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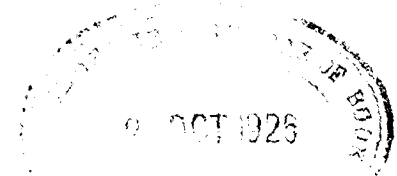
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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A European at the Court of the Great Mogul

BY

SIR THEODORE MORISON, K.C.I.E., etc.

FOR close upon a thousand years Islam and Christendom confronted each other with mutual mistrust and hostility ; between the two commerce either of goods or ideas was scanty and fitful ; each built up from native material a distinct and characteristic civilization and each lived its own life ignorant and indifferent of the other. But by the sixteenth century this ignorance began to give way ; through the development of navigation, the people of Europe became more mobile and began to spread beyond their own frontiers. While some steered West to hunt the legendary Eldorado, others rounded the Cape of Good Hope in quest of the more authentic wealth of Ormus and of Ind. By the beginning of the seventeenth century reports circulated in London, Paris and Amsterdam of a mighty prince living in India, known as the Great Mogul ; he was said to be as magnificent as Solomon in his glory, to be liberal of largesse to foreigners and to offer security for trade throughout his wide dominions. It is no wonder that these reports stirred the blood of the gallants in England and the Low Countries. A number of adventurous spirits took ship to try their fortune in India and of these a good few have left us an account of their travels. These narratives are of very unequal value ; checking them by the Indian histories, memoirs and private letters which are our staple authorities for this period we can often convict their writers of ignorance or carelessness or credulity, but in one

respect their reports are of unique interest. They show us what impression Asiatic society made upon a traveller from Europe; by looking as it were through their eyes we can establish some comparison between the civilizations of Islam and Christendom and form some estimate of their relative excellence. The impression which I derive from reading their writings is that these Europeans of the seventeenth century found in India a state of society which, though very different from their own in many of the externals of life was yet in essentials but little, if at all, inferior to that with which they had been familiar in Europe. I propose to submit some of the evidence which leads me to this conclusion. I had originally intended to make a selection of passages from several authors; but, though I could thus have produced a very flattering picture of Mogul India, it would not have been an accurate presentation of average opinion. I shall, I believe, convey a fairer impression by confining myself to one author.

Of all the Europeans who have left us an account of their travels in India in the seventeenth century, the most trustworthy in my opinion is a Frenchman, Francois Bernier. Bernier was a doctor of medicine of the University of Montpellier; he had studied under the philosopher Gassendi, whom he tended in his last illness and for whom he entertained a deep veneration; on his return from India, Bernier was admitted into the brilliant circle of writers who adorned the reign of Louis XIV. He was the friend of Racine, Boileau and La Fontaine; Saint Evremond, with whom he corresponded on terms of intimacy, thought highly of him and used to declare that Bernier by his bearing, manners and conversation justly deserved the title of 'the handsome philosopher.' Without fatiguing you by more evidence I feel justified in asserting that Bernier was familiar with all that was best in the European civilization of his day. His claims to be accepted as a competent witness of the condition of India are equally solid. Soon after his arrival in the kingdom of the Great Mogul, he took service under one of the great ministers of the Indian Crown, Daneshmand Khan, who held an appointment analogous to that of Minister of Foreign Affairs. As his title implies, Daneshmand Khan was a highly cultivated man and through him Bernier had access to the most polished society of Delhi and Agra. He read and spoke Persian, which was then the language of polite society and it is clear that he took pains to collect accurate information. As he lived in India for

about twelve years continuously and was exceptionally well placed for ascertaining the truth about the Mogul Court, I cite him as our most trustworthy witness of the state of Indian Society in the seventeenth century. He is a particularly valuable witness in this that his education and philosophic habit of mind enabled him to judge of men and things Indian on their merits, free from that national prepossession which warped the vision of too many European travellers.

While Bernier was yet in India (in July 1663) he wrote a letter to Mons. de la Mothe le Vayer which begins with these words:—

'I know that your first inquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this Empire. You will be anxious to learn if Delhi and Agra rival Paris in beauty, extent and number of inhabitants.' That is the very question which I myself would have wished to put to Bernier, and his letter constitutes the best comparison I know of the civilizations of Europe and India at this period. He begins at once with an intelligent observation: 'In treating of the beauty of these towns I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in the Indies speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the Western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture; that what is useful and proper at Paris, London and Amsterdam would be entirely out of place at Delhi; insomuch that, if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change places with the metropolis of the Indies, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city and to rebuild it in a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties; these, however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Delhi also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate.' He then proceeds to give a description of the plan and furniture of a private house in Delhi, the layout of the town and some of the principal public buildings; comparing Delhi with Paris he calls attention to points of likeness and difference, and like a sensible traveller makes a note of these peculiarities which could, usefully, be adopted in his own country. He says, for instance, that a certain karavansarai was in the form of a large square with arcades 'like our Place Royale,' that it was the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbek, and other foreign merchants, who in general might be accommodated with empty cham-

bers, in which they remained with perfect safety, the gate being closed at night ; and he goes on to say ' If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments.'

Our artistic sympathies have broadened since the seventeenth century and we do not need to be told that the Mogul buildings are not inferior in beauty to those of the Western world. We know that the Great Mosque and the Palace of Shah Jehan at Delhi and the Taj Mahal at Agra are among the most beautiful things which the hands of man have made and in the blindness of our ancestors to the glory of Mogul architecture we see an illustration of the humiliating truth that the majority of men cannot see beauty until it is pointed out to them. Every globe-trotter has heard before he sees it that the Taj is one of the wonders of the world and when he beholds the marble dome rising out of the romantic garden he experiences the emotion foretold him. But Bernier saw the Taj soon after it was finished and if his admiration sounds to us oddly halting and hesitating he does in the end recognize its surpassing beauty. As an illustration I will quote what he says of the Gateway which leads into the garden of the Taj Mahal.

' This pavilion is an oblong square and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer and much more grand in its construction than that of St. Louis in the rue St. Antoine and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind ; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure ; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches and galleries upon galleries disposed and contrived in a hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance and is conceived and executed effectually. Nothing offends the eye ; on the contrary it is delighted with every part and is never tired with looking. The last time I visited Taj Mahal's mausoleum I was in the company of

a French merchant, who as well as myself thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in the Indies and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic.' Bernier had no doubt been brought up in that artistic school which ultimately found expression in the formal symmetry of Versailles ; it dominated the age of Louis XIV and made even the well-disciplined Mme. de Maintenon exclaim impatiently ' We must die in symmetry.' Bernier could never quite free his mind from those five orders of architecture ; they bothered him when beholding another of the great buildings of Shah Jehan, the Great Mosque at Delhi. I grant, he says, ' that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed ; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste ; ' and he proceeds to give it the praise it deserves.

But I must not leave you with the impression that Bernier thought that Delhi rivalled Paris or Amsterdam. He specially warns his correspondent against coming to any such conclusion.

' You need not quit Paris,' he writes, ' to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world, for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throngs of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded ? Visit the same spot at night and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness ? The innumerable windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge exhibit their chastened and subdued lights while the activity and bustle observable in the day seem to suffer no diminution at night. There honest citizens and what never happens in Asia—their handsome wives and daughters perambulate the streets without apprehension of quagmires or thieves. . . . Yes my friend when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris you may boldly aver on my authority that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan which I have not visited.' And Bernier sums up in these words ' I may say without impartiality and after making every allowance for the beauty of Delhi, Agra and

Constantinople that Paris is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city of the world.'

So much for what Bernier has to tell us of the physical aspect of Delhi, what of the society which he found there? Did he find in India any one as learned as his master Gassendi? Could any circle in Delhi compensate him for the conversation of La Rochefoucault or St. Evremond? On this point Bernier does not attempt a precise comparison and unfortunately for us he is not often anecdotal; but scattered through his books and letters there are occasional reports of conversations from which we gather that there was sometimes interesting and animated talk at the Court of the Great Mogul. I imagine that Bernier's employer, Daneshmand Khan, had a pretty wit. As an illustration of the extravagant politeness, or as Bernier calls it, the fulsome mode of address observed in India, he tells this story. 'A Brahmin Pandit, or Gentile doctor whom I introduced into my Agah's service would fain pronounce this panegyric; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations he concluded his harangue in these words uttered with all conceivable seriousness "When, my Lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support this extraordinary pressure." The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might have been expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance to tell my Agah whose visibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes which often caused so much mischief. "Yes, my friend," he answered without hesitation, "and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a Palkey.' Daneshmand Khan was of course laughing at his own indolence, but the man who could thus easily toss back the ball of conversation might not have been unwelcome in the salon of La Rochefoucault and Mme. de Sévigné.'

In Delhi as at Versailles the monarch fills a large place in any picture of the society of the time; it was therefore inevitable that most of Bernier's anecdotes should be reports of the sayings of Aurangzeb. Here is one.

'It was about this period that one of the most distinguished Omrahs ventured to express to Aurangzeb his fear lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to this health. The King affecting not to hear turned from his sage adviser and advancing slowly towards another of the principal Omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him on the following terms. The speech was reported to me by the son of that Omrah, a young physician and my intimate friend.

'There surely can be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life and if necessary to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. Yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health and chiefly to study what may minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. . . . It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult, nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority and the security of the State. . . . Go tell thy friend that if he be desirous of my applause he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him; but let him have a care how he again obtrudes such counsel as it would be unworthy of a king to receive.'

This speech might be compared with the picture of himself which Louis XIV painted in his memoirs for the admiration of posterity, but the comparison would be wholly to the advantage of Aurangzeb. He at least never thought of himself with the fatuous self-complacency which led Louis XIV to say, 'There are certain of our functions in which, filling as it were the place of God, we seem to partake of his knowledge as well as of his authority, as for instance in the appreciation of character, the distribution of appointments and the granting of favours and pardons.' The just nemesis which follows such overweening arrogance decreed that those should be the very functions in the discharge of which Louis XIV most signally failed. Aurangzeb had the advantage of Louis XIV in another respect; he was much the better educated man of the two; though his favourite

study was an illiberal theology he had read widely and possessed a breadth of information beyond our expectations; none the less he trounced his old preceptor severely for the insufficiency of his tuition; he complained for instance that his preceptor had taught him that the whole of Europe (Franguistan) was no more than some inconsiderable island of which the most powerful Monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then he of Holland and afterwards the King of England. Aurangzeb denounced the philosophy he had been taught in particularly scathing terms, 'During several years you harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yields no satisfaction to the mind . . . wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour and forgotten as soon as conceived.' Bernier seems to have particularly relished this part of his discourse for he interpolates 'Their philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.'

Bernier refers in another passage to the store Aurangzeb set upon the right education of princes 'No person' he says, 'can be more alive than Aurangzeb to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue.'

As might have been expected from his manly character, Bernier was disgusted at the fulsome flattery which was lavished on the Great Mogul by his courtiers and he quoted with satisfaction a Persian couplet, known he says to every one at Delhi,

Should the King say that it is night at noon
Be sure to cry, Behold, I see the moon.

which shows at least that Aurangzeb's courtiers knew what rank hypocrites they were. I wonder what Bernier thought when he returned to France and listened to the adulation poured on Louis XIV, of whom it has been said that his appetite for flattery was only equalled by the eagerness of his courtiers to serve it to him. I suspect that both at Delhi and Versailles the conduct of the courtiers was about the same; they flattered the king outrageously to his face and laughed at their own insincerity behind his back. Everybody, including the monarch, knew that this was done. One day Louis XIV was playing at trictrac; a doubtful stroke was played; a dispute

arose; all the courtiers kept silence. As the Comte de Grammont came up the king called out to him, 'decide between us'. 'It is you, Sir, who are wrong' said the Comte. 'And how can you say I am in the wrong' asked the king 'when you don't even know what is in dispute'. 'Ah Sir, do you not see that if the matter had even been as much as doubtful all these gentlemen would have said you were in the right.'¹

There is one feature of Indian society which Bernier castigates unsparingly whenever an occasion offers and that is the widespread belief in astrology. In the *Evenemens Particuliers* he writes, 'The majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of Judicial Astrology that according to their phraseology no circumstance can happen below which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. . . . This silly superstition is so general an annoyance and attended with such important and disagreeable consequences that I am astonished it has continued so long.' In his letter to de la Mothe le Vayer Bernier is more detailed and picturesque; after describing the royal square at Delhi he proceeds 'Here, too, is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which like the Pont-Neuf of Paris is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both Muhammadan and Gentile. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiac. . . . They tell a poor person his future for a *paisa* (which is worth about one *sol*) and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book and pretending to make certain calculations, these imposters decide upon the Saïet or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control. . . . I am speaking (here) only of the poor bazaar astrologers. Those who frequent the court

¹ Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV*, ch. xxviii.

of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition. Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them.'

That this indictment is true enough we know from Indian histories and memoirs. But was Europe in the seventeenth century much wiser? Voltaire uses almost the same language as Bernier when describing the state of France in the age preceding the accession of Louis XIV. 'Astrologers were consulted and believed in. All the memoirs of that time, beginning with the History of the President de Thon, are full of predictions. The grave and austere Duc de Sulli records in all seriousness those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, the most infallible sign of ignorance, had such currency that care was taken to have an astrologer hidden close to the bedroom of the Queen Anne of Austria at the moment of the birth of Louis XIV. . . . The weakness of mind which gave currency to this absurd fancy of judicial astrology, led people to believe in demoniacal possession and magic charms.' And Voltaire tells us that in one year (1609) 600 persons were condemned for witchcraft within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Bordeaux and most of them were burnt.

When in 1670 Bernier returned to France he must have been saddened to find how small had been the progress of rationalism even among his most educated countrymen, 'all the philosophy of the celebrated Comte de Boulainvilliers' according to Voltaire 'never cured him of this absurd folly.' Voltaire accounted Boulainvilliers the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history and adds that in spite of his weakness for Judicial Astrology he was a philosopher. I dare say that Bernier knew well enough the hold that superstition had on his countrymen and perhaps did not intend us to conclude that they were superior in this respect to the Indians; the truth is that in his denunciations of astrology in Delhi we are not listening to the voice of the judicious traveller, but of the pupil of Gassendi; of the palladin of Rationalism who smote this mediæval superstition wherever it showed its horrid head, whether on the Pont-neuf or the great Maidan of Delhi. But we should bear in mind the state of contemporary opinion in Europe or we shall do less than justice to India in the seventeenth century.

The most noticeable difference between the society of Europe and India was due, of course, to the seclusion of women in the East. Bernier, we can infer, felt keenly the want of feminine society while he was in Delhi. The thought of the Pont-neuf is enough to remind him that there the handsome wives and daughters of the citizens perambulate the streets and this never happens in Asia. He made attempts to see them and mentions an artful stratagem by which he was able to see the faces of a few in Lahore. He would follow in the rear of a royal elephant as it passed down the narrow streets, its silver bells tinkling and the brocaded housing swaying as it moved; the women in the upper storey would fling their lattices open and lean forward to gaze at the splendid beast—all unconscious of the artful Bernier who was staring at them from the street below. In Kashmir he devised another method in concert with an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom he read the Persian poets. 'I purchased' he says, 'a large quantity of sweetmeats and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia, rich and eager to marry. As soon as he entered a house he distributed my sweetmeats among the children and then everybody was sure to flock around us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rupees out of my purse, but it left no doubt in my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmir as in any part of Europe.'

Like almost all travellers from the West Bernier was intensely curious to know what passed inside the walls of the zenana. To most Europeans the word zenana appears to fire a train of lascivious imagery and they straightway fancy all kinds of naughty doings; having observed correctly enough that most of the domestic work is done by women in the East, as in the West, they proceed at once to the unwarranted assumption that all the housemaids in a Muhammadan family are the master's concubines. Bernier's intimacy with Muhammadan society saved him from this gross error, but he would not have satisfied the taste of his age had he not told us some tittle-tattle about the ladies of the Palace at Delhi. He relates two stories about the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan, the sister of Aurangzeb, which need not detain us, for they are worthless,

merely bazaar gossip, but Bernier prefaces them with an observation which is plainly true and perhaps worth recording 'Love adventures are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they only excite merriment; they create a laugh and are forgotten; but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe;' and the two stories Bernier tells do in fact end in violent death.

I hope I shall not be thought guilty of defending a perverse paradox when I maintain that in the seventeenth century the Court of the Great Mogul was, as regards the relation of the sexes, not only outwardly more decent but intrinsically more moral than the Courts of France or England. The outward decorum of the Indian Court was perhaps an inevitable result of the seclusion of women. As no lady could appear in public, the only women to be seen were the dancing girls, called by Bernier *Kenchens*; it is about these women that he tells the only authentic story which has the least flavour of scandal and oddly enough the chief actor in this tale is a European. There resided at the Court of Jehangir (Aurangzeb's grandfather) a French doctor named Bernard: 'This man,' says Bernier, 'disregarded the value of money; what he received with one hand he gave away with the other; so that he was much beloved by everybody, especially by the *Kenchens* on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description, who nightly filled his house was a young and beautiful damsel remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother . . . never for a moment lost sight of her daughter and she resisted all the overtures and incessant solicitations of the court physician.' While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections Jehangir, at the Hall of Audience, once offered him a present before all the Omrahs by way of recompense for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the Seraglio. 'Your Majesty,' said Bernard, 'will not be offended if I refuse a gift so munificently offered, and implore that in lieu thereof Your Majesty would bestow on me the young *Kencheny* now waiting with others of her company to make the customary *salam*.' The whole assembly smiled at the refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a Muhammadan and a *Kencheny*; but Jehangir, who never felt any religious

scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him. 'Lift her on to the physician's shoulders' he said, 'and let him carry the *Kenchen* away! No sooner said than done! In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Bernard's back who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house.'

Bernier tells us that the austere Aurangzeb frowned upon 'the antics and follies' of the *Kenchens* and forbade them the private apartments of the palace; 'but complying with long established usage does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the Hall of Public Audience, where they make their *salam* from a certain distance and then immediately retire.'

Such gravity would certainly not have been to the taste of French or English Society; all the European memoirs of that time abound with anecdotes far more audacious than that of Bernard and the young *Kenchen*; I fancy that Tallemant des Réaux would have thought it far too insipid to deserve a place in his collection of *Historiettes*.

How slight were the restraints imposed by decorum upon our ancestors in the seventeenth century you may learn from the pages of Brantome or Pepys but so frank are these authors that it is impossible now a days to quote them textually.

Outward decorum does not of course always connote a high standard of behaviour and the relative ethics of Europe and India at this date must remain a matter of opinion; only with regard to the sovereigns do we possess sufficiently detailed information to make a precise comparison and neither continent would I imagine care to be judged by the behaviour of its monarch; certainly France and England have little to hope from concentrating attention on the conduct of Louis XIV and Charles II. A juster opinion could be based upon the behaviour of the courtiers and noblemen did we know as much about the private life of Delhi as we do of Paris and London. In one respect the available records reveal a marked difference of outlook which is perhaps worth considering. Nowhere in Mogul history can I find a parallel to the joyful alacrity with which the noblemen of France and England sacrificed the honour of their daughters to the king's pleasure. In both European countries they eagerly sought the opportunity of so doing; at an age when in our opinion they should still have been at school young girls were sent to Versailles or Whitehall to make their

fortunes at Court; and Saint Simon tells us that in numerous cases the avowed hope of their parents was that their girl might win the big prize and become the king's mistress. Nor was the moral standard of England one whit more severe. When Arabella Churchill became the mistress of James, Duke of York, Macaulay says that the only feeling of her parents 'seems to have been joyful surprise that so homely a girl should have attained such high preferment.'¹

Public opinion in Europe was hardly less complaisant when the king's fancy fell upon a married woman. When the father of the Marquis de Montespan heard of the love of Louis XIV for his daughter-in-law, he is said to have exclaimed 'God be praised; now Fortune is beginning to enter our house.' In the next century a strange light was thrown upon the ethical standards of our ancestors when Louis XV proposed to take as his mistress Madame d'Etioles; afterwards famous as the Marquise de Pompadour. The indignation of the nobility was then deeply moved, but it was not because the lady was already married but because she was not of noble blood. 'It seemed' as St. Beuve maliciously remarks 'that to become the king's mistress the first condition was to be a lady of quality and the coming of Madame Lenormant d'Etioles, of Mademoiselle Poisson, as maitresse-en-titre of the king created a complete revolution in the habits of the Court. The Maurepas and the Richelieus were outraged at the idea that a commoner, a grisette as she was called, should usurp the power hitherto reserved for the daughters of the aristocracy'.

There is not to my knowledge any evidence that complaisance was ever carried to this length at the Court of Delhi. There is as much evidence as you like that many of the Moghul Emperors indulged in every kind of sensual excess, but not that the Moghul grandees encouraged their sovereign to gratify his passions at the expense of their own wives and daughters, and that is the only claim I make on behalf of Indian society.

I have tried by an examination of the evidence of Bernier to leave you with the impression that Delhi in the seventeenth century did not compare unfavourably with Paris and London. If a student of comparative sociology could have travelled through India and Europe and produced an impartial report I do not know to which continent he

would have given the palm. I suspect that he would have said that valuable elements of civilization existed in both regions and that the peaceful development of both societies would enrich the world with a variety of culture. *Dis aliter visum*. The cultivated society that gathered about the throne of the Great Mogul was submerged in the hideous anarchy of the eighteenth century and a hundred years later India began to ascend the path of progress under other leaders and another inspiration.

¹ *History of England*, ch. iv.

The Great Civil War of Vijayanagara of 1614-1618

BY

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1. Alexander the Great is said to have exclaimed before his death that his funeral would be a bloody one. He foresaw the fratricidal war that actually broke out among his generals just after his death. The same could have been said by Veṅkaṭa II before breathing his last. In fact the Portuguese Viceroy had foreseen the civil war several years before¹ and Prince Raṅga himself had vainly renounced his rights on Veṅkaṭa II's death-bed as he was not willing to become the cause of blood-shed.² This second volume will commence with an account of this great civil war, compared by the *Rāmarājīyamu* to the Mahābhārata war.³ After it the Vijayanagara Empire will be but a shadow of what it had been during great Veṅkaṭa's lifetime.⁴ Prince Raṅga, in spite of his remonstrances, was rightly proclaimed king by his dying uncle Veṅkaṭa, and duly acknowledged by the nobles present at the touching ceremony.⁵ Accordingly, the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* records that after Veṅkaṭa II's death all the officers raised Sri Raṅga Rāya to the throne.⁶ It seems, however, that from the first moment not all the nobles recognized the new sovereign; for Fr. Barradas explicitly records that 'all came to him (Sri Raṅga) to offer their allegiance except three,' and after mentioning them he adds: 'they joined together and swore never to do homage to the new king, but

¹ From Philip III to the Viceroy Don Lourenco de Tavora, Lisboa, February 21, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 359; from Philip III to the Viceroy Lisboa, March 7, 1613, *I.H.R.I.*, M.S. section.

² Cf. Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, i, ch. xxiv, No. 7.

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁴ Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 55, note, calls Veṅkaṭa II 'the last of his race.' He died childless, indeed, but his successors belonged to the same family.

⁵ Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 287.

[illegible]

on the contrary, to raise in his place the putative son of the deceased king.' ¹

The new Emperor of Vijayanagara, Raṅga II, was married to one Obamma, the daughter of Jilleḷla Narasimha. ² The *Rāmarājīyāṁu* mentions five children of this union: Rāma Dēva Rāya, who had to succeed him, Siṅga, Rayappa, Ayyana, and Channa. ³ Fr. Barradas also refers to five children, three sons and two daughters, and according to him Rāma was the second son. ⁴ Again, the Utsur grant of Raṅga III speaks of this Rāma as a son among others of Raṅga Rāya (II), and grandson of Rāma Rāya, the brother of Veṅkaṭa (II). ⁵

We have not been able to gather much information about Raṅga II's rule. The Kuniyur plates of the time of Veṅkaṭa III call him 'famous'. ⁶ In fact, Queyroz tells us that 'he was a prudent man', ⁷ and his renunciation of his rights seems to confirm this statement. Anyhow the same Queyroz informs us of a fact that shows some lack of prudence in Government affairs. Sri Raṅga had, before his enthronement, been in Tanjore, where he made the acquaintance of several Balalas of Jaffanapatam. These Balalas were appointed to various posts of Government shortly after his succession. This was the cause of much discontent among the nobles of the court, who naturally disliked to be ruled by foreigners. ⁸ Barradas mentions likewise another fact that undoubtedly spread dissatisfaction in the

¹ *Relação de varias novas*. A photograph of this document is in 'The St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute', Bombay, MS. section. I found in the Jesuit Archives this account of the civil war of 1614 similar to the one entitled by Sewell 'The Story of Barradas.' This Barradas was Fr. Manuel Barradas, Provincial for a time of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. The account I referred to does not mention Fr. Barradas at all. But since the other copy of the *Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, is said to be written by him, I have no doubt about the authorship of this. The slight differences between this copy of the Jesuit Archives and the translation given by Sewell seem to be mere mistakes of the translator. I followed Sewell's version, excepting when reaching these passages.

² *Rāmarājīyāṁu*; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.* Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A.S. of I., Report, 1911-12*, p. 188.

⁴ *Relação*, loc. cit.

⁵ Butterworth, *Inscriptions of Nellore District*, I, p. 46, v. 26.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 253, v. 21.

⁷ Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 309.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

country. 'The new king,' says he, 'began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress, but keeping others by his side.'¹

This inconsiderate conduct of Raṅga precipitated the rebellion of Jagga Rāya.

2. This chief was one of the three who did not pay homage to the king at the time of his accession. He is called by Barradas 'the chief of the conspiracy,'² and is also mentioned as such by both the *Rāmarājīyamu*,³ and the *Chātupadyaratnākaram*.⁴ He was the brother of queen Bayamma and hence uncle of her supposed son.⁵ The *Sahityaratnākara* says only that he was 'a relative and servant of the Emperor of Karnata.'⁶ He belonged to the Kshatriya caste and was the chief of the Gobburi family.⁷ According to an inscription of Atmakur Taluk of the year 1612-13 the Anjaneya temple was built by Bhava Siripurapu Yatni Manirāju, younger brother of Jagga Rāju. The inscription mentions both their grandparents, Viramarāju and Virama, and their parents, Lakna and Virama.⁸ Barradas says of him that 'he had six hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and put twenty thousand men into the field.'⁹

The second of the rebel chiefs mentioned by Barradas in Tima Naique (Tirumala Nāyaka) who 'had four hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and kept up an army of twelve thousand men.'¹⁰ The third chief of the conspiracy is called by Barradas, Maca Raju (Maka

¹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ *Litterae Annuae of the Malabar Province*, I.H.R.I., MS. section. Sewell, p. 223, while translating Barradas' account, calls Jagga Rāya, the father of Bayamma. But the unsigned copy of the same account I found in the Jesuit Archives clearly calls Bayamma 'the sister of Jaga Raju.' Naturally Kuppuswami Sastri, *History of the Nayaks of Tanjore*, p. 8, and V. Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District*, Ind. Ant., xxxviii, p. 95, note 43, call Jagga Rāya, the brother of the queen Bayamma. The strange thing is that the same Sewell, p. 224, calls the pretender a nephew of the same Jagga Rāya. This seems to imply that Bayamma was sister of the latter.

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.

⁷ Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, Q. J. M. S., xiii, p. 742.

⁸ Butterworth, *Inscriptions*, i, pp. 332-3.

⁹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Rāja).¹ He is also mentioned by the *Rāmarājīyamu*,² and by the *Chātupadyaratnākaram*.³ 'He had a revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados and mustered six thousand men.'⁴ Mr. H. Krishna Sastri suggests that this Maka Rāja may be one of the Karvetnagar chiefs who were subordinate to Vijayanagara.⁵

These three chiefs were those who did not give obedience to Raṅga at the time of his accession, and swore to raise the putative son of Veṅkaṭa II to the throne. It seems that they, moreover, spread the idea that Raṅga did not belong to the Āravīḍu family, for in an apocryphal prophecy, written, according to Col. McKenzie, probably in 1630, after mentioning Veṅkaṭa II's reign, it is added: 'after him, of the kings of the Chundra (Chandra) race none will remain, and foreign kings will rule the land, deriving their authority from no legal right. First Chicka Rayaloo (Raṅga) will rule,' etc.⁶ Such an erroneous idea was held by some people of the Empire more than ten years after. This shows that it was much propagated when the succession to the throne was discussed. Now, only the enemies of Raṅga II could elaborate such a shameful concoction.

Anyhow, the three rebels did not openly show their disaffection till the following opportunity offered itself. Barradas' account is as follows: 'The new king displeased three of his captains; the first, the Dalāvay, who is the commander-in-chief and has five thousand cruzados of revenue, because the king desired to take from him two fortresses to be conferred on two of his sons; the second, his minister, whom he asked to pay one hundred thousand cruzados, out of the great sums he had stolen from the old king, his uncle; the third, Narparaju (Narapa Razu), since he (the king) demanded the jewels which one of his (Narapa's) cousins, a wife of the old king, had given to him. All these three replied to the king that they would obey his commands within two days; but in the meanwhile they secretly plotted with Jaga

¹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁴ *Relação*, loc. cit. Kuppuswami Sastri, op. cit., p. 86, says that Maka Raja was the lord of 20,000 soldiers and the lord of a province in Karnataka. but no reference to a source is there given.

⁵ H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, loc. cit., p. 188, note 3.

⁶ Campbell, *Teloogoo Grammar*, p. xi, note

Raju to raise up the latter's nephew to be king.' Barradas does not mention the names of the Dalāvay and the minister who joined Jagga Rāya in the rebellion. They may be some of the chiefs whose names we get acquainted with by reading other sources. For instance the *Rāmarājīyam* records the three following names which have not been identified as yet, Chenchu, Virappa and Yachana,¹ and the *Chāṭupadyaratnākaram* also gives the name of one Rāvillā Veṅka.² This shows at least that there were some other nobles besides these six in the conspiracy, a fact pointed out also by the Viceroy of Goa, who announcing to his sovereign the death of Veṅkaṭa II says in general that, 'the grandees were displeased with the king appointed by the deceased monarch.'³

3. All these conspirators marvellously succeeded in their plot. Fr. Barradas continues his narrative as follows: 'Jaga Raju sent to tell the king that he wished to do homage to him, and so also did Tima Naique and Maca Raju. The poor king allowed them to enter. Jaga Raju selected five thousand men, and leaving the rest outside the city, he entered the fortress with these chosen ones. The two other conspirators did the same, each of them bringing with them two thousand choice men. The fortress has two walls. Arrived at the first gate Jaga Raju left there a thousand men, and at the second a thousand more. The Dalāvay seized two other gates of the fortress, on the other side. There being some tumult, and a cry of treason being raised, the king ordered the palace gates to be closed. But the conspirators as soon as they reached them tried to break them down. Maca Raju stopped their work, crying out that he would deliver up the king to them; and he did so, sending the king a message that if he surrendered he would pledge his word to do him no ill, but that the nephew of Jaga Raju must be the king, he being the son of the late king. The poor surrounded (Raṅga), seeing himself without followers and without any possibility of rescue, accepted the promise, and with his wife and sons left the tower in which he was staying. He past through the midst of all with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast.

¹ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31, 1614, *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

All did him reverence with hands joined over their heads, but he did not salute any one.'¹

Barradas does not say in which fortress Raṅga was residing. We suppose it was Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire. The circumstance that the fortress had two walls, seems to confirm this opinion. In fact two different walls may still be seen in the Vellore fortress. Nor it is said to which place the deposed king retired. The slight information given about this place both by Barradas and the poems only warrant the opinion that the new residence of the unfortunate king was another fortress, perhaps Chandragiri.

Such was the end of Raṅga II's reign. How long did it last? We have very few data to ascertain it. Barradas after having spoken of the acknowledgment of Raṅga by the majority of the nobles, says that 'in a very few days' there occurred the opportunity for rebellion we have narrated just now.² The *Raghunāthabhyudayam* agrees with this writer. In this poem the ambassadors of Vijayanagara informed Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore that Jagga Rāya's rebellion took place 'after the new emperor had ruled for some time.'³ From these two statements and from the probable date of Raṅga II's murder, to be discussed later on, we may conclude that the real reign of this emperor could not last even a month.

4. After the deposition of Raṅga there soon began the sad events and bloody dissensions which the Portuguese Viceroy speaks of in the above-mentioned letter to his sovereign.⁴ First of all, the coronation of the intruder took place in the fort of Vellore. 'The king having left,' says Barradas, 'Jaga Raju called his nephew and crowned him, causing all the captains present to do him homage; and he, finding himself now crowned king, entered the palace and took possession of it and of all the riches and precious stones he found there. If report says truly,' adds here Barradas, 'he found in diamonds alone three large chests full of them.'⁵ I could not trace at all the name of this usurper. In fact he appears to have been a puppet king. The

¹ *Relação*, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 287.

⁴ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo D'Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31, 1614. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques*, ii, p. 170, mentions also these dissensions after the death of Veṅkaṭa II.

⁵ *Relação*, *loc. cit.*

real ruler of the empire from this time till the battle of Topur was Jagga Rāya himself.

One of the first acts of his government proves his political talent. In order to please the deposed king, who had not yet been imprisoned, and to prevent any possible attempt on his part of reconquering the throne, he gave half of the imperial revenue to Raṅga, treating him with great consideration.¹ Anyhow, the plan did not work successfully to Jagga Rāya's wishes, because Raṅga soon tried to rise against the intruder.² And it was then that the poor deposed emperor 'was rigorously imprisoned'³ 'under the strictest guard.'⁴

The result of Raṅga's imprisonment was a general desertion of his followers, as recorded by Barradas. 'And he was deserted by all save by one captain whose name was Echama Naique (Yachama Nāyaka), who was outside the fortress with eight thousand men and refused to join Jaga Raju. Indeed, hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect more troops.'⁵

5. Who was this valiant chief who remained loyal to his lawful sovereign? We spoke of him while narrating the history of Veṅkaṭa II's reign.⁶ He belonged to the Kalahasti family and was the feudatory chief of Veṅkaṭagiri. He is also known by the names of Pedda Yachama Naidu and Yacha Surudu. His parents were Kastūri-raṅga and Veṅkaṭamma. He had two brothers Raṅga and Siṅga and a sister named Akkamamba who was married to one Chenna. He had a brother-in-law who dedicated to him the poem *Bahulāśvacharitam*, from which we gathered most of these family details. The poem also records that he fought with Jagga Rāya.⁷ He seems to have received the Permadi country as a gift from Veṅkaṭa II, to whose memory he now proved loyal by opposing the designs of Jagga Rāya.⁸

¹ Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 310.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Relação, loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cf. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, I., ch. xv, Nos. 11 and 12.

⁷ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305.

⁸ Cf. Vadivelu, *The Ruling Chiefs*, p. 490. Kuppaswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 8 states that Yachama Nayaka was at the head of 8,000 soldiers.

The rebel chief, however, expected to attract him to his nephew's party. 'Jaga Raju sent a message to this man,' says Barradas, 'bidding him come and do homage to his nephew, and saying that if he refused he would destroy him. Echama Naique made answer that he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and so far as destroying him went, would he (Jagga Rāya) come out and meet him, for he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed. When this reply was received Jaga Raju made use of a thousand gentle expressions and promised honours and revenues, but nothing could turn him. Nay he (Yachama Nāyaka) took the field with his forces and offered battle to Jaga Raju, saying that since the latter had all the captains on his side, let him come and fight and beat him if he could, and then his nephew would become king unopposed. In the end Jaga Raju despairing (of securing Yachama Nāyaka's allegiance) turned his attention to the other captains of the kingdom and won them over by gifts and promises.'¹

6. In the meanwhile, however, Yachama Nāyaka was not idle. He earnestly attempted to obtain access to the imprisoned Raṅga II, but finding this impossible he thought of winning over one of Raṅga's sons in order to encourage his troops and also perhaps in order to save the royal offspring in the case of a prospective regicide. His designs were successfully carried out in the following manner. 'He sent and summoned the mainato (washerman) who washed the imprisoned king's clothes,' says Barradas, 'and promised him great things if he would bring him the king's middle son. The mainato gave his word that he would do so if the matter were kept secret. When the day arrived on which it was customary for him to take the clean clothes to the king, he took them (into the prison), and with them an olla from Echama Naique, who earnestly begged the king to send him one at least of the three sons whom he had with him, assuring him of the loyalty of the mainato. The king did so, giving up his second son aged twelve years, for the mainato did not dare to take the eldest, who was eighteen years old. He handed over the boy and the mainato put him in amongst the dirty linen, warning him not to move and not to cry out even if he felt any pain. In order

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

more safely to pass the guards, he placed on the top of a stick some clothes stained with blood (ac si essent mulieris menstruatae), such as every one would avoid; and then taking the bundle over his shoulders, went out crying "talla, talla" (*challa, challa*), which means "keep at a distance, keep at a distance," on account of the linen he was carrying on the top of the stick. All therefore gave place to him, and he went out of the fortress to his own house. Here he kept the prince in hiding for three days, and at the end of them he took him up to Echama Naique, who was a league distant from the city, and he (the prince) was received by that chief and by all his army with great rejoicing.¹

This Jesuit account of the rescue of Prince Rāma sounded incredible to Mr. Robert Sewell. 'How much of the story told is true,' says he, 'we cannot as yet decide.'² The story, however, is now confirmed by the *Rāmarājiyamu*,³ the *Sāhithyaratnākara*⁴ and the *Raghunāthabhyudayam*.⁵ The last of these poems specially records that the boy 'was very skilfully rescued from the palace, in the dead of night by a washerman.' The same is stated in one of the annual letters of the Malabar Jesuits.⁶ Queyroz similarly says that the prince escaped 'hidden within the linen of a washerman, called maynato.'⁷ Captain Pedro Barretto de Rezende, Private Secretary to the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Linhares, also mentioned the fact some years later in his *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*: 'On one occasion,' says he, 'he (the Emperor of Vijayanagara) had to escape in a bundle of soiled linen which a washerman, called in these parts Mainato, was taking to wash.'⁸

7. The news of Prince Rāma's escape caused a great surprise and a tremendous disappointment to Jagga Rāya and his followers. The prison hardships of Emperor Raṅga were naturally increased

¹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

² Sewell, p. 232

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁶ *Litteræ Annuae of the Malabar Province*, 1617, *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

⁷ Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 310 'On account of this', Queyroz says, 'he was called the King Maynato.'

