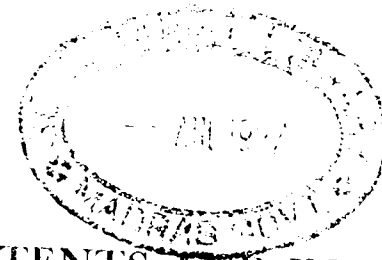


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An Outline of the History of Kashmir (being Chapter of 'A Guide to Kashmir Monuments')—(concluded)

BY

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Superintendent, Archaeology in Kashmir

SIKANDAR-BUTSHIKAN (A.D. 1390-1414)

ON Sikandar's accession to the throne, Islam adopted a more defined aggressive attitude. His predecessors had not been troubled with any scruples of conscience when expediency had urged upon them the necessity of stretching a point in favour of their Hindu subjects. Qutubu-d-Din performed a sacrifice and bestowed grants of land upon the Brahmans and other religious corporations, to avert an impending famine. The very birth of his son Sikandar was attributed to the efficacy of the magic pill of a Hindu ascetic. Sikandar himself was married to a Hindu lady Sri Sobhā, and during the earlier part of his reign, was content to follow in the foot-steps of his tolerant predecessors. But his liberal patronage of literature attracted a host of foreign scholars who, being uncompromising zealots, were naturally shocked at the amicable relations that existed between the believers and the non-Muhammadan infidels. That the influx of these foreign literati was not viewed without a good deal of misgiving by the Kashmirians, we perceive from the description of the incident by Jonaraja in the following verses: 'As the storms uproot the trees and the locusts annihilate the paddy crops, so the villainous followers of this religion destroyed the faith of the Kashmirians. Tempted by the honours and the riches which the

king lavished upon them and by the beauty of the country, the Mlechchhas entered Kashmir as locusts in a goodly corn field.' 'As the fledgling pigeon is surrounded on all sides by crows, so was the king surrounded by Yavanas, who became his preceptors, his retainers, his servants, his favourites and even his relatives.' Among the foreigners was Mir Sayyid Muhammad Hamdāni, son of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdāni (Shāh-i-Hamdān) who is said to have obtained complete mastery over the young king's mind and exercised it for the purpose of purging Kashmir of all heterodoxy.

But in spite of all the pressure that the Maulvis brought to bear upon him, the king persisted in keeping his hands clear of all religious persecution. Fate, however, had ordained otherwise for the unlucky inhabitants of the valley. The king reluctantly yielded at last to the specious arguments of his minister Suhabhaṭṭa, who had originally been a Hindu, but since his conversion to Islam hated his former co-religionists with the deep-rooted and implacable hatred which only a renegade can feel. All traces of king's reluctance, whether real or simulated, were washed away as soon as he had once given his consent. The die was cast; a gigantic campaign of persecution was instituted; temples were shattered to pieces; stone images ground to powder; idols of metal were melted and coined into money. The high-caste Brahmans were given the alternative of death or conversion. Even exile was denied to them. It is said of Charles IX of France when he ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew that 'he who was hard to convince, was now hard to restrain. He rose, bade us to be silent, and with a face of fury, with great oaths (after his sort) said that as we found it good to kill the Admiral (Coligny), he wished it too; but that with him we must massacre all the Huguenots in France, lest one should be left to reproach him afterwards'.¹ Charles himself took part in the massacre and is said to have taken a gun and fired at the flying wretches shouting 'kill, kill' at the top of his voice. Sikandar seems to have undergone a similar mental convulsion. From the evil hour that he started on the inclined plane of persecution, his perpetual cry, hourly increasing in its vehement intensity was 'slay, burn, destroy'. No shrine was too sacred to be despoiled, no

¹ Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. ii, p. 352.

image too divine to be desecrated, and no man so old as to be respected, no woman so feeble as to be pitied, no Brahman so learned as to be spared if he refused to give up Hinduism. In Sikandar religion ran amok. Many bent before the storm but those who did not bend were ruthlessly broken. Cremation of the dead was interdicted; the wearing of caste-marks was prohibited, and orders were issued prescribing the residence of any but Muhammadans in the country. When the people began to leave the country in large crowds, the king and his minister permitted them to proceed to the frontier and then closed all passages of exit. There they were caught in a trap, driven back like cattle, and given the king's favourite alternative of death or conversion. The majority succumbed—but a number—more honour to them because they were so few—gave up their lives as willing martyrs to their cause. Kashmir was transformed into a fearful witches' cauldron. Fire and sword reigned supreme. Every hill and every dale resounded with wailing and lamentation when the poor panic-stricken people were not too benumbed with the fear of the awful shadow that clouded their lives, to give vent to their misery. There is not one religious edifice in Kashmir, whether Hindu or Buddhist, which does not bear some mark of Sikandar's handiwork. No consideration of sanctity or popularity or even significance, proved a sufficiently strong bulwark to ward off destruction. The great shrines of Chakradhara and Vijayesa were razed to the ground; Mārtāṇḍa and Avantipura temples so irreparably ruined that even the manner of their destruction is, to this day, a matter of conjecture. Jonaraja whose feelings would naturally be more embittered against the turncoat Suhabhaṭṭa, than against his master Sikandar, tells us that 'there was no city or town, no village or forest where an abode of the gods escaped destruction by Suhabhaṭṭa. All the images of the gods were broken (with no more consideration than if) they had been mere stones, but no misfortune was seen (to befall) the perpetrators (of the deed) as (had always been the case) of yore'.

The year A.D. 1398 is memorable in the annals of Hindustan for the invasion of Timur and his Tartar hordes. The empire of the Tughlaks had for many years been tottering to its fall. On the elevation, in 1394, of the minor Mahmud to the throne of Delhi, the provinces of Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa and Jaunpore threw off the feeble yoke of the Sultan of Delhi, and asserted complete independence.

While the different chieftains were parcelling out the empire between themselves, the Tartar hurricane burst over their heads in one tremendous thunderclap and involved them all, princes and peasants, oppressors and the oppressed, in one common ruin. Kashmir was not an indifferent spectator while this tragedy was being enacted. Timur rewarded Sikandar for his neutrality with the gift of a couple of elephants, whose uncouth shape and extraordinary bulk seem to have considerably exercised the imagination of the simple Kashmiris. On Timur's return from Delhi, Sikandar marched out to meet him, but hearing that he was expected to make a present of 'three thousand horses and one hundred thousand pieces of gold as an offering' ¹ he quietly retraced his steps and contented himself by sending excuses.

Another expedition more creditable to his arms was his invasion of North-West India, in which he subdued the city of Ohind and married the daughter of its chief Firoz. This lady was the mother of Sikandar's illustrious son Zainu-l-Abidin. Both these events took place long before Sikandar had earned or deserved the title of *Butshikan*. The assistance he rendered to the Gakkhar freebooter Jasrat Khan who had been captured by Timur and taken by him to Samarkand and who had, on his captor's demise, made his escape to India, in obtaining possession of certain tracts of the country in the north of the Punjab, and his marriage of his own two daughters with the rulers of Sind and Ohind, belong to the latter part of his reign.

The reign of terror which Sikandar had inaugurated in Kashmir continued with unabated vigour even after his death in 1414 through the good offices of his minister Suhabhatta. This worthy was the *de facto* ruler until a virulent attack of consumption relieved him of his life, and the country of the blight which his life had caused. As he grew older and as the painful disease he was suffering from undermined more and more his sinking frame, his irritable nerves demanded greater and greater excitement. Innocent recreation is not for such as him. He had tasted blood and his demand was for more and more blood. The Hindus were mercilessly harrassed. When their sufferings grew beyond their power of endurance, many of them committed themselves to the flames, some took poison, some hanged themselves and many

¹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. i.

precipitated themselves down vertical cliffs and so found relief from the troubles of this world. By the execution of Laddaraja, a popular nobleman, he put his own life into temporary jeopardy. For a time 'he went about in fear of the people like a bird fallen from his nest', ¹ but he soon tided over the storm, and resumed his butchery. 'Thus he passed three or four years in inflicting tortures on the Brahmans, in the defamation of their scriptures, in the contemplation of treason, and in taking physic' ² until death stepped in between him and his victims.

ZAINU-L-ABIDIN (A.D. 1421-1472)

Zainu-l-Abidin ³ succeeded to the throne of his feeble brother Ali Shah in the year A. D. 1421 at the early age of seventeen, but his youth by no means stood in the way of his vigorously putting his heel upon all the abuses in the country. His one mission in life was to redress the wrongs and heal the wounds which his father and brother had inflicted upon the unhappy Hindus of the valley. In this he was entirely successful. But as his activities were extended to the overhauling and readjustment of the entire administrative machinery, his character will be better understood, if we briefly mention his reforms under detailed heads, the place of honour being without question, reserved for his proclamation of 'peace and goodwill to all mankind'.

An idea of the complete barbarism to which Kashmir had been reduced by Sikandar will be gained from the fact that when Zainu-l-Abidin was suffering from a severe boil, no physician could be found willing or able to attend him. At last one Siryabhatta was induced, after promise of personal safety, to treat the king. Refusing to accept any reward for the successful treatment, except the boon of mercy for his co-religionists, he was made Chief Justice and High Treasurer, with injunctions to ameliorate the condition of the Hindus. This he did with a very natural enthusiasm. The destruction of Hindu scriptures was forthwith stopped. The Pandits who had fled were

¹ *Jonaraja*, Bombay edition, verse 352.

² *Ibid.*, verse 890.

³ The relatively long account given here of Zainu-l-Abidin's reign is due to the fact that Jonaraja and Srivara, who were his contemporaries and court historians, have left us extremely detailed information of his multifarious activities and interests.

repatriated, their lands and property which had been usurped by Muhammadans were restored to them. The annual capitation tax of two *palas* of silver which weighed very heavily upon the Brahmins, was reduced to a nominal fee of a single *masha* and entirely abolished later on. Sacrifices and pilgrimages were again permitted to be resumed. Prohibition against cremation was removed. The Pāthashālas were reopened and Hindu boys allowed to study their own scriptures. The king carried his predilection for Hindu religion much farther than the mere toleration of it. He himself attended Hindu shrines, performed sacrifices, built monasteries, and not only acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit but employed all his available time in the study of its sacred books. In his last years which were rendered unhappy by his own infirmity and the intestine feuds of his sons, he found his only consolation in the study of the transcendental philosophy of the Yoga Vasishta.

In the administration of justice he showed a remarkable combination of mercy and sternness and shrewd common sense. He thoroughly purged the law courts of corruption and bribery and anticipated the prison reforms of the nineteenth century by instituting a system of prison industries, pottery being one of them. Thieves and other criminals who formerly would have suffered instant execution were now made to work as labourers on the public works, this being the chief reason probably why his reign was so prolific of works of public utility which lasted down to recent times. The assessment of land was fixed at a reasonable rate and in the newly irrigated area of Zainagir near Sopor the rate was as low as one seventh of the gross produce. The prices of imports which then were arbitrarily fixed by the vendors thereof, were now regulated, with one consideration in each case of the carriage and other charges. The prices of commodities were also regulated by monthly notifications. This was a great boon in Kashmir where, owing to want of communications, profiteering has many attractions and immediate chances of success. The system of having the deeds of the sale of property stamped with the king's seal, the absence of which was the cause of much forgery, was instituted. In the distracted times of his two immediate predecessors the criminal classes had gathered much strength. Even during the long reign of Zainu-l-Abidin, thefts seem to have been by no means rare, and the means of tracting them were not many. The king hit upon a plan

which seems to have met with an appreciable amount of success, though in some cases the innocent must have been involved with the guilty. The plan was to make the villages and the forest communities among whom the traveller sojourned for the period during which he was robbed, responsible for the loss. For the convenience of travellers rest-houses were built at many places on the principal roads. As the chronicler says 'the king administered punishment and reward to his subjects with due regard (to their merits) and watched over them as the husbandman watches over his crop, supplying water or keeping the field dry as might seem suitable.'

His patronage of merit, irrespective of caste or creed, is illustrated by the choice he made of his important officials among whom were the Buddhist Tilakāchārya, Prime Minister, the Brahman Siryabhaṭṭa, Chief Justice, and the Muhammadan Danya Khan who eventually succeeded Tilaka in the Premiership. The king's own predilections and the encouragement given to men of learning by his minister Siryabhaṭṭa induced a large number of scholars to flock to the Kashmir court. This was the period when the Kashmiri-Persian literature, which until the inclusion of the valley within the genial fold of the *Pax Britannica* occupied an almost exclusive place in the education and culture of the official of *Karkun* class of Kashmiri Pandits, began to grow. The king was personally interested in the movement and caused a number of the more important Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. The growth of the indigenous Kashmiri literature was given a strong impetus. *Utta-Soma* and *Yodhabhaṭṭa* wrote biographies of the king in vernacular and Bhaṭṭāvatāra who is said to have studied the Shāh Nama wrote the *Jainavilasa*. The king himself composed two works in Persian, the first being a treatise in the form of questions and answers on the manufacture of fireworks, and the second, entitled *Shikāyat*, 'the Complaint' a poem which he wrote in his old age when he had been completely disillusioned by his misfortunes, when the death of his minister and companions had left him lonely and world-weary, and when he saw his life-work undone by the mutual animosity of his worthless sons. This poem may have been a sort of 'Vanity of Human Wishes'.

But his favourite literary pursuit was undoubtedly the study of Sanskrit, to which as has been said above, he devoted a considerable

part of his time. Without counting the historians Jonaraja and Śrīvara the most notable scholars who attended his court were Karpūrabhaṭṭa, the physician Ruppabhaṭṭa, the astronomer, Ramānanda who wrote an exposition of the Mahābāshya, and Yuddhabhaṭṭa who, having during Subhabhaṭṭa's régime gone to Maharāshṭra, and having studied there the Atharva Veda which until then seem to have been unavailable in Kashmir, returned at the invitation of Siryabhaṭṭa and promulgated the study of that Veda in his native land. A copy of the Atharva Veda was also presented to the king himself who, further to increase its popularity, established schools in which the scholars were fed, lodged and taught at the expense of the State.

Altogether, Zainu-l-Abidin's reign was the Augustan era of the later Kashmiri-Sanskrit literature.

The maintenance of a magnificent court and a galaxy of brilliant scholars must have meant much expense, which the revenue of the depopulated valley was ill prepared to provide. Zainu-l-Abidin, therefore, hit upon the working of copper mines, the collection of gold dust in the Ladakh rivers, and the construction of an extensive system of canals which irrigated very large tracts of heretofore arid land, and yielded a considerable revenue, as methods by which to increase his wealth without imposing additional taxes upon the already much-taxed people.

A prominent feature in the landscape of the Kashmir valley are the large waterless alluvial plateaus, locally called Wudar, which occupy a considerable part of its area. Unlike the lower parts of the valley which are irrigated by the numerous rivers and rivulets with which the country abounds, the productivity of these Wudars is wholly dependent upon the treacherous rainfall. The crops they usually yield are, therefore, naturally fitful and meagre, the harvest often being absolutely nil. Zainu-l-Abidin's keen eye was struck with the immense possibilities of these plateaus if they could be permanently irrigated. Fortunately, Kashmir, surrounded as it is on all sides by high mountains capped with everlasting snows, in whose ravines are huge glaciers which feed innumerable perennial streams, offers peculiar facilities for artificial irrigation as was demonstrated by the large network canals which nearly doubled the arable land of the valley in Zainu-l-Abidin's time. Most of the canals fell into disuse in the troublous times when the country lay writhing under the iron heel of

the Pathan Viceroys of the Durrani rulers of Kabul, but one or two have been renovated during the last two decades. Chief among these canals were (1) the one which irrigated the lands round Kakapur; (2) the Tsakadar canal brought from Nandamarg; (3) the Karala canal which drained the plateau between Shupayan and Romuh where a colony of Brahmans was settled; (4) the canal to Avantipur, which is extant to this day but runs only as far as Miḍur and Rājpur; (5) the Shāh Kul, which branches off from the Sindh near Wusan and runs through the Pargana of Lār, to Mānasbal. The town of Saphala modern Safāpor, was built near its termination; (6) another canal branching from the Sindh brought to the capital where it supplied water to the Jāmī Masjid and emptied itself in the Mār Canal. This used to run as late as twenty years ago and was known as the Lachma Kul; (7) the canal from the river Pohur to irrigate the highlands of Sopor; and (8) the most important of all, the Shāh Kul of Mārtand, whose renovation fifteen years ago has converted the arid burning plains which stretch for miles and miles on three sides of the temple into a smiling garden of waving corn.

