attigiri now called 'Little Conjeevaram' it is likely that she was of Vaishnava leanings. The ancient Pallavas, we know, were some of them Vaishnava.

In the work of Jayaṅgondār we catch another glimpse of the family circle of Karuṇākara. He says in the following stanza that Karuṇākara had an elder brother Pallavaraśar by name, that he too was one of the commanders of Kulōttunga I and that he had accompanied his brother Karuṇākara in his celebrated expedition to Kalinga :—

“தொண்டை யர்க்காசின் முன்வருஞ் சரவ்
துங்க வென்விடை யுயர்த்தகோன்
வண்டை யர்க்காசு பல்லவர்க்காசு
மால்க ளிற்றின்மிசை கொள்ளவே”

The line “தொண்டை யர்க்காசின் முன்வருஞ் சரவ்” which means the one who had been born before the chief of the Tondai, namely, Karuṇākara, and who was as bounteous as the celestial cow, points out to Karuṇākara's elder brother; but, nevertheless, he acted only as his lieutenant in the war of Kalinga; and the following facts bear witness to it :—

In the 350th stanza of *Kalingattupparani* it is said that it was Karuṇākara who first mounted his war-elephant. In the next two stanzas, we find the author making mention of the fact that Pallavaraśar, Vānakōvaraiyan, and Muḍikōṇḍaśōlan, got on their elephants in orderly succession immediately after Karuṇākara and so it can be inferred, that Karuṇākara was the Commander-in-Chief and that Pallavaraśar, and others were his lieutenants. But the new Editor of the *Kalingattupparani* being unaware of the fact that the 351st verse of the *Parani* deals with Karuṇākara's elder brother causes confusion in his interpretation of the stanza by saying that it refers to Karuṇākara himself.

And it seems to me that this Pallavaraśar might be safely identified with the one who was called in Kulōttunga I's reign as *Śenapati-Rajendra-Muvēnda-Vēlan-Pallavaraśar* for the following reasons :—

In the first place, his title itself was a sure indication of his position in the army.

Secondly, several inscriptions make references to his having been also a chief officer in the state.

And, since in the reign of Kulōttunga I there was no other Pallavaraśar, who occupied an important position in the Chola army, we may assume that he might be Karuṇākara's brother.¹

In the *Cholamaṇḍala-śatakam* written two hundred years ago by Ātmanātha Dēśikar of Vēlūr, we come upon the stanza revealing to us of the existence of a Karuṇākara, who is said to have belonged to a place called Pūtaṁgalam, a little hamlet in Negapatam Taluk; and we also gather from it that he made several gifts to Sri Tyāgarājasvami of Tiruvālūr; but there is little room for us to regard him as the conqueror of Kalinga, as he was only a native of Pūtaṁgalam, and as he had absolutely no connection with our Karuṇākara of Vaṇḍiāḍjēri.

Now, we shall unfold the story of the conquest of Kalinga as recorded in Jayaṅgondār's *Kalingattupparani* and in the inscriptions of the times.

It happened that Vijayadhara, the grandson of Gangaikonda Chōla through his daughter, and the son of Rāja Rāja, the Eastern Chalukya king, was adopted into the Chōla dynasty, and brought up, in Gangaikondacholapuram, by his maternal grandmother, the consort of Gangaikonda Chōla, as a fit successor to the Chola throne.

Vijayadhara had shown in his youth promise of his future greatness. He was endowed with a powerful intellect and various kingly qualities besides which marked him out as a great hero.

In his early years, the reins of government were in the hands of his maternal uncle, Vira-Rajendra; but it occurred that while Vijayadhara had gone on an expedition to Śakkarakkoṭṭam in the north, his uncle died suddenly; and as a result, one of the illegitimate scions of the royal family endeavoured to get possession of the Chola crown. The people got infuriated by this act of usurpation and the whole land was plunged into great confusion.

But when Vijayadhara heard that his uncle had died and that there was no peace in the land, he hurried back, put down the disorder and ascended the throne by right of adoption.

And this Vijayadhara was variously known as Rājendra, Kulōttunga, Abhaya, etc., and in his reign the power of hostile kings was so humbled that they became his vassals paying him annual tribute.

Some years rolled by; one day while Kulōttunga was hunting in

¹ See my article on *Kalingattupparani* (*Sen-Tamil*, vol. xxiii, p. 183).

the woodlands on the banks of the Kaveri, a desire to go on an excursion similar to those of the Palar, seized him and he started on the expedition with a band of his followers.

On his way, he made a sojourn at Chidambaram where he worshipped Sri-Nataraja; and then went to Tiruvatikai, and at last reached Conjevaram.

In that far-famed city when he was seated on his royal throne in a finely-decorated hall at the south-east corner of his palace, a host of kings had come bringing their customary dues. And the monarch acknowledged them with marks of extreme regard and affection; and, turning to his private secretary (*Tiru-mandira-olai*), enquired:—'Has any of our vassal kings failed to make his appearance with the respect due to us?' The Secretary replied, with bated breath, that the king of Kalinga had not graced the occasion and that he had failed in his duty already twice.

Kulōttunga, vowed that he would reduce the power of the king of Kalinga to utter insignificance by shattering his hill-forts, which were the main source of his strength, and which made him set at naught his authority.

Karunākara then arose and bowing low to the sovereign spoke in accents clear, 'My Sovereign Liege, if thou grantest me leave to assume the command of the army, I'll rase to the ground all the hill-forts of the Raja of Kalinga and bring him home captive.' The monarch gave him the commission and the royal council broke.

A vast army was mustered; and it set forward on its march to Kalinga. Karunākara, the Commander-in-Chief, and his lieutenants Pallavaraśar, Vānakōvaraiyar, Muḍikonḍacholan—all mounted their own war-elephants.

The Chola army waded several rivers, namely, the Pālār Mukhari, Kolli, Pennai, Krishna, Godavari, etc., and at last entered Kalinga sweeping away everything on its onward march.

When news of the approaching Chola army reached the ears of the king of Kalinga, he was disheartened at first, but he comforted himself with the reflections that since Kulōttunga himself had not taken command of the army, his fortified city would certainly laugh to scorn any army. However his prime minister pointed out to him the utter folly of it by drawing attention to the strength of the approaching army and the extraordinary ability of Karunākara.

But the king ordered his army to march on the enemy.

The battle began in full form; and the issue of the struggle long remained doubtful.

Seeing the indecisiveness of the battle, Karunākara plunged into the thick of the fight on his war-elephant. His presence roused the enthusiasm of the Chola army which now launched itself on the enemy's army.

As a result of the violent onslaught the Kalinga army broke up and fled; and a large number of elephants, horses and chariots, fell into the hands of the Cholas.

The king himself had fled and had taken refuge in a hill-fort with a squadron of soldiers.

It was hemmed in on all sides and was taken by storm: but no one knew where the king of Kalinga had hidden himself.

The war ended in the complete victory of the Cholas; and Karunākara set up there a stone-pillar as a mark of his triumph, returned home with large booty and won the unstinted admiration and affection of his sovereign.

This is the substance of the glorious war-song of Jayanḡṇḍar, who puts the whole narrative of the events of the War of Kalinga in the mouth of the Goddess of Triumph and her companions, the ghosts and demons.¹

For the information of the reader we extract below a few stray stanzas dealing with the conquest of Kalingam.

"தடக்குலவு காண்மலித தாத்தன் னாயில்
விடக்குலவு வெள்வன் விதர்ப்பு—செம்பெரு
கோண்டேயு பம்பின் கோடுமுடி தல்லகோ
வாண்டே விபலிங்கி மன."

"சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கத் தலைகொச்செய்
சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வேலில் கத்தகெம்பெயர்
பொர்க்குத் தாமிட்ட வேடுமேல் லம்பெயர்னி காட்டாவு
வார்க்குத் தாந்தொண்டை மானகண்டை மாகத் மன்னவன்."

(These two stanzas in one of the copies of *Kalingattupparani* which is kept in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.)

"சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வெய்து
சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வேலில் கத்தகெம்பெயர்
பொர்க்குத் தாமிட்ட வேடுமேல் லம்பெயர்னி காட்டாவு
வார்க்குத் தாந்தொண்டை மானகண்டை மாகத் மன்னவன்."

"சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வெய்து
சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வேலில் கத்தகெம்பெயர்
பொர்க்குத் தாமிட்ட வேடுமேல் லம்பெயர்னி காட்டாவு
வார்க்குத் தாந்தொண்டை மானகண்டை மாகத் மன்னவன்."

"சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வெய்து
சார்க்குத் தலையன் தண்பாட்டிங்கு வேலில் கத்தகெம்பெயர்
பொர்க்குத் தாமிட்ட வேடுமேல் லம்பெயர்னி காட்டாவு
வார்க்குத் தாந்தொண்டை மானகண்டை மாகத் மன்னவன்."

special minister, yet this name Kulaśēkhara only refers to Kulōttunga I. The following line in the *Paraṇi* testifies to it in his opinion.

“வாழி சோழகுலசேகரன் வருத்தவிசயின்”

From the above argument, it is evident that the writer wants to establish that Kāliṅgarāja, the author and special minister under Kulaśēkhara, Kāliṅgarāja of Maṇavil, and Karuṇākara of Vaṇḍai refer to one and the same personality.

Though the reasons which he advances towards the establishment of this identity, seem plausible at first, a closer historical study makes them lose much of their force and attractiveness.

In the first place, from the phrase *Cholakulaśēkaran*, found in the *Paraṇi*, Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar draws the conclusion that Kulaśēkharan was another name for Kulōttunga I. *Cholakulaśēkaran* is a phrase formed from *Cholakulam* and *śēkaran* meaning the crown of the Chola family; and like the similar phrases *Cholakulatunṅan* (82), *Iravikulottaman* (12), *Ubayakulottaman* (2), it is quite a coinage of the poet for the embellishment of his own verses. It would be rather unsafe to build a theory of identity on this slender foundation of a word-combination of the poet.

Moreover since the name ‘Kulaśēkara’ was not current as an independent name for Kulōttunga I without a prefix, the patron of Kāliṅgarāja, the author of *Sūktiratnaḥara* could not be Kulōttunga I. It may however be observed that it would be better to take that Kāliṅgarāja who is mentioned by Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar in his article as one of the commanders of the Pandya king Māravarman-Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1268-1308), as the author of the *Sūktiratnaḥara* inasmuch as the title ‘Kāliṅgarāja’ was also current among the officers of the Pandya State.

Secondly, let us examine the statement whether Karuṇākara of Vaṇḍai and Kāliṅgarāja of Maṇavil mean one and the same personality.

In the inscriptions which deal with Kāliṅgarāja, especially in their Sanskrit portions, such words as *Sabhanartaka*, *Mānāvatāra*, *Aruḷākara* occur; and in the Tamil ones, we come across the following words *Kūṭtan Kāliṅgarkōn*, *Tōṇḍaiyarman*.

And here the word *Aruḷākara* means Karuṇākara in Sanskrit and therefore one is liable to take Kāliṅgarāja of Maṇavil to be the same as Karuṇākara-Tōṇḍaimān of Vaṇḍai.

But if we probe the matter a little further, we find Karuṇākara was altogether a different personality and the following fact may be adduced in confirmation of our statement:—

From Jayanṅondār, we gather that Karuṇākara was of Pallava ancestry; while Kāliṅgarāja was a Vēḷāḷa, and the following line of inscription establishes the latter statement:

“வேளவர், துடிதலாச் சென்னைமார்தே.”

—(Tiruvadi Inscriptions)

It is well known that the Pallavas did not belong to the Vēḷāḷa caste that they styled themselves as the descendants of Brahma, and that they declared that they belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gōtra. Jayanṅondār too traces Karuṇākara's ancestry to Brahma “மறைமொழிச் பதிமாயின் வந்தகுலதிலகன்.” We draw the reader's attention to the extract below, which clearly traces the pallavas to Brahma himself.

“பிரமன் ஆதிகா வராத் தீர பல்லவ சாமித்துப் பாமேச்சரப் பேரத் தராமன்—(S. I. I., vol. iv, p. 10).

Such a divine ancestry the Vēḷāḷas never laid claim to; and the view that this Kāliṅgarāja belonged to the Vēḷāḷa caste is strengthened by one of the inscriptions wherein the following line regarding him occurs “அரும்பையர்கோல சென்னைமான்”¹ which means the chief of Arumbaiyar section. Arumbai (அரும்பை) is only a poetical contraction of Arumbūr (அரும்பூர்); and now there is a Vēḷāḷa section by name Arumbukatti Vēḷāḷar (அரும்புகட்டிவேளவர்) which is only a dialectical variation of the original terms Arumbūr-Kurraṭṭu Vēḷāḷar (அரும்பூர் கூற்றத்து வேளவர்). From these facts it becomes clear that Kāliṅgarāja and Karuṇākara belonged to two entirely different sections of the people.

Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar's theory that Karuṇākara had shifted his head-quarters from Vaṇḍai to Maṇavil with the title of Kāliṅgarāja after his return from Kalinga, is untenable.

In the Sanskrit portions of Kāliṅgarāja's inscriptions as well as in the fifty-five Tamil stanzas of the same, which record in minute detail his achievements in Malaināḍu and a few other places, but which make no special mention of them in the north, we find no specific

¹ Tiruvadi Inscriptions: vide *Sen-Tamil*, vol. xxii, p. 95

‘தென்னன், குடமலைமலை காடெறிந்து கொண்டேவெற் கூத்தன்’
 ‘வேணுடன், வெற்பனைத்துஞ் செந்நீ விளைவித்தான்’
 ‘வில்வவர்தம் வெஞ்சிலையி னூற்றறனை மாற்றியகோன்’
 ‘கொல்லம், அழிவுகண்டான் சோ னன்பரிய வாற்றற்—கிழிவுகண்டான்
 காலிங்க ரோறு’
 ‘தென்னுடன் சாவேற்றின் றன்செருக்கை, அன்றவித்தான்’
 ‘வடவேந்தர் செல்வமெலாம் வாங்கவேல் வாங்குங் குடைவேத்தன்’
 ‘மலைமன்ன ரோனை வடமன்னர் செல்வமெலாங் கொண்டு’

Equally is it improbable that he transferred his residence to Maṇavil from Vaṇḍai after the war. As I have pointed out at the beginning of this paper Vaṇḍālānjēri was abandoned in favour of one of the places of importance in the Chola country. That such a place of ancient memories should be a new one after the conquest seems incredibly strange.

Granting he had removed his head-quarters, would not at least one of his inscriptions which eulogize his achievements have vaguely hinted at Vandai, the place of hopes and fears of many a warrior-chieftain of old? or would not Jayanṇḍār, a contemporary poet who sang his *Paranī* after the war, have recorded his subsequent residence also?

It is not necessary that Arulākara owed his new title Kālingarāja to the victory in the war of Kalinga. It is true that two Kalinga wars were waged, one before the twenty-sixth year of Kulōttunga I and the other at or about the forty-fifth year. There is no difference of opinion among the epigraphists on this point, and it is likely that Arulākara of Maṇaviḷ assumed command, gained victory over the king of Kalinga in the former war ; ¹ and as a result got his title ; or it might be that Kālingarāja was an ancestral title of honour ² which Arulākara of Maṇaviḷ assumed.

¹ The line “கடகேசி செங்கமலவர் வரங்கெல் வரங்குருகடகேதன் தொண்டையர் சே” refers to his adventures in the north.

* In the reign of Rajāndrachola, I, there was one Kālīngarāja who was one of the chief officers in the State. (*T. A. S.*, vol. i, p. 165.)

It is therefore evident that the work was written in the early years of the reign of Vikramachōla; and since in the composition the author makes mention of the commanders of Vikramachola's father's reign, commanders who adorned the royal procession of Vikramachōla, it is evident that some of the old warriors were still alive in the reign of the young sovereign.

Of those who attended it Karuṇākara was one; and the author records his name first, and then deals successively with “முனையர்கோன், சோழகோன், கண்ணன், வாணர்கோன்”, and the sixth hero whom he takes into consideration was Kālingar-kōn; and so it is clear that Kālingar-kōn and Karuṇākara were two distinct personalities.

“சூலையப் பொருத்தொருநாட் கொண்ட பாணி
மலையத் தருத்தோண்டை மாறும்

வேங்கையினுங்
கூடார் விழிஞத்துங் கொல்லத்துங் கொங்கத்தும்
ஆடா விரட்டத்து மோட்டத்தும்—நாடா
தடியெடுத்து வெவ்வே றரசிய வர்க்
கொடியெடுத்த காலங்கி கோணம்”

Since the accomplishments of the former mentioned in the above lines of Ottakkūttar are the same as those mentioned in the inscriptions dealing with Kālingarāja, who had offered gifts to the shrines at Chidambaram, Tiruvadikai, etc., this Kālingar-kōn is therefore undoubtedly Kālingarāja of Kulōttunga I.

With regard to the name *Tondaimān* or *Tondaiyarkōn* we may observe that it was applied to Karuṇākara, as he was one of the descendants of the Pallavas, who had been once the ruler of Tondaimandalam; Kāliṅgarāja also was so called because he was one of the chiefs of Tondaimandalam.

Lastly, the name 'Arulākara' by which Kālingarāja was called cannot mean Karuṇākara for the following reasons: Even if it were a fact that the names Arulākara and Karuṇākara were assumed by

one and the same individual, would be it quite natural that Tamil inscriptions call *Karunākara* as *Arulākara* in the *Maṇipravāla* (combined Sanskrit Tamil style; but *Karunākara*, a purely Sanskrit compound word, cannot but be retained in those of Sanskrit: unless and until there was a strong and compelling necessity on the part of the) he would not have recourse to the name *Arulākara*, a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil in his composition. Since *Arulākara* has been retained in them, it may be noted that the writer particularly here wants to emphasize the fact that they were two distinct personalities, lest the people of his age should confound the one with the other.

In the light of the facts presented above it would be difficult to accept the identification proposed by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar between *Karunākara Tondaimān* and *Arulākara Kāliṅgarāja*.

An Outline of the History of Kashmir (being a Chapter of 'A Guide to Kashmir Monuments')

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POLITICAL HISTORY

THE nature and extent of information on ancient Kashmir which we can glean from the accounts of foreign writers have been indicated above (pages 8-20). It now remains to give a brief outline of its history from the detailed narratives of the Kashmir chroniclers themselves.

Of the long line of royal figures which fill the first three books of Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* we know little more than the names. The only kings of this period whose existence is corroborated by the contemporary historical records of India are Aśoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India (B. C. 272-232), Kanishka and Haviṣka, the Kushan kings of Gandhara whose sway extended from Patna to Kashgar and Yarkand (second century A.D.), Toramana and Mihirakula, the white Hun invaders who devastated northern India in the fifth century A.D. It is curious to observe that all of these great rulers, of whose possessions Kashmir formed only a small part, appear in Kalhana's chronicle as mere local Rajas who had, in certain cases, extended their conquests abroad. His attempts at arriving at their respective dates are hopelessly confused and entirely at variance with the accepted chronology of India. It is, however, interesting to note that the tradition from which Kalhana drew his information was substantially correct in its remembrance of the general character of their administration.

In Pravarasena II, who seems to have flourished sometime in the latter half of the sixth century, we meet, for the first time, a purely indigenous ruler possessing a truly historical character; but it is with the accession to the throne of the plebeian Kārkoṭa dynasty, about the middle of the seventh century A.D. that the authentic history of Kashmir

begins. Considerations of space forbid the inclusion of an account, however brief, of each and every ruler who filled the throne of Kashmir for the next five centuries (the period for which Kalhana is our guide). A few names—those of Lalitāditya, Jayāpīḍa, Avantivarmā, Queen Didda, Sussala and Jayasimha—loom large over a crowd of petty princelings, the majority of whom did little to earn the gratitude, or merit the remembrance, of posterity.

Pravarasena II.—Among the kings of Kashmir, who preceded the Kārkoṭa dynasty, Pravarasena II is easily the most prominent. He seems to have spent the earlier portion of his life in exile, while the kingdom of his fathers was being ruled by Mātṛigupta, a foreigner and a nominee of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Legend credits him with extensive conquests in Northern India and the replacement of Śīlāditya-Pratāpaśīla of Malwa (c. 580) on the throne. But the chief historical interest of his reign is centred in his foundation of the city of Srinagar. He named it *Pravarapura*—a name which is still current among the learned—but the younger city soon assumed the name as it had already usurped the dignity, of the old capital of Aśoka, which has since been called *Pṛatichhīnāna*, the modern Pāndrethan, three miles above Srinagar. The new city can be proved to have occupied its present site and seems to have enjoyed an uncommon degree of prosperity during the reign of its founder, as can be gathered from the poetic description of Kalhana, who states that 'the city was once famous as containing thirty-six lakhs of houses. It was provided with regularly arranged markets and was at first only on the right bank of the Vitastā.'

'There are mansions which reach to the sky and ascending which one sees the earth, glistening in the sun in the close of the summer and covered with flowers in the month of Chaitra.'

Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa.—About a century and a half elapsed before another great and truly historical figure occupied the Kashmir throne. This was Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa who succeeded his vicious short-lived brother, Tārāpīḍa, and reigned gloriously for thirty-six years and about the middle of the eighth century A.D. was by far the most heroic ruler that Kashmir had ever produced. The popular tradition, still living, credits him with immense conquests stretching, in India, from shore to shore, and extending beyond the snowy mountain barriers to the parched ocean of sand in Central Asia. His march into Hincus an

seems to have been more of the nature of a military raid than a permanent occupation of the country. Thus, he swooped with his army upon Kānyakubja, the modern Kanauj, and before the king Yaśovarman had probably time to recover from his surprise he found his army annihilated and himself reduced to the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace. His further conquests bear a purely legendary character; but the fact of his sending an embassy to the Chinese Court, as stated by the Tang Annals, seems to show that he knew something of the power of that Empire by actual experience. It is, however, chiefly through his unstinting patronage of the arts and sciences, his erection of a number of magnificent structures, and his wise, though by no means mild, administration of the country, that Lalitāditya still lives in the memory of posterity.

Among the towns that he founded the chief are Parnotsa, the capital of the modern territory of Poonch and still a flourishing town, and Lalitapura and Parihāsapura, both of which have now dwindled into petty hamlets. The last named he chose as his capital in preference to the larger and more conveniently situated Pravarapura and embellished it with a group of temples, *Chaityas*, and monasteries—vestiges of which still remain to testify to the magnificence of their founder. But his greatest memorial is the superb temple of Mārtand, the most striking example of Kashmir architecture that now survives. He distributed even-handed bounty among the Brahmans and the Buddhists. Among his utilitarian works is mentioned the construction of a series of water wheels for irrigating the arid plateau of Chakradhara below Vijabror.

But Lalitāditya, though a great conqueror and ordinarily a just ruler, had yet certain defects of character, among which the most noticeable was hard drinking. It is related that in one of his drunken fits he commanded—like Alexander on a similar occasion—the city of Srinagar to be set on fire. His ministers, however, saved the city and satisfied his drunken whim at the same time by setting a large number of distant hay-ricks on fire. The king was far too tipsy to discriminate between a bonfire of hay and a burning town. But it must be said to his credit that next morning he showed the most profound contrition for his insensate conduct and directed his Ministers not to carry out any of the orders that he should issue in a state of drunkenness. Lalitāditya's last testament is an especially interesting

document of Machiavellian wisdom, illustrative as much of the royal policy towards his subjects as of Kalhana's views on the administration of the country.

Jayāpīḍa-Vinayaditya.—Lalitāditya's grandson, Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya ruled for thirty-one years in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. At first he attempted to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather, but in the latter part of his reign he degenerated into a cruel, overbearing and exacting tyrant, and finally met an untimely end at the hands of the outraged Brahmins who had suffered the most by his rapacity. He founded the town of Jayapura-Andarkot near Sumbal.

Jayāpīḍa was followed by a number of imbecile kings. Ministers rose to unprecedented power. For nearly the whole of the first half of the ninth century Utpala and his four brothers, the brothers of a low-born concubine of the lascivious king Lalitāpīḍa, held the reins of absolute power in their hands. They usurped all the offices and gave up the country to plunder and rapine, though at the same time they founded a number of towns and religious edifices, some of which still survive in name. Their career of lawlessness was crowned by an intestine war which culminated in the destruction of the four younger brothers. Utpala, the eldest and only surviving brother, acquired almost regal power which was consolidated by his son Sukhavarman who was the king in all but name. Even this pretence was dropped after Sukhavarman's death, when his son Avantivarman promptly dethroned Utpalāpīḍa and proclaimed himself king.

Avantivarman.—Avantivarman (A. D. 855-883) is one of the most lovable persons that we come across in the lengthy narrative of the Kashmir historian. The scion of a family of noblemen who had risen from a particularly low origin to the position of all-powerful king-makers, he possessed all the vigour of a self-made man who had graduated in the hard school of adversity. He was a rare combination of strength and gentleness, and the first and most conscientious servant of the State. But when he ascended the throne, he did not find altogether a bed of roses. His powerful cousins were not disposed to submit to the inevitable as meekly as the *roi fainéant* whom he had displaced. They had to be thrashed into submission, and they were. His next care was to give a much-needed rest to the country which for nearly a century had been distracted by feuds of the powerful he-

and the rapacious administration of the Kāyasthas, 'clerks'. Avantivarman's wise rule of twenty-eight years gave the long-suffering people the necessary time to recover from their prolonged nightmare. His triumphs were essentially those of peace as the triumphs of his great predecessor, Lalitāditya, were those of war. His pacification of the country, though not described in as great detail as the other episodes of his reign, seems to have been no easy task. In his time we first meet a member of that turbulent class of Dāmaras, the feudal barons of Kashmir, who during the feeble rule of his successors inflicted untold misery upon the hapless kingdom by their constant and bloody warfare against each other and against the crown. But Avantivarman seems to have kept them in rigid check as is evidenced by the draconic judgement of his minister Sura upon the powerful baron, Dhanva, whom he killed first and—unlike the proverbial Jedwood Justice—did not try even afterwards. But though the curbing of the restless Dāmaras was essential to the stability of his own rule and to the peace of his subjects, it is mainly upon his public works which conferred a lasting boon on the country, and upon his munificent patronage of learning, that his claim for immortality rests.

The chief bane of the valley had for ages been the excess of its water and its liability to floods. A very considerable portion of the land was permanently submerged and even a moderate rainfall contributed to deluge the major part of what remained. The result was a chronic famine. The king, who recognized the necessity of taking prompt and effective action, engaged the services of an eminent Kashmiri engineer, Suyya by name, whose dredging operations at Baramulla were so successful that they resulted in an immediate and permanent fall of nearly 50 per cent in the price of paddy. The measure taken by him for confining the rivers and rivulets within their natural boundaries and the regulation of water-supply in the arid Karewas (plateau) which to-day are comparatively unproductive, are too numerous to detail here.