⁸ The MS. of this work is in the British Museum, Sloane Collection. Cf. H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i, p. 299.

after this event. Both facts are narrated by Barradas as follows: 'The news (of Rāma's flight) then spread abroad and came to the ears of Jaga Raju, who commanded the palace to be searched, and found that it was true. He was so greatly affected that he was like mad for several days; and such was his fury that he doubled the guards on the imprisoned king, closed the gates and commanded that no one should give him aught to eat but rice and *bredos*.'¹

In spite of this, the result of the escape of Rāma in his father's party was encouraging and promising. 'As soon as it was known that Echama Naique had possession of the king's son, there went over to him four of Jaga Raju's captains with eight thousand men; so that he had in all sixteen thousand to defend the rightful king. Hence, he took measures for effecting the latter's escape. He selected from among all his soldiers twenty men, who promised to dig an underground passage, which should reach the palace where the king lay in prison. In pursuance of this resolve they went to the fortress, offered themselves to the Dalāvay for entry into his service, received pay, and after some days began to dig the passage so as to reach the king's prison. The king, seeing soldiers enter thus into his apartment was amazed, and even more so when he saw them prostrate themselves on the ground and deliver him an *olla* from Echama Naique, in which he begged him to trust himself to these men, as they would escort him out of the fortress. The king consented. He took off his robes hastily and covered himself with a simple cloth; and bidding farewell to his wife, his sons and his daughters, told them to have no fear, for that he, when free, would save them all. But it so happened that at this very moment one of the soldiers who were guarding the palace by night with torches fell into a hole, and at his cries the rest ran up, and on digging they discovered the underground passage. They entered it and got as far as the palace, arriving there just when the unhappy (king) was descending into it in order to escape. He was seized, and the alarm given to Jaga Raju, who sent him (the king) to another place, more rigorous and

¹ This word is translated 'coarse vegetables,' by Sewell, p. 227. *Relação*, loc. cit.

narrower, and with more guards, so that the poor king despaired of ever escaping.' ¹

It is really a matter of regret that Barradas should not say in which place the king was confined on this occasion, because the same place witnessed the murder of Raṅga II some days after. We shall discuss the local circumstances and details given by different sources, when dealing with the latter event.

When confined to this second and rigorous prison, Raṅga II seems to have been downcast. Anyhow Yachama Nāyaka's plans for rescuing his sovereign were not yet over. Barradas tells us that 'he when seeing that his first stratagem had failed, bribed heavily a captain of five hundred men who was in the fortress, to slay the guards as soon as some good occasion offered, and to deliver up the fortress (to him). This man, who was called Itobleza (Iti Obaleśa), finding one day that Jaga Raju had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief who was coming to offer his submission, and that there only remained in the fortress five thousand men, in less than half an hour slew the guards, seized three gates, and sent a message to Echama Naique telling him to come at once and seize the fortress. But Jaga Raju was the more expeditious; he returned with all his forces, entered by a postern gate, of the existence of which Itobleza had not been warned, and put to death the captain and his five hundred soldiers.' ²

8. This second attempt at rescuing the king precipitated his final ruin. The machiavellic Jagga Rāya enraged at the news of it 'resolved to slay the imprisoned king and all his family in order to strengthen the party of his nephew.' ³ As to the way how the crime was committed, there is much discrepancy among the sources. Barradas relates that the poor king was forced to commit suicide after having killed his wife and children save his eldest son, who also killed himself, and the youngest daughter, who was slaughtered by a brother of Jagga Rāya.⁴ But I prefer the authority of two poems, the *Raghunātha-*

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Barradas' account runs as follows: 'He (Jagga Rāya) entrusted this business to a brother of his, named China Obraju (Chinna Obo Rāya). The latter went to the prison and told the poor king that he must slay himself and that, if he would not, he himself would kill him with stabs of his dagger. The prisoner attempted to excuse himself, saying that he knew nothing of the attempted revolt.

dhhyudayam and the *Sāhityaratnākara*. They give us the local tradition, much more reliable than an account, though contemporary, written by a European at Cochin. Moreover both poems marvellously agree with each other, and are supported by Fr. Queyroz, whose account, though much confused, shows the king killed by somebody else's hand.¹

According to the *Sāhityaratnākara* Jagga Rāya along with his friends went to the Emperor as if for some act of service. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* adds that the younger brother of Jagga Rāya—most likely the one mentioned by Barradas under the name of Chinna Obo Rāya—was also accompanying him. The words of the *Sāhityaratnākara* seem to mean that the real purpose of Jagga Rāya was concealed to all excepting his brother and his intimate friends. Other people supposed that he was going to do an act of service to the unfortunate prisoner. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* adds moreover that they entered the prison at night, and the *Sāhityaratnākara* records that they waited till the Emperor was asleep. The coward treachery of Jagga Rāya was thus consummated. Then they murdered the Emperor Raṅga with his wife, his children and his friends. By the last word the *Sāhityaratnākara* perhaps means some of the nobles or courtiers who had remained faithful to Raṅga and who were imprisoned with him.²

As regards the fortress where this regicide took place, Queyroz says that it was committed 'at Bisnaga.'³ This seems to mean that Raṅga was murdered at Vellore itself, for the capital of the Empire,

But seeing the determination of Chinabraju (sic), who told him that he must necessarily die, either by his own hand or by that of another—a pitiful case and one that cannot be related without sorrow—the poor king called the queen, his wife, and after he had spoken to her a while he beheaded her. Then he sent for his youngest son, and did the same to him. He put to death similarly his little daughter. Afterwards he sent for his eldest son, who was already married, and commanded him to slay his wife, which he did by beheading her. This done, he (the king) took a long sword of four fingers' breadth, and throwing himself upon it, breathed his last; and his son, heir to the throne, did the same to himself in imitation of the king. There remained only a little daughter, whom the king could not bring himself to slay; but China Obraju killed her, so that none of the family should remain alive of the royal blood, and the throne should be secured for his nephew.' *Relação, loc. cit.*

¹ Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 310.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, pp. 273-4, 288.

³ Queyroz, *loc. cit.*

first Penukonda, then Chandragiri, and finally Vellore, had been successively called after the name of the first capital Vijayanagara.¹ The *Sahityaratnākara* confirms this when saying that Jagga Rāya assassinated the Emperor 'in his capital.'² Indeed, Barradas himself when narrating the second attempt to rescue the Emperor says that Iteobleza took the opportunity of 'finding one day that Jaga Raju had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief.' This evidently proves that Jagga Rāya was always in the same fortress in which the king was confined. Now we cannot suppose that in such turbulent times Jagga Rāya would abandon his young nephew at Vellore in order to watch over his rival's prison. Specially Jagga Rāya himself being the *de facto* ruler of the Empire. In fact Vellore, the capital of the Empire, was the best place to keep a watch over the deposed king. He could be confined there in a 'more rigorous and narrow' prison 'with more guards' than in any other place of the Empire.³

We have not been able to ascertain the time of this murder. Anyhow, from the study of some of the sources we may point out a probable date. The apocryphal prophecy mentioned above, though not accurate as regards dates, assigns four months of reign to Raṅga II.⁴ Though this period seems very short, it is now certain that Raṅga's reign was not so long. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, writing to King Philip III on December 31, 1614, announces the regicide: 'The one (Raṅga II) appointed by him (Venkātā II) did not please the nobles, who have killed him.'⁵ The fact therefore reached the Viceroy's ears at Goa at the end of December, 1614. Hence the event must have taken place the latest at the end of November. Epigraphy also confirms this date. A grant of one Mumadi Tammapa Gauda, son of Immadi Tammapa Gauda and grandson of Chikka Raya Tammapa Gauda, was made in the Anekal

¹ Cf. Heras, *The Āraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, i, ch. lxv, No. 7.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.

³ Sewell, p. 228, when relating the second imprisonment of the king, says that he was sent 'to another place more confined and narrower.' The word 'confined' does not give the exact meaning of the Portuguese one 'apertado' of my account of Barradas. Rigorous connotes the Portuguese idea much better.

⁴ Campbell, *Teloogoo Grammar*, p. xi, note.

⁵ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31, 1614. *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

Taluk, Bangalore District, in 1614, 'when the Rājadirāja Vīra Rāma Dēva Mahārāya, seated on the jewel throne in Penukonda, was ruling the Empire.'¹ The beginning of the reign of Rāma at the end of 1614, proves that his father was already dead some time before.² We may therefore place the date of Raṅga II's murder at the end of November 1614. Now if we remember that Venkātā II died in the beginning of October of 1614, we shall realize that the reign of Raṅga II lasted about a month and a half.³

9. After the murder of Raṅga II the whole Empire was naturally upset. Factions sprang up everywhere. Both armies were shaken with horror. The nobility was afraid of the rising power of that bloody tyrant who headed the usurper's party.⁴ Fr. Barradas speaks at length of the consequences of this crime. His words are the following: 'Some of the captains were struck with horror at this dreadful deed, and were so enraged at its cruelty that they went over to Echama Naique, resolved to defend the boy who had been rescued by the mainato and who alone remained of all the royal family. Echama Naique furious at this shameful barbarity and confident in the justice of his cause, selected ten thousand of his best soldiers, and with them offered battle to Jaga Raju, who had more than sixty thousand men and a number of elephants and horses. He (Yachama) sent him a message in this form: 'Now that thou hast murdered thy king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops; kill the boy and me, and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne.' Jaga Raju tried to evade this challenge for some time; but finding that Echama Naique insisted, he decided to fight him, trusting that with so great a number of men he would easily not only be victorious, but also able to capture both Echima (*sic*) Naique and the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, ix, An, 47. In *Ep. Carn.* vi, Cm, 103, there is another inscription of 1615-16 in which the king is called Virapratāpa Sri Ramāchandarārāya. Certainly there is an inscription of one King Raṅga, dated 1619, in Rangacharya, ii, p. 1212, but such an inscription only proves either mistake or ignorance.

² Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, loc. cit., p. 189; Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District*, loc. cit., p. 95.

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, loc. cit., p. 742, says that 'perhaps ruled for a year, it could hardly be longer.' It is now doubtless that Raṅga's reign was much shorter.

⁴ Cr. letter referred to in note 5, p. 176.

king's son. He took the field therefore with all his troops. Echa (*sic*) Naique entrusted a force of ten thousand men to the prince; they remained a league away, and with the other ten thousand he not only offered battle, but was the first to attack; and that with such fury and violence that Jaga Raju with all his people, as well as his own nephew, turned their backs to their enemies, and many met their deaths in the flight. Echama Naique entered in triumph the tents of Jaga Raju, finding in them all the royal insignia of the old king, and these he delivered at once to the boy son of Chicarajula (Raṅga II), proclaiming him rightful heir and king of all the Empire of Bisnaga. The spoil which he took was very large, for in precious stones alone they say that he found two millions worth. After this victory many of the captains joined themselves to Echima (*sic*) Naique, with the effect that in a short time he had with him fifty thousand fighting men in his camp, while Jaga Raju with only fifteen thousand, fled to the jungles.¹

10. This long quotation of Barradas shows the disastrous effect of Raṅga II's murder for the part of the intruder. Many chiefs deserted him, his army was thoroughly defeated, the royal insignia were taken from him and his partisans had to take refuge in the forest. While his enemy won a glorious victory, after which the young prince was duly proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara, and joined by many of the chiefs who had formerly been in favour of the intruder.

The *Rāmarājīyam* mentions four of these chiefs who were at this time defending the cause of Rāma II.² Two of them Rayappa and Ayyana have not been hitherto identified. The third, Singa Nṛpati seems to be the youngest brother of Yachama himself, spoken of in the *Bahulāśvacharitam*.³ The fourth of these chiefs, named Chenna, is undoubtedly the brother-in-law of Yachama Nāyaka married to his sister Akkamamba. In the same poem, *Bahulāśvacharitam*, Chenna is said to have fought with the Pandya,⁴ viz., the Nāyak of Madura, who in fact joined the army of Jagga Rāya after this defeat of the latter.

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

² Somebody has suggested that these four chiefs were the brothers of Rāma II himself, for all of them are compared in the poem to the five Pandavas. This opinion is inconsistent with the murder of the royal family as well as with the age of the brothers of the Emperor.

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 304.

⁴ *Ibid.*

We spoke at length of this Chenna when relating the capture of Vellore by the army of Venkaṭa II. Chenna was then the generalissimo of the army.¹ These and some other captains of Yachama Nāyaka were those 'grateful officers of the late Emperor (Venkaṭa II) who took up the child's cause, according to the *Raghunāthābhya-dayam*.²

To strengthen their army more and more all these chiefs resolved to request the Nāyak of Tanjore to take up likewise the cause of the fugitive Emperor. The envoys they sent to the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, according to the same poem, demanded of him 'to rescue the Empire once more from destruction as he had done before in his youth, and to destroy the party of Jagga Rāya.'³ Yachama Nāyaka himself wished to go to Tanjore for the same purpose. The *Sāhityaratnākara* says that he with other chiefs were actually 'proceeding to the Nāyak of Tanjore for help.'⁴ Anyhow, before his reaching Tanjore, an emissary of Raghunātha arrived at his court and announced to him that Yachama 'is now proceeding to the south for assistance. He requests to be assisted by you in the cause of your common master, the Karnata Emperor.'⁵ After this, new messengers brought further information to Raghunātha. The *Raghunāthābhya-dayam* says that they told him that 'the traitors to the Empire had effected a junction with the rulers of Tunḍira (Jinji) and Pandya (Madura), and with their armies were hunting for the late Emperor's surviving son to put him to death.'⁶ This piece of news is also confirmed by the *Sāhityaratnākara*.⁷

¹ Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, i, ch. xv, No. 11.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 288.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 273. This poem says that the Pārasikas (Portuguese) were allied with the Nāyak of Madura in favour of the nephew of Jagga Rāya. I feel sure that the Portuguese did not join this war at all. Otherwise, both Fr. Barradas and the Portuguese Viceroy would have said so. Just the contrary, Barradas records towards the end of his account, a portion not published by Sewell, that the Portuguese Viceroy Ruy Dias de Sampayo made an agreement with the party of the young king, rescued by the mainato. *Relação, loc. cit.* This is an evident confusion between this war of Raghunātha and the one he held at Jaffanapatam, of which we shall speak later on. In this second war the Portuguese did certainly fight against the Nāyak.

Upon hearing such information the generous Nāyak of Tanjore resolved to join the cause of Rāma II. The young Emperor's father, the unfortunate Raṅga II, when a prince during Venkāṭa II's life, had spent long periods in the kingdom of Tanjore on account of the turbulent discussions about the inheritance of the crown held at the court of Vijayanagara. He had become a bosom friend of Raghunātha Nāyaka from whom he had received several favours.¹ Naturally this friendship obliged the Nāyak of Tanjore to join the party of Raṅga II's son, young Rāma II. Hence, according to the *Sāhityaratnākara*, 'he decided to proceed to Kumbhakonam to effect a junction with the Emperor's son Rāma Rāya, and celebrate his coronation at this place. The king then vowed that he would proceed against the Pandya and his allies, and having captured the chiefs in the battlefield, would take away all the wealth in the camp and set their empty camp on fire. He would also destroy in battle Jagga Rāya and his other allies. Speaking thus, Raghunātha entrusted the whole management of the kingdom to his minister Govinda Dikshita, and in great anger ordered his army to get ready for the march. Before marching 'Raghunātha vowed to his favourite God Raghu-tilaka that he would build for him a temple at his enemy's capital if he blessed him with success in the war.'²

11. While thus Yachama Nāyaka's army was supported by such a chief as the Nāyak of Tanjore, Jagga Rāya was not idle in the forests, where he retired after his defeat. 'Here, however,' says Barradas, 'he was joined by more followers,'³ and according to Barradas himself one of these who espoused the cause of the intruder, at this time was 'the great Naique of Madure' (the Nāyak of Madura).⁴ We have seen that both the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* confirm this piece of information. The Nāyak of Madura was at this time Muttu Virappa Nāyaka.

Both these poems as well as the *Bahulāsvacharitam* and the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka referred also to the Nāyak of Jinji⁵ as one of the allies of Jagga Rāya whose name,

¹ Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 309.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 274.

³ *Relação*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 255, 274, 289 and 305.

however, is not mentioned by Barradas. He was Krishnappa Nāyaka.

12. It was at the end of 1614 or beginning of 1615, long after Raṅga II's murder, that the three great Nāyaks of the Tamil country joined the fight between the rightful Emperor and the intruder. From this time up to the end of 1616, when Fr. Barradas wrote his account, we have very slight information concerning the war. Barradas states only that 'the war was continued these two years.'¹ This supposes that there were skirmishes, if not real battles, between both parties during these two years. 'But the party of the rescued boy (Rāma),' adds Barradas, 'has always been gaining strength.'² A Jesuit letter of Malabar of 1617 informs us that the Nāyak of Madura during this time had ordered to raze all the houses of several villages to the ground after having suffered some reverses in the war.³ This shows an advance of the enemy into the Madura Kingdom. Its Nāyak did not permit his enemies to enjoy their conquests, and ravaged the whole country before retiring. It was then most likely that at the instance of Jagga Rāya, the Nāyak of Madura cut the great anicut across the Kaveri in order to prevent their enemies to advance further south, as related in the *Sāhityaratnākara*.⁴ In fact the above-mentioned letter of the Malabar Jesuits points out a further change of fortune. Indeed, it states that the Nāyak of Madura had afterwards become more powerful by mustering more soldiers, while his enemies were retreating northwards forced by the scarcity of water.⁵ The *Sāhityaratnākara* tells us that at this time 'Jagga Rāya was wandering with his forces near Srirangam.'⁶

But this apparent success of the intruder's party did not last long. For at the end of 1616, when Barradas finished his account, 'the Naique of Tanjore though not so great was, with the aid of the young king, getting the upper hand.' 'Indeed,' continues the Jesuit

¹ *Relação*, *loc. cit.* Sewell, p. 230, adds here : 'fortune favouring now one side now the other.' The account in my possession does not refer to such changes of fortune. It says only that 'some captains favoured one of the parties and others the other.'

² *Ibid.*

³ *Litterae Annuae of the Malabar Province*, 1617, *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

⁴ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 274.

⁵ *Litterae Annuae of the Malabar Province*, 1617, *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, *loc. cit.*

writer, 'they are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichēnepali (Trichinopoly), which may contain not only a hundred thousand soldiers, as each of the parties has, but several millions of people.'¹ Such is the end of Barradas' account as far as this war is concerned. It is a matter of regret that he did not continue his minute narrative till the end of the war. I could not find any other writing about it in the Jesuit Archives.

13. Raghunātha Nāyaka, after leaving Tanjore, marched his army westwards to Topur (Tohur) which was the headquarters of Jagga Rāya's army. Tohur is a village situated on the southern bank of the Kaveri, about two miles from the great anicut.² When reaching its neighbourhood, Raghunātha's army encamped at the village of Palavānēri.³ He then sent orders to every captain in his army to be ready for the next morning for he wanted to deliver the attack upon his enemy without further delay. Sentinels were placed at several posts in the field during the night, and the whole camp was lit up with torches and watch fires to prevent any surprise of the enemy.⁴

On the morrow, after the usual morning prayers and worship, Raghunātha made some gifts to the Brahmans and received the blessings from them. After taking his breakfast shortly after sunrise, he entered the howda called Vijayagaruḍādri over the state elephant Rāmabhadra. He was attended by his son Ramabhadra. On one side of him rode upon another elephant the town Madālaśis, Purushottamaya and Narasappa. On the other side rode upon another elephant the two officers Asteppa and Alagappa. Immediately after them upon another elephant rode the young Emperor Rāma Dēva Rāya. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka which we are now extracting does not mention at all Yachama Nāyaka, probably not to shade the glory of Raghunātha, the hero of the poem. But we cannot suppose that he abandoned his royal protégé in this supreme hour of his contest for the throne. Jagga Rāya was most likely in the same howda with the young Emperor. Then followed a number of

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

² *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

subordinate chiefs who had joined Rāma II after seeing his cause supported by the Nāyak of Tanjore.¹

According to the usual poetical oriental manner, the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* compares the meeting of both armies to the meeting of the eastern ocean with the western. The battle was opened with an artillery duel. After this the Tanjore cavalry proceeded in a semi-circular formation and charged the enemy. Soon the infantry joined the action. 'The troops of the Pandya (the Nāyak of Madura) could not stand the attack, broke and fled from the field.' Then Jagga Rāya enraged with fury on seeing the defeat of his ally, advanced against Raghunātha of Tanjore. 'The sight of the traitor Jagga Rāya, made Raghunātha very angry.' The infantry of the imperial army checked Jagga Rāya's advance. A bloody fight ensued. During it Jagga Rāya and some of his relatives and attendants were killed by the spears of the Tanjore infantry.²

The defeat and death of Jagga Rāya marked the beginning of a general flight in the intruder's army. Maka Raju fled away with his followers. When he saw the troops of his allies flying from the field,

¹ *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Sources*, pp. 259 and 269.

The chiefs mentioned by the poem are the following :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1 Kōṇēti Kondrāju. | 16 Gaḍi Timma Rāja. |
| 2 Kaṭṭa Raṅgapa Rāju. | 17 The Chiefs of Kāluva. |
| 3 Kastūri Rāju. | 18 The Chiefs of Cuddapah. |
| 4 Sampeta Nāga Rāju of Mittāpalem. | 19 The Pālela Chiefs. |
| 5 Rāma Rāju. | 20 The Paṇṭa Chiefs. |
| 6 Raghunātha Rāju of Owk. | 21 Sripati Rāju and his mercenaries. |
| 7 Obala Rāju, who is called the | 22 The Jūpalli people. |
| Māma, maternal uncle, possibly | 23 Dēsur Redḍi clans. |
| of the young Emperor. | 24 Mūrteppa. |
| 8 Manuboli Rāju. | 25 Kumāra Raṅgayya. |
| 9 Srīraṅgapati Rāju. | 26 Pāmināyanivāru. |
| 10 Srigiri Rāju. | 27 The Balumūri Chiefs. |
| 11 Vīra Rāghava Rāju. | 28 The Chiefs of Maṇḍuva. |
| 12 Viṭṭhāla Rāju. | 29 The Reddis of Kambam, Konḍa-
viḍu and Konḍapalli. |
| 13 Chitrāju of Nandēla. | 30 Mallappa. |
| 14 Nārāpa Rāju. | 31 Mādana. |
| 15 Kandanavol Rāju. | 32 Perumāl Mudaliar. |

² *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur is also recorded in the *Bahulāśvacharitam*, *Ibid.*, p. 305 ; in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 255, and in a letter of Fr. A. Rubino to the Assistant of Portugal, dated St. Thome, November 29, 1617 : 'The boy, rightful successor to the crown, beheaded Jagraju, his opponent, some months ago.' *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

Rāvillā Venka lost courage and fled along with the others. Dalāvay Chenchu 'who had never seen a battle from his birth lost heart even at the distant sight of royal corpses weltering in their blood and took to hasty flight.' Krishnappa Nāyaka of Jinji also fled from the battlefield 'making himself ridiculous in the eyes of his own officers.'¹

In the meanwhile the Nāyak of Madura had come back to the battle field and was one of the last in abandoning it. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka states that he fought 'till the important officers under him, Tiruvandina Pillay, Titappa Setti, Puram Timma Nayudu, Bhujabala Rao and Errama Setti, the junior captain of horse, had fled.'² 'Then he began to feel anxious for the safety of his own territory. Leaving his elephants, horses, treasury, and harem in the camp, he fled the distance of a league.'³ Anyhow, Muttu Krishnappa Nāyaka was captured by the soldiers of Raghunātha of Tanjore and brought before the latter. The Tanjore Nāyak pardoned his rival of Madura 'gaining great glory by the act.'⁴ Then he ordered a pillar of victory to be erected on the banks of the Kaveri.⁵

Such was the end of the battle of Topur. The party of the intruder received its death blow, after which he could not seriously defy the rights of Rāma II, as the subsequent erratic attempts proved to evidence. As regards the date of the battle, it is difficult to fix. Certainly we may affirm that it was fought between the month of December 1616, when Barradas finished his account, and the month of November 1617, which is the date of Fr. Rubino's letter that mentions Jagga Rāya's death.⁶ Now, since Fr. Rubino states on November 29 that Jagga Rāya was killed some months before, we may take it that the battle of Topur took place sometime during the first half of 1617.

14. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur was the

¹ *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Sources*, p. 260; *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Ibid.*, p. 290.

² *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³ *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Ibid.*, p. 290. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka speaks also of the Nāyak's flight 'leaving behind him his harem camp and treasury.' *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cf. note 1 on p. 83

greatest loss suffered by the intruder's party. Anyhow, Fr. Rubino's letter mentioned above informs us that a new head arose in this party. That was Jagga Rāya's brother, named Etiraiu (Itirāja),¹ who had also fled from the battlefield.² He now joined the Nāyak of Jinji and others among his allies and they prepared themselves to offer battle to Raghunātha. The latter, however, dispatched an army under one of his generals to attack the fortresses of the Jinji territory. Bhuvanagiri was soon captured and then other fortresses were also seized. At this juncture, the Tanjore army was attacked by Krishnappa Nāyaka and obtained a great victory.³

At any rate, it seems that Itiraja continued for some time to defend the intruder's pretensions. But Fr. Rubino wrote on November 29, 1617, that 'he cannot resist the power of the boy (Rāma II)' and he adds that 'this boy, who is the rightful successor to the crown, is obtaining greater victories (over Itirāja) every day. Hence it is believed that he will be crowned not long after.'⁴ In fact, the *Bahulāśvacharitam* refers to a victory of Yachama Nāyaka over Yatiraju (Itirāja) in the neighbourhood of Palemukota (Palamkota, South Arcot).⁵ This victorious campaign of the partisans of Rāma II is also referred to in the *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* by Captain Pedro Barreto de Rezende mentioned above: 'Having grown up in hiding,' says he, 'the king with the help of a faithful subject, gradually recovered part of his kingdom by force of arms.'⁶ Indeed, by force of arms, Yachama Nāyaka, and Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and their allies 'placed Rāma Dēva Rāya firmly on the throne of Ghanagiri (Penukonda).'⁷

15. No other piece of information has come to us concerning the end of this civil war. Not long after the battle of Topur, the Nāyak of Madura, moved perhaps by the generosity of Raghunātha Nāyaka

¹ *Ibid.* Cf. Van Dijk, *Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wenmer Van Berchem*, p. 30.

² *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Ibid.*, p. 290. This poem calls him Yatirāja.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ From Fr. A. Rubino to the Assistant of Portugal, St. Thome, November 29, 1617. *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

⁵ Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. of I., Report, 1911-12*, p. 190, note 1.

⁶ Cf. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i, p. 299.

⁷ *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Sources*, p. 255

of Tanjore, offered him one of his daughters in marriage.¹ This was equivalent to a submission to Rāma II. In fact we read in the fourth act of the drama *Raghunāthavilāsanātakam* that the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, after their family union, 'made the small child of the murdered king of Karnataka king of that country.'² Though we have no positive proof, we are sure that the Nāyak of Jinji also presented his homage to the new Emperor, for we see him peacefully ruling over his state after the juncture of these events. Even Itirāja himself submitted to the new regime and even married one of his daughters to the young Emperor.³ We shall see him some years later holding a petty chieftainship in the surroundings of Pulicat.⁴

With the submission of the main chiefs the war was practically over. The other chiefs and captains were also forced to pay homage to Rāma II, on pain of their losing their posts and suffering confiscation of their fortunes.

16. This war was extremely disastrous for the country. Naturally three years of continuous fighting had to impoverish the whole kingdom. Both the Portuguese and English records, which we shall quote later on, speak of the miserable state of agriculture and the meagre efforts of trade. Besides, the famous thieves of the forests between Madura and Marava became very bold when they saw the rulers of the country engaged in waging war between themselves. Their mischiefs in Madura were as calamitous as the war itself. They even dared to assault the villages round the capital itself. A Jesuit letter informs us that it was very dangerous to go from place to place, for the public roads were so infested with the miscreants that everybody was afraid of losing not only their fortunes, but their very lives.⁵

The war was equally calamitous for the imperial authority. It was the first war of its kind that ever took place in the Empire. There had been subversions of dynasties by enterprising nobles, who obtained without much opposition the subjection of the whole of the

Empire. There had been also rebellions of petty chiefs and tributary princes, who were easily put down by force. But there had never been in Vijayanagara a civil war that lasted three years, and divided the whole of the Empire between the lawful sovereign and a shameless impostor. The prestige of the imperial authority lost a great deal in those three years during which the supreme sovereignty was contested by a rebellious appeal to arms. After this war, the Emperor of Vijayanagara was nothing else than a puppet in the hands of the Nāyaks, and when the courageous Raṅga III wanted to shake off that shameful protection, the Nāyaks themselves became his most dreadful enemies, and proved traitors to the Empire.

A further consequence of the war was the loss of Mylapore and the neighbouring country conquered by the Portuguese of St. Thome. We shall speak of this event in one of the following chapters.

17. We hear no more of Yachama Nāyaka, the valiant Venkaṭagiri chief, who so boldly defied the pretensions of the intruder and his uncle in favour of the rightful Emperor. Yacha had been a great warrior in the preceding reign, but in raising his voice and his hand against the traitors to the Empire he deserved the title of father of his country and saviour of the Empire. Accordingly a *chātu* verse of the collection *Chātupadyaratnākaram* says, that a crore of Jagga Rāya, seventy crores of Maka Rāja's father and one lakh and a sixteen Rāviḷla Venkas put together, would not be a match for Yacha 'who bears the title of Ibbara Ganda,' just as any number of goats joined together would not be a match for the tiger.¹

Nothing is heard of the intruder, the putative son of Venkaṭa, in the following years. He most likely escaped and hid himself in a separate corner of the Empire, from where he saw all his adherents subdued to his rival. In the Mackenzie Collection there was an account of one Basavappa Nāyak, Poligar of Balaji, a town near Bednur, who claimed descent from Venkaṭapati II, Rāja of Vijayanagara.² Was he supposed to be a descendant of the putative son of Venkaṭa for whom Jagga Rāya fought so unceasingly and unfortunately?

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in the poem *Raghunāthabhayudayam*, written in honour of his father Raghunātha Nāyaka, says

¹ *Raghunāthabhayudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Sources*, p. 260.

² Cf. Kuppuswami Sastri, *History of the Nāyak Princes*, p. 9.

³ *Rāmarājīyanu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁴ Cf. *English Factories*, 1622-3, pp. 106, 138-40.

⁵ *Litterae Annuae of the Province of Malabar*, 1617. *I.H.R.I.*, MS. section.

¹ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 308.

² Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 332.

that in the palace of Tanjore called Vijaya Bhavana Rāja there were paintings representing Raghunātha's successes over the Nāyaks of Madura and Jinji and of his raising Rāma Dēva Rāya to the imperial throne.¹ It is a matter of regret indeed, that such paintings have not come to us. They would be the most fitting complement to the account of Fr. Barradas and to the narrative of the poems for writing the history of this war, so unique in the annals of Southern India.

¹ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 265.

The Two Hollonds of Madras and their Dubash

BY

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE C. G. H. FAWCETT, I.C.S.

It is very rarely that an Indian trial nowadays gets noticed by the press or publishers in England, far less reported at any length. A trial requires sensational features, like those which attended the Malabar Hill murder case, to attain the notoriety of publication outside India. But in the early days of British Rule, at any rate towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were other causes operating in favour of such publication. For one thing the interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was far greater than at present. The main reasons for this are given in Macaulay's *Essay on Lord Clive*.¹ A fortune could ordinarily be accumulated in a few years by any Englishman, whatever his age, if lucky enough to be sent out in the Company's service. There was also the fierce political struggle which went on so long between the friends of the Company and its enemies. Publications relating to Indian affairs had then a ready sale. This led to several Indian trials being reported by persons who had an interest in doing this, e. g. to show up oppression or other misconduct.

There are two cases of this kind which have recently come to the writer's knowledge. One is that of a trial by jury in the Court of Quarter Sessions at Madras in 1792 and the other a similar trial in the Recorder's Court at Bombay in 1805. Both are cases concerning Civil Servants of the Company and illustrating the initial difficulties in the way of the action taken by Lord Clive to purify the Civil Service of corruption. Men who had served in the days when, as Macaulay points out,² the Company by its low salaries impliedly permitted them to enrich themselves by private trade and indirect means, were not all likely to give up dishonest practices. In the Madras case we have an

¹ Longman's edition of 1878, p. 532.

² *Essay on Lord Clive*, *ibid.*, p. 536.

instance of even an acting Governor oppressing a member of his own service from corrupt motives; and in the Bombay case the 'father of the service,' who held the office of Custom-Master, was proved guilty of accepting bribes. Fortunately these were exceptional cases, even in those days; and the eventual success of Lord Clive's policy is now recognized.

The Madras trial derives its main interest from the events preceding it. These are detailed in a preface to the report of the trial, written by David Haliburton, a senior merchant who held the offices of Member of the Board of Revenue and Persian Translator at Fort St. George in 1789. A copy of his pamphlet, which was published in 1793 by J. Murray of Fleet St., is contained in a volume labelled *Indian Tracts* and marked RR-i-17 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay.

John Hollond came out as a writer in 1761 and in 1782 had risen to the rank of Member of Council.¹ He was one of the Company's servants who ultimately made large fortunes out of loans to the Nawab of the Carnatic.² He became acting Governor of Madras in 1789 and was called on by Lord Cornwallis to make preparations for war against Tippu Sultan of Mysore; but he set the Governor-General at defiance, refused to make such preparations, and appropriated the revenues of the Carnatic to the payment of the Nawab's debts³ in which he was more interested. His character is sufficiently shown by his offer to the Raja of Travancore, who had been attacked by Tippu, to help him with a British detachment, on condition of receiving a present for himself of some thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. Lord Cornwallis was much exasperated, and Hollond in February 1790 fled from his post to England.⁴

Haliburton's account of his misfortunes begins in June 1789, when John Hollond was acting Governor and his brother Edward John Hollond was third Member of Council. There was only one other Member, so that the two brothers could carry proposals by a majority. They both employed the same *dubash* or private agent, a Brahmin by name Avadaunum Paupiah, who with three others was eventually tried

TWO HOLLONDS OF MADRAS AND THEIR DUBASH 191

for an alleged conspiracy against Haliburton. This briefly was as follows:—

A monopoly-holder for the sale of betel-nut and tobacco in Madras and its neighbourhood applied to Government claiming a right to have the area of his monopoly extended beyond its accustomed limits. This was referred to the Board of Revenue (including Haliburton), which reported against it. Nevertheless the request was granted by Government. This led to some opposition by the inhabitants who pulled down the licensee's huts in the added area. Some of them were arrested and confined; thereupon they solicited the aid of the *dubash* Paupiah, who had great influence with his masters and was supposed to be all-powerful, where natives were concerned. Paupiah and his co-accused then conspired to have petitions presented to the Governor-in-Council alleging that Haliburton had instigated the riot. Sworn petitions and statements were made accordingly by two persons, and this was supplemented by cleverly concocted evidence of an attempt by Haliburton to bribe the two informants to retract their allegations against him. It was arranged that a pseudo-agent of Haliburton should be publicly seized with alleged hush-money upon him; and sworn evidence of this was promptly given before the Governor-in-Council. The *dubash* Paupiah was allowed to be present at the examination of the witnesses and could see that they stuck to the evidence he wanted.

These steps culminated in Haliburton being required in September 1789 to answer the allegations. He applied for the appointment of an independent Committee to investigate the case; but this request was refused, and he was told that he was at liberty to cross-examine any person, or to produce any evidence he liked, before the Governor-in-Council. Haliburton was probably well advised in declining to take advantage of this opportunity, having regard to the two Hollonds forming the majority of the Bench that would have decided the case. He however, declared his readiness to affirm on oath, in the most solemn manner, that what had been alleged against him was false and fabricated. The two Hollonds then carried a resolution (the third member dissenting) that Haliburton should be removed from his offices at Madras and appointed Paymaster at Chunderghurry, a place about seventy miles from Arcot and Vellore. Haliburton describes it as 'a frontier garrison in a hilly and unwholesome country garrisoned by two Euro-

¹ Prinsep's *Record of Services in the Madras Presidency, 1741-1758*, p. 75.

² Wheeler's *Short History of India*, 1889, Edn. p. 381.

³ Wheeler's *op. cit.*, p. 393; *Memoirs of William Hickey*, vol. iii, p. 360.

⁴ Wheeler's *op. cit.*, p. 393.

pean officers, two invalid sergeants and sixty-eight sepoys ; an appointment not only new in itself but which, it is fair to say, would have been considered by the youngest writer in the service more as a banishment from society than as a mark of attention.'