His public works were not limited to the excavation of canals only. He was an enlightened promoter of the architecture and arts of the country. His name is to this day associated with the erection of the bridge, Zaina Kaḍal, still the most important commercial thoroughfare of Srinagar, the town of Zaina Pur and the island of Zainalank in the Wular lake. But the largest part, by far, of his secular and religious foundations have perished.

He gave a strong impetus to the manufacture of paper, shawls and embroidered tapestry for which Kashmir has always been famous. He promoted the silk industry by inviting weavers from Khurāsān and settling them in the country. It was in his reign (to be exact in the year A.D. 1466) that firearms were first introduced into Kashmir.

His relations with foreign powers were by no means restricted to the pretty principalities bordering on Kashmir. He himself conquered Sindh and Tibet, occupying the latter country permanently. According to Abul Fazl, Sultan Abu Said Mirza sent him presents of Arab horses and dromedaries from Khurāsān, and Bahlol Lodhi, king of Dehli, as well as Sultan Mahmud of Gujrat were in friendly relations with him. The contemporary chronicler reports that he exchanged presents with the kings of Misr, Egypt and Mecca, and that he exercised control over

the rulers of Gandhāra, Jammu and Rajauri and the Gakkhar tribes of the northern Punjab. It is certain that he assisted Jasrat Khān Gakkhar in spreading his authority over the greater part of the Punjab.

To estimate the abstemiousness of Zainu-l-Abidin's character and the extent to which the transcendental philosophy of Vasishṭa had tinged his mind, it is only necessary to say that he, a Muhammadan ruler, married a single wife, and remained faithful to her throughout his life. This may not sound a very extraordinary achievement to modern ears but those who know the numerical strength of the harems of the oriental potentates will appreciate the fact better. But, as Solon said, no man can be considered happy till he dies; Zainu-l-Abidin's last years were embittered by the mutual jealousy of his factious and dissipated sons, which on more than one occasion, broke into actual warfare and necessitated the exile of the one or the other. The king was moreover crushed with the bitterest course that can ever befall a human being, much more, an autocratic king,—'outliving one's age'. He had outlived his wife, his friends, his colleagues and his usefulness. He felt his authority slipping away from his hands, his sons were openly rebellious, his personal attendants were daily deserting him, everybody was waiting expectant for him to make his exit from the stage which he had filled so long. The mighty monarch, the benefactor of humanity, the patron of arts and sciences, was forgotten in the presence of this decrepit old man whose aged limbs shook at every sound and who spoke in a hesitating and apologetic treble. He refused to see anybody, shut himself up in a room, spent his few remaining days in hearing from Srīvara the Mokshopāya 'the way to salvation', that panacea of Hindus for all the physical evils and mental worries. At last, after a long eventful reign of more than half a century, merciful providence relieved him of the life which had grown a burden to him. While yet a beardless boy, he had fought his way to the throne; before he had reached the prime of his life he had seen nearly all his aspirations crowned with the most unprecedented success; and ere he felt old age creeping upon him, he had drained the cup of disappointment to its dregs. There are few more pathetic figures in the annals of India that this solitary old man refusing to be consoled for a life of earnest endeavour, splendid achievement and irremediable failure. No wonder that he wrote a Shikāyat accusing his destiny of flirting with him with a false show of happiness which he had, Tantalus-like,

been ever persuing and never quite overtaking. Still less wonder is it that he flew for refuge to a philosophy which taught that life was vanity and the world an illusion.

So died Zainu-l-Abidin, commonly called 'Bad Shah', 'the great king', *par excellence*, of Kashmir.

HAIDAR SHAH

After his death in 1473 the dynasty of Shāh Mīr did not produce any sovereign of outstanding ability. Haidar, the son and successor of Bad Shah whose disgraceful behaviour had precipitated the declining king to his grave, was a habitual drunkard, and an unfeeling tyrant. He started anew the cruel persecution of the Hindus which his father had taken such pains to abolish. His administration of justice was whimsical and arbitrary to the extent of making children suffer for the sins of their fathers. Notwithstanding his drinking and his cruelty the king was not uncultured, at least when he had slept off the fumes of liquor. Indeed he is said to have had a great fondness for fiddling; and when a great conflagration broke out which reduced a considerable part of the city to ashes, Nero-like, he 'ascended the palace to see his own five-chambered house in flames, and felt happy and sank into the pleasure of drink.'

HASAN SHAH

He was succeeded by his son Hasan who opened his régime by the establishment of the laws of his grandfather and the release of all political prisoners. He also, imitated his grandfather in the erection of numerous public buildings and is said to have issued a new and peculiar kind of coinage. But the bane of his life was his Sayyad wife, who subjected him completely to her will, and used her power in forwarding the interests of her numerous kith and kin who rose to such predominance that Malik Ahmad, the Chief Minister, was forced to expel the whole gang of them from Kashmir. They were, however, soon recalled and after bringing about disgrace and imprisonment of the minister, assumed absolute power, which they misused frightfully. The king's death occurred shortly after, not without a suspicion of the Sayyids' foul play.

The accounts that we have of the century which intervened between the first enthronement of Muhammad Shah, the infant son of Hasan, and

the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal empire, are dreary and profitless to a degree. The bewildering rapidity with which the kings were raised to the throne and deposed, reminds one or more of the shifting, scenes of a bioscope than of the course of every-day life. No less than twenty sovereigns, including the usurper Mirza Haidar of Kashgar ruled during this period. Of these Muhammad ruled four times, Nazuk Shah thrice and Fath Shah twice. Before the dethroned prince was well out of the country he was recalled and reinstated. There was no rule and there was no ruler except in name. The country was a pandemonium in which all the forces of disorder and lawlessness celebrated a mighty and prolonged carnival. Every person was a man-at-arms and ready to hire his sword to him who had the longest purse. The only real national movement was the resistance offered to the Sayyids in the first year of Muhammad Shah's first reign. These foreigners had woefully wronged the Kashmiris who considered their very existence in the country as a standing affront to their self-respect. All united in the common cause. The Raja of Jammu lent them his aid and the Sayyids, though they had invoked the aid of Tartar Khan, the Lodhi Governor of the Punjab, were mercilessly slaughtered. But no sooner was the motive for union removed than the Kashmiri noblemen fell out among themselves regarding the distribution of the loot.

The names of Magre and Tsak loom large over a crowd of tribes and clans who exercised arms as a profession and who contended for the possession of supreme power. Magres were native while the Tsaks were foreigners, probably of Darad origin, who had become neutralized in Kashmir. Gradually all the parties were merged into these two fractions and there ensued a tug-of-war which ended only with the Mughal occupation of the country, though the Magres were playing a distinctly losing game from A. D. 1560, when Ghazi Tsak outside the pageant prince Habib Shah and occupied the throne himself.

The first reign of Fath Shah is notable for the introduction into Kashmir of the Nurbakhshi sect of Islam by one Shams-ud-din of Iraq. They were vigorously put down by Mirza Haidar. This celebrated Mughal *condottieri* conquered Kashmir twice and ruled it from 1541 to 1551. His first invasion was from the side of Ladakh, to which country he had accompanied Sikander Khan of Kashgar on a crusade against the infidels in A. D. 1533. Though he penetrated into Kashmir

and occupied the city for a time, during which his soldiers behaved with ruthless barbarity, he was eventually compelled to come to terms and make his retreat towards Tibet. His second invasion was effected at the time when Sher Shah was chasing Humayun out of Hindustan. This time he conquered Kashmir on behalf of Humayun and struck coins in the latter's name. Among other things he occupied his time in writing his valuable *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* which is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia and which also gives an account, unfortunately very meagre, of the Kashmir of his day.

Of the dynasty of Tsaks little need be said except that 'they were fit for the gallows here and hell hereafter'. The inhuman ferocity of Ghazi Shah the first ruler of this dynasty cannot be explained except on the supposition of his being subject to fits of mental aberration. He is said to have killed a hundred men daily. This may be an exaggeration, but it is a fact that he not only slaughtered his own son and eighteen grandsons for an alleged attempt at murder, but even had a small urchin of seven killed for stealing a fruit. His sins, however, soon brought their own retributions; he was attacked by a virulent form of leprosy which spread all over his body and innumerable worms were seen eating away his flesh.

Yusuf Shah, the last independent sovereign of Kashmir, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the last but one, was anxious to make his submission to Akbar, but his ministers stood in the way and openly defied the Emperor's envoy. The first Mughal invasion under Raja Bhagwan Das resulted only in a treaty by which the Kashmir king bound himself to pay tribute to the Emperor. But Akbar, who had set his heart upon the full and unqualified conquest of the valley, refused to ratify the terms. A second army was set on foot. Yusuf was taken prisoner and endowed with a small jagir in the distant province of Behar. His son Yaqub fought hard and persistently for the throne of his father but was at last compelled to the yield, and made to join Yusuf Shah in his inglorious retreat.

The advent of the Mughals in 1586 ushered in the modern age of Kashmir. The conditions of the new rule were entirely different from that had obtained at any time in the mediæval age. The country now formed part of a mighty empire and became for more than a century the pleasure garden of the most magnificent court that India has ever seen. The Subhaddars having learnt the art of government at the seat

of an empire which was made up of a vast aggregate of nations and countries, possessing diverse languages, manners, customs and religions, naturally displayed far greater breadth of vision, and statesmanship in the conduct of their administration than was the case with indigenous rulers and their ministers whose limited power and narrowness of jurisdiction only served to increase their rancorous animosity against one another. The re-alignment and construction, by Muhammad Kasim Khan, Akbar's Engineer-in-Chief, of the great empire-route *via* Gujrat, Bhimber and Shupayan, which ensured the regularity of communication and safety of traffic and transit, with the mainland of India, marks a revolution, scarcely less far reaching in its results than the opening of the Jhelum Valley Road in our own day. Kashmir was brought in touch with the current which permeated the policy and administration of an extensive empire, and in the presence of far mightier issues forgot its own petty jealousies. Its people, the most impulsive in the whole of India, basked in the sunshine of Akbar's benign rule, whom they almost deified, and with the characteristic inconsistency of a mob sang hallelujahs over the extinction of cruel tyranny, to the existence of which they themselves had in no small measure contributed. The Emperors themselves bestowed paternal care upon the valley and its inhabitants. To be sure, I must not be understood to say that this period of a century and more was for Kashmir a long round of unqualified pleasure. There were governors who in their eagerness to amass fortunes were not always scrupulous in the employment of righteous means only; but they were not many, for the Emperor's punishments of such delinquents were sharp and severe. But what I really do mean to say is that this century was, on the whole, one of the happiest periods in the history of the country.

Among the writers to whom we owe our knowledge of this period Abul Fazl the 'guide, philosopher, friend' and chronicler of Akbar, and the Emperor Jehangir himself are the most important and exalted. The former tells us that 'the country is enchanting and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating. The lands are artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting. Its spring and

autumn are extremely beautiful. The houses are all of wood, and are of four stories, some of more, but it is not the custom to enclose them. Cattle and sundry stores are kept in the lower storey, the second contains the family apartments, and in the third and fourth are the household chattels. On account of the abundance of wood and the constant earthquakes, houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. At the present day many of them are ruins. Woollen fabrics are made in high perfection, especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to many climes. But the bane of this country are its people. Yet strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. Besides plums and mulberries, the fruits are numerous. Melons, apples, peaches, apricots are excellent. Although the grapes are in plenty, the finer qualities are rare; and the vines bear on mulberry trees. The mulberry is little eaten, its loaves being reserved for the silkworms. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet. The food of the people is chiefly rice, wine, flesh and various vegetables,—and the last mentioned, they dry and preserve. Rice is cooked and kept overnight to be eaten. Apparel is generally of wool. There are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. The *bazar* system is little in us, as a brisk traffic is carried on at their own places of business. The people take their pleasure in skiffs upon the lakes, and their hawks strike the wild fowl in mid-air and bring them to the boats; and some times they hold them down in the water in their talons and stand upon them, presenting an exciting spectacle.

. . . The carriage of goods is effected by boat, but men also carry great loads over the most difficult country. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade. The Brahman class is very numerous. 'Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work, and they write chiefly on *Tuz*, which is the bark of a tree. . . . The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are *Sunnis* and there are some *Imams* and *Nurbakshis* who are perpetually at strife with each other. They are chiefly from Persia and Turkestan. . . . The most respectable class in this country is that of Brahmans, who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds, tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God.

'They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people. . . .

'Srinagar is the capital and is 4 *farsakhs* in length. The rivers *Bihat*, *Mar* and *Lachma Khul* flow through it. This has been a flourishing city from ancient times and the home of artificers of various kinds. Beautiful shawls are woven, and they manufacture woollen stuffs extremely soft. *Durmah*, *Pattu* and other woollen materials are prepared, but the best are brought from Tibet. . . .

'In the village of Pampur, one of the dependencies of Vihi, there are fields of saffron to the extent of ten or twenty thousand *bighas*, a site that would enchant the most fastidious.

'Adjoining (the city) is a large lake called Dal . . . on its surface numbers of floating islands are constructed which are cultivated, and fraudulent people will at times cut off a piece and carry it away to a different position. . . . Saffron is also cultivated in Paraspur.

'The system of revenue collection is by appraisalment and division of crops, assessment for crops having special rates and cash transactions not being the custom of the country. Some part of the *Sair Jihat* (miscellaneous taxes other than land revenue) cesses, however, are taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated in *Kharwars* (*Shali*) rice. Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares were actually taken out. Through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half. . . . The revenue, therefore, amounted to seven crores, forty-six lakhs, 70,411 *dams* (Rs. 18,66,760-4-5). . . . ' *Ain*, Book VII, ii, pp. 347-371.

Akbar himself visited Kashmir thrice and was so enamoured of it that he designated it his 'private garden'. His abolition of the capitation tax on the Hindus, the restoration of their lands and the permanent land settlement, are still remembered with gratitude by the people of the valley. His most notable monument in the country is the magnificent rampart of the Hari Parbat fort, or as it was then called, the fort of Nagar Nagar, which he made the military cantonment of Srinagar. But it was in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Jarrett, vol. ii, pp. 347-71.

that Kashmir became the real pleasure garden of the empire. Jahangir himself states that he considered it 'bad taste' to stretch carpets on the green sward of the valley.

The best account we have of the visit of a Mughal Emperor and the condition of Kashmir in the latter part of the seventeenth century, is from the pen of Francois Bernier, the celebrated French physician-traveller, who accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir in 1664. I have summarized his account below :—

'That scarcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kachemire, the king will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rauchenara Begam, and those women whose services cannot be dispensed with. The *Omrahs* and military will also be as few as possible. . . . The king has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the *Seraglio* . . . also a few mules. . . . Porters supply the place of camels. . . the king alone has no fewer than six thousand . . . and it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected at Bhimber; some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Rajas, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns (Rs. 20) for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and *Omrahs* have been sending forward baggage, and the trades-people articles of every sort, for the last month.