Among the king's religious foundations is that gem of architecture, the Avantiswāmi temple of Avantipura.

In his efforts to confer upon the country the benefits of peace, the king was ably seconded by his untiring lieutenant, the minister Sura, who had helped him to the throne and who in spite of the unquestioning obedience he accorded to his sovereign seems to have inspired

him with such awe that the latter did not or could not reveal his real faith until his dying day. This minister was, like his master, a generous patron of learning and not only conferred upon the poets, philosophers, and rhetoricians of his day land and fortunes but, what is rather unusual, went so far as to give them seats in the king's council.

Sankaravarman (A. D. 883-902) and his Successors.—The disintegrating elements in the State, whose progress Avantivarman's strong arm had barely been able to check, broke loose again after his death. Sankaravarman earned lasting infamy by being the author of an ingenious system of exactions by which he reduced the country to misery and impoverishment. But even his cynical oppression was nothing to the gross misrule which followed his death. No less than ten sovereigns occupied the throne in the short period of thirty-four years which intervened between his death and the third restoration of Chakravarman. The power was entirely in the hands of the Tāntrins who in their close military organization resembled the Prætorian Guards of Rome and who, as might be expected, abused their strength in the same shameless manner. Kings and noblemen vied with each other in buying the favour of this formidable and fickle multitude. No sooner did the crown encircle the brows of one candidate than it was snatched away by another, who had paid a higher bribe and who in his turn was served in a similar fashion. No price was deemed too high to purchase the crown; kings squandered their revenues, queens bartered their honour, the son intrigued against his father, and the father set assassins upon his offspring; all lost their sense of truth and dignity for the acquisition, however temporary it might be, of the fatal bauble. At last in A.D. 936 the deposed king Chakravarman invoked the aid of the Dāmaras—the feudal barons of the land, and succeeded with their powerful assistance in annihilating the Tāntrins who had so long held the crown as a pawn.

In getting rid of the Tāntrins by the arms of the barons, the country only passed from the devil to the deep sea. Henceforth for over two centuries the land lay at the absolute mercy of a class of hereditary freelances whose possessions enabled them to be secure in their own demesnes, wherefrom they scoured the surrounding country for plunder and took away whatever they could lay

their hands on. The king and the ministers he usually chose for the sole purpose of pandering to his pleasures were far too busy in levying imposts in order to find the means for defraying the cost of their debauches, to think of restoring anything like order in the unfortunate country. Government there was none. The king was only remarkable for the extraordinary and, in modern times, unthinkable pitch to which he carried his license. A curious fatality seems to have always dogged the heels of the Kashmir rulers of this period. Princes who before their accession to the throne had given promise of a brave and virtuous career proved, as kings, even more dissolute, pusillanimous and tyrannical than their predecessors had been. For two long and weary centuries the court of Kashmir was the Pandora's-box of all the evils that afflict humanity, the home of assassins, stranglers and poisoners. Bawds as ministers of state, pettifogging functionaries as generals of armies, outcaste strumpets as reigning queens and kings, whose most innocent recreation was gross buffoonery—this was the administration under which the 'happy valley' was made so unhappy in those centuries. The State of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries forms a close parallel to that of Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Cæsar Borgia. But the Italian popes and their satellites often differed from the Kashmir kings in that their evil lives were relieved by the display of commanding talents, while among the latter shameless vice and the most despicable imbecility were closely wedded.

HARSHA

This frightful misrule culminated in Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101) whose usually clouded intellect seems to have on rare occasions been illuminated by transitory flashes of intelligence during which he proved a liberal patron of learning and music. He appears to have possessed some skill in the composition of popular songs. But his neglect of State affairs was so outrageous that in his reign murders were committed on the highways in broad daylight and even the sanctity of the kings' own apartments was not respected by the daring robbers. Foodstuffs and other commodities rose to fabulous prices; famine and the plague committed such ravages among the people that few were left to cremate or bury the dead, and the river was swollen with floating corpses. To crown all this, the

king himself assassinated his whole family and ordered a general massacre of the landed aristocracy—an order which was partly carried out. But even the endurance of a Kashmiri has an end, though it usually takes a long time to awaken him from his sloth. When Harsha's nephews Uchhala and Sussala raised the standard of rebellion, soldier and priest, prince and peasant, all alike flocked to it with equal zeal. The palace was given up to flames, the queens burnt to death, the heir-apparent killed and the king who was deserted by everybody and had taken refuge in a beggar's hovel was hunted down and slain without mercy. With him ended the first Lohara dynasty.

UCHHALA

Then Uchhala (A. D. 1101-1111) the eldest of the two rebel brothers ascended the throne. His first care was to disarm his troublesome allies, the barons; and this he effected more by diplomacy than by force. He kept firm control upon his government, overhauled the bureaucracy, rigorously punished official abuses, administered justice with a rare impartiality and insight into his subjects' character; listened to the grievances of his people and redressed them as far as lay in his power. He used to move about incognito, like the great Caliph Harun-al-Rashid, to discover the causes of distress and unrest among the citizens and sold royal grain at cheap rates for the benefit of the famine-stricken inhabitants of the city. He was energetic in nipping rebellions in the bud before they could assume formidable dimensions. But his besetting sin was haughtiness which alienated all his dependants from him and eventually led to his murder.

SUSSALA

Sussala who was crowned king in A. D. 1112 wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his brother's assassins, and continued to rule peacefully and well until 1120, when he was dispossessed by Bhikshāchara, the grandson of Harsha. After a few months' deposition Sussala regained his throne in 1121 and reigned until his murder in 1128. The latter part of his reign is disfigured by acts of oppression and cruelty, but it must be admitted that even in his worst days the administration did not degenerate to the low moral and political standard of his predecessors of the first Lohara dynasty.

Jayasimha (A. D. 1128-1155), his eldest son and successor. *Jayasimha* is a very remarkable figure in the history of Kashmir. Though by no means deficient in personal courage, he yet preferred to gain his ends by the safer and more secret methods of diplomacy and bribery. Where both craft and force had failed he did not shrink from having recourse to assassination. In gaining his ends he was absolutely without scruple in the employment of means. He was courteous to all who approached him, considerate to his servants and subjects, generous to his enemies when they had been deprived of their sting, relentless in the prosecution of his schemes, and possessed of a calm and smiling exterior which concealed a deep underlying purpose.¹ His position on the throne was at first extremely precarious, and if he ultimately emerged triumphant over his numerous enemies and succeeded in giving peace and plenty to the country which he ruled, it was entirely due to his personal abilities, his extraordinary presence of mind and resourcefulness in the face of misfortune.

The first seventeen years of his reign are characterized by a long and bitter struggle with the barons who were chafing under the tight control which he attempted to exercise over them. To embarrass him further they set up no less than five pretenders to the throne, some of whom were actually crowned in the outlying district of Lohar. But his opponents were reckoning without their host. One by one both the pretenders and the barons succumbed to the intrigues and coercion which the king (at times so hard-pressed as to be almost a prisoner in his own house) incessantly employed against them, till in 1145 he was absolutely free from all the obstacles to his authority, and the people were free from a multitude of pests who had made the valley a hell. Kalhana, his contemporary, sums up the account of his rule in the following appreciative verse: 'He restored to this land which, owing to the baseness of the time was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations.' He was an enlightened despot who would have served as a model for Machiavelli's *Prince*.

After the death of *Jayasimha*² the country again reverted to its

¹ In everything except his generosity towards his fallen enemies which was peculiarly prominent in his character, he bore a strong resemblance to Louis XI of France and the Emperor Aurangzeb.

² My chief authorities from A D 1155, the year of *Jayasimha's* death to 1587 the year of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir, are the chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Prājyabhatta and Suka.

chronic state of decrepitude. The two centuries that elapsed between the passing away of Jayasimha and the transfer of the throne to the Muhammadan condottieri, Shāh Mir, produced no king possessing genius enough to consolidate his kingdom. If the valley escaped being annexed by the Muhammadan rulers of India, it was due to its natural isolation and the physical difficulties its conquest offered, rather than to its military strength and abundance of resources. But, at last, in the reign of Suhadeva (A.D. 1300-1 to 1319-20) the clouds began to gather thickly upon the horizon. Dulucha (Zulqadar Khan) who, according to Abul Fazl, was the chief commander of the armies of the king of Kandahār, penetrated into the valley and, though the king bought him off, the invader seems to have made a mental reservation when entering into the agreement; for, after he had accepted the money, he commenced to plunder, burn and slay with judicial impartiality and scientific accuracy. When at length the approach of the winter obliged him to leave the country, laden with immense booty, he left behind him not the flourishing home of teeming thousands, but a vast heap of smouldering ruins. But the Nemesis of his misdeeds overtook him were he was well out of the country which he had mercilessly put to fire and sword. The greater part of his army perished in the snow which surprised them in the passes as they were marching out.

RINCHANA'S INVASION

All the while that Dulucha was harrying Kashmir, Rinchana, the son of a Tibetan chieftain, was hovering upon the mountains ready to swoop down upon the prostrate country and pick up the leavings of Dulucha's orgies. Rāmachandra, a patriotic nobieman, offered an obstinate resistance. When the latter could not overcome him in open fight, he had resources to treachery in which he was entirely successful.

RINCHANA KING

Rāmachandra was murdered and the enemy forced his wife (or daughter?) Kōṭa to marry him. Rinchana's way to the throne was now clear. Suhadeva was promptly slain, the invader stepped into his place and ruled for three years (1319-20 to 1322) with unexpected munificence and vigour. In the administration of justice he seems to

have rigidly adhered to the principles of truth and equity. His desire to be admitted into the fold of the Hindu caste was thwarted by the blind prejudice of the Brahmans, who would have nothing to do with an outcaste Bhoṭṭa. Naturally then, he turned towards the more democratic Islam, and entrusted his infant son by Kōṭa to the care of the Muhammadan Shāh Mir, who had entered Kashmir in A.D. 1313 and taken service under king Suhadeva.

UDYANADEVA

The guardianship of the heir-apparent and the untimely death of Rinchana only three years after his accession, were turned by the needy adventurer to his own personal advantage. He did not crown Haidar, his ward, and as he was not yet powerful enough to usurp the kingdom himself he invited and enthroned Udyānadeva, a scion of the old Hindu dynasty, who since the invasion of Dulucha had been living as a refugee in Gāndhāra.

Curiously enough, the new king succeeded Rinchana not only to his throne but even to his bed; for he married the widowed queen, who bore an heir to him also.

But the part that Shāh Mir took in the restoration of the old dynasty was not actuated by any sense of gratitude towards the family which had provided him with means of comfort when he was but a homeless wanderer. Since the very moment of his advent into Kashmir, he seems to have had an eye upon the throne, which he knew by experience was ready to be his who possessed the longest sword and the strongest arm. All authority was undermined by the dissensions of the nobles. Udyānadeva was too weak to curb their power and spent his time mostly in the performance of the duties prescribed by his religion. Moreover he was completely under the thumb of his domineering wife Kōṭa.

Shāh Mir gradually strengthened his hands by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful families. Many of the nobles who were needy, he subsidized, and those that remained he coerced into neutrality. He kept the king and queen in perpetual terror by threatening to raise Haidar, Rinchana's son, to the throne. By the year 1337-38, when Udyānadeva died, the extent of the king's authority was reduced to the precincts of the capital only. Shāh Mir was the real ruler of the whole country.

KOTA DAVI

The Queen Kota now ascended the throne herself, but her triumph was short-lived. Her capable minister, Bhatta Bhikshana, was taken off his guard and assassinated by Shāh Mir; and Kota, who at that time was in a position to bring the murderer to book, was dissuaded from taking vigorous action by her own councillors, who, dauntless, were in Shāh Mir's pay. The opportunity thus let slip never occurred again, and the queen had afterwards to repent at leisure for what she had neglected to do promptly. Shāh Mir now openly meditated treason and made himself master of the capital which the queen had left temporarily. He then proceeded to Andarkot and besieged her in the fort there. Kota being now hopeless and helpless, surrendered herself on the explicit stipulation that she would share the throne with her conqueror. But her better nature seems to have revived at the last moment. When she entered the bridal chamber of Shāh Mir, she stabbed herself with her own dagger in the presence of the husband who had till then been her servant and whose embrace she loathed more than the terrors of the grave.¹

Thus passed (1337-38) the last representative of the Hindu royalty of Kashmir. She died, though she had not lived, a worthy daughter of Lalitāditya and Avantivarman.

In her public capacity she made many mistakes, and in her private life she has much to account for, but her noble end throws a partial veil of oblivion over her many errors of omission and commission.

SHAH MIR-SHAMSU-D-DIN, (A.D. 1337)

Shāh Mir now ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din. The most notable act of his reign was the lightening of the taxes which were telling very hard upon the prosperity of the country. He 'fixed the assessment on land at seventeen per cent of the gross produce.'² Islam made much progress during the reigns of the first Muhammadan kings, but the change of masters was not accompanied by any change in the policy of the administration of the state. The same worthless round of pleasures, the same petty

¹ According to another tradition she was captured by Shāh Mir together with her two sons and thrown to prison in which they languished till their death.

² Briggs, *Ferishta*.

politics and the same bickerings among the landed noblemen that had characterized the reigns of the later Hindu rulers, continued with unabated vigour in the time of their successors, the independent Sultans of Kashmir, who merely carried on the traditions which they had inherited. Sanskrit, corrupted, no doubt, by the infusion of numerous Persian and Arabic technical terms, was still largely used as the official language. The majority of the people were Muhammadans, but it was Muhammadanism of a type that would have astonished the orthodox Arab. The old places of worship still retained their sanctity, the only innovation being that the Hindu image had given place to the tomb of a Muslim saint. Muhammadan Kashmir teems, to this day, with numberless little shrines and Ziārats which bear the unmistakable stamp of their Hindu origin. The conversion left the old manners, customs and even the superstitions of the people intact. As a rule the kings were far too busy with their own troubles and pleasures to bestow much thought upon their subjects who doubtless were content to plod their own way unmolested, happy if forgotten.

SHAHABU-D-DIN (A.D. 1355-1374)

After Shāh Mir, or, as he styled himself Shamsu-d-Din, the first king of mark in his dynasty was Shahabu-d-Din (A.D. 1355-1374). In the early part of his reign he made a brilliant raid on the North-Western India and overran the territories adjoining the upper course of the Indus (Ohind etc.), sacked Peshawar and seriously threatened Ghazni and Kandahār. The snowy barrier, Hindukush seems to have forced him to retrace his foot-steps to the plains. He marched eastwards as far as the Sutlej where he met and exchanged greetings with the Raja of Nagarkot who was returning from a similar expedition from Delhi. The year 1361, the sixth of his reign, was marked by a disastrous flood which deluged nearly the whole of the valley and forced the inhabitants to take refuge in the uplands and the hills. His indignation at the suggestion of Udayasri, his minister, to melt the brass image of the Brihat-Buddha and coin the metal into money, is eloquent of the tolerant character of these early Moslem rulers of Kashmir. The latter part of his reign was not a happy one for himself, chiefly because of the baneful influence which Lasa, the young niece of his queen Lakshmi, whom he had taken as a concubine,

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the Murshidabad Provincial Council, dated April 10, 1780. He writes of the expenses incurred in the administration, which the Court *rasum* or fees no longer covered and explains why the '*rasum*' which served very well to defray the expenses to the end of June, should have proved so deficient since that period.' The first reason is the *pujals*, during which the Courts were closed; secondly the illness of certain munsiffs. 'But the principal reason is the limitation of the Court's jurisdiction which took place in June; for before that the Huzzur *rasum* had been sufficient not only to defray the expenses of the Officers but also to supply any little deficiencies of the Munsiffs' *rasum*. It is therefore necessary to explain to you how the limitation above-mentioned should cause a diminution of the Huzzur *rasum*. When I inform you that I usually appropriate two days in every week to the passing of the Munsiff's decisions into decrees, two days to the enforcing of decrees and another day chiefly to the receipt of *rozinamas*¹ from persons who have come to an accommodation, and to the referring of causes to arbitration, where the parties can agree to do so, you will perceive that I have but very little time on my hands to hear causes in person. Even that little is still more limited because I am obliged frequently to examine the Munsiffs' decisions: the Huzzur *rasum*, therefore, arising from causes investigated and determined by me could not be very considerable and chiefly arose from the *rasum* of *rozinamas* or causes that were accommodated. Now these were principal mofussil causes because it was so troublesome to the *asamis* to come to the city that unless the cause was really good, they had much rather make up the matter than subject themselves to that inconvenience.

'On the limitation of my authority this source of consequence failed at once, and this is the principal cause of the present arrears.'

Mr. Ives, after being appointed Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat at Murshidabad was in a position to correspond directly with the Board, and he speedily availed himself of this privilege.

In the Board's Proceedings for July 14, 1780, three letters from Mr. Ives, dated April 21, May 25, and June 3, respectively, were considered; in the first he urges the establishment of an inferior Court of Diwani Adalat. 'I am fully convinced from experience of its

Baizid Biyat and His Work—'Mukhtasar'

BY

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ABUL FAZAL'S work is a compendium of materials drawn from an infinite number of sources, both original and second-hand, made available to the great author by his patron and master the Emperor Akbar. To facilitate the task of writing a comprehensive history of India, and of collecting information for the same 'royal commands were issued, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with admixture of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out their notes and memoranda and transmit them to the court.' That the order met with a high degree of response from courtiers, ladies of the harem, and other servants connected with the imperial house, is evident from the large number of memoirs and autobiographies written during the second half of the sixteenth century. The works of Gulbadan Begum and Jauhar belong to this category, and Akbar's Court Historian makes a reference to them whenever he likes it. But unfortunately not for once does he mention the name of Baizid Biyat, an author of the same type whose work was for the first time noticed by Mr. Erskine in his *History of India*, vol. ii.

The value of information furnished by this writer excels both in volume and quality, that supplied by the authors mentioned above. Of course the language used by him is rather shaky and rustic, and his sentences are often incomplete. But this is, in the first place, due to the fact that he did not himself write out his Memoirs but dictated them to another man; secondly, he was not master of the style then in vogue and was but too poorly educated to be able to write or speak polished language; and thirdly he was suffering from a stroke of paralysis when he did this work. These defects, however, detract nothing from the sincerity and earnestness, with which the author has recorded facts, and especially such of them to which he himself was an eye-witness, or a knowledge of which he obtained from the most reliable and authentic sources. But exception should be

¹ I.e. diary or journal of accounts. (Rozinama).

made to the feelings of personal achievement and pride which pervades the whole work; and really at times it seems that the author is subordinating other important events to a mention of his own doings. As an instance, for every piece of service which he rendered, and on every occasion on which he was employed to do some work, he records having been honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour. And if we add together the number of times he was thus rewarded we shall find that the number of horses, which Baizid should have possessed, must have been ridiculously large.

He begins his *Mukhtasar* quite abruptly without even attempting to preface it with something relevant and essential to introduce the subject. Unlike other writers of his age he says very little about his early life, nor does he offer any laudatory remarks about his own patron. His silence may be conclusive in one respect, as showing that in the early years of his life he held no responsible or dignified post. And this is confirmed by his assertion that, on the occasion of Humayun's advance towards Qandhar, and his visit to Tabrez on his way to Meshed, he was serving in a subordinate capacity under Sayad Muhammad Arab, the Imam of the Shah. Why he joined the service of the Emperor has not been stated by him; but we may guess that fond of an adventurous life as he was, he thought that he would have more of it if he followed Humayun, than if he remained a menial servant of a religious Imam. Besides this, there might have been another motive underlying this step on his part; and it might be found in his desire to see his elder brother Shah Bardi Biyat who was already in the service of Kamran, and holding the charge of Gardiz in Kabul.

Anyhow he bade adieu to his native city of Tabrez, where he says, he, during his infancy, had been a playmate of Ali Quli Shikani, joined the army of Humayun, and took a very active part in the siege of Bist. He now attached himself to Bairam Beg Bahadur, the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, and accompanied him during his mission to Kamran at Kabul. Here the ambassador stopped for some days, and visited Hindal, Sulaiman, Ulugh Beg, Prince Akbar, and others who were kept under surveillance by Kamran. The account of the embassy given by Baizid is worth noting for one incident expressing Bairam's ingenuity, and tactfulness. To obtain respect from M. Kamran to the Emperor's letters, the Beg

brought the Qoran with him. And when Kamran bowed down to show respect to the word of God, Bairam immediately laid down the firmans which he had brought from Humayun.

Here Baizid parted company with the mission and its agents, and joined his brother at Gardiz. Nevertheless he watched very carefully the consternation which occurred in Kabul following the capture of Qandhar by the Imperialists; and he furnishes us with a very graphic account of Kamran's doings in Kabul. 'When the news of the investment of Qandhar, of the concentration of His Majesty's forces, of the strength of the auxiliary Quzilbashs, obtained publicity in Kabul, the soldiers and the people became very eager to join the Emperor, and wavering began in the army of the aforesaid Mirza. Mirza Kamran then summoned a council of his Amirs to consider, and to arrive at a decision regarding the fate of M. Sulaiman, M. Hindal and M. Ulugh who were kept confined. Mulla Abdul Khaliq, the tutor of M. Kamran, and Babus who exercised a powerful influence in every matter, advised that they should be given a horse and a robe of honour each, and be set free on an oath. The Mirza acted upon the advice of his well wishers.' But these Mirzas instead of remaining loyal to Mirza Kamran and helping him in his hour of need, one by one left Kabul to join the Emperor, and placed their benefactor—if he may be called as such—in a very critical position. And Baizid concludes the account by quoting the following line of verse:—

چو تیرہ شود مرد را روزگار * همه آن کند کش نباید بکار

When fortune turns against a man

All his efforts prove of little avail.

Kamran passes his days in great alarm and apprehension till the enemy thunders at the very gates of Kabul. Humayun's arrival near the capital city emboldens the waverers in the rank of Kamran still further. More and more men desert the obviously forlorn cause, and Babus Beg, the right hand man of the usurper in Kabul, does not miss the opportunity of gaining favour of Humayun. One day when he had been appointed to scouting duty, he in company with Shah Baidi Biyat and Baizid moved off to join the Imperialists. When the party arrived near Humayun's forces they met the Imperial Scouts led by Ulugh Beg Mirza, and Babus accosted them thus: 'Who are you? and

where are you going?' They replied: 'We are the men of H. M. Humayun Padshah and are going against the Mirza.' Babus asked, 'Would you mind conducting us to the Emperor.' They replied: 'Why not?' The arrival of Babus hastened Humayun's preparations for a final attack against the citadel of Kabul, and also led to the rejection of Kamran's proposals of peace. One author refers only in an incidental way to the correspondence which passed between Humayun and his younger brother about terminating the affair amicably. And we may guess that either he was not privy to it or he played no part in it.

But the main interest attaching to this incident, so far as the life of Baizid is concerned, is that he reverted to the service of Humayun, and this time to make his position secure he attached himself to Husain Quli Sultan Muwardar, a responsible officer in the Imperial employ. Henceforward we find Baizid present in almost every military campaign conducted by the Emperor either against Sulaiman, or the Uzbeks, or to punish the rebel Kamran. And from the account he gives of the rejoicings which followed the capture of Kabul we can gain a glimpse of the social life of those ages. 'In the beginning of the spring season all the departments were removed to the Avarta Bagh, while the chaste ladies proceeded towards their respective gardens. . . . After that it was ordered that the Amirs should illuminate the Charbagh, whereas the Begums and the wives of the Amirs illuminated the Avarta Bagh for forty days. During these illuminations arrived Her Majesty Mariyam Mallani with M. Yadgar Nasir and the royal retinue. These illuminations were held to celebrate the circumcision of the Prince Akbar. At this time the Mirza was four years old and had not finished his fifth year. After a few days His Majesty set off to visit Khwaja Beg Rawan, and there wrestling matches were arranged. The Emperor wrestled with Imam Quli Qorchi, Mirza Hindal wrestled with Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and all other Amirs and Sultans wrestled in pairs. From this place His Majesty proceeded to the poppy groves, which were situated near Khwaja Sih-Yaan. These illuminations were held in the early part of the year 953 A.H. when death took place of Chaghtai Sultan, one of the Moghul Sultans, for whom the Emperor had a soft corner in his heart owing to his supple beauty and grace. He was also coveted by Mirza Hindal and Yadgar Nasir Mirza, and he had by his attractiveness

Nawbahar, which was purely Buddhist when Huan-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

but he submitted, "Till now I have never killed even a sparrow, how can I kill Yadgar Nasir?" Munim Beg suggested that the task should be entrusted to Mohammad Qasim Mirji, and the aforesaid having been ordered to do it, killed the Mirza with his bow-string.

This is followed by another interesting story of a convival party held by Humayun after which he gave up eating suspicious things. Among those present on this occasion were Khwaja Dost Khawind, Mir Barkah, Mulla Abdul Baqi Sadr, Qarja Khan, Musahib Beg and Mubariz Beg, sons of Khwaja Kilan Beg, Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar, Khwaja Azul and Bahu Beg. When at midnight the Emperor rose to wash his hands his feet staggered. Khwaja Jalaluddin Ubhi, the Mir Saman, submitted, 'It is pity that a King like you should take such delicacies which make your feet shake like those of a child.' The Emperor replied, 'Excuse me, I shall never eat it again.' And hence forward he stopped indulging in such banquets. How long did he keep this promise of abstaining from intoxicating drugs is doubtful.

The next event of importance is Humayun's march to Badakhshan to punish Mirza Sulaiman who avoided coming to Kabul to pay his respects to the Emperor. Baizid was present during this expedition, and gives quite full details of it. On the way, he says, there broke out a conspiracy among certain officers, which the Emperor found it necessary to punish sternly. But curiously enough one of the conspirators escaped his lot by having resort to a peculiar trick. Mastir Firaq, one of these culprits, had been ordered to be thrown under the feet of Yadgar Nasir's elephant. But he cried out, 'I have the Qoran under my armpit. Take it'. The Emperor said, 'See if what he says is right' and when a search was made the Holy Book was found there, and by its blessings his life was spared. This is an instance of the caprice of the monarchs of those days who held life so very cheap.

summoning Mir Sayad Ali, and Mulla Abdus Samad to his court. Baizid gives a detailed account, covering several pages, of the artistic qualities of these men, and it seems that Abul Fazal has drawn lavishly from this source in his descriptions of Sayad Ali and Abdus Samad. In a firman addressed to Rashid Khan, the ruler of Kashghar, with whom Humayun was on very intimate terms, and to whom he sent copies of the art of these men, it is recorded: 'Mir Sayad Ali has represented in a plain a polo-field, with two Sawars standing therein, one running at a full gallop, and another is taking his polo-stick from his servant. On either side there are goal-posts, with the following couplet inscribed at the corners of that painting:—

In one bean it is possible to accommodate a hundred piles.
A whole world can come within the heart of a millet.