Haliburton, who delayed his departure from Madras as much as possible, reached Chunderghurry on November 28, 1789. He found that there were no quarters or tents available for him ; and on this being represented to the Board he was permitted to reside at Arcot. That his Paymastership was an entirely unnecessary appointment is shown by the smallness of the detachment (only sixty-eight, men) at Chunderghurry, and the fact that the duty of paying them had previously been satisfactorily carried out by the Paymaster of Vellore. The transfer seems to have been a mere excuse to 'banish him from the presidency,' so that it should be out of his power to thwart or expose any unjustifiable measures of John Hollond. The Court of Directors in London took this view in their orders on the Memorial that Haliburton submitted to them in 1790. That this was Hollond's object is confirmed by his refusal to let Haliburton come to Madras on leave, although he was allowed to live seventy miles from his station. It was not till March 1790 that he was permitted by the new Governor, Major-General Medows, to resign his office of Paymaster and return to Madras.

Even then things did not go smoothly for him. His immediate application for a committee to enquire into the circumstances of the accusations against him was refused. This may have been due to the influence of E. J. Hollond, who remained on as Member of Council till he was removed from his post by the order of the Governor-General in April 1790. Then things became better. Haliburton was re-appointed to his post on the Board of Revenue in July 1790. In September 1791 the favourable orders of the Court of Directors on his Memorial were received. These severely condemned the unjust and dishonest behaviour of the two Hollonds and ordered a Committee of enquiry to be held. This was appointed in February 1792. It examined the principal parties to the conspiracy, and the three imitators of Titus Oates confessed their complicity in the plot. The Committee in July 1792 made a detailed report of the result of their enquiries regarding 'the wicked combination and intrigue' against Haliburton. Upon this, the latter lodged informations charging Paupiah, his brother and two others with a criminal conspiracy against him,

The four accused were tried on July 12 and 13, 1792, by a Jury in a Court of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor-in-Council who had this jurisdiction under the East India Company Act, 1776 (26 Geo. III, c. 57, S. 30). Among the witnesses for the prosecution were Haliburton and the three approvers ; and some evidence was also called by the accused. There appears to have been no summing up beyond a short statement by the Clerk of the Peace regarding the law of evidence applicable, but the Counsel for one of the accused addressed the Jury, and the three undefended accused put in a written statement. The Jury found them all guilty with a recommendation to leniency. All four were sentenced to imprisonment and fine, Paupiah being the most severely punished with a term of imprisonment for three years and a fine of £2,000. They were also ordered to stand in the pillory for an hour, but this part of the sentence was remitted, in view of the Jury's recommendation to mercy.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the conviction was fully justified. The evidence of the three approvers agreed substantially and was given in such detail as could hardly have been invented. A clear motive for the crime was also established. The conspirators, however, had very highly placed and unscrupulous backing, and in the circumstances Haliburton could well say (as he does in his Preface) that 'to have traced so complicated and subtle a conspiracy to its source, at a distance of two years and a half after its purposes had been effected showed an almost providential interposition in my favour.'

Whether retribution caught the two Hollonds is not clear. Both, as already mentioned, ceased to hold their office in 1790, and appear from Prinsep's *Madras Record of Services* to have had no further employment in India. The Court of Directors are likely to have done what they could to prosecute them ; and Haliburton gives an extract from the Attorney-General's draft indictment against them, which charges John Hollond with illegally, oppressively and unjustly removing Haliburton from his offices. On the other hand Wheeler's *Short History of India*¹ refers to Hollond as one of the band of Nabobs, whose parade of wealth and scandalous intrigues in England were so startling in the latter half of the eighteenth century ; and both brothers may have managed to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds.

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 381.

The following letter has reference to the above articles :—

AVADHANUM PAUPIAH

To the Editor of 'The Times of India.'

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to the account of the 'Trial of Avadhanum Paupiah, Brahmin, in 1792' when appeared in your columns a few days ago. 'Judex' has mentioned the pamphlet published by Murray in 1793 and contained in a volume of *Indian Tracts* in the Library at Bombay. I have not had access to this edition, but I have read a later edition of the account of the trial, printed at Madras in 1825, available at the Connemera Library, at Madras.

I may point to one or two circumstances, overlooked by 'Judex,' which render the trial of Paupiah of more than ordinary interest. The motive which prompted Haliburton to publish an account of the trial was, as he set forth, to lead 'to a knowledge of the unprincipled audacity of the natives of India, when under the patronage of men in power; and tend to guard all persons who may hereafter hold high and responsible situations under the Honourable Company, against the wily wickedness of dubashes, who have heretofore had too considerable an influence over men in situation, in this Presidency.' This kind of 'underling' has been a definite type experienced in British India. Even to-day, there are 'head clerks,' 'managers,' and 'personal assistants' wielding an amount of influence in public offices which have always aroused popular bitterness.

The enormous influence wielded by Paupiah is made evident by Haliburton's little book. He was the only dubash ('dur-bashi,' bi-linguist) permitted to be present at the meetings of the Governor's Council. He had access to the Governor even at midnight, when the latter was undressed. Candapah, one of the witnesses at the trial, deposed that he had heard it said that if Paupiah willed, he could easily remove Haliburton from the Board. Not even the Rajah of Tanjore could refuse the bidding of Paupiah. As long as Paupiah was known to be inimical to Haliburton, the latter could get no witness to depose on his side.

Paupiah's name lives in a street of the name in Madras. But more than this, his name lives in English literature, by being incorporated in Scott's novel *The Surgeon's Daughter*. Haliburton was a rela-

tion of the novelist, through his grandmother, and the account of the trial of Paupiah had reached the storehouse of the Wizard of the North and was duly utilized in the novel published in 1827. Paupiah is introduced in the novel directly by name and Scott apologises in a footnote for the anachronism; a careful study of the novel will show that an important event in the novel of the proceeding of the British *vakeel* (political agent) from Fort St. George to Haidar's court belongs to 1780 and Paupiah's activities belong to 1789. What attracted Scott was the vindictive action on Paupiah's part in practically banishing Haliburton to Chandragiri. This is alluded to when Hartley in the novel, in his zeal to save Miss Menie Grey from the clutches of the Begum Montreville, was apt to speak too vehemently to Paupiah. Hartley was advised by his friends to restrain himself, 'lest the impassible Brahmin should see to excluding him from the capital and sending him to a feverish frontier where his medical ability would need to be exercised on himself.'

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

Note.—The above article and letter recently appeared in the *Times of India*, and my acknowledgments are due to its Editor, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, for permitting me to re-publish them. I am also indebted him for some further information about the two Hollonds.¹

There are references to both of them in the *Memoirs of William Hickey*. At p. 360 of vol. iii, Hickey mentions John Hollond's opposition to the orders of Lord Cornwallis about supporting the Raja of Travancore against Tippu Sultan, and adds :—'the Governor-General entertaining some doubt of his integrity, his lordship determined to proceed to the coast, there to take the command of the Army upon himself, and he was upon the eve of departure when a dispatch reached Calcutta announcing the arrival of His Majesty's frigate, the *Vestal*, which vessel brought out this nomination of Sir William Medows to the Government of Madras. Whereupon, Lord Cornwallis, knowing he might rely upon that gallant and experienced officer's executing any orders of his, relinquished the intention of going himself, and wrote to say what his objects were.'

¹ Haliburton's pamphlet and Prinsep's *Madras Record of Services* spell the name with an 'o' in the last syllable. This is probably correct; but in my quotations in this note the name is given as it there appears.

At p. 17 of vol. iv (second edition) Hickey writes: 'General Medows was now daily expected at the Presidency for the purpose of consulting with Lord Cornwallis upon the state of affairs and what ought to be the future proceedings. One strong measure adopted in consequence of these consultations was the arrest of Mr. Edward Hollond, a member of the Council of Madras and brother to the gentleman who had recently been Governor. Mr. Hollond was taken into custody by a military party, and without the least pause, or being suffered to have any communication with his friends, was sent on board the East Indiaman *Rodney*, then lying in the roads under dispatch for Europe, the captain of her in his instructions being directed to keep him a close prisoner until he should land him in England and receive the orders of the Court of Directors. As the captain of the *Rodney* made some objections to receiving Mr. Hollond under such extraordinary circumstances, on account of the responsibility he laid himself open to for so violent a proceeding, stating that he thereby become liable to a prosecution for assault and false imprisonment, Lord Cornwallis seeing then force of the captain's representation, at once, in his official capacity, undertook to bear the said captain harmless. Report gave out that the charges against Mr. Hollond were of a most serious nature, being nothing short of treason, for he was said to have been discovered in a dangerous correspondence with the enemy. What the final issue was, I do not now recollect, but certainly it ended in no serious attack upon Mr. Holland.'

The last statement of William Hickey is borne out by a manuscript diary of the Hon. C. A. Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin of Elgin Marbles Fame. This is now in the possession of Mr. Sheppard, who has been good enough to let me see it. Bruce was for some time in Calcutta, and Hickey names him as among his guests at his country-house at Chinsurah in 1797.¹ In 1800 Bruce was in England; and in July he left London to return to India by the overland route through Constantinople, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. On his way he stopped at Vienna, where he met Mr. Edward Hollond, whom he describes as 'late of Madras.' The diary entry of 1st September, 1800, shows he called on Hollond, so the latter was evidently 'in society' at Vienna. The succeeding entries shows that he went about almost daily with

Hollond, sight-seeing in the vicinity. The entry of September 12 says: 'Mr. Hollond and I went to the Picture Gallery at Belvidere, there is a great number of pictures especially from the Italian School, but my curiosity was soon gratified and I retired. I afterwards took leave of Mr. Hollond in whose company I had passed so many pleasant days, and remained in hopes that he would join me at Constantinople, and proceed overland to India, which he promised to do if he could return from Trieste in time, that is, in six weeks.'

Hollond did not, however, join Bruce in his journey from Constantinople, and having regard to the circumstances under which he had left Madras, it seems unlikely that he could have really ever intended to return to India. He may also have been keeping away from England for fear of prosecution: but from the glimpse of him afforded by Bruce's diary he appears to have been flourishing, in spite of his alleged misdeeds.

Perhaps some reader of this Journal may be able to throw further light on the query put at the end of my article?

C. G. H. F.

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. iv, pp. 155 and 161.

Yādavas mentioned in the Religious Books of the Mahānubhāvās

BY

Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.,

Karad

To judge by the references to the Dēvagiri Yādavas in the nice little book entitled the *Mahānubhāvāyā Marāthī Vāñmaya*, published by Mr. Y. K. Deshapande, M.A., LL.B., pleader of Yeotmal in Berar, the earlier holy books of the Mahānubhāvās written in Marāthī, their scriptural language will doubtless throw a sidelight on the history of this branch of the Yādavas. We cannot in future afford to ignore them. As many of their authors were contemporaries of these most renowned rulers, their testimonies are valuable. Written in conventional scripts they remained almost sealed books until quite recently. Mahant Dattarāja was the first saint who liberally opened the doors of the archives of this sect. Mr. Deshapande has dealt with the books of the Mahānubhāvās mainly from the literary standpoint. I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the historians only those important facts in them which have a bearing on the history of the Dēvagiri Yādavas.

Dr. J. F. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, remarks on p. 72: 'It is in his time (in the time of Singhaṇa II) in Śaka 1132 that we first have Dēvagiri mentioned as the capital.' But from the *Lilācharitra* composed about Śaka 1184-1193, we learn that it was Bhillama, who first shifted the seat of Government to Dēvagiri from Śrinagara, which according to the Mahānubhāvās is Sinnar in the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency. Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda* confirms this statement. At Śrinagara was erected a Mahānubhāvā Maṭha or Monastery called the Bhillama Maṭha after the Yādava ruler Bhillama. This place is still considered holy by the Mahānubhāvās and visited by many pilgrims. It was in the

Bhillama Monastery that Santōshamuni Kṛishṇadāsa at a later date completed his immortal work the *Rukmiṇi-svayaṃvara* in Śaka 1486.

Sinnar was believed to be a corruption of Sindinēr, mentioned in a copperplate of A.D. 1069.¹ Now it appears to be fairly certain that it is the representative of Śrinagara.

Mr. Y. K. Deshapande says, on page 15 of his *Mahānubhāvāyā Marāthī Vāñmaya* that Mahādēva was Kanhara's (Kṛishṇa's) son. The passage in the *Lilācharitra* translated below, however, uses the word 'Dhākutā' that is younger. It is evident, therefore, that Mahādēva was the younger brother of Kanhara. No reasonable doubt can be entertained as in the Appendix C quoted by the late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar from the introduction to the *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādri, the contemporary of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra, the following verse occurs:—

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतोतौ जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।

तस्योस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोतिविख्यातमतिनृपोभूत् ॥

Again further on we find:—

स भूमिपालो जनयांबभूव कृष्णमहादेवमहोपतिं च ।

हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिश्चिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥

A contemporary minister is not likely to make a mistake regarding his very patron's relationship.

From the passages quoted from the *Lilācharitra* by Mr. Deshapande, the following historical facts can be gleaned:—

'While Chakradhara was staying at Lōṇār, Kānharadēya Rāya accompanied by his younger (brother) Mahādēva, went to pay his respects to him on the Parvaṇi of Sōmavati in Śaka 1178. The offerings made by the royal personages were not accepted for personal use, but with the sum a pavilion of the goddess Kamalajā, a flight of steps of Kumārēśvara and a rest-house were built.

Āmaṇa was the son of Mahādēva and is referred to only in one inscription, viz., the Aurangabad grant. Dr. Fleet remarks in his *Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* on page 74

¹ Please vide *District Gazetteer*, Bombay Presidency, vol. xvi, p. 648.

as follows :—‘He (Āmaṇa) seems to have made an attempt to succeed his father, but to have failed, as the inscription describes Rāmachandra as forcibly wresting the kingdom from him.’ *Lilācharitra*, however, makes it clear that Āmaṇadēva not only tried to succeed his father but as a matter of fact did ascend the throne. It is distinctly stated that there was a change in rule and that Āmaṇadēva was dethroned. This was not the only punishment which was meted out to him. A worse share fell to his lot. Unlike the treatment generally given by the Hindu rulers to their kinsmen, Āmaṇadēva’s eyes were put out, we may assume at the injunctions of Rāmachandra, who came on the throne. The record further tells us that Narasimhadēva ran away. Who this Narasimhadēva was is yet a mystery. He might be the dethroned monarch’s son or relative or even his minister or general. The present passage corroborates the statement in the Aurangabad grant, viz., Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmaṇadēva.

It seems desirable to quote and translate the Marāṭhi passages in the *Lilācharitra* from which the above inferences are drawn.

The passage on page 15 of the *Mahānubhāvīyā Marāṭhi Vāṇmaya* runs as follows :—

“कुंडो भैरवी अवस्थान राजया दर्शन (लोणारी) सोमवती पर्वी कान्हर-
देय राय दर्शना आला. समागमें महादेव राय धाकुटा होता. रायेनी आसु
दर्शन कोल्ल्या परो न घेतां तथाचि आनि धृतकेची वास पाहतां बंदीजन मणती :
‘घेई जोजो. सिंगनाचा कान्ह प्रसन्न झाला,’ त्या द्रव्याचा स्वीकार न करता
कमळनेचा मंडप, कुमारेश्वरोचा घाटु आणि पौळी, मग चुना सारविला, शके
११७८” वगैरे.

Translation :—

‘While (Chakradhara) was residing near the tank of Bhairava (at Lōṇār), Kānharadēya Rāya came to pay his respects to him on the Parva (Paryāṇi) of Sōmavatī. Mahādēva Rāya, the younger (brother) was with him. (Chakradhara) did not accept the coins presented at the visit by the king. The (royal) followers waited for a moment and then said : ‘Please receive (the coins). Kānha (grandson) of

Singhāna (Singhāṇa) is pleased.’ Instead of accepting the sum a pavilion of Kamalajā (goddess) a flight of steps of Kumārēśvara and a rest-house (round it) were built and then plastered with chunam. Śaka 1178, etc.

The passage on page 16 of the *Mahānubhāvīyā Marāṭhi Vāṇmaya*, runs as follows :—

“तंव इंद्रभट्ट तैलु घेवौनि आले: सर्वज्ञें भणितिलें ‘इंद्रेओ गांवांतु वार्ता
काइ मातु’: ‘जो कांहीं नाहोंजो’: सर्वज्ञें भणितिलें ‘वार्ता कैसो या कांहीं नाहीं?’
राज्यांतर जाळें: रामदेवो रावो राज्यो बैसला: आमणदेवो खालि उतरीला:
देवगोरि पालटेलो ॥ तथा हा नव्हे लोक पळतु असें: ॥ हा होए: जा वार्ता
शोध: तुमचे ए गांवीं सोइरे असति: आन वार्ता कैसी नाहीं ॥ कैसे कांहीं
नाहीं: एसणें राज्यांतर जाळें: आमनदेयाचे डोळे काढीलें: रामदेवो राजो बैसला:
ए नव्हे की: घायाळें जातें असोति’: भणौनि सर्वज्ञें तथा खाटारें श्रीकरें दाखवीलें:
सर्वज्ञें भणितिलें: ‘एक वेळ शोध पां जा’: ॥ छ ॥ हो कां जो भणौनि इंद्रभट्ट
मागुते गेले: शोधिलें: एवौनि सर्वज्ञांपुढें सांघितिलें: ‘साच जो: हें काई हो अपूर्व:
तेहो भणितिलें: हाती सेहाणो मारिला: पाट सेहाणो भेदिला नरासिंहदेओ
पळाला: आमणदेआचे डोळे काढिले: रामदेओ राओ राजो बैसला: ओसे शोधोन
आले: सर्वज्ञां पुढारां सविबर सांघितिलें: तंव लोक घरा वेंचोन पाहात असें:
मग गोसावी देऊळांत बोर्जे केलें ॥ १२ ॥

Translation :—

‘Then Indrabhaṭṭa brought oil. The Omniscient (Chakradhara) asked : “Oh Indra what is the news in the village.” “No news, Sir.” The Omniscient said : “How is it that there is no news? Revolution took place. Rāmadēva Rāya ascended the throne. Āmaṇadēva came down (was dethroned). Dēvagiri is changed. Are not these people running away? Yes, they are. Go make enquiries. You have your relations in the village. And how is it that there is no news? How is it that there is nothing (particular)? There is such a great revolution. Āmaṇadēva’s eyes were put out. Rāmadēva sat on the throne. Look

here! Are not the wounded passing?" Saying this the Omniscient pointed him the bullock carts with his hand. The Omniscient said: "Please go and make enquiries once. Indrabhaṭṭa went back, saying 'Yes, Sir.'" He enquired and told the Omniscient: "True, Sir. This is wonderful." People said: "The elephant was killed by the lion. The back was broken by the lion (?) Narasimhadēva ran away. Āmaṇadēva's eyes were put out. Rāmadēva Rāya ascended the throne." These enquiries he made and returned and told the story in detail to the Omniscient. Just then the people began to see this on climbing to their houses. The master (Chakradhara) then went into the temple.'

Līlācharitra also supplies us with the following items of information. Mahādēva Rāya Yādava's queen Vaijāi erected the famous Vaijanāth Temple at Paithan (at present included in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions). The name of Mahādēva's consort was not known to us up till now. Mr. Y. K. Deshapānde informs me that it is further on record that Mahādēva Rāya had an interview with Chakradhara, the Omniscient at Śrinagara (Sinnar).¹

Mahānubhāviya Marāṭhi Vāṇmaya also tells us that Ananta Bhaṭṭa, the grandfather of the two celebrated Mahānubhāva writers Anērāja Vyāsa and Kēśava Vyāsa, was the treasurer (*kośadhikārī*) of Kānhara Dēva Rāya Yādava.

Nāgadēvāchārya was a disciple of Chakradhara. The biography of the former saint, written by Narēndrakavi Ayāchitē, a contemporary of Rāmadēva Rāya Yādava supplies us with the name of the monarch's queen, Kāmāi, who twice paid her respects to him. Her name was not known up till now.

Rukmiṇīsvayamvara was composed by Narēndrakavi in Śaka 1210. On the book being read out to Rāmadēva Rāya, it is said, that he was much pleased. It is to his credit that the poet was amply rewarded. Indeed scholarship and enlightenment under this eminent ruler kept pace with the prosperity of his kingdom. In the heyday of the Dēvagiri Yādavas talents were much indented upon.

Munivyāsa Kumārāmnāya, the author of the *Sthānapōthi*, written in Śaka 1275, was a Darbārī of Rāmadēva Rāya Yādava.

It is interesting to find that the *Riddhapuramāhātmya* records the

extent of the Mahārāshṭra as it was understood by the end of the twelfth century A. D. The Vindhya Range formed the northern boundary. The River Kṛishṇā was to the south. The 'Woody regions' lay to the east, the western boundary being the Konkan.

It is evident, therefore, that the *Līlācharitra*, the *Nāgadēvāchārya-charitra* and the other works of the Mahānubhāvās are of peculiar value to the historians, whose labours will be rewarded by their critical study. Mr. Y. K. Deshapānde will be doing a good service to the history of the Deccan if he undertakes to edit these books.

¹ His private letter addressed to me dated February 3, 1926.

It is well known that among the works on Tamil prosody *Yāpparunkalam* and *Kārikai* are the best. The author of both these works is Amitasāgarar,² a jain ascetic: and he appears to have composed *Yāpparunkalam* before the *Kārikai*.³

The author's name is variously given as *Amudasāgarar* and *Amitasāgarar*. The prefatory verse to *Yāpparunkalam* gives the name as *Alapparun-kadar-peyarōn* and this has been well explained to be the Tamil rendering of the poet's name⁴ Amitasāgaran—*Alap-parum* or limitless being the Tamil form of *amitha* and *Kadar-peyarōn* of *sāgaran*. It appears therefore that Amitasāgarar is the more correct form of the poet's name.

Very important matter connected with the poet has been made available to the public by the publication, in the *Epigraphica Indica*⁵ of the Nidūr inscriptions by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., Assistant Epigraphist, Madras. The inscriptions are in verse. The errors due to the stone engraver's ignorance of the language added to his carelessness tend to obliterate the true form of the verse: but a skilful application of the rules of prosody, however, yields us the following as the verses actually composed by the poet:—

FIRST INSCRIPTION

[ஆரிய வுலக மனைத்தையுங் குடைக்கீழ்
ஆக்கிய குலோத்துங்க சோழன்
காண்டொரு நாற்பத் தாழிடைத் தில்லை
யம்பலத் தேவட கீழ்பாற்
போரியன் [மதத்துச்] சொன்னவா றறிவார்
கோயிலும் புராணநூல் விரிக்கும்
புரிசைமா ளிகையும் வரிசையால் விளங்கப்
பொருப்பினால் விருப்புறச் செய்தான்]

¹A free translation from Tamil by R. Narayanan, B.A.

² That the author of both these works is the same person is obvious from the *Yāpparunkala-virutti* commentator writing, after citing the 15th verse of the *Kārikai*, 'Thus says the author of this work'. That the *Kārikai* is the work of *Amitasāgarar*, is clear both from the preface to the *Kārikai* itself and the commentary to the 39th verse of *Alankāraṇṇāḍam* in the *Vīra-sōḷiyam*.

³ As the commentator writes 'யாப்பருங்கலம் என்னும் யாப்பிற்கு அங்கமாய், அலங்காரமுடைத்தாப் செய்யப்பட்டமையால், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை என்னும் பெயர்த்து.'

⁴ Originally by Mr. S. Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai, M.A., L.T.

⁵ Vol. xiii, pp. 64-69.

நெரியற் காண்டே நைஞ்சுடன் மூன்றில்
நிகரிலாக் கற்றளி நீரே
நிலாவினும் கமைத்த நிலாவினா னமுத
சாகர னெடு [நந்தமிழ்த்] தோகுத்த
காரிகைத் குளத்துர் மன்னவன் நெண்டை
காவலன் இறங்குன்ற நாட்டுக்
கற்பக மிழை நாட்டுவே காண்டை
கொண்டவன் கண்டன்மா தவனே.

SECOND INSCRIPTION

எண்டிசை யுலகை யொருகுடை நிழற்கீ
ழிருத்திய குலோத்துங்க சோழன்
கியாண்டொரு முப்பத் தெட்டிணித் தொனாட்
டசைவன் ரிந்தநூர் நாட்டு
[அண்டை] டீயுரீ நேருமை யோடு
[மு]லாவின [சிவ]பெரு மா[னு]க்
குலத்து[வெண்] சுயிலை மலையெனச் சிலையா
லுத்தம விமானமிங் கமைத்தான்
தண்டமி முமித சாகர முனியைச்
சுயங்கொண்ட சோழமண் டலத்துத்
தண்சிறு குன்ற [நாட்டகத்] திருத்திச்
சந்தநூற் காரிகை யவனாற்
கண்டவன் மருமான் காரிகைத் குளத்துர்
காவல னிலாவினா செவர்க்குங்
கருணையு [நிதியுங்] காட்டிய மிழை
நாட்டுவேன் கண்டன்மா தவனே.

The description 'உண்டை டீயு நீரே' (lit. Nidūr abounding in balls of boiled rice) is in consonance with the description of villages adjoining Nidūr by *Paravar* as rich in food during the time of *Vel-Evvi*, the chief of Nidūr in *Milalai-nādu*.¹ The description of Kaṇḍan-māḍavan as a member of the *Vel* tribe and the chief of Nidūr in *Milalai-nādu*, has the effect of suggesting to us that he was possibly a descendant of the celebrated *Vel-Evvi* of the Śāngam age. But while *Evvi* lived in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam we find that both Kaṇḍan-māḍavan and his ancestor are settled in *Tonḍai-nādu*. This may probably be due to the fact that the branch to which they belonged settled at *Tonḍai-nādu* as important officers of the Chōḷa State.

These two verses record that Kaṇḍan-māḍavan, the chief of Kuḷattūr—described as *Tonḍai-Kavalan* and *Milalai-nāḍu-vel*—erected a temple at Nidūr for Śiva in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Kuḷōttunga. He is also said to have built another at Chidambaram for Śēramān-

¹ Akanāṇṇu, 286.

perumāḷ nāyanār, and a *manṭapa* for the popular exposition of the *purāṇas* in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Kulōttunga. He is styled in this record as the *marumān* of the chief who caused Amitasāgarar to compose the *Kārikai*. From the palæography of the inscription and the length of the king's reign Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar comes to the conclusion that the reigning sovereign mentioned therein is Kulōttunga I. On the basis of the text 'காரிகை யவனாற் கண்டவன் மருமான்,' taking *marumān* to mean sister's son, he proceeds to establish that Amithasāgarar, the chief his patron, and his *marumān* Kaṇḍan-māḍavan were all contemporaries of Kulōttunga I. But in works of a more ancient character, we rarely find *marumān* used in the sense of sister's son; it simply means a descendant, removed from the ancestor by more than one degree.¹

If Kaṇḍan-māḍavan is mentioned in his inscription as the *marumān* of Amitasāgarar's patron it is because of the other's glory in having made available to the world such a work as the *Kārikai*, and if, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar, that patron is the uncle, we can surely expect to find his name in the inscription. The fact that the inscription leaves unmentioned the name of this illustrious ancestor leaves room for the reasonable doubt if, at the time of the inscription, his name had not already faded away from memory, with only a faint association of the *Kārikai* with *Kārikai-k-kulattūr* and the distinguished family at whose instance it was composed surviving.

In my article on 'Maṇḍala-purusha' in the *Mythic Society Journal*,² (Vol. xiii, p. 490) while fixing the upper limit of his age, I had occasion to point out that he mentions in unambiguous terms, the book *Kārikai*² and that therefore he could not have lived earlier than the tenth century, which ample reasons confirm to be the time when Amithasāgarar himself lived. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar hopes that they would have been based on good grounds and as the grounds

¹ 'மருமான் பிறங்கடை யுற்பல் வழித்தோன்றல் (இவாகரம்).

'குடபுலங் காவலர் மருமான்.'

'சென்புலங் காவலர் மருமான்.'

'குடபுலங் காவலர் மருமான்.' (சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை; 47, 63, 79).

'மாவலி மருமான் சீர்கெழு திருமகள் (மணிமே.)

² 'காரிகை யழகு பெண்ணை கவித்துறை பொருதுற்கும்பேர்' (குடாமணி நிகண்டு, 11, 187).

for the conclusion are the subject of this inquiry they are set out briefly.

Perundēvanār, the commentator of *Vīra-sōliyam* appears to be the contemporary of its author *Putta-mittirar* (Buddha-mitra) who lived in the time of Viraśōḷa *alias* Vira-rājendra and dedicated the book to him. Not a single verse cited in the commentary speaks of Kulōttunga I or Kulōttunga II. They eulogise only their ancestors Vīrārājendra and Sundarachōla *alias* Parāntaka II. Not that the former kings were less celebrated by contemporary poets, for their glories find abundant expression in later works as *Dandi-y-alankāram*. The inference is that Perundēvanār lived before Kulōttunga I (1070-1118). Now, in his commentary on the thirty-ninth verse in *Alaṅkāra-p-paḍalam*, of the *Vīra-sōliyam*, Perundēvanār quotes the last *sūtra* in Yāpparūṅkalām and writes 'என்று அமிதசாகரனார் கூறியன கொள்க.' (i.e. so says Amithasāgarar). So we find that Amitasāgarar should have lived before Perundēvanār who it has been shown lived in the first half of the eleventh century. Obviously, therefore, Amitasāgarar could not be a contemporary of Kulōttunga I. At what time then did Amitasāgarar live?

The first feet of stanzas from current literature intended to serve as illustrations of his rules have been versified by Amitasāgarar and among verses so quoted we find some from the *Śāḷamaṇi* of Tōlāmōḷi-t-tēvar who according to the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao lived in the latter half of the ninth and earlier half of the tenth centuries.¹

Again from the second stanza of the inscription we learn that the chief of Kulattūr caused Amitasāgarar to stay at his town in *Jayan-konda-chōḷa-maṇḍalam*. It is well-known that after his conquest of it, Rājarāja I gave Tonḍai-nāḍu the new name *Jayan-konda-chōḷa-maṇḍalam*. If this new name was not current at the time of Amitasāgarar himself, we may expect the inscription to say he was stayed at Tonḍai-nāḍu. However as it specifically says he was stayed at *Jayan-konda-chōḷa-maṇḍalam*, we have to infer that the inscription gives the name of the country as it was known at the time of Amitasāgarar himself. If this be correct, Amitasāgarar, whom we found should have lived after Thōlā-mōḷittēvar, i.e. the early part of the tenth century, but before Perundēvanār, i.e. the early half of the eleventh century, should have lived in or about the time of Rājarāja I (985-1013).

This conclusion finds corroboration, as we shall see later, when a collateral enquiry concerning Amitasāgara's *Āchārya* is made. We learn from the prefatory verse to *Yāpparuṅkalam*¹ that the preceptor of Amitasāgarar was *Gunak-kadaṭ-ṭeyarōṇ*, or in other words *Guṇa-sāgara*. The commentator of the *Kārikai* is also a *Guṇasāgara*. But it will be the height of absurdity to identify the preceptor with a later commentator of the poet. Who then was the preceptor *Guṇasāgara* and when did he live?

Two inscriptions of the Kaḷuku-malai² (Tinnevely) speak of a *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭārar*, a famous Jain apostle who appointed preachers for disseminating the tenets of Jainism and endowed them with lands for maintenance. And this inscription mentions among others *Uttamachōlan* and *Viranārāyaṇan-ēri*. *Viranārāyaṇan* was the name of Parāntaka I (907-953) and *Uttamachōla* was Madhurāntaka (970-975), one of the grand-sons of Parāntaka I. From this it is obvious that *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭārar* should have lived after the accession of Madhurāntaka (970). That *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭārar* should have lived at about 970 can be arrived at by a study of the Pandian genealogy. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar finds that the *Māraṇ-caḍayan* mentioned in the Kaḷuku-malai inscriptions, should be the son of Rājasimha Pāṇḍiyan, the grantor of the *Shinnamanoor* bigger plates who ascended the throne in the early part of the tenth century. If this be correct, we can expect his son to be on the throne by 970 and hence be a contemporary of Madhurāntaka and *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭārar*.

We have seen already that Amitasāgarar should have lived before Virarājendra (1062), but how many decades before we cannot say. Hence, it may not unreasonably be expected that his preceptor *Guṇasāgara* was famous by 970. It appears therefore clear that we cannot be mistaken in identifying *Guṇasāgara* with *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭāraka* their times being the same and both being great Jain *āchāryas*. *Guṇasāgara* being identified with *Guṇasāgara Bhaṭṭāraka*, a contemporary of *Māraṇ-caḍayan* and probably therefore of Madu-

¹ "தனக்குவரம் பாகிய தவத்தொடு புணர்ந்த
குணக்கடற் பெயரோன் கொள்கையின் வழாஅ
அளப்பருங் கடற்பெய ரருந்தவத் தொனே."

² Vide Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar's article. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiii, p. 69.

āntaka, we can have no difficulty in regarding his disciple Amitasāgarar as a contemporary of Madurāntaka's successor Rājarāja I (985-1013).

No village bearing the name *Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr* can now be pitched upon in *Toṇḍai-nāḍu*, as the place where the *Kārikai* was composed. But the Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions¹ dated the 28th regnal year of Parakēsari-varman Rājendra I (1011-1049) mentions a *Kārikai-p-ṣērūr-nāḍu* in *Puḷaṭ-kōṭṭam*. *Kārikai-p-pērūr* may mean either the big town where the *Kārikai* was composed or the place bearing the name of the *Kārikai*, and *Kārikai-p-pērūr-nāḍu*, is the division with the principality of *Kārikai-p-pērūr*. Whatever the expression may mean, we may be certain that the place derived its name by its connection with the *Kārikai* of Amitasāgarar. With its name reminiscent of the *Kārikai* and situated in *Jayaṇ-koṇḍa-chōla-naṇḍalam*, *Kārikai-p-pērūr* of the Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions should in all probability be the *Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr* of the *Niḍur* inscriptions.

This identification lends further support to the conclusion that Amitasāgarar should have lived in the reign of Rājarāja I. It is clear that by the reign of Rājendra I (1039), the *Kārikai* had so lent its name to the place where it was composed, that it became a permanent integral part of the name of the town itself. It is equally clear that Amitasāgara's preceptor should have lived during Madhurāntaka's reign (970-975). The only possible period, therefore, when Amitasāgarar could have composed the *Kārikai* is the intermediate reign of Rājarāja I.

The fact that the second inscription says that the chief caused Amitasāgarar to stay at his town in *Toṇḍai-nāḍu* seems to suggest that he was a native of neither the town nor of *Toṇḍai-nāḍu* itself. A certain amount of colour is lent to this view, in that the *Toṇḍai-naṇḍala-sāthakam* does not claim him as a native of *Toṇḍai-nāḍu*.

The commentator of the *Kārikai*, *Guṇasāgara*, appears to have lived close to the time of Amitasāgara, as can be seen from the entire absence of citations in praise of kings or chieftains who flourished later than the eleventh century. The proximity of time between Amitasāgara and *Guṇasāgara*, seems to suggest that the latter is a disciple of Amitasāgara who bore the name of his preceptor's *āchārya*.

¹ *Ep. Rep.*, 140 of 1912.

Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

BY

HARIHAR DAS, B. LITT. (OXON.), F. R. HIST. S.

SIR WILLIAM began at once to arrange for his journey to the Court of the Great Mogul. On October 10, 1699, he wrote to the Prime Minister, Assad Khan, asking him to notify the various Governors, through whose provinces he would pass, that they might grant safe conduct for himself and *entourage*, including artillery, as well as for the presents intended for Aurangzebe. At the same time he requested that the Mogul might be notified of his arrival. A few days later, on October 16, he was waited on by Hadgi Mahomet Syed who had already—three weeks earlier—visited him. At the previous visit this person had represented himself as the agent of Sultan Shalim, the Mogul's eldest son, and to him Sir William had used the customary inflated expressions. He was afterwards discovered to be only the agent of a Moorish merchant and acting in the Old Company's interests. He now advised His Excellency that the usual way for an ambassador to announce his arrival was to acquaint the *Vaccanovis*¹ with the fact. That officer, anxious to impress the new-comer, ascribed to the Mogul an army of 200,000 men, maintained at an annual charge of five millions sterling. To this Sir William, not to be outdone in boastfulness, records that he replied 'upon a greate pinch I believed if it was for ye security of ye kingdom of England yt sum might be doubled (by the King) wch made him strooke his beard.'

In about a week's time the Council of Embassy met to arrange for procuring two interpreters and two Englishmen with a knowledge of Persian—the latter to prevent misrepresentations on the part of the former. There was also discussed the best method of announcing to the Mogul the arrival of the Embassy. Consul Pitt was asked to arrange for the journey, and all hands set to work to expedite matters.

¹ *Waki'ahnawis*—Mogul's public intelligencer.

But since necessities like tents, palanquins, furniture, horses, etc., had all to be got from Golconda and Fort St. George, three hundred miles away, great dispatch was impossible.

A few days after the Council, Sir William wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat, informing him of his arrival at Masulipatam and of the preparations being made for proceeding to Bijapur where the Mogul was then said to be. He also requested Sir Nicholas to send on the presents intended for the Mogul so as to meet him on arrival at the latter's camp. He asked further for accurate information regarding the *phirmaunds*, privileges, freedom from customs and other advantages enjoyed by English nationals at Surat and elsewhere, as well as suggestions as to others desirable in the interests of trade. Then, anxious to assert his position at the outset, he asks Sir Nicholas to make it clear to the President and Factors of the Old Company that as English ambassador he alone was empowered to redress the grievances of his countrymen, who must bring to him all complaints against either the Mogul's subjects or one another. He added, 'I would have them acquainted . . . that they may not plead ignorance.' Already he had formed the opinion that as many 'governors and great men' besides the Mogul would have to be 'gratified', the presents sent from London were 'much too short', so he asked Sir Nicholas to procure what other articles he might consider likely to be acceptable.