'The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and several small lakes vary the . . . enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our *apple*, *pear*, *plum*, *apricot* and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of *melons*, *pateques* or *water-melons*, *water parsnips*, *red beet*, *radishes* most of potherbs and others with which we are unacquainted.

'The capital of Kachemire bears the same name as the kingdom. It is without walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in

length and half a league in breadth In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river ; and the houses although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three storeys. . . . Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place upon the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens ; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat thus communicating with the lake.

'In truth the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. . . . Jehan-guyre became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire.

'I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the *Kachemire* and the *Mughal* poets. We were no sooner arrived than Aurangzeb received from the bards of both nations poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted and rewarded with kindness. . . .

'The *Kachemires* are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the *Indians*. In poetry and science they are not inferior to *Persians*. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their *palkeys*, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies*. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to *Kachemire* and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country, and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to little children. . . .

'The people of Kachemire are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans, and their faces have neither the *Tartar* flat nose nor the small pig-eyes that distinguish the natives of *Kacheguer*, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome ; and it is from this

country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians*, and pass for genuine *Mogols*¹*et seq.*

The decline in the fortunes of the Mughal Empire was accompanied by the decline in the prosperity of the valley. The *rois faineants* who succeeded Aurangzeb lost all hold of their distant possessions. In 1739, Kashmir was annexed to the kingdom of Kabul by the terrible Nadir Shah, and it remained subject to the dominion of the Afghans until Ranjit Singh wrested it from the Amir Dost Muhammad in 1819. In 1846 on the defeat of the Sikhs it was transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the British Government. Since then it has been under the Dogra rule.

¹ Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390.

The Army of Ranjit Singh—(continued.)

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(PART IV)

IV. PAY AND ALLOWANCES

THE rate of pay for officers and men of the three branches of the army service has already been stated in the previous papers when dealing with their respective organization.¹

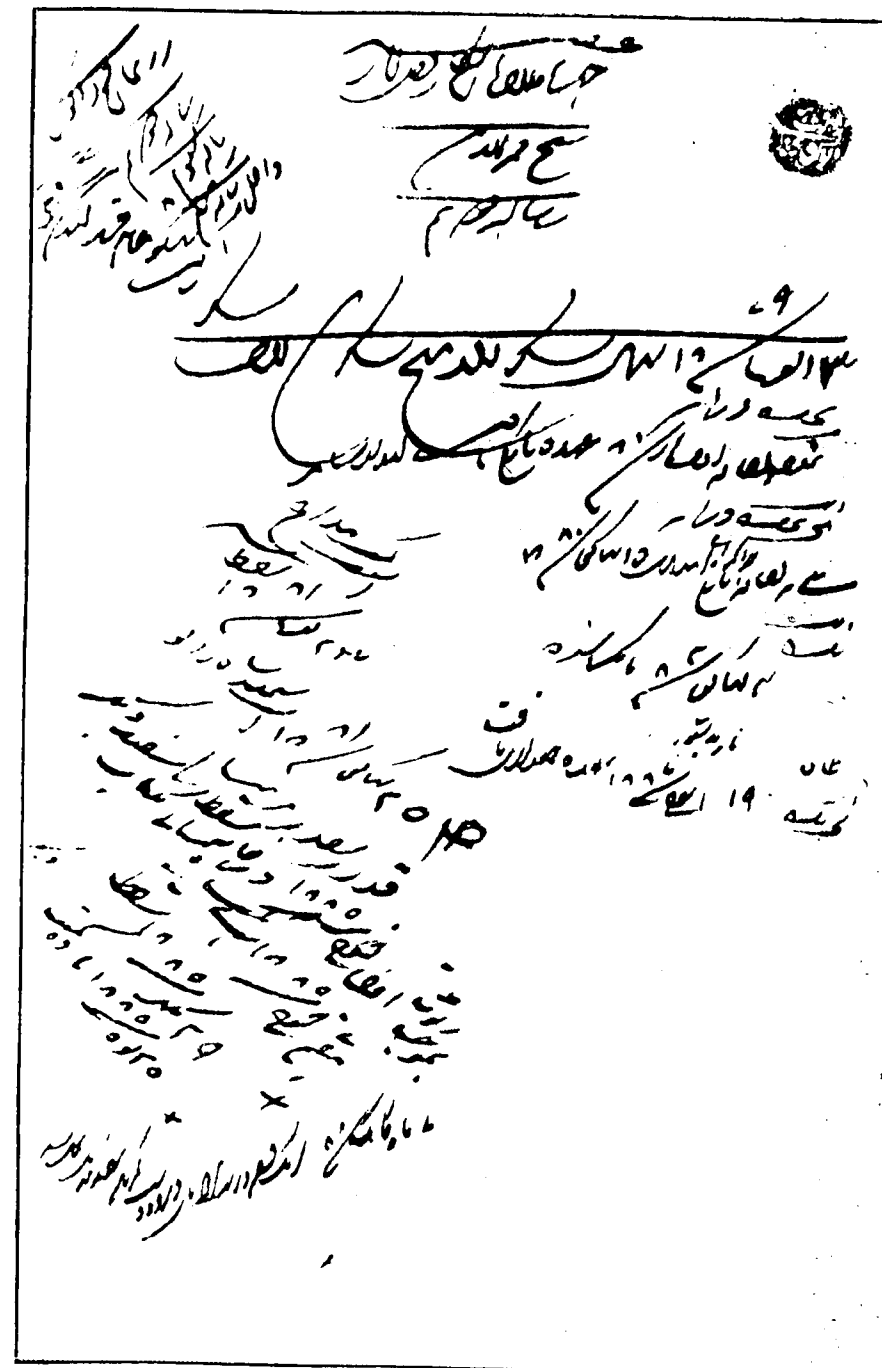
In the following paragraphs it is proposed to describe the mode of disbursement of salaries, the nature and form of the records that were prepared in this connection. We will also have occasion to allude even though briefly, to the various deductions and other incidents which affected a man's pay.

Modes of disbursement.—The pay roll is technically called *barawurd taksim talb*. The phrase was prefixed to the designation of a unit such as *barawurd taksim talb paltan*, *topkhāna* or *rajman* so and so, which when rendered into simple English means the pay roll of the battalion, battery or regiment so and so.²

In the pay rolls and other account books of the Sikh government, we come across two main classes of soldiers divided according to the manner they received their salaries. These were the *jāgirdār* and the *naqdidār*, the latter being again subdivided, at least for several years

¹ The reader will be able to form a general impression from the table given in my first paper of this series, page 217, *J. I. History*, vol. i, Part ii, February, 1922. The pay of a trooper of the regular cavalry varied between Rs. 22, and Rs. 26 per mensem while that of a member of irregular horse ranged from Rs. 250 to Rs. 350 per annum.

² A specimen of the pay roll of an infantry unit will be found as an appendix to my first paper of the series, *J. I. History*, vol. i, Part ii, February, 1922. The phrase *barawurd tankhwah* is still used to denote a pay bill. The word *talb* is used to denote monthly or annual salary whereas the Persian word *tankhwah* which at present is so commonly used for pay, has very restricted meaning and is used in the Sikh records to denote an order or cheque on the treasury.



during the early part of Ranjit Singh's reign, into *faslanadar* and *mahdar*. All these terms explain the different modes of payment of salaries in vogue during the Sikh rule.

Payment by grant of jagir is an assignment of the revenue of a definite piece of agricultural land, large or small. This was a favourite mode of payment under the Moghal rule and the system, it seems, was highly popular in the early days of Sikh ascendancy. The Sikh chiefs, towards the close of the eighteenth century, distributed the conquered land amongst their followers and retainers who, in turn, again divided it amongst their dependents much on the system of sub-infeudation. On coming into power, however, Ranjit Singh discountenanced this practice.

In Ranjit Singh's time as during the Moghal period, payment for services rendered by the grant of a jagir has always been looked upon with special favour. Of course one reason for this preference over a cash salary, was that in the long run a jagir was found to be more lucrative, but even more important than the greater monetary attractions of a jagir was the prevailing notion of a sort of respectability attaching to such a grant.

Naqdidar means the recipient of a cash salary. The system of cash salaries came into more general use when Ranjit Singh employed the Purbias and other men from Hindustan proper. These men were mostly the deserters from the armies of the East India Company, and those of the Marhatta chiefs like Holkar and Sindhia, and, as such, were used under the service of their old masters to a more regular and definite system of pay. The Sikh soldier, on the other hand, considered himself as the representative of the Khalsa and as such did not relish the idea of fixed monthly emoluments which were calculated to bring home to his mind the idea of subordination. In the case of the Sikhs who joined the regular army, Ranjit Singh was, therefore, obliged to continue, for some time at least, the time-honoured practice of payment by grant of revenue, free lands, or by an assignment of a fixed amount of revenue, payable twice in the year at the harvest time. Thus it was that the two distinct classes of soldiers were shown in the Pay Rolls of the Maharaja's army. Those who were paid a monthly cash salary were designated *Mahdars* (*Mah*, a month) while the others, who received payment twice in the year, viz. at harvest time, were shown as *Faslanadar* (*Fasl* meaning a harvest).

It is not improbable that the practice of payment at the harvest time first came into vogue during the eighteenth century. The chief received his revenues in kind and it was a matter of convenience for him to pay his troops in grain at the harvest time. But the practice seems to have lingered on for sometime after even when the system of payment of cash salaries had been introduced by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The *Mahdār* and *Faslanādār* soldiers were both paid in cash, with this difference that, in the case of the former the salary was calculated for each calendar month, while in the other case it was calculated for the duration of the two harvesting seasons in the year, i.e. the *Rabbi* and *Kharif*. Ranjit Singh continued this practice so long as his co-religionists were not reconciled to the system of monthly cash salaries. It is noteworthy that the older practice was long looked upon with favour as it led the Khalsa soldier to imagine that like the chief himself he had a share in the revenues of the land and was thus distinguishable from the ordinary soldier drawing a monthly salary from the State treasury.

It may also be mentioned that although the expressions *roznah* and *youmiya* (or daily allowance) also occur here and there in the Khalsa Darbar records, it was probably only in the case of charitable and religious institutions, such as poor houses (or indigent persons) and temples, etc., that the allowances were actually paid day by day. These daily allowances were, as a rule, charged to the *Sair* or town duties of the place where the grantee happened to be.

Time of payment of salaries.—As said above, the *faslanādār* soldiers were paid twice a year in the months of *Jeth* (May-June) and *Bhadon* (September-October), i.e. a combined salary of three months in the first case and of nine months in the second. For the *mahdars*, on the other hand, there was no fixed date for the payment of their salaries. The modern practice of distributing the salaries at the end of each month was not known under the Sikh government. Oftener than not, the greater part of the army was in arrears. Speaking of the Moghul army, Mr. Irvine remarks that the soldiers were almost always in arrears even in the best days of the Moghul government. In later times, the case was, it seems, even worse. Thus, on page 14 of his book, Mr. Irvine reproduces the following quotation from a Muhammadan writer:—‘The troops are wretchedly paid, twenty or

thirty months of arrears being no rarity.’ On page 137, *daftar ii* of his diary of Ranjit Singh, Sohan Lal mentions that when Jahan Dad Khan vacated the fort of *Attock* in A.D. 1812, the Maharaja had to pay about one lac of rupees to the garrison which they claimed as their pay and arrears.

Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, matters seem to have much improved, and in spite of occasional irregularities, one finds that there was, as will presently be seen, some sort of a system which the government observed in regard to the date of disbursement of the salaries of the troops. It is necessary to point out that the following schedule has been prepared after a careful examination of the pay rolls and other papers extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years of the Sikh Government. The combined salaries for the months of:—

- (i) *Bisakh* to *Sanwan* (May-August) were paid in *Ausj-Kalik* (October-November).
- (ii) *Bhadon* to *Asuj* (September-October) in *Poh-Magh* (January-February).
- (iii) *Kartik* to *Maghar* (November-December) in *Bisakh-Jeth* (May-June).
- (iv) *Poh* to *Magh* (January-February) in *Har* (July-August).
- (v) *Phagan* to *Chet* (March-April) in *Sawan-Bhadon* (August-September).

From these data it will be seen that, as a rule, the salaries were paid about six months after the due date. But with all these delays, it may be remarked, the troops never raised a disturbance on this account. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, the troops were getting their salaries almost all the year except in the months of March, April, and December. In the second place, the practice of making frequent advances and loans¹ or *musa'adat* as well as the occasional distribution of rewards and gifts provided compensation and to a large extent mitigated the distress of the soldiers.

The mode of disbursement.—The department of military accounts was divided into three sections, each of which was responsible for the accounts of the particular class of troops assigned to it. Each of

¹ These advances were recovered at the time of periodical disbursement. In the pay rolls, we find almost invariably, two sub heads against each name, i.e. the *Sabiqa* or the previous, and *hal* or the present showing under each head the amount credited to the man.

the three branches of the army, namely, the irregular cavalry (*fauj-i-sowāri*), the garrisons (*fauj-i-qila'jāt*), and the regular army (*fauj-i-āin*) was put in charge of a separate agency for the distribution of its salaries.

The examination of the pay rolls of the irregular cavalry shows that up to the year *Sambat* 1879 (A.D. 1822-23), the officers commanding used to submit their bills each for his individual unit. The remittance from the State treasury was drawn in his name and he then distributed the salaries to his troops through his Munshi who also used to prepare the acquittance rolls. In *Sambat* 1880 (A.D. 1823-24), or possibly a little later, when the entire irregular cavalry was re-organized into bigger divisions, the arrangements for the distribution of salaries also underwent a corresponding change. To each of these divisions now, was attached an officer known as Diwan or treasurer, who checked the acquittance rolls and looked after the necessary arrangements for receiving money from the State treasury and distributing the salaries of the troops under his charge. A further step in the same direction was taken in *Sambat* 1900 (A.D. 1843) when all these sub-treasuries were amalgamated into one which henceforth became the pay office for the entire cavalry.

The payments to the troops garrisoning the forts were not made quite as regularly and punctually as in the case of the infantry and cavalry, the reason probably being that the district treasuries were not quite well organized. The salary bills were submitted by the *thānādars* or *qilādars* (officers in charge of the forts) and the remittances were made to them by means of letters of authority (*tanākhwah*) on the collectors of the neighbouring districts who were not always very prompt in cashing these cheques.

The arrangement for the distribution of their salaries to regular army was, from the very beginning more regular and systematic than that which obtained in the other two branches of the Maharaja's army. The *Bakhshi* or the pay-master of the troops had a separate treasury under his charge which, is known in the records, as *peti khazāna fauj*. He was advanced necessary funds for the purpose and was expected to maintain a regular account of receipts and disbursements, to submit to the head office from time to time.

For some time the whole of the finance department was placed under Diwan Bhawani Das who had organized, for the first time, the

offices of the government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was, as already stated in these pages, also entrusted with the duties of *Bakhshi* and as such became the first pay-master of the regular troops. Later on, however, on account of the rapid increase of work in the department, he was given an assistant in the person of Sujan Rai who did most of Bhawani Das's work for the regular troops. In *Sambat* 1883 (A. D. 1826-27) the accounts of the treasury of this branch of the army were kept by Sardar Teja Singh who was subsequently promoted to the chief command of the regular forces. Teja Singh was succeeded in A.D. 1831 by *Bakhshi* Bhagat Ram who continued to hold the office till A.D. 1847-48.

Remittance from the Central Treasury.—In order to give the head office an idea of the probable funds required for disbursement of salaries, the officers in charge of payment used to submit a *taqdama* or estimate based upon the approximate strength of the various units. On the receipt of these estimates they were provided with funds, partly by means of cash from the treasury and partly by letters of authority on *tahwildars* and *kārdars*.¹

Nature and form of records.—The papers that were compiled by way of office records at the time of distribution of salaries may be divided under heads—

(i) Preliminary and (ii) Permanent.²

(i) The Preliminary records consisted of four registers, namely:—

(a) *Roznāmcha taqsim*.