درین دانه صد غزن آمد ، جهان در دل یک آون آمد

'The other is the receptacle of excellence; world-renowned Maulana Abdus-Samad who has carried off the palm of eminence from his contemporaries. In a plate of brass he has painted a very big field, where a party of seven Swars is playing polo, and their servants are giving polo-sticks into their hands. In another plane he pictures tilting; and in a third he has very nicely painted the picture of a pond; outside it there are two other figures with an oven in their front, one of them is roasting a cock. In the background of the pond there are four men standing and two sitting. In a poppy seed he has drawn the figure of a mounted soldier. Another of the artists is Maulana Fakhr Majald who could bore twenty-five holes in a poppy seed. And the unsurpassable in art and a matchless artificer is Wais, the wire-drawer, who could make silver and gold wires of such fineness as could be drawn by Mulla Fakhr through the twenty-five holes of his poppy seed.'

The jarring details of the expedition are relieved by the mention of a game of sparrows. A net for catching some of these birds was spread at Varask. 'And a net for sparrow-hunting is like this: In a valley is drawn a screen with its ends touching the two sides of the mountain; and the corner of the sheet are held fast by two men who remain standing. And when a flock of sparrows arrives at a fixed spot they begin rolling up the sheet, while others seeing this immediately throw their *matrah* and catch them.' And again: one of these

days Baizid was asked by the Emperor to bring some food, as the royal cooks and pantry attendants had gone ahead, and the pass was so narrow that it was impossible to bring them back. Thereupon Baizid laid before the Emperor roasted partridge, monkey and water-fowl, after eating which the latter bestowed a robe of honour upon the faithful servant. This is one of those instances when our author mentions with great pride even such insignificant piece of service as this.

While staying at Qila Zafar Humayun fell dangerously ill, and reports having spread abroad several loyalists threw off their allegiance to the Emperor. Among the rest one was Mirza Hindal who had been left in charge of the vanguard of the army at Rustakh. But as soon as he heard of his brother's recovery he got ashamed and retreated. Baizid was present during this period of suspense and trouble, and mentions the names of Qarja Sultan, and his patron Husain Quli Sultan who rendered very faithful services on this occasion. He also pays a tribute to Bibi Fatima, the Urdu Begi of the palace, who left nothing undone so far as service to His Majesty was concerned. It should be noted here that it was not at Qila Zaar that this illness occurred but at Shakhdan, a village in the neighbourhood. And when the Emperor had recovered some strength he held a banquet, and then went to Qila Zafar to pass the winter there. Here Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud Ubhi, Mir Bayutat, constructed an underground apartment for His Majesty's enjoyment, and the latter was much pleased and held a feast in honour of the event.

As an instance of Humayun's generosity may be recorded the case of Sher Afkan, a noble of his court. One day he appeared before the palace in a drunken state. His Majesty saw him and detected his intoxication, and sent word through Mehtar Vakila, saying, 'I have come to know about your drinking, and it is not proper that you should appear drunk before the palace'. As the son of Doch Beg (Sher Afkan) was held in high esteem among the great amirs he rolled up his sitting mat and retired to his house, and for a few days did not attend the court. Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar, who had a great liking for him went to his house, gave him much advice, and brought him to the palace. When His Majesty saw that he had come, he sent him a tray of food with the message, 'I would like to hear from you an account of the battle which you fought with Mirza Kamran, during the siege of Qila

Zafar, when the latter had come against Mirza Sulaiman.' Humayun did this to humour the wounded susceptibilities of Sher Afkan; and to please him further, after hearing the story, he remarked, 'Mercy on your father, you performed a wonderful feat.' And Baizid concludes by quoting the following line of verse:

Look at the kindness, and mercy of that Master.

The slave has committed sin, and he is ashamed of it.

But Sher Afkan's end was drawing near, and when he had gone to Kabul on leave, Kamran got him executed.

Humayun's illness caused great consternation in his realm, and the worst was the occupation of Kabul by his brother Kamran. Leaving Qila Zafar, and after conciliating Mirza Sulaiman by confirming him in the possession of Badakhshan, the Emperor proceeded to recover his lost territories. The capital city was closely invested by the Imperialists for a second time, and our author furnishes us with the most minute details of the affair. He was present all along the siege and made great exertions in company with his master Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar, who was guarding the Iron Gate. 'And when assistance to Mirza Kamran was stopped from every side he held out the hand of oppression and tyranny, so that by these means he might bring some men from outside into the fort. He put to death the two sons of Babus, ten to twelve years old, and gave their mother to the rabble. He hung up by the breasts the wife of Qasim Muji from the Iron Gate.'

These abominable measures provoked general resentment and the Emperor redoubled his efforts to punish the rebel who continued to send to the Imperial officers threats of dishonouring their women and murdering their children. But when Kamran got disappointed of help from the people of the fortress, and when he found all means of escape shut against him, he turned to Mirza Hindal who was guarding the Delhi Gate. The Mirza was influenced by brotherly love, conspicuous by its absence in Kamran; and about four in the morning opened the gate and allowed him to escape. The flight of Kamran was followed by the capture of Kabul by the Imperialists. But some of the nobles became very proud on account of the valuable services, which they thought, they had rendered to the State; and this induced them to make extravagant demands from the Emperor which reasonably could not be conceded. The refusal resulted in a conspiracy

led by Qarja Khan, including among its members dissentient spirits like Musahib Beg, Ismail Beg, Waladi and Babus—their object being to ambuscade the Emperor. However, either unable to find a suitable opportunity or being unwilling to perform such a dastardly deed they contented themselves by driving the royal herds of cattle from Khwaja Rewas to Badakhshan where they joined Kamran. The news of this rebellion was immediately conveyed to Humayun who was at that time studying an astral chart. And such was the strength of the belief of the early Moghul Emperors in planetary influence that Humayun instead of setting off in a rapid pursuit of the mischief-mongers waited for a propitious hour, by which time they had covered a long distance, and were beyond the zone of danger. And when the fixed hour came and the Emperor prepared to start, Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar submitted, 'Sire, those faithless wretches must have gone a long way off by now.' And to this interruption came an immediate retort from the Emperor who said, 'Husain Quli Khan! they have not made me king. Let them go.'

Kamran after his narrow escape from Kabul had proceeded to Balakh, and after making terms with the Uzbeks, the hereditary enemies of the Chaghtar dynasty, had returned to Badakhshan which he was trying to wrest from Mirza Sulaiman. And here he was joined by the rulers, as has been said, from Kabul. Humayun pursued the latter thither with the intention of punishing them as well as their patron Kamran. On this occasion Baizid acted as a member of a party of the Imperial advance-guard led by Fatihulla Khan, son of Raushan Kōkah, and even measured swords once with Kamran's men. His description leaves an impression that Humayun's preparations were complete and thorough, and quite up to the needs of the moment. The Imperialists laid siege to Taliquan where Kamran made ready to offer resistance. Losing all hopes of favour from Humayun he sent word to Pir Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balakh requesting his help. The latter called a council of elders to decide the question. And the upshot of their discussion has been summed up in the following words: The Uzbeks said, 'These are the sons of His Majesty Babur Padshah, and all the four of them are our enemies. To assist them is not our concern. The more do they fight among themselves the greater is our gain.' This made the situation of Kamran very desperate and he had to surrender himself and the fortress to the victorious

Imperialists. With his usual cleverness the erstwhile rebel, even after he had been given leave to proceed to Mecca, began coquetting with the generous feelings of his elder brother who finally consented to receive him once more in his arms and assign him a suitable jaghir.

That such a step was full of ominous consequences did not even occur to the unsuspecting Humayun who in his frenzy of love arranged a meeting of brothers, a graphic description of which is provided by our author. 'When Kamran entered the Imperial tent, the Amirs bowed down their heads as a mark of respect to the Mirza. When he reached near the carpet he performed the *Kornish*. His Majesty said in Turki, "*Kailash*", (come closer). He advanced further after bowing down three times; then he knelt down at the foot of the throne over which the Emperor was sitting with a view to kissing the latter's feet. But His Majesty with his usual kindness took him up by his arms and embraced him and began weeping. And such was the intensity of feeling that all those who were present and the various amirs also fell to weeping. After this the Mirza returned to his place and put on his stockings. But the Emperor called him and asked him to sit close on the left side.' Then follows a long account of the conversations and entertainments which were held in commemoration of the event.

Here Humayun held a consultation regarding a march against the Uzbeks, but opinion being against the proposal it was dropped for the time being. A return march to Kabul by the way of Parnjan was ordered. At Parnjan Humayun lingered for some time because of the pleasant climate of the locality. He ordered that the fortress of Parnjan should be repaired, and Baizid mentions having taken some part in this work. The excavation of the silver mines here was also undertaken, but when it was found that the output was not even equal to the expenses that were incurred, the work was given up. From Parnjan Humayun proceeded towards Kabul but on the way lost the right track. All efforts to find it having failed, at last a man was seen walking on foot. Exasperated and anxious as he was, the Emperor accosted him thus: 'Who are you?' He replied, 'A servant of God.' His Majesty said, 'All men are servants of God. Tell me your name.' He said, 'Of the earth.' The Emperor asked, 'I want your proper name. What do you mean by 'of the earth?' Thereupon the man said, 'Call me anything you like.' This was enough to

rouse the anger of the Emperor who said, 'should I call you a kite or a muck-rake!' In connection with this incident Baizid observes that although he had been for five or six years in the royal service he had never seen the Emperor so much put out. Anyhow the right way was found out and the Emperor arrived at Kabul.

The whole of the winter season was spent in making preparations for the Balkh campaign, and firmanas were issued to Hindai Askari and Kamran to be ready with their forces to join the Emperor at the right time. In the beginning of the spring Humayun set off on his project but on the way met a bad omen. While staying at Samagh, on the Kabul-Balkh road, Sher Muhammad Pakna, one of the royal attendants, killed a leopard and presented it to His Majesty. Upon this Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar represented: 'After capturing me and Bairam Ughlan, they took me to Kishan. Qara Sultan, the ruler of Balkh was staying at Jijaktu with the intention of proceeding against Khurasan when a man brought a leopard in a similar manner. Whereupon the Uzbegs represented it to that chief that they did not consider it proper to go with the army, and the expedition was given up.' Hearing this the Emperor observed, 'They are our enemies whatever is ominous for them is auspicious for us.' Little did he know that a terrible fate was awaiting him which would throw him in a whirlpool of misery, trouble and distraction.

However success crowned the efforts of the Imperialists for the first few days. They arrived at Aybek, laid siege to it, and compelled its Governor Khwaja Beg Ataligh to capitulate. Next day a council of war was held to consider measures for the final conquest of Balkh. Besides the Imperial Amirs, there were also present the Uzbegs who had been lately captured; and the Emperor also asked their advice. 'Khwaja Beg Ataligh submitted: We are rebels. Why do you seek counsel from us?' His Majesty replied, 'I have heard that the Uzbegs are righteous people, and amongst them you are the best. I am now testing you.' Upon this the Ataligh rose up and said, 'Do you wish to conquer Balkh? Kill us first and then lead an expedition. Balkh will be yours.' But the Emperor said, 'You are Mohammedans. How may I kill so many of them.' Thereafter the Ataligh said, 'As you do not accept my words, permit me to offer a suggestion which certainly Pir Muhammad Khan will not reject. Take as present the land on this side of the Khulm, and the *Sikka* and *Khutbi* will be in

your illustrious name in Samarkhand, Bokhara and Balkh; and when you proceed against Hindustan, one thousand chosen men from the armies of the above countries will be sent to your help.'

This conversation lays bare one side of Humayun's character, and shows the utter lack of statesmanship in him. In the first place he sought advice from the sworn enemies of his race, and secondly he rejected the most sane proposal offered by the Ataligh. With Kamran ever ready to break out, and surrounded by enemies on every side it was nothing short of foolhardiness to persist in an attempt upon Balkh which was doomed to failure from the very start. He had to pay heavily for this inconsiderate step as it ultimately cost him his throne and he almost lost his life. The battle with the Uzbegs proved disastrous to the Imperialists and the retreat which was sounded after it proved even worse. Several pages are devoted by our author to the description of the confusion and disorder prevailing in the army where everybody took thought only of himself leaving others to their fate. The pursuit which followed was very hot, and Baizid says that on one occasion he and his master had to protect the Emperor from the volleys of the Uzbek arrows. The extent of distraction prevailing among the soldiers can be judged by the fact that they were even unable to recognize their own lord, the Emperor. So that on one occasion when the latter arrived near a well where some of these soldiers were drawing water, and asked for it, they bluntly refused the request and here arrived our gallant little hero (Baizid) who struck with his fist the insolent but innocent soldier, seized his bucket, supplied water to the Emperor and earned his gratitude.

Without sleep or rest Humayun continued to advance towards Kabul about the safety of which he was in a great suspense. At length he arrived at Kotal Sihpich where fatigue and hunger overpowered him, and nature demanded its dues. The Emperor placed his head on the thigh of Bahadur Sultan, son of Haidar Sultan, and asked him to recite something which might send him to sleep. The latter requested that Baizid should also be asked to recite with him, and Baizid had to do it. When His Majesty awoke he felt hungry and wanted to eat something, and Baizid began to think as to how he should provide food. He had with him a discarded shield which was now used for giving water to horses. It being made of steel remained clean. Baizid prepared some soup in its hollow and gave it to the Emperor who

observed that for days past he had not tasted anything so delicious.' Thereafter the party proceeded to Kabul *via* Ghorband. The whole of the winter and spring seasons were spent there, and during this period of rest a son was born to Baizid who named him Saadat Yar Beg.

Here ends the second chapter of the Mukhtasar, and the beginning of the third is prefaced by an account of Kamran's defection, his rescue of Askari from Kaulab, and the plunder of his baggage by the Uzbeks who had come on a plundering expedition to Badakhshan. No sooner did the news of this new trouble reach Humayun than he proceeded to meet it and punish the rebels. Among the officers who accompanied him on this occasion were Jalaluddin Mahomed Ubhi, Haji Mohammad Koki, Munim Beg Atava, Tardi Beg Atava, Mir Asghar Munshi, Baltu Beg Tawachi Bashi, Mast Ali Qorchi and Husain Quli Sultan Muhardar. The last name is a sure indication of the fact that Baizid was also present in the expedition. He mentions the discomfiture which overtook the Imperialists in the Qibchaq Pass, and the precipitate flight of the troops in various directions. Notice is also taken as to how the Emperor received a wound from the sword of Baba, the scoundrel, who would have made an end of him but for the fact that Humayun turned round and accosted him angrily. 'O wretch! Thou canst strike thy sword a second time because of the royal majesty.' This was enough to stagger the cruel assailant. Meanwhile several men came up and put him to flight.

From the point of view of our author's life the incident is important because during the affray his master Husain Quli Sultan was captured by Kamran's men, and was later on put to death, and that he himself fled and took protection in Istalif but on the way was deprived of his cloths by the Hazaras. To protect himself against hot winds he made clothes out of the leaves of sorrel tree, stitching them with their thorns. And in this plight he reached Istalif when he was recognized by Rais Pir Muhammad who gave him clothes and shoes. On the other hand Humayun escaped to Andarab where he was joined by the rest of his followers. Here he collected men and horses for the ensuing struggle with his brother, and even seized a thousand horses which were going from Balkh to Kabul, and were the property of Mir Sayad Ali Sabzawari. These arrangements being complete Humayun proceeded towards Kabul, fought a battle with Kamran, defeated him and put him to flight towards Mahi-Par-o-Zala.

But this was not the only gain of the latter; the greatest advantage was the capture of Garja Khan, who has been denominated as the evil genius of Kamran. His head was cut off, thrown under the foot of an elephant, and was then hung by the Iron Gate. All this Baizid lay hidden in the village. Nau, and he only came out of the place of concealment when he became sure of the Imperial victory, and of the occupation of Kabul by Humayun. He returned to the Emperor, and as his master was dead, he now joined the service of Kamran's brother Jalaluddin Ubhi, the Mir Saman.

But the activities of Kamran were not to allow a moment's repose to Humayun. He collected together some men in the hills and created trouble. The danger being not of a serious nature Humayun deputed some of his officers to deal with the affair. Among others Jalaluddin Ubhi was also one who took part in this campaign which resulted in the discomfiture of the rebel prince and his flight to the Afghans of Jalmand and Khalil. Baizid's account of these events is that of an eye-witness. The party after quelling this disturbance returned to Kabul where Mirza Jalaluddin was commissioned to go on a mission to Badakhshan to settle the Emperor's marriage with the daughter of Mirza Sulaiman, and to escort certain State prisoners who were to be left there in charge of the said Mirza. Baizid accompanied his master on this mission, and furnishes some new and interesting details of the events at Badakhshan concerning the betrothal of Sulaiman's daughter to Humayun.

intimate with him. But if you want them, let me go and they shall be sent.' The same objections were preferred inside the palace, to Bibi Fatema. 'His Majesty has appointed you in Kabul to seduce the daughters of others. You consider my daughter to be of the same sort. Why did not some of the Begums and Aghachis come? Even if my daughter is not famous, His Majesty's name is very great. How is it possible for me to give her away when persons like you are sent to ask her hand from me?' The ambassadors returned without effecting anything, and with letters to the Emperor from Sulaiman and his wife.

By this time Kamran had once more broken out into rebellion and Humayun proceeded to drive him off. This time of Khwaja Jalaluddin was left behind in Kabul, and Baizid could not find an opportunity to personally witness the affair of which he gives only a meagre account. Suffice it to say that the expedition was entirely successful, but it cost the Emperor dear, because of the loss of Mirza Hindal who was killed during a night attack. When Humayun heard of this sad occurrence he began to weep bitterly, but Munim Beg turned up and consoled him by saying, 'Let your enemies weep; as for you, one opponent is less.'

After this Humayun despatched a party of his officers to punish the Afghans who had extended a helping hand to the rebel Kamran. Besides this there was also another underlying motive, and it was that the Afghans were to be terrorized into silence because Humayun was contemplating an advance towards Hindustan. The Imperialists plundered and enraged the Afghans to their hearts' content and then returned to Kabul. Having thus rendered the Afghans harmless for the time being Humayun moved towards Hindustan and crossed the Nilab, but had to retreat in the face of resolute resistance put forth by Sultan Salim Shah. When the Emperor was about to go to Kashmere, to which place he was invited by a Dughlat, but the opposition of his officers and the retreat of Humayun made him to postpone the intended expedition.

When on his journey he arrived at Pirhala, Sultan Adam Gakkar turned and his submission to the Emperor. He also surrendered and fled to him from the court of Salim Shah. Baizid's blindness of Kamran, and of the meeting of the brothers in eye-witness, but certainly it is based on the most original sources which he must have received

at Kabul where his master was now acting as Governor. He proceeds as follows: 'The same day His Majesty set down all the offences of Mirza Kamran, and forwarded them to the Chief Diwan with the enquiry, that if a person has committed so many crimes how should he be dealt with?' Ali Quli Shaibani wrote that he should be cut to pieces, and many other Amirs opined that the Mirza should be executed. Qazi Hamid was also of the same mind.

'When a report of this discussion was made to His Majesty he observed, "At any rate he is my brother, and I am not for killing him." And out of sheer necessity it was ordered that lancet should be applied to his eyes. Sayad Muhammad Pakna, Ali Dost Ishak Agha, Ghulam Ali six-fingered, and Muhammad Quli Shaikh Kaman were ordered to do this. . . . When these men entered the tent of the Mirza, thinking that he had been condemned to death, according to the custom, he began showing his fists. But Ali Dost said, "My Mirza the order is not to kill you. Why are you behaving like this?" The Mirza asked, "Then what is the order?" When the decision was communicated to him, he sent for a pillow, placed his head over it and said, "Go on." The forbearance which the Mirza exhibited on this occasion was simply astonishing.' Thereafter the Mirza requested for an interview with the Emperor which was granted to him on condition that he did not weep. But Humayun was unable to control himself and began to cry bitterly as soon as he saw his brother in this wretched plight.

From the account of the Emperor and his retinue we might turn our attention to Baizid and his master's activities. On the news of Humayun's return, the Khwaja sent Baizid with a letter and presents to the Emperor. Our author returned with a reply and arranged a great feast to celebrate the Emperor's arrival in the great capital city. Jalaluddin Ubhi was now appointed Ataliq to Prince Akbar and sent off to Ghazni. Baizid also accompanied his master thither, whence he was sent by Akbar with certain presents to his father who had gone to Qandhar to assure himself of the loyalty of Bairam Khan. Baizid had an audience of the Emperor on his way back to Kabul, but instead of being sent back to Ghazni he was charged with a mission to Bairam Khan at Qandhar. He performed the journey, brought the reply to the Emperor's letter with which he joined at Kabul.

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trade or craft. Students of languages and literature took up private tutorships, worked as companions, or composed occasional odes, for their living. Later on, academies were established by princes, where the teachers received salaries and enjoyed honour and dignity.¹ But the era of decline had then already begun. The period of Islam's widest sway corresponded with the period of the most perfect freedom to teach. There was one and only one check—copy-right. No one was allowed to use the book of another at a public lecture without written permission.

Even after the death of the author, the right to record this permission devolved on his heirs. Nor was any member of the audience allowed to make use of a lecture without the lecturer's permission. This permission was the sign-manual warrant of competence. The maintenance and enforcement of the law of copy-right served as an incentive to personal effort, to originality, to progress, in the domain of learning.

In dealing with the development of Science in Islam we cannot overlook the rôle sustained by the various nations within its fold. We must confess that the refinement of poetry, the wealth of light literature, the best portion of philosophy and historiography, are the intellectual gifts of the Persians. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that theology, jurisprudence, medicine and the natural sciences, rest to such an extent upon a Hellenistic basis that they may almost be regarded as identical with it. All this notwithstanding, we must guard against undervaluing the subtle influence of Arab psychology upon Islamic culture, difficult though it be to establish it by positive proof or conclusive documentation.² After long overestimating the Arab influence, we would fall into the opposite error³ were we to assume that Islamic *savants*—belonging, though they did, to different nationalities; possessing perfect command over the Arabic language; living, as they did, in closest contact with the Arabs; making Arab history, poetry, religious ideas, subjects of deep, penetrating study—

¹ Khuda Bukhsb, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 285 et seq.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, Göttingen, 1837.

² Dierds, pp. 114 et seq.

³ I would recommend for study Renan's paper on 'Islam' and Emanuel Deutsch's *Islam in his Literary Remains*. The extravagances of one are corrected by the sober reflections of the other.



Political Maxims of the Emperor-Poet, Krishnadeva Raya

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Krishnadēva Rāya was the most famous of all the Emperors who ruled over the Empire of Vijaynagara which attained to its greatest limits during his reign. He extended the vulnerable northern frontier of the empire to the north of the Raichur Doab in the Dekkan and added the whole of the eastern sea-board as far as the Gōdāvari to his empire subduing the Gajapati ruler Pratāparudra by a successful invasion into his territory. The invasion extended over the whole of the territory from the strong mountain fortress of Udayagiri in the south to his very capital Cuttack in Orissa. Some of the architectural and other monuments raised during his reign were the most magnificent and are arousing the admiration of the spectators even to-day. In the field of literature his court gathered round itself worthies from far and near. Famous poets and scholars travelled all their way from distant Bengal, Orissa, the Mahratta and Tamil countries to have their scholarship whetted on the touch-stone of the cultural court of the Rāya. In the field of religion also various teachers whose names are cherished later as founders of religion like Vallabhāchārya, Vyāsātirtha and Kṛishṇa Chaitanya had in their earlier career visited the Court of the Vijayanagara Emperor and won their laurels. The Emperor is known to have raised some of the poets of his court to the position of Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief. His Prime Minister Sāluva Timma to whom tradition attributes all his military successes and achievements wrote a commentary of the Champu Bhārata of Agastya. A nephew of this Sāluva Timma, Gōpapa Daṇḍanātha, who was a commander under him and served as viceroy in several provinces and who was appointed the first viceroy over the frontier province of Koṇḍaviḍu after its conquest

from the Gajapati was himself the author of a scholarly commentary in Sanskrit of the philosophical drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Krishṇamīśra and another work in Telugu called *Krishṇārjunasamvādam*. The presentation of elephants to poets seems to have been a very common incident of the reign. Allasāni Peddāna the Poet-Laureate of his court was appointed the governor of a district under him and he has issued inscriptions in his name. The famous pandit families of Benares and other literary centres of Northern India were originally emigrants into those places from the Vijayanagar Empire and some of the most famous of them like the poet Rāmēśwara, author of a large number of works and the ancestor of an illustrious line of scholars, emigrated there from the court of Krishṇarāya. The poem *Gādhivamsānucharitam* of Śankara Bhaṭṭa gives a very interesting account of the sojourn of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa at the court of Vijayanagara.

But Krishṇarāya appears to deserve the praise of future generations, more for his own contributions to literature than those of his proteges, remarkable though they are. The two works from his pen, the Sanskrit drama called *Jāmbvatīkalayānam* and the famous Telugu classic *Āmuktamālyadā* give their author a very honoured place among literary men. At the beginning of the *Āmuktamālyadā* there is a passage where the God Vishṇu who is worshipped at Śrīkākuḷam in the Kistna District is made to appear before him in a dream and exhort him to write a poem in the Telugu language dealing with the marriage of Gōḍā (Āṇḍāl of the Tamil scriptures) with the God Raṅganātha worshipped at Śrīraṅgam. When, the next day the king narrates this dream to the pandits and poets of his court they are made to extol the greatness of the king, his literary merits and special fortune, and recount the several works in Sanskrit which he had written.