A letter from Mr. Edward Norris also informed Sir Nicholas of the ambassador's arrival. Dealing with the difficulty of procuring good interpreters, Mr. Norris mentions that the Directors had suggested Nicola Manuchi, and Mr. Trenchfield. The latter, however, he points out, is unskilled in Moorish and Persian, while the former, although completely satisfactory, has not indicated whether or not he will accept the position and no other is in prospect. By the end of October an official dispatch written in Persian was sent to the Mogul announcing the ambassador's arrival and quality.

It now began to be obvious that Sir William's position as ambassador was not to be yielded to him without a struggle. On the 25th the Consul showed him a letter from the Governor of Fort St. George, 'in wch he tooke not ye least notice of me.' Nor was it to his own countrymen only that he was an 'object of suspicion. An officer from the Dutch factory at Golconda was sent to discover the

nature of his errand and he believed that he was being spied upon from other quarters as well. Amid this general hostility, however, he received a civil letter from Simon Holcombe, Chief for the Old Company at Vizagapatam, promising assistance and assuring him of his own loyalty. To this Sir William at once replied with a letter of thanks. The position was made still more uncomfortable by lack of money. The latter caused him to write on October 30, to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal, requesting him to obtain bills of credit from eminent merchants, otherwise he would require to draw upon the factors. He further requested that his arrival should be notified to the Nabob or Governor of Bengal as well as to the Old Company's Presidents, chiefs and factors in that province.

The Old Company's hostility is well shown by a letter, written from Ahmadabad by Thomas Lucas to Consul John Pitt, dated November 2, 1699. After congratulating the Consul on his safe arrival Lucas proceeds to warn him of the Old Company's doings, and declares that they had boasted of their intention of showing the New Company such a trick as would make their stock not worth a rupee at two years' end. Mr. Lucas further expressed the opinion that Surat was more suitable than Masulipatam for the ambassador's operations because the former, he writes, 'had been the proper place being the eye of this great Empire, and the Government of it coveted and generally managed by the most eminent persons of it, and at all times may receive answers of letters in fourteen or fifteen days from Court and an easy journey thither.'

On November 2, Sir William records in his diary disagreement between the Consul and Mahomet Syed about presents for the Vaccanovis. 'I find,' he writes, 'ye whole contrivance in the kingdome from ye highest to ye lowest is to squeeze out of everybody as much as they can and soe yt they gett anything care not how scandalously they come by it.' From the diary and other sources we have glimpses of his doings during these days of delay. On November 4, which was King William's birthday as well as that of the Mogul, he entertained all the Europeans including the staff of the Old Company, and also forty-nine guns were fired for each.¹ The *Kotwal*² sent him the

¹ See O. C., 55, Part II, No. 6954.

² The word is Indo-Persian, and signifies the Warden of a Castle or Fortress, or the governor of a town.

usual *salams*¹ on the 13th, the day of the new moon. He records that on the 15th he went out *incognito* in a palanquin and visited the English and Dutch cemeteries. At the grave of the Dutch ambassador he reflects 'I not farr of his age [45] . . . was a proper lesson of Mortality to me to make me thinke of my latter end.' Next day he gleans information on Indian politics, and learns that a rising of the Gentoos, or non-Moslems, is likely owing to the levying on them of a tax similar to the English poll-tax. He recorded: 'These poore Gentoos are miserably harrassd by ye Moorish Governt since ye Mogull conquerd Golconda and tooke their Kinge prisoner.' He receivet news that owing to pestilence the Mogul has removed his camp fifty leagues away thus increasing the distance between them, which he (Sir William) already thought long enough. The affairs of the Company receive their share of his attention and he learns with disgust that their debt at Surat was much greater than he had suspected.

Mindful of his ambassadorial dignity he has a seal 'cut in gold' with a Persian inscription 'His Excellency Sr Wm. Norris Barontt Ambassadors Extraordinary from ye Kinge, of England, Scotland France and Ireland to salute Allum Gueir anno Christi 1699.' The coming of winter fills him with apprehension. He records incidentally that there is no fall of the leaf, but what he had hitherto thought a 'fancy of ye poets: Perpetuum Ver.' On November 28, Mr. Bright, the Consul's surgeon died and the diary records its author's reflection that Masulipatam is very unhealthy because of the morass.

Sir William gives a vivid account of Masulipatam which may be thus summarized. The people depend on rice from the Bay (of Bengal). The land is rich but uncultivated; any paddy sown is claimed by the Mogul or Nabob. What little cultivation there is, is the work of one caste only. The people can keep as many cattle in the meadows as they like. The grass is not mown, but pulled up by men and women who carry it on their heads to the town. It is the highest impropriety to kill a cow. There is neither drainage nor ploughing, with frequent pestilences and famines [in consequence. During the great famine of 1686 many sold themselves to the Dutch as slaves and were taken to Batavia and the Spice Islands where they still are in a state of slavery. Through] decline in p[er]son trade has

¹ Greetings.

failed. A fire in 1679 and later a flood had injured the town. There was great want of good water, his own was 'fetcht above 9 miles by Cooleys wch before I drinke I have boyled wth spice.' In the town are from thirty to forty little mosques, which are little frequented as the inhabitants are chiefly Gentoos. Aurangzebe had destroyed all their 'pagodas' and kept the Gentoos in total subjection, they 'being an effeminate weake unarmed people whose principle for ye most part is not to kill.' When fighting was necessary they appealed for help to the Rajputs. 'I make no complement to my Country att all' he adds, 'when I attest yt 20,000 Englishmen well armed would beate all ye Mogulls Army both Moores and Gentoos.' Provisions were good and Sir William mentions that he had '14 or 16 good dishes every day att dinner.'

The coinage current at the time was in pagodas, rupees, cash and pice. The rupee at $2\frac{2}{3}$ sterling was the standard unit, and the other relative values were as follows :—1 pagoda = $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees ; 46 cash = 1 rupee ; 69 pice = 1 rupee. Sir William had instructions to institute a mint at Masulipatam in order to checkmate the Old Company who in changing dollars to rupees charged at the rate of ten per cent.

About the beginning of December our ambassador's attention appears to have been withdrawn from the description of outward things to matters of greater inwardness. The change of Nabob gave him an insight into the character of the Brahmans. They had been ordered to get their accounts ready and to stop paying Mede Khan's (the new Nabob's) predecessor. In connection with this he notes that the Brahmans are 'expert and cuninge in all ways of gain as any sort o men in any Nation, and I beleive could outwit . . . any Jews.' Stil deeper do his observations go, for after discoursing with a learned Brahman on his religion and the Sanskrit language he seems to have become convinced himself from what he learned that the former had its foundation in Christianity. Possibly recent letters had turned his thoughts to religious matters for on December 4 he had learnt of the death of Mr. Philip Pitt, chaplain and kinsman to the Consul of that name.

But public affairs demanded attention. The new Nabob made his formal entry into Masulipatam on December 3, and Sir William from a balcony watched the procession pass, ordering twenty-one guns to be fired as soon as the Nabob took his seat in the 'Banksoll

Neither took any private notice of the other's presence, but Sir William continued his public courtesy by ordering that music should be played as the Nabob's party passed by. Thereafter an officer ostensibly sent by the Mogul to tax the Gentoos arrived with fifty horses, causing disturbance and fighting. Later on he withdrew and Sir William suspected that he had no authority from the Mogul at all. News came too that Aurangzebe and his army were continually on the march and that the new Nabob had lost his commission. These varied happenings caused great inconvenience to the English at Masulipatam and Surat. And an official letter to Consul Pitt expressed the utmost regret that Sir William had not been ordered to Surat instead of Masulipatam.

As we follow the career of the ambassador practically throughout this mission to the Mogul we learn much from records and reports of the condition of the people, their trade with the English and the difficulties experienced by the latter from want of the ordinary facilities of communication. The Gentoos were plainly subject to the Moslems as a conquered people. The English factories had contracts with the former, but not with the latter, from whom apparently fulfilment could not be exacted. Sir William mentions specially the difficulties of communication, 'such a convenience as a post not being suffered.'

He feels his way slowly as he goes along, learns that personal importance is reckoned by the number of 'Dulasses and Peans he keepes'—he had 120. He writes that the Shubah of Golconda offered to obtain freedom from the Mogul's taxes for the English in consideration of Rs. 20,000, and remarks this 'will be a cheape peniworth if to be had for such a sum.' The offer was not accepted. He observes shrewdly, and records this reflection as the following comparison shows :

'The Governour att Madapollam it seemes is a Gentoo which is not usuall . . . ye Gentoo when he getts in office is apt to be very Haughty and Insolent for beinge in Reality ye antient Inhabitants and possessors of Indostan they are a little of ye Humour of our Welsh men who believing themselves to be ye true antient Brittain value themselves upon it and if ever they gett in authority take care to exercise to ye height and thinke it is their due to Lord it over those they have under their subjection.'

There was some quarrel between the Gentoo Governor at Madapollam and Mr. Holcombe of the old factory ; but any development

was prevented by the brass guns of the factory as 'natives much fear firearms.' During an excursion into the country in mid-December he saw an antelope hunted by English greyhounds. He was seriously asked more than once by people in responsible positions if he were the King of Golconda in disguise, and explains the error quaintly by remarking 'wt confirmed ym in yt opinion was yt I never stird abroad.'

Meanwhile he was informed by the Council from Surat, under date of December 12, 1699, that the Company's ship *Norris* had arrived with the result that the noisy insolence of the Old Company's servants was to some extent abated. At the same time the belief was expressed that old Company's agents were at the Mogul Court using money freely to obstruct his (Sir William's) mission. The writers further informed him that Sir Nicholas Waite would shortly communicate any necessary information and meanwhile they wished him to know that 'the avarice of the Governors and other officers here, and the dilatory and irregular proceedings in discharge of goods at the custom house, make the trade very chargeable and uneasy, and indeed the frequent imprisonment of the merchants from Europe upon the least caprice of the Governor, is a grievance almost intolerable; they in the New Company's service, as well as the rest, are at this time confined within the walls of the city, and are not suffered to go out without leave first granted by the Governor, which is no easy matter to obtain.'¹ A later letter announces the arrival at Surat of the new Governor and Dewan² and records that several conferences had taken place between the former and agents of the Dutch Company. The latter were demanding the return of an undertaking extracted from them by the late Governor to the effect that they would protect the ships of the Mogul and his subjects from pirates in the sea. It was believed that to force compliance the Dutch intended to land 700 men at Swally. The Old Company and the French had given similar undertakings to secure freedom of trade in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, but would probably wait before attempting their recovery to see what success the Dutch might have. There was a report also that Commodore Warren³ had died.

¹ See *Factory Records*, misc., vol. 19, India Office.

² Financial Minister.

³ Warren died at Calicut.

A letter, dated December 20, from the Court of Directors in London records matters from the home point of view. Pleasure is expressed at the progress he has made and intimation is given that they are sending for the Coast and Bay '£160,000 in money and £20,000 in cloth and other merchandises.' Matters between the Old and New Companies remain as before. Remonstrances from the Mogul concerning repeated piracies had stirred the Government to a display of zeal. Parliament had sat since November 16, but no petition had as yet been presented by the Old Company. Several pirates had been tried lately including some of Avery's crew, and six executed that very day; accommodation near the place of execution having been provided in order that some *Lascars*¹ might witness it and spread the news after return to their own country. Sir William is directed too to make the most of this as a signal instance of English justice. They repeat their confidence that the ambassador will do his best to forward their interests and desire that he will impress on the Mogul their dependence rather on *his* justice than on any display of force. All they ask is a *phirmaund* securing trade. They request a detailed account of how matters stand in India between the Old and the New Companies and close with the injunction that he will 'endeavour to comply with the humours of the natives so far as is consistent with your honour.'

On December 20 the *Factory Records* records that Masulipatam has been occupied on behalf of the new Nabob by a Dewan and in this connection it now gives some evidence of suspicion on the part of its author that disloyalty and even worse on the part of some Englishmen existed. There is reference to a 'cowle' obtained from the Nabob by Mr. Holcombe forbidding trade on the coast by English ships except those allowed by the former and Mr. Lovell. Something is also said about an order to empower the raising of horse by which to drive out all the English. Sir William thought Mr. Lovell had not been sincere in his dealings. This suspicion was not without foundation as the records now show that since the ambassador's arrival at Masulipatam, Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, had kept himself constantly informed of Sir William's movements, and also asked Mr. Lovell's assistance in that matter and wrote to him: 'methinks itt should not be difficult

¹ Indian sailors.

for you to have good information tho' att some charge.' This request for news was repeated in other letters to Mr. Lovell and Mr. Woolston by Thomas Pitt.¹ Sir William was being closely watched by spies who reported everything to the Old Company. Personally, however, he appears to have felt that he had been able to defeat these underhand activities, for he writes: 'It was perhaps happy for ye Company yt I came to this place havinge frustrated their villanous designes and kept ym in Aw and in some bounds.' He adds his opinion that the old Nabob was 'a fit instrument for ye Old Company to make use of to doe whatever they will have him.' It was fortunate, therefore, that a new Nabob should displace him. He records also the opinion that 'a large present' will be necessary to secure favour for the New Company's interest, there being no other way to gain 'either favour or justice in this Government.'

The prospect of the new regime caused him some anxiety. He heard that a 'reformation of manners' was to be inaugurated, involving the closing of houses where strong drink was sold and the expulsion of loose women. As the new Nabob could embarrass the Company's affairs and even stop their trade his own course as their representative gave him considerable thought. And as the favour of the King of Golconda could no longer be depended on, Sir William finally decided to send his chief Dubash, or interpreter, with presents. This was in contrast to the action of the Dutch chief who was going in person to 'crouch and cringe.' The reformation of manners was he believed simply an excuse to get money, for 'the higher authority squeezes ye lower, and ye Mogull squeezes all.' The chief Dubash returned on the 30th and reported his having met the Nabob and presented him with three gold *mohurs* and his son with two.

Indian feeling at this time is indicated in a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. James Vernal, dated January 1, 1700. In it he expresses a fear of great bitterness on the part of the Mogul's subjects against Europeans, more especially the English, on account of piracy. This feeling was undoubtedly intensified, he thinks, by friction between the Old Company's factors and their creditors, and he expresses the hope that Sir William will use his influence to reduce it.²

¹ See Nos. 4, 15, 16 of Addl. MS., 22842, British Museum.

² See Factory Records, Misc. 19, India Office.

On New Year's Day, 1699-1700, Sir William sent Consul Pitt and Mr. Graham, second in charge of the factory, attended by Mr. Harewyn and Mr. Mill to have audience with the new Nabob, who had now arrived. They went in state accompanied by an imposing retinue bearing blunderbusses, trumpets, flags and country drums. (The last mentioned the Dutch had not been allowed to bring.) Their instructions were to compliment the Nabob in the Ambassador's name and to assure him of the latter's pleasure at the new and deserved honour bestowed on him by the Mogul. Further, they were to inform the Nabob of Sir William's status as ambassador extraordinary from the King of England to Aurangzebe and that his mission was to treat of several weighty affairs in order to the 'better settlement of the English trade in the Mogul's dominions.' Before this deputation set out matters as to etiquette had been carefully considered and Consul Pitt was instructed 'upon his accesse to make only one small bow with his Hatt on and to sitt down wth his Hatt on next to ye Nabob.' The Nabob received them in great state and the message was delivered to him by Consul Pitt as spokesman and head who, at the same time presented 'a curious watch with Persian characters and his son a silver snuff-box.'

Sir William's own record of the new Nabob Mede Khan's entry into Masulipatam which took place on January 4, is to the effect that he came 'on an elephant, attended by about 500 horse and as many foot, he sent a compliment to me by two officers, which I returned in like manner before he went out of town.' He comments: 'I am well satisfied 50 Englishmen well mounted would have dispersed ye whole company Elephants and all.' The Nabob was saluted with music; and during his stay, ordered some scarlet and green cloth from the English factory, which were supplied without charge. After the ceremonial compliments were over Sir William directed the Consul to inform the Nabob of the establishment of the New Company by authority of the King and Parliament and to say further that the Old Company would cease to be on September 22, 1701. All this the Nabob received very pleasingly, assuring the Consul that everything would be as the ambassador desired.

The same night, however, Sir William was told that the Dewan had sent demanding 50,000 rupees Factory custom for goods imported since the settlement there and insisted on having that sum and nothing

less. He immediately ordered a reply to the effect that the English had never yet paid any custom there and would not begin now, that they 'were in possession of *phirmaunds* granted by the Kings of Golconda, a *Neshan*¹ from the Mogul's second son, *perwanas*² granted by all Nabobs.' Believing that this demand was the outcome of intrigue on the part of the Old Company, Sir William sent a message to the Nabob declaring his belief that such a message could not have been sent by him but had come without sanction from some of his officers. In reply the Nabob pretended ignorance but immediately after asked the Dubash what Sir William would give him if he granted the desired *Perwana*. Unable to answer, the Dubash was sent to Sir William, practically to negotiate a gratuity. The latter was not surprised at the message and replied that it was beneath his dignity to make any such arrangement, but added that if the Nabob should grant freedom of trade such as the English had always enjoyed there he would see that a suitable 'return' was made. There was added a hint that the 'return' would be more valuable than had ever been given before. Then followed a species of dead-lock in which neither party trusted the other: Sir William became more and more suspicious of the whole business while the Nabob hampered the Company's activities as much as possible. The ambassador thus expresses himself 'indeed these people from top to bottom are so mercenary and used to bargains yt they have not ye least notion of Generosity.'

On January 6, Emauncouli Beg, Consul Pitt's agent, wrote from Assad Khan's camp acknowledging receipt of the Consul's letter announcing Sir William's arrival at Masulipatam and stating that he had shown it to the Nabob Zulphur Khan who had sent him to Assad Khan for *Dusticks*,³ to be used by the ambassador. He further stated that he had written to the Mogul and the principal secretary, Phazaell Khan, announcing His Excellency's arrival and assured him that the necessary *Dusticks* would be provided. Vincatadre immediately replied thanking him for the service he had rendered and suggested that he should come in person to Masulipatam to convoy the ambassador to Aurangzebe's presence. At the same time he

¹ Persian—the letter of a Prince; standard.

² Arabic—order, a written command.

³ A passport.

mentioned that orders had been given for the purchase of 50 camels and that a bill of exchange for Rs. 60,000 had been remitted, all by way of preparation for His Excellency's journey.

Meanwhile on January 11, Sir Nicholas Waite notified to Sir John Gayer from the *Montague* then three leagues off Bombay that he had been constituted Public Minister and Consul General with sole power to grant passports to the subjects of the Emperor and Princes of India, to settle all differences between His Majesty's subjects and to see preserved for them such privileges as his ambassador shall obtain.

On January 13, Consul Pitt wrote to Emauncouli Beg complimenting him on his arrangements for the ambassador's journey and mentioning that, the season being far advanced, Sir William would be ready to set out as soon as he should arrive.

There now follows an open manifestation of hostility from the Old Company. On January 15, news arrived from Fort St. George that two of the New Company's ships were at Surat and that there was no probability of agreement between the Companies. The latter was made clear by Thomas Pitt, who a day later wrote to Sir William protesting against his action in forbidding Mr. Thomas Lovell to communicate with any of the Mogul's officers and threatening should he do so to have him sent home in irons. Thomas Pitt stated also that the Old Company intended to continue their trade with the Government and informed Sir William that the injury he had already done by placing an embargo on their ships would be notified to the proper authorities. At the same time he wrote also to the Governor of Masulipatam complaining of hindrances offered to the factors of the Old Company by the New Company's agents who prevented the former from approaching the Nabob, Mede Khan. In another letter to Sir William he insisted that no hindrances should be offered to the Old Company's trade till September 1701, the date when the Old Company's existence was to come to an end.

At the same time, however, news arrived from Emauncouli Beg to the effect that by the Nabob's orders he was coming to Masulipatam to conduct the ambassador to the Mogul's camp. He wrote suavely of the preparations he was making out of friendship for the ambassador and gave glib assurances that His Excellency would see the Emperor and in due time be escorted back to Masulipatam with his mission

accomplished. His fair words were however discounted by slow performance. Nevertheless Sir William's hopes were raised and in a corresponding frame of mind he wrote to the President and Council at Surat. In this letter he asks Sir Nicholas Waite to perfect the arrangements necessary, mentioning what has been already done as well as what is still necessary. Among the latter he mentions carriages for his artillery and an escort of twelve men. His chief anxiety apparently was the lack of an interpreter. Mr. Trenchfield, already mentioned, was dead; Nicolao Manucci¹ had excused himself on account of age, blindness and other infirmities, and at Masulipatam no other with the necessary qualifications could be found.

Sir Nicholas Waite had arrived at Swally Bar on January 19, 1699-1700. As Consul-General he at once summoned the Council that he might be informed as to the progress of the Treaty and also that the Mogul should be officially informed of his arrival. Dianat Khan granted him a *Perwana* to the effect that he should be free from restraint at Surat, might hire a house there, have liberty of trade, have his merchandize immediately cleared at dues to be agreed on by the Mogul and the ambassador, have all necessities in the way of food and clothing free from customs dues and be at liberty to use such flags, trumpets, etc., as his official status should require. His arrival with the style of Consul was in itself an affront to the Old Company, while prompt attempts to use his powers did not tend to sweeten matters. He ordered Captain John Wyatt of the *Frederick* to strike his pennant and peremptorily summoned the English in the town to an audience aboard his ship. To this order Stephen Colt and the Council refused obedience and Waite then ordered the flag at Swally to be struck—the latter, it is said, at Sir William Norris's own suggestion. The Council objected on the grounds that it would destroy the Company's credit and give offence to the Mogul. Their previous answer had made it clear that the required visit would not be paid till they had seen Waite's authority. The latter's reply was that if they would not obey they need not in the future look for his protection: that his commission would be shown them but they would not be allowed to

¹ It is evident from a letter from Jeremiah Peachey to John Pitt that Manucci was not really incapable of acting as interpreter on the grounds he alleged, but hesitated to take the office without Governor Pitt's permission to do so. See *Diary of William Hedges*, vol. ii, pp. 268-9.

copy it; and that he had authority, higher than his own, for ordering the striking of St. George's flag. At the same time he wrote to Dianat Khan, Nabob of Surat, stating that the flag had been taken down. The Nabob's death about this time caused some delay, but on January 28, his successor refused permission to hoist the flag on the new factory.

Commodore Warren's death caused Sir William Norris much concern. Warren's loyalty to the New Company had been undoubted and his successor was thought rather to favour the Old. Sir William advised Waite to watch the latter carefully while showing him—as well as the other commanders—all possible civility and respect. He was further perturbed by a rumour of the presence of Dutch men-of-war at Surat, sent thither to demand satisfaction for alleged hardships to their countrymen at the hands of the Mogul Government. Sir William wrote asking that any Dutch action might be reported to him at once and at the same time took occasion to refer to the Old Company's affairs, directing that they should be held responsible for the discharge, with as little delay as possible, of their debts and other obligations.

On January 2, a report reached the ambassador to the effect that a Dutch ship had been captured by pirates sixty leagues off Achin. The pirate ship was said to carry seventy Europeans and thirty Caffres, with twenty-four guns, and was understood to be on the watch for ships going to China. Sir William was much disconcerted with the news, as the success of his negotiations with the Mogul seemed to him to depend largely on the issue of the operations against the pirates. The Dutch men-of-war at Surat, also said to be seven in number, made matters more critical, as he feared they might try to entangle the English naval commander in a joint demand for satisfaction from the Government. Sir William, therefore, warned the Commander to remain aloof, pointing out that unless he did so, his own mission as ambassador would be made extremely difficult. From this letter it can be seen that the ambassador had other troubles, for he mentions in it that one of his suite, Mr. Thurgood 'with too close application to the Persian language has disordered his brains so far that he has made himself incapable of business, and unfit for conversation, and indeed is a melancholy object' and had, therefore, to be sent home in the *Degrave*.

The situation far from improving seemed to grow daily worse. On January 18, the diary records the presence of ten French ships of war at Goa: Dutch feeling seemed to be with the pirates, and some *lascars* in the new Company's service made an unjust demand for wages and appealed to the Nabob for support. Out of this appeal there sprang a period of strained relations with the Nabob. The latter seized Vincatadre, one of the ambassador's interpreters, and the latter immediately demanded his release, threatening the Nabob with penalties if he did not acquiesce. So serious did the aspect of affairs become that the embassy was put into a state of defence and everyone was armed to resist an attack. The demand for Vincatadre's release, at first ignored, was renewed with more success. English persistence frightened the Nabob, who not only released his prisoner but apologized for detaining him and begged that His Excellency would take no further notice of the matter. Sir William, however, demanded public satisfaction sending Mr. Mill, his secretary, with thirty Indian servants to support the demand. He was to point out that no ambassador from so great a Prince could suffer such an indignity nor would he accept any less satisfaction than that the Nabob should beg His Excellency's pardon and express his regret. For their services on this occasion Mr. Mill and Mr. Harlewyn were recommended to the notice of the Court of Directors. A few days later the trouble broke out afresh with the seizure of a drummer by the *Kotwal*. The latter, however, released his prisoner on receipt of demands for release accompanied with threats.

The impression produced by such successes was not usually of long duration. It looked as if a fresh wrangle would be occasioned by the Nabob's delay in issuing *dusticks* for goods awaiting shipment. Sir William suspected the Dutch of having a hand in the obstruction. In the end, however, matters were amicably settled and the *dusticks* granted. But difficulties seemed to swarm in from every quarter. The Old Company's agents continued their opposition; piracy went on, inflaming the minds of the Mogul's subjects; and the activities of the Dutch men-of-war added to the ambassador's general distraction. Nevertheless we find him in his diary writing hopefully of being able to start on his 800 mile journey to the Mogul's Camp on March 25, the first day of the new century.

All through February, Sir William seems to have been in receipt

of letters which could hardly have any other than a discouraging effect upon him. His correspondents write apparently as hopefully as possible, but the information they send is almost uniformly depressing. Yet in the beginning of March preparations were begun for the expedition. A 'scrutiny' was taken of the servants who were to accompany him and all but one were found eager to go.

On March 2, Sir William was disturbed by the Moores celebrating the Death of Mahomet, 'ye Grand Impostor'; there was a procession with a coffin, etc. He thought it 'hard to Judge whether ye Moores or Rashbootes ar [e] more Ridiculous in their Ceremonys,' but 'this I thinke is observable yt there is not ye least clashiuge or fallinge out amongst soe many different sectes and casts.' On the 4th he writes: 'Yesterday ye Gold embroydered furniture for one of my State Pulankeens was brought hither from Golconda.' The next day the *Degrave* arrived from Bengal with a rich cargo. Six days later Sir William writes from the palace of the King of Golconda to James Vernon, principal Secretary of State, describing the preparations already made for the journey and the expected splendour of his equipage. Even in this letter he seems unable to forget his difficulties and the obstructions put in his way by the agents of the Old Company: 'Our own countrymen are our greatest enemies in working underhand and setting these people on, I believe they are fully resolved as far as they are able to sacrifice the Nation's honour and the trade itself to their own malice and revenge without the least prospect or possibility of reaping any advantage by it themselves.'¹ He also added that they have agents at Court employed at great expense to frustrate his negotiation. The ambassador was able to procure copies of letters² originally written by the Governor of Fort St. George to the Nabob and Governor of Masulipatam in which he denied Sir William's authority as an ambassador. He lays the chief blame not on the Old Company's agents in India, but on their chiefs at home and expresses the hope that with his appearance at the Mogul's camp their power to obstruct and delay would 'vanish like clouds before the sun'. At the

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. 19.

² Thomas Pitt in one of his letters written from Fort St. George on the eleventh of February, 1699 [1700] mentioned that he was unwilling to write much about the ambassador for fear that some persons might turn informers and give evidence against him. This suspicion seems to be well founded. See Addl. MS., vol. i, No. 44,22,842.

same time he writes in similar terms to the Court of Directors and complains especially of the discourtesy of Thomas Pitt, who had described him as 'Ambassador to the Great Mogul' and suppressed altogether the name of the King. The insinuation of course was that he was merely the agent of a private company, without public authority. This letter to the Directors contains the depressing intelligence that although all possible economy had been observed yet the expenses of the embassy had proved greater than that at first computed. In it also he expresses his intention of setting out for the Mogul's camp without waiting for arrival of the latter's *dusticks*, said to be now on their way to him in the hands of Emauncouli Beg.

Meanwhile at home a distinct check had been suffered by the Court of Directors. They wrote on March 15 stating that the Old Company had got a Bill through both houses of Parliament permitting them to continue as a Corporation to trade with the £315,000 subscribed by Mr. Dubois, while a further Bill passed by both Houses prohibited the wearing in England after September 29, 1701, 'of severall sorts of East India goods.'¹

Now arrived the first day of April and we find that Sir William expected a further delay of six weeks owing to the want of certain necessaries which ought to have been ready by the middle of January. This delay cannot have been made any more palatable by receipt of a letter from Surat which declared that had he come there first he might have been at the Mogul's Camp within forty days of his landing. Sir Nicholas Waite had now secured a Persian interpreter of French parentage who having been lately at the Court of Aurangzebe was well qualified to serve Sir William. Five days later the latter learnt that Emauncouli Beg was at last on his way with *dusticks* and camels and in view of these facts he fixed his departure for May 1. On April 11 a public entertainment was given as it was the anniversary of King William's Coronation. Only a few details now remained to be arranged. Sir Nicholas expressed his earnest desire that a meeting might be arranged between himself and Sir William within eight days in order to confer together before Sir William went to Court. He further proposed to send a guard with the presents and also to send as well six of the Company's writers, 'Gentlemen's sons,

¹ See Addl. MS., 31,302, British Museum.

very well clothed,' to enlarge his retinue. Yet even now when the arrangements for the embassy were so far advanced, the cabal against Sir William continued, and in this the name of Commodore Littleton comes into considerable prominence.

But a defection, if possible still more serious now began to become apparent. On April 23, a Council was held at Masulipatam. From certain happenings in connection with it the ambassador began to entertain suspicions of the Consul Pitt himself. He writes: 'I am sure I have been more surprizd for some weeks past to find ye Consult . . . not only using arguments for my farther stay but offeringe to give it me under his and ye Consul's hands. This shows that it is his Intrest upon some account or other yt I should not goe away yet, and I cannot see any way but this, that he haveinge ye sole management . . . is offered a good sum of money from Fort St. George to Impede matters.' Sir William asked for the reasons for delay and received from the Consul and Council a 'very disrespectfull and unbecominge' reply. This was to the effect that the delay had been really due to Sir William's coming to Masulipatam. He had been advised by the President that the Mogul being at Brampore, Masulipatam was nearer than Surat. But John Pitt and his Council had even then pointed out the disadvantages of adopting this advice and told Sir William that it would be very difficult to furnish an equipage as it was such a desolate place. Yet they had promised that all diligence would be used for a quick dispatch. Their daily reports must have shown that this had been done, and satisfaction had apparently been given to Sir William. They thought therefore that they deserved rather thanks for their diligence than blame at his hands. The ambassador replied justifying his former representation and expressed surprise at the tone of the President and Council and had he known the difficulties he would not have landed in such a barren place. The breach between the Consul and himself grew wider until at last when the former offers him a man to be sent to Golconda for oxen, palanquin, boys, etc., to be used on the expedition he writes that 'haveinge had some suspition lately of their management cheifly in Relation to my concern and dispatch I refusd ye offer.' It was found also the country round was plunged in war and disorder, so it was not easy to procure all the necessaries for his journey.

On April 27, the *London* arrived from Bengal and saluted Sir

William with nineteen guns. She brought from Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal a letter which announced that he had procured copies of eight grants 'the best the English nation ever yet had.'

The following is a list of these :—

1. Shah Jahan his *Phirmaund*.
2. Aurangzebe his *Phirmaund*.
3. Shah Shujah his *Nishan*.
4. Sultan Azum Borah the present second son to the Emperor Aurangzebe, his *Nishan*.
5. Mahomet Zooma Nabob of Orissa his *Perwana*. This was the first grant obtained by the English in Bengal, on their first settlement by Mr. Thomas Cartwright in the year 1633.
6. Asett Cawhan his *Perwana* on the King's *Hukum*.
7. Hodgee Zuffer Khan, King's Dewan of Bengal, his *Perwana*.
8. Nabob Shaista Khan's or Emir Umrah, his *Perwana*.

When the month of May opened there seemed as little likelihood of a start as ever. Letters in Persian had indeed been brought to Sir William from a Dewan of Zulphar Khan but 'I could make nothing of ye purport ye Mulla first turning ye persian into Gentoo and Vincatadre at ye 3d hand tellinge me just wt he thought good (wch has been my misfortune all alonge not to have an Interpreter I could in ye least rely on or confide in).' The *Dusticks* from the Mogul for his safe passage, addressed to all Nabobs and Governors, also came, and Sir William ordered them to be translated, but expected as hitherto to be misled. There arrived also on May 1st the *Hassabul-Hukum*¹ to Mede Khan for convoying the ambassador from Masulipatam to the Mogul's Camp. It was dated 29th *Ramasin*. Two days later at a meeting of Council there was read a message from Emauncouli Beg saying that he was actually 'upon ye road'. Immediately there was a spasm of local activity during which 300 coolies and 100 palanquin boys were ordered. But next day came another message from Emauncouli intimating that he was not coming himself, but sending his son.

The long delay and many worries had now not only aroused Sir William's suspicions but overtaxed his temper. Discovering evidences

of what looked like a conspiracy of double-dealing and obstruction on the part of his Indian suite and dependents he ordered one to be bastinadoed and cashiered, another cashiered and seventy more dismissed his service. Vincatadre, who had formerly been in the Old Company's service and been once described by Thomas Pitt as a 'perjur'd knave', was especially 'the object of his suspicions. Of him he writes 'I have more than once told ye Consull of my suspicions of Vincatadre's false and double-dealinge, but he always passionately . . . vouchd for his honesty and yet I am firmly of opinion we have all been betrayed by him.'

Seeing yet no prospect of getting away he now asked the Captain of the *London*, then at Masulipatam, if he could take him on to Surat. The request was refused on account of the monsoon, etc. We have a glimpse into the depth of his disappointment through the following extract in which he tries to express Christian resignation :—'Soe shall as in all duty bound expect wth patience Gods apointed time, and wt his good providence sees best wch in all circumstances of my life has ordered all affaires to my advantage even beyond expectation and above my wishes which I hope I shall never forgett to acknowledge and be thankfull for.' It seems like the utterance of a baffled mind controlling itself with difficulty.

In this exasperated condition he received from the Court of Directors a letter dated May 9, 1700. Its fatuousness must have made him angrier still. From the calm atmosphere of London it sagely advises the Company's agents in the tempertrying East to avoid all quarrelling and by courteous and civil behaviour win over to their interest not only the Indians but, in addition to other Europeans, the English also. They should not allow themselves, it proceeds, to be undermined or obstructed in their business, but to use all honest means for the prosecution of their own interest. The letter contained, however, one grain of comfort. It informed him that Dr. Davenant whom the Old Company had been arranging to send out to India as a sort of *chargé d'affaires* on their behalf was now not to come.

Meanwhile Sir Nicholas Waite had written to the Mogul from Surat on May 14, announcing the early dissolution of the Old Company and the appointment by the King of England of Sir William Norris, Bart., as his ambassador. He writes: 'I brought twelve curious Cannon order'd to be deliver'd by our serene King's Ambassador to

¹ Mixture of Arabic and Persian—Rules regarding any administration.

yor Emperiall Majesty to be used in ye field for destroying of all yor Enemies wch are ready when have notice of sd Embassadrs arrival to be sent into your glorious Court.' In this letter a bold attempt is made to make favour with the Mogul on behalf of the New Company. He notified to the Mogul that it was King William's express desire that all debts owing to the inhabitants of Surat should be defrayed by the Old Company. Having thus smoothed over one obstacle in his path, the fear of pecuniary loss from the proposed change, he tries to stir up odium: 'I have shown my Commission from my King to the Governor but he regards not my words. The Old Company's Servants do the violence and are thieves and confederates with the pirates.' In conclusion Waite explains that he and the ambassador have been sent to rectify matters.¹

The following is a summary of the requests put before the Mogul on his own authority by Sir Nicholas Waite in a document of May 14, 1700, in twenty-one paragraphs. This *phirmaund* in the event of Sir William's non-arrival at the Imperial Court, Sir Nicholas requests may be delivered to himself. The first and last of these were quite general: to have liberty to trade and to establish factories at Surat and other ports in the Mogul's dominions; and to have the Mogul's command to his governors and ministers to carry out the various provisions fully and inviolably. The other paragraphs concerned Surat itself, but could have been applied, with necessary changes in the wording, to the other ports. They secured liberty to go in and out of the Surat to visit the ships at Swalley without interference; the Consul in particular was not to be searched on such journeys. Liberty to build a house, to have lands for a storehouse at Swalley, for building and repairing boats and ships, and for building a warehouse near the town gate. Four more paragraphs concerned the customs: Duty not to exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; goods landed at Surat and then exported again not to pay more than one duty, and not to pay any in case of mere transshipment; goods purchased in the interior for shipment to pay only at the port; indigo to pay only 2½ rupees. Protection was desired for goods in transit; robberies were to be compensated for by the Mogul's officials, who were not to take goods and curiosities at their pleasure but to buy from the merchants. A mint

See O. C., 56, 1.

for coining silver was to be allowed. Payment of debts to be enforced by the governor. Horses to be free of duty, as also plate and necessities for the factories. The English Consul to be allowed to carry a flag and travel in due state. The Governor to arrest anyone leaving the factory without the Consul's permission. The traders to be free to choose their broker. Then follows an important provision: Should difference happen at any time between the subjects of the Mogul and the English, no officers or subjects of his shall assault or affront the English, but the difference shall be determined by the Governor and Consul; if the English be found in fault they shall be punished by the Consul, and if the people of Surat, they shall be punished by the Governor.¹

On May 16, Sir Nicholas writes again to Sir William narrating his landing four months before his reception by the Governor and the condition of things he had discovered. There had been opposition from the Old Company, the Dutch and the French. The Old Company's servants persisted in refusing to acknowledge Sir William's ambassadorial powers, and had found an ally in Commodore Littleton who maintained that Sir William was the New Company's and not the King's ambassador. He writes:

'All three European nations have given bond for securing the Seas, the Dutch for the Red Sea, the French for the Persian Gulf and the "dull unthinking timorous English" from Bombay to Zeilon Coast, Bay, Malacca and all the South Seas without obliging these people to send their ships in fleets for which they are to receive one per cent convoy money, an insufferable burden, occasioned by the avarice of the late managers of the Old Company. A declaration of the most eminent merchants of this city claiming upwards of £100,000 bond has occasioned the Emperor to direct their detention and not permithem to go thro' the gates. They tried to get this voided by purchasing some few secretly to subscribe a justification in the name of the whole city that they had satisfied all debts. This was discovered, otherwise they would have gone and left us to be enchained in their stead. They have sent an Armenian to Court to try and prevent your reception this season.'²

The next day he wrote again, absence of news since January 19, having apparently made him afraid that earlier letters had miscarried, and matters were now in his opinion urgent; the Emperor having just made peace, a golden opportunity had arisen. In the Company's interest the ambassador must reach the Imperial Camp before the rains.