(b) *Roznāmcha kasrat*.

(c) *Roznāmcha amānat*.

(d) *Wāsil baqi taqsim*.

(a) *Roznāmcha taqsim* was a day book containing each item of payment in the order in which it was made.

(b) *Roznāmcha kasrat* was a register in which were recorded the various deductions made from the pay of a man. These deductions

¹ The *kārdār* was a collector of revenues. *Tahwildār* means literally a cash-keeper, but in a wider sense the term denoted any person with whom the government money was deposited and the *tahwil* is technically used for the fund for which the money was advanced. (See *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol. ii, p. 3, in the press).

² The following has been taken from my publication, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol. i, pp. 128-29.

included the prescribed deductions for military uniform, fine of absence from duty, breach of discipline, etc.

(c) *Roznāmcha amānat* comprised the account of salaries undisbursed or withheld for future payment. It provided for the record of following particulars : the name of the man and the number or designation of the unit he belonged to, the reason of absence at the time of payment, the amount held in deposit, the date of repayment and the amount actually repaid.

(d) The last or *Wāsil bāqi taqsim* was a return designed to facilitate the final adjustment of accounts. It contained aggregates of receipts, of disbursements and of balances entered on account of individual units. The *wāsil bāqi* papers proved of great assistance in preparing the final account books called the *Jama Kharch taqsim* wherein these aggregates were posted without much risk of their being incorrect.

(ii) *Permanent*.—The second or permanent record comprised the following five registers compiled mostly from the preliminary papers :—

(a) *Barāwurd taqsim talab*.

(b) *Jam kharch peti khazāna*.

(c) *Jam kharch kasrāt*.

(d) and (e) *Jam kharch amānat* and *kasrāt*.

(a) *Barāwurd taqsim talab*.—In order to show what this was like, a specimen was reproduced in the Appendix I of my first paper of the present series published in *J. I. H.* vol. i, part ii, February, 1922.

(b) *Jam kharch peti khazāna*.—This register contained in one place a consolidated account of the receipts and disbursements of cash received in the military treasury. The receipt section was more detailed than that of disbursement. The latter contained only in aggregate the amount debited to a regiment whereas in the former were detailed in every instance of credit, particulars specifying the date, the source of receipt, and the purpose for which money was required.

(c) *Jam kharch taqsim*.—This register was usually prepared at the end of six months and was designed to bring at one place all the items of receipts and disbursements relating to the regular army. The receipt section of this register, accordingly provided for the detailed entries of the cash receipts as well as for those debited to the department by means of orders on local treasuries and letters of authority sanctioning departmental transfers.

The disbursement section contained only the totals of the amount paid as salary and other charges to each unit of the army.

The closing section gives the details of the balance showing firstly cash left in the treasury chest, secondly with the regimental *munshis*, and thirdly the amount unrealized from various *tankhwāh parwānās* drawn on local treasuries or other government departments.

(d) and (e) *Jam kharch amānat* and *kasrāt*.—These registers were meant for finally consolidating in one place the accounts under those heads. The accounts were extracted from the preliminary registers of the same name, providing, however, for additional entries of repayments of deposits, remissions of fines or other miscellaneous disbursements made out of these funds and showing lastly the balance in hand on each account.

The undisbursed salaries of the dead (*fauti*) or those killed in action (*ba kār amdāh*) were made over, if claimed; to the deceased's real brother (*barādar-i-haqiqi*), his son (*pisrāsh*), his wife (*ahliya*), his parents (*mādrash pīdrash*) less the charges for cremation or burial (*kafn dafn*).

V. DRILL AND DISCIPLINE

It was pointed out in the first paper of the present series that, in the Khalsa Army as it existed before the days of Ranjit Singh, there was hardly any discipline or drill as understood in the West. There was no training in combined movements of any sort, nor was there any drill for individual soldiers. Indeed, as we have more than once pointed out in these pages, the European Infantry drill was, for some time after its first introduction by Ranjit Singh in his army, an object of no small contempt and ridicule on the part of the Sikh Sardars, and the proud Khalsa cavalier would often be seen laughing and jeering at the regular, measured steps of the footman.

Brought up in the old traditions of war as he was, he believed that these regulated movements were meant more for show than for useful service in a serious action. This view is corroborated by an incident mentioned by the Hon'ble W. G. Osborne in his *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*. On page 156 of his book, he says 'During a very critical period of the action (with Dost Mohammad at Peshawar) Ranjit Singh saw an advantageous opening for the advance of part of his reserve, which was composed of his best regiments, and he

accordingly gave the order for one of his brigades to come to the support of his advance, and to which order the only reply he received was an universal shout from the men that drill and manœuvres did very well in peace time and on parade, but that they could not stand it now when they were really in action and that they must fight their own way or they would not fight at all. They accordingly all broke from their ranks, every man fighting for himself and, of course, in a few minutes were completely routed and beaten.'

But Ranjit Singh understood the real value of European drill and manœuvres better than his chiefs did and persisted in introducing it in his army with his usual tact, patience and perseverance. Judging from his frequent and animated conversations with distinguished European military officers visiting his court as well as from the amount of attention he devoted to the comforts, appearance and the contentment of his regular army, one could easily see how anxious and determined the Maharaja was to raise its efficiency to the level of the troops of the British East India Company. He gave employment to a large number of Europeans under whom the Sikhs soon mastered the complicated manœuvres and tactics of European warfare. It was not long before the new methods of discipline and training were put to a severe test at a time when the Khalsa army was no longer led by Ranjit Singh himself or was fighting under the command of his most trusted officers. In spite of the fact that the army had been deprived of the inspiring presence of their great chief, and were otherwise handicapped and dispirited, they gave a good account of themselves during the Sikh wars against the disciplined army of the British, in the last decade of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The official records of the Sikh government that have come down to us, mostly consist of official papers dealing with the ministerial details of the several departments of the government and contain nothing or very little by way of a narrative account on the subject of drill or discipline. Fortunately for us this serious deficiency is made up by graphic descriptions of what some European visitors at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh saw of the Khalsa army both in the camps and on the parade grounds. There are also a few contemporary Persian chronicles from which a more or less clear idea may be formed of the *elan* and efficiency of the Khalsa army during the closing years of the Maharaja's reign.

Ranjit Singh had set apart his morning time to inspect the drill of his forces, when he would often distribute gifts of money and other presents to those with whose work he was really pleased or affected to be pleased.¹ The standing order of the Maharaja to the officers concerned was that they should regularly inspect the drill of their men.

Whenever a distinguished European soldier happened to be on a visit to his court, he was almost invariably invited to witness the drill in the presence of the Maharaja himself. Ranjit Singh's greatest weakness was vanity and it is possible that he wanted to hear admiring remarks from his visitors about the state of efficiency and discipline which his army had reached under his personal supervision and direction. This would, however, be doing scant justice to some other equally well-marked traits of the Maharaja's character, such as his shrewdness and far-sightedness as a statesman and his keen instinct as a soldier. He was, doubtless, alive to the risks he was running in exposing the weakness in his military organization to the ken of those who might at no distant date be leading a hostile army against him. But he had, probably, come to the conclusion that after all the British officers could not carry with them more information about his military strength and resources than was already in the possession of their government, and that, all things considered, the balance of advantage would probably lie on his side; as he was constantly asking punctuating questions about the weak points of his own army and how they could best be removed.

We cannot do better than bring this section on the drill and discipline of Ranjit Singh's army to a close by reproducing the personal impressions of some competent persons who witnessed the troops manœuvring on the parade ground or engaged in sham fights.

'Agreeably to invitation, we repaired this morning (1st June, 1838) to meet the Maharaja and see some of his regular infantry upon their

¹ To mention one out of several instances we refer to an interesting incident mentioned by Sohan Lal on p. 298, *daftar* ii of his Diary of Ranjit Singh, where he states that one morning the Maharaja repaired to the cantonments of Anarkali (tomb) to witness the parade of recruits made over to the French Officers, Allard and Ventura, and was so much pleased with their drill that he forthwith gave rupees five hundred in cash to be distributed among the sepoys and rupees two thousand to the French Officers besides a jewelled gold watch which had been sent as a present from the Governor-General to the Maharaja.

parade. We found about 2,000 men under arms and some foot artillery. They are a fine looking body of men, dressed in white jackets and trousers with black belts and pouches, and wear the yellow Sikh turban. They submit willingly to the same discipline and regulations as our own sepoys, but have a prejudice against wearing a cap or shako and previous to their enlistment make an agreement that they shall not be required to do so or to shave.

'They work in three ranks and do everything by beat of drum according to the French fashion, are not what is called well set up, but beautifully steady on parade and fire with greater precision and regularity, both volleys and file firing, than any other body of troops I ever saw.'¹

24th June—'At sunrise waited on the Maharaja according to appointment to see the practice of his artillery. There were 13 brass 9-pounders on the ground protected by two squadrons of his regular cavalry under the command of Raja Dhian Singh. After manœuvring for about an hour and executing several of the more simple movements with considerable precision and steadiness and at a tolerable pace, they commenced practising with grape at a curtain at 200 yards distance, the practice would have been creditable to any artillery in the world. At the first round of grape the curtain was cut clean away and their shells at eight and twelve hundred yards were thrown with a precision that is extraordinary, when the short period of time since they have known of even of the existence of such a thing is taken into consideration. I rode up to the curtains with Dhian Singh at the conclusion of the practice and found them cut to pieces.'²

'Infantry and cavalry men exceedingly well clothed and armed in the European fashion with the exception of the cap the aversion to which Ranjit has never been yet able to overcome in his army—red turbans being substituted for the shako.

'On the right of the line was General Ventura's brigade consisting of eight regiments of infantry which he put through two movements, both of which they executed with equal steadiness and precision with our own men.'³

'I never was more surprised than to see the extraordinary effect

¹ W. G. Osborne, *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 101, 102.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

³ *Five Years in India*, vol. i, by H. E. Fane, p. 160.

that our expedition to Lahore in 1837 had produced upon Ranjit Singh's troops. Instead of what they then were, almost unable to move, they now went through several manœuvres with as much steadiness as our own sepoy regiments would have done. The Sikhs are most excellent imitators, as the present exhibition proved, perhaps too good; as, in attempting to accomplish all the complicated manœuvres they see executed by our thoroughly disciplined men, they neglect that which is far more important in comparatively raw levies, namely, the more simple evolutions of advancing steadily in a line, wheeling and quick formations, but considering their want of officers and raw materials they have had to work upon their execution is most wonderful.'¹

B. V. Hugel—'Having stationed ourselves in front of the battalions and the artillery, the exercises and manœuvres began, the firing being very regular. The men loaded and fired five times in a minute.'²

Muhammad Latif on page 454 of his *History of the Punjab* speaking of the review of the troops during the meeting at Ropar between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Lord William Bentinck says, 'The following four days were occupied in evening entertainments and reviews of troops. On October 31, 1831, some artillery practice with grape and spherical case shot was witnessed by the Maharaja across the river. An umbrella was shot at with one of the six pounders, after which the Sardars in attendance on His Highness, exhibited feats of horsemanship and dexterity. First of all, Raja Dhian Singh, who was a good sportsman, displayed skill in horsemanship, shooting and sword exercise. He was followed in succession by Rajas Suchet Singh and Gulab Singh, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, General Ilahi Bakhsh and Generals Ventura and Allard, who each displayed great skill and activity in the military feats performed by them; last of all came the Maharaja himself on horseback. A brass vessel was laid on the *Maidan* and three times did the Maharaja lift it with the tip of his sword, the horse going at full speed'.

VI. PUNISHMENTS

While the official records have but little to say on the subject of drill and exercises, they are profuse in their description of punishment

¹ *Five Years in India*, vol. ii, p. 11.

² Baron Von Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir*.

of the various kinds of offences such as insubordination, breach of discipline and neglect of duty, etc. In this connection it is a noteworthy fact that the penalty of death is conspicuous by its absence in the Sikh military code. 'We punish but we will not take life' are significant words which have been put in the mouth of Ranjit Singh, by the adventurer. This view is also supported by two incidents mentioned by Dr. Honigberger in his book *Thirty-five Years in the East*.

'General Allard told me the Maharaja once reprimanded him for having executed some Mussalmans whom General Avitabile had ordered to be hung because they were of opinion, that, under the protection of a European Governor (Avitabile was appointed Governor of Wazirabad), they might be at liberty to eat beef. The opinion of Ranjit Singh was that he ought to have imprisoned the criminals and then allowed them to escape.'

Again on another page he mentions the case of a Nihang (Akali) Sikh who wanted to force his way into the Maharaja's camp and being stopped by the sentinel on duty had struck him with sword and cut off his arm. In the opinion of Doctor Honigberger such an offender deserved gallows but the culprit was punished by the Maharaja with the loss of his ear, nose or hands with the same sabre with which he had so skilfully cut off the arm of the soldier on royal duty.¹

The forms of punishment which one finds mentioned in the official records may be classified as follows :—

- (i) *Dalāl* or extra duty.
- (ii) Fine.
- (iii) Reduction in pay or in rank.
- (iv) Imprisonment.
- (v) *Kāthmārna* (stocks).
- (vi) Mutilation of limb or organ.
- (vii) Fancy punishments such as blackening the face of the culprit and parading him round the town, stamping and branding the forehead and exile from his native town.

¹ Honigberger further mentions that after this sad execution, the man ran to drown himself in a well, but was prevented by the people who were accidentally present. When the Maharaja was informed of the fact, the culprit was sent to me and put under my care and medical attendance with strict orders to watch him from committing suicide.

THE ARMY OF RANJIT SINGH

The usual punishment for an ordinary breach of discipline was the infliction of a small fine. It was, however, not an uncommon thing for a sentence of imprisonment for a serious offence to be finally commuted into one of fine. A serious neglect of duty, for instance, the absence of a sentinel from his post at night (*pahra*) was punished by reduction in rank or the imposition of fine or by both.

It would not, perhaps, be without interest to the reader if we were to refer here to one or two actual cases showing the nature of an offence and how it was punished. Early in A.D. 1841 the men belonging to the battalion of Captain Ford committed a riot in the Cantonments of Peshawar. For this offence, each sepoy was fined two months' pay, the Furrier, Naick and Havaldar lost two months and a half, the Jama'dar, and the Subadar three months each while the regimental officers were punished with degradation to the immediate lower rank.

There is another interesting case on record which shows that the trial by ordeal was not quite unknown. Unfortunately, the file of the case is incomplete and it is difficult to find out the nature of the offence but the summary decision and the punishment awarded to the guilty may not be without interest. The paper bears the heading *infisāli muqadama qaidiyān paltan La Font farhangi*, i.e. 'the decision of the under-trial prisoners of the battalion under La Font.' Out of the fourteen men who were tried, nine were dismissed (*bar tarf shudand*, 9) three were imprisoned or sent to the lock up again (*qaid ba dastūr mandāh*, 3). One man named Kahan Singh was punished with the loss of an ear; he was, besides, branded on the forehead and dismissed from service while the remaining one, Jamiat Singh, proved his innocence by plunging his hand into boiling oil which sustained no injury, was not only not punished and allowed to join his regiment but was promoted to the rank of a Naik.¹

VII. PENSIONS

There does not seem to have been any definite age limit either for entering the Maharaja's service or for compulsory retirement. So

¹ کاهن سنگه سپاهی یک گوش بریده بر طرف شد
داغ اندرون پیشانی داده بر طرف شد *
جمعیش سنگه سپاهی کمپنی درگم دست در کزاهی انداخته سوخته نه شد نا پاکه
در پند طلب عود عواهد یابی *

long as a man was considered to be physically fit for active duty, he continued to serve in the army. It appears that, as a general rule, men between the ages of twenty and thirty-eight were regarded as being fit for military duty, but they continued to serve up to the age of sixty-five or even more.