Krishṇarāya in writing his work has dwelt on the story in a remarkable manner. His subject-matter proper was the life of *Āmuktamālyadā*, the maiden-saint of the Tamil Śrī Vaishṇava *Prabandhas*, the foster-daughter of the renowned sage Viṣṇuchitta of Śrīvilliputtūr. The literary works of both father and daughter have been included as part of the *Divyaprabandhas*, and considered as of equal sanctity to the Vēdas and have been chanted in all the Viṣṇu shrines of South India for a long time. Idols have been erected

to both of them in all those temples and the marriage of Viṣṇu with Gōḍā in the *Aśāḍha* month and the celebration of the *Margasīrshavratā* observed by her and the singing of the hymns of the *Tiruppāvai* during the period are common and compulsory rituals in every Viṣṇu temple. The Emperor had before him the life of these saints written by the hagiologists to build upon. But he has dealt with the story in a way that no hymner or hagiologist could have done. He has modified his story to suit his purpose. He has brought in the story of the life of Yāmunāchārya, the grand preceptor of the great Rāmānujāchārya and devoted nearly one whole chapter to it and interpolated it in the story after that of Viṣṇuchitta. The story is given as narrated by God Viṣṇu to Lakṣmī to illustrate the greatness of his *Bhaktas*. Dealing with the life of Yāmunāchārya also he has taken the same liberty as with the life of Viṣṇuchitta. Yāmunāchārya or Ālavandār as he is known in Tamil, was a native of Vīraṇārāyaṇapura in the Chōḷa country and the whole story of his literary achievements and triumphs are referred to the Chōḷa court. But Krishṇadēva Rāya places the story in the Pāṇḍya country and the Pāṇḍya king, contemporary of Yāmunāchārya, is made a predecessor on the Pāṇḍya throne of the contemporary of Viṣṇuchitta. This is a very glaring anachronism intentionally perpetrated by Krishṇarāya to increase the effect of his story. According to the story as narrated by the hagiologists Yāmunāchārya got a portion of the Chōḷa country as the result of a wager in a literary contest. He was then immersed in mundane pleasures and forgot the great work achieved by his grandfather Nāthānuni for the Śrī Vaishṇava religion and the Śrīraṅgam temple. By a device Rāmamiśra, a disciple of Nāthānuni, forced himself to the notice of Yāmunāchārya and when asked for his purpose, he said that he was a disciple of Yāmuna's grandfather and had been guarding over a treasure bequeathed by the latter to his grandson and was only waiting for an opportunity to fulfil the purpose of his trust. He is said to have taken Yāmunāchārya to the temple of Śrīraṅgam and showing him the idol of the God Raṅganātha there, told that that was the treasure bequeathed by his grandfather and safeguarded so long for him. This dramatic introduction of the scholar to the idol of the deity to whom his illustrious grandfather had dedicated his life had the desired effect. Yāmuna renounced his

kingdom and *grihasta* life and becoming a Sanyāsin devoted the rest of his life to the service of the Śrī Vaishṇava sect.

A very remarkable feature that Kṛṣṇarāya made in the story is the marriage of the king with the sister of the Pāṇḍya king. The king was a Kṣatriya and Yāmuna is a Brahman of Brahmins, born in the famous Nāthamuni and was the grandson of Nāthamuni. Such a connection is impossible and Kṛṣṇarāya, the orthodox Vaishṇava Emperor as it is known to future generations would not have perpetrated it without some object. What could have been the purpose? That purpose becomes plain in the sequel of the story. Yāmuna leaves the kingdom and the *grihasta* life for good and dons the yellow robes of the Sanyāsin summons before him his son by the sister of the Pāṇḍya sovereign. Here the author tells us that according to the succession law of the Pāṇḍya country a king was succeeded by his sister's son and in the present case the successor of the Pāṇḍya would be Yāmuna's own son. So Yāmuna is made to instruct him in politics. It is in this connection that Kṛṣṇarāya gives maxims about politics.

From the whole of this account, it is plain that Kṛṣṇarāya had nothing corresponding to these political maxims in any work or works upon which he based his story of the *Amuktamālyadā*. He might have formulated his own ideas of how the business of a state should be carried on or he might have borrowed the ideas that he found in ancient works on politics available to him. How far did Kṛṣṇarāya try to put in practice the theories that he dilates upon in his poem? These are interesting questions which would confront a historian while dealing with the passage. Before attempting an answer to such questions it would be better if a translation of the whole passage from the *Amuktamālyadā* is given. The passage occurs in Canto IV of the work and extends over eighty verses in the fourth Canto, Nos. 205 to 284.

AMUKTAMĀLYADĀ

CANTO IV

v. 205. Be always intent upon protecting your subjects. Whenever you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons.

(The people of) a country wish the welfare of the king who seeks the progress and prosperity of the country. One should not

think it is no serious matter. Will not God who is in the minds of all persons grant the united wishes of the Brahman and other subjects of a king?

v. 206.—It is essential that a king should be able to enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhīllas of the forests are able to enforce their orders, as by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more therefore is it necessary that an emperor (*Sarvabhauma*) should be able to enforce his commands.

v. 207.—Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmins (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak, but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from enemies.

v. 208.—You should not promote a subordinate in the beginning and then once more degrade him. Such men do not generally think of their original position, but only get angry. So, promoting your subordinates step by step according to their character, you should extract work from them.

v. 209.—Do not have the following as your servants even though they are Brahmins. One born of a mean family, one living in a Kikāṭa (a Śābara village), one who is not learned, a coward, a liar, an Ātātāyin, one who is not afraid of ignominy, a foreigner and one devoid of *Dharma*.

v. 210.—Do not appoint a Brahman who swerves from the right conduct and who is bred in a Pakkaṇa (a Śābara suburb). Don't you know the story of how a Brahman once destroyed a crane which had saved his life, for a single day's meal?

v. 211.—If a Brahman who is a scholar, who is afraid of *Adharma*, who is well-versed in *Rājanīti* and who is between the ages of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the king has come down from previous generations and who is not conceited accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, would it take more than a day for the *Āṅgas* (constituents of royalty) of such a king to increase?

vv. 212 and 213.—In the absence of such a minister if a king is not contented with ruling himself to the best of his genius according to (the science of polity) and with the help of a strong army and a full treasury, and has recourse to a minister who is devoid of virtues, the minister would prove a source of trouble like the pearl of the size of a pumpkin and the king would ultimately find himself in the hands of that minister.

v. 214.—When the work of a single subordinate (officer) is entrusted to a number of men and when each of them is assisted by his friends the business of the state would easily be accomplished. On the other hand when the staff is decreased, work cannot be turned out when business increases.

v. 215.—No business can be accomplished by money alone without the co-operation of many big officers. For having them in due subordination the following are essential, absence of greed, absence of cruelty and truthfulness.

v. 216.—Do not we hear of kingdoms falling into the hands of enemies in spite of their possessing well-filled treasuries and large cavalry for want of proper men to be led?

v. 217.—Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or a Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to make Brahmans as his officers.

v. 218.—Do not entrust the temples of your kingdom to an officer who is intent upon amassing wealth (anyhow), for he would, in his thirst for money divert the money of the temples to compensate for the losses sustained by his province. Such money is not at all proper to be spent on a state business. So a separate officer should be appointed to administer them. If such an officer misappropriate the property of the temples he will alone suffer for it and the king would have no share of it.

v. 219.—A king should first establish his power in his territory either being in terms of affected friendship with his enemies or relying on his land- and water-defences (fortifications). After this without external fear, he should set about rooting out the internal enemies of his kingdom, just as a farmer first lays out the boundaries of his field and constructing fencing all round, softens the soil by digging up with the spade and removing the roots and stones in the ground.

v. 220.—Do not spurn away an informer at the very outset, ponder over and over again about what he says. If what he reported proves to be false, then dispense with him, but see that he is in no way disgraced.

v. 221.—It is always advisable to entrust the government over wild tribes inhabiting hills and forests to heroes who have fallen from great positions. It would not affect the king much whoever succeeds in the struggle between them.

v. 222.—If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king and his people would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enmity and close friendship, result from (very little) insignificant causes.

v. 223.—When a forester (Bhilla) went with his bow to another's house and the other entertained him with food mixed in milk, he observed the bark of some trees boiling on the fire-place for making ropes and mistook it for flesh. Angry because he was not entertained with the flesh, the forester resolved to murder his host when he came to give him a send-off. But on that occasion the latter excused himself from following further saying that the fibre on the fire-place would get spoiled. The man understood his mistake and parted with his host heartily. Do you not know this story?

v. 224.—When the foresters promise to do anything after partaking of the food mixed with milk in any one's house they would under no circumstances swerve from their promise. If they observe any wrong, however small it might be, they become angry and become enemies without considering the probable result of their action.

v. 225.—The first wild forest tribes can be brought under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them). The friendship of an enemy king can be brought about by honouring and rewarding his ambassador. The infantry can be pleased and attached to one's self by punctual payment of their salaries. The officers of the cavalry are pleased by duly rewarding their services with suitable presents.

v. 226.—Entrust your best horses and elephants to that good officer with whom you are intimate and keep them in your own stables and feed them well. Do not entrust their care to the lords.

v. 227.—In the Council when one officer proposes a particular course another would object to it as unsuitable through mere spite of the former. The king should discover their individual motives and without denying the statement of either should close the council and then follow the course proposed by the first councillor, without spite.

v. 228.—Bad ministers, on observing enmity abroad, allow the insurgent elements within the state to prout forth and, when the king finds himself in trouble, do not do things in a decisive manner, but

making themselves indispensable and spreading their influence everywhere continue fearless.

v. 229.—They make the king give (offices and presents) only to their favourites (people in their control) and make him dismiss from service others. They make it impossible for the king to act according to his own promise thus dissuade others from joining the king's service by making him appear as a promise-breaker and not true to his own word.

v. 230.—Just as when the keen appetite of a person loses its keenness on account of the predominance of phlegm and other causes an external medicine strengthens it, if an able new officer is appointed in the old one's place he would destroy the conceit (power) of the former.

v. 231.—The method of bringing in a new minister to destroy the influence of the old is thus.

v. 232.—When the treasury and the forces of cavalry and elephants are under his control in the states, will not the machinations of bad ministers vanish before a king who is at the same time a scholar (intelligent man) and a hero?

v. 233.—Are there any real friends to a king except such as would think of his ruin when a morsel is taken off from their usual rewards? Such being the case would it be meet for the king to dispense with their services? He should carry on the business of the state without (completely) confiding in any person and with mercy.

v. 234.—You should find out the unscrupulous (bad character) nature of a person from a single instance. It is not possible to examine it in every case. When Drupada offered many cows to Upāyaja and requested them to be slaughtered for an evil sacrifice (*Māraṇḍshthi*) did not Upāyaja say that his brother Yāja would have no objection to do it from the fact that he took up and ate a fruit lying in an unclean place which he, Upāyaja, saw and passed by. It is not possible to examine one in every case.

v. 235.—If a person thinks evil of you when you are in difficulties, do not think of destroying him after you succeed in the affair, but only destroy his great power and wealth. What can a serpent do after its sharp fangs are drawn? Even an open enemy will have faith in you if you show such mercy.

v. 236.—The extent of a state is the root cause of its prosperity. When a state is small in extent then both virtue (*Dharma*) and

prosperity (*Artha*) will increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed and favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and services.

v. 237.—That king is never prosperous even though he conquers all the seven *Dwīpas*, who has an officer who does not call back the subjects when they leave the state on account of suffering, who would sell away their cattle and stores of corn and would consider their houses as fit for using for fuel and who thus resemble the jackal in the battle-field.

v. 238.—A king should divide his income into four parts, use one part for extensive benefactions and for enjoyment, two parts for the maintenance of a strong army, and one part to be added to the treasury; after arranging his income and expenditure thus he should be watching by means of his spies the movements of his enemies and the movements of his ministers and other people of his own party. He should destroy all thieves in his territory.

v. 239.—If a king were to propitiate his guards with presents and hands over to them for custody a thief whose guilt has been proved without immediate punishment and if when he escapes, the guards bring before the king another in his place and punish him, as the story of the stout merchant on the spear, will not the king's infamy increase?

v. 240.—A king can find out three parts out of four of all the affairs of the state. He can find out the fourth part that has been concealed from him, through his favourites and friends. If with a mind full of the knowledge of polity he is free from anger and is not very vindictive in his punishment of people who try to bring danger upon him, such a king can rule for a long time.

v. 241.—A king should have a watchful eye over his enemies both external and internal even while he is enjoying pleasure, like the owl on the top of the tree which sleeps with one eye and keeps watch with the other.

v. 242.—If a king through his partiality for letters gives large sums of money and villages to mendicant ascetics and those of matted hairs they may (as a result of his benefactions) swerve from their necessary discipline which would increase in the state evils such as famine, disease and infantile mortality. Therefore, in the case of such people, it is sufficient if the king shows *bhakti* (respect and devotion) towards

them. The only evil that might then result is their suffering, but no sin would accrue to the sovereign. Be assured of this.

v. 243.—In the matter of people sentenced to death give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself immediate execution is advisable.

v. 244.—When a king hears anybody extolling his own exploits and bravery it is meet that he puts up with it even though he is himself a great warrior. By that they would feel flattered. It is the business of a king to see that his own heroism is reflected in them.

v. 245.—A king should improve the harbours of his country and so encourage its commerce that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported into his country. He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness and exhaustion are looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities. He should set his own favourites to look after the gardens, herds of cattle and mines of the state.

v. 246.—It is meet that the anger towards a defaulter is put up with till a proper opportunity occurs, and he should be punished only when the opportunity occurs, like an archer who does not draw back the arrow till his aim is finally fixed and then lets it off.

v. 247.—When you advance into a weak enemy's territory you should go with a small contingent in advance followed by the main army within a few days' march like the small advance streams of a flood followed in due course by the big torrents, that they might join you later on. When the enemy is strong in his army you should be satisfied with the presents that he offers you. But when you know by means of your spies that he is weak you should not retreat but hem him in.

v. 248.—Collecting money by oppressing the subjects, taking the counsel of worthless people, allowing one's territory to be annexed by others, an able king should see that these things exist only with his enemies. When his enemy king is suspicious of his own feudatories and when they are suffering from his oppression a king should encourage the latter and gratify them by presents of jewels and ornaments.

v. 249.—A king should destroy the fear from his internal enemies

even by granting half of his whole kingdom to an enemy when the enemy sues for it and by thus establishing a firm and everlasting friendship with him. Is not the fear from an internal foe greater than the fear from a serpent?

v. 250.—A king should carefully investigate who are his secret enemies in the territory recently conquered by him and putting them down with a firm hand should feel as free from fear as he were in the company of his women. If he does not (is not able to) do this what is the benefit that he derives from acquiring the kingdom? The kingdom would only bring on grief to him.

v. 251.—A king should not put severe constraint on an enemy who is afraid of him and consequently does not join him, but should allow him to come of his accord, and get captured like a fisherman who draws ashore a big fish which has been caught in his hook.

v. 252.—Cruel punishments, want of discrimination with regard to flimsy charges, pressing an enemy without giving him an opportunity to come to terms, ruining (plundering) a foreigner who goes to him after seeing the wrongs in other states, doing things so as to be plain to the enemy ministers, mixing much with the people knowing that they are not favourably disposed to him, looking with estrangement men who can be relied upon, admitting too many into counsel as a result of their flattery, neglecting to punish a councillor, who reveals the secret counsels, not looking about carefully for remedies when any strange mishap happens, not caring for (looking towards) worthy people, associating with bad people getting addicted to the *vyasanas* (intense desires) and obstinacy. All these should never be with a king.

v. 253.—If the three sorts of bad omens (*Utpātas*) occur, then the king should spend much money in feeding Brahmins, in appeasing the Gods by offerings and the sacrificial fire by *Homa*.

v. 254.—Kings should increase the jealousies among the lords and warriors under him. Then their actions good or bad, can never be concealed. In trying to get over each other and become famous they will not entertain any idea of treachery to the sovereign.

v. 255.—The king should not go personally anywhere against the enemy country. It is meet that he appoints one as his lord and sends him on the business for his assistance. An enemy will not be spoilt (overcome) by a weak man. The lord who is sedate will not be able to effect anything without a sufficient force of elephants and horses.

For giving such assistance, an officer who is not a Brahmin might be fit. The services of the Brahmin are also necessary. So it is fit that he gives them charge of well-filled fortresses and (well-equipped) forces and land.

v. 256.—Increase the forests that are near your frontier fortresses (*Gadi desa*) and destroy all those which are in the middle of your territory. Then alone you will not have trouble from robbers.

v. 257.—Minding the (small) faults of the forest chiefs who have not extensive power is like trying to clean a mud wall by pouring water over it. If he gets angry at them he cannot destroy them utterly. If (on the other hand) he attaches them to himself by kind words and charity they would be useful to him in invading foreign territory and plundering their fortresses. It is inconceivable that a king would be able to meet a hundred faults with a thousand punishments.

v. 258.—Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses, attached to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city, by affording them daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies.

v. 259.—A king should freely converse in his court with the ambassadors from the kings of neighbouring states and speak to him about administration and war that understands the situation. He should so speak about administration and war that his followers may understand his point. What his counsellors say through attachment, the king should not take as offences.

v. 260.—A king should not allow into his secret counsels an officer who had been made a lord (*Dora*) only recently. He would become proud of his favours shown to him and reveal the secrets to his friends. By that the projected course of action would be spoiled and the officer would ruin himself.

v. 261.—That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *Dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese? (*Tel. Pulijunnu*) and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*Samantas*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who in-

creases his treasury by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches fish, who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies.

v. 262.—The expenditure of money which is utilized in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of Gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure.

v. 263.—A king should never take an oath with reference to his enemies. When he marches with an army his object may or may not succeed or may succeed only at a further date. Is the king's business to effect his own purpose or simply fighting?

v. 264.—By pressing the enemy army in a place whence they cannot proceed anywhere they would be compelled to turn round and get either victory or the heaven of heroes (*Virasvarga*). So a king ought to direct his forces against their fortresses which are garrisoned and provided with engines.

v. 265.—Kings would consult a councillor whose counsel suits them on one or two occasions. By such constant consultation by the king and by receiving presents from him he gets conceited and advises the king to undertake unnecessary things. In that case the king ought to have a watch over the actions of the councillor through his spies.

v. 266.—If you think that the holder of foreign fortresses on your frontier can easily be worsted, then it is fit to overcome him. If you do not think so, the best course is to make friendship with him. Of what use is the holder of a foreign (enemy) fortress when the Governor of your own fortress is your enemy. The fortress should be protected for his own sake.

v. 267.—Capture the territory as well as the fortresses of your enemies. If the harem of the enemy chances to fall into your hands see that they are looked after as if they were in their own birth place. Do not utter harsh things before the ambassadors of such states. You yourself might have to treat with them some time.

v. 268.—Do not enter yourself the territory of an enemy which contains people expert in the black art (*Abhichara*) where the water is poisonous and which is the abode of disease and full of mountains and dense forests even if there is the prospect of getting as much wealth as

the mountain Mēru (Mountain of Gold, abode of Gods). To such place send only your troops.

v. 269.—False persons approach a king and by skilful flattery look to the fulfilment of their own purpose. They serve their masters when he is powerful and happy, but when he is in difficulties, desert him. A king should behave like a merchant in determining the relative worth of his servants.

v. 270.—A king should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecrafts, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes from his people moderately, should counteract the acts of his enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects, should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, should always try to increase the merit of Brahmins, should strengthen his fortresses and lessen the growth of the undesirable things and should be ever mindful of the purification (?) of his cities and thus strengthen himself and increase his longevity just as a man strengthens his own body and increases his longevity by consulting good doctors, by learning the properties of the seven *Dhatus* and taking medicines compounded with gold and other minerals, by taking food so as to suit his constitution by seeing that wind (*Vata*) does not accumulate in his body, by regular anointments, by the nourishment of all parts, by counteracting the change of the colour of the skin and the hair turning grey, by seeing that the teeth are firm, by seeing that the arms and similar parts grow and other parts like the stomach do not grow, by cleansing the system so as to increase its vitality.

v. 271.—A king should not spend the morning in the company of officers who inquire about his welfare, the doctors and the astrologers, the Yama after that he should spend in the company of the officers (*Kayasthas*) who collect the revenue along with his ministers and subordinates. The noon he should spend in the company of messengers, wrestlers, dainty cooks and huntsmen. In the afternoon and during the worship of God he should spend in the company of ascetics well-versed in the *Dharmas* of great men (*Ārya*). After dinner he should spend in the company of scholars who propound the *Purāṇas* and poets, along with the court jesters. The evenings he should spend in the company of musicians. And the nights he should spend in the company of his dear ones (Harem).

v. 272.—A king's followers (subordinates) are of three classes, those who are favourable to him, those who are favourable as well as not favourable and those who are unfavourable. I shall enumerate these now.

v. 273.—The people who will be favourably disposed to him are the doctors, astrologers, scholars, poets and priests (*Purohitas*). Those who are favourable as well as unfavourable are his officers employed in amassing money for him. Those who are unfavourable are the people who by ill-fortune made their will captured by the king and are waiting to get it back. He should behave towards these several sorts of people according to the circumstances.

v. 274.—It is good that a king should reward a worthy man having well tested him before himself requesting him and before a third party recommends. The reward should come unawares like the fruits of the jack-tree and like a dream.

v. 275.—Of duties that you owe to your ancestors and gods, those that you owe to your *Pitris* are more important. So becoming attached to your *Pitris* you should apply reward people who are versed in the Vedas, who are mild as a result of their penances and who are unswerving in devotion and send your *Pitris* to higher lives.

v. 276.—Realizing that charity is for the protection of the *Dvijas* and that knowledge is for your own protection, take refuge in Nārāyaṇa. In no other way is it possible to counteract the purport of the saying 'Hell at the end of a kingdom'.

v. 277.—The wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between men and women, the ascetic subduing his *indriyas*, the lower castes showing deference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the interests of the master, you should know that all these are brought about (ultimately) by the fear of the king's punishment.

v. 278.—Curiously enough, a man is said to be addicted to *Dharma* though he kills (wrong-doers), one is called a bachelor *Brahmachāri* (though he takes a wife if he is moderate in his lust-love). One is called a truthful man though he utters falsehood (in the special circumstances permitted by the *Dharma*). He is said to fast though he eats (if he is moderate). One is called a hero though he turns back (from those whom he ought not to fight). One is called rich though he spends money (for worthy objects).

v. 279.—A spy should be one who resides in your town (capital),

should be conversant with languages, should be acquainted with the spies of other countries, should not have any special marks and should be one who has got from the king more money than he expected. Others should never enter the profession.

v. 280.—A king should get the merit of severe fasting and subduing the body only by giving money and not by giving up the enjoyment derivable from the anointments, baths, feasts, smearings, clothes and flowers in the several seasons.

v. 281.—A king's meal will contain articles of various properties and tastes. Therefore it is fit that he takes his dinner only in the afternoon. Eating when the stomach is not free, is not good.

v. 282.—If, when a king is bestowing equal attention to the *Vargas*. *Dharma* (religion), *Artha* (Wealth), and *Kama* (Love), by chance he shows more attention to *Dharma*, it would be like allowing the surplus water intended to irrigate other fields overflow and fertilize corn-fields. It would only conduce to enjoy of the sovereign.

v. 283.—Take a gem that is flawless and wear it always. On all the days of the week a king should wear the dress and the ornaments made of gems befitting his own greatness and the occasions.

v. 284.—You should not think that ruling a kingdom is a sin and get embarrassed how to get rid of the sin. The scriptures do not ordain any impossible thing. Therefore you should rule the kingdom to the best of your ability.

v. 285.—Manu, Dhandaadhara and others became known as addicted to *Dharma* only by finding out the mistakes of the subjects and punishing them. The anointed king who is equal to God and who is created by God (*Prajāpati*) in various forms for the purpose of ruling the subjects is known by various terms which are sanctioned by the Vēdas as *Virāt*, *Sarvāt*, and should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the world. If he does not do this, the purpose of his creation is not fulfilled. 'Are there not successful brigand chiefs who capture others' wives for their lust and who get rich with the wealth robbed from others? Why should a king take so much trouble to rule properly? Arguing like this the king should not turn away from protecting the kingdom. In the Kṛitayuga the king Sahasrabāhu, the son of Kṛitavīrya, who was bearing the burden of this world upon his arms, was able to have his presence and authority felt throughout the world in all countries, islands and provinces by means of his many

weapons borne in his chariot and his orders obeyed. It is possible to rule the country like that in the last *Yuga* where the power of kings is limited. Why only kings! even the Brahmins of this age do not possess the power of the Brahmins of those ages. A Brahmin (Agastya) was able to drink away the water of the sea. Another sage (Visvāmitra) was able to engage in creation as opposed to the creation (of Brahma). Another was able to avert the *Brahmāstra* by his staff (*Brahmadanda*). Is it proper that Brahmins of this age should give up acting up to their best ability because they do not have such powers? Have they ceased to command respect and worship from others in spite of their lessened powers? So with very great care and according to your power you should attend to the work of protecting (the good) and punishing (the wicked) without neglecting anything that you see or hear. In the case of impossibilities, you should throw the burden on the God Vishnu (*Pundarikaksha*) who is the Protector of the afflicted who take refuge in him. By acting in this way without egotism you would be successful in all your attempts (you should get all Siddhis). A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*. The lives of the Gods like Varuna, Indra, Vaiśravaṇa, Vāyu, and Agni are the results of their actions in several previous births. The various worlds as the *Bhu*, *Bhuvah* and *Svaha* owe their positions to *Dharma*. So, skillfully fulfilling your *Dharma* you get rid of your three-fold debt and attain fame among your equals! With this advise, Yāmunāchārya anointed the Pāṇḍya to rule his kingdom.

These maxims can be arranged according to their subject-matter under the following heads and when rearranged form a remarkably well ordered treatise on politics and statecraft.—

1. *King*.—219, 240, 241, 242, 244, 250, 252, 253, 254, 261, 270, 271, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 283 and 284.
2. *Ministers*.—211, 212, 213, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 248, 259, 260, 265 and 269.
3. *Army and Generals*.—232, 238 and 255.
4. *Fortresses*.—207, 256 and 261.
5. *Treatment of Officers*.—208, 209, 210, 214, 215, 216, 217, 225, 226, 233, 234, 235, 254, 261, 272 and 273.
6. *System of Espionage*.—220, 238, 261, 265 and 279.
7. *Administration of Temples and Public Endowments*.—218.
8. *Treatment of Forest Tribes*.—221, 222, 223, 224, 225 and 257.

9. *Punishment of Evil-doers*.—239 and 246.
10. *Public Works and Poor Relief*. 236, 237 and 242.
11. *Foreign Affairs*.—225, 241, 247, 248, 249, 251, 255, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267 and 268.
12. *Revenue Collection and Expenditure*.—238, 261 and 262.
13. *Administration of Justice*.—205, 239 and 243.
14. *Commerce and Foreign Merchants*.—245 and 258.
15. *Treatment of Subdued Enemies*.—225, 235 and 250.
16. *Enforcement of Orders*.—206.
17. *War*.—263, 264 and 267.
18. *Brahmans*.—207, 209, 210, 211, 217, 253, 255, 261, 262 and 276.
19. *Rewards to Worthy Servants*.—239 and 274.