¹ See No. 7060 of O. C., 56, i., India Office.

² See O.C. 56, i.

The contents of a letter written so early as the previous March by Consul Pitt at Masulipatam to Assad Khan, were now, towards the end of May, divulged by the latter. They offer strong evidence that Consul Pitt was even then playing for his own hand. He describes himself as 'Consul Genr and Caplain of Metchlapatam and Madapollam for the English there' and asks among other things for a convoy to travel with the ambassador. For that purpose he had sent Meede Cooly Beague, who is 'somewhat acquainted with the customes and manners of the hatt men' with orders to all the Foujdars between that place and Surat to assist the convoy.¹

We learn something of the Mogul's Ministers and other officers from a letter of the President and Council of Surat to Sir William, written on the same day, May 23. This letter gives a particularly lucid picture of the forces working for the two Companies even at the Imperial Court. It contains many details and many names, principally of officials at Court, but its chief effect is to show clearly that the Mogul's officials were as much divided over the affairs of the two Companies as were the servants of the Companies themselves. They pointed out it was a mistake to apply to Arsett Khan for assistance, who as Governor of the King's House, naturally possessed no slight influence over the Mogul. Unfortunately Arsett Khan was a prominent partisan of the Old Company, at any rate for the moment. It was true that he was brother-in-law of the Governor of Surat, through whose good offices, they thought, he might be induced to alter his conviction. Still the selection by the Mogul of this man to convoy the guns, presents, etc., was most disquieting, especially as Arsett Khan's action was due to the request of John Pitt. Assad Khan on the other hand had not yet declared himself for either Company, but at least, according to the President and Council, he was an enemy of Arsett Khan. There was also a strong faction on whom the New Company could rely as they were enemies of the Old Company. These were 'men of honour.' Muchalesa Khan, 2nd Treasurer of the Horse, in great esteem with the King; Ruhula Khan, Great Steward to the King; Yarlebig, 1st Arasbekee, and favourite with the King, 'whose virtue and integrity gives him always the pre-eminence of the King's favour.' The latter is the principal

¹ See *O.C.*, 56, i.

advocate and patron of the New Company, will receive nothing. Of course behind each of these protagonists in each party friendly, hostile or neutral, were lesser leaders whose characters are succinctly summarized in the letter. Behind Arsett were Monim Khan, 2nd Arasbekee who might 'secretly be gained'; Mulfett Khan, a Councillor of no great interest; Abdul Raman Khan, 2nd Judge of the Court, entirely in the interest of the Old Company and 'not to be brought over'; Suffascuna Khan, 'false and of no account with the King.' Then there were the Procurators of the Old Company,—Dianat Raya of the Cuttaree caste always resident at Court; Basacur Ray; Gocoldass Banian; Cogia Auenes, an Armenian from Surat who went about a month with Rs. 20,000—most potent of arguments. Among the neutrals were Terabeet Khan, Councillor; Beramuna Khan, Chief Treasurer of the Horse.¹

At last on May 27, Emauncouli's son arrived with the original *Hasbulla Hookum* for conveying His Excellency to the Court.

Meanwhile the President and Council at Hooghly wrote to Sir William announcing that they were sending Mamood Hereeph to explain to him how affairs were in Bengal in preparation for his business at Court. Mamood seems to have been well fitted for the task as he was used to the King's Court and was an advocate by profession. Among the matters explained by him to Sir William was the wish of the Council to obtain a *phirmaund* from the King free of tax, fixing instead of customs an annual payment into the King's treasury of Rs. 3,000 for every ship. In the event of this being refused they wished to have the custom fixed at 2 per cent as at Surat and to have a mint at Hooghly.

At a Council Meeting on May 30, Sir William asked for a supply of money in view of his expected early start, but was informed by the Consul that he could not provide more than Rs. 34,000 as the Embassy had already caused great expense.

From the Council of Surat came on May 30, intimation of sundry preparations they were making for Sir William's journey, their anxiety to obtain as early as possible the *phirmaunds* for the New Company and an instruction they had received from the Company to supply him with £30,000.² The latter sum would have been sufficient

¹ *O.C.*, 56 i.

² There seems to be a discrepancy between the sum mentioned at the Council meeting on the 30th and the letter written by the Council of Surat.

if he had come by way of Surat. Writing on the following day to Sir Nicholas Waite, the ambassador took a very pessimistic view of matters, ascribing his delay to the 'poverty and desolation' of Masulipatam, its great distance from any centre whence necessities could be obtained, and tactics of a deliberately obstructive nature which he suspected. He now believed that June 10, would be the earliest date on which the journey could be begun. He also urged the necessity of a meeting with Sir Nicholas before beginning his negotiations at the Court. If this should prove impossible he offered to send his brother or Mr. Harlewyn to Surat. He comments with some bitterness on Emauncouli Beg's action in sending his son to discharge the duty of escort which he had been directed by the Mogul to discharge himself. Sir William's depression had evidently been increased by sickness in his suite and the death of three servants. Altogether he was far from hopeful and imputes the delay to Vincatadre, Consul Pitt's chief *Dubash*.¹ It is possible that there had been bribery on the part of the Old Company; for there is on record a warm assertion² by Consul Pitt of his honesty and integrity, which smacks of protestation overmuch.

The first day of June, 1700, found Sir William still busy with preparations for his journey. On the 4th and 5th Councils were held. The former decided to pay higher wages demanded by the coolies. At the latter a new hindrance appeared. The *Goosbardar* who had returned from Goodore the previous night brought news with him that the Governor there would give no orders for cows or coolies as the Mogul's instructions to him were only to convoy or assist His Excellency.

¹ Interpreter.

² See *Misc. Factory Records*, vol. 19.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasāstra'

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CHAPTER II

THE EPICS (*Itihāsa-Purāna*)

THERE is a striking coincidence between the change of the form in our literary documents (from the Brāhmaṇas to the epics), and the change in the *norm* of our national history. The pre-epic literature is essentially sacerdotal and contains all the elements which have been developed at a later period. It accords a prominent and rather exaggerated importance to the power of the priests as we see in the legal literature, where the priest appears as the 'norm of the world'. Notwithstanding the inevitable Brahminical alterations, the epic bears witness to another line of evolution, where the norm of the world is the king.¹

As sociological documents, the epics are too substantial and too life-like to be completely altered by the schematic brain of the Brāhmans. We obtain for the first time here a glimpse of real life, with all the natural anomalies to a period of assimilation,—anomalies which defy all efforts of didactic reconciliation or of religious justification. War and diplomacy, crimes and passions of the epics are authentic facts of Hindu social history as well as that of every other race. Thus the epic furnishes us with an occasion to observe for the first time secular life, side by side with sacerdotal life. Viewed

¹ Hopkins, *C. H. I.*, vol. i, p. 266.

from this point the epics are documents of inappreciable value. They are correctly judged by a great authority in this branch of studies, Mr. Hopkins, who expresses himself thus :

‘The same spirit which produced the best Vedic hymns, the spirit reflecting independence and freedom, appears in this royal literature : the great epic in its earlier parts bears the stamp of the age of the *Upanishads*. The *Upanishads* are in part the product of unpriestly, or at least anti-ritualistic thought and the epic also emanates from the throne and not from the altar.’¹

Mr. Hopkins again draws our attention to this fact,² namely, that in one *Upanishad* (*Br. A. N.*, i. 4) we read of the indisputable affirmation of the supremacy of the warrior-class over the Brāhmins. ‘Nothing is greater than a warrior, and the priest comes after the warrior, in the ceremony of the *Rājasūya*, because the warrior alone brings glory.’ This appears also in the Kshatriya version of conflict between the spiritual power and the temporal, as we have noticed already in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.³ It would be hazardous no doubt to speak of the war of the *Mahābhārata* as a war between the Brahminized Kurus, and the un-Brahminized Panchāla-Pāṇḍus.⁴ It is equally risky to believe entirely in the anti-didactic attitude and moral anarchism of the epic age as depicted in loud colours by Mr. Hopkins, thirty-six years ago, but since very much softened, as is seen from his description of the ‘Princes and peoples of the epic poems.’⁵ However it is indisputable that as we find in the epics, the governing class has contributed largely to the evolution of Hindu culture. Some of the most enterprising thinkers of the *Upanishads* are Kshatriyas. Also, the founders of the orthodox philosophic system of the Sāṅkhya and of the heterodox systems of the Buddhists or Jains, belong to the royal class. Thus the Kshatriya power became established in the course of several centuries. This fact is as clearly defined as the apotheosis of the Brahman, man-god (*Naradeva*) showing that the power of the Brāhmins continued side by side in the days of later literature. Hindu social history is full of cross-currents and of simultaneous evolutions in

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 264.

² *Vide* ‘Position of ruling Castes in Ancient India,’ *J. A. O. S.*, vol. xiii, p. 96.

³ vii. 19.

⁴ *Vide J. R. A.S.*, 1908, the controversy between Messrs. Grierson and Keith.

⁵ *C. H. I.*, vol. i, ch. xl.

parallel directions. And therefore it is extremely risky to affirm within narrow chronological limits that such a state of affairs was followed by such another.

The atmosphere of the epics, as has been demonstrated by Hopkins and Rapson, is essentially aristocratic. But from the scholarly analysis of Mr. Senart on the *Castes of India*, confirmed by the later discoveries of Hindu epigraphy,¹ it is difficult to admit that there existed an exclusive aristocratic class and that the castes were close and fixed compartments as they appear in modern Hindu society. Ghaṭotkaca, the barbarian son of Bhima, enjoys all the privileges of a Kshatriya, and is not considered unworthy to cross sword with the proudest of Kshatriya chiefs, Karna. Notwithstanding his disputable genealogy, Ghaṭotkaca was as much a Kshatriya as Chandragupta Maurya—he too of low descent,—or Kanishka the Indo-Scythian King and the great *Mleccha* champion of the Mahāyāna.

Outside the legal codes which always frame new systems, the position of the Kshatriyas in actual life should be considered rather as a high privilege open to all successful conquerors and governors and not confined to a social caste altogether rigid. These so-called social anomalies, these exceptions are invaluable landmarks in our social history. This powerful fermentation during the course of the evolution of the Hindu nation is well represented by the great epic which covers practically the whole Hindu continent and embraces all the races of India in its ethnographic catalogue. We must not fall into the error of limiting strictly this geographic and ethnographic enumeration to a narrow period or space which would be equivalent to attributing scientific precision to a work that is semi-legendary and semi-poetic.

The tendency of the Hindu society to emerge from the tribal state which is manifest during the later Vedic period, has found its logical development in the formation of great nations which, gradually and inevitably brought about international wars. The shadow of these wars looms largely over the great epic, notwithstanding the later attempts of literary or sectarian transformation by the addition of a huge mass of extraneous matters. These facts are admirably brought to light by the valuable researches of Mr. Pargiter into the most neglected remains of the Kshatriya literature (*Itihāsa-Purāṇa*). His analysis

¹ *Vide* ‘Foreign Elements in Hindu Population’ by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* 1911.

of the names of the chiefs and of the peoples who participated in the Great War has led to remarkable results which he has published in his essay: *the Nations of India at the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas*.¹ We would give here a summary:

1. On the side of the Pāṇḍavas there were:

(a) From the Madyadeṣa, the Pāñchālas, the Matsyas, the Cedis, the Karuṣas, the Daṣārnas, the Kācis, the Eastern Kośalas and the Western Magadhas, etc.;

(b) from the West, the Yādavas of Guzerat, and of the regions east of Guzerat;

(c) from the North-west, the Kaikeyas and the Abhisāras;

(d) from the South, the Pāṇḍyas with their troops of Dravidian race.

2. On the side of the Kauravas there were:

(a) from the East, the eastern Magadhas, the Videhas, Prāgiyotiṣas with Cinas and the Kirātas, the Aṅgas, the Veṅgas, the Pundras, the Utkalas, the Mekalas, the Kalingas and the Andhras;

(b) from the Madhyadeṣa, the Śurasenas, the Vatsyas and the Koṣalas;

(c) from the North-west, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras, the Madras, the Bāhlikas, the Kaikeyas, the Gāndhāras, the Kāmbojas, the Trigarttas, the Ambasthas and the Śivis;

(d) from the North, the mountain tribes of the Himalayas excepting those on the north of Pāñchāla;

(e) from the West, the Śālvas and the Mālavas;

(f) from Central India, the Yādavas, the Avantis, the Māhiṣmakas, the Vidarbhas, the Niśādhas and the Kuntalas.

This brief analysis would be sufficient to convince any reasonable person that it is as hazardous to fix the chronological limits as to define the ethno-graphic value of the various enumerations in the *Mahābhārata*. It is evident that age after age the *Mahābhārata* is retouched and amplified and this explains how the Vedic tribes like the Kurus are found together with the Cinas and Kirātas.

Leaving aside the question of the origin as well as the oral transmission of the epics, we know it for certain that during the thousand years (since the time of Pāṇini down to that of the Purānas and

the Harivaṃśa), the Hindu people endeavoured to work up that wonderful literary monument. While the *Rāmāyana* remained more or less intact as the model of poesy (*Kāvya*), the *Mahābhārata* was gradually transformed. From an aristocratic epic it became a national encyclopædia. The Vedic legends and the Brahmanic rituals, the scholastic philosophy and sacerdotal jurisprudence, the military science and royal diplomacy, Purānic cosmogony, later treatises on art and architecture, in short, nearly all the branches of national culture, were summarized, popularised, and finally incorporated in the great national anthology. At the same time the Buddhists developed likewise their religious canons and their spiritual encyclopædia. It is not therefore unreasonable to trace in the *Mahābhārata*, despite its significant silence on Buddhism, an earnest yearning to win the heart of the common people as attempted by the Buddhist literature of the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*. The conclusions of Mr. Hopkins are very instructive on this point: 'The epic had become what it called itself the "fifth Veda," and may be regarded either as a store-house of didactic matters (it calls itself a *Dharmaśāstra*) or as a magnified *Itihāsa Purāna*, which, even before the epic existed, was regarded as supplementing the Veda. Both elements are united, religious-didactic and legendary, in such parts as treat of the demons, gods and seers of old. How ancient may have been collections of such material prior to our extant epic is uncertain: but the evidence for earlier collective works does not appear to be convincing. That a mass of legends existed and that this mass was used by Brāhmanas and Buddhists alike as they needed them, may be granted, just as the mass of fables known to the ancient world was utilized by the epic writers and by those who composed the Buddhist *Jātakas*.'¹

In the light of these facts it would not be prudent to characterize the whole epic as entirely aristocratic. To consider it as such would mean that we are not noticing some important historical tendencies. First, even if it were ostensibly, composed for the aristocracy, that so-called aristocracy was not the rigid caste of the Kshatriyas, but the elastic class of warriors. Secondly, its chief object was unquestionably the democratization of Brahmanic culture probably with a view to oppose the Buddhist propaganda. It would appear as a chal-

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1908.

¹ *C.H.I.*, vol. i, pp. 256-7.

lence of organized orthodoxy to an equally well-organized heterodoxy. And the very fact that the *Mahābhārata* succeeded in penetrating thoroughly the Hindu spirit so as to captivate the popular imagination, shows that from the first, it had a democratic tendency and the germ of popularisation. It would then appear that though the *Mahābhārata* is in form the literature of a class still in spirit it is the literature for the mass.

This epic world naturally centred round the king. All the various branches,—law and politics, war and diplomacy (which is of special interest to us) are represented, thanks to the Hindu academic fiction, as developing with the king as its centre. But this kingship is surely not the monopoly of the Aryans in general or of the Kshatriyas in particular. Mr. Hopkins observes justly: 'Despite the pride of the *hereditary* crown it has been admitted that the king is often chosen for his *personal* qualities. He is generally chosen from one of the three classes, aristocracy, heroes or army-commanders.'¹

In that disorderly state of the primitive society, the commanders of the armies were very probably elected by the armed nation rather than taken from a special class. Any commander who distinguished himself by heroic actions could attain aristocracy and sovereignty. Thus in examining those parts of the *Mahābhārata* which treat of politics and diplomacy we must remember that we are dealing with the life and experience of a class which is by no means rigid, and with the history of the entire warrior-peoples, bearing the generic name of the Kṣatriya. The considerate conclusions of Mr. Pargiter² corroborate these views. After analysing the names of several tribes and nations in the battle of Kurukshetra, he draws our attention to three important facts: (1) the races and nations-in-arms are not all of the same blood, (2) the kings and chiefs who assemble with their armies on the field of battle are not of the same race as that of their armies, (3) the mighty sovereigns summon their military contingents from neighbouring countries and tribes.

In handling the historical materials of the *Mahābhārata* it must be remarked at the outset that the great compass of the texts and the absence of every critical arrangement, do not permit us to make any philosophical or chronological deduction. We would proceed to give

¹ *J. A. O. S.*, 13, 99.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1908.

a selection of the most important pieces as evidence as to the evolution of the science of Hindu diplomacy which reaches its apogee in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. If we dive deep into these epic texts we see from the very commencement that the atmosphere is far from being sacerdotal. On the contrary it is secular to the core. The ethico-didactic elements are, without doubt, ever tending to soften the violent realism of the portraiture but the point of view is totally different from that of the pacific Brāhmanas. The centre of gravity of national life, such as it is represented here, is no longer the altar but the court of the king. The first diplomatic document in that first book of the *Mahābhārata* discloses a stifling atmosphere of court intrigues and cruelty.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the uncle and guardian of the Pāṇḍavas is represented here as the prime cause of the catastrophe at Kurukshetra.¹ Though the first-born, still being blind he was disqualified to rule the kingdom, and hence he vacated the place to his younger brother Pāṇḍu. After the death of the latter (Pāṇḍu), his sons were naturally to succeed him. But many an attempt was made to kill them. They managed to escape from a house covered with resin in which, it was so arranged, they were to be burnt alive. They entered in disguise the kingdom of Pāñchāla Drupada and espoused the Princess Draupadī, an event which made them stronger than ever. During this period of intrigues, the aged uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra took counsel of his Brāhman minister Kaṇika who is represented as a great diplomat (*Mantrajña*) well versed in the science of kingship (*Rājaśāstra*). Comprehending the motives of this old prince and the difficulties of his task, the Brāhman minister began his cruel discourse on diplomacy begging the king not to be offended at his words.

'The King must ever actively hold his sceptre of punishment (*uddatadanda*).² He must exhibit his power. Without any foible in himself he must observe the weak points of his enemies (*chidradarṣi*). Just as a tortoise hides its limbs the king must guard his weak points (*vivara*).³ If he should begin any enterprise, he should not abandon it without completing it (*asanyak-kṛtakāri*). Even if a little thorn were not removed it would produce an abscess. An enemy though weak must not be neglected. Oh master! a single

¹ *Mhb.*, *Adi. ch.* 143.

² *Mhb.*, xii. 140. 7; *Manu*, vii. 102-3.

³ *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, i. 11, p. 29; *Manu*, vii. 105.

spark is enough to consume all the forest because everything is contiguous.'

'To pretend that one is blind is good as long as it is a matter of policy. Similarly to feign deafness. By peaceful or other means enemies are to be eliminated especially when they are at your mercy. No quarter is to be given even if they surrender (*śaranāgata*). It is only under these conditions that one might be freed from all anxiety. From the dead nothing is to be feared. Remove the adversary and those who are prejudiced against you by gifts (*dānena*). Destroy the three, five and seven resources of the enemy. Cut off his roots in the first instance and then destroy all his allies (*sahāya*) and all his partisans (*pakṣa*). By the ritual fire (*Agnyā-dhāna*), by sacrifice, by the ascetic-robe (*Kāśāya*), by plaited hair, by the skin of the antelope (*jaṭa-jīna*), win the confidence of the people to throw yourself over them afterwards like a wolf. For it is the sacred discipline (*śaucam*) that serves as a hook to gather the fruits of *Artha*. We must gather fruits only when they are ripe. Carry your enemy on your shoulders as long as it is necessary; and when the right moment arrives dash him to pieces, as one breaks a pot against a stone. Thus destroy your adversary by conciliation (*sāntvāna*), by gifts (*dānena*), by making a division (*bhēdena*) and by punishment (*daṇḍena*), in short, by all means.'

Having thus formulated the general principles of diplomacy, the minister Kaṇika explained the ancient Hindu methods under the cover of a fable with its profound instructions, the story of the cunning fox, which rejoiced to eat by himself the flesh of an antelope after having driven away the tiger, wolf, mouse and mongoose, by diplomatic war and so without bloodshed. That manner of exposition was later on rendered famous throughout the world by the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, the *Pāncatantra*, etc. Mr. Hertel who has made a special study of the latter¹ remarks that the authors of these works profoundly honour Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya. The Kaṇika-nīti is so near to the spirit of Kauṭalya, that one is justified in asking whether the name of Kaṇika is not simply another edition of Chāṇakya, some of whose ideas could have been incorporated in the *Mahābhārata* at an opportune moment.

Kaṇika completes his discourse by adding a few more instructive

stanzas on diplomacy. 'Divide the timid by exciting their fears, the courageous by submission, the greedy by presents of money, and equals and inferiors by force.'

'Again if a son, a friend, a brother, a father or even a spiritual guide, plays the part of an enemy, each of them must be exterminated if one desires prosperity.'

'Enemies must be destroyed by imprecation, gifts of wealth, poison, and incantations.

'Even though you are irritated appear calm and speak with a smile and take the initiative in addressing (the man who has offended you). If you are vexed do not accuse anybody: speak soft words when you are on the point of striking and Ō Bharata! even when you strike.

'And after striking the adversary speak softly, show your own anguish and even shed crocodile tears, thus winning his confidence by means of pacific principles and actions. But if he would deviate from the straight path beat him down.² You must observe the same attitude towards a great criminal who lives under the disguise of virtue by which his faults are for a time covered like a mountain by the clouds.

'Thus ruin some by surprise attacks, and others by *āsana* or delay, and still others by gifts of wealth. Then be ready to destroy even the most confiding. Have your teeth ever sharp and ruin the enemy. Trust not those devoid of fidelity—and even those who seem to be faithful for the danger born of confidence cuts the very root.³

'The tried spy (*cāra*) shall be employed in your state as well as in that of others.⁴ The heretics and ascetics shall be employed in the kingdom of the enemies,⁵ in gardens, monasteries, temples of Gods, rest-houses, in public streets, in all the eighteen *Tīrthas* or the departments of state, in places near the wells, in hills, forests and rivers, besides the many corporations.⁶

'In the three-fold group of *Trivarga*,⁷ there are two possibilities. Either one of the parts suffers from a morbid increase or the parts harmonize and co-ordinate as in a healthy organism. This last is desirable and the first ought to be avoided. By all means servile or despotic lift yourself from humiliations so that you would be capable of

¹ *Mhb.*, xii. 140. 4; *Yājñā*, i, 358; *Mhb.*, xii. 54. 27.

² Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, vii. 124-6.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, i. 7, 8. *Kāma*, xiii. 37.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, ii, ch. 54-55. *Bri. Nīt.*, iii. 22-27.

⁷ *Mhb.*, xii. 140. 57; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 12, 361-62.

³ *Mhb.*, xii. 56, 76.

⁵ *Mhb.*, xii. 68. 10-13.

practising virtue. Unless one fluctuates between life and death, one would never hope to attain to prosperity. But if he survives this trial he attains true success.

'He who comfortably reposes after concluding a treaty with the enemy as if he had attained his purpose, resembles a mad person who, having fallen asleep on the top of a tree, would wake up only after falling down. One must be careful to hide one's resolutions under the cloak of magnanimity and control the external manifestations of his emotions when he is listening to spies.

'So long as he has not torn the vital parts of his enemies, and has acted in a terrible manner, or has killed as a fisherman his fish, the king could not attain great prosperity. The army of the enemy must be cruelly beaten even when it depends upon your good faith, when it is dispirited, sick, exhausted or deprived of drink and fodder.

'He who possesses wealth never visits a person who is affluent. He who has attained his purpose does not seek one's aid or alliance. Consequently we must act in such a way that others would be ever in need of us. Let your movements be always unknown to your friends as well as to your enemies. Let them hear of your movements only after the beginning or towards the end.

'Fearing when the enemy is present, fight with intrepidity and keep an eye on the future as well as on the past. Thus you would avoid blunders committed owing to lack of intelligence. He who wishes to prosper must carefully cultivate his energy, distinguish in everything, time, place and fate as well as the three-fold group, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. It is well known that the circumstances of time and place can bring great advantage.

'An enemy, though weak, if overlooked, strikes roots as the palm tree. As a spark falling in a forest, he grows until he causes a general conflagration. First offer politely your services but without conviction. Postpone the carrying out of your promise and when the moment arrives, multiply obstacles, speak as if those obstacles were the consequences of such and such circumstances (*nimitta*) and show that those circumstances resulted from such and such causes (*hetu*). "Destroy your enemy as the sharp razor cuts the hair silently and also completely."

These are the principles of diplomacy inculcated by the great Brāhman minister Kaṇika. It is easy to notice that they are in

accordance at the bottom, with the principles formulated in the celebrated treatise attributed to the other Brāhman minister Chāṇakya. We meet with two stanzas in the 100 stanzas (*Chāṇakya-śataka*) traditionally ascribed to Chāṇakya. Thus the equation Kaṇika=Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya seems to us a tempting conclusion. It is no less significant that some technical terms are common to both. The most important is the expression *tirtha* which means the eighteen departments of state which the spies ought to watch carefully. We give below a comparative list of the *tirthas* according to the texts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as to the diplomatic treatise attributed to Kauṭalya:—

<i>Arthaśāstra</i> , i. 8, 20.	<i>Commentaries on the Mahābhārata</i> , i. 133. 64; ii. 5, 38; <i>Raghu</i> , xvii. 58.	<i>Commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa</i> , ii. 100. 36. (cf. <i>Pañchatantra</i> , iii. 69-incomplete) and <i>çukra</i> , ii. 71 ff.
1. <i>Mantrin</i> .	<i>Mantrin</i> .	<i>Mantrin</i> .
2. <i>Purohita</i> .	<i>Purohita</i> .	<i>Purohita</i> .
3. <i>Senāpati</i> .	<i>Camūpati</i> .	<i>Senāpati</i> .
4. <i>Yuvarāja</i> .	<i>Yuvarāja</i> .	<i>Yuvarāja</i> .
5. <i>Dauvārika</i> .	<i>Dvārāpāla</i> .	<i>Dauvārika</i> .
6. <i>Antarvaṃçika</i> .	<i>Antarveçika</i> .	<i>Antahpurādikṛta</i> .
7. <i>Praçāsty</i> .	<i>Kārāgārādikārīn</i> .	<i>Bandhanāgārādihikṛta</i> .
8. <i>Samāhartṛ</i> .	<i>Dravya Samcayakṛt</i> .	<i>Dhanādhyakṣa</i> .
9. <i>Sannidhatṛ</i> .	<i>Kṛtyākṛtyesu Arthā-nāmviniyojaka</i> .	<i>Rājājñayā ajñāpyeṣu-vaktṛ</i> .
10. <i>Pradeṣṭṛ</i> .	<i>Pradeṣṭṛ</i> .	<i>Prādvivākasamjño Vyavahārapraṣṭṛ</i> .
11. <i>Nāyakapaura</i> .	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa</i> .
12. <i>Vyavahārika</i> .	<i>Dharmādhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Dharmāsanādihikṛta</i> .
13. <i>Karmāntika</i> .	<i>Kāryanirmāṇakṛt</i> .	<i>Vyavahāranirnetṛ</i> .
14. <i>Mantri-pariṣad Adhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Sabhādhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Karmānte Velan-grāhin</i> . <i>Vyavahāranirnetā Sabhyākṣya</i> .
15. <i>Daṇḍapāla</i> .	<i>Daṇḍapāla</i> .	<i>Duṣṭānām daṇḍanādhi-kārīn</i> .
16. <i>Durgapāla</i> .	<i>Durgapāla</i> .	<i>Durgapāla</i> .
17. <i>Antapāla</i> .	<i>Raṣṭrāntapāla</i> .	<i>Raṣṭrāntapāla</i> .
18. <i>Ātavika</i> .	<i>Ātavipālaka</i> .	<i>Ātavika</i> .
	19. <i>Senāyājīvita</i> = <i>bhṛtidānādhyakṣa</i> .	

These eighteen essential parts of the state are given exactly as above in the (*Mahābhārata*) commentary of Nilakanṭha who indicates his sources as manuals of diplomacy (*Nīti-śāstra*) in general. The same poetical catalogue is quoted by Cāritravardhana in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* of Kalidāsa¹ in like terms. He definitely attributes the catalogue to Kauṭalya with the usual formula इति कौटल्यः । But before the discovery of the famous treatise of the *Arthashastra*, few had the courage to affirm that the ancient Hindus had elaborated such fine theories on diplomacy. Moreover in explaining the term *Trivarga*, Nilakanṭha mentions clearly the name of Kauṭalya² and gives an excellent and correct resumé of his attitude in regard to this question. We see then that there is a continuity of diplomatic tradition so far at least as the vocabulary is concerned. Further Kaṇika uses sometimes expressions which are very well known as terms of the Hindu diplomatic code,³ and which later on had become enigmatical. For example, *Trīn*, *Pāṇca* and *Sapta*,⁴ understood formerly, had to be explained by the commentators thus :—

The *Trīn* comprised of wealth, counsel, and activity. Kauṭalya mentions these with one difference,—the lord (*prabhu*), the council (*mantra*) and energy (*utsāha*).⁵ The *Pāṇca* are the minister, kingdom, fortress, treasury and army, whilst the *Sapta* are exactly the same as in Kauṭalya—the king, minister, allies, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army.

Besides ascertaining these facts we find one other motive of interest in this first diplomatic piece from the *Mahābhārata*. It describes to us the diplomacy of the Kshatriya in its true colour. The atmosphere has changed since the Brāhmanic regime. Though these principles are formulated by a Brāhman minister, they contain the experience of the realistic science of the new masters of society.

Notwithstanding all the diplomatic intrigues of their cousins the Kauravas, the five sons of Pāṇḍu, succeeded ultimately in establishing themselves in their paternal kingdom. The eldest Yudhiṣṭhira managed the state with the help of his brothers. This was an excellent occasion for introducing a sermon on the duties of the king. And the divine sage Nārada appears to preach this sermon. While Kaṇika has been characterized as a scholar in 'royal science', we see here Nārada honored by a number of grandiloquent titles.

¹ xvii. 68.

² *Adi.*, 143. 69.

⁴ Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xiii. pp. 126-7.

³ *Budda carita*, ii. 41.

⁵ *Arthashastra*, p. 261.

He is applauded as the master of the Vedas and the *Upanishads*, and immediately after, as a specialist in history (*Itihāsa*), legend (*Purāṇa*) and ancient tradition (*Purakalpaviṣeṣa*). Then follow the enumeration of his philosophical equipments *Nyāya*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and the description of his moral equilibrium. Further on he is praised as the master of the science of the Kshatriyas—war and treaties, and the application of sixfold policy *Ṣaḍguṇyavidhi*.

When the divine sage Nārada had been honored duly with welcome rites and had seated himself on an elevated seat, as the true guardian of the royal conscience, he commenced a questioning the king on the manner in which he was governing the state. This *questionnaire* is not only grounded on theoretical principles as is the case with Kaṇika but on a profound knowledge of the application of the political science. We seem to read as it were a table of contents of some practical manual of Hindu politics. For example the sage asks whether the king has paid attention to the following points :—

1. Three-fold pursuit, 2. six qualities of the king, 3. seven means, 4. fourteen possessions of the enemy, 5. eight occupations of the king, 6. seven limbs of the state, 7. eighteen *tirthas* of the enemies and fifteen *tirthas* of his own (the Crown prince, the Purohita and the first minister were not to be watched by spies), 8. four diplomatic arts *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda*, *Danda*, 9. four divisions of the army, 10. eight parts of the army, 11. four-fold employments of the pacific methods, and 12. fourteen vices of the king.¹

This list of which we find an explanation in the commentaries appears to be a diplomatic grammar. Nārada the teacher, traces in a few lines a complete scheme of this science. The picture is very interesting from the point of view of pacific administrative life. He draws the king's attention to the tasks of good Government namely, effective control and the trial or test of officials, verification of reports or accounts (allowing even the servants to criticize the king for his extravagances,²) organization of the budget, administration of justice, military pensions, protection of widows and orphans, education of princes and nobles, honours to the learned and the Brāhmins, works of irrigation with the help of cisterns and of lakes, and lastly health and

¹ Cf. Manu, vii. 44-53.

² *Arthashastra*, p. 13.

hygiene under the direction of able doctors versed in the eight-fold methods of treatment.

The section relating to the sermon on diplomacy is one of supreme interest. We proceed to give a resumé in the style and the very words of the great sage Nārada :

‘ I hope that your deliberations are not disclosed by your spies, by yourself or by your ministers.

‘ Do you know the movements of your allies, neutrals and enemies ?

‘ Do you make peace or war at the opportune moment ?

‘ Have you properly organized your politics with regard to the neutral and intermediate States ?

‘ Are the superior officers of your army, versed in divers systems of warfare, of good discipline, courageous and honoured by you ?

‘ I trust you pay in due time and never hold back the rations and salary (*Chakta vetana*) due to your army ? ¹

‘ The greatest danger for the king (mutinies) arises from the detention of rations and pay.

‘ Are the military chiefs of high birth devoted to you and ready to give their lives for you ?

‘ By means of the six qualities pertaining to royalty (eloquence, promptitude, intelligence, memory, morality and complete political mastery) do you practise the seven means (conciliation, gifts, division, punishment, incantation, medicine and magic) ? ²

‘ After considering deeply both your strength and weakness do you examine the fourteen weak points of your enemies (kingdom, fortress, chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry, principal officers, harem, provision-stores, statistics of the army, special sciences, budget, revenue, and secret enemies) ?

‘ When your enemy is entangled with vices and distresses (*Vyasana*) do you march promptly against him after carefully examining the three sources of power (king, deliberation and energy, or deliberation, treasury and troops) ?

‘ Do you begin your march (*Yātrā*) at the propitious moment fixed by astrologers ? Do you comprehend that the security and defeat

are dependent on the reserves (*parṣṇi mūla*) which form the twelfth *Maṇḍala* ?

‘ And do you pay then your army in advance ?

‘ Do you secretly furnish the chief military officers of your enemies with gifts according to their respective merits ?

‘ Do you go to conquer your enemies when they have lost their judgment and character and after you have disciplined yourself ?

‘ Before actual marching do you employ the four means (*Upāya*) of diplomacy (conciliation, gifts, division and punishment) ?

‘ Do you march against your enemies after having consolidated your kingdom ?

‘ Do you attempt to vanquish thoroughly, your enemies ? And after having vanquished them do you see to it carefully that they receive due protection ? ¹

‘ Do you protect with paternal care the enemies who have asked for your protection through fear, exhaustion or defeat ?

‘ Are you impartial and above all suspicious, as the veritable father of society ?

‘ Do you maintain the widows and orphans of those who have given their lives for your sake ? ’ ²

We see in this discourse some fundamental ideas of diplomacy as we find them in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭalya. Conquest is not an end in itself, the victory is counterbalanced by responsibilities and acquisitions by necessity of safeguarding them. Towards the end of this interrogatory, Nārada puts two significant questions which throw much light on the development of diplomatic life in ancient India :

‘ Do your officers of customs (*ḥulkaṇḍajīvī*) impose duties according to just laws on merchants coming from foreign countries ? Are these foreign peoples respected both in the capital and in the country ? And do they carry their merchandise without being cheated (*Upadhābhikṣ*) by your officers or your subjects ? ’

Thus at the conclusion of his discourse Nārada uses an expression *Upadhā* which is important in the lexicon of Kauṭalya ; there is a section on this institution entitled, ‘ Determination of honesty and dishonesty of ministers by means of temptations (*Upadhā*). ’ ³

¹ *Arthasāstra*, xiii. pp. 176, 408-10.

² Manu, vii. 26-29.

³ *Arthasāstra*, i, 10.

¹ *Mhb.*, xii. 56. 12.

² Cf. *Arthasāstra*, xiv, pp. 177-79 ; 410-426.