There was no such thing as a regular pension for invalids or the wounded soldiers. But, from a number of recorded cases, it is apparent that some kind of allowance was granted to those permanently disabled for active service and, at times, provision was also made for the dependents of the soldier who died on active duty (*ba kār āmdah*). This allowance is noticed under two different names, i.e. *dharmarth* and *inglis*. In the pay rolls of the army, we have come across several cases in which the near relations, or dependents mostly his wife (*ahliya*) and an aged father (*pidarash*) of a soldier dying on active duty were granted from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per month. This allowance was ordinarily paid for life. This amount is charged to and shown in the pay rolls of the particular regiment to which the man belonged, and is credited as *dharmarth* (literally charity) under the head *muqarrari* or fixed expenditure. In the papers of the year A.D. 1846 for instance, we find a long list containing the names of as many as 2,861 men who had fallen in action during the First Sikh War, together with the amount of allowance (*dharmarth*) granted to their widows and orphans.

In the majority of cases, however, the allowance appears under the name *inglis* which seems to indicate that the practice had been borrowed from the English.¹ We have come across a number of cases both in the Pay Rolls and the Descriptive Rolls of the Khalsa army where men who had been permanently disabled for active service on account of the loss of an arm or of a leg, etc. (*dast buriddāh*, or *bāzu-o-pā shikastah shuddand*) were shown as being in receipt of a regular pension or monthly allowance. For instance, in the Pay Rolls of *Sambat* 1880-81 (A.D. 1823-24) there are as many as twenty cases, in which injury pensions were granted to those who had been wounded in action, probably in the battle of Naushehra, and were permanently disabled for active service.

¹ The word *inglis* to denote 'pension' is still current in the rural areas of the Panjab.

Again in the Pay Rolls of *Sambat* 1887 (A.D. 1830) we find a list of men who had been struck off the strength of their respective battalions on account of old age and were shown on a sort of pension list.¹ They were assigned the duty of keeping guard on the royal kitchen—a nominal task.

In addition to the concrete cases that one finds recorded in the papers, there are other casual references also which go to show that *inglis* or pension, if we may so call it, was a regular allowance. In a paper dated the 13th *Har*, 1899 (July 1842), containing instructions and rules about salaries, deductions, and leave, etc., we find a statement to the effect that the list of the privates and officers in the army who were in receipt of *inglis*, should be submitted for confirmation to the Maharaja.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that since vacancies caused by retirement, death or otherwise were, as far as practicable, filled up by selection of a successor from the same family, and since the joint family system existed in the province in its full rigidity; the need for a money pension for the maintenance of the dependents was not felt so keenly as would be the case under present circumstances, when the older ties which bound all the members of a large family together have all been loosened and the individualistic sentiments of an alien civilization have made such serious encroachments upon the old time customs and traditions of the people. Any member of these privileged families, if his capacities were equal to the charge, had the opportunity of being trained in the army or in the public service from his earliest years. He succeeded as naturally to the military rank or the diplomatic or administrative duties of his father or his uncle in the government, as he did to the management of the family business or the ownership of the family estate.

¹ Vide *Catalogue, Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol. i, p. 31

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthasāstra

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CHAPTER I

THE VEDIC LITERATURE (*Samhita-Brahmana*)

I

WAR is a fundamental factor in the science of diplomacy and naturally occupies a great place in the treatise of Kauṭalya. The Vedic texts, although pre-occupied with sacerdotalism furnish us with valuable informations which help us to understand the diplomacy of Kauṭalya. Amidst the mass of ritualistic materials we do obtain a glimpse of the political realities of the Vedic age.

Without troubling ourselves with the insoluble problem of Vedic chronology let us attempt to form an idea of the life of the Vedic Aryans. They maintained unity by keeping order and solidarity among themselves, while they struggled against the autonomous tribes, gradually taking possession of their territory. It is to this state of affairs that allusion is made in the Rig Veda :

'When valiant men fiercely fight against one another for rivers, forests and houses, then O Maruts, sons of Rudra, be in battles our protectors against the enemies.'

(R. V., vii. 56, 22.)

¹ The translator's thanks are due to Rev. Father Sauliere, S.J., Professor of French, Loyola College, Madras, for his great kindness in revising the whole manuscript as a labour of love.

² *Les Theories Diplomatiques De L'inde Ancienneet L'Arthasāstra* (published by Maisonneuve Freres, Paris (1923).

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To this force, was also added artifice :

'This (is the Agni) who is kindled in the front for Devavāta's son, Srinjaya, the brilliant (god), the deceiver of foes' (*amitra-dambhana*).
(R. V., iv. 15, 4.)

'Be kind, O Agni, when we approach thee as a friend, a friend, as parents, as a straight leader. For full of deceit are the tribes of men : burn thou against (all) malign powers so that they turn back.'

(R. V., iii. 18, 1.)

'Burn, O Agni, the nearer enemies, burn the curse of the distant evildoer. Burn, O Vasu, seeing the unseen one.'

(*Ibid.*, 18, 2.)

'Produce thy stream of flames like the front of a broad onslaught. Go forth impetuous like a king with his elephant.'

(R. V., iv. 4, 1.)

'Being the quickest, send forth thy spies (*spha's*) against (all) evildoers). Be an undeceivable guardian of this clan.'

(*Ibid.*, 3.)

'Crush all enemies, be they relations or strangers.'

(*Ibid.*, 5.)

'Mayst thou maintain our knightly power *Kṣatra* day by day.'

(*Ibid.*, 8.)

In these quotations taken at random we already find Kauṭalya in germ. On the one hand the conquering king is the vigilant guardian of his clan, and on the other there is the existence of the system of espionage—conceptions which form the pillars of Kauṭalyan diplomacy. All these are in harmony with certain facts which have been fortunately preserved for us in the Rig Veda.

It must be added, however, that these wars do not seem to have been wars of extermination. They do not exclude the possibility of amicable relations, even matrimonial connections between the Aryans and the indigenous races.¹ As one of the hymns cited above shows the enemies were not wholly aliens ; among them were also kinsmen. Divodāsa, the chief of the famous clan of the Bharata fought against the autochthonous tribes such as the Dāsa, the Śambara, the Paṇi, the Pārāvata and the Br̥ṣaya—savage races characterized as Mṛdhraṇvāchar speaking a brutal tongue and Anāsa or noseless. He also had to fight against his own people, the Aryan tribes of Turvaśa, Yada

¹ Cf. Keith, *C.H.I.*, i, pp. 85-86 and 125.

and Pūru. This is recounted by Bhāradvāja, the priest family who composed the sixth *maṇḍala* of the Rig Veda.

More significant still for the history of ancient diplomacy is the 'Battle of Ten Kings' found in the seventh *maṇḍala*¹ concerning the great King Sudās of Bharata—son or grandson of Divodāsa. Here we find political diplomacy getting complicated by its fusion with priestly diplomacy. When the Bharatas had for their priest-counsellor Visvāmitra, they successfully fought with their enemies on the banks of the Vipāś (the Bias) and of the Śutudrī (the Sutlej). But for reasons of which we are ignorant, Visvāmitra (the Kshatriya chief, who was raised, by his merits, to the rank of a priestly Brahman) was supplanted by Vasiṣṭha. Thereupon Visvāmitra (almost a prototype of our Kauṭalya-Chāṇakya) directed his vengeance against the Bharatas under the command of Sudās, with all the force and cunning of a Kshatriya-Brahmaṇa conducted the following tribes² :—

- (1) The Alina.
- (2) The Paktha.
- (3) The Bhalana.
- (4) The Śiva.
- (5) The Vishānin.
- (6) The Anu.
- (7) The Druhyu.
- (8) The Turvaśa.
- (9) The Yadu.
- (10) The Pūru.

Then followed a civil war in which the coalition of the Aryan tribes of the north-west marched against Sudās, the leader of the Bharatas who occupied the eastern regions known by the name of Brahmāvarta. The coalition of the ten Aryan enemy tribes was broken on the banks of the Puruṣṇi. The non-Aryan allies, namely, the tribes of Ajas (lambs), Yakṣu and Śigru (probably totemistic tribes) commanded by King Bheda created a diversion in favour of the ten Aryan allies. But Sudās proved himself equal to the occasion by crushing his non-Aryan enemies on the Yamunā just as he defeated the Aryans on the Puruṣṇi (the Ravi). Here Sudās seems to have acted as the master

¹ vii. 18, 33.

² Cf. Keith, *C.H.I.*, i. p. 82.

of the circle (*Maṇḍalādhipa*) in the diplomatic language of Kauṭalya. This battle of the ten kings may be regarded as a striking anticipation of the political world described by Kauṭalya. Undoubtedly the Vedic poet had a similar conception in his mind when he chanted :

'Agni has been praised with powerful songs ; he has been brought forward furthermore for sovereignty (*sāmrajya*). May both these our liberal lords and we ourselves spread out (our power over all foes) as the sun (spreads out its light and by it destroys) the mist.'

(*R. V.* i. 141, 13.)

Thus in Vedic India the epoch of small tribal conflicts gave place to a period when kingdom-states began to be established. 'Already in the later Vedic age the Pūrus are well united with their ancient rivals the Bharatas and the ten tribes are fused with the Kurus, who became well known in the later *Samhitās* and the *Brahmaṇas* as the chief representatives of the Vedic culture.'

II

The first important change between this age and the last, that is, between that of the *Samhitās* on the one hand, and that of the *Brahmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*, on the other, is the geographical expansion of the Aryans towards the east. It has already been remarked that Sudās, the great king of the Bharatas, occupied a region, much more eastern than that which came to be known in course of time as the Brahmāvarta. Again in the geography of the *Brahmaṇas* (the *Āitareya* and the *Śatapatha*) we notice a new expansion in the east and along with it a new grouping of the tribes.

(1) The Kuru-Pāñchālas (an association of peoples who were not yet enemies as we shall have occasion to see in the epics), took the place of the Bharatas as models of true manners. Their political seat Kurukshētra became the centre of life and activity of this age, and their kings set the example for others to follow. These two tribes which came to play this important rôle in the *Mahābhārata*, were established in the middle-country (*Madhyadēśa*) with two other tribes the Vaśa and the Uśinara.

(2) The Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras occupied the region of the north-west and Kashmere but were soon transported to the mythical regions beyond the Himalayas.

- (3) The Satvants were towards the south.
- (4) The Kosalas and (5) the Vidēhas (actually Oudh and Tirhut) are the celebrated names of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.
- (6) The Māgadhas.
- (7) The Aṅgas (East Behar).
- (8) The Vrātyas or the tribes incompletely Brahmanized and outside the pale of the orthodox Aryans—Andhra, Puṇḍra, Mūṭiba, Pulinda, Niṣāda, and Śabara mentioned in the historical edicts of Asoka.

These eight tribes were not of the unstable clans of the Vedic age as those of the Alinas, the Pakthas, the Anuś, all of them confined to the extreme north-west and the Punjab. These continued to maintain themselves with considerable vitality which enabled them to survive through the period of the great epics, through the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, down to the classical period of Hindu history. So with these tribes we stand on a firmer and wider ground in our survey of the history of diplomacy.

In this connection two outstanding facts may be mentioned. First the Aryans of the *Aitareya-Brahmana* and of the *Śatapatha Brahmana* display a certain amount of contempt for tribes less audacious and conservative who preferred the narrow limits of the north-west for habitation. Secondly they were necessarily obliged to admit into their society the vigorous non-Aryan races who inhabited some of these eastern regions.

Already in the *Aitareya Brahmana*¹ we come across an account which goes to justify the existence of the so-called impure tribes in the Aryan family and explain away their degradation by means of a social fiction, as Hindu sociologists are always charitable to fabricate. Viśvāmitra had 101 sons, and the fifty elder ones refused to obey one of their younger brothers contrary to the order of their father. So Viśvāmitra cursed them for disobedience thus:

'Your descendants shall inherit the extreme (*antam*) portions of the earth.'

'These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śauaras, Pulindas, and Mūṭibas (or Mucipas) who live in large numbers beyond the frontiers. The greater part of the Dasyus are also the descendants of Viśvāmitra.'

¹ vii. 18; xxxiii. 6.

Thus we see that the aboriginal tribes, the Vrātyas, are confounded deliberately with the ancient Dasyus of the Rig Veda and all these are solemnly attached to the family of the great Viśvāmitra. This disqualification which arises from remaining on the doubtful geographical and social frontiers continues no doubt to the period of the *Smṛtis*. But the consciousness of the Aryans has already begun to awaken to a sense of justice and responsibility towards the vast non-Aryan population. Thus we find an Aryan king taking this vow, at the time of his consecration (*Rājasūya*):—

'All the wrongs we have had in the villages or forests, in the assemblies, among the members, the wrongs towards the Śūdras or the Aryans, the wrongs against the laws of both, for all these, thou art the expiation.'¹

In this way while the spiritual powers of the kingdom—the priests lent their paternity to the non-Aryan tribes, the temporal powers,—the kings—afforded protection to these new members of the growing community. This double adoption is significant as it testifies to the profound fusion of races and cultures, and, at the same time, to the extension of the sphere of diplomatic relations. This was a period of great development in all fields of Hindu activity,—politics, theology and spiritual life.

From very early times, society was divided into three sections. These were the sacred power represented by the Brahmanas, the royal power by the Kshatriyas, and the people by the Viś. The two first remained at the outset essentially Aryan but the *Vaiśyas* always enlarged their circle according as the territory extended. This geographical extension coupled with the racial enrichment reacted inevitably on the political constitution of the people. The king who was at first the chief of the primitive tribe became soon the centre of national life. At the bottom of various sacerdotal elaborations, there are several elements of popular religion.² Thus the royal consecration (*Rājasūya*) is but a popular rite of anointing the king. The Vājapeya sacrifice shows its popular character in the importance which it ascribes to chariot races. Again the horse-sacrifice (*Aśvamedha*) arises from the elaboration of a simple popular rite of sympathetic magic.

¹ *Taittiriya Samhitā*, i. 8 (3).

² Cf. Keith, *C. H. I.*, i, p. 141.

Besides these popular features the elaboration of the shape of the altar (*vedi*), by the priests reflects a 'new conception of theology.'¹ In the opinion of Prof. Eggeling² the Brahmans intended in the construction of the Fire Altar, to symbolize the unity of the universe. This ritualistic universalism is the counterpart of the philosophical universalism of the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*.

यो वै भूमा तत्सुखं नाऽल्पे सुखमस्ति ।

'There is happiness in the universal and not in smaller things.'

But what is more important from the point of view of the development of diplomatic conception is that the *Sarvānubhūti* of the *Upaniṣads* finds its political equivalent in the *Sarvabhauma* (the World-Emperor). This notion ever remains, like all Utopias, imaginary, but still a permanent attraction for Hindu politicians and diplomatists. However small a state may be, it continually aspires at the domination of the world!. Even realistic politicians like Kauṭilya accept this great diplomatic fiction and urge the king of every circle to conquer the world by means of diplomacy.

नयज्ञः पृथिवीं जयति ।

It is very probable that this mentality is the effect of geographical expansion and of social consolidation. Prof. Eggeling³ lends support to this view in his interpretations of the horse-sacrifice. M. Sylvain Levi also in his *Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas*⁴ shows with profound originality how the political concentration of the isolated tribal chieftains around a great chief in the face of a common danger, is translated into theology and transforms the whole Pantheon of the Brāhmaṇas. Agni with the Vasus, Soma with the Rudras, Varuṇa with the Ādityas and Indra with his Maruts contended among themselves to get at the suzerainty. And the *Dēvas* gradually realized that success against the *Asuras* could only be attained by the cessation of mutual hostilities and the recognition of a single leader:

The *Dēvas* said: For those who have no king (*arājata*) there would be no success in the battle.⁵ Hence Indra became the supreme

¹ Cf. Jolly, *The Indian Altar in the Ency. of Religion and Ethics*.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 43, pp. 14-24.