Before proceeding to examine how far Krishnarāya put in practice, what, is dilated here, a word might not be out of place about the sources of these maxims. There have been different views among scholars about this. Mr. G. Harisarvothama Rao in his dissertation called 'The Neglected Emperor-Poet' has the following regarding these. 'Krishnadēvaraya was a king of great ability and his views on politics proceed from practical experience in that sphere.' In another place he says, 'The rest of Krishnarāya's advice is fully of practical hints and information most important to a reigning prince.' Referring to these maxims Pandit M. Venkataramanacharyulu in his scholarly introduction to an edition of the *Amuktamālyada* expresses the opinion that when one examines these it would be plain that the maxims could have been composed only by a king of sound wisdom who had great experience in ruling the state. It could not have been written by a Brahman pandit who got good knowledge of the *Niti Śāstra* through a study of books. Controverting both these Mr. V. Subba Rao, who published in Telugu a summary of these maxims, expresses a different opinion. He thinks that most of the ideas found in these maxims have been taken from earlier works on *Rajantī* and attempts to find out their originals. The few cases where he found resemblances or borrowing are given below:—Out of the eighty verses which these maxims comprise he says that the ideas of seven seem to have been borrowed. One of the works whence the borrowing was made is said to be the *Mahābhārata*, *Santiparvan*. In verse 210 there is a reference to the story of a Brahman who killed a crane which had saved his life, for a single day's meal. The reference in this verse is

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

politics and the same bickerings among the landed noblemen that had characterized the reigns of the later Hindu rulers, continued with unabated vigour in the time of their successors, the independent Sultans of Kashmir, who merely carried on the traditions which they had inherited. Sanskrit, corrupted, no doubt, by the infusion of numerous Persian and Arabic technical terms, was still largely used as the official language. The majority of the people were Muhammadans, but it was Muhammadanism of a type that would have astonished the orthodox Arab. The old places of worship still retained their sanctity, the only innovation being that the Hindu image had given place to the tomb of a Muslim saint. Muhammadan Kashmir teems, to this day, with numberless little shrines and Ziārats which bear the unmistakable stamp of their Hindu origin. The conversion left the old manners, customs and even the superstitions of the people intact. As a rule the kings were far too busy with their own troubles and pleasures to bestow much thought upon their subjects who doubtless were content to plod their own way unmolested, happy if forgotten.

SHAHABU-D-DIN (A.D. 1355-1374)

After Shāh Mīr, or, as he styled himself Shamsu-d-Din, the first king of mark in his dynasty was Shahabu-d-Din (A.D. 1355-1374). In the early part of his reign he made a brilliant raid on the North-Western India and overran the territories adjoining the upper course of the Indus (Ohind etc.), sacked Peshawar and seriously threatened Ghazni and Kandahār. The snowy barrier, Hindukush seems to have forced him to retrace his foot-steps to the plains. He marched eastwards as far as the Sutlej where he met and exchanged greetings with the Raja of Nagarkot who was returning from a similar expedition from Delhi. The year 1361, the sixth of his reign, was marked by a disastrous flood which deluged nearly the whole of the valley and forced the inhabitants to take refuge in the uplands and the hills. His indignation at the suggestion of Udayasri, his minister, to melt the brass image of the Brihat-Buddha and coin the metal into money, is eloquent of the tolerant character of these early Moslem rulers of Kashmir. The latter part of his reign was not a happy one for himself, chiefly because of the baneful influence which Lasa, the young niece of his queen Lakshmi, whom he had taken as a concubine,

Brahman of that age, he was a scholar and one of his works in Sanskrit, a commentary, has come down to us and some of his close relatives who occupied high positions in the state were authors and patrons of authors. When the king says 'when such an individual accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, would it take more than a day for the *Angas* (constituents of royalty) of that king to increase?' This sounds as if the king is merely describing how he was able to conquer the whole Eastern seaboard in his triumphant march after having entrusted the command to Sāluva Timma. He was first the Viceroy over the frontier province of Konḍavīḍu after its conquest and even after he was shifted to other parts the new Viceroy appointed in his place Nāḍinḍla Gōpadaṇḍanātha was his own nephew. The political views of Kṛṣṇarāya appear most practical when he lays down his methods of lessening the influence of bad ministers and conducting ministerial councils. After proper ministers and viceroys are chosen, he is particular that they should not be kept weak. He is against promoting any officer, minister or commander all in a sudden but wants that it should be done gradually and step by step. Such action would attach these officers firmly to the king who would then be able to extract good work from them. When a proper minister with the requisite qualifications is not available he would advise a king to be contented with ruling the kingdom himself according to *Niti* to the best of his genius, and with the help of a strong army and a full treasury. Kṛṣṇarāya favours the system of keeping the great offices of the state under committees of several people instead of single individuals. This system would prove very useful and elastic especially when the business of the State increases with the extension of its boundaries and under ordinary conditions would conduce to its greater prosperity. If, on the other hand, the staff is decreased work cannot be turned out when the business increases. The king's characterization and estimate of the motives and acts of bad ministers are no less interesting. He says, 'Bad ministers, on observing enmity abroad allow the insurgent elements within the state to sprout forth and when the king finds himself in trouble, do not do things in a decisive manner, but making themselves indispensable, and spreading their influence everywhere continue fearless. They make the king give (offices and presents) only to their favourites (people in their control)

and make him dismiss others from service. They make it impossible for the king to act according to his own promise and thus dissuade others from joining the king's service and make him appear as a promise-breaker and not true to his own word. In the case of punishing a defaulter he advises patience till a proper opportunity occurs, like the archer who does not draw back his arrow till his aim is finally fixed.'

FORTRESSES

Kṛṣṇarāya's advice about the use of fortresses and how they are to be maintained and strengthened appear no less practical. Every student of history knows the part that these fortresses played during the period of Vijayanagar. He lays special stress upon proper officers being placed in command over them. He would advise the rearing of forests near the fortresses on his frontier and storing in them provisions and war materials sufficient to last for a generation.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

With regard to the administration of justice he says, 'Whenever you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them patiently and redress the sufferings and do not entrust your affairs to mean-minded persons.' He wants that the right men should be punished for crimes and warns against punishments being visited upon the innocent through his negligence. In the matter of people sentenced to death he requires that they should be given the chance to appeal for mercy thrice. But in the case of convicted criminals whose escape might bring on a calamity to the king and the state he advises their immediate execution.

SUBDUED ENEMIES

The practical views of Kṛṣṇarāya are also plain with regard to his advice about subdued enemies. He says, 'If a person thinks evil of you when you are in difficulties do not think of destroying him after you succeed in the affairs, but only destroy his great power and wealth. When a serpent do after its sharp fangs are drawn? Even an open enemy will have faith in you if you show him such mercy.' He should carefully investigate who are his secret enemies in the territory recently conquered and putting them down with a firm

hand should feel as free from fear as he were in the company of his women. If he does not do this what is the benefit accruing to him from the kingdom? It would only bring on grief. These sentiments are very well illustrated by Krishnarāya's treatment of his enemies. His entering into marriage relations with the Gajapati after his complete defeat and submission and appointing his son as a governor in a province in the interior of his kingdom near Mysore far from his ancestral territory and his dealings with the several Bahmini Sultans are excellent illustrations of the policy dilated upon here.

FOREST TRIBES

Krishnarāya's sentiments about forest tribes are the most interesting in the passage and perhaps from the most original portion of the whole. They show what a careful observer of nature the Emperor was. His view about the mental attitude of these tribes and his method of attaching these to himself are very practical. In the actual working of the state there should have been many occasions for him in dealing with these. Verses 223 and 224 appear to merely record a policy which the king had followed on several occasions.

PUBLIC WORKS

The emperor realized the utility of an extensive kingdom and the more extensive the state, the more prosperous would it be. If, on the other hand, the state was small in extent, he wants that its smallness should be compensated by suitable public works. The virtue (*Dharma*) and prosperity (*Artha*) of a small state will increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed and favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and services. A king should call back his subjects when they are forced to leave the territory on account of suffering. When they are in straitened circumstances, he should not be overpunctilious in trying to extract the last penny, but should consider their poverty and what would be the result of their sufferings and leaving the territory.

COMMERCE AND FOREIGN MERCHANTS

It is curious that Krishnarāya who gives so much information about the organization of the army, the strengthening and the fortifications and extension of the frontiers of the kingdom does not say a word about the organization of the navy and guarding the empire from external

juristic element—speculation. Since the beginning of the Abbasid rule the cultivation and development of jurisprudence became keener and more marked than ever before, as, henceforth, the idea of a State-church, according to the Persian model, asserted itself and rose triumphant. *Government and Religion are twin-born* became the pervading, permeating view. Under its influence Islamic doctrines henceforth assumed their own special casuistic stamp. Knowledge of law became the most important branch of theology, and henceforward the theologian was called a jurist (*faqih*) or a *savant* (*ālim*).

Through conquests Muslims had become acquainted with the laws of Justinian, and as the *hadith* were not at all sufficient to furnish a guiding principle, in dealing with the abundance of cases that now called for decision, the Muslims early adopted the methods of the Roman jurists—analogue deduction (*Kiyas*) and private judgment (*ra'y*)—for adapting and extending the law to suit the times. This led to a violent conflict between the supporters of *hadith*, pure and simple, and the champions of a progressive system of law, with the result that schools of jurisprudence came into being which, in the evolution of principles, distinctly stepped beyond the *hadith*, but which yet, in outer seeming, based their decisions, in individual cases, on the materials subsisting in the *hadith*. This was naught but our old friend *legal fiction*. What wonderful disguises it has assumed in different systems! Not the first, but by far the most powerful jurist that addressed himself to *Kiyas*, was Abu Hanifa.¹ Although not a judge himself, he founded a school of law which, according to Von Kremer, is the highest and loftiest achievement of which Islam is capable. Shortly after his death, his system was officially accepted at court and throughout the Islamic Empire, and to this system most Muslims still yield assent, and pay homage. While Abu Hanifa struck the path of juristic speculation,² Malik Ibn

¹ Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, p. 13; Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 394 et seq.; Morley, *Analytical Digest*, p. cclxii.

² Speaking of the exercise of *Kiyas* as allowed by the chief Sunni sects, Ibn Khaldun says, 'the Science of Jurisprudence forms two systems, that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl-al-rai, wa ahl-al-kiyas*) who were natives of Iraq, and that of the followers of tradition, who were natives of Hijaz. As the people of Iraq possessed but few traditions, they had recourse to analogical deductions, and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called the followers of private judgment: the Imam Abu Hanifa, who was their chief, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this

Vaishnavas. Traditions exist about the very munificent gifts of the emperor to that mutt. The most important of the emperor's court poets Allasāni Peddana says in a verse that he was a disciple of the head of that mutt. The emperor's gifts to other religious mutts also were magnificent. The words of caution found in the previous verses merely show that Kṛṣṇarāya was a careful king and he took very great care to prevent indiscriminate charity in the state.

A Dutch Embassy to Bahadur Shah, 1711

BY

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THIS short summary of the visit of a Dutch embassy to the court of Bahadur Shah I. dates from 1711. It has been translated from the Dutch by Mrs. Wichsteed. The full document annotated by Dr. Vogel of the University of Leyden will appear in *the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*.

From the cession of Bombay in 1668 the influence and commercial importance of the Dutch had steadily declined till in 1711 it was at a low ebb. With a view to obtaining special concessions, and thus overreaching their English competitors an 'Embassade' under the worthy Dutchman John Joseph Ketaalar, was despatched with magnificent presents to the Mogul Emperor then in camp at Lahore. The mission was a fairly large one comprising three principal, nine minor Merchants and twelve Dutch Grenadiers, efficiently commanded by an ensign, a sergeant, and a corporal. They were certainly well looked after! In addition there were 100 Indian horse musketeers, and the usual retinue of attendants.

On December 10, 1711, the mission arrived at Khanḵhanan Serai near Lahore where it awaited permission to approach the Emperor, whose camp was pitched on the plain north of Lahore Fort. This serai cannot be identified by the editors of either Finch's or the present MS. but judging by the direction and distances given, it would be at Moghalpura then a large and populous suburb of Lahore. Here they were greeted by an influential friend in the person of Donna Juliana Da Costa, Duenna and Governess of the Imperial Scraglio, principal wife, Councillor of State and controller of all the Europeans in the Mogul service. The latter post must have been important for John Wheeler Sardar-i-Feringhian (commander of the Christian soldiers) himself enjoyed an income of Rs. 3,000 a month and command

the woodlands on the banks of the Kaveri, a desire to go on an excursion similar to those of the Palar, seized him and he started on the expedition with a band of his followers.

On his way, he made a sojourn at Chidambaram where he worshipped Sri-Nataraja; and then went to Tiruvatikai, and at last reached Conjevaram.

In that far-famed city when he was seated on his royal throne in a finely-decorated hall at the south-east corner of his palace, a host of kings had come bringing their customary dues. And the monarch acknowledged them with marks of extreme regard and affection; and, turning to his private secretary (*Tiru-mandira-olai*), enquired:—'Has any of our vassal kings failed to make his appearance with the respect due to us?' The Secretary replied, with bated breath, that the king of Kalinga had not graced the occasion and that he had failed in his duty already twice.

Kulōttunga, vowed that he would reduce the power of the king of Kalinga to utter insignificance by shattering his hill-forts, which were the main source of his strength, and which made him set at naught his authority.

Karuṇākara then arose and bowing low to the sovereign spoke in accents clear, 'My Sovereign Liege, if thou grantest me leave to assume the command of the army, I'll rase to the ground all the hill-forts of the Raja of Kalinga and bring him home captive.' The monarch gave him the commission and the royal council broke.

A vast army was mustered; and it set forward on its march to Kalinga. Karuṇākara, the Commander-in-Chief, and his lieutenants Pallavaraśar, Vānakōvaraiyar, Muḍikonḍacholan—all mounted their own war-elephants.

The Chola army waded several rivers, namely, the Pālār Mukhari, Kolli, Pennai, Krishna, Godavari, etc., and at last entered Kalinga sweeping away everything on its onward march.

When news of the approaching Chola army reached the ears of the king of Kalinga, he was disheartened at first, but he comforted himself with the reflections that since Kulōttunga himself had not taken command of the army, his fortified city would certainly laugh to scorn any army. However his prime minister pointed out to him the utter folly of it by drawing attention to the strength of the approaching army and the extraordinary ability of Karuṇākara.

off the stench of carrion!' Quaintly put, but Lahore must have been a very smelly place even then! Incidentally, to compensate the ambassador for his disappointment, the Emperor sent him a sumptuous repast from his own table served in golden dishes and accompanied by a present of a table of massed gold, having golden bowls for food set in suitable hollows around its edge.

The next day the Emperor received the mission. The camp is described at great length as are the details of the reception. Approaching the camp the procession was stopped at a barrier consisting of three separate fences of thick ropes covered in silk. At the outer of these they were made to deliver up their arms, and thence escorted by a band of kettle-drums and trumpets to the kanats surrounding the Imperial tent. These were of antique Persian carpets of great value. There were three separate openings. Within stood the Imperial tent, made of yellow silk and covered with carpets (shawls) wrought in cloth of gold and silver. From the principal entrance the embassy advanced along a road lined with red silk flags and covered by splendid carpets. Arrived at the throne, the principal himself was escorted within the 'red rails'—a signal honour, he being the first European on whom it had been conferred since the days of Hawkins and Roe, nearly a hundred years before.

An interchange of costly presents took place and after being invested with a golden brocaded robe, turban and shawl, the ambassador retired with the comforting assurance that all his requests would be complied with. But they were not and for many days negotiations dragged on, each interview being a rather expensive one. But costly presents were returned, as for instance one sent by the principal wife in return for the four-wheeled conveyance in which she took great delight. Not so the unfortunate eunuchs who were the beasts of burden! The presents on this occasion comprised a golden rose studded with diamonds, a jewelled *khanjar* (dagger), a tassel of pearls and a brocaded robe. An amusing episode was the introduction of the Hollanders' band to the ladies of the seraglio. This band comprised a harp, double base, hautbois, and other instruments, all played by the clerks attached to the mission.

The ladies were so anxious to see the Hollanders and hear their music, that in their struggles for precedence they tore down the red silk curtain which had hidden them from view, and stamped the

musicians. On return they were compelled to play all night, and even then leave the instruments for the ladies amusement! The next day the ambassador was taken to see the Shalimar Gardens, which, judging by the description, are unchanged since then. Incidentally he mentions that 150 gardeners were maintained. The present establishment is perhaps more than the end cipher short. Here the gennadiers were made to give their warlike exercise, and fire three volleys in honour of the Emperor and his wives. Being greatly delighted and impressed, the Emperor rewarded them and their officers handsomely.

The following day they went into the city, and viewed the Peri Mahal (long since vanished). The ambassador describes this as a beautiful place in which was a large gallery having the image of Our Saviour, wrought in alabaster and surrounded by angels beautifully hewn in the same material. It is curious to note the prevalence of Christian images in the Mogul palaces. Hawkins, Finch and Roe all mention them as greatly revered. But all these pleasant diversions were to end. The concessions were all on the point of being delivered, 'when suddenly this most favourable breeze speedily fell upon the very day of congratulation, for by the evening all was tumult and confusion.' The cause was that the Emperor was near to death, for an Amerouw (amir)—Jamschid Shah, whom he had discovered with one of his concubines, had turned on him and ripped open his stomach.' By the way, this differs from the historical version, but is worthy of belief as the testimony of a contemporary on spot.

The ambassador was warned by the Donna that anarchy would inevitably ensue on the Emperor's death, and accordingly withdrew into the city, where he engaged more soldiers and fortified his dwelling. In truth it was a wise precaution for, for many days, pillage and murder reigned supreme in Lahore till the succession was settled in favour of Jehandar Shah by the elimination in battle, or by accident of his brothers and their families. The usual betrayals, murders and intrigues so inseparable from all Asiatic warfare of the time, disgraced the proceedings, not least of which was the murder of the children of the slain rival princes. The fights seem to have been mostly cannonading at long range, for the ambassador relates that no less than 1,200 pieces were engaged on one particular day. But occasionally they came to close quarters when the slaughter is reported to have been great. But one can place no reliance in any Asiatic battle of

those days on the list of killed, for the historians only write in thousands and tens of thousands.

The wealth of some of those noble is incredible. The ambassador mentions that the confiscated estate of the Lord Chancellor amounted to 6,01,000 gold rupees (mohurs at Rs. 16 each), twenty maunds of uncoined gold, seventy of uncoined silver and four lakhs worth of clothing and jewels, all accumulated from the distressed and oppressed poor of whose condition the ambassador speaks sympathetically. The state of the country was dreadful; robberies were everywhere, and even the Emperor's camp, when on the march, was not immune, daily raids being made upon it.

All being settled at Lahore, Jehandar Shah and his court set out for Delhi, accompanied by the embassy, daily endeavouring to obtain the concessions. Distressing accounts are given of the confusion attending the march in which hundreds died from heat stroke and many more were drowned in the confusion attending the crossing of the numerous rivers, being either crowded of the boat bridges or drowned in attempting to ford the rivers. They finally obtained the concessions at Delhi and then set out on their four months' march to Surat. The perils attending this journey are graphically described for they had to bribe or fight their way through each Rajah's territory and in addition were constantly subjected to attacks by independent bands of plunderers in which several of their men were either killed or wounded.

Were it not that the Dutch had been so unmerciful to the English and Portuguese alike in their day of power, one might pity them, for on arrival at Surat they were met by the news that, Jehandar Shah had been dethroned by his nephew Farrukh Siyar and these concessions were void. In this connection it might be mentioned that but for the firm stand made by Cromwell against the Dutch they would have wiped out the East India Company, for the Stuarts were more concerned with plundering than protecting it.

The Munsiffs¹

*An account of their origin under the judicial administration of
the East India Company.*

BY

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INDIAN EDUCATION SERVICE

'HOBSON-JOBSON,' in its definition and explanation of the word munsiff, states that it is a title of a judicial officer in British India, and that the office was first established in 1793. The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1812 describes the munsiff as one of three types of commissioners, viz. munsiffs, amins, and salian.² The first were justices, the second and third arbitrators, and their powers were limited to hearing suits of personal property not exceeding the value of fifty sicca rupees. 'Hobson-Jobson's' date is wrong: the real author of this well known and valuable branch of the judicial administration appears to have been Mr. Edward Otto Ives, who was the first Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat Court of Murshidabad after the reorganization of those courts in 1780. Mr. Edward Otto Ives had been Persian Translator to the Provincial Council of Murshidabad in the years 1776-1777: among his contemporaries was Robert Pott; and his chief was Mr. Edward Baber, a man of independent character and considerable acumen, who had effectively criticized the hollowness of the settlement made by the Committee of Circuit in 1772, by exposing the ignorance of the existing conditions in which the revenue was collected from the raiyats, and the inaccuracy of any settlement until that ignorance was dispersed. These home-thrusts were not relished by Mr. Hastings and his Committee, but, to their credit, they did not allow their annoyance to injure Mr. Baber's prospects. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find original work and thought flourishing under so observant and fearless a chief.

In 1777 Mr. Edward Otto Ives was promoted from being Persian Translator to the Superintendentship of the Murshidabad Diwani Adalat.

¹ A paper read at the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore, 1925.

² From Sulh (صلح) reconciliation. Wilson's *Glossary* does not give the word.

SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND REVENUE IN BENGAL

was extremely distressing. The methods, for which the Board was chiefly responsible, included wholesale farming by public auction of the collections and placed such collections for a period of five years in the hands, for the most part, of speculators. The assessment made in 1772 was, from ignorance and other causes, seriously excessive. The districts had fallen hopelessly into arrears; and chaos invaded the entire land revenue system.

The Board received from its senior officers in the districts a frank and faithful account of the prevailing distress and confusion, and some admirable suggestions for improving and stabilizing matters. Among these suggestions was a recommendation from the Council of Revenue at Patna giving in considerable detail a picture of the distress in their province and recommending a settlement of the province on long or perpetual leases. The letter was dated December 17, 1772¹. . . . 'Having been under the necessity of representing to you the desolate condition of this province, it remains that we submit to your consideration our sentiments on the measures which seem best calculated to produce a remedy. It has been successfully practised by the Hindustan Princes that where a particular district has gone to ruin to give it to the Zamindar or any other man of known good conduct for a long course of years or in perpetuity at a fixed rent, not to be increased should even the industry of the renter raise an unexpected average to himself. This plan might be adopted either in the fixing of a small zamindari or renting of an extensive district. A moderate annual income might be taken until the revenue arose to the highest rate which the taluk or pargana yielded in any year since our acquisition of the Diwani and then it might remain fixed for the renter's life. Indeed, in some cases where the difference is very great, it might be necessary to extend the lease to the life of the son. . . . Every man might then consider the lands he rented as his own secure estate. . . . We find that villages held mokarari (i.e., at a fixed rent) by officers of influence in the Government are the only ones which bear any proportion to their former value.'

The Board, in their reply, dated January 29, 1773,² considered the suggestion to be too hazardous for immediate application; but they

¹ Revenue Board Proceedings, January 29, 1773, pp. 627-33.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 636-38

observe that though we think we should not lose sight of a proper attention to frugality, yet in a matter of such importance to the welfare of these districts our views should not be too confined, and that the appointment of a few supernumerary servants would be much less prejudicial to the Company than too contracted an establishment must be to the regular discharge of the business and of consequence to the public good.

' We beg leave, gentlemen, in this plan to explain to you a plan which has been adopted for a more speedy administration of justice in the inferior court. It was proposed to us by the present Superintendent after his taking charge, and as we were fully convinced that the petty disputes in and near a city of such extent as Murshidabad could not possibly be decided by the Superintendent alone, we most willingly gave it our sanction and Mr. Ives assures us that it has been attended with the desired success. To assist the Superintendent in the determination of these causes a number of responsible persons have been appointed under the title of munsiffs, or umpires, at a fixed salary which is paid from the five per cent fee collected on causes decided by them. The munsiffs sit six days a week in places near the *cutcherry*. They have executed *machulkas*¹ that they will receive no bribe or present on any pretence whatever under pain of forfeiting, on conviction double the sum so received to the informer and the amount of the decree to the party cast. They have likewise taken an oath of office renewable every month that they will decide to the best of their judgment without partiality or bias. When they have completed their investigation, they deliver in their *faisahnama*, or decision, to the Superintendent, which, under these restrictions, is passed by him into a decree. The Superintendent has the authority of summoning the parties on any cause before him and fixing on a particular day for them to attend and mutually agree on submitting their cause to the arbitration of some common friend or to anyone of the established munsiffs they please: in case they cannot both concur in their choice of either, the Superintendent may, to prevent vexatious delays, refer the matter to any one of the latter he thinks fit; this authority however, he assures us, he has had very few occasions of asserting as the utility of the scheme has been universally acknowledged, and the parties

¹ Bonds.

have, with very few exceptions indeed, concurred in choosing their own judges.

' This plan, gentlemen, having been adopted these nine months, it is from the actual experience of the Superintendent and not on speculation that we take upon us to recommend in the strongest terms its continuance; we are convinced that without it the superior courts can be of but little real utility; the disputes which the Superintendent alone can decide being as nothing in proportion to the number of causes instituted. The Superintendent assures us that twenty of these munsiffs are not more than sufficient, and a salary of forty rupees a month is, we think, the least that can induce men of principle and abilities to accept of these employments.

' We have therefore added 800 rupees on their account at the bottom of the list which we have recommended; but if this sum should appear to you, gentlemen, too considerable, we think that the least cost of the two should be chosen and the five per cent fee continued in the inferior courts, rather than the plan should be abolished. All the servants of the Court however should be paid by the Company because the amount of the fees on the causes decided by the munsiffs is not found to be quite sufficient for defraying their salaries, nor will this be esteemed extraordinary when it is considered that no causes for sums exceeding 250 rupees are cognizable by the inferior court, and that the greatest number are for sums less than fifty. Besides this, the parties are frequently so poor as to render the collection even of this small fee utterly impracticable.

' There is still another circumstance, gentlemen, arising from the present contracted establishment which we believe frequently productive of very oppressive effects to the natives; but as the expense which must be incurred by a redress would be more considerable than all the rest put together, we dare not recommend it in terms so strong as we have used with regard to the particulars already submitted in this letter to your determination; we nevertheless think it incumbent on us to mention it; it is the daily allowance paid by the *asamis*¹ to peons who are sent with summonses, etc., from the courts. The 5 per cent fee was never more than sufficient to keep a few *chuprassi* peons who are deputed only on particular occasions. The number absolutely

¹ Tenants, non-proprietary cultivators.

necessary for the transaction of the current business cannot be less than 200 in each court, and if they were added to the establishment it would occasion, at five rupees each, an increase of 2,000 rupees a month.