Megasthenes clearly mentions this fact of protection and the just treatment of aliens, the solicitude of Nārada.¹ Megasthenes notes in his *Indica* that one of the six municipal departments of the Maurya Empire was occupied exclusively with the attention paid to the strangers, providing them with lodgings, protecting their property and returning their goods to their homes or country in case of death. Though these observations of Megasthenes are not to be found in the *Arthaśāstra*² still Kaṭalya shows himself sufficiently preoccupied with foreigners. He advises the monarch to superintend them closely—be they merchants or not—as we see it in his chapter on the 'Superintendent of Passports' *Mudrā*³ and of Customs (*culka*).⁴ Here, as regards foreign commerce,⁵ we find the following principles of wise liberalism enunciated: 'The superintendent shall encourage those who import merchandises; mariners and traders who import goods from foreign countries shall enjoy exemption from certain taxes (*parihāra*) which will permit them to secure a profit in trading (*ayatikṣama*). Also it is enjoined that every article, useless or dangerous for the state, shall be stopped, whereas those which are useful such as new and rare grains, shall be exempted from every tax (*ucchulka*).'⁶

The question relating to the age of these documents can be solved only after making a profound analysis of the *Arthaśāstra*. But we may obtain a few ideas or facts of inestimable value by a simple comparison of the data as a whole. As regards diplomatic evolution the sacerdotal literature (*Samhita-Brahmaṇa*) furnishes us with important indications. But the materials which we find in the Kshatriya literature (*Itihāsa-Purāṇa*)⁷ are more interesting and abundant. Prof. Rapson says: 'Without doubt, in India as in mediæval Europe the religious authority affirmed its supremacy and the whole ancient literature of the Kshatriyas had been Brahmanized'. Nevertheless this literature contains much that is indispensable for understanding the political conceptions of the ancient Hindus. It is certain that several digressions on the royal policy and diplomacy are intercalated from time to time in the original epics. But the fact of their having been added

to later on does not diminish their documentary value. Formerly it was usual to condemn and neglect them as interpolations but now the authorities in Kshatriya literature have changed their opinion.

The point is obvious for those who examine these documents, that out of the fluid mass of didactic elements which contain the experience of the Hindus in divers aspects, are born the special disciplines studied in the various schools of thought of which we would have occasion to speak. These fragmentary ideas are arranged in a systematic and coherent whole during the period of the *Sūtras* and the *Śāstras*—of which the famous *Arthaśāstra* forms a part. Let us in passing notice some other important fragments in the epics. In the third book of *Vanaparva* several questions relating to the duties of kings are discussed in a triangular conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Draupadī.¹ In the same book is also found the portrait of a philosopher-king. It is drawn by a hunter (ch. 207 ff.) who exposes the ideal of royalty incarnated in Janaka, the King of Videha. In another place² the great monkey-hero Hanuman (well known in the *Rāmāyaṇa*), instructs Bhīma his younger brother on the duties of the kings. (Both of them are sons of the God of Winds in two incarnations.) Several profound observations on this subject are made by the sage Vidura, the half-brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But the Vidurañiti is unfortunately dispersed. In the *Aśramavāsika Parva*³ the aged prince Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives an excellent resumé of the royal science to Yudhiṣṭhira. Lastly, after the war of devastation at Kurukṣetra, the wise general Bhīṣma presents a systematic exposition of Hindu politics which stands as a turning-point in the evolution of this science. But though this exposition is included in the epic, in reality it belongs to the scholastic period which we shall examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOLS (*The Sūtra and the Śāstra*)

At the commencement of this scholastic period, the studies were beginning to be systematized. Let us remember that the ancient Hindus classified their sciences at first into two great categories, namely, the spiritual discipline (*Parā*), and the non-spiritual discipline (*Aparā*).

¹ Fg. 36-A. *Strabo*, xv. C. 707.

² Ch. xxxiv.

³ Ch. xxxiv.

⁴ Stein, *Megasthenes und Kaṭalya*, p. 251.

⁵ Ch. xxxix and xl.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, xxxix.

⁷ *C.H.I.*, I, ch. xiii, p. 297.

¹ *Mhb.*, *Vana.*, ch. 27-36.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 150.

³ *Mhb.* *Aśramavāsika*, ch. v-vii.

The Vedas represent the former while the derived sciences such as the grammar, astronomy and ritual belong to the latter group. With the development of the Brāhmanical learning there began to appear separate works destined to help the memory of the students because the habit of writing had not yet begun to spread. These scholastic manuals were either in verse, later on popularized by the legal codes (*Smṛiti*), or collections of short aphorisms in prose accompanied with commentaries (*Bhāṣya*) which the grammatical works popularized. While the origin of these technical works goes back to the pre-Buddhistic period it is generally considered that their systematic compilation may be placed between the birth of the Buddha and the composition of the first artificial poetry (*kāvya*)—the *Buddha-charita* of Aśvagōṣha.

These are the centuries of wonderful productivity; in the domain of grammar the *Nirukta* of Yāska was succeeded by the marvellous *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, and the commentaries of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. As for the legal works the *Sūtras* and the *Śāstras* of Gautama, Baudhayana, and Āpastamba were composed between 500 B.C.—A.D. 200. The famous Code of Manu comes according to Bühler between B.C. 200 and A.D. 200. Professors Hopkins and Keith are inclined to believe that the *Mahābhārata* with the Pāṇḍavas as heroes existed already during the time of Pāṇini, while, to the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Mr. Macdonell suggests a more ancient date. Dealing with the philosophical and religious systems Dr. F. W. Thomas observes that 'as a philosophical system the sāṅkhya seems to be anterior to Buddhism and the Vaiśeṣhika developed during the period of the Mauryas and it was known to Aśvagōṣha in the *Sūtra-lampkāra*. Finally the canons of Pali-Buddhism and also those of the Jains following the tradition, were fixed at Pataliputra about 313 or 312 B.C. And the systems of Lokāyatās or Ājīvikas are also essentially pre-Mauryan.'¹

From the point of view of Hindu scholasticism Buddhism was more or less a reactionary monastic movement inasmuch as it depreciated the value of secular sciences for the exaltation of spiritual discipline. The result seems to have been, at least for a time, a violent dualism with a veritable conflict between the old *Parā* and the *Aparā-Vidyā* under a new form. The *Anguttara Nikāya* (i., p. 157) divides

¹ C. H. I., vol. i, p. 482.

the mendicant masters into two classes: the first, the Brāhmana discussing the worldly life (*lokāyata*) and secondly the *Annatithiya*¹ who is occupied with the realization of self in meditation as well as in action.

The number and influence of these peripatetic teachers were considerable. Mr. B. C. Law has shown in an interesting article² how these professors prepared the way for the systematic writers of manuals like Chāṇakya who respectfully quotes them under the generic name of *Ācharya*.

Mr. Law has also given a list of forty-one names of those masters and the subjects which they discussed orally. One of them, Kuṇḍaliya came to Buddha and communicated to him that he had met several Śramanas and Brāhmanas discussing traditional learning, the benefits of sacrifice, etc. The Buddha replied that he was only occupied with the benefits of knowledge and of emancipation.³

On the other hand, the secular science of politics is depreciated; it consists only, so they say, of accounts of 'kings, robbers, ministers, wars, battle, alliance, equipages, villages, cities, heroes, gossips and the legends of creation and speculations on existence and non-existence.' Surely this is an unconscious caricature of the *Itihāsa-purāṇa*. Richer are the catalogues of secular arts (*śippa*) no less depreciated, which we find in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (Ch. 1); recitation of ballads (*Akkhānam*); chants of the bards (*Velālam*); instrumental music, dance, shows (*Pekham*), elephant and horse fighting, boxing, mock fighting, manœuvres, military review, spilikens (*Khalika*), or letter-guessing (*Akkharika*).

Some of the Brāhmanas are depreciated for having transmitted political messages, communicated news and served as intermediaries in the service of the king and ministers of the state, and also for having lived on vulgar professions as to the science of measures (*Khatta Vija*), the science of the bow (*Dhanurvēda*), the science of poisoning⁴ and the science of divination formulated as follows: 'The king shall march in front or to the rear, the enemies will attack, the enemies will withdraw or advance, the allied chieftains will be victorious, the foreign leaders will be defeated, etc.' This branch of science regulated then the progress of diplomacy by fixing the auspicious time for concluding

¹ *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 35.

² *Dialogues of Buddha*, i, p. 245, ii, p. 13.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, 1918.

⁴ *Atharva*, vi. 90, 93, 100.

treaties or entering upon wars. These are ignoble sciences. There are other pursuits 'of profound knowledge, soothing and mild, which cannot be grasped by logic only, subtle, intelligible only to the wise. Those subjects the Tathagata has realized and promulgated.'

But before attaining the illumination of the Buddhahood the Bodhisatva is known according to many *Jātakas*, to possess a knowledge of the three Vedas and eighteen *vidyās* at Takṣaśīla. Among others are mentioned the science of the bow (*Dhanurvēda*) and that of elephants (*Haṭh Sūtra*), snake-charming (*Alambana-Mantra*) and the art of discovering treasures (*Nidhi uddharaṇa Mantra*). Takṣaśīla was certainly an important centre of learning which attracted the attention and favour of great kings such as Pasenadi of Kośala and Bimbisāra of Magadha, the contemporaries of Buddha. It was from that town that came Jīvaka, the physician who treated Buddha in his last moments of illness.

The ancient texts on medical science were systematized in the first century of our era by the well-known Charaka, the specialist at the court of King Kanishka. The *Charaka Saṁhita* even in the later recension which we have now has an indisputable character of antiquity and presents a parallelism with the style and methods of discussion noticeable in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya.

Finally we may remark that besides the rituals *Śūtra* (*Śrauta* and *Grihya*) there were several other entirely secular *Śūtras* especially used by the military class and on that account, important for us.

Nārada demands of Yudhiṣṭhira at the end of his discourse whether the king had studied with application the different useful sciences such as the science of elephants (*Hasti Śūtra*), of horses (*Aśva Śūtra*), of chariots (*Ratha Śūtra*), of the bow (*Dhanurvēda*), and of machinery (*Yantra Śūtra*).

A portion of these *Śūtras* is incorporated in the works on diplomacy such as the *Sukraniti* and some others appeared separately in later forms, for instance, the *Matangalīlā* published in the *Travancore Sanskrit Series*.

But the greater part of these works have been without doubt lost. It is very probable that the science of profit (*Arthaśāstra*) was also systematized at this epoch and it is not impossible that a part of this work of systematization was done by the first minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The *Artha* is mentioned along with *Dharma*, *Kāma*, and *Moksha*, as the four pillars of the scholastic science of ancient India.

The more ancient schools of the *Upanishads* classify the study in two principal branches *Parā* and *Aparā*, according to the two objects of existence, namely *çrēyas* (emancipation), and *prēyas* (enjoyment). But as the order of life advanced and became more complicated a new classification, less narrow and more liberal, was necessitated. The old group of the *çrēyas* became *Moksha* whilst that of *prēyas* became divided into three branches, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.

The extant texts of these three later schools are of variable antiquity and authenticity, but they represent the true foundations on which the Hindu scholastic science is elevated. The juridical school (*Dharma*) is very important from the point of view of social life, inasmuch as its elaboration is confined to the class of Brāhmans who were professional jurists. So they are abundant, systematic and authoritative.

The school of *Artha* was more or less a special study followed particularly by the governing classes. It was systematized by Kauṭalya and popularized by Kāmandaka. But it was not able to preserve its superiority over the juridical school which to a great extent absorbed it. The school of *Kāma* became more and more a secret and reserved science. It is the most recent and the least pervasive. It became greatly assimilated to the art of Poetics (*Kāvya-lankāra*).

The three schools were influenced by a common scientific atmosphere and an historical vision. All the three constructed their system by collecting traditional observations and scattered principles. All the three are faithfully represented in the great Encyclopædia of the time, the *Mahābhārata*. Their relations are indicated by several scholars in a definite manner. Mr. Hopkins in his essay on 'Manu in the Mahābhārata'¹ shows how the great legal code was written to a great extent between the composition of the essential parts of the epic and its last development. He shows also that before this collection there existed a large number of observations, sage maxims, rules of conduct, etc., handed down from mouth to mouth among the people. The same sort of concordance between the schools of *Dharma* and of *Artha*, is evidenced by Dr. Jolly,² in his *Study on the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra*. Some striking resemblance between the phraseology of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya and of

¹ *J. A. O. S.*, vol. xi.

² *Z. D. M. G.*, 1913.

the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyayana have been pointed out by Mr. Shama Sastri¹ and the problem of their historical relation has been studied by Mr. H. C. Chakladar.²

The elaboration of the intellectual and the æsthetic disciplines (*Vidyā-Kalā*) under the influence of the schools is evident in the lists of the *Śāstra*-literature³ as also in the *Kāmasūtra*, in the epics, and in the lengthy enumeration of the sixty-four arts of the following period. But what is important from the point of view of the Hindu political and diplomatic evolution is the list of the subjects of study as indicated by Kaṭalya.

In his chapter on the enumeration of sciences (*Vidyā Samuddeśa*) he remains faithful to the ancient traditions although he is original in certain things. He admits that the *Vēdas* are three, *Sāman*, *Rig* and *Yajus*; but in the following phrase, he enlarges these limits by including the 'Atharvavēda and the *Itihāsavēda*'.

It is interesting to note here that the Brāhman Sela living at *Apāna* is considered as the perfect master of the three *Vēdas*, of the vocabulary, of the *Ketubha* (?) of the etymology, of the *Itihāsa*, considered as the fifth *Vēda*, the prosody, the grammar and the *Lokayata*.⁴

Then Kaṭalya mentions the six auxiliary sciences: phonetics (*Śikṣa*), ritual (*Kalpa*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), etymology and glossary (*Nirukta*), prosody (*Chandas*) and astronomy (*Jyotiṣha*). These are the *angas*—the members of the scholastic body. The philosophical sciences are presented by the systems of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokayata*, collected under the common title of *Ānvikṣhikī*. Next come two purely secular disciplines, first the *Varta* comprehending agriculture (*Kṛiṣhī*), the science of animals (*Paśupalya*) and commerce (*Vanijā*) and secondly the *Danḍanīti* or the science of government.

After having given the definitions Kaṭalya compares them with those of other schools.

'The school of Manu (*Mānavah*) admits only three sciences: the *Trayī*, the *Varta* and the *Danḍanīti*, because *Ānvikṣhikī* is a particular aspect of *Trayī*.

The school of Brhaspati (*Bārhaspatyah*) admits only two, for the *Trayī* is only a disguise (*Samvarana*) for those who are experienced in human affairs (*Lokayātravidah*).

¹ *A. C.*, pp. xii-xvi.

³ *S. B. E.*, xiv, pp. 395-6.

² *Journal, University of Calcutta*, 1921

⁴ *Sut. Nip.*, *S. B. E.*, x, p. 98.

The school of Uçanas (*Auçanasah*) recognizes only one science, the *Danḍanīti*. In it all sciences have their origin and end.¹

But Kaṭalya recognizes four sciences. And he concludes by a very broad generalization when he says that 'one shall refer to the *Trayī*, in that which concerns the *Dharma* and the *Adharma*; to the *Varta*, in that which concerns the profits and losses (*Lābhalābha*); to the *Danḍanīti*, in that which concerns expediency or otherwise (*Nayānaya*) as well as the questions of force or weakness (*Balābala*). Among these the science of Government is the more important because it is the veritable root of all other sciences (*Danḍamūla*). But the *Danda* in its turn depends on discipline (*Vinayamūla*). Hence the importance attached to the discipline of the sovereign under the guidance of the aged (*Vṛddha*).² After terminating the ceremony of tonsure the boy learns calligraphy (*Lipi*) and calculation (*Sankhya*). After the investiture of the sacred thread, he studies the *Trayī* and the *Ānvikṣiki* under competent savants (*ṛiṣṭa*),³ the science of the *Varta* with the functionaries (*Adhyakṣa*), and the science of the *Danḍanīti* with experts in theory and in practice (*Vakty-prayoktṛ*). He employs the morning in practising the science of elephants, of horses, of chariots, and the use of weapons. The afternoon is devoted to a study of history (*Itihāsa-ṣravana*), ancient legends (*Purāṇa*) chronicles (*Itivṛtta*), stories (*Ākhyāyikā*), parables (*Udaharana*), law (*Dharmaśāstra*) and the science of profit (*Arthaśāstra*). All these branches of knowledge form the science of history.⁴ Such is the admirable conception of the historical science which Kaṭalya prescribes as the best method for rousing the sense of responsibility in a prince who is unreasonable or is under the influence of the wicked.⁵

It is interesting to note that in the *Hiranyakeśi-Grihya Śāstra*⁶ it is demanded of the students to offer water (*Tarpana*) to the sacred memory, first, of the great *Rishis* such as Krishna Dvaipāyana, Gautama, Parāśara, Vishnu, Rudra, Skanda, Vasīṣṭha and Indra, some of whom are considered as masters of the discipline of *Artha* and *Dharma*; secondly, of the divers disciplines personified and praised by their masters: the *Rig*, *Yajus*, *Sama*, *Atharva*, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* and *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.

¹ Cf. *Danḍanītirēva Vidyā*.

² *Vaci.*, i, 5-6; *Baudha*, i, 4-6.

³ *Arthaśāstra*, v, 6, p. 96.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, 1, 2, 3.

⁵ *Itihāsa*, cf. *Arthaśāstra*, i, 2.

⁶ *S. B. E.*, xxx, p. 244.

Thus with a clearness and perfect precision, Kauṭalya presents us with a picture of academic disciplines of his times, thus defining the place and the aim of the Arthaśāstra proper. It is worthy of remark that the *Purāṇa* occupies an important place in the system of Kauṭalya while the Purāṇic literature we possess, seems to be late.

Bühler says rightly in commenting upon the *Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra*¹ that the *Purāṇa* as a literary piece of composition existed ever since the Vedic times. Those that are grouped to-day by the name 'Purāṇa' are the last remains or adaptations of the ancient *Purāṇas*. This fact is again corroborated by the valuable researches of Pargiter. From a form which is manifestly late we cannot necessarily conclude its recent origin.

We may remark also that Kauṭalya ignores the science of love and the arts of *Kalā*.² Perhaps he was more occupied with the *Vidyā* than with the *Kalā*. Or he thought it fit to keep silent with regard to the seducing disciplines of *Kāma*.³ Perhaps also the *Kāmasūtra* and *Śāstra* were not systematized in his time, as supposed by Professor Chakladar. But there must have formerly existed a close relation between the *Kalā* and the Arthaśāstra, as suggested by Bühler in his comment on the *Āpastamba Dharmśūtra*, ii. 11. 29. 11-12. According to the commentaries 'the sciences which the Śūdras and women can take to, constitute the last stage of studies.' 'They declare that those branches of knowledge are a supplement of the *Atharvaveda*.'

Bühler remarks thus in commenting that the knowledge possessed by the Śūdra and the womenfolk consisted of the dance, the theatre, the music, and other branches of the *Arthaśāstra*, the science of arts and crafts.

Bühler cites also the *Prasthānabhēda* of M. Sarasvati⁴ who affirms that the Arthaśāstra is an *Upavēda* of the *Atharvaveda* of which Kauṭalya speaks with great respect. Whatever may be the exact chronological relation between Kauṭalya and Vātsyāyana there is a close resemblance between the styles, the legends, etc., as well as between the opening chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* and the first three chapters of the *Kāmasūtra*.

If the relation between the schools of *Kāma* and of *Artha* remains

¹ i. 6. 19. 13, 10. 29. 7, *S.B.E.*, vol. ii, xxviii-xxix.

² *Kāmasūtra*, i. 3.

³ See lists in which contempt for the artist is evident. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 48 and 125.

⁴ Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 1-24.

yet ill-defined, that which exists between the schools of *Artha* and of *Dharma* is very clear. These two disciplines have as a common aim the Government and their centre the king. It is, therefore, natural that they should have common parts. It is thus that we find in almost all the great collections of law books an important section on the duties of the king (*Rājadharma*) which contains important portions of the *Arthaśāstra*¹ and inversely, in the works of the *Arthaśāstra* as those of Kauṭalya or Śukra, are discussed problems and articles of law. In these circumstances conflicts are inevitable. We find an allusion to these conflicts in a stanza of the well-known code of Yājñavalkya (i. 21): 'When the *Smṛtis* are in conflict, then the royal authority (*Nyāya*) must be stronger than the evidence (*Vyavahāra*); the authority of the *Dharmaśāstra* prevails in this case on the *Arthaśāstra*.' The commentary of Mitākshara attempts to weaken the opposition in stating that the above stanza does not refer at all to the conflict between the legal code and the Manuals of the *Artha* as those Uçanas, but that it has an allusion to the conflicts between the *Dharmaśāstra* and its supplementary chapter on the *Rājanīti* with the help of which one must interpret the *Arthaśāstra*.

But the sophistry does not suppress the conflict on the fundamental question. Here Kauṭalya furnishes us with a very valuable commentary. In the chapter on the law he says²:—

'The king is the source of *Dharma* (*Dharma pravartaka*) for the protection that he exercises of the four *Varṇācrama* (castes and orders), of the usages (*Āchara*) of the society and noble virtues in decadence.' *Dharma* or the sacred law, *Vyavahāra* or evidence or obligation by contract, *Chāritram* or established precedent or traditional authority, and *Rājaçāsanam* or statutory law, these are the four bases of law in discussion enumerated in the order of increasing importance. 'In this group *Dharma* is based on established truth (*Satyasthitah*), *Vyavahāra* on the witness (*Sākṣī*), whilst *Chāritram* is a collection of personal examples or precedents (*Samgrahēṇa Puṇsām*) and *Rājaçāsanam* is based on the mandates of the king.'

'It is the *Danḍa* (science of government) which defends this world and the other when it is exercised impartially (*saman*) according to

¹ *S.B.E.*, ii, p. xxvi.

² *Arthaśāstra*, iii, 147-151; *Tiruvilaiyadal*, 59-64.

the faults of the moment (*Yathādoṣa*) whether they come from the very son of the king or from an enemy.'

'By rendering justice agreeably to *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra*, *Samsthā* (established precedents) and (*Nyāya*) equity, the king shall conquer all the earth to its four boundaries.

When there is a conflict between the sacred law (*Dharma*) and the established precedents (*Samsthā*) or between the sacred law and the evidence, the final decision must always rest with the sacred law.'

'But if the sacred texts are in conflict with the sacred equity (*Dharmanyāya*) then the latter shall be of more value. In this case the citations of texts are of no value.' Thus as a practical politician Kauṭalya, while trying to systematize the school of *Artha*, considers the impartial equity of the king as superior to the scholastic logic of the texts. Whilst *Śukraniti* severely criticizes the *Dharma* school, Kauṭalya with a sense of equality and lofty equanimity, assigns to the *Dharma*, its proper place; but at the same time shows that the royal justice is the sole centre of equilibrium between the conflicting theories and struggling parties. The king, *Dandadhara* (he that wields the sceptre) is the true supporter of the four *Varṇas* and *Ācramas* or orders.

By the side of this vigorous principle of political life Kauṭalya had also the courage to preach in the land of mortification the principle of liberal and harmonious enjoyment of life: 'Be not bereft of joy, satisfy *Kāma* without doing injury to *Dharma* or *Artha*. *Dharma* and *Kāma* have *Artha* as their root. *Artha* is, therefore, supreme.'

Whatever be the differences between the schools of *Dharma* and of *Artha*, from the point of view of ultimate superiority, the one and the other are unanimous in accepting the *Dandaniti* as the veritable soul of the science of Government. The very highest place, except for the Brāhmins, is attributed to the king by a *Śūtra* of Gautama (xi. 1) (*Rājasarvasyeṣṭe Brāhmaṇa varjam*) for his impartial Government (x. 8) and even his contribution is considered by Gautama as superior (to those of the Brāhman because the protection of society depends on the king.² Manu also in the section on the *Rājadharmā* exposes the same principle according to which the *Dandaniti* is an eternal subject (*Śaśvati*).

¹ *Arthashastra*, i, 3.

² Manu, vii. 14 and 43; Yajña., i. 310 and 353; Gaut., xi. 3.

And the excellent commentator Mēdhātithi honoured Chāṇakya specially as an expert in the science of *Dandaniti* while Kullūka gives the *Arthashastra* as a synonym for *Dandaniti*. The same tradition is preserved in the lexicons (*Koṣa*). Amara in his *Namalingānuṣāsa* i, defines *Ānvīkshikī-dandaniti* as logic (*Tarkavidyā*) and the science of profit (*Arthashastra*). And Śarvānanda in his commentary on the Lexicon of Amara cites Chāṇakya as an authority.

This science of *Dandaniti* or the *Arthashastra*¹ holds a very important place in the *Mahābhārata*, especially in chapter 58 of the *Sāntiparva* relating to *Rājadharmā*. As we have already said it was formerly the fashion to consider all the didactic passages of the epic as interpolations. Under the influence of that disdain and with the enthusiasm particular to a neophyte Mr. V. Ayer² in his criticism on the text of the *Mahābhārata* denounces the two books (xii and xiii) as two 'enormous falsifications.' But if one has a little of historical sense and the patience of comparing what is said of the *Rājadharmā* in Manu³ and in the *Sāntiparva*⁴ to what Kauṭalya says, one will discover a good deal of valuable information from this mass of apparent falsifications and confusion of contradictory theories. We have reserved the examination of this question till we come here because though the *Sāntiparva* belongs formally to the epic, it furnishes principles of great value for the history of Hindu scholasticism.

The terrible carnage at Kurukshetra is over; the Kurus are exterminated, and the Pāṇavas have gained victory, but Yudhiṣṭhira, the elder and the unique sovereign is filled with disgust for the sovereignty and wishes to renounce the world. Thus the 'chant of Peace' opens with a dramatic discussion between that afflicted king, and his brothers and their wife.⁵ These latter by turns attempted to recall the king to his duty. The most interesting discourse is that of Arjuna⁶ who had undergone a similar moral crisis just at the outset of the war, a crisis averted by the famous discourse of Kṛishṇa which forms the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Here we see Arjuna speaking in two or three different ways. At first he justifies the war and all its horrors by citing the most cruel philosophy of Kapika. 'The king never attains prosperity

¹ *Mhb.*, xii, ch. 58. 33.

² *Notes of a Study of the Mahābhārata* (Madras, 1922), p. 271.

³ ch. vii and ix.

⁴ ch. viii.

⁵ ch. viii-xv.

⁶ ch. xv.

without tearing away the life of his enemies, like a fisherman Afterwards he preaches in an over-subtle language the elastic doctrine of the *Gītā* :

‘The most profound soul of all beings is incapable of being killed. How can, therefore, one be killed by another? Just as a person enters a new house, the soul passes through successive bodies.’

But the most important of his arguments is that which leads to the apotheosis of the *Danḍa*, the one principal regulator of the society, incarnate in the powerful sovereign. Arjuna quotes at first the *Vishṇu Smṛti* ¹ which commends the *Danḍa* and finally rests on the philosophy of Kauṭalya.

‘If the king, ever anxious about the tasks of Government does not apply the *Danḍa*, then the weaker will be devoured by the stronger as fishes in the water.’²

For not being applied it brings about the order of fish morality. The stronger devours the weaker owing to the absence of the bearer of *Danḍa*. This is the reason why it is said: ‘the Gupta is the master.’ One could recall to mind here the establishment of monarchy by means of a regular social contract in order to destroy anarchy as described later on in the *Śāntiparva*.³

But Yudhiṣṭhira remained still depressed with this moral crisis. To effect a remedy, the great sage Vyāsa appeared and advised him to consult the dying hero Bhīṣma on *Rājadharmā*. This is the epic justification of this vital topic. Bhīṣma is honoured by Vyāsa as the greatest master of the royal science, having studied it with the learned Brhaspati, the master of gods and also with Śukra, the master of demons. Bhīṣma commences his discourse in chapter 56 and gives a splendid resumé of the royal science as a whole in three successive

¹ iii. 95, cf. *Mhb.*, xii, 15-11.

यदि न प्रणयेत् राजा दण्डम् दण्डयेषु अतन्द्रितः ।

जले मत्स्यान् इवामक्ष्यन् दुर्बलान् बलवत्तरः ॥

This is simply putting in verse the prose of Kauṭalya (*Arthaśāstra*, i. 1, p. 9).

अप्रणितो हि मात्स्यन्यायम् उन्नावयति । बलवान् अवलं हि प्रसते दण्ड-

धराभावे तेन गुप्ता प्रभवति इति ॥

² *Mhb.*, xii., ch. 15. 30; *Manu*, vii. 20. ³ Ch. lxvij.

chapters, while examining frequently the accessory problems. It is interesting to note the different schools of royal science therein mentioned.

At the beginning, Brahma-Prajāpati composed a work in hundred thousand chapters in order to assure the good Government of the world. This treatise did not only embrace the *Trivarga*: *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* ¹ but also the *Moksha*. It was condensed by god Śiva-Viçālāksha in ten thousand chapters. Again Indra-Bāhudantaka condensed it into five thousand chapters, Brhaspati into three thousand, and Kavi-Uçanas in a thousand chapters. This was out of commiseration for the progressive diminution of the span of human life. In the chapter lix of *Śāntiparva* is given a resumé of the original treatise of Brahma which is concerned practically with all the important branches of the *Danḍaniti*. In the preceding chapter (lviii) the compilers (राजशास्त्रप्रणेताः) of the royal science are enumerated as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Brhaspati. | 4. Māhendra. |
| 2. Viçālāksha. | 5. Praçetasa Manu. |
| 3. Kāvya. | 6. Bharadvāja. |
| 7. Gaurāçiras. | |

Such is the history of the royal science at the time when the epic hero Bhīṣma discourses on it. When a historic compiler like Kauṭalya appears the science has already behind it centuries of discussions and elaborations. But he finds himself in presence of a great confusion, because of the accumulation of texts, of glosses, and of contradictory theories promulgated by divers schools. Thus the science was almost lost in a sea of obscurities from which Kauṭalya rescued it (*uddhṛta*). He composed his *sūtra* as well as his *bhāṣya* or commentary, himself for avoiding the mistake, as he has said at the conclusion of his treatise.² The comparison of data of the epic with those of the *Arthaśāstra* is of enormous importance. Dr. Jacobi in two essays³ studied this subject and gave a list of schools and the respective authors of the *Rajantli*, and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has utilized⁴ the results of Dr. Jacobi in his study of the *Śāntiparva*.

¹ *Mhb.*, xii, ch. 335; *Kāmaśāstra*, i. 5, 6, 7.

² *Arthaśāstra*, p. 431.

³ Sitzber, *Berlin*, 1911-12.

⁴ *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 89-91.

Schools	Individual authors
1. Mānavāḥ.	1. Bhāradvāja.
2. Bārhaspatyāḥ.	2. Viçālaksha.
3. Auçanasāḥ.	3. Parāçara.
4. Parāçarāḥ.	4. Piçuna (Nārada).
5. Āmbhiyāḥ.	5. Kaunapadaṇṭa (Bhīṣma).
	6. Vātavyādhi.
	7. Bāhudantiputra (Indra or Aindra)?
	8. Kātyāyana.
	9. Kaṇṇika Bhāradvāja.
	10. Dirga Carayaṇa (—? Carāyaṇa of <i>Kāmaśūtra</i> , i. 12).
	11. Ghoṭa-Mukha (—? Ghoṭakamukha of <i>Kāmaśūtra</i> , i. 14; —? <i>ghoṭa-çiras</i> .)
	12. Kiñjalka.
	13. Piçunaputra (? Nāradiya).

The conclusions arrived at by D. R. Bhandarkar by comparing a few texts of the *Mahābhārata*, of Manu and Kauṭalya are interesting. These three texts have drawn their substance from more ancient sources, although one of these schools preserves the more primitive form, whereas another shows traces of later manipulations. The traditional texts are partly in prose and partly in verse (*Śūtra* or *śloka*). The differences between prose and verse are relevant in the study of style but they instruct nothing on chronology.

The *Bṛhaspatinīti* published by Dr. Thomas is written in the style of the *Śūtras* but is surely a later work, whilst the syntax of several *ślokas* of the famous *Arthaśāstra* proclaims them as ancient.

It is probable then that many *Śūtras* and *ślokas* which Kauṭalya has cited and amalgamated in his text were from older sources.

Kauṭalya seems to belong to an epoch when the science of profit, was in great confusion. It is difficult to distinguish to-day, as in the time of Kauṭalya, between the divers authors and schools. The disciple of Bāhudantaka-Indra appears as an author Bāhudantiputra exactly as Piçunaputras, disciples of Piçuna-Nārada. The identification which Bhandarkar proposes between Bhīṣma (he who gives out the *Rājanīti* in the *Santiparva*) and Kaunapadaṇṭa, following

the authority of Trkāṇḍaçeṣa, is very probable. But a number of new names of the masters of the *Artha* appears and Kauṭalya has in his compilation collected all the theories and fluctuating principles under the generic name of *Ācharya* which is referred to twenty-three times. It is very probable that the science of profit in the epoch of Kauṭalya had suffered from dispersion just as the science of pleasure *Kāmaśāstra* which Vātsyāyana has rescued as we see in his introduction.¹

‘Thus the scientific treatise reduced to fragments by several savants, is nearly lost.’ Kauṭalya at the end of his *Arthaśāstra* shows a similar solicitude. He is entitled to our lasting gratitude for having delivered the science from oblivion and his having infused into it a new spirit of life. His *Arthaśāstra* occupies a position, quite unique in the scholastic tradition of ancient India.

The other existing treatises on the same subject are small and fragmentary. Time has greatly damaged the works of the schools of Bṛhaspati and of Śukra who are ever venerated as pioneers of this science. Kauṭalya has rendered homage to these at the beginning of his treatise. The compilers of the epics, likewise render them homage through the mouth of Haṇuman² who commences his discourse on polity by saying that the ‘world of men is governed according to the laws of Bṛhaspati and of Uçanas.’ Amongst the works of these two schools, that of Śukra has been partially discovered and published by Dr. G. Oppert under the title of *Sukrantisāra* translated into English by Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. But this seems to be a recent manual where there is mention of gun powder! The works of the school of Bṛhaspati passed for being completely lost, until Dr. F. W. Thomas happily discovered and published them under the title of *Bṛhaspati śūtra*. Written in the ancient style of the *Śūtras* they contain many ancient things. That text includes recent sectarian interpolations amidst which is preserved in the old orthodox style several genuine *Śūtras*.

We have also a very complete resumé of the *Santiparva* and *Manu-smṛti* in the style of *ślokas* of which we have another specimen in the discourse of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhira.³ Under the same form we find a resumé of this science in the *Agnipurāṇa*.⁴ Finally we have a systematic summary in the *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra* (which we suppose

¹ *Kāmaśūtra*, i. 1, 18.

² *Mhb.*, *Āçramavāsika*, ch. v, vi, vii.

³ *Mhb.*, iii. 150. 29.

⁴ *Ch.*, 220-227; 233-241.

to be of the third and fourth century after Christ), which remains for several centuries (ages) the most appreciated of manuals of royal science, and which has been transported to Java and Bali by adventurous princes who set out to colonize the insular India.¹

We can follow in detail the history of the *Artha* through all these texts making use when necessary of the source of those texts, and examine the section of the *Arthaśāstra* which treats of diplomacy proper and which constitutes the sixth and seventh *Adhikarana*. This exposition will allow us to form an idea of the position of Kauṭalya in the evolution of the theories of Hindu diplomacy.

¹ Cf. Formichi, *Gl' Indianie la loro scienza politica*, 1899

The Rebellion of Prince Khusru according to Jesuit Sources

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FATHER H. HERAS published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1924 (pages 33 to 41) a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier on *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh by the Emperor Akbar*, translated from one of the annual accounts of the Jesuit Missions edited in Portuguese by Father Fernão Guerreiro. The narrative of the rebellion of Prince Khusru, I am going to give in this paper, is also a translation of one of these accounts by Fr. Fernão Guerreiro.

The title of Guerreiro's work is as follows: '*Relacão Annal das cousas que fizeram Os Padres Da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606 & 607. Do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes.*'

The work was printed at Lisbon in 1609. The narrative of Khusru's rebellion is contained in Chapter V, pages 148 to 151. The author of the letter is not mentioned as usual, but I think I shall not be mistaken, if I advance my suspicion in favour of the same Fr. Jerome Xavier.

At the end of this translation, I shall add another extract referring to the same Prince, translated from a similar account published in Spanish by Doctor Christoval Svarez de Figoeroa, under the following title: *Historia Y Anal Relacion de las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus por las partes de Oriente Y otras, en la propagacion del Santo Euangelio los anos passados de 607. Y 608.* The work was printed at Madrid in 1614, and my extract is taken from page 13.

CHAPTER V

HOW THE PRINCE REVOLTED AGAINST HIS FATHER
AND THE END OF HIS UNDERTAKING.

A little after the death of the old King and the appointment of a successor,¹ the Prince, son of this new King² revolted against his father, as he was not in his favour,³ just as this new King had revolted against his own father.⁴

¹ Prince Salim, who assumed the title of Jehangir when succeeding Akbar.

² Prince Khusru, who was the eldest son of Jehangir.