³ *S.B.E.*, vol. 44, Intro., p. xxi.

⁴ *I. A.*, pp. 73-76, and 86-87.

⁵ *Āita. Brah.*, 3, 3-6; *Tait. Brah.*, 1-5, 9. 1.

chief of the *Dēvas* just as a king would be the supreme head among men.

Herein lay the solution of a grave social problem, which made a profound impression on the people who conserved this tradition with great care. For we find that the two schools of *Dharma* and *Artha* are unanimous in asserting that the king is the pivot of the whole system.

But before the final consecration of the sovereign power and its concentration in a single chief, the Hindu king had to pass through a period of trial and struggle as it happens in all monarchies known to history. The community was no doubt aware of the advantages of having a single chief who would be the organizer as well as the directing force in everything. But who could be the unique master? This enviable place was for long a bone of contention. The Atharva Veda has preserved the memory of the vicissitudes of life of a king in the hymns on the restoration of the exiled prince:

'Let thine opponents call thee: thy friends have chosen (thee) against (them): Indra, Agni and all the gods, have maintained for thee security (*Kshema*) in the people (*viś*).'

'Whatever person—disputes they call, and whatever outsider—make them go away, O Indra! and then do thou reinstate this man here.'

Ath V., iii. 3 (5 and 6).

Thus the *vis* or the people did not play a passive role in the extension of the constitutional regime as it has been demonstrated by Mr. Gray in his study on the Indian Kings in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

Although kingship in ancient India was generally hereditary, election to the throne was certainly not unknown. Mr. Gray quotes in supporting this theory the expression: *Ta im viṣṇa rājānam vṛṇādh*.

R. V., x. 124. 8.

The *mantras* as well as the oaths pronounced by the king at the time of his coronation¹ bear evidence that monarchy in ancient India was not irresponsible and not without control,² Mr. Jayaswal has demonstrated this in full in his *Constitutional Aspect of Hindu Coronation*.³ Along with the king we must reckon with the

¹ Goldstücker, *Abhiṣeka*.

² Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 162.

³ *Modern Review*, January 1912, pp. 97-106.

popular will,¹ expressed through the political and social assemblies (*Samiti* or *Sabhā*). The very significant expression *rājakartārah* 'King-makers' may also be noted here.²

But the control of the arbitrary power of the king was not exclusively exercised by his peers (*rājakartārah*) or by the people (*viś*). More effective was the control resulting from the spiritual power of the *Purohita* who invariably proved to be the surest and the most accessible protectors of the people. Our hyper-critical attitude towards the ecclesiastics—the outcome of the modern spirit, leads us constantly to charge the Brahman priests with incapacity and absurd sophistry. But we cannot forget that in the primitive community the priests were generally better guides and friends of the people than any of the political officials. The Brahmanical ascendancy in general was a great moral force in society. From this point of view it seems remarkable that the priests considered it a principle to court poverty and generally to renounce personal property and wealth. It is by that high spiritual communism that the Brahmans maintained great social influence among the people for centuries together.

Thus the temporal power of the king, before it had established itself in people's minds, had to be reconciled with the spiritual power of the Brahmans.

The two powers naturally were sometimes in conflict. But thanks to the disinterestedness of the priest-protectors of the people, this conflict did not attain at any time to the gravity and the sordidness which characterized the struggles between the Roman Empire and the Church of Rome. The Brahmans demanded purification of the sovereignty before conceding to it the right of guiding the destinies of the people. But as soon as the king submitted to this discipline, he was glorified through the performance of certain rites, into a kind of apotheosis.

We find perfect historical verification of this in the *Rajasūya* ceremony described in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (vii. 19). The passage sets forth vividly the contrast between the spiritual power and the temporal, each pursuing the divine Sacrifice. The spiritual power obtains it, but the temporal fails and says :

¹ Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 37-45.

² *Śat. Brah.*, iii. 4. 17; xiii. 2. 2. 18; *Atharva*, viii. 5. 7; *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii. 67. 2.

"Allow me to participate in the sacrifice." The Brāhmaṇa said, 'Well, let it be so: Lay down thy own weapons, assume the spiritual implements of the Brahman and becoming Brahman participate in the Sacrifice. 'Let it be so,' said the temporal power and the pact was concluded.

Immediately following we find in the account of the great *mahābhīṣeka* of Indra, the spiritual guide pronouncing these formulas :

'This one is among the gods, the most vigorous, most strong, most valiant, most perfect, who carries out best any work (to be done). Let us instal him (to the kingship over us).'¹ Here the qualities of the sovereign are indicated. His power alone however was not sufficient. It needed to be reinforced by the general acclamation of the people, and thus the *mantra* continues :

'Indra cannot achieve any feat if he is not everywhere publicly proclaimed (as hero).'

'The gods bestowed on him (Indra) by proclaiming him as universal ruler,' the *saṃrājā*, universal rule : (*sāmrājyam*) by proclaiming him 'as enjoyer' (of pleasures), (*bhojā*) they made him father of pleasures : *bhojāpīṭaram* : by proclaiming him as 'independent ruler' (*svarājā*) they granted him independence of rule (*svārājyam*) ; by proclaiming him as 'distinguished king' (*virājā*), they conferred on him royal distinction (*vairājyam*) ; by proclaiming him 'king', they made him father of kings (*rājāpīṭaram*) ; by calling him 'one who has attained the highest desires' (*paramēṣṭhinam*), they granted him fulfilment of the highest desires (*Paramēṣṭhaya*) :

'The Kshattria is born : the Kshatriya is born : the supreme master of the whole creation is born : the devourer of the people (*viśamatha*) is born : the destroyer of the hostile castles is born : the slayer of the *Asuras* is born : the protector of the Brahman is born : the protector of the religion is born.'²

The final part is also very interesting. From the abstract definition of royal virtues we pass on to their concrete localization among the kings of different places. This perhaps is a care of priestly refinement but the geographical data are instructive.³ First takes place

¹ M. Haug, *Aita. Brah.*, viii. 12.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *Mbh.* xii. 68, 54 and *Sukra.*, i. 183.

the primary consecration by Prajāpati the Lord of the people, and then the *Vasus* of the east give the *sāmraja*. Such is therefore the form of royalty in the east. (2) Afterwards come the Rudras of the south who give the *bhauja*. Hence the kings of the south are called Bhoja like the Satvant. (3) Then the *Ādityas* of the west confer the *svāraja* and thus the kings of the western and southern people are called *svarāj*. (4) The *Viśvādēvas* of the north confer *vairāja*, and on this account the kings of the northern countries are called *virāj*. (5) Then follow the *Sādhyas* and the *Āptyas* of the central regions who confer the *rāja*, and hence the kings of the Kuru-Pāñchalas and also of the *Vaśas* and *Uśīnaras* are called *rājās*. (6) Lastly the Maruts and the *Āngiras* come from the superior regions to give the *Pāramēṣṭhya*. Thus the king becomes the supreme authority linked with Prajāpati. He becomes even self-existing (*svayambhū*), self-governing (*svarāj*) and immortal (*amṛta*).

We find here not only a ritualistic symbolism connected with monarchy, but also some of the political terms of the Hindus which developed later on. For instance we find in connection with the *purnabhiṣeka* ceremony of Indra¹ the term of *yoga-kshēma*, which is a fundamental conception in the diplomacy of Kauṭalya.

कल्पतेहवा अस्मै योगक्षेमोत्तरोत्तरीर्नोह श्रियं अभुते ।

The great commentator Sāyana explains the two terms *yoga-kshēma* as 'acquisition of riches which one does not possess (*yoga*), and the preservation of riches acquired (*kshēma*).² In this explanation our authorities on political science and law are faithfully followed.

The list of famous consecrated kings preserved in the texts of the *Brāhmaṇas*³ bears testimony to the intimate relation between the spiritual power and the temporal. In every case the name of the consecrating priest is given along with the sovereign consecrated⁴

- (1) Janamējaya Pārikshita (by Tura Kāvasheya).
- (2) Śārayāta Mānava (by Chyavana Bhārgava).
- (3) Śātānika Śātrajita (by Somaśushman Vājaratnāyana).
- (4) Āmbāsthya (Parvata Nārada).

¹ *Aita. Brah.*, viii. 6.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 21-23; *Śata. Brah.*, xiii. 5. 4; *Śāu. Śr. Sū.*, xvi. 9.

³ Eggeling, *S.B.E.*, vol. 41, xxiv-xxv.

- (5) Yudhāmśraushthi Augrasainya (Parvata Nārada).
- (6) Viśvakarman Bhauvana (Kāśyapa).
- (7) Sudās Paijavana (Vasishtha).
- (8) Marutta Āvikshita (Samvarta Āngirasa).
- (9) Aṅga (Udamaya Ātreya).
- (10) Bharata Dauhṣyanti (by Dīrghatamas Māmatēya).

Most of these kings are only vague celebrities of a remote tradition like the legendary kings who in the Avesta are preferred to the historic Achæmenid kings. Nevertheless among these tribes and Vedic personages some few are noteworthy. One such is Sudās Paijavana, the ideal of kingship who reappears in the political manual of Kāmandaka¹ where Paijavana is transformed into Vaijavana. Again in the list of good and bad monarchs mentioned by Kauṭalya,² Janamējaya appears as a bad king, the victim of anger, while the kings of Bhōja Dāṇḍakya and of Vidēha Karāla are designated as victims of lust (*kāma*). As regards the other kings, Kauṭalya is nearer to the legends of the epics than those of the *Brāhmaṇas*. For he quotes examples of Rāvaṇa, Duryodana, Haihaya, Arjuna and Vātāpi.³

The insertion of chapters on the virtues and vices of kings in a political manual has a clear significance from an ethical point of view. The spiritual power, represented by the Brahman priests, acted as a check on the moral character of the king, and naturally it exercised a considerable influence on the constitutional evolution. The remarks of Dr. Keith are very much to the point here.

'The Vedic *Purohita* was the forerunner of the Brahman statesmen who, from time to time in India, have shown conspicuous ability in the management of affairs: and there is no reason to doubt that a Viśvāmitra or Vasishtha was a most important element of the early Vedic realm.'⁴

This is true not exclusively of the Vedic period. Although the science of government is called *Kshatrayidyā* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*⁵ still the science of diplomacy is always regarded as the domain of priest-councillors, since the days of the mythical master Bṛhaspati.

¹ Ch. i. 16.

² i. 6.

³ Cf. Charpentier, *Sagengeschichtliches aus dem Arthaśāstra*, W.Z.K.M., 1914.

⁴ C. H. I., p. 95.

⁵ vii. 1. 2. 4; 2. 1; 7. 1.

the counsellor of the *Dēvas* and Śukra, the counsellor of the *Asuras* up to the period of the quasi-historical figure of Kauṭalya. Quite in keeping with this tradition the *Arthasāstra* (i, v) prescribes, in the chapter on councillors and priests (*Mantripurohita*) that the *purohita* must possess the knowledge of the Vedas, the six *Āṅgas*, divination, augury and the science of government (*daṇḍanīti*), and must further be well-versed in the art of avoiding calamities due to chance, divine or human, by means of the Atharvan rites. The king must follow the instruction of such priests as a student his teacher, as the son his father and a servant his master. Thus it is that the Kshatriya representing the royal power disciplined by Brahmans and instructed by councillors, becomes invincible even without the aid of arms (*aśastrita*) by simply following the *Śāstras*. On this point the school of law (the *Dharmaśāstra*) is in accordance with the science of *Artha*, and curiously the *Atharva Veda* so valued by Kauṭalya and his school, contains several hymns which seem to recapitulate this theory :

‘Unto thee has come the kingdom ! with splendour rise forward : as lord of the people, sole king, bear thou rule : let all the directions call thee, oh king ! become thou here one for waiting on, for homage.

‘Thee let the people choose unto kingship (*vr̥ṇatam rājyaya*), thee these five divine directions.’

‘Like a human Indra, go thou away : because thou hast concurre with the various classes ; he here hath called thee in his own station he shall sacrifice to the gods and he shall arrange the people.’

Atharva Veda, iii. 4 (1,2,6).

It is thus clear that the position of the king, the centre of Hindu diplomacy, was unlike that of the Archon-Basileus of Greece or of the Rex-sacrorum of Rome. The seeming absolute character of the Hindu monarchy was greatly modified by the spiritual authority of the Brahmans and also by the sentiment of moral responsibility towards the subjects. This sense of responsibility in a good government led to the enumeration of royal duties and the delimitation of royal power.

Functions of government are well differentiated in the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas. We find, in the royal consecration, persons around the king (*ratnāni*=jewels) playing an important part.¹ Here are among others, the Brahmans, the nobles (*rājanyas*), the first lady

Śat. Brah. v. 3. 1 ; *Tait. Brah.*, 1. 7. 3 ; *Tait. Sam.*, 1. 8. 9.

(*mahishī*), the charioteer (*sūta*), the commander-in-chief (*senāni*), the chief of the village (*grāmaṇi*), the chamberlain (*kṣhatṭy*), Treasurer (*saṅgrahitṛ*), collector of taxes, the distributor of food (*bhāgadugha*), superintendent of games (*akṣāvāpa*), the carver of wood (*lakṣaṇ*), and the messenger.

Thus it is interesting to find here the beginnings of the movement of decentralization which finally led to the admirable complex bureaucracy described by Kauṭalya. But as in every community which develops itself vigorously, here also the diverse functions, far from being isolated in watertight compartments, were in close contact. The spiritual power took a vital interest in the affairs of the temporal power. The latter, on the other hand, contributed largely to the progress of spiritual discipline, as found in the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* in the person of royal philosophers like Janaka of Videha, Aśvapati of Kēkaya (the Punjab), Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, and Pravāhana Jaivali of Pāñchāla who discussed with the Brahmans and even taught them the science of Brahma, the unity which is the supreme reality of the Universe.

The class of warriors however showed themselves ever impatient of the methods of spiritual synthesis, which, though sure, were rather slow. Hence the violence of conflicts and catastrophes which we notice in the Epic age which is the veritable epoch of the Kshatriya marking the end of that of the Brāhmaṇa. It is remarkable that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*—considered as the most recent of all the Brāhmaṇas—presents, unconsciously, in the famous *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, the picture of the destructive tendency of the epic age. The political success was then the measure of life. Thus the *Vājapeya* formerly celebrated by the Brāhmaṇas is now interpreted as a *Samvatsara* sacrifice, which confers universal sovereignty to Varuṇa. Besides Prof. Eggeling affirms the definitely aggressive character of the *Aśvamedha* such as it is represented in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* :

‘But whilst the *Rājasuya* was a State ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled, the *Aśvamedha*, on the contrary, involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without counting humiliation.’

S. B. E., Introduction, vol. xlv, p. xv.

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Moreover it is remarkable that the two chief lute players, one a Brahman and the other a Rājanya sang, in the melody of *Uttaramandra*,¹ the glories of the royal sacrificer and his predecessors of ancient times. We cannot fail to observe here the commencement of a gradual evolution from the primitive Vedic narrative, towards the gigantic mass of literature of legend and history (*Ithihāsapurāṇam*), such as it takes shape in the great Hindu epics. In this way the horse-sacrifice is a veritable connecting link between the ages marking the end of the Brāhmanas and the beginning of the Epics.

¹ *Sat. Brah.*, xxij, 4, 3, 2.