'We think it was (sic) our indisputable duty to point out the consequence that arises from the present system: you, gentlemen, are the proper judges whether the advantages to be expected from easing the people of this burthen will counterbalance so considerable an enhancement of expense that would be occasioned by defraying the charge from the Company's Treasury. It must not be concealed that there is one inconvenience to be apprehended were the mode of paying the peons by Government to be adopted: the *usamis*, when under no dread of their expenses being enhanced by delay or contumacy, might be apt to slight summonses issued at such a distance and brought to them by a single peon, but the exactions to which they are now subjected and which (every officer in the Court being interested to deceive) it is utterly impossible for the Superintendent to redress, are so great and various that we cannot but be of opinion that the mode we have suggested, though attended with one inconvenience, would (if the objection to the increase of expense be got over) be far preferable to the present. . . . The subject of this letter we conceive to be of such importance that we flatter ourselves we shall be pardoned taking up so much of your time; we thought it our duty (especially at the time when we understand the Adalats to be under your consideration) to lay before you every particular which we deemed necessary for putting the Courts of Justice on a responsible and advantageous footing.'

The Council also gave the proposed establishment of the two Courts, which were as follows:—

Diwani Adalat—

	Rs.
1 Peshkar	150
4 Mohurrirs, Rs. 25 each. (Persian)	100
2 Mohurrirs (Bengali) Rs. 20 each	40
1 Treasurer	25
1 „ Mohurrir	15
1 Jailer	100
Carried over	430

THE MUNSIFFS

401
99

	Rs.
Brought forward	430
1 Jemadar, Rs. 15. 10 peons, Rs. 5 each	65
1 Jemadar, Rs. 20	20
10 Merdas ¹ Rs. 8 each	80
Jail hire	20
1 Brahman	6
1 Mullah	7
1 Duftarbund	7
1 Munshi	25
Paper	10
1 Portuguese writer	100
Total	770

Interior Diwani Adalat—

1 Peshkar	50
4 Persian Mohurrirs, Rs. 15 each	60
2 Bengali Mohurrirs, Rs. 15 each	30
1 Munshi	15
1 Mullah	7
1 Treasurer	15
1 „ Mohurrir	8
1 Brahman	6
1 Ferash	4
1 Daftarbund	5
1 Jemadar	15
10 Naibs or Merdas, Rs. 8 each	80
20 Chuprassi peons, Rs. 5 each	100
Paper and ink	15
Jailer	30
Jail hire	10
10 peons for the jail, Rs. 5 each	50
Total	500

Grand Total ... 1,220

¹ Mirdaha = head peon, or messenger.

<i>Defunct.</i> Allowances already made by the Company for	Rs
the Diwani Adalat	11
For the Inferior Diwani Adalat	7
Proposed addition	1,14
<i>Add.</i> 20 munsiffs for the inferior court at Rs. 40 each. Rs.	800
<i>N.B.</i> —The 400 peons for the two courts are omitted.	

These proposals stamp Mr. Ives as an officer of ability; their execution involved a complete reorganization of the system of civil judicial administration in the mofussil, based on drastic decentralization, having as its object a speedy hearing and decision of causes. Mr. Ives recognized the fact that delayed justice is no justice. The Board accepted the suggestions and sanctioned the introductions.

In 1780,² the Governor-General laid before the Board a plan for the administration of justice in the provinces and it was ordered to be for consideration. The plan was sanctioned on April 11.³ It consisted of forty three regulations and was to be 'binding only' until a new arrangement shall be made by authority of Parliament. The full text can be found in Colebrooke's Supplement to the Digest pp. 14-22.

The six Diwani Adalat Courts were ordered to be continued, each under the presidency of Covenanted Civil servant of the Company, styled Superintendent of Diwani Adalat. The jurisdiction of the Courts and the powers of the Superintendent were defined, and proper records were ordered to be kept. The chief effect of the new regulation was to transfer the powers of the civil judiciary in the districts from the Chief of the Provincial Councils to an individual, viz. the Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat; this was, by the way, bitterly resented by the Provincial Councils and led to such wrangling between them and the Superintendents that the Board eventually issued a circular letter forbidding an official correspondence whatever between the Provincial Councils and the Superintendents of Adalats. In the circular letter dated April 11, 1780, from the Board to the Provincial Councils which accompanied the new regulations for the administration of justice, official intimation was given the gentlemen appointed to the

But if we probe the matter a little further, we find Karunākara was altogether a different personality and the following fact may be adduced in confirmation of our statement:—

From Jayāṅgondār, we gather that Karunākara was of Pallava ancestry; while Kāliṅgarāja was a Vēlāja, and the following line of inscription establishes the latter statement:

“வேளாண், குடிமுதலாள் தோண்டையர்க்கே”

—(Tiruvadi Inscriptions)

It is well known that the Pallavas did not belong to the Vēlāja caste that they styled themselves as the descendants of Brahma, and that they declared that they belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gōtra. Jayāṅgondār too traces Karunākara's ancestry to Brahma “மறைமொழித் தந்திரமாயின் வந்தகுலதிலகன்.” We draw the reader's attention to the extract below, which clearly traces the pallavas to Brahma himself.

“பிரமன் அநிதாக வாயிதிற பல்வகை வந்தித்தும் பரமேசுவரப் பேர்தந்தையன்—(S. I. I., vol. iv, p. 10).

Such a divine ancestry the Vēlājas never laid claim to; and the view that this Kāliṅgarāja belonged to the Vēlāja caste is strengthened by one of the inscriptions wherein the following line regarding him occurs “அரும்பையர்க்கேன தோண்டையர்க்கே”⁴ which means the chief of Arumbaiyar section. Arumbai (அரும்பை) is only a poetical contraction of Arumbūr (அரும்பூர்); and now there is a Vēlāja section by name Arumbukatti Vēlālar (அரும்புகட்டிவேளாளர்) which is only a dialectical variation of the original terms Arumbūr-Kurraṭṭu Vēlālar (அரும்பூர் கூற்றத்து வேளாளர்). From these facts it becomes clear that Kāliṅgarāja and Karunākara belonged to two entirely different sections of the people.

Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar's theory that Karunākara had shifted his head-quarters from Vandai to Manavil with the title of Kāliṅgarāja after his return from Kalinga, is untenable.

In the Sanskrit portions of Kāliṅgarāja's inscriptions as well as in the fifty-five Tamil stanzas of the same, which record in minute detail his achievements in Malaināḍu and a few other places, but which make no special mention of them in the north, we find no specific

¹ G.G.P., January 29, 1779.

² *Ibid.*, April 11, 1780.

³ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1780.

⁴ *Ibid.*, August 12, 1780.

⁵ Tiruvadi Inscriptions: vide *Sen-Tamil*, vol. xxvi, p. 95

the Murshidabad Provincial Council, dated April 10, 1780. He writes of the expenses incurred in the administration, which the Court *rasum* or fees no longer covered and explains why the '*rasum*' which served very well to defray the expenses to the end of June, should have proved so deficient since that period.' The first reason is the *pujals*, during which the Courts were closed; secondly the illness of certain munsiffs. 'But the principal reason is the limitation of the Court's jurisdiction which took place in June; for before that the Huzzur *rasum* had been sufficient not only to defray the expenses of the Officers but also to supply any little deficiencies of the Munsiffs' *rasum*. It is therefore necessary to explain to you how the limitation above-mentioned should cause a diminution of the Huzzur *rasum*. When I inform you that I usually appropriate two days in every week to the passing of the Munsiff's decisions into decrees, two days to the enforcing of decrees and another day chiefly to the receipt of *rozinamas*¹ from persons who have come to an accommodation, and to the referring of causes to arbitration, where the parties can agree to do so, you will perceive that I have but very little time on my hands to hear causes in person. Even that little is still more limited because I am obliged frequently to examine the Munsiffs' decisions: the Huzzur *rasum*, therefore, arising from causes investigated and determined by me could not be very considerable and chiefly arose from the *rasum* of *rozinamas* or causes that were accommodated. Now these were principal *mofussil* causes because it was so troublesome to the *asamis* to come to the city that unless the cause was really good, they had much rather make up the matter than subject themselves to that inconvenience.

'On the limitation of my authority this source of consequence failed at once, and this is the principal cause of the present arrears.'

Mr. Ives, after being appointed Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat at Murshidabad was in a position to correspond directly with the Board, and he speedily availed himself of this privilege.

In the Board's Proceedings for July 14, 1780, three letters from Mr. Ives, dated April 21, May 25, and June 3, respectively, were considered; in the first he urges the establishment of an inferior Court of Diwani Adalat. 'I am fully convinced from experience of its

¹ Lit. diary or journal of accounts. (*Rozinama*).

absolute necessity in this very extensive city where the petty disputes are so exceedingly numerous as totally to preclude the possibility of their being settled at one cutcherry. I think it my indispensable duty to recommend the re-establishment of an inferior Diwani Adalat.'

He suggests that the inferior Court being under the Superintendent of the Adalat exercising the same control 'as the Chief and Council had on the late system over the Diwani Adalat,' that the jurisdiction of the lower Court should be confined to sums of less than Rs. 250 and to an accurately defined area of territory; 'that six munsiffs on the plan formerly adopted at my recommendation' 'be employed; and that the expenses of the Court' be defrayed by a Commission of five per cent and the other fees established by the new regulations, and that the pay of the Superintendent of the lower Court be fixed at Rs. 500 per annum. He recommended Mr. Turner Macan to the Board for the post.

In a second letter¹ dated May 25, 1780, Mr. Ives submits thirty subsidiary regulations which I published on the 22nd instant in the cutcherry of the Adalat under my superintendence. They descend to such particulars as are not prescribed in your general orders and are such as appear to me to be best adapted to the change of system which you have been pleased to make. . . . As I am very sensible how much theory differs from practice, it is possible it may not be in my power to carry every particular in the manner I have laid down into execution.'

Among the thirty-one subsidiary regulations was one providing for a doctor 'for sick prisoners. He shall always go to the jail three days a every week or as much oftener as may be necessary.' How many *prisoners* at that day had a doctor attached to them under stringent orders to visit the sick at least three times a week. The seventh regulation ran 'as health depends in a great measure on cleanliness, the jail must always be kept clean.' Remembering the state of the Prison in 1780, these two regulations alone throw a good light on the character of Mr. E. O. Ives as an administrator and justifier.

In the third letter Mr. Ives again lays stress on the value of munsiffs, or umpires, entertained at fixed salaries and bound by penal

¹ G.G.P., July 14, 1780.

obligations and solemn oaths of office as the only mode by which the great number of petty disputes that originate in and near this extensive city can be duly heard and decided.' The letter encloses a copy of his regulations for the munsiffs. He decides that in the interest of 'a due and speedy administration of justice' the decision of the munsiffs must be final, but the Superintendent is to possess the power of revival to be exercised in such cases as notoriously require it; and he assures the Board that all charges of corruption brought against munsiffs shall be 'speedily as well as strictly investigated.'

In his regulations recommended for the administration of the inferior Court of Diwani Adalat at Murshidabad he asks for the appointment of five munsiffs to assist in the work; they are to execute *machulkas* in open cutcherry to do justice faithfully and honestly, and any case of insolence offered to the munsiffs in the execution of their duty is to be reported to the Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat, 'who will punish them on such representation without listening to their ¹ excuses.'

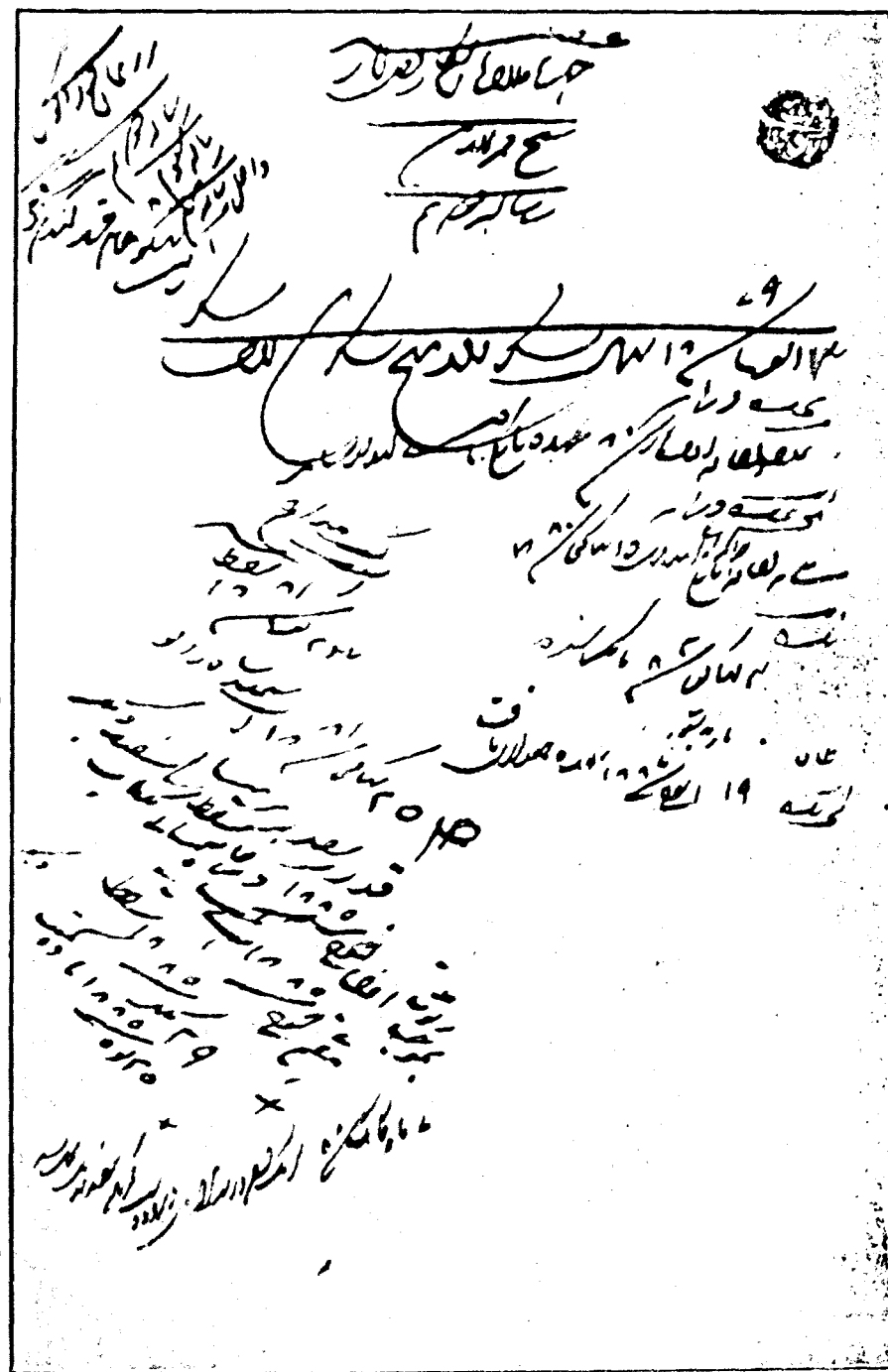
The Board unanimously approved of all these regulations.²

I find no mention again of munsiffs in the Governor-General's Proceedings, but the Proceedings of Committee of Revenue for August 17, 1781, contain a record of the appointment of 'six munsiffs or public arbitrators' on a salary of Rs. 50 each to the Courts of Diwani Adalat in Dacca, Murshidabad, and Patna. The Revenue Records up to 1785 contain, so far as my researches have been able to find out, no further reference to munsiffs, but enough evidence has been produced to show without doubt that they were in existence in 1778, and that they owe their origin to the resourceful and observant mind of a junior officer, whose name is only known to a few students of Indian History from a contemptuous remark of Sir Elijah Impey's, but who probably did more to reconcile the poorest and therefore the most numerous class of Indian suitors to the methods of British civil justice than any achievement recorded of the first Chief Justice of Bengal.

¹ i.e. the accused.

² G.G.P., July 14, 1780.

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The Army of Ranjit Singh

BY

SITA RAM KOHLI

Government College, Lahore

(PART IV)

In the three preceding papers of this series, we have attempted to make a rapid survey of the history, organization and constitution of the various branches of Ranjit Singh's army. In the present paper, we propose to discuss in some detail, certain important aspects of the Maharaja's military administration, extending over a period of nearly forty years. For the sake of convenience of treatment, we cannot do better than present the subject under the following heads, viz. :—

- (1) Methods of recruitment for the service.
- (2) Procedure on entering the service.
- (3) Descriptive rolls.
- (4) Pay and allowances.
- (5) Drill and discipline.
- (6) Punishments.
- (7) Pensions.

I. RECRUITMENT

The political conditions of the Punjab during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century had made life and property insecure. The constant inroads of Ahmal Shah Abdali and the highway robberies to which the Sikhs had taken during this disturbed period, made it almost indispensable for all able bodied men to learn the use of arms for self-defence. So insecure had life become that people found it necessary to carry arms with them when attending to their out-door work. 'The agriculturist,' says Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab*, p. 291, 'found, by experience, that the sword and the musket were as necessary implements of his calling as the plough, for he dared not attend to his work unarmed.'

As the bulk of the Sikh population in the central districts of the Punjab consisted of peasants and small proprietors who lived on their lands, they were not only armed to a man but were also ready in an emergency, to enrol themselves under the banner of a local chief. It is needless to point out that the injunction of Guru Gobind Singh that a good Sikh should always carry steel, in one form or another, on his person had not a little to do with the pronounced partiality of the Khalsa for a military career. No one was admitted to the privileges of the brotherhood who had not acquired some proficiency in the use of arms. So essential was this fitness to defend one's self considered to be that Muhammad Latif is led to remark that a Sikh was not deemed to have attained to manhood or to be trusted with the management of his property or the care of his wife and children, till he had given proof of his capacity to protect them in time of need. Such were the conditions that prevailed in the Punjab at the beginning of Ranjit Singh's reign. No wonder, then, that he did not experience any considerable difficulties in raising an army. Indeed the profession of arms had become so natural with a fairly large portion of the population of the country that no particular inducements were offered for attracting men to the army.

Pressure and persuasion.—The profession of arms being popular, it was not found necessary for the State, to resort to any special forms of pressure or persuasion for obtaining recruits for the military service. Reference¹ has already been made to a lurking prejudice against the enlistment in the infantry units from a mistaken notion that the foot-soldier occupied, somehow or other an inferior social position than a cavalry man. But it was not long before this infantry became almost as popular with the Sikhs as other arms of the service and no particular persuasion was needed for finding suitable recruits in sufficient numbers for every branch of the army.²

¹ *Army of Ranjit Singh*, Part I (vide *J. I. H.*, February, 1922, pp. 240-11).

² In going through the records on the basis of which these papers have been prepared the writer has come across only one case in which some official pressure seems to have been employed in obtaining recruits for one of the *Bharmār* battalions of infantry. The word *bharmār* sounds like a Panjabi word, although I have not been able to ascertain its exact significance. 'The *Pharmars* (*Bharmars*) were long match-sticks which it took a strong man to carry. They were used as wall-pieces, or supported on a light forked tripod attached to the stock, were used in the field and in skilful hands were deadly weapons' (Cotton

Direct and indirect recruitment.—The soldiers were entertained both directly by the State and by indirect recruitment—by means of granting service Jagirs to the Sardars who were required to maintain a certain number of soldiers for the service of the State. The broad distinction between the troops so raised was that the former class was known as *Fauj-i-Huzur-i-Anwar* or the 'Maharaja's own' which was maintained and paid out of the State treasury, while the latter was designated as *Fauj-i-Jagirdārān* or the army of the fief-holders, and maintained by them out of their service grants. On a closer study of the history of the growth of the first class of troops, however, it appears that they too were not wholly raised by direct recruitment. In fact, the practice of directly entertaining recruits for the service never found much favour with the Indian princes. 'Few soldiers,' says Irvine (p. 3, *Army of the Indian Moghals*) 'were entertained directly by the Emperor himself; and for the most part the men entered the service of some chief or leader.' This could not be said of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. If anything, the bulk of his Regular Army was raised by direct recruitment, though it must be admitted that towards the end of his reign he showed a leaning towards the indirect method of recruitment.¹ One reason, perhaps, which induced the Maharaja to favour the indirect method was that it was more convenient and economical, inasmuch as it was not necessary to entertain any special establishment for purposes of recruitment.

II. PROCEDURE ON ENTERING THE SERVICE

Inspection of recruits.—Maharaja Ranjit Singh used to attend personally to every detail regarding the equipment, discipline and

Review, 1844, vol. i). On folio 15 a, vol. v. ms. of the *Parwanājāt*, we find a copy of state *parwāna* addressed to a district officer, Wazir Wachhna, in which he is remonstrated for not being able to secure recruits for enlistment in the *bharmār* battalions. He is once again instructed to induce stalwart young men of his district (apparently the Dogra Rajputs of Jammu) to take up service and join the said battalion. He had to persuade them by holding out hopes of high cash salaries and to assure them that they would not be sent to serve on the frontiers of Peshawar.

¹ The Dogra brothers, Rajas Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh, Jamadar Khushhal Singh and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa had each, besides, their contingents of irregular horse, a few battalions of trained infantry raised by them and maintained out of their service grants.

efficiency of his troops. He had set apart his morning time to inspect the drill of his regular forces.

On these occasions he would also often examine the recruits who had been previously selected by one of the *Bakhshis* (Paymasters of the forces) for presentation to the Maharaja. Later on, however, this function was entrusted to Raja Dhian Singh. After acceptance, the recruits were passed on to the army office where their descriptive rolls were drawn up and endorsed with the words *dar silk-i-malazimi mansabik shadd* or linked into the chain of service.

Assignment of recruits to different units.—On enrolment, the recruits were assigned to one or another of the *galla jaidan*¹ (or groups of recruits) placed under Drill Instructors for the necessary training. These groups were generally attached to infantry regiments and special officers were placed on duty to look after their instruction. The recruits were then assigned to regiments under the orders of the *Bakhshi*. Their names were entered in the pay lists (*baridaur*) of the respective regiment with a brief summary of the orders of appointment.²

As a rule, a recruit was enlisted as a private or *Asi Sipahi*, but instances are not wanting where a man was appointed directly in the rank of a Naik.³

The procedure adopted for the appointment of officers or the selection of feudal chiefs was slightly different. In such cases the presentation of the chief and his retainers to the Maharaja was not, as a rule, made through the *Bakhshi*. At the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as of many other oriental rulers, there was some refreshing elasticity in the official procedure followed in the different departments of the state. The result was that unnecessary delay in the transaction of important business was often avoided. The chief who had a direct access to the Maharaja would not unoften make a direct request to him for a grant of military jagir and having obtained

¹ *Galla* is literally a herd or a pack and *jaidan* means new, fresh. The term is, even to-day, very commonly used to denote a party of military recruits.

² The monthly pay lists of regiments contain in their closing column reference to such particulars as the name of a recruit, the date of his appointment, and the name of authority by whom appointed.

³ See Parwanas addressed to General's Vostars and Attars. Bundle A (2) 5 II, *Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol. 1.

it, would present himself for the inspection of his troops on the day fixed for that purpose. On the appointed day, the officer presented himself, his men were drawn up in a line for the inspection of the Maharaja, who personally passed or rejected each man as the case might be. The subsequent procedure has been already described. A candidate's offer of service having been accepted and his men assessed as fit for active duty, their descriptive rolls were drawn up by the *Bakhshi's* office and their horses branded.

Forms of records.—A jagir allowance was then granted and the necessary entries made in the office records.

As it was not customary to maintain linked files of records, it has not been found possible to trace all the papers bearing on individual cases in their strict chronological or business sequence. However, by examining and comparing the records concerning a very large number of men, and collating documents relating to similar though different cases we have been able to discover, with a tolerable amount of certainty, the order in which the various documents were prepared as well as the important entries which were made at each stage. The conclusions we have thus arrived at may be summarised as follows:—

(1) *Yaddasht*.²—The jagir having been conferred upon the man,

¹ The chiefs generally announced their arrival by beat of drums and sometimes by the firing of a cannon shot also. On page 286, *daftar* in, *Diary of Ranjit Singh*, Chohan Lal mentions an interesting incident: 'On the 16th Feb., 1832 (January 136)' runs the diary—'the Sindhanwalla Sardars Attar Singh, Wasara Singh and Shamsher Singh came with their troops and announced their arrival by firing a cannon shot (*Shalaq Sakhtand*). The Maharaja having finished the hearing of the sacred scriptures, in which he was engaged at the time, asked the reason of the firing and was told that the Sindhanwallas were ready with their troops for inspection which of course, the Maharaja inspected after a short time.'

² Irvine, in his *Army of the Indian Moghals*, pp. 41–45 reproduces forms of certain documents prepared in connection with the grant of service Jagirs by the Moghal Government. The system of records maintained at the Sikh Court was most similar or very probably based on the Moghal system but we have not, however, come across, in the Sikh records, a single copy of a document of the nature of report or a certificate as mentioned by Irvine. It may be that these reports or certificates which only contain the preliminary proceedings were not prepared. These are more of a ceremonious nature providing for a report to the Emperor that so-and-so has arrived at the court seeking service. Some of these reports, as will appear from the outline of procedure given above, were covered by

a *Jagir-Nama* or a deed containing the conditions of service was drawn up and a reference was made to the Head Office where the *roznamcha navis* or the diarist made an appropriate entry in his record by way of *Yadash* (memorandum), giving an abbreviated extract or summary of the grant. Here is a specimen of a memorandum made on the case of Amar Singh, Waryam Singh and Sardul Singh:—

On this happy occasion, as a mark of favour and kindness, the *a'aluqa* (district) of Khanna bearing the value of 15,000 Nanakshahi rupees (the standard coin) has been conferred upon Amar Singh, Waryam Singh, and Sardul Singh—for supplying fifty men in the cavalry branch of the service.¹

The allotment of the Jagir was sometimes made collectively in the name of the chief and his retainers while in other cases, the share of the chief himself or *Jagir zat* was distinguished from that of his troopers (*Sowaran*).

(2) *Qabuliyat* was the written agreement, which the grantee was required to furnish accepting the terms of service as stated in the *agir deed*. Here is a specimen of the agreement given jointly² by Tara Singh Lamba and Karm Singh Lamba:—

'We, Tara Singh and Karm Singh Lamba, do hereby promise and give in writing that we will maintain and furnish to the State (*Huzurwala*) whenever required one hundred troopers and ten swivel guns—the men in both arms of the service having been trained and drilled with the troops commanded by Monsieurs Ventura and Allard. The *Ta'aluqa* of Rohtas to the value of rupees 31,000, the villages in the neighbourhood of *ta'aluqa* Miani to the value of rupees 4,000, and the village Namtas granted as personal jagir to Tara Singh, have been graciously conferred upon us in jagir that we should keep our

verbal reports to the Maharaja and corresponding verbal orders from him. It is so likely that even if such proceedings were committed to writing, the papers could not have found a place in the records that are preserved at the Punjab Civil Secretariat since they contain only the final papers prepared for permanent office record."