³ 'During the Emperor's illness, the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam, and when it became evident that the life of the illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor and determined to seize the Prince (Salim) when he came according to his daily customs to pay respect at Court.' Asad Beg, *Wikaya*, Elliot, vi, p. 169. Jehangir himself writes in his *Memoirs* about the beginning of Khusru's rebellion as follows: 'Futile ideas had entered the mind of Khusru in consequence of his youth and the pride youths have, and the lack of experience and the lack of foresight of worthless companions, especially at the time of my revered father's illness. As the futile imaginations of the seditious and short-sighted had no result but disgrace and regret, the affairs of the kingdom were confirmed in the hands of this suppliant at the throne of Allah. I invariably found Khusru pre-occupied and distracted.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 51. William Hawkins says: 'But Cossero (Khusru), who was proclaimed heir apparent, stomached his father, and rose with great troops, yet was not able to indure after the losse of many thousand men on both sides, but was taken and remaineth still in prison in the King's pallace, yet blinde, as all men report, and was so commanded to be blinded by his father.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 108. 'Sultan Chosrou (Khusru), the eldest son, a very hopeful prince, and a great friend to the Christians, having been settled in a peculiar Lordship, rebell'd against his Father Schiah Selim, in the year 1606. Under pretence that the kingdom belong'd justly to him, because King Echar his grand-father had on his death bed given his Realm to him, as being his grand-child, who was then born, and had excluded Selim his Father, and only son to Echar: wherefore he took up arms against him to obtain that from his Father which his grand-father had in his last will and Testament given to him.' John Ogilby, *Asia, the First Part*, p. 170, 'Sultan Chosrou, the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, rebell'd against his Father, under pretext that the kingdom by right belonged unto him, because indeed King Ekbar, his grand-father, at his death left it to him, his nephew (sic), being then born, and not to Selim the Father, who was his son, being displeas'd with his son Selim, for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, p. 55.

⁴ William Hawkins says: 'This Selim Padasha being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him and proclaimed heir-apparent his eldest sonne Cossero, being eldest sonne to Selimsha; for his owne sonnes (Murād and Dāniyāl), younger brothers to Selim were all dead in Deccan and Guzerat. Yet shortly after his

On Saturday, April 15,¹ he went out at night,² with some select-officers and friends he had in the fortress,³ without telling them his intention.⁴ His friends however began to tell each other that he was going to the tomb of his grandfather.⁵

Hearing this the sentinel as well as the guards of the fortress allowed him to pass; and at the same time his men styled him as King Sultan, and were taking as many⁶ horses as could be found and whatever necessary for their defence.

father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 107-8. William Finch: 'Sha Selim, upon some disgust, tooke arms in his father's lifetime and fled into Purrop, where he kept the Strong Castle of Alobasse (Allahābād) (but came in some three moneths before his father's deceasse); whereupon Acubar gave the Crowne to Sultan Cusseroon his sonne.' Foster, *o.c.*, p. 159. Jehangir had revolted against Akbar about July 10, 1600 and assumed royal title in 1601. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 302-3.

¹ Jehangir himself says: 'On the night of Sunday, Zi-I-hijja 8th, of the year mentioned (April 6, 1605), when two gharies had passed, he (Khusru) made a pretence of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty (Akbar).' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 52. 'At length, he concocted a scheme with his abettors and on the night of the Zi-I-hijja 20th, he represented that he was going to visit the tomb of my father.' *Wakiat-i Jahangiri*, Elliot, vi, p. 291. Father Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, ii, p. 108, gives the date as April 15, 1606. Notice that there is a great discrepancy on this particular point among the sources. Beveridge's date of rebellion is not correct, for Akbar died on October 15, 1605. Hence Khusru could not have rebelled against his father six months before. Jehangir in his *Memoirs* says: 'The flight of Khusru was in the middle of the first year of my reign.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 51. This assuredly proves that the rebellion must have taken place in the first half of 1606. As regards the day, Beveridge is more reliable than Elliot. So it is April 6, 1606. As regards Du Jarric, he took his information from the Jesuit account, we are translating, which gives a wrong date. Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 139, also gives the date of Khusru's escape as April 6, 1606.

² Khusru went out on Sunday night, Zi-I-hijja 8th (April 6, 1606). Cf. *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 52. By Sunday night is meant Saturday evening. Sunday was Akbar's birthday. That is the reason why he said he was going to visit his tomb. Cf. *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 52, foot-note.

³ Khusru was imprisoned in the fort of Agra on account of the recent injuries and insults. Cf. *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 52. 'I confined him, and quieted my doubts and apprehensions.' *Wakiat-i Jahangiri*, Elliot, vi, p. 291. Beni Prasad says: 'On the other hand, the recent injuries and insults rankled in the heart of Jahangir who, apprehensive of a repetition of the risks he had undergone, placed his son in a sort of semi-confinement within the Fort of Agra.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 139.

⁴ His intention was to rebel against his father.

⁵ The tomb of Akbar was about three kos distant from Agra, at Sikandarah.

⁶ 'He went off with 350 horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the Fort of Agra.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 52.

Having learnt this news¹ the King consulted with his minister,² who advised him to detain the Prince; but the King finally resolved to go after him.³

Early next morning, he marched out.⁴ His son (Khusru) had met on the way a general of the army⁵ who was coming from Lahore to see the King. The general, on being treated very kindly by the Prince, was drawn to his side, and accordingly he went with all his men back to Lahore, in company of the Prince.

He also met another general⁶ who was bringing to the King

¹ Jehangir's account is as follows: 'Shortly after, one of the lamp attendants, who was acquainted with the Waziru-l-mulk, gave him the news of Khusru's flight. The Vizier took him to the Amiru-l-umara, who, as the news seemed true, came in a distracted state of mind to the door of the private apartments, and said to one of the eunuchs, "Take in my request and say that I have a necessary representation to make, and let the king honour me by coming out." When I came out and heard what the news was, I asked, "What must be done? Shall I mount myself, or shall I send Khurram?"' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 52.

² The minister was the Amiru-l-umara. Jehangir's words are the following: 'The Amiru-l-umara submitted that he would go, if I ordered it. "Let it be so," I said. Afterwards he said, "If he will not turn back on my advice, and take up arms, what must be done?" Then I said, "If he will go in no way on the right road, do not consider a crime anything that results from your action. Kingship regards neither a son nor son-in-law. No one is a relation to a king."' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 52.

³ 'In consequence of the dignity and nearness (to me) which he (the Amir) enjoyed he was an object of envy to his equals and contemporaries. Perhaps they might devise treachery and destroy him. I therefore ordered Mu'izzu-l-mulk to recall him, and selecting in his place Shaikh Farid Bakhshi-begi commanded him to start at once.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 53. Elliot, *o.c.*, p. 292, seems to have mistranslated the above passage. He says: 'He (the Amiru-l-umara) also, in consequence of the position and dignity that he holds, is envious of his peers, God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him.' From the words in note 14, we know that Jehangir was not apprehensive at all, lest the Amiru-l-umara should destroy Khusru, but the Emperor was afraid lest his favorite the Amir should be killed by Khusru or by his favourite's treacherous enemies.

⁴ 'Meantime day dawned, and in reliance on the grace and favour of God Almighty, and with clear resolve, I mounted, withheld by nothing and no one. When I reached the venerable mausoleum of my revered father, which is three kos from the city, I begged for aid to my courage from the spirit of that honoured one.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 54.

⁵ 'When Khusru arrived at Mathura, he met Husain Beg Badakhshi, who was of those who had received favours from my revered father and was coming from Kabul to wait on me. As it is the temperament of the Badakhshis to be seditious and turbulent, Khusru regarded this meeting as a godsend, and made Husain Beg the Captain and Guide of 200 or 300 Badakhshan Aimaqs, who were with him.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, pp. 54-55. It seems that Husain Beg was on his way to the Court in obedience to an imperial summons.

⁶ He was Abdu-r-Rahim, the Diwan of Lahore. 'About this time Abdu-r-Rahim also reached Panipat from Lahore, and Dilawar Khan suggested to him

about Rs. 100,000,¹ which amounted to more or less 40,000 cruzados.² He took this sum from the general and distributed it among his soldiers, and whatever else he had with him also he gave liberally to them.

By the report of this act of generosity, about 12,000 men³ joined the Prince on the way, and when he reached Lahore, a distance of 100 miles from Agra, he had already a good army.

When the people of Lahore came to know of the flight of the Prince⁴ they closed the gates of the city and refused to hand it over to him. Thereupon the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days,⁵ but could not take it.

Here he heard that his father was pursuing him. He abandoned the siege and marched against his father in order to block his passage

that he too should send his children across the river and should stand aside and await the victorious standard of Jehangir. As he was lethargic and timid, he could not make up his mind to do this, and delayed so much that Khusru arrived. He went out and waited on him, and either voluntarily or in a state of agitation agreed to accompany him. He obtained the title of Malik Anwar and the position of Vazier.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 59.

¹ 'On the way, the Prince intercepted an imperial convoy of a lakh of rupees, which he distributed among his followers. Flying past Delhi, . . . they were joined by Abdu-r-Rahim who was on his way to the court.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140. It seems however that the convoy was brought over to the court by Abdu-r-Rahim himself.

² Cruzado. This was a Portuguese silver coin worth 480 reis. A rei is equivalent to one pie.

³ 'As Lahore is one of the greatest places in Hindustan, a great number of people gathered in six or seven days. It was reported on good authority that 10,000 or 12,000 horses were collected.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63. The fact is also mentioned by William Finch: 'But after Acabar's death, Selim by his friends seized on the castle and treasure, and his son fled for Lahor, where he gathered some 12,000 horses, all good souldiers and Mogols.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 159. Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140, says they were ploughmen and free lances.

⁴ They were made aware of it by Dilawar Khan, a general who remained loyal. 'Dilawar Khan, like a brave man, turned towards Lahore, and on his road informed everyone and every body of the servants of the court and the karoriyan and the merchants, whom he came across, of the exodus of Khusrau.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 59.

⁵ 'When the siege had lasted for nine days, news of the approach of the royal army came repeatedly to Khusrau and his adherents.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63. In the translation, we find that the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days. This means that the Prince besieged the city, in the strict sense of the word, and on the ninth day made up his mind to face his father.

over a river.¹ But he arrived too late, because already some standard bearers of his father's army had crossed.

And the bad luck of this unhappy Prince was further heightened by torrents of rain² which made all his bows wet and thus reduced their bending power, and the horses could not be controlled owing to the damp and marshy ground.

Resigning himself to fate, he daringly attacked that part of the King's army which had crossed the river, killed a great number of soldiers and routed the rest.

And all would surely have perished, had not an officer who saw their slight resistance used this stratagem. The officer sent out spies as messengers who went to the army of the Prince, with the report that the King had already crossed the river and was coming with a great army; and all those who heard this news believed it.

After this the officer suddenly ordered the beat of drums and blow the trumpets,³ as played when the King marches.

The Prince wanted to continue the fight with the King's men; and had he done so he would have destroyed that detachment which had crossed the river; and the other part, which was with the King would have lost courage, and he would have succeeded.

But by the false news that the King was approaching the officer attained his object. And the King's men who were defeated and subdued believed in earnest that the King had arrived, and entreated the Prince not to march further, but to turn back. The Prince refused,

¹ The bridge of Cobindwal, which was over the Beas tributary of the Indus.—'In fine, when I reached the head of the bridge of Cobindwal, 400 or 500 horse good and bad had come together.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63.

² It rained heavily in the night of Thursday the 16th. Cf. *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63.

³ William Finch says: 'In this place, he (Khusru) gave battell to Streck Fereed (Shaikh Farid), and disordered his three hundred horses and put them to the sword. To the second (i.e., assistance) of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (Khawāja Malik Ali, the Kotwāl) (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred beating up the king's drummes and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim; upon which the Prince's souldiers fainted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horses, and 30 c. beyond Lahore for Cabull.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 159. No other author but W. Finch gives such a detailed account, which tallies with the Jesuit one, regarding the ingeniousness of the Emperor's Captain in terrifying Khusru and his men. Jehangir only says: 'Seyed Hullanul and his brother, two of Khusru's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field, at the very commencement of the action.' *Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi*, Elliot, vi, p. 732.

But his Captain General¹ catching the horse by the reins forced him to turn back, and said: 'We surely will lose, if you march further.'

With this advice,² the Prince turned back with him and his soldiers fled in confusion. Thereupon the King's men began to kill some of the Prince's soldiers. The King then crossed the river and the Prince fled to take refuge into the kingdom of Kabul,³ which also belonged to the King.

The King then issued orders along all the fordable parts of the river,⁴ to prevent the Prince from crossing it. When the Prince reached one of these fords,⁵ order had already reached, and the Captain who was the governor of that country was already there to hinder the Prince from crossing.

The Captain ordered all the boats to be cleared off this place, keeping only one to whose crew he gave instructions that as soon as the Prince embarked, they should take him to an islet in the middle

¹ The general was Husain Beg. Cf. note 2 below.

² 'Husain Beg, whose people and family and treasure were in the direction of Kabul, suggested going to Kabul.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 66.

³ Cf. note 2 above. 'In the end, as action was taken according to the wish of Husain Beg, the Hindustanis and the Afghans decided to separate themselves from him.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 66.

⁴ The river was the Chenab. 'The ferries over the rivers had been stopped, because before Khusru's defeat orders had been given to all the jagirdars and the superintendents of the Punjab, that as this kind of dispute had arisen, they must all be on their alert.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 66.

⁵ William Finch says: 'But (Khusru) being to passe a river, where he gave mohors of gold, the boate-man grew in distrust, and in the midst of the Channell leapt over-board and swamme to the shoare, where he gave notice to the Governour of the town adjoyning, who presently with fiftie horse came down to the river, where the boat was still floating, imbarqued himself in another and saluted by the name of king, dissemblingly offering his aide and inviting him to the house; which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded till he had sent the king word; who sent Cennana Beg to fetch him fettered on an elephant.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 159. This account of William Finch nearly agrees with that of the Jesuit. Jehangir himself says: 'On arriving at the Chenāb he proposed to cross at the ferry of Shāhpūr, which is one of the recognized crossings, but as he could find no boats there, he made for the ferry of Sodharah, where his people got one boat without boatmen and another full of firewood and grass. . . . Husain Beg wished to transfer the men from the boat with firewood and grass to the other, so that they might convey Khusrau across.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 66. The Jesuit account says that there was only one boat, whose crew were instructed as to how they should act, when Khusru and his followers reached the ferry. Probably the boatmen of the empty boat were transferred with due instructions to the boat full of firewood and grass.

of the river and with the pretext of bringing the rest of his retinue, to come back and inform him (the Captain).

They abided¹ by the Captain's instructions. The Captain then embarked on another boat and went to the Prince with whom was the general and a few other officers. He greeted them and confidently took them in his fortress, and when all were in, he made them understand that he was going to order a dinner and came out, and he then bolted the doors from outside.

The followers of the Prince could not do anything. They could not cross the river, for there was not a single boat in the river. At this juncture, they came to realize that the Prince was made a prisoner, and they dispersed.

About this time, the King was coming to Lahore, and the two Padres² who were in the Church of Lahore went out to receive him. These priests were threatened by the heathens, who had resolved to kill them when the Prince would enter the city. They went two leagues away from the Church³ to greet the King, who was coming, surrounded by two body-guards of soldiers well organized; close to him some officers, behind him the army, and in front of him were scouts to clear the road. But when these scouts saw the two priests, they allowed them to pass. Then the King, who was riding on a horse, as well as the whole army halted.

The priests saluted the King, who received them most joyfully, asked them about their health and accepted the small gift, which they offered him. The King wished them 'Au revoir' and gave orders to march.

In the evening, he got news of his son's imprisonment,⁴ and

¹ The Jesuit account of the capture of Khusru varies from that of Jehangir. 'On the morning of Sunday, the 24th of the aforesaid month, people on elephants and in boats captured Khusrau.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 67.

² The Fathers of the third Jesuit Mission reached Lahore on May 15, 1595. They were given a house between the fort and the river by order of the Emperor. Cf. Guzmán, *Historia de Las Misiones*, p. 150.

³ Later on the Emperor gave these Fathers a firman to build a Church and a house, and both buildings were finished in 1597 by Fr. Manoel Pinheiro. Guzmán, *Historia de Las Misiones*, pp. 152-4. One of the two priests referred to here, was Fr. Manoel Pinheiro and the other was most probably Fr. Jerome Xavier, who had gone previously to Lahore to receive the King, though he was usually in the capital.

⁴ 'On Monday, the last day of the month, news of this (capture of Khusru) reached me in the garden of Mirza Kamran.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 67.

immediately despatched one of his generals¹ with soldiers to fetch him. The general went to the Prince, and without saluting presented some fetters covered with velvet to him; and saying that such was the order of the King, he put these fetters to the Prince's feet and brought him² guarded by soldiers. Along with him he brought the officers, who were imprisoned in the fortress.

Upon arriving at Lahore³ and after crossing the river, the King sent him an elephant ill-equipped, and took him to his (the King's) camp, because the King had not entered the city as yet.

When the King was informed that the Prince had arrived, he went to his tent weeping bitterly like Joseph⁴ because he could not control his paternal feelings.

After a while, he came out⁵ and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement.⁶ The Prince was brought in to the presence of his father, and after saluting the King, he stood. The King bade him come close through the high officials and dignitaries of the court. He was brought there with chains on his feet and handcuffs. This was a pitiful scene indeed. The King, his father,

¹ 'I immediately ordered the Amiru-l-umara to go to Gujarat and to bring Khusrau to wait on me.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 68.

² Cf. note 1, in p. 8. Jehangir in his *Memoirs* says: 'On Thursday, Muharram 3rd, 1015, in Mirza Kamran's garden, they brought Khusrau with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and custom of Chingiz Khān.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 68.

³ 'On Wednesday, Muharram 8th, I auspiciously entered the Fort of Lahore.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 70.

⁴ Only Beni Prasad mentions that Jehangir wept bitterly. He says: 'Jehangir himself was overwhelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 146. This is an allusion to the biblical account of Joseph, Jacob's son, who being Viceroy of Egypt, after seeing his youngest brother Benjamin, "his heart was moved upon his brother, and tears gushed out, and going into his chambers he wept." Genesis, xliii. 30.

⁵ 'And when he (Joseph) had washed his face, coming out again, he refrained himself and said: "Set bread on the table." Likewise Jehangir also after a time controlled his feelings and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement.' Pietro Della Valle says: 'With this pretence Sultan Chosrou once raised a great Army against his Father, but, coming to a battle, he was routed, and forc'd to surrender himself freely to his Father, who, chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, ask'd him to what end he made these tumults, knowing well that he held and kept the whole Kingdom for him?' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, i, pp. 55-6.

⁶ There is no mention of this Durbar in any of the Mohammedan authors. The Jesuit Fathers were most likely eye-witnesses of it.

feigned to be very angry, spoke hotly and very severely reprimanded him. He also ordered the two commanding officers to be brought near. One of them had been a very important Captain and as such had served the King and his father in different and important undertakings. The other was the head of the revenue and governor of this kingdom of Lahore. Both of them were chained from head to foot. The King then spoke to them mocking the King that had taken as well as the Captains who supported such a King.

The end of the trial was that the Prince was put into chains and given¹ into the custody of a Captain. As regards the two captains he ordered that the clothes of the first General should be striped off and that he should be attired with the fresh skin of an ox, which was to be slaughtered at that very moment; as regards the other Captain, he was ordered to be dressed with the skin of an ass, which was similarly slaughtered.² The King finally ordered that the skins should be tightly sewn, so that they when drying should adhere to their bodies and torment them.

In this state, they remained that night, and in the morning the King ordered them to be carried in the city and to be led through all the roads each of them riding on a donkey with their faces turned to the tail.³ This was a horrid sight indeed, because people knew them well in quite a different dress and position and because they were dressed in those skins in such a manner, that the horns of the ox and ears of the ass were over their foreheads.

When they reached the camp where the King was staying, the first Captain had become suffocated and vexed with the injuries and insults, he received on the same roads he had so often crossed accompanied by cavalry and infantry. So he became entirely exhausted and

¹ 'When his purport became apparent to me I did not allow him to continue talking, but handed over Khusrav in chain.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 68. 'Moreover he suffer'd him (Khusrav) no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but honorable custody of certain Grandees of his Court.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, l.c.

² 'I ordered these two villains to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass, and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 68-9. Pietro Della Valle says: 'And (his Father made him) to behold some of his faithfulest confidants sew'd up in beast's skins, and be so left miserably to rot, he bade him see in what sort of people he had confided.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, l. c.

³ Cf. note, 2 above.

fell down senseless.¹ The King at once ordered to sever his head and carry it to the gate of Agra in order to hang it there and to make four pieces of the body and to pin them at the four corners of the road.² The head of the controller of the revenue was ordered to remain on his skin-dressed body, granting him as a favour³ that a servant should wet some parts of his skin, so that he might not get tormented. This was some sort of relief to him. However, he suffered much due to the humidity, which generated worms in the skin that were molesting him and he considered himself fortunate, whenever he could remove some with his fingers. The skin on his body rotted so much by the heat of the sun, that a very nasty and foul stink was issuing. No one was daring to approach him. But, at last, he was pardoned,⁴ because a private officer of the King had proposed to marry one of his daughters and interceded on his behalf offering the King to pay 100,000 cruzados; and the same evening, he was released. Then he was reinstated⁵ by the King on his former post, as if nothing had happened.

Regarding the soldiers of the Prince, many were captured as sheep without shepherd. As the King desired to enter the city with them, he ordered the roads from the camp to the city where he was halting to be fixed with stakes, because he wanted to hang about a hundred men⁶ apiece on both sides of the road, among whom were relations

¹ 'As the ox-hide dried more quickly than that of the ass, Husain remained alive for four watches and died from suffocation.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 69.

² There is not the slightest mention of this in any of the authors.

³ 'Abdu-r-Rahim, who was in the ass's skin and to whom they gave some refreshment from outside, remained alive.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 69.

⁴ Jehangir does not mention the reason why he pardoned Abdu-r-Rahim. 'On the 14th Zi-l-hijja, having pardoned all the faults of Abdu-r-Rahim Khar, I promoted him to the rank of Yuzbashi (Centurion) and 20 horse.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 164.

⁵ Cf. note 4 above.

⁶ Jehangir in his *Memoirs* does not give the exact number of Aimaqs hung:— 'For the sake of good government I ordered posts to be set upon both sides of the road from the garden to the city, and ordered them to hang and impale the seditious Aimaqs and others who had taken part.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 69. The number of Aimaqs hung according to the Jesuit account most probably seems correct. 'Yet his deeds were sharper than his words; for in the first place he caus'd all the chief Captains to be slain and showing them so slain to Chosrou, as in his return with triumph he made him to pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of them barbarously mangled in several manners.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, l.c.

of some of his private officers. But they could not do anything for them, nor did any one venture to plead for them, lest they should be suspected as partisans of the Prince.

After this, the King rode on a huge, richly caparisoned elephant, as a victorious sovereign, looking in all directions and receiving congratulations for what he had done. Just behind him, rode the Prince on a lean, small elephant. The poor boy was with chains on his feet, awaiting the end of his pitiful tragedy.

The King on entering the city, ordered the Prince to stay in the same palace with light fetters on,¹ and deprived him of all the decorations and titles, even the title of heir to the throne. The King then appointed heir to the throne his second son—the brother of the Prince.² The King got 100,000 cruzados from the Captain killed by his order and from the other culprits he received a large amount, which he kept for himself. And the horses and other goods taken from the Prince were distributed among some officers, who were enemies of the Prince, in order to weaken his power.

When the Prince was fleeing from Agra, on that³ road there was a pagan, called the *Guru*,⁴ who was considered among the pagans like

¹ 'On the 12th I sent for Khusrau and ordered them to take the chains off his legs that he might walk in the Shah-ara garden.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 111.

² He was Prince Parwiz. 'Parwiz was born of Sahit-Jamal (Mistress of Beauty), the cousin of Zain Khān Koka, two years and two months after the birth of Khusrau.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, pp. 18-19. 'I bestowed on him the parasol (*afīab-gu*), which is one of the signs of royalty, and I gave him the rank of 10,000 and sent an order to the officials to grant him a tankhwah jagur.' *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³ Cobindwal. Cf. note 1 in p. 272.

⁴ Arjun, the *Guru*, was the son of Ramdas. With him the hereditary succession of the Sikh *Gurus* began, which continued to the end and added greatly to the wealth and influence of the latter *Gurus*, whom Sikhs grew gradually to look upon as their actual sovereigns. He was the first *Guru* who meddled with politics. He collected the verses of his predecessors, added many of his own and completed the work with extracts from the popular writings of previous *Gurus*. His book was known by the name of *Adi Granth* or *The Book*. Arjun substituted in place of the fluctuating voluntary offerings of his disciples a sort of title or tax to be received by collectors deputed by him. They were known as *Masand*, and had to forward the money once a year. Arjun, after some time laid aside the penitent's garb and adopted the state of a grandee and a great trader. He is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Punjab. 'Arjun became famous among pious devotees and his biographers dwell on the number of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions. Nor was he unheeded by those on high stations, for he is said to have refused to betroth his son to the daughter of Chundoo Shah, the finance administrator of the Lahore

our Pope. He was supposed to be a holy man and honoured as such. And on account of his high dignity and reputation, the Prince visited him desirous of hearing a good prophecy from him. The *Guru* congratulated him for assuming sovereignty and applied three marks on his forehead. Although the *Guru* was a heathen and the Prince a Mussulman, yet he was glad in putting on the Prince's forehead that pagan sign as a mark of good success in his enterprise, taking the Prince as the son of a pagan mother.¹ The Prince received this sign,² on account of the wide reputation of the sanctity of the *Guru*. The King came to know of this affair. Keeping the Prince as a prisoner, he ordered the *Guru* to be brought before him and imprisoned him also.³

Some pagans begged the King to release him, as he was their saint. At last, it was settled that he should pay a fine of 100,000 cruzados. This was done at the request of a rich pagan, who remained as a

Province; and he further appears to have been sought as a political partizan, and to have offered up prayers for Khusru, the son of Jehangir, when in rebellion and in temporary possession of the Punjab. The *Guru* was summoned to the Emperor's presence and fined and imprisoned at the instigation chiefly, it is said, of Chundoo Shah, whose alliance he had rejected, and who represented him as a man of a dangerous ambition. Arjun died in 1606, and his death is believed to have been hastened by the rigors of his confinement.' Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 50-1. Cf. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, ii, pp. 253-8; iii, pp. 92-100; Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, pp. 75-6.

¹ Khusru's mother, Man Bai, was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwan Das. She gave birth in 995 to Prince Khusru. She in a fit of madness, apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusru and by the misconduct of her brother Madho Singh, committed suicide by swallowing opium. Jehangir's words about her are as follows: 'My first marriage and that at the commencement of my adolescence was with her. After Khusru's birth, I gave her the title of Shah Begum. When she could not endure the bad conduct of her son and brother towards me she became disgusted with life. At a time when I had gone hunting on Zi-l-hijja 26th, 1013 (May 6, 1605), she in her agitation swallowed a quantity of opium and quickly passed away. It was as if she had foreseen this behaviour of her unworthy son.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 56.

² 'He (Arjun) behaved to Khusru in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger mark in saffron, which the Indians (Hindus) call *qashqa*, and is considered propitious.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 72.

³ 'When this came to my ears and I clearly understood his (the *Guru*'s) folly, I ordered them to produce him and handed over his houses, dwelling and children to Murtaza Khan, and having confiscated his property, commanded that he should be put to death.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, pp. 72-3. Here the Emperor is quite positive in his statement that he sentenced the *Guru* to death, which was no doubt due solely to political reasons. The significant prefix 'when this came to my ears and I clearly understood his folly,' clearly shows that the Emperor was urged on by others.

security for him. He thought that the King might remit him the fine or the saint might pay, or he might borrow that amount, but in all this affair the rich man was disappointed.

He brought whatever 'his Pope' had in his house, including the household furniture, also the clothes of his wife and children; and finding that whatever he had brought was not enough to cover up the fine, since the pagans have no respect to their Pope or their father, besides depriving him of all his money, he tormented the saint with new insults every day. The poor saint even received kicks on his face on many occasions, and was prevented from eating till he had paid more money.

The rich man did not believe that he had no money, though he had absolutely nothing and no one was even willing to give him. Thus having suffered so many injuries, pains, insults, given by the same that were adoring him, the poor *Guru* died.

The surety giver wanted to escape, but was made a prisoner and killed, after all his possessions had been confiscated.

* * *

The following is translated from the second account mentioned in the beginning of this paper:—

'After the imprisonment of the Prince, as previously narrated, his father, the King, takes him in his retinue, whenever he goes from one city to another. The prisoner is brought under custody on an elephant enclosed in a kind of a cage. In this manner he was taken during this journey from Lahore to Agra. On arriving at the spot, where the same Prince fought with the army of his father, to punish his disobedience, the King caused the Prince to be blinded, by means of some liquid like milk.'¹

¹ Jehangir in his *Memoirs* says: 'On the 19th Urdibihisht in the fifth year of my reign, there occurred a strange affair at Patna, which is the seat of Government of the province of Behar. By chance, at that time, an unknown man of the name of Quth belonging to the people of Uch who was a mischievous and seditious fellow, came to the province of Ujjainiyya (Bhojpūr), which is in the neighbourhood of Patna, with the look of a dervish and the clothes of a beggar, and having made acquaintance with men of that part, who were always seditious, represented to them that he was Khusrau, who had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there; saying that if they would accompany and assist him, after the affair had been completed they would be the ministers of his State He showed those deceived ones the parts about his eyes, where at some time he had produced scars, of which the marks were still apparent, and told them that in the prison

they had fastened cups (*katori*) on them, and those were the marks.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, pp. 173-4. The above passage is commented upon by the translators as follows: 'Apparently we may infer from this that Jehangir did blind or attempt to blind temporarily at least, his son Khusru though he says nothing about it. Else why should this impostor pretend that he had marks of the blinding?' Ogilvy, who published his work in 1674, also speaks of the temporary blindness of Khusru, though narrated in another way. The Jesuit account seems more reliable. 'Chosrou was committed, though after an Honourable manner, to the Custody of several Noblemen, his Father likewise causing his Eye-lids to be sew'd up, that so he might bereave him of his Sight without putting out his Eyes, and at once deprive him of the means to make any further trouble in the Kingdom: But after the expiration of some days, Selim causing his Eyes, to be open'd again, prevented Chosrou from being always blind; yet though he beheld the Light of the Sun again, he enjoy'd not his Liberty, but was kept a close Prisoner for space of Two Years, not being allow'd according to the King's Command to have above one Man to wait upon him.' Ogilby, *Asia, The First Part*, p. 170.

I have found nothing in the Jesuit accounts about Khusru's death. Hence I am going to end this paper, by quoting Ogilby's words, which once more point out Prince Khurran, the future Shah Jahan as the murderer of his eldest brother. They run as follows: 'Chorrom by his own subtil Contrivance and Conduct, and by the high esteem of his Father-in-Law Ajat Chan, and his Sister Nurmahal, had so wrought with the King, that the Prisoner Sultan Chosrou was committed into his Custody, but with Commands to use him well and take special care of him . . . No sooner was Chosrou deliver'd up to him, but he immediately went from thence, and kept him two Years in an honourable manner. But at last Chorrom, who had no other design but by his brother's death to secure himself of the Kingdom, practis'd all the time since his coming from his Father's Court, as some affirm, to poyson him. . . . But Chosrou having notice thereof, would not eat any of the Meat that was brought to him by them, expresly telling them (waiters) that it was poyson'd. The Keepers seeing no way to perform their Master's Commands by Poyson, fell all upon him with drawn Swords, and after a long resistance strangled him with a Bowe-string. Some affirm, That Sultan Chorrom kill'd Chosrou in publick with his own hand.' Ogilby, *Asia, The First Part*, pp. 170-171. Cf. Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, pp. 56-8.

Reviews

'THE OCEAN OF STORY'

[*The Ocean of Story*.—Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Katha Sarit Sāgara*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. Penzer, vol. v, 324 pages, London: Chas. I. Sawyer, Ltd., 1925.]

THIS new volume of Mr. Penzer's great work may be called the *Pañchatantra* volume, as it contains, *inter alia*, Somadeva's interesting extract from the *Pañchatantra* and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the *Pañchatantra* in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of *Pañchatantra reconstructed*, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the *Pañchatantra*, and by Sir E. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian Collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of fables is contained in Mr. Penzer's second Appendix on an Indian Replica of the Tale of Rampsinitus, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The Index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the *Ocean of Story*.

J. JOLLY.

'LIFE OF HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA TUKOJI RAO HOLKAR II OF INDORE'

1835-1886

BY

M. W. BURWAY

Indore

[1925—With a Foreword by Mr. C. E. Luard, pp. 642; xcvi and 7.]

To his many books of biographical and other interest, Mr. Burway has added one more that is very readable and at the same time exhaustive. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar is certainly a very attractive figure in the long chain of the Holkars who have not lacked certainly in both heroic

and eccentric figures. From the great Mulhar Rao, the founder of the line and but a shepherd in origin, through his immortal daughter-in-law Ahalya Bai to the accession of Tukoji Rao Holkar II in 1844, the history of Indore was an alternation of periods of sunshine and storm outbursts. Mr. Burway's Tukoji Rao has a uniformly good tale to tell. After a preliminary survey of the rise of the Holkars which covers nearly 150 pages, Mr. Burway takes us on to the reign of his subject. He touches somewhat delicate ground when he tries to exonerate the conduct of the Holkar from all suspicion of complicity in the acts of the Mutineers. Indeed the Holkar tried hard, but ineffectually, to restrain the impetuosity of some of his troops who attacked the residency and obliged the Political Agent to retire to Lahore; he gave every possible assistance to the authorities, and at considerable personal risk sheltered many Christian and some European refugees in his own palace. Mr. Burway shows us how the official records and private papers of Lord Canning and other actors in the drama of the Mutiny do not contain the slightest evidence by which the undoubted loyalty of the Holkar could be called in question, in spite of the hasty and suspicious denunciation of the Indore Durbar's conduct by Colonel Durand. After the storm of the Mutiny had blown over, the Maharaja was busily engaged in improving the internal administration, himself looking personally after the affairs of the revenue and foreign departments. The Government was regularly divided into departments; the ruler had a great capacity for choosing excellent ministers like Sir T. Madhava Rao and R. Raghunath Rao; he successfully saved the Dhar State from extinction by bringing the prominent attention of the Home Government to it. On the occasion of the great Delhi Assemblage of 1877, he was raised to be a Counsellor of the Empress and admitted to the Order of the Indian Empire. It was he that shrewdly remarked to Sir Hugh Daly, when discussing the episode of the Gaekwar's deposition in 1874-75—'The person for the time being is little; the State with its rights is the point for consideration'—which indicates a very correct point of view. The Maharaja's extensive influence both with the Government in India and with English leaders at home stood the state in good stead for a number of years after his death. He has been very well depicted by writers like Luard, Evans Bell, Talboys Wheeler, etc.

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The life-story of such a ruler is a fitting addition to the series of biographies of eminent Maratha rulers and statesmen, like Ranoji Rao Sindia, Mahdaji Sindia, Ahalya Bai, Dinkar Rao, etc., already produced by the author who has made use, in his own way, of original state records and correspondence. The book is profusely illustrated and is a standing tribute to the virtues possessed in a large measure by our Indian Rulers.

C. S. S.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

'JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER'

[Trans. from the original French Edition of 1676 by Dr. V. Ball—Second edition by W. Crooke—in two volumes, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. xc and 335; xv and 399—with illustrations and maps. Price, 18s. net.]

In the year 1666, the year of Shah Jahan's death, there were simultaneously in India three Frenchmen, Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, of whom any country might be proud, and each one of whom has left ample records of his travels and experiences. Tavernier made six prosperous voyages to the East extending from 1631 to 1668 and finally retired to France wealthy and ennobled. In 1675 he published his first book *Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior*; and in the next year appeared his *magnum opus* 'The Six Voyages' which went through several editions rapidly and was translated into English and German and Dutch and Italian within a few years. Even the learned work of the philosophic Bernier did not meet with such success; while the accounts of Thevenot and Chardin, who were better educated than Tavernier, were relatively insignificant. Tavernier's book excited the jealousy of his fellow-travellers as well as the spite of Voltaire; while Gemelli Careri, a slightly later traveller, was inclined to regard him as 'a dupe rather than a liar.' Tavernier did not reciprocate their hostility and meted out scrupulously fair treatment to him. Dr. Ball speaks of frequent obscurities and contradictions in Tavernier and says he was a plagiarist 'in a certain sense and to a limited degree.' He got his information wherever he could, mainly from fellow-travellers like Bernier and Gabriel de Chinon.

The only subject on which our traveller is invaluable is that of the Indian diamond mines; he gives but little information about the Mughal court and only some sidelights on the condition of the various provinces of the Mughal Empire and of the peasants. Tavernier narrates incidents as they occurred; and 'his narrative, when tested by modern authorities is,' according to Dr. Ball, 'much more accurate than it has often been supposed to be.' When he depends on hearsay information, he was usually inaccurate especially in his geographical knowledge of routes, place-names, etc. But Dr. Ball added that the work of Tavernier was a classic and opined that the task of tracing his obscure routes and place-names was not altogether labour misspent.

Making up for these deficiencies in the text, Dr. Ball has annotated particularly the obscure points in questions of science and topography, in a very exhaustive manner. The varieties of precious stones and pearls, the trade in commodities such as spices, snake-stones, musk, indigo, ivory, etc., the methods and tricks of the native-bankers and of the *shroffs* (money-changers) are all well described by Tavernier from the point of view of the merchant and of the expert. His account of the Koh-i-Noor Diamond, and of some leading nobles like Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla, and particularly of the European trading powers like the Dutch against whom he brings some ugly charges (*vide* his exposures of the Dutch contained in *The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia*) is very clear and valuable under some limitations. The excellent two-volume edition of Dr. Ball has now been supplemented by Dr. Crooke with further information on questions of archæology, historical events and personages and the social and religious life of the people. Dr. Ball himself had prepared additional notes for an intended revision; and these also have been made use of by Dr. Crooke. The main value of both these English editions, apart from the notes, is in the careful translation of the French text originally published in 1676. The preface of Dr. Ball; a life of Tavernier based on an eminently just, but not partial, estimate of him by Charles Joret; and an introduction to the present edition by Dr. Crooke, with additional notes on Tavernier's history and geography by H. A. Rose and with an extensive bibliography of the traveller's works prepared by Dr. Ball—these enhance the value of the edition, and make up for the difference between the commercial traveller and his more philoso-

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phic contemporaries, showing that even the former has his own special value. The editors have shown that to Tavernier also may be applied the remark which Thevenot's translator made about his subject:— 'An honest man never lived in the world.'