Bar Hebraeus and the History of the Earlier Caliphs

BY

PROFESSOR A. S. TRITTON OF ALIGARH

ABUL FARAJ GREGORY was the son of Aaron, a physician in Malatia. The father was either of Jewish descent or a convert from Judaism. Hence the name by which his distinguished son was known, Bar Hebraeus, the son of the Hebrew. He was born in A.D. 1226, studied Greek and Arabic, and later theology, philosophy and medicine. In 1244 his father was medical attendant to one of Hulagu's generals. Abul Faraj finished his studies in Antioch and Tripolis; then he became a monk and later bishop and maphrian, dying in 1286 (680 A.H.). He taught or wrote books on grammar, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, history, and religion; besides translating some Arabic books into Syriac. His history of the world exists in two forms, Syriac and Arabic; the latter is not a translation, it was altered, shortened, and extended to suit Muslim readers.

The Syriac book begins with Adam and in ninety-five pages tells the history of the world as then known till the time of Muhammad. In this part it seems not to differ in essentials from many similar books. The remaining 500 pages treat of the history of Islam and Constantinople till the death of Arghun and the accession of his brother. It is not a good history. In the earlier periods it is brief and, even then, omits much of the highest importance. Anyone dependent on his account of the Ummayyad dynasty would have a false ideal of that period. He has an eye for the picturesque and has a lot to say about the Christians and the relations of the Caliphs with the Greek emperors.

The Sources of his History.—He certainly used Tabari—either directly or indirectly. I believe that he also used Greek books. As these books are not in the library here, I have not been able to verify this; but his narrative often agrees with the story in the *Cambridge Mediæval History* which seems to rest on Greek authorities.

Caliph investigated the story, found that the men were liars and banished them.

Local governors were often free to do as they pleased, as this story shows. Māmūn made Ibrahim ul Quraishi, governor of Harran. When he had been for a long time in his lofty palace there, he saw some new buildings, and asked his Arabs what they were. They answered: Christian churches built during your government; for this cause the Muslims are not pleased with you. He was angry and ordered the churches to be destroyed. Before sunset they destroyed the altar of the great church, that of the church of the Mother of God in the valley (Qubba), part of that of S. George, and others of the Chalcedonians, and Nestorians, and synagogues of the Jews. That night as he slept, God frightened him in a dream, and in the morning, he called the Christians and said: Rebuild what has been destroyed. In a few days the damage was repaired.

What is interesting is the testimony of Bar Hebraeus to the persistence of Christianity among some of the Bedouin. At the time of Abdul-Malik, the governor of Mesopotamia and Armenia, persecuted Mu'ādh, the chief of the Banu Taghlib, trying to make him turn Muslim. He threw him into a pit of mud, dragged him out and flogged him; then, as he would not be persuaded, he had him slain. Wafid, the next Caliph, said to Sham'ala, the chief of Taghlib: As you are a chief of the Arabs you shame them by worshipping the cross; obey my wish and turn Muslim. He replied: How so? I am chief of Taghlib and I fear lest I become a cause of destruction to them all, if I and they cease to believe in Christ. He was tortured cruelly and blinded but his life was spared. Apparently he did not desert his religion.

Occasionally our historian makes bad mistakes, though not often. He says that the Caliph Abdul Malik heard of a certain Christian named Athanasius, a clever man, well-read, and a physician. He sent for him, approved of him and then sent him to Egypt as tutor to his brother Abdul Aziz. Now Abdul Aziz must have been nearly as old as the Caliph and had been appointed governor of Egypt by his father Marwan. There is no reference to Athanasius in the 'Governors and Judges of Egypt.' He may have been an influential man but certainly 'the whole kingdom of the Arabs was "not" governed by him' as Bar Hebraeus says it was. He is said to have owned 4,000 slaves.

houses and villages, also gold and silver like stones. In Edessa alone he had 400 shops. He was accused of having stolen the treasures of Egypt; so Abdul Malik said to him: 'We do not think that all this wealth belongs to the Christians, give us some of it.' Athanasius obeyed gladly and gave as much as satisfied the king; and much still remained to him.

It is a pleasure to turn to other incidents where the Caliph appears as the protector of the Christians. In the time of Harūn, some of the Banu Gumaya in Edessa, having spent all their wealth, dug in their house and found a treasure. Harūn heard of it and imprisoned them. He also sent a eunuch who confiscated the treasure, pots of gold and silver, figures of animals filled with elixir, and shut up their sister, a virgin, in a room on the fourth floor of the house of a Christian and set Persians to guard her. At night she heard footsteps and thought that one of them was coming to dishonour her; so she covered her face with a veil and threw herself from a window. She died next day. Fear fell on the eunuch and the Caliph himself was sorry for her and released her brothers and restored to them the fifth of the treasure.

At a later date the people of Baghdad made a tumult against a servant of Abu Ghalib, the Christian physician of the Caliph, and testified against him that he had abused their Prophet, and wished to kill him. When Mu'tadid heard of it, he said that the populace were deceived, and sent soldiers to set the servants free. Tabari tells the story, with details of an appeal by the mob to the Caliph and his intervention. He says only that proceedings against the servants were dropped.

To finish this section we may tell two rather frivolous stories. Theophilus, the son of Thomas of Edessa, was a skilful astronomer; he wrote a history in Syriac and translated the two books of Homer into that language. He served Mahdi, who was fond of him for his skill in astrology. Once the Caliph wished to go to a city of his. His wife sent to Theophilus saying: You advised the Caliph to go on this journey and caused us the trouble and vexation of travel, which we did not want. I hope that God will quickly take you and remove you from the earth, that we may have peace and rest for you. Theophilus said to the maid who brought this message: 'Return and tell your mistress; I did not advise the Caliph to remove, he decided of his own accord. As for this curse of yours that God should hasten my

death; the decree has already gone forth from God, and I shall soon die. Do not think that I die because your prayer is accepted; the will of Him who created me is fulfilled. But you, O queen, get yourself much dust, and when you hear that I am dead, pour it on your head.' When the queen heard this she trembled violently and waited what would come of this message. After a few days Theophilus died, and twenty days later the Caliph died also.

Bar Hebraeus cannot resist a miracle; a weakness not peculiar to him alone. A man of Quraish named Ruhi lived near a church and at the time of worship he insulted the priest and threw balls of clay at him. Once as he was watching at the time of communion he saw on the plate on the altar a lamb cut in pieces. He went down to the priest and only saw the consecrated wafer. He went back to the window from which he had been watching and again saw the lamb. Then he believed, left his house, went to the convent and was baptized. Harūn heard of this, tried to force him to apostatize, but in vain. After two years in prison his head was cut off and hung on the wall of Rafiqā, where many saw a light surrounding it. A Christian from Persia took it down from the wall and carried it to his city.

To turn to less controversial matters. Bar Hebraeus has a good deal to say on the relations of the Caliphate with the empire of Constantinople, chiefly in connection with the exchange of prisoners.

At the beginning of his reign Abdul Malik made peace with the emperor, so as to have his hands free to deal with Ibn Zubair. Bar Hebraeus says that the terms were: that the Mardites (a Christian tribe) should be removed from Lebanon to Greek territory; that the Caliph should pay every day 1,000 *darics* a horse and a slave; Cyprus should be divided, half the tribute going to the Greeks and half to the Muslims; Armenia and Adherbaijan to belong to the Greeks. This is an exaggeration. According to Balādhori the tribute was 1,000 *dinars*, to be paid every Friday. It is not impossible that the other items are correct. (A modern history in Arabic repeats Bar Hebraeus' mistake and makes the price of peace 1,000 daily.)

The Caliph Madhi, at the beginning of his reign, set free all Christian captives in his hands and the emperor Leo released all his Muslim prisoners. (The Muslims are always called Tai, the normal Syriac word for Arab.) The *Cambridge Mediaeval History* says that Madhi ransomed the Muslim prisoners.

The Emperor Constantine wanted to put out the eyes of a noble named Elpidius, the governor of Sicily, because he had committed adultery with the mother of the emperor. Elpidius fled to the Caliph, was given an army of 40,000 men under a commander named Sulaiman, and invaded Asia Minor. Winter overtook him and 4,000 died; many others had their feet frost-bitten. The Greeks did not seize the opportunity of harassing their foes. When Nicephorus became emperor, Elpidius said to Abdul Malik the Commander-in-chief: 'Put off these fine clothes, put on armour and prepare for war.' Tabari gives one line to Elpidius; the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* supports our author.

The Emperor Nicephorus is said to have been a descendant of Jabala of Ghassān.

Bar Hebraeus seems to be wrong in his account of the relations between Harūn and Nicephorus. He says that the emperor sent a provocative letter to the Caliph, and both made ready for war. For two months they kept up a correspondence from their camps, but at last made peace and exchanged gifts. Apparently Harūn invaded Asia Minor and defeated Nicephorus who asked for terms. As soon as the invaders had gone, he broke the treaty. Harūn was prevented by inclement weather from renewing his attack.

The siege of Amorium is told at length and differs very little from the received account. It is said that the emperor left the field because news of his death reached Constantinople and the nobles there refused to appoint a new one. No mention is made of the traitor who showed the weak place in the city wall to Mu'tasim; and the officer who was tricked into surrendering is called Borin instead of Wendu. During the siege, Abbās the brother of Mu'tasim plotted to destroy the Caliph. It is said that a Nestorian physician was one of those who betrayed the plot. The emperor sent Basil with gifts and two letters to ask for the release of Aetius (the commander of Amorium) in exchange for Muslim captives. Mu'tasim, however, demanded the surrender of Nasr, the Kurd and of Immanuel who had joined the Arabs and then deserted them. As Basil could not agree to this proposal, Mu'tasim said: Prepare for war. Basil then gave him the second letter, abusive and threatening. The Caliph was angry, returned the gifts, and sent Abu Sa'id and Bashir to invade Asia Minor by two roads. Bashir took a few captives and Nasr freed them. Abu

Sa'id arrived and the combined forces killed Nasr and most of his Kurds. They collected many heads, salted them, and took them to Masisa. The women came out thinking to welcome their victorious husbands and to rejoice over the heads of the Kurds. They found they were the heads of their husbands whom the Kurds had killed before they were defeated. Their joy was turned to mourning. The *Cambridge Mediaeval History* has the main facts of this war. Aetius seems to have died in Samarra and his body was impaled beside that of Babek. The embassy of Basil seems not to be mentioned by Arab authors. Again in 225 A. H. the emperor sent gifts to Mu'tasim and asked for an exchange of prisoners. The Caliph accepted the gifts and returned them double, saying: 'Our law does not permit us to regard a Greek as equal to a Muslim; but if you will release the Arabs without asking an equivalent, we will give you the double, in everything we will do more than you.' He sent back the ambassadors with fifty camel-loads of gifts. Then there was peace. The *Cambridge Mediaeval History* has an almost identical story.

The Greeks sent ambassadors to ask for peace and arrange an exchange of prisoners with Wāthiq, who received them and did not talk boastfully as his father had done. He had said: We cannot admit that a Christian has the same exchange-value as an Arab. Wāthiq wanted an equal exchange, but the ambassadors would not agree at first. They said: Our prisoners are soldiers whom we took in war; the majority of yours are those captured in villages, old men and women, weak boys and girls. How can we exchange them head for head? The dispute lasted some days and at last the ambassadors gave way. The Arab prisoners numbered 4,362, the Christians were fewer. The Caliph gathered from all parts slaves and slave-girls whom he bought from their owners. Even so he did not obtain the required number; so he fetched girls from the palace, who had been chosen for him, and sent them to the ambassadors. Both parties met at the frontier near Tarsus and the exchange took place; though Wāthiq would only release those who confessed that the Quran was created. Tabari mentions two exchanges which happened about the same time. At the first, of which no details are given, 4,362 persons were released. Of the second he tells a story just like the above, with one difference; the slaves set free from the palace were all old women. The number exchanged was 4,600. It is very strange that two exchanges of prisoners should have

taken place in the course of a few months, so probably Bar Hebraeus is correct in recording only one.

A little later Tabari seems to have made the opposite mistake and to have combined two events into one. Omitting unessentials his story is this:—

The empress Theodora, the mother of Michael, sent an ambassador Jurjis to ask ransom for the 20,000 Muslims who were in her hands. Mutawakkil sent Nasr ibn Azhar to find out if there were so many captives. After the departure of Nasr, Theodora asked the captives to embrace Christianity. 8,000 did so; the remaining 12,000 were massacred by the orders either of the empress or of a eunuch. The Caliph wrote to the governors of the frontier provinces that Shanîf (elkhâdim) had fixed the terms of the ransom with Jurjis. The captives were released at the river Lamus in Greek territory; they numbered 785 men and 125 women.

This story presents several difficulties. It is not usual that the empress should make the first move for the release of the prisoners. If the Muslims who were not converted were killed, whence came the 910 who were set free? The embassy of Nasr has no vital connexion with the course of events.

Bar Hebraeus makes two events out of this story. On page 156 (of doubtful date) he says that the Caliph sent Nashîf (probably read Shanîf), a eunuch, to Theodora who held 20,000 captives. He flattered her and she set free 8,000; and explained that the other 12,000 had turned Christian. After the ambassador had gone, these 12,000 were killed, lest they should apostatize. This was done at the orders either of the empress or of a eunuch.

On page 158 (246 A.H.) he says that the Caliph sent Nasr ibn Azhar as ambassador to Michael with rich presents. As the emperor was still a child, he did not himself speak to Nasr; his uncle spoke for him. The result was that 2,000 captives were released, among them 20 women and 10 boys. Those who had been baptized were taken to the frontier, and given the choice of going or remaining. Two goldsmiths from Africa and many others preferred to stay behind.

The two stories do not contradict one another. The references to the empress in the first negotiations and to Michael's uncle in the second fit in with history. If the date 246 A. H. is correct, Michael

was twenty-three years old; but it is quite in accord with his character that he should have left the business of state to others.

So it is practically certain that Tabari has confused two events and combined them into one.

Bar Herbraeus occasionally has something to say about the internal affairs of the Greek Empire. This is paralleled in Tabari.

Simon, king of the Bulgarians and the Slavs attacked Constantinople in the beginning of the reign of Constantine and destroyed many villages and straitened the capital itself. He dug great ditches against it from Belazarna to the Golden Gate. The emperor sent to him saying: We are all Christians, sons of one baptism; why this strife between us? As Simon refused to make peace, Constantine collected all the Muslim captives in the capital and promised them that if they would help the Greeks to conquer the Bulgarians, he would set them free. They took an oath to the king, he gave them arms, so the Greeks went out with the Muslims in one mind, defeated the Slavs and killed many. The rest fled. The emperor broke his promise, took the arms from the prisoners, put them in chains again and scattered them throughout the empire; for he feared lest, they should raise their heads again. Mar Michael (whoever he was) was the authority for the above story. Arab books say, and it is true, that the Greeks were afraid to loose the Muslims from their chains and to give them arms. Tabari has the same story, only he does not mention the emperor's broken promise.

Bar Hebraeus has not much that is new to say about the internal affairs of the Caliphate.

Walid ibn Abdul Malik gave orders that Christian officials should keep the public accounts in Arabic. This is probably a repetition of the order issued by his father and a sign of the difficulty the Caliphs had in finding, at this early date, Arabs fit for the public service. There were always a number of Christians in government service; the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt were fond of Jews as Wezirs.

When Mahdi came to the throne, he opened the treasures of his father and scattered his wealth as with a pitchfork not only on the soldiers but also on concubines, for he was vicious and loved pleasure. He was devoted to sorcery, divination, and witchcraft. The emperor Leo sent him the book of Jannes and Jambres, which contains all the witchcraft of the Egyptians and all that was before Moses.

According to biblical tradition Jannes and Jambres were two magicians who opposed Moses in Egypt. I cannot find any reference to a book of that name.

A few extra details are given about the rebellion of Abu Harb ul Mubarqa, in the time of Mu'tasim. His name was Harb; he was followed by 30,000 of the poor and naked. He gave out that he was zealous for the law which was despised. He began to plunder and kill and went to Jerusalem intending to burn the churches; but the patriarch gave him much money, so he went away doing no harm.