¹ The full text of the original dated 29th *Sawan*, 1882 (September 1825) is quoted in a foot-note of my third paper of the present series, page 191, vol. II of the *Journal of Indian History*.

² The agreements given by each of the two in his own behalf are also preserved along with the document quoted above.

men well-equipped and in readiness. Accordingly the above few lines have been written by way of agreement.

Written on the 27th day of the month of *Chet*, *Sambat* 1882, (March 31, 1825).

(3) The next step in the above procedure consisted of sending or forwarding the information to the officer or officers concerned.¹

The duties of Bakhshi.—From the preceding paragraphs, it would appear that the *Bakhshi* was an important figure in the hierarchy of military officials. It would not, therefore, be inappropriate here to sketch, in a brief outline, the duties and functions of this officer based mainly on the information collected from contemporary sources.

Mr. Irvine has discussed at some length the nature of the duties of the *Bakhshi* in the Moghal times (vide *Army of the Indian Moghals*, pp. 36-40). Attempts have been made by several writers to find an English rendering of the office which he held in the Moghal Army. But such designations as 'Pay-Master-General', 'Adjutant-General', or 'Commander-in-Chief', which have been suggested as possible equivalents give us a poor idea of the duties of the *Bakhshi* of the Moghal Army. If the duties which were assigned to this officer in the armies of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who had, more or less, maintained the administrative phraseology of the Moghals, is to serve us as a guide in forming our own judgement, we should have no hesitation in expressing our unreserved agreement with Mr. Irvine, that the *Bakhshi* combined in himself the functions of both the Pay-Master-General and the Adjutant-General of the present day European Army.

The Military records of the first few years of the Government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh reveal that there was only one *Bakhshi* for the entire army—the incumbent being Diwan Bhawani Das. But, as the work in the department increased and a new class of troops was organised on the European model, another officer of the same designation was appointed for the 'Regular Army' (*Fauj-i-Ain*), in the person of Lala Sujan Rai. It must, however, be admitted that it is not easy to

¹ For instance the *Parwana*, issued in the joint names of Monsieurs Ventura and Allard to admit for instruction and drill the troops of Tara Singh and Karm Singh, is preserved along with the documents referred to in the above foot-note.

judge from these records, such as the pay rolls, etc., whether Sujar Rai was an assistant to Bhawani Das, or whether he held quite an independent charge of the new class of troops. The impression left upon our own mind by the study of these papers is that Sujar Rai was appointed, at least in the beginning, to assist Bhawani Das in the execution of his duties. The names that appear prominently in this connection in the later years of the Sikh Government are those of Bakhshi Bhagat Ram and Bakhshi Amrik Rai both of whom held charge for quite a long time as *bakhshis* of the Regular and Irregular troops respectively. We think it necessary to mention in this connection that the charge of the 'French Brigade' (*Fauj-i-Khas*) was held, as *Bakhshi*, by Diwan Ayodhia Parshad, from the first formation in 1822, to the ultimate disbandment in 1849, of this brigade.

The duties of the *Bakhshi* in the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh may be enumerated as follows :—

(i) The recruitment of the army and the presentation of the new men to the Maharaja.

(ii) The drawing up of the descriptive rolls of combatants and camp followers of the army as well as their verification at the time of a general muster.

(iii) The disbursement of salaries of the troops and the maintaining of the accounts thereof in the form of a *baraward* or abstracts of monthly or periodical pay rolls, together with a *Jama' Kharch* abstract or cash balance in the military chest.

(iv) The preparation of a register showing absentees with or without leave, of deaths, dismissals, and desertions from various units together with statement showing entries for salaries held in deposit (*Amanat*), for deductions made from the pay of the men on account of kit and clothing as well as fines, etc. (*rusūmāt-o-kasrāt*), and for cash advances made to the officers (*madid-i-kharch*).

(v) The preparing and maintaining of lists of entire army showing the dispositions of its various units whether at court (*ham rakab*) or in command in provinces (*kamānāt-o-berunjāl*).

Besides the usual routine work of his office, the *Bakhshi* was also expected at the time of great battle to call a muster roll or literally the 'present state' of the forces (*maujudāt-i-afwāf*) and lay the statement before the Maharaja showing the exact number of men under each commander in various divisions ready or available for active service.

The duties and functions enumerated above will, on comparison, be found to be mainly analogous to those of the *Bakhshi* of the Moghal army as described by Mr. Irvine. One important difference, however, is noticeable in the respective provinces of the *Bakhshi* of the Moghal Court and the same functionary in the Khalsa Military administration. Thus, on page 38 of his book, Mr. Irvine says, 'One special duty belonging to the *Bakhshi* was, in preparation of great battle, to assign posts to several commanders in van, centre, wings or rear-guard.' In the course of our whole reading of the Sikh records or of the works bearing on the Sikh period, we have not come across a single reference from which one could reasonably be led to infer that the disposition of the various units of an army ready to give battle to an enemy was accounted among the duties of a *Bakhshi* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army. There seems to be good reason for the difference. This important function was reserved by the Maharaja for himself who either personally supervised the arrangements in the field or issued detailed instructions to the officer holding chief command of an expeditionary force.

III. DESCRIPTIVE ROLLS

Chihra Nawisi or the drawing up of the descriptive rolls of men and animals of the army, is an old practice followed by the Indian princes, the object being to put down, as far as possible, cheating and false musters on the part of their feudal nobility. As soon as a man entered service, his *Chihra* or descriptive roll, was drawn up and his horse was marked with a royal brand before it was passed as 'fit' for service. Branding was first introduced by Ala-ud-Din Khilji in 712 H. (A.D. 1312-3) but on his death it was dropped. The emperor Sher Shah Afghan started it again in 948 H. (A.D. 1541-2). Akbar re-established the practice in the eighteenth year of his reign (about 918 H. 1573-74) and it was continued until the time when the whole system of government broke down in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹

In the Punjab, however, with the establishment of peace and the restoration of an organized government under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the system was revived and was rigorously enforced throughout the period of Sikh rule. The very first document prepared by way of a

¹ Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghals*, p. 46.

Obituary Notice

ROBERT SEWELL

WE regret very much to have to record the death on December 30, 1925, at his residence in Bedford Gardens, London, of Robert Sewell, late of the I.C.S., at the age of nearly eighty years. He came to India as a Civilian, and joined the Madras Presidency in the sixties. Very early in his service, he evinced his interest in the history of India, and published his Analytical History of India from the Earliest Times to the Abolition of the East India Company in 1870. In 1881 he was put on special duty for a regular archaeological survey of South India, and as a result of this survey work, he produced his two volumes on South Indian antiquities. He also conducted some excavation work near the famous Buddhist stupa at Amaravati. Even so early as this, he took interest in chronological work, and published in collaboration with an Indian friend of his, Mr. Krishnaswami Naidu, his book on the Indian Calendar. He kept up his interest in the subject by various studies on the several systems of Hindu chronology. Some time after retirement, he gained access to Portuguese archives, and lighted upon the two chronicles of Nuniz and Paez, which he translated and published with an elaborate historical introduction under the name 'A Forgotten Empire' in 1900, which has since remained a standard work on the subject. He carried on his chronological work further in collaboration with Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit of Poona. He continued this work by contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica*, all of which he collected together and consolidated in a recent publication, the *Siddhantas of the Indian Calendar*, issued by the Government of India.

He was one of the most active and indefatigable of workers, and contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society, among many others, an article upon the confused period of Vijayanagar history from the death of Dēvarāya II to the accession of the great Krishnadēvarāya in 1913. His work on Vijayanagar has been for some years out of print and needed revision. He distinctly declined to undertake a revision, as it would have involved him in great labour. He consented however to bring out a new reprint, which has since appeared about

two years ago. His latest work, however, was a 'Chronological Digest' of the material for the history of South India, the publication of which was undertaken by the University of Madras. The manuscript was received by the Madras University about two months ago, and they are arranging for its publication.

We had the privilege of his friendship for more than a score of years, and have been uniformly in receipt of all his contributions from time to time. We recollect the sincerity and warmth with which he commended our efforts to elucidate his subject—the history of Vijayanagar, and recommended our writing an independent work in preference to revising and bringing his own work up-to-date. It is indeed a matter for personal regret to us that he should have passed away without seeing his last work through the press, a contingency which he has constantly been anticipating for some years past. He is gone full of age and achievement, but his memory will remain long in South India as the author of the 'Forgotten Empire' of Vijayanagar.

Editor.

Reviews

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

BY

ISWARI PRASAD, LL.A., LL.B.

History Department, University of Allahabad

[Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Price, Rs. 7.]

READERS of the *Journal of Indian History* may recall Mr. Iswari Prasad as the contributor of an important article on 'The Growth of Khilji Imperialism' in an earlier issue of the Journal. After a period of apprenticeship as a lecturer in Indian History at the Agra College, he joined the Research staff of the Department of Indian History at Allahabad. He has now come forward with commendable zeal to give us the result of his labours on the *History of Medieval India* and the large volume before us on the early medieval period is the first fruit thereof which he hopes to follow by another on *Moghal India*.

Teachers of Indian History in Colleges are only too painfully aware of the lack of a suitable advanced text-book for Pass and Honours students in the History of Medieval India. The works of Elphinstone and Meadows Taylor are based mainly on Ferishta. Lane Poole's *Medieval India* is nothing more than a brilliant outline written in an attractive style. Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians* though a priceless treasure giving copious and free translations from the Persian and Arabic texts, is a mine to be worked up rather than a continuous or a connected history. Since the publication of these works, specialization has advanced by such rapid strides, plenty of new material has come to light, and many of the original Persian and Arabic texts on which Sir Henry Elliot has drawn so largely have been placed before the public, that we can no longer rest satisfied with the above-mentioned works, however valuable in themselves.

As has already been anticipated by Professor Rushbrook-Wilfong in his foreword, the main strength of Mr. Prasad's work is its eminent suitability to fill the gap between the elementary text-book and the

weighty monograph and to constitute a bridge by which the undergraduate student may advance to the goal of research and specialization. Mr. Prasad has certainly utilized far more fully than his predecessors Sir Henry Elliot's translations and appears to have consulted even the originals in Persian and Arabic. He has brought before the general reader information hitherto scattered and has attempted to make the book fairly up-to-date. He has covered not only the general field of Moslem history in the wake of his predecessors but has taken care to incorporate therein, though not as fully as one would wish, the corresponding history of the Dekhan and South India, which has been a conspicuous omission in the pages of Lane-Poole. The most valuable chapter of the book is, no doubt, the last one on 'The Civilization of the Early Middle Ages' in which the author has brought under one compass the results of the work of several scholars regarding the social, economic, literary, political, religious and artistic contributions of the early middle ages. He has appended a fairly full bibliography which would be of help to scholars who are inclined to dive deeper into the subject, though we would wish the author to have given us a brief estimate of the relative value of the sources of information—primary as well as secondary—and made a fuller use in his survey, of some of the books mentioned by him. The merit of the work is enhanced by his learned and elaborate foot-notes as well as suitable maps and illustrations. The book bids fair, on the whole, to supersede, if not to supplant altogether, the works of the earlier scholars on the subject and we heartily congratulate the author on the production of such an excellent work.

Mr. Prasad has differed from the conclusions of his predecessors on several questions. Without, however, laying any claim to infallibility, he welcomes the reasoned criticisms of scholars to the unqualified praise of friends. We shall therefore venture to offer a few suggestions and criticisms in the same friendly spirit in which he has called for them.

We cannot subscribe unreservedly to one or two *obiter dicta* of Mr. Prasad on the writing of History which has to some extent affected his estimate of events and personages. Historical facts should, no doubt, be first investigated, as far as possible, without bias or prejudice but it is doubtful if, as he says, history should be written entirely without love or hate. The historian should, in our

opinion, soberly and with due restraint, write history with a passion for good and detestation of the evil. He must form his judgments with a due sense of proportion and proper perspective and thus hold the mirror to historical truth. Else history would become a mere record of facts and a chronicle of crimes and glories, and its moral tone may be missed altogether. For example, in an estimate of Alauddin, one should not forget his attempted violation of the chastity of Padmini and the brutal murder of his aged innocent uncle and father-in-law. Of course, the historian should not assume the rôle of a moralist altogether. The line ought to be drawn between ethics and history.

Mr. Prasad reminds us very often that one should not forget the standards of the past, when judging of the events and personages. Though this is a necessary caution, we are afraid it is likely to be carried too far. The standards of the past must, no doubt, be considered as extenuating circumstances but should not be taken as exonerating the persons altogether. It is easy for a Moslem writer to make every war against the Hindu appear a Jihad and to represent every Moslem as a ghazi waging a righteous war against the infidels. We must, however, draw the line between zeal for one's own religion and religious fanaticism and hypocrisy. While extolling the one we should not be afraid to lament and condemn the other.

Mr. Prasad might have given us a fuller idea of Moslem saints and sufis, and emphasised the union and the interaction of their teachings on Hindu seers and philosophers.

He might have related more closely currents of Islamic history here in India with those of the world outside, as has been successfully attempted by Mr. Yusuf Ali in his recent book on *The Making of India* and pointed out the strength or otherwise of Pan-Islamism during this period.

It would have been a very fruitful line of enquiry, if Mr. Prasad has examined at greater length how far the actions of the Moslems in India—their conversion by force, destruction of Hindu temples, desecration of images, and the brutal treatment of the Hindus—were countenanced by the Prophet or his teachings in the Quran.

Mr. Prasad might have analysed more deeply the root of the Hindu-Moslem problem and explained why they stood apart with an amazing tenacity without sinking their individuality, and why Hinduism failed to absorb Islam.

Mr. Prasad has rightly questioned the sweeping generalization of Lane-Poole that the History of Medieval India is merely a chronicle of kings, courts and conquests. He has pointed out how it is a record of varied achievements in several fields and how there are many interesting figures on its canvas of warrior-statesmen like Balban and Alauddin, learned patrons like Muhammad Tughluq and Ibrahim Shah Sharki, peaceful administrators like Nasiruddin and Firuz Shah, generals like Malik Kafur and Ulugh Khan, religious reformers like Ramananda, Chaitanya, Namdev, Kabir and Nanak.

As regards the effect of Moslem rule over the Hindus, Mr. Prasad is less pessimistic than Professor Sarkar. Both admit that the Hindu intellect became dwarfed and stunted, and did not produce the utmost of which it was capable. Unlike Professor Sarkar, Mr. Prasad thinks that the Hindu talent and vigour survived the shock of the Moslem conquest and had not become altogether sterile. The impact of Hinduism and Islam had a conscious or unconscious effect on the philosophical mind and in the teachings of Namdev, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Ramananda and in their condemnation of caste, polytheism and idolatry there is a harmonious blending of Hindu and Moslem influences. Similarly Islam gave a new direction to Indian art. Moreover it must not be forgotten that the foundations of the culture-state of the Moghals were laid during the early Moslem period. So Mr. Prasad thinks that the Moslem conquest was not altogether an unmitigated disaster and that it was not a dark age altogether. This view may not be a glowing commentary on early Moslem rule in India but it is certainly slightly better than the sad picture of Professor Sarkar that it was an utter failure.

Mr. Prasad gives us a new estimate of the character and policy of Muhammad Tughluq. He tries to acquit him of the charges of blood-thirstiness and cruelty like Nero and Caligula. The charge of blood-thirstiness was bolstered up, he says, by the members of the clerical party whom the Sultan treated with open disregard. The charge of organized man-hunts, he thinks, was concocted by Bami, possibly because of his local patriotism and orthodoxy. We would add that this new view of the Sultan's character will not command acceptance. Ibn Batta tells us distinctly that the Sultan was fond of shedding blood and at his death there was generally a carnage just like that. Bami also confirms him when he says that he cut men mercilessly like weeds.

Ibn Batuta experienced in his own person much of the boundless liberality of the Sultan and could have no interest in vilifying him. On the other hand, he dwells in glowing admiration on the good features of the Sultan and there is even an air of slight partiality for him in his writings. Barani being a court-historian was certainly not prejudiced against the Sultan as Mr. Prasad assumes. His reticence over the parricide affair—one of the most deliberately planned and carefully executed acts of Tughluq—shows that he was even favourably inclined to the Sultan though, as a rigid Moslem, he could not forget or forgive him for his attacks on the sacerdotal order. Mr. Prasad tries to explain away the charges made by two such enlightened contemporaries that were not at all ill-disposed in their general attitude towards the Sultan. Substantial reasons must be adduced by Mr. Prasad before we can accept a revision based merely on his *ipse dixit*.

Mr. Prasad tells us that the failure of Muhammad Tughluq was largely due to circumstances over which he had little or no control. Never were benevolent schemes of reform more cruelly frustrated by an evil fate than in the case of Muhammad Tughluq. He attributes the failure of the reign to a severe famine that lasted for more than a decade. We cannot subscribe to this fatalistic theory. A closer examination of the leading events of the reign would reveal the fact that he was the worst enemy of himself and to a great degree, he himself was responsible for the failure of his schemes—and this is borne out by the sound advice to abdicate that Barani gave him when he was consulted as to the maladies of the state. Several of his schemes were ill considered and worse carried out. There was nothing to warrant such a large measure as the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad except the single consideration of its more central situation in the enlarged empire of Tughluq which is certainly not to be made much of. The disaffection in the Doab, the impending danger from the Mongol and the difficulty of maintaining one's hold on Delhi from Daulatabad—a distance of 700 miles and four months' journey—apart from the ruin of the greatest city in the world, were all very serious considerations against the transfer. It was a monument of misdirected energy and an act of inspired folly. It was suggested by Bahauddin Gushtasp's rebellion and was blindly taken hold of by the caprice of a whimsical despot. It became an egregious blunder when not content merely with the shifting of the official capital as was his idea at first he ordered later all the in-

habitants to go *massé* to Daulatabad, in answer to anonymous petitions complaining against the transfer. This was more a punitive rather than an administrative measure and was carried out in a very ruthless and relentless manner as was seen above. The mischief wrought could not be undone by such belated tender mercies as the feeding of the inhabitants on the journey to and fro. His idea of a token currency was experimented at a time when even according to Mr. Prasad all was not well with the financial situation. His failure to make the issue a state monopoly was taking the wind out of his sail and certainly foreboded disaster. The financial situation already not happy must have become surely embarrassing if, as Mr. Prasad maintains, the Sultan gave gold for copper. It was this financial crisis that must have contributed largely to his failure. His idea of an invasion of Khorasan on the other side of the mountains of Afghanistan and an expedition to the Himalayas in the midst of revolts all around was certainly not opportune. Whatever might have been the indifferent success or failure that might have attended them, his failure cannot be foisted on the famine at Delhi for it was largely due to his own enhanced assessment. In the light of these facts to characterize Md. Tughluq as an 'ill-starred idealist' is nothing less than to white-wash his character and policy. Mr. Prasad, we are afraid, comes very near the apologist Gardiner Brown and betrays a lack of historical insight and imagination.

A. V. V.

'INDO-ARYAN POLITY'

BY

PRAPHULLACHANDRA BASU, M.A.

[Published by Messrs. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. Price, 7sh. 6d. net.]

THIS book is an account of the economic and political condition of ancient India as depicted in the Rig Veda, and is an enlargement of the author's book *Indo Aryan Polity* published in 1919. The author has endeavoured, in this small and handy volume of 146 pages, to give a vivid picture of the various aspects of social, economic and political life from the hymns of the Rig Veda.

At the outset Mr. Basu says 'my object is to attempt to conduct an economic history of India.' But the author, is aware of the fact that any economic history would be incomplete without an examination of social and political life that was moulding the society of the

far-off days. Politics and economics are interdependent, and a study of the one would involve that of the other, and *vice versa*. Hence, Mr. Basu has divided this small book into ten chapters. The first four dealing with family, morality, castes, and classes and village community are more or less akin to one another, and hence we could treat them together. In his examination of the ideas prevalent in the Rig Vedic India, he has also made a comparative study of the various such institutions that were prevailing in early Greece and Rome, indicating then and there that in many respects the Vedic Aryan institutions resembled those of Greece and Rome.

The institution of family was of the patriarchal type, whilst that of joint family was in an advanced state in the Rig Veda itself. In examining these, Mr. Basu refers to marriage customs, and is of opinion that the custom of wooing before marriage, and the practice of post-puberty marriages were generally prevalent. For the former he quotes Rishi Sankusuka occurring in passage X, 18, 8, and for the latter Savitri's invocation as embodied in X, 85, 29. A careful reading of the text does not convince us that Mr. Basu's conjecture is correct. In Savitri's invocation, there is no definite statement as regards the post-puberty system which the author has presumed in it considering the circumstances and the description given in that passage. Speaking of castes and the Purushasukta hymn, the author says: 'As the passage occurs late in the literature under notice, it cannot be said to be representative of the earlier period, so that it would be erroneous to say that the division into castes, as distinguished from classes, except into Arya and Dasyu, formed any part of the social polity of the Rig Veda period of the Aryans.' Referring to other castes the author writes: 'In later samhitas and particularly in the Brahmanas, we find reference to some classes, called the outcastes who could not be touched or with whom it would be derogatory to eat together.' Then he gives a brief chapter wherein one finds texts in support of the existence of village communities in that ancient period.

There is an interesting chapter on polity. The Kshatriya or the fighting class had alone the right to reign as well as to rule. But that he was not an arbitrary monarch is demonstrated from the fact that the Purohita of the Brahman class wielded great power, and proved an effective check and a safe guide for the monarch. Though hereditary rule was in vogue, yet there was the ceremony, perhaps a

formal one, when the king is declared elected or chosen by the general people, thus exhibiting traces of a democratic nation in existence. There were also slaves, besides the non-Aryan classes, the Dasyus who also possessed forts and cities and led a civilized life. The duty of the King seems to have been two fold. He was a leader in war, and the administrator of justice in peace. Though he did not directly deal with causes, still there was his effective supervision of criminal administration. There was a class of nobility from whom the personal attendants of the king and other courtiers were chosen. The concept of state as portrayed in the Rig Veda, seems to refer not to a small state, but a large one with a number of petty states under its direct sway. These states were under *Vrajapatis* or local governors. There is distinct mention of both an assembly and a smaller council both of which the king used to consult. The author reads into some passages some system of police and judicial organization. These certainly justify a high state civilization and culture in primitive times.

The other chapters deal with arts and crafts and other manufacturing industries. Agriculture naturally occupies a first place among these industries. The author incidentally examines the vexed and thorny questions of land policy, land revenue, and proprietary rights. He finds evidence of individual ownership and of even something like the modern cadastral survey in the age of the Rig Veda. The implements used, the systems of irrigation and of manuring go to show that agriculture was carried on with a high degree of efficiency. Again it is obvious that the use of metals such as, iron, gold and others, was known to the ancients. The arts and crafts were simple and durable. Wood was used for several purposes. There were well built houses, walls and palaces. The art of weaving, tanning and navigation had reached a high degree of development. Here is shown how trade and commerce depended greatly on sea-voyages which were commonly done with well built ships. The last chapter on economic concepts such as, wealth, private property, etc., would be read with great interest.

The get up and printing are excellent and there is also a short index.

V. R. R.

NOTE.—The Editor regrets that owing to personal inconveniences he has had to hold over a number of reviews and book notices. He hopes he will have no occasion to apologise in future.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PROGRESS IN BURMA

THE report for the year ending March 1925, issued by Mr. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent of Archaeology in Burma, is a good record of work planned and done. The letter-press of the compilation of a monograph on the 550 terra-cotta plaques with *Jataka* scenes from the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, has been completed and is being made ready for the press. A compilation on the history of architecture at Pagan consisting of a series of monographs on its principal temples has also been planned. The *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol iii, part ii, containing the edition of the Kalyani Inscriptions by Mr. C. P. Blagden, has also been nearly completed. The Archaeological Memoir No. 27, entitled 'Pageant of King Mindon' containing letter press describing fifteen plates reproducing paintings of a *parabak*, or Burmese folding-book has also been issued by Mr. Duroiselle. These paintings represent the pageant of King Mindon (1853-78), the last but one king of Burma, leaving his palace on May 16, 1885, to perform the dedication ceremony of the marble image of the Buddha placed in a small temple near the foot of the Mandalay Hill. The folding-book is a rare specimen of Burmese art before it came to be definitely influenced by Western models and technique; and it is a model of the last stage reached by Burmese painting after an almost uninterrupted course of nearly nine centuries of development 'which can be followed step by step on the walls of temples scattered through the country.' The paintings exhibit a display of the forces in full dress of the Burmese standing army at its headquarters in Mandalay, with the quaint dresses of the princes, princesses and ministers, the uniforms of the officers, the richly caparisoned elephants and horses, the war-chariots, artillery and the typically Burmese *sedan-chairs*. The folding-book contains fifteen pages, each representing only one scene; and the whole pageant as a whole can be viewed at a glance and explanations of the scenes are given in Burmese at the bottom of each picture. The artillery men were mostly descendants of Portuguese and French prisoners of war of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the whole the *Pageant* is very interesting reading.