C. S. S.

'THE ARAB CIVILIZATION'

BY

S. KHUDA BAKSH

[Translated from the German of Joseph Hell, by S. Khuda Baksh—published by W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge. Price 8s. 6d. net. pp. xvii and 128.]

THE Translator who has brought out several works on Islamic history and culture, like *the Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta, 1920) *History of the Islamic Peoples* (Calcutta, 1914) and *Politics in Islam* (1920) has now attempted to give to the students a translation of Prof. Hell's monograph—*Die Kultur der Araber* which is, according to him 'at once a summing up and a revaluation of Arab civilization.' Prof. Hell has used up all available materials and told the history of Arab civilization in short compass with 'wide-mindedness, sympathy, clearness of vision' and also simplicity of narrative and style. The Translator intends that this book may well serve as an introduction to the study of more learned authors on the same subject like Arnold, Becker, Alfred von Kremer, Goldziher and Lane-Poole.

Dr. Hell describes the state of Arabia prior to the rise of Islam giving a picture of the nomad life of the Arab tribes, of the peculiarities of the land and of the advent of the Abyssinians and their rule and also of such attainments in poetry, eloquence and the arts as they had reached. The next chapter on Mohamed contains nothing remarkably new. But the Translator expresses his disagreement with the author (p. 21 note) regarding the point that the Prophet who left Mekka was a very different man from the chief of a community who entered Medina; and he holds that the only difference was that the Prophets' work was considerably extended in Medina to problems which could not have arisen in Mekka. Nor does Mr. Khuda Baksh support the view that after Badr love of power and vengeance were the cardinal points in the Prophet's programme. He would cite the

sympathetic writers, Dr. Krehl and Dr. Arnold to support his point of view. The succeeding chapters include a brief survey of Muslim conquests in which the real aim was not so much the diffusion of Islam as the seizure of wealth of the neighbouring states by the dominant Arab race, while Omar pursued a deliberate policy to set up the ascendancy of Arabism and to remove the cultural disparity between them and the other races. The rise and fall of the Omayyads, and the splendid period of Abbassid rule are next set forth; and these changes in the line of the Caliphate are due essentially to the conflict between the Islamic and the Arabic outlook—the bulk of the Arabs holding that there could be no other title to the Caliphate than kinship with the Prophet. Abbassid learning largely influenced by Persian scholars and animated ancient Persian chivalry and ideas, formed the golden age of Islamic culture—while a portion of it, such as jurisprudence, medicine, and natural science had largely a Hellenistic basis. Dr. Hell describes the influence of Arab psychology upon Islamic culture, while in jurisprudence in particular the western borrowings of Alm Hanifa may be noted. The chapters on Bagdad and on Muslim rule in North Africa and Spain are not the least interesting portions of the book which tries to teach the truth that Islamic civilization is world-embracing in its range, eclectic in its principles, 'developing the sense of nationality and yet preserving the ineffable brotherhood of the faith.' The appended bibliography is exhaustive but omits strangely enough writers like Muir.

C. S. S.

'ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY,
VOL. IV. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF BRITISH
INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY'

BY

DR. SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

[Oxford University Press, 1926. pp. ix and 395.]

THE book under review aims at supplying a critical analysis of essential data for the study of the seventeenth century British India; and it tries to bring within one compass accounts of the materials lying scattered in the various record offices in England, like the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian, Privy

Council Registers, the India Office, the Archbishopal Library at the Lambeth Palace and the All Souls' College Library at Oxford. The last section deals with the relevant records preserved in India. Each record examined is analysed with regard to its contents, its date and its significance and value. The collection in the British Museum is by far the most valuable including such items as the Journal of John Jourdain (recently edited by William Foster for the Hakluyt Society) and the originals of the correspondence of Factors in the East with the Company, some of which have been included by Mr. Foster in his 'Letters received by the E. I. Company from its servants in the East' and others abstracted in his *English Factories* series. The earlier correspondence addressed from abroad to the company is exceedingly scanty, not more than fourteen documents of dates prior to 1610 having been handed down to the present times in the P. C. volumes of the India Office, according to the report of Sir George Birdwood besides gaps in the Court Minute Books and in the Marine Records. The records connected with the case of *Skinner vs. the East India Company* (1667-69) have been noted; while the manuscripts of John Marshall who was the first European probably to study the religion and literature of the Hindus, even before Anquetil du Perron, have been exhaustively analysed.

Dr. Khan shows how many facts concerning the early history of the East Indies are contained in the general series of Domestic State Papers and in the State Papers, Foreign, of the Public Record Office; his notes on the selected records are based mostly upon official lists, calendars and reports and other printed authorities, though also supplemented by direct examination of certain documents. The papers calendared by W. Noel Sainsbury and Miss Sainsbury and also by W. Foster contain to a large extent documents from the Public Record Office. Among the relevant *MS* records in the Bodleian may be noted the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, a manuscript of the highest value, which has been edited by Sir Richard Temple for the Hakluyt Society; some letters from the masterful Governor of the Company, Sir Josiah Child; and the diary of Sir William Norris (1699-1700) now being dealt with by Mr. Harihara Das. The Registers of the Privy Council proceedings, with the exception of those for the years 1604-12 which have been destroyed by fire, have been carefully abstracted and contain matters of varying interest.

The notes given with reference to the records at the India Office relate mainly to 'documents not hitherto analysed or calendared or to series not already in process of publication, and are derived from direct examination of originals' in the Marine, Factory and General Records Sections. Particulars of the journals of the early voyages are given, while all notes of any historical interest have been reproduced in full. The Factory Records were originally roughly calendared by Sir George Birdwood and by F. C. Danvers, both letters received by the Company and its despatches to its settlements. Both the sections are in course of publication either *in extenso* or in extract. These are merely noted by the author.

The General Records section is elaborately minuted; while references to documents of Indian interest found in the Guildhall and Lambeth Libraries make us wonder whether there may not be more places of likely interest similar to these. The last section deals with the records in the various Indian Record Offices—the Madras Despatches to England and the Consultation Books being specially prominent. The book is intended to impress on the student as well as the writer, the necessity of the Archive Method, of completely sifting all the available original data, before accounts are made and conclusions drawn; and this purpose the book eminently fulfils.

C. S. S.

'DRAVIDIAN INDIA,' VOL. I

BY

T. R. SETHA IYENGAR, MADRAS

(Price, Rs. 4)

THIS little book which is described in the foreward to this work as a 'valuable introduction . . . to Dravidian culture and its place in the Hindu civilization,' consists of four chapters, of varying value. These deal respectively with (1) The Indo-Aryan Epics and South India, (2) Dravidian Origins, (3) Dravidian Glories, (4) and Ancient South Indian Polity.

Excellent as is the conception of writing a much-needed work like this we regret to find that a great deal of its value is lost by a

series of defects in the treatment of the subject. One of these is the failure on the part of the author to discriminate between the relative value of authorities which range from Dr. Tagore on the one side to the obscure observations in the daily press. Another defect of this work is the display of excessive and unjustifiable zeal towards everything Dravidian in the course of the work. It is apparently this weakness that prevents the author from taking a fair and dispassionate view of the relative value of Dravidian and Aryan cultures. This displays itself in various parts of the work, a prominent instance of which may be cited. On page 119 the author observes without any evidence that the influence of the Dravidians on the culture of India has been ignored because the literature which records the development of Hindu religion in India was the work of a hostile priesthood whose only object was to magnify its own pretensions and decry everything Dravidian. It is again the same spirit which makes him justify even savage ferocity of the early Tamils in warfare (page 254).

Without entering into a detailed analysis of the work it would be sufficient to point out in the interests of historical research a few, of the many overstatements, inconsistencies and unsound theories and conclusions which mar this little book. On page 96 the author seems to support the highly doubtful theories of Dravidian origin of Varuna and Rudra, and quotes with approval the views of Dr. Slater that Kali, Siva, and Vishnu are Dravidian deities. It will however be patent to all that it is too premature in the present state of research to uphold the correctness of these views. Again on page 129 the author quotes the same authority that the caste system was Dravidian in origin and that the Dravidian magicians became the ancestors of the Brahmins. It would be interesting to know the reasons for which the author considers this baseless view of the origin of the caste system as very profoundly interesting, in view of the fact that the absurdity of this theory had been sufficiently exposed at the time of the publication of Dr. Slater's *Dravidian Origin of Indian Culture* a couple of years ago.

A prominent instance of self contradiction occurs towards the closing portion of the first volume which deals with the attitude of the Tamil in warfare towards the non-combatants and the vanquished. On page 251 the author observes 'that the invader (the Tamil king) was equally humane to the aged, the infirm, the women and the Brahmins.' I

illustrating this however the author cites the instance of Karikala and observes on page 253, rather curiously, that the ancients (Tamil kings) were merciless to the vanquished and the inhabitants of the invaded country would flee on every side, and that the country would be ravaged with fire, etc.

His views on the *Kural*, its date, character and contents do not appear to be quite sound. On page 71 he observes that it is original in design and execution, and almost independent of Sanskrit. Again on page 203 he says that Vaḷḷuvar's religion is the religion of the Dravidians. The references to Aryan deities such as Brahma, Lakshmi, and Vishnu, as well as the orthodox view that the author of the *Kural* was a Jain and that the work is Jain in conception contradict this latter assertion. As regards the former view of the author, recent research has shown that Sanskrit influences especially of the *Dharma-sastras* and *Arthasastras* including Kautilya's monumental work on politics are clearly traceable in the *Kural*. In view of this fact it is difficult to uphold the view that this work is free from Sanskrit influence of any kind. On page 211 the author in dealing with the devotional element in classical Tamil poetry quotes the substance and almost the very words of a paragraph found in one of the chapters of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*. There is however no acknowledgment anywhere in this page or in the previous pages to indicate where the views are taken from and the author contents himself with enclosing two half sentences within quotation marks.

The work strikes one as a hastily written compilation although the author claims in the introduction that he has been engaged at it during the last twelve years. The minor defects of the work include the want of diacritical marks for proper names now considered so indispensable to publications of this kind. Even the spelling adopted by the author for the names of early Tamil and Sanskrit writers and their works is defective and not uniform. We have expressions like the following : page 89, *Pathirrupathu*, *Ashvathama* (page 100), *Kalithokai* (page 200), where we would write *Padirrupattu*, etc. An instance of carelessness in proof correction is furnished in the following :—*Udayakumaran*, (page 95), *Kalpasastra* (page 162). The absence of an index, an indispensable adjunct to all critical works of this kind, makes the work still less valuable.

In spite of these and other defects this little book will have its own use to the public and we hope that when a second edition is contemplated or the second volume is published the above defects will be rectified and the book made really useful.

‘SIMHAVISHNU.’

‘ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT’

BY

PROF. BENOV KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

[Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Price, Rs. 8.]

ANY study of the science of economics would be incomplete if the various problems and side-issues involved therein are not interpreted in their geographical and historical perspective. Mere examination of the theory would not go a long way in helping us to determine the several complex problems on an objective basis as it were. It is for the province of applied economics to indicate to us in a clear light the different aspects of a crucial economic question. The Great War of Europe has not unnaturally affected the economic and industrial conditions of the whole world. Especially in the industrial field capital held sway and had so far Labour under its thumb. Labour which was showing manifestly signs of discontent now and then, has begun to assert its rights. Healthy regulations touching the labouring classes in general have been put forward and adopted rapidly. A new and brighter outlook for technical education has been inaugurated in most of the civilized states in consonance with the prevailing social, economic and industrial conditions of the respective states.

These and other problems of moment are presented to us in a systematic whole in this book by a competent writer who can speak with authority on these subjects. Prof. Sarkar had the rare advantage of getting first hand information from the several economic and industrial institutions of practically every country in Europe, which he visited recently. A serious student of economics and politics as he is, he was able to collect a mine of information at once useful and instructive.

The book under review contains small chapters, forty-six in number, occupying in all 492 pages. In these pages one finds strong evidence of earnest study and strenuous labour. The data furnished

the figures, charts and tables presented, and the comparative study of several states in their geographical and historical perspectives, certainly enhance the value of a work of this kind. But one finds disappointment in the arrangement both of chapters and of facts in them. Though the subjects are treated in a systematic manner, still there is no connected whole. And the author himself is alive to this defect of an otherwise useful book. He characterizes the sub-title of the work as ‘snapshots of world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education.’ We regret to find fault with this method of treatment. It would have been far better if the author had examined country by country bringing into one view all problems connected with it; or subject by subject under the mainheads of agriculture, technical education, etc., examining under these respective heads the actual state of affairs obtaining at present comparatively and historically. But for this drawback the work is replete with facts and figures which would facilitate the work of the laborious student of applied economics.

Prof. Sarkar’s book is still more valuable because he has given a large space in the consideration of the vital economic problems affecting India at present. Indian industrialism is still a thing of the future. We are still in a stage of transition with all the endeavours on the part of the state as well as private individuals. It would be decades before we cross successfully this bridge of transition, and could speak with pride of an Industrial India. In our lines of development we must profit by the experience of other states and countries. If a study of history could be of any real service, it must be in this direction. But yet we could not build up the fabric of our economic and industrial institutions on purely Western models. Here then we could not afford to neglect the economic history of ancient Hindu India. A study of our past institutions would tend to solve some of the knotty problems which face seriously enough professors of economics to-day. The growth and development of institutions, social, economic or political, must be adapted to the culture and genius of the race as portrayed in their history. In discussing an economic scheme for young India, the author remarks that it is industrialism that is the cure for all our poverty, and that the role of foreign capital towards this end is a great necessity. We are afraid that mere students of Indian economics may not agree with our author’s views in this particular. There is one other statement among others of Prof. Sarkar

with which one will pause a little before he accepts the position as tenable. He says that our agriculture is 'overcrowded,' and continues that 'not "back to land" but "away from land" is to be the motto for, say, one generation.' Let alone students of economics, even laymen we presume, could not see eye to eye with Prof. Sarkar in this respect. With the unemployment of even our educated young men ever on the increase there would be no economic salvation for us if 'back to the land' is not urged and put into actual practice. There are great possibilities of improving our land and agricultural methods. And there is not the least doubt that for some generations to come, these would afford a stable and more secure employment to a large number of our unemployed.

We congratulate the publishers for their enterprising spirit to publish books of great value like the one under review. We agree with them that the bibliography at the beginning and the index at the end will be of great utility. The printing and get up are excellent.

V. R. R.

'THE MUSIC OF INDIA'

BY

ATIYA BEGUM FZYBE-RAHAMIN.

[Luzac & Co., London.]

INDIAN music has begun to figure prominently in the general revivalist movements of modern India, and attempts are made all through the country for recovering it from the neglect into which it had fallen owing to the changing circumstances of the last century and a half in India. Signs of a revived interest in Indian music are visible all round, and show themselves in many ways. As in various other matters, there have been meetings and conferences for the purpose of reviving and promoting the study of Indian music. It is in response to a demand somewhat similar that the Third Oriental Conference in Madras arranged for a musical demonstration of Hindu music in particular, which still continues to be cultivated in South India in the old style, not uninfluenced, but yet unsubmerged by other influences that have had their sway in the north. The organizers as well as the audience were agreeably disappointed at the display, which showed that the art still exists in a living form to a far higher degree than was

about Rs. 100,000,¹ which amounted to more or less 40,000 cruzados.² He took this sum from the general and distributed it among his soldiers, and whatever else he had with him also he gave liberally to them.

By the report of this act of generosity, about 12,000 men³ joined the Prince on the way, and when he reached Lahore, a distance of 100 miles from Agra, he had already a good army.

When the people of Lahore came to know of the flight of the Prince⁴ they closed the gates of the city and refused to hand it over to him. Thereupon the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days,⁵ but could not take it.

Here he heard that his father was pursuing him. He abandoned the siege and marched against his father in order to block his passage

that he too should send his children across the river and should stand aside and await the victorious standard of Jehangir. As he was lethargic and timid, he could not make up his mind to do this, and delayed so much that Khusrū arrived. He went out and waited on him, and either voluntarily or in a state of agitation agreed to accompany him. He obtained the title of Malik Anwar and the position of Vazier.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 59.

¹ 'On the way, the Prince intercepted an imperial convoy of a lakh of rupees, which he distributed among his followers. Flying past Delhi, . . . they were joined by Abdur . . . Rahim who was on his way to the court.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140. It seems however that the convoy was brought over to the court by Abdu-r-Rahim himself.

² Cruzado. This was a Portuguese silver coin worth 480 reis. A rei is equivalent to one pie.

³ 'As Lahore is one of the greatest places in Hindustan, a great number of people gathered in six or seven days. It was reported on good authority that 10,000 or 12,000 horses were collected.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63. The fact is also mentioned by William Finch: 'But after Acabar's death, Selim by his friends seized on the castle and treasure, and his son fled for Lahor, where he gathered some 12,000 horses, all good souldiers and Mogols.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 159. Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140, says they were ploughmen and free lances.

⁴ They were made aware of it by Dilawar Khan, a general who remained loyal. 'Dilawar Khan, like a brave man, turned towards Lahore, and on his road informed everyone and every body of the servants of the court and the *karoriyan* and the merchants, whom he came across, of the exodus of Khusrū.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 59.

⁵ 'When the siege had lasted for nine days, news of the approach of the royal army came repeatedly to Khusrū and his adherents.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 63. In the translation, we find that the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days. This means that the Prince besieged the city, in the strict sense of the word, and on the ninth day made up his mind to face his father.

'INDIA'

BY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

[Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.]

THIS, the latest work of the accepted authority on Indian affairs, is one of a series entitled *The Modern World* each work of which undertakes to make a survey of present historical forces. India like every other country in the world has come out of the crucible of the Great War in a condition anything but settled in respect of the various forces which go to the make up of a modern community. Forces external and internal are in a great struggle, finally to settle down in an equilibrium more or less stable. But while the struggle is keen, the equilibrium and its comparative stability are alike as yet in the distant prospect. The survey of historical forces in a society in that condition and that a vast conglomeration of peoples like that of India is not a task that one would enter into with any great hope of achieving success. Sir Valentine Chirol has great qualifications for essaying the task, complicate as it is and difficult beyond power of an ordinary man. The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher claims for the work that 'in this survey, all the factors essential to the comprehension of modern India are made to stand out in their true perspective.' Sir Valentine Chirol has attempted it in the nineteen chapters of the book, we should rather say eighteen, leaving the nineteenth as the concluding remarks; he passes in rapid review various of those vital factors which have gone into the make up of modern India, laying more stress on modern events, and comparatively less on the older, very naturally for a man of his position. He has, on the whole, achieved his task with considerable success. Notwithstanding the easily visible attempt at impartiality and holding the balance even, he cannot but take a partisan view sometimes, and appears now and again as an apologist of the administration and an antagonist of forces that seem to be arrayed against the British Raj. On many burning questions his views may be accepted as impartial, such as the South African question, for instance, and the attitude of the British administration towards the Reforms. As much cannot be said in regard to his understanding of the Revivalist Movement in the country, which strikes him too readily as anti-British in character, and hostile, therefore, to Western civilization.

This comes out in bold relief where Sir Valentine has to deal with

the modern movements which have for their object the understanding of the country, its past history and its present culture and civilization. While, thanks to the influence of a new civilization, somewhat alien in spirit and even in aim, the intelligentsia of the country have their attention turned forcibly towards studying their own history with a view to a reasoned understanding of the present developments would be but natural; it is equally natural that people belonging to an ancient civilization who get for the first time a more or less clear view of it after the lapse of a few centuries of clouding, take a natural pride in it, and seem to be wanting in the docility, which perhaps is too often demanded by the teacher from the taught. That a man of Sir Valentine's eminence and experience of affairs should expect that in an ancient country like India the implanting of Western education and civilization would readily produce a society which is but a flimsy copy of the society of the West is certainly to expect too much in it. Even those pioneers of the introduction of these Western elements of civilization did not expect it from the position of lesser advantage that they occupied in respect of their understanding of the soil upon which they sowed their seeds. That Western education and Western methods of criticism should turn the attention of educated Indians to an investigation and understanding of their own culture ought to be regarded as but a natural consequence of that education. When educated Indians turn their attention to the study of their past, there would naturally be a deeper understanding and a wider comprehension of the more ancient civilization. As a consequence, educated Indians would perhaps show more self-respect, perhaps even self-consciousness, at which no reasonable outsider need take offence. The result would have to be a struggle to begin with between the ancient ideals of India and the new ideals of the West, and the result of this struggle will have to be inevitably something very different from that which is Western civilization and that which was ancient Indian civilization. A reversion to the past is impossible, as Sir Valentine readily admits. A copy of the West is equally impossible, he does not seem readily to admit. There is the crux. Throughout the book one sees an undercurrent of a feeling of disappointment that the seeds of Western education and Western civilization that have been sown with such considerable pains, do not seem to show a luxurious crop of imitation of the West. The glamour of the new civilization had exercised its

influence at the beginning and it has exhausted itself almost nearly, and what is to be looked for is a new synthesis of the ancient civilization of the East, and, it may be, the economic civilization of the West. To expect anything else is to read history wrong.

Some of the manifestations of the society of present-day India are nothing more than one phase or another of this struggle which is inevitable. Even democratized representative institutions of Government may have to undergo a certain amount of modification when they get to be applied to the conditions of India, historical and contemporary. There is hardly enough allowance made for this throughout this volume of survey of historical forces struggling in present-day India. Reforms have been introduced five years ago, and the reforms have worked, they cannot have worked to the satisfaction of all concerned. It is an experimental measure of democratizing the administration, and even as an experiment, they have had to make concessions to Indian conditions, and one of the most important, and perhaps not the most healthy from the point of view of the consequences, is the undemocratic principle of communal representation. If an experiment, launched under very peculiar circumstances, has not had a smooth working, it would be difficult to allot the blame to this or that or a third party. It is in the very nature of the thing itself, and the wiser course would be for those responsible not to waste time and energy in allotting blame, but to use both efficiently in an honest attempt to remove that which is detrimental to progress in the scheme that has been adopted.

While we welcome the book as an honest attempt to picture the struggling India of the present-day in all its multitudinous phases, we should have very much wished that Sir Valentine had been somewhat less partisan in certain chapters. He has shown comparatively small acquaintance with the Hindu India of old, as in fact his knowledge of Hindu civilization is anything but profound. He has, on the whole, called up a picture which may be flattering to the pride of the well-meaning Englishmen, well-affected towards the future of India. But he could not be credited with having produced an illuminating book for the serious student of Indian History in India itself. While it may serve a very valuable purpose to the general reader, both Indian and European, the serious student of Indian History is perhaps doomed to some slight disappointment.

'INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED'

BY

LT.-COL. L. A. WADDELL

[Luzac & Co., London.]

THE archaeological discoveries made recently in the Indus Valley give to the study of assyriology in its more ancient reaches, a nearer interest to India and to those interested in its history and civilization. The finds, monumental and other, are of a character to justify inferences of an anterior civilization in the Indus Valley, prior, it may be long prior, to the coming of the Aryans in that particular region. As far as assyriologists have turned their attention to these finds, they seem to take us back to the beginning of the third millennium, if not somewhat earlier, for the period of existence of this civilization. Whether it is native to the Indus Valley, or an intruder from elsewhere is matter that may have to remain open for yet a while, particularly in the light of the fact that the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia has for some time been considered an intruding civilization there. The question awaits careful investigation and patient study. Col. Waddell, the Tibetan scholar, has applied himself to the task with great enthusiasm and has been at pains, through years of study, to have arrived at certain very definite conclusions in regard to the matter. The result of his own study of this particular question is embodied in two books already published with the promise of a more elaborate third in the very near future. The first book, the *Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons*, has already been reviewed in the *Indian Antiquary*, with a fullness which it deserves, by Sir Richard Temple. The conclusions to which that work leads are, in brief, that the Britons and all other so-called Aryan races of the West have had their origin in Phœnicia, Phœnicians themselves being Aryans and not Semites. The work under review continues that investigation and comes to an equally definite conclusion that the region of Phœnicia and Syria was the cradle-land of the Aryan race, and a branch of that race emigrating therefrom into India is the Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Waddell claims that the results that he arrived at in the first work of his are 'now dramatically confirmed.' The results are undoubtedly dramatic in character, but as to confirmation we may take leave to wait a little.

The whole argument of the book lies in this ;—that the Panch in the Panchala are an enterprising and commercial people ; the word is radically the same as Pæni (Phœnicians), and therefore Panchalas of Indian literature and the Phœnicians of the West are of the same race. He takes it that the Amorite, Goth and Scyth are synonyms for Aryan and Phœnician. For proof of this thesis that the Indian Epic and Vedic list of kings are exactly the same as the list of early Sumerian and early Babylonian inscriptions, he starts with the position that ‘ a great proportion of the names of Sumerian and Babylonian kings, gods and places as restored by assyriologists is largely and often wholly fictitious.’ Having regard to the progress of assyriological studies and the stage reached by assyriologists in the course of their study, it is not impossible that there are errors even in some number. But a careful study of the restorations made by the author in the work, does not give a layman the impression that Col. Waddell’s restorations are any nearer correct. One cannot afford to be dogmatic on a subject like that at present. The question requires careful and patient study by assyriologists, who may take full advantage of the suggestion in the work to consider if anything like the principle of restoration adopted here would be possible. The restoration suggested in the tables seem to us so radically different that we are in some doubt whether we would be justified in taking assyriologists as a whole to be so entirely wrong. Anyhow it would be safer to suspend judgment and to await fuller investigation by assyriologists themselves.

In regard to the Indian equations suggested by Col. Waddell, the locations of the various dynasties would seem not to be in complete agreement with the results of Vedic studies alone. That is yet another of the basal points of this kind of research. The weakest point as it seems to us, in the whole of the book, is the philological part of it. While several words equated seem to be near enough in point of sound as they are presented to us in the work, there are some which indicate clearly how dangerous it would be to proceed further on methods adopted by the author. The work presents, however, the investigations of a scholar not unaccustomed to this kind of work, and embodies results of great labour and much thought. The work ought certainly to stimulate enquiry, which is bound to result in a great advance in the study both of assyriology and of the new Indian discoveries.

‘ RIG VEDIC CULTURE ’

BY

A. C. DAS, M.A., PH.D.

[Cambray & Co., Calcutta and Madras.]

THIS work is really a continuation of the author’s study of *Rig Vedic India* published by the Calcutta University some years since. The work should have constituted the second part of *Rig Vedic India*, but some years having elapsed between the publication of the first one and the second, and since this constitutes by itself a self-contained work more or less, the author published it as a separate work. The work falls into two parts naturally, one of which concerns itself with that much contested subject, the chronology of the Rig Veda. The *Rig Vedic India* of the author contains his chronological estimate based on what he thought was the trend of geological evidence, which took the Rig Vedic culture to a very considerable antiquity. The examination of that subject again in this work concerns itself merely with meeting various criticisms of the original thesis, and drawing some little additional support for it from H. G. Well’s publication, the *Outlines of History*. The claim of this thesis is that the whole of the culture, layer by layer, received its development in the region called Sapta Sindhu, somewhat more widely defined to take into it North-Western India, Afghanistan and Bactria, cut off from the rest of India itself by almost an impassable sea, or rather two seas. The author revised the geological side and put down the beginnings of Rig Vedic culture somewhere about twenty or twenty-five thousands B. C.—a beginning which we may say lies beyond any calculable estimate of time with the means at our disposal. The fact that the estimates of Vedic antiquity could vary from twenty-five thousand B.C., to five hundred B.C., is clear evidence of the uncertainties attending this investigation.

While on that subject, it would be well to draw attention to a course of two lectures delivered in the School of Oriental Studies, London, by Prof. Jarl Charpentier of Upsala. Prof. Charpentier attacks the problem from the philological and linguistic sides and arrives at Central Asia as the home of the Indo-European, carrying back the ethnical movement towards migration to a date about the middle of the third millennium B.C. He ascribes

the movement to same causes that brought about the later ethnic movements of Central Asia, and arguing from that historical parallel towards the movement in various directions, points out the half-way houses where the different branches may have tarried for longer or shorter periods of time. On the whole his hypothesis seems to offer very much more of a satisfactory explanation of the details of the problem than other theories in the field, all of which he examines carefully. Perhaps that is as far as we can go in these Vedic investigations at present, and an attempt to trace the origin of the Rig Vedic culture by going back to its very roots would be matter which can hardly lead to any precise conclusions. Mr. Das, however, makes an attempt with a great deal of learning, and does not lay claim to having settled the question where settlement is obviously an impossible feat, as he admits.

The rest of the second part have reference to the life and the cultural aspects of Aryan society. He collects together a vast mass of *disjecta membra* of information scattered through the Rig Veda itself, and sorts them out and arranges them in about ten chapters full of useful information. He begins with the life of the Aryan in village communities, and carries us through chapters on various arts and industries of the people to their state organization, and ultimately to their religious conceptions, winding up the whole with a couple of chapters on Vedic sacrifices and Rig Vedic poetry. To the student of history the book is of great value, as it brings in a more assorted form the details of Vedic culture, much of which can be found in the monumental works of Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic India* and Macdonell's other works, such as *Vedic Mythology*. We congratulate Mr. Das on the successful completion of his labour on which he had been engaged for many years and look forward to his revised edition of *Rig Vedic India* with expectancy.

Obituary

THE LATE MR. B. VENKOBRA RAO

As we go to press, I regret very much to hear of the sudden and unexpected death of Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, who sent copy of his work on the History of Śrī Vyāsa Yōgi, one of the pontiffs, and a much venerated and influential one, in the days of the empire of Vijayanagar, which is based upon a historical *kāvya* by poet Sōmānatha, and the work is given to us with an introduction running to 184 pages, the text itself occupying only 84 pages. We shall make a detailed review of the work in the next number of the journal. This is merely to record our very great regret that he should be snatched away in the prime of life, full of promise even in this comparatively foreign field as this effort on the part of a busy Divisional Officer of the Mysore Service, shows.

Books Received for Review in the 'Journal of Indian History'

- 'History of Historical Problems.' By Earnest Scott.
- 'The Doctrine of Buddha.' By George Grimm.
- 'The Life of Vyasaraja.' By Venkoba Rao.
- 'Journal of Department of Letters,' Calcutta University, Vol. XIII.
- 'A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy.' By R. D. Ranade.
- 'History of Mediæval Hindu India.' By C. V. Vaidya.
- 'History of Burma.' By G. E. Harvey.
- 'India and the Western World.' Rawlinson.
- 'Short History of India,' Part 2. By Garret and Kohli.
- 'Short History of India,' Part 3. By Rushbrook Williams.
- 'Rasa Mala,' 2 Vols. By H. G. Rawlinson.

The Editor regrets very much that reviews on these works could not be made in time for publication in this issue of the journal,

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

May 1926—

SYLVAIN LEVI: 'Paloura—Dantapura.' This is an English translation by S. M. Edwards of Sylvain Levi's *Notes Indiennes* in Tome CCVI of *Journal Asiatique* identifying the place called Paloura by Ptolemy with the City of Dantapura.

June 1926—

JOUVEAU DUBREUIL: 'Vyagra, the Uchchakalpa.' New interpretation is offered here by Prof. Dubreuil on the inscription discovered in 1919 and published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 12. It is suggested that Prithivisena of this inscription was the Prithivisena the Vakataka reigning in Bundelkand in A. D. 475 and that Uchchakalpa was his vassal.

S. M. EDWARDS: 'Sidelights on Deccan Village Life in the Eighteenth Century.' The extracts published here are taken from the diary of the Raja of Satara and throw considerable light on the political administrative and social condition of the period to which they relate.

R. C. TEMPLE: 'To the East of Samatata.' This paper presents the points of view of L. Finot and Bidyabinod regarding the countries visited by the Chinese traveller Y. Chwang. Tables of identifications indicating the direction pursued are added.

H. G. RAWLINSON: 'The Mutiny at Indore.' These are selected from unpublished Indore Records and throw light on one of the obscure episodes of the Mutiny of 1857, by Prof. W. Paul of Jubbulpur.

July 1926—

AUROSSEAU, M. L.: 'The Name of Cochin China.' This is devoted to a discussion of historical, geographical and linguistic reason for deriving the name of Cochin-China through the Portuguese Quachyn-China from the phrase of a similar nature in vogue in the sixteenth century indicating the Annamite kingdom.

August 1926—

V. S. BAKHLE: 'The Capital of Nahapana.' This is an attempt to prove that the capital of Nahapana was situated at Junnar: and that the Minnagar mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* is the Omeragora of Ptolemy and the modern Junnar.

SYLVAIN LEVI: 'Pithunda, Pithuda and Pithundra.' This is an English translation from *Notes Indiennes* on the subject by S. M. Edwards.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute

VOLUME VIII, PART I

C. R. DEVADHAR: 'The Plays ascribed to Bhasa: their Authenticity and Merits.' Concludes after discussion that the writer of these dramas now passing under the name of Bhasa is some obscure Southern poet of about the seventh century A. D.

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Parasika Dominion in Ancient India.'

D. M. ROY: 'The Culture of Mathematics among the Jainas of S. India in the Ninth Century.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

July 1926—

P. C. BASU: 'Art and Philosophy in Hindu Temple Building.'

NUNDOLAL DEY: 'Rasatala or the Underworld.' Continues previous matter on the subject.

L. FINOT: 'Indo-China in the Records of the Chinese Pilgrims.'

A. GHOSH: 'A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting.'

B. K. SARKAR: 'Sukra's Economics in Hindu Science.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, VOLUME XIII

HEMCHANDRA RAY: 'Economic Policy and functions of the Kautilian State.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOLUME XII, PART I

V. H. JACKSON: 'Notes on the Barabar Hills.'

BANERJI-SASTRI: 'The Ajivakas.' The relation between the Ajivakas, Buddhists, the Jainas and Brahmins of early times is discussed here.

S. GANGULI: 'Notes on Aryabhatta.'

S. C. ROY: 'The Asurs.'

P. ACHARYA: 'The Bhanja Kings of Orissa.' Discusses the chronology and position of the Bhanja kings.

Epigraphia Indica

VOLUME XVIII, PART IV

H. KRISHNA SASTRI: 'The Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II.' The text of the inscription is given with English translation and notes on Pallava chronology. It is suggested that the engraving of this record probably took place on the occasion of the accession of Rajasimha. The reference to *Dvipalaksha* in the last line is taken as hinting the Laccadive Islands known as Lakshadvipa. (Note on p. 152).

HIRANANDA SASTRI: 'Brahmi Inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirari.'

DAYARAM SAHNI: 'Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.'

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO AND K. AMRITA RAO: 'Two Copper Plates of Krishnadeva Raya, Saka 1486 and 1450.'

L. D. BARNETT: 'Inscriptions at Huli.'

J.R.A.S., London

July 1926—

W. H. MORELAND: 'Sher Shah's Revenue System.'

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: N.S.

VOLUME II, No. 1

J. J. MODI: In a paper on the inscribed Cross with Pahlavi inscription recently discovered at Kadamattam in Travancore State. J. J. Modi examines the script of the inscription and assigns it to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. He concludes that the Crosses might be the offerings of some of the Christians who had come to the shores of India from Persia in the seventh and the eighth centuries owing to the Arab persecutions.

S. H. HODIVALA: 'The Unpublished Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat.'

A. L. COVERNTON: 'The Educational Policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone.'

M. WINTERNITZ: 'The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in Mahabharata. This is a translation in English from the original German work of M. Winternitz. *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der tierwelt* by N. B. Utgikar.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOLUME XLVI, No. 2

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY: 'The Indian Origin of Buddha Image.'

In this paper the author gathers together a number of quotations chiefly from Western scholars' writings committing themselves more or less to the theory of Indian origin of Buddha image. The author's view is that the Buddha image is of Indian Origin the Gandhara and the Mathura types being created locally about the same time in response to a necessity created by an internal development of Buddhism in both the areas.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOLUME XXI, 1925, No. I

H. BRUCE HANNAH: 'Indian Origins.'

N. B. SANYAL: 'The Predecessors of the Gahadavalas of Kanouj.'

B. C. LAW: 'Gautama Buddha and the Paribrajakas.'

AMARESWAR THAKUR: 'Jail Administration in Ancient India.'

B. L. MUKHERJEE: 'The Vratyas and their Sacrifices.'

H. K. DEB: 'Mede and Madra.'

„ : 'When Kurus fought Pandavas.'

Bengal, Past and Present

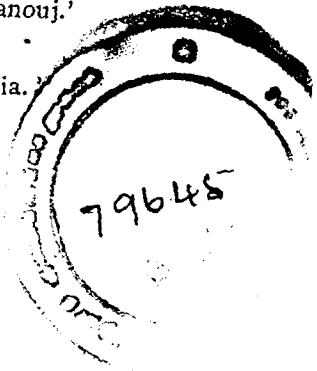
VOLUME XXXI, PART II

M. J. SETH: 'Armenians and the East Indian Company.'

P. C. MUKHERJI: 'Influence of Sea-power on the Consolidation of the Position on the East.' A certain phase of this subject was dealt with by Prof. J. Holland Rose in a previous issue (September 1924) of the *Journal of Indian History*, which covers the period from 1746-1802. The object of the present paper is to show that the real crises which the English sea-power averted and made possible the growth of the empire belong to the seventeenth century.

R. G.

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OUR EXCHANGES

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
2. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
3. *Hindustan Review*, Calcutta.
4. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
5. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
6. *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta.
7. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Poona.
8. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co.
10. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla. (Bombay).
11. *Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
12. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*,
Von Willh. Geiger, Leipzig.
13. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. (London Institution).
14. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
15. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona.
18. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.

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