Mr. Duroiselle reports on the conservation work undertaken in the Sulamani and the Tjombulo Temples at Pagan, in the Palace *Piyathats* on the Mandalay Fort Walls, in the Tomb of King Bodawpaya at

Amarapura and in protection works undertaken at Ava, Mingon and other places. Several brickwork mounds were excavated,—one near *Sri Kshetra* or Old Prome being a site covered with funeral mounds and containing urns. It appears that the people of Old Prome burned their dead and buried the ashes in earthen, stone or metallic urns, either in family vaults, lonely graves or cemeteries, sometimes round the base of a pagoda or inside it, and usually some iron object was buried with the ashes. Epitaphs giving a few particulars regarding the deceased were engraved round the urns. A list is also given of the finds in *Sri Kshetra* since the beginning of excavation work in 1907. Among the coins discovered on some old symbolical ones, each bearing on the obverse a *sanka* or conch-shell within a border of round dots placed in two circles; and on the reverse there are two triangular objects, one being placed above the other. Among the sculptures of Old Prome, some figures may be ascribed to the seventh and sixth centuries and even earlier, while the sculptural art of Pagan did not begin before the eleventh century. Arakan contributed a good many finds—relic caskets of stone and bronze, images of gold, silver and bronze and good specimens of gold and silver Arakanese coins—the coins of the fifteenth century showing the submission of the Arakanese kings to the Sultans of Bengal.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
(RECENTLY PUBLISHED)

(1) *The Temple at Bhumara*.—The latest numbers of the series recently published are (1) Mr. R. D. Banerjee's *The Temple of Siva at Bhumara*; (2) Mr. Ch. Duroiselle's *Pageant of King Mindon* noticed elsewhere; (3) Pandit Hirananda Shastri's *The Origin and Cult of Tara* and (4) *The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah*. The first is a descriptive account of the Siva Temple at Bhumara in the Nagod State which according to Sir John Marshall belongs to the sixth century A.D. It is very closely similar to the so-called Parvati Temple at Nachua-kuthara in the Ajaigarh State—the only difference being the absence of an upper storey and the existence of two miniature shrines on both sides of the steps in the Bhumara Temple. The carving on the jambs of the doorway is what is usually found in the Gupta temples of Central India. The huge *Eka-Mukha-linga* discovered inside, is a

plain cylinder with a bust of Siva on one side, almost equal to the cylindrical portion, the figure of Siva having a third eye in the centre of the forehead. The door-jambs are elaborately sculptured; and there are broken remnants of pillars and pilasters—pilasters square in section with carvings at top and bottom, others square in section at the top, bottom and middle and elsewhere hexagonal, octagonal or duodecagonal. Some pillars have capitals consisting of a Roman urn with a serrated body and with foliage overhanging at the corners. The execution and details of the ornamental foliage appear to belong to the fifth century A.D. and bear a strong resemblance to the sculptures discovered at Khoh. Panels of stone-slabs found contain different forms of rosettes, grotesque *kirtimukhas* or arabesque work; a large number of them are of the class called *chaitya-windows*: the gargoyles for rain-water are shaped like lions' heads. The images discovered are only fragmentary of which there is a fine one of Ganēśa seated on a thick cushion and wearing necklace, armlets, etc. Medallions of these were utilized for ornamentation of the cornice of the *mantapa* along its edge. Near the village of Bhumara is the boundary pillar originally discovered by Cunningham, a boundary mark between the territories of Mahārāja Hastin and Mahārāja Śarvanātha whose dates are possibly expressed in the Gupta era and come close to about A.D. 500.

(2) *The Origin and Cult of Tārā*—Pandit Hirananda Shastri's *Origin and Cult of Tara*, the well-known goddess in Buddhist and Hindu mythologies, examines whether the goddess had a Buddhist or Brahmanical origin, whether her cult rose in India or elsewhere and what her chief original function was. Brahmanical mythology knows of several Tārās; but we are concerned only with the Mahāvidyā or the second, Kālī being known as the first. Her *dhyāna* is given in several *Tantra* works; and her chief forms are three—Ēkajāṭā, Nilasarasvatī and Ugra—which however do not mean distinct divinities. 'This oneness or *ikūta* indicates rather the absorption of several originally diverse, but similar cults into the one cult of Tārā.' The writer doubts if the cult of the ten *Mahāvidyās* was at all known to the compiler of the *Markandeya Purāṇa*, though the cult of the *Matys* (divine mothers) is very old and proved by inscriptions of the Kadambas, the Chalukyas and the Guptas. The Tārā of the *Tantras* is certainly well-developed. The Tantrika cult was not known to the eighteen principal *Purāṇas*; the *Bṛhadanda Purāṇa* refers to it not as that of a Mahāvidyā. The *Agni*

Purāṇa when enumerating its sixty-four *Yoginis* does not stress it. In the Brahmanical *Tantras* Tārā is a chief divinity. Inscriptions do not mention the Brahmanical Tārā, though they mention the Buddhist divinity, which is earliest referred to in a Nagari inscription of Java (A.D. 778).

The worship of the deity never gained ground in the south where she was not known at all before the eighth century. A.D. Scholars opine that the goddess Kāmakhī of Kanchi was the original Buddhist goddess Tārā. The deity is left altogether out of account in the principal Āgamas known in the south. A goddess Tārā was known to the Jain pantheon also, though she did not hold a chief rank there. *Bykūṭi*, another Buddhist form of Tārā, is according to the Śvētāmbaras the *śaśanādevī* attendant on Chandraprabha, the eighth Jina. The Digambaras also know the two *śaśanādevī* by two other names. A goddess of the name of Tārā known to some aboriginal people like the Khonds—the earth-goddess presiding over fertility.

The earliest representations of the goddess in sculpture date back to the sixth century. Early statuary knows only the Buddhist Tārā; and the testimony of Yuan-Chuang shows that Tārā, the Bodhisattva, was very popular in his time. In the Mahāyāna pantheon Tārā is represented as the mother of the Buddhas as well as of the Bodhisattvas, who could be approached directly without the aid of any intermediary.

The goddess was Buddhist originally; and Brahmanical mythology took it from the Buddhist pantheon; and the latter admits that it is by the *Cintamani*, i.e. by the Chinese mode of worship, or the Mahāyāna rites that Tārā is to be propitiated. Some of the Tantric treatises call Tārā as *Chaitanyadevi* which is decidedly a Buddhist appellation. The consort of Śiva is called Tārā in the *Śiva-śakti-saṅgamatantra*. Śiva, we know, is *Maheśvara* in the Mahāyāna pantheon with Tārā as his recognized *śrī*. The Akshobya is the seer or *rishi* of the *mantra* of Tārā is quite in the fitness of things a Buddhist feature. Akshobya is Buddha and Tārā is his *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The *Saṅgha* also shows that Nāgārjuna 'revived the worship of Ēkajāṭā, a principal form of the goddess among the Bhotas in the country of Tibet.' The writer of this monograph holds that the cult of Tārā originated near Lalakh about the fifth century A.D. and thence spread to Tibet where she became the most popular deity; and it is probable that she was introduced into India through Nepal. The

goddess is unknown to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara. *Sakti* worship was probably introduced into Mahāyānism about the sixth century A.D.; and the name of Nāgārjuna was associated with Tārā to make the cult more important and attractive. It passed from Nepal through Nalanda and Magadha to Kalinga whence it not only went to other parts of India, but to distant lands like Java (*Yavadvīpa*). Tārā's forms are two-fold, the pacific and the angry one, the former being white or green in colour and the latter red or yellow or blue. The Brahmanical Tārā is the angry form and resembles the blue Tārā or *Ekajāta* of the Buddhists. Originally she was invoked for the safe crossing of waters and floods; and she finally became the deliverer from the ocean of existence and the second Mahāvīdya.

(3) *The Baghela Dynasty of Rewa*—Pandit Hirananda Shastri examines a hitherto unpublished manuscript of a work—*Virabhānu-dayakavyam* sent to him by Rai Bahadur Janaki Prasad of Rewah State. The manuscript was written about A.D. 1591 at the instance of Birbhadar (Virabhadra) the grandson of the hero of the poem, who has marked with two different seals of his own the first and last page of it—the first seal reading 'Birbhadra the slave of Akbar'; and the second, 'Birbhadra the slave of King Salim.'

The Pandit examines the genuineness of both these seals, the former of which is dated 965 (likely *Hijri* = A.D. 1558). The latter seal is identical with the coins-legend as struck by Jahangir in the first nine months after his accession. Virabhadra was at Delhi when his father Ramachandra died and he himself died of injuries in 1593. Th Pandit says that if the second seal is to be taken as genuine Salim must have developed signs of weariness of waiting for the crown, and formed a party of his own, Virabhadra being one, to help his case; as early as A.D. 1591. In that case Virabhadra could very well, though surreptitiously of course, call him the Sultan; as the other seal would have served him as a defence in case of exposure. 'Otherwise the seal seems to be inexplicable.' The book was composed about 1540, after the birth of Virabhadra and in the life-time of Virabhānu his grandfather, as well as the Emperor Humayun—the *Dillisvara* who congratulated Virabhānu on the birth of a grandson. Virabhānu died in 1540, the same year as Humayun lost Delhi. The manuscript under examination was a copy made in 1591 before Virabhadra became ruler of Rewah.

The twelve cantos of the book deal with the Baghela dynasty of which Virabhānu was a descendant; praise the rule of Virabhānu who is described in hyperboles as a model king, his son Ramachandra who was a friend of Tansen the well-known musician of the age, and the birth of Virabhadra. The *kavya* supplies the genealogy of the Baghela chiefs for a few generations. Unfortunately the book gives no dates; otherwise it corrects Cunningham's list in a few points. The book also supplies some historical information which is corroborated by accounts given by Muhammadan historians; and it is also helpful in examining some current traditions and comparatively modern chronicles of Rewah. The book may very well form the nucleus for a connected history of Baghelband and Bundelkhand, if similar accounts should become available for sister-states like Panna and others.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES VOL. V, PART II

(Published by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, Trivandrum, 1925, pp. 190, with plates.)

The first part of the fifth volume of this series contained a descriptive note on the Rock-cut cave-temple at Kaviyur in the Quilon division of the State, as well as interesting accounts of a few copper-plates of the eighteenth century and of a manuscript which on examination proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāpa Rudhaya* of the fourteenth century, except that the illustrative verses were composed in praise of a Travancore king.

The present part keeps up the varied interest of its predecessor. It has at the beginning a note on the Keralapuram Temple Inscriptions which record that pillars bearing the images of Kulaśekhara Perumal and Chōṭamāl Perumal, the two canonized saints of the Travancore royal line, were set up by the dancing women and the accountants of the temple. The Archaeologist also gives an outline of the two saints, so far as is historically reliable. He discusses the age of Chōṭamāl-Perumal on the basis of information contained in the *Īṭṭāṭṭupatti*, of the biographical sketches of this king and his contemporaries as contained in the *Periyapurāṇam*, of the reference

to this king in the *Tiruvilaiyadal Parāṇam* of Paranjotiyār and of other miscellaneous references. The supposed conversion of Chēramān to Islam is now disbelieved by scholars; and the Kollam Era which has been traced to this supposed conversion is now definitely attributed to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam about this time. The writer adds: 'It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the sea-port of Quilon at the instance of Sapir-Iso and his thriving co-religionists, which may all have taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphazard fashion when the chronicle (*Keralolpatti*) was patched up a few centuries ago.' The date given by this chronicle to Chēramān (the first half of the fifth century) is not trustworthy. The *Periyapurāṇam* says that Chēramān visited with Sundaramūṛthi Nāyanār the temple of Tirukkanḍiyūr near Tanjore; while the Śiva temple at Tirukkanḍiyūr in Travancore came into being in A.D. 823, according to epigraphic evidence, and it is highly probable that the latter temple, considered to have been constructed by Chēramān, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrance of his visit to the former shrine. Moreover Nara-singamunaiyaraian who was Sundara's patron probably lived at the time of the reign of Dantivarman, the weak Pallava (A.D. 780-830); and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pallava of the period. Varaguna Pandiyan who is mentioned in the fifty-fifth episode of the *Tiruvilaiyadal Parāṇam* was a devout Śaiva and his date may be assigned to the beginning of the ninth century as well. These data taken along with the supposed reference made by the great Śankarāchārya in his *Minor Stotras* to Sundara's matrimonial foibles, make it possible that Sundara also might have lived about this time. Chēramān-Perumāl Nāyanār, the contemporary of Sundara, is therefore ascribable to the beginning of the ninth century A.D. An attempt is also made here to identify the royal saint with the Chēra king Rajaśekhara of the Talamanai Illam copper-plate record.

Mr. Ramanatha Iyer gives also an account of the life and times of Kulaśekhara Perumāl, an early king of the Chēra house of Malai māṇḍalam from whom the present ruling dynasty of Travancore traces its descent. Garudavāhana Paṇḍita of the twelfth century

Piṇṇaḷagiya Perumāl Jiyar (fourteenth century), Maṇavaḷa Mahāmuni (fourteenth century) and Kaṇḍāḍaiappan of the same century and a few later Vaishnava authors are examined in this connection. The traditional limits for Kulaśekhara's period are Nammālvār on the one hand and Tirumangai Ālvār who was the contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman and possibly of his successor Nandivarman—in the epoch A.D. 779-854. Mr. Gopinatha Rao's attempt to fix the date of Kulaśekhara about A.D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of his *Perumāl-Tirumoli* is also examined and found not to justify the assumption made that the reference to the Lord of Mallai is to the Pallava king. He suggests that the poet Vasudeva, the author of *Tudhishthira Vāyam* who lived in the beginning of the Kollam era and has glorified king Kulaśekhara was a friend of the Ālvār who is supposed to have made also a reference to the poet in his *Mukundamāla*. Hence it is reasonable to say that Kulaśekhara and the poet Vasudeva lived at the beginning of the Kollam era. An attempt is also made to prove that another Kerala king of the same name, the author of two dramas and a prose work, who can be located in the middle of the tenth century need not necessarily be equated with the Ālvār who is thus fixed on the basis of the data now available to the period A.D. 825-850.

A record of Ravi—Ravivarman dated Kollam era 548 (=A.D. 1373)—in Tamil is published; but it is noted that the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chola-Grantha as such and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kóttayam Plates of Viraraghava Chakravarti; and this similarity explains also how the latter may be assigned to the fourteenth century A.D. The *Tirukkadittānam* records are found in the temple which dates from the tenth century, and must have been much earlier, as it was sung of by Nammālvār. Some of these belonging to the reign of Bhaskara Ravi Varman are now re-edited; while others are here published for the first time. Two sculptured panels flanking the entrance into the sanctum of the temple at the place are taken to represent the two types of Tamil dance—*kuḍaikkāttu* and *kuḍakkāttu*. On the whole the number reviewed contains numerous items of interest.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

RECORDS OF FORT ST. GEORGE—DESPATCHES TO ENGLAND, 1701-2 TO 1710-11

(Published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1925
pp. 155.)

THE records relating to the Despatches from and to England in the first decades of the eighteenth century, as preserved in the Madras Record Office are not full, especially the Despatches to England wherein the first volume begins with the despatch of 1694; and there occur gaps between 1697-1700, again between 1701-1710, in 1711, and from July 1716 to December 1719. Hence the Madras Letters to the Directors have got to be collated from the transcripts supplied by the India Office out of their records. Such gaps in the Madras Records occur off and on down to 1755. The Indian Historical Records Commission resolved in their Lahore meeting of 1920 that, as proposed by Mr. Dodwell, then Curator, the Madras General Letters, from 1702 to 1739 should be printed instead of being calendared as is the case with the Madras Records and Despatches after 1740.

The early Despatches to England form according to Mr. Dodwell a more important series than the Despatches from the Court, at least from the historical point of view, as they narrate the story of Madras itself and 'offer an epitome of the fuller story detailed in the consultations.' The Despatches like those from England were divided into heads, like shipping come out or returned; goods sent from Europe; investments in India; fortifications and revenues; factors, writers, officers, soldiers and their accounts; subordinate settlements; sailing orders addressed to the captains of the homeward-bound ships; registers of bills drawn on the Company, diamonds despatched from the coast, etc.

The volume under review is compiled on the basis of transcripts from the India Office and covers the ten shipping seasons from 1701-2, each season extending from September to March. Both letters from the Council and the Governor and others in their private capacity are included. The strong-minded Thomas Pitt, Governor for the greater part of the decade, is the author of numerous letters of whom the recent biography by Sir C. N. Dalton was based wholly on published materials. Governor Pitt strove hard to raise English prestige in native eyes, to resist the pretensions and injurious rivalry of the new Company and to serve loyally and efficiently both his masters, the old

Company as well as the amalgamated one and also to continue on friendly and intimate relations with the Mughal officers. One of Pitt's letters may be taken as typical. (General Letter to the Company, January 15, and February 14 and 15, 1705).—'Shall not put the Company to any unnecessary charge; the platform at the Sea Gate was necessary; so is the Brick Wall round the Town which, will be completed in the Summer; the people were made to raise a tax to pay the charge, the inequality therein occasioned murmuring among them: . . . ' The methods of the Dutch, the wiles of the Portuguese Catholic priests, the prosperity of the presidency 'which is already esteem'd the next best Europe settlement to Batavia and capable of being made better', the betel and tobacco farming which occasioned frequent troubles, the difficulty of fixing right investments—these were some of the matters that engaged the attention of the Governor and Council, while the Directors received quasi-private reports from gentlemen like Fraser, Wright, Duke, Fraunce, etc. The jealousy of the rival Company and of Sir Nicholas Waite of Bombay are also seen; the latter was not a surprise, as Waite was wholly against the union and a sworn enemy to the old Company's servants; his private conduct was execrable and he treated the rebukes of the Directors with contemptuous disregard. Governor Pitt's advice to the new Company, dated September 21, 1706, is plain and outspoken. Disputes which frequently arose in the Black Town between the Right and Left Hand Castes are also referred to, which the Governor avers in one place was due to the methods of the English merchants dealing with them. The necessary alterations in the regulations of the settlement consequent upon the union of the two Companies are noted in some of the general letters,—one of them saying that the Choultry in the Black Town determined 'matters of *Meum* and *Tuum*, bargains and sale; punishing robberys, etc., all the Council below the third and some of the justices of the Mayor's bench are of this count.' Governor Fraser is very long-winded in his letters and inclined to make much even of small things. We come across the inevitable Sunca Rama and Sarup Sing of Gingi, the predecessor of Desing the ballad-hero. The retention of the old-fashioned spelling of names and of the old-style of writing heedless of punctuations, etc., is apt to give a little trouble to the reader.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

DR. SIR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR

The late Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar embodied in himself a happy blend of the Eastern and Western cultures, or to be more exact, while his moral nature was entirely Indian, his intellect was disciplined by his Western education and then stimulated, with that Western education as a catalytic and controlling factor, all that is highest and noblest in the old literature and philosophy of India.

Born in 1837 in a small village in Ratnagiri District, and the son of a clerk, he was fortunate in having the advantage of an English education in the Ratnagiri High School and the Elphinstone Institute in Bombay. In the latter he was taught by such masters as Dadabhai Nowroji, Owen and Hughlings. Thanks to Mr. Howard, then Director of Public Instruction, he was appointed to one of the newly instituted Fellowships at the Poona College, which later on became the Deccan College; and here he began his study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy with veteran scholars like Anant Shastri Pandharkar. In 1862 he became one of the first two graduates of the Bombay University, passing his M.A. in the next year. In 1864 he resigned his Fellowship with a view to enter either the revenue department or the legal profession.

It was again at the instance of Mr. Howard that he adopted the teacher's profession. Appointed at first a head master at Karachi and then at Ratnagiri, he was asked in 1867 to act for Bühler at the Elphinstone College, but being an Indian, he was superseded in 1863 by a younger and smaller man from Europe. It was only in 1882, long after he had made a European reputation for himself, that he had the honour of being made permanent professor at the Deccan College. He retired from the Government service in 1893.

Late as he began his study of Sanskrit, he had the benefit of an extensive study with teachers of encyclopaedic learning and he extended his range of studies still further when as a teacher duty brought new fields of research in his way. In 1864 while a Fellow at the Deccan College and acting as a Lecturer during Dr. Haug's absence, he published his review of Haug's *Altareya Brāhmaṇa*, which immediately attained celebrity owing to Weber's glowing appreciation of the budding scholar and to his having reprinted the review itself in *in extenso* in the *Indische Studien*. While doing his work as head master he wrote two Sanskrit Readers. In 1870, an old copper-plate having been

submitted to him by a Parsi friend for inspection, he commenced his study of Epigraphy, which became henceforth one of his favourite subjects. In 1872 he wrote his famous articles on the Maurya and Yavana passages in the *Mahabhāṣya* in the *Indian Antiquary*, demolishing Weber in the controversy. In 1874 he sent to the International Congress of Orientalists in London, his paper on the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, which earned him the honorary membership of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1876 appeared his edition of the *Malatī-Madhava*, and in 1877 he inaugurated the Wilson Philological Lectureship of the Bombay University with a series of six lectures, which were printed in book form only in 1914. From 1880 onwards appeared his *Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, which are more valuable than any history of Sanskrit literature. The year 1882 saw his *Early History of the Deccan*, which he modestly called 'a congeries of facts', of which, however, every fact embodied research and disclosed a rare talent for historical synthesis. In 1886 he attended the Vienna Oriental Congress, where he read his paper on the *Pāṇinīya* System. In the long interval that followed he contributed several papers to the *J.B.B.R.A.S.* notably his brilliant work 'A Peep into the Early History of India,' and in 1913, in the midst of age and failing eye-sight, he published his *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, in the Encyclopedia of Aryan Indo-Research*.

It is not possible in this article to give an estimate of Bhandarkar as a scholar; the task in fact has been done for all time by Windisch in the posthumous supplement to the *Geschichte der Indischen Philologie*. It suffices here to say that in the extensive field of scholarship that he traversed, covering the most widely different subjects he has left work which is absolutely first-class and will stand comparison with the best that Europe has produced. Judged by its volume—about 1,500 pages in all, excluding Lists of Manuscripts, the Readers and the *Malatī-Madhava*—it is surprisingly small, but one has not to read many pages to be convinced that every line of it is original and has involved conscientious labour and critical acumen of the highest order.

Great as Bhandarkar was as a scholar, his heart was equally divided between his religious and social activity and the pursuit of learning. In 1869, soon after he came to Bombay as a lecturer, he became a member of the newly-founded Prarthana Samiti, of which he immediately became the guiding genius. The end of the

Prārthanā-Samāj, redrafted by him in 1873, offers an interesting comparison between the old and the new tenets of the Samāj, and indicates in what respects the Samāj owed a new impetus and even new life to him. The old creed was an abjuration of the prevalent form of Hinduism; the new one was a re-affirmation of all that is noble and permanent in it. Bhandarkar was not only not willing to disown Hinduism, he was prepared to sympathize with people who were idolators, and he regarded idolatry as a sin only in those that had no faith in it. In his early days he was himself a devout worshipper of Śiva and, like a donor of the Gupta period, used to pay to the last a certain sum of money to the priest of a temple of Śiva in Poona to maintain a lamp in it. So also, he used to invite Brahmans to his house for recitations of the Vedas and to have the *Śraddha*, *Upanayana* and marriage-rites performed in the orthodox way, until, after the re-marriage of his daughter, the priest refused to go to him; he then composed a new ritual and trained a priest for himself. Sympathy between the religious reformer and the masses was according to him the first condition of religious progress. He used to quote frequently in his sermons the line of Tukaram which says: 'I cannot bear to see the world drowning.' Segregating himself from the people as a superior being, as the Brahmos did in his days, was out of question for him. The religious preaching again, he used to say, must utilize the literature that would appeal to the people. Speaking in Marathi in 1920 at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Bhandarkar *Ashrama* in Poona he emphasized the difference between the Brahmo-Samaj and the Prārthanā-Samāj. The Prārthanā-Samāj, he said, drew its inspiration not only from the *Upaniṣads* but from the *Gītā*, the Epics, the *Purāṇas* and the writings of the mediæval saints, which the Brahmo-Samaj had ignored; he did not bring in the name of Jesus Christ at every step which Brahmos like Keshab Chander or Muzumdar did, although the Prārthanā-Samāj was prepared to accept whatever was good in other religions. For fifty years he carried on his propaganda for the reformed Hinduism by lectures, writings, and preaching and even if his own despair as regards the future of the Prārthanā-Samāj may be justified, it may well be the case that the Prārthanā-Samāj has ceased to make a head-way only because people have assimilated its principles in another form and are not anxious to follow them by going out of their way to join it.

The Social Reform movement also found on several occasions a valiant and zealous champion in Bhandarkar. He gave his permission to the re-marriage of his widowed daughter and had to submit to social ostracism for some time. He had set his heart on stamping out early marriages, which he regarded as the bane of our society and his convocation address as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, which contains some plain-speaking on the subject, created quite an uproar. His public support of the Age of Consent Bill exposed him to criticisms in the press and even abuse and violence. He was equally firm in denouncing the evils of the caste system and the ill-treatment of the depressed classes. The High School for Indian Girls in Poona, whose affairs he directed for a very long time, testifies to the active interest he took in the cause of female education.

Bhandarkar was long connected with practically all the educational institutions of Poona and the University of Bombay. To say that he attended all the meetings of the different bodies regularly and punctually as long as he had sufficient strength to do so and even after, will give some idea of the time and energy which he was willing to spare for the education of the people.

He was almost impatient of the political agitation carried on in this country by politicians and journalists. He had no doubt in his life suffered himself from the injustice and the humiliation of Foreign rule, but he owed too much to his English teachers and friends, he had too great an admiration for Western civilization and he was too near the days of the Peshvas to wish for a change in the established political order. If all his patriotism was reserved for the service of scholarship and the religious and moral upheaval of his country-men and if he believed more in spiritual than in worldly good, surely there is no reason why anybody should have reason to complain.

Bhandarkar was a strongly built man, with rather prominent features and a stern countenance which was softened with increasing years. He was exceedingly regular in his habits, simple and yet elegant in his mode of living, and very careful of his money, though generous in charity. His private life was pure and full of affection for his relations and friends. He was above petty jealousies and resentment. For the late Mr. Tilak, who had often and violently attacked him in his journal he entertained a very high regard and even a certain affection. Truth was the greatest of virtues for him

and his vocation as a scholar was to him only the pursuit of truth. Fraud he hated. On one occasion he chose to lose a considerable amount than ante-date a document as his lawyer wanted him to do. On the other hand he was neither an idealist nor an ascetic by temperament. He had once formed a philanthropic project of helping agriculturists, which failed miserably; but otherwise he was sober in the pursuit of his ideals. He did not believe in a divorce between *Prapañca* (worldly-life), and *Paramārtha* (the *summum bonum*), which according to him supplemented each other. People used to call him a *Maharṣi*, but, although he liked flattery, his habit of introspection and his being alive to his own imperfections prevented him from even styling himself a *Prapanna* (one who has surrendered himself to God); he would only call himself a *Prapitsū* (one wishing to be a *Prapanna*). In a word he lived up to his ideal of a householder who realizes *paramārtha* though *prapañca*.

Bhandarkar has earned a lasting place in the cultural history of India. The present generation bears the impress of his genius, piety and reforming zeal, as did also the last. If the immensity of the debt we owe to him has not been sufficiently understood, it is probably due to his writings being scattered over different and inaccessible journals. The edition of his collected writings in four volumes which the Institute which bears his name is going to publish on the anniversary of his death will teach us to recognize how much we owe to the scholar, epigraphist, philologist, and historian of the religious and political developments in ancient India, and how much more to the social reformer, educationist and *Bhakta*.

V. G. PARANJPE.

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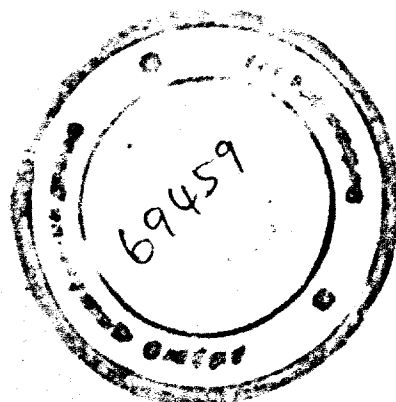
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