Mu'tasim sent against the Zutt prisoners whom he had captured in Egypt. These men were accustomed to water and could swim like fish. They soon overcame the Zutt.

On his deathbed, Mu'tasim set free 8,000 slaves whom he had bought; he had 40,000 horses for riding, 20,000 mules for burdens, and 33,000 slave grooms.

Some of the stories in this book are frankly incredible. This is a sample. Marwān ibn Hakam came from Medina to Damascus to make peace between the parties. As he was an old man, he advised them to write three names on three arrows, put them in the hands of an impartial boy, and him whose arrow came first, they should make Caliph. Marwān's arrow came out first.

During the conquest of Persia, a mighty Persian warrior fled from an Arab of Ma'add who pursued him. He entered a village where a peasant hid him. When the peasant saw that the Arab had no body-armour and only a spear in his hand, he abused the Persian, saying: Did you, wearing a coat of mail and having all your arms, flee from one having no body-armour, and did you not turn and take his head? The Persian called for a log of wood, and when it was brought he shot at it and split it. Then he said: Many times I shot at the Arab in this way; he caught the arrows in his sleeves as if they were flies.¹

We hear something about the superstitious practices of the people and the custom of other religions. Walid ibn Abdul Malik gave orders that all sorcerers in the land of Kufa should be killed. They were bound and tied to logs of wood (that they might not die too quickly) and thrown into the river. Those who did not sink were put to death, because their charms kept them afloat. Those who sank

¹ Cf. Belādhori, *Futūḥul Buldān*, p. 260.

were pulled out and saved. Europe had the same belief that a witch or wizard could not sink in water. A governor of Harran persuaded the pagans of that place to publish the secrets of their religion; their manner of worship was this: They decorated a bull with precious garments, crowned it with gold, hung little bells on its horns, and took it in procession through all the streets with pipes and flutes. Thus they offered it as a sacrifice to their gods. It is hard to see how there could have been much secrecy about this performance!

Abul Hassan Thabit ibn Qurra lived in the days of Mu'tadid. He was at first a money-changer in Harran and then devoted himself to philosophy. He wrote books in Greek, Syriac and Arabic. In Arabic he composed about 150 books on logic, mathematics, astrology, and medicine. In Syriac he wrote some 19 on the laws of the pagans of Harran, and on mathematics. In one of them he says:—

'Many made themselves servants of error from fear of punishment; but our fathers strengthened themselves in God and said boldly: This blessed city has never been defiled by the error of Nazareth. We are the heirs of paganism and we hand it on, for in this world it was glorious. Fortunate is he who carries on the burden in genuine hope for the sake of paganism. Who made the world habitable and cities prosperous if not the saints and kings of paganism? Who built harbours and canals? Who made known the secret knowledge? On whom did the divinity descend bringing knowledge of magic and of the future, if not on the pagan doctors? They discovered these things, they began the healing of souls and proclaimed their salvation, they began the healing of bodies, and filled the world with sound methods of treatment and with much wisdom. Without the pagans the world would have been void and empty, and a great emptiness would have covered it.' One cannot help admiring the defiance of this dying paganism.

As a matter of interest we may reproduce the account of the origin of the Nusairi, though it has no historic value.

In the year 278 an old man showed himself in the land of Kufa; he fasted and prayed much and made a show of poverty. Many followed him and he chose twelve, the number of the apostles, and told them to teach men a strange doctrine. When the governor heard of him, he seized him and shut him up in a room of his house, swearing to crucify him the next morning. That evening the governor got

drunk, but before going to sleep he called for the key of the room where the old man was locked up, and put it under his pillow. When he was sound asleep the girl who slept with him took the key, for she was sorry for the old man who prayed and fasted much. She opened the door, let the man escape, and after shutting the door restored the key to its place. In the morning the governor was surprised to find the man gone and the girl was afraid to say what she had done; so rumour spread that he could pass through closed doors. Soon after he met two of his disciples in a distant place and assured them that angels had let him out and taken him to the desert. He wrote a confession of faith and gave it to them, to teach men according to it. It was: I so and so, who am called Ibn Uthman, the Christ who is Jesus came to me in a vision. He is the Word; the Guide; Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hanafia of the sons of Ali; and Gabriel the angel. He said to me: 'Thou art the reader; the truth; the camel that guards wrath against unbelievers; the steed that carries the burden of the believers; John son of Zacharia, Tell men to make four prostrations in their prayers; two before sunrise and two before sunset, in the direction of Jerusalem, saying each time these three words: God is exalted over all; God is high over all; God is lord over all. Do no work on Monday and Friday; fast two days in the year; do not wash the outside garments over much; do not drink spirits but drink wine as you please; abstain from the flesh of ravenous beasts.' When he had given them this foolish doctrine he went to Palestine, taught in the monasteries and villages and again disappeared.

As a description of the Nusairi, this has little or no value. It is not necessary to point out that it is only an amalgam of ideas and practices taken from various religions, with a difference. The same is true of some newer faiths; they dish up old ideas in a slightly modified form, but there is nothing new in them.

Mu'tasim sent to the king of the Nebaris (Nubians) that he should pay tribute according to old custom; otherwise an army would be sent against him. When the ambassador arrived, he found the old king dead, and a youth named Giorgi, descended by his mother from the royal family, reigning in his stead. Giorgi's father Zacharia was regent. When Zacharia saw the power of the Arabs he said to the Ambassador: Verily, we paid tribute, 360 slaves, apes that are trained to behave like men, tusks of elephants, giraffes, bones of

elephants, and sinews of leopards. But the kings of the Arabs also paid us tribute, measures of wheat and splendid garments. There was one to gather for us the tribute of those Nubians who dwell in the lands of the Arabs. If they agree to this we agree. But as we have heard of the greatness of the king of the Arabs and the power of his people, we will do no violence to the ambassador, and our young king in person will go to do him honour. The ambassador quickly informed Mu'tasim who said: Let him come; and ordered the officials of Egypt to go to Syene, the border town, to meet him, and when he reached Cairo, camels sufficient for his rank, and every day 30 *dinars* for expenses. Thus Giorgi travelled through the lands of the Arabs, riding on a saddle on a camel, with an umbrella over his head, a cross of gold fixed on his head, a sceptre in his hand, and Nubian youths walking on his right and left hand. A bishop rode before him carrying the cross of salvation. On reaching Baghdad he rode through the bazaars and lived in one of the royal palaces. Then a man who had collected the taxes of the Nubians in Arab lands (he had rebelled against the king of the Nubians) slandered Giorgi, saying that he was not the son of the king but a deceiver. So from February to August Mu'tasim paid no attention to Giorgi, till he had sent to Egypt and made enquiries. When it was made certain that the rebel was speaking falsehoods and that Giorgi was truly king, he sent for him, and sent his soldiers to meet him. When Giorgi came into his presence, he made him sit down before him, received him graciously, and gave him many gifts. Then he sent him back in honour to his own land. Mar Dionysius the patriarch said: I was at that time in Baghdad and when I came into the presence of the Caliph in the new city which he had built between the two rivers, he sent to me by Sulaiman his physician that I should meet the Nubian king. When I came with bishops and laymen, I saw an intelligent youth about twenty years old. By an interpreter he made known to me his orthodoxy and his horror of heresy. On Sunday I celebrated communion with him and his people. They had with them the holy vessels and the precious mysteries.

Bar Hebraeus has a lot to say about the Christian physicians who lived in Baghdad; but most of what he says can be found in the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Abi Usaibi'a. So we need not repeat it here. He ascribes to Jibril ibn Bukhtishu the story told by the *Tabaqat* of

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Bukhtishu ibn Jibril that the doctor was allowed to attend the Caliph's women whenever necessary. He adds a few details about the life of this Bukhtishu who disobeyed the law of the church and took two wives at once. They bore him two sons, Jibril and Yuhannan; the latter became Metropolitan at Mosul.

He used to ride in a carriage of ebony and came away from the palace with 1,000 attendants. From evening to midnight he indulged in all manner of orgies, then he rose to pray, surrounded by black eunuchs of whom he was fond. After he sat down to conversation and read the Gospel till morning; then he went to the palace. It is said that every night he spent 500 *dinars* on candles, ointments, and perfumes. When all was taken from him he wandered about the world.

Bar Hebraeus says that Muhammad ibn Zacharia ur Razi being thirty years old came to Baghdad in the time of Mu'tamid. This seems to be a mistake for Razi died in 320 A.H. He was fond of learning and surpassed his contemporaries. After his death the ruler of the land gave his sister much money for the separate parts of his chief book, *El Hâwi* and caused his disciples to teach it. This is the cause of the lack of proper arrangement in the book.

Sher Shah and Maldev

BY

ŚRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

BEFORE Akbar began his policy of 'thorough' against the Rajput states, the relations between Muhammadan kings of Delhi and rulers of Rajputana had only been fitful. Now and then an ambitious ruler on the throne of Delhi might think of leading an expedition against some refractory Rajput chiefs, but even when the Rajput chiefs were defeated this would not establish any the more regular or normal relations between the case of Delhi and that chief. Sometimes in the course of these expeditions, on account of the personal factor, the clash of battle that would follow would produce more than local resoundings and may have had far-reaching effects. One such occasion was when Sher Shah and Maldev came in collision in the year 1544.

It was the personal factor that made this clash of the Rathor against the Pathan so memorable. If Sher Shah had risen from humble beginnings to end in sweeping away the vestiges of the Mughal empire as established by Baber, Maldev has to his credit the transformation of a pretty Rathor chieftainship into the greatest Hindu kingdoms of its days as Abul Fazal was generous enough to testify.¹ Both of them were consummate generals; they were not sticklers for forms. Maldev was senior to Sher Shah in the matter of state craft having ascended the throne in July 1532.² Sher Shah had driven out Humayun only some years before. An earlier encounter had been planned by Maldev when he had written letters of invitation and co-operation to Humayun against Sher Shah.³ That encounter

had been prevented by the strong action of Maldev, though Humayun had done all that he could to precipitate matters by coming to Maldev at an inopportune time and almost a year after the invitation.¹ Maldev sent Humayun back because he did not wish to embroil himself with Sher Shah at that time.

But two such neighbours as Sher Shah and Maldev were bound to come into collision soon or later. Maldev was the only formidable rival of Sher Shah—he was the only ruler who could ever think of withstanding the wily Pathan. In 1542 his territory extended over well nigh 10,000 square miles. It included the districts of Jodhpur, Sojhat, Nagore, Ajmere, Meria, Jeteran, Bilara, Bhodrajuns, Mallani, Sivana, Didwana, Pachpadra and Bali in Marwar.² They represented his small patrimony along with his various conquests. He held the larger half of the state of Bikanir.³ In the state of Mewar he possessed the districts of Kosithul, Badnor and Jahajpur.⁴ From the Kachhwahas of Jaipur he had conquered the districts of Jal Gor Tonk, Toda, Malpur, Chersu, Kosli, Bahu.⁵ This was as extensive a kingdom as any other Raja of his times could have enjoyed. It was possible for the territories of these two conquerors to meet on the Doab frontier, and thus occasion for friction was sure to be found.

But there were other and more cogent causes which brought about a war between the two. Like Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, Rao Maldev had not adopted very clean methods for the acquisition of territory. Among the chieftains whom he had dispossessed the two stood pre-eminent, Rao Kalynal of Bikanir⁶ and Rao Biramdev of Merta.⁷ The first had been the master of Bikanir while the second was a Rathor second only to Maldev in the whole of Marwar. They could feel their dispossession as no minor chief could, and the vengeance with which Maldev had pursued Biramdev always rankled in the minds of that chief. They found their chance at last. Biramdev and Bhojraj, a brother of Kalyan Mal, met Sher Shah at Sahasram in

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation (Jarrett), vol. ii, p. 271. *Akbar Nama*, vol. ii, p. 197, Asiatic Society of Bengal's edition of the Persian Text.

² *Jaishit Shandi*, 5, 1888, as given in Mehtor Neusi's account of Jodhpur. The Marwari year it should be remembered begins in Sandan, Mehta Neusi's account was written under Maharajah Jaswant Singh whose minister he was. It has not yet been published but has been described by Dr. Tessitori in the *Prose Chronicles of Jodhpur*, (*A.S.B.*) and more fully by the writer in *three Chronicles of Marwar*, *Modern Review*, April 1923.

³ *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Persian Text, p. 205.

¹ He started for it in May 1542.

^{2, 3, 4, 5} He had conquered these districts at various times during the last twelve years of his reign. Vide *Neusi*, *ibid.*, pp. 95-104; *Mundayar chronicles*, pp. 78-80. This is another M.S. chronicle written in the times of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and described by Dr. Tessitori and the writer as quoted above.

⁶ He had been dispossessed in April 1541, Vide *Neusi*, p. 97. C. F. *Bikanir Gazetteer*, pp. 10-12.

⁷ He had been driven out in 1539. Vide *Mundayar*, p. 81, *Neusi*, p. 96.

Bihar and there represented to him their own grievances against Maldev and ended by requesting Sher Shah to lead an expedition against him.¹ Of course they could offer the help of their own immediate followers, but Biramdev improved the situation by producing letters from the disaffected chiefs of Maldev. Sher Shah returned to Agra, and there decided to set upon his expedition against Maldev. Biramdev and Kalyan Mal were given permission to proceed earlier and thus be able to rally their sections of the Rathors to the Pathan standard.

From Agra, Sher Shah proceeded with a caution that was worthy of the foe whom he was going to meet.² Every evening the camp was guarded by an improvised earthwork against any attacks from the enemy.³ At one place, probably near Ajmere, that became impossible and earthwork was replaced by bags filled with sand.⁴ At last Ajmere was sighted and there the army remained encamped for some time in March 1544.⁵ Maldev on his part had not been idle. The messenger who brought him the happy news of the possibility of his breaking his lance against the Pathans was suitably rewarded.⁶ He also moved his army to Ajmere and there began to play the waiting game. This would not serve Sher Shah. He was in a hostile country and could not risk his being starved out, though he must have been keeping his communication with Agra open. He had mobilized an army of 8,000 soldiers and was well equipped with a number of elephants and some artillery. Maldev of course could oppose him with the bone swords of his Rathors, but the fifty thousand Rathor blades were sharp and made people look about for themselves

when once they were drawn. Tired of Sher Shah's inaction Maldev decided to lure him on and began to retreat. It is impossible to judge what his original intentions were, but they were frustrated by the insistence of his generals Jeta and Kampa for a battle.¹ They would not yield an inch of the fatherland without fighting for it. Here again the tactics of A. were repeated. The game of waiting and watching continued till Sher Shah was tired of it. He was in a tight corner. The conviction began to steal into his mind that it would not be possible for him to go in an open battle against the Rathors. Here he was in the country of his enemy who was patiently waiting for him to begin an attack which he had not the courage to commence. Every day might increase his difficulties while to Maldev this campaigning did not mean much trouble. At last he confessed himself² beaten when Biramdev came to his help. By an often repeated stratagem Maldev was made suspicious of the loyalty of his troops. Letters were drafted to them telling them that the promised reward would be paid to them when they would capture Maldev. Of course care was taken that these letters should fall into the hands of Maldev and they did. He at once decided to fall back, though his chiefs protested that they knew nothing of the devilry that was at work behind this trick.³ His own suspicious nature and the

¹ Neusi, p. 112. Compare the official history of Bikanir published in Urdu by Rai Sahan Lal, p. 113.

² and ³ *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Persian Text, p. 231-32.

⁴ *Badauni*, Persian Text, vol. i, p. 367.

Prof. Qanungo of the Lucknow University has underestimated the difficulties of deciding whether Maldev started from Agra or Delhi. Leaving aside everything else he had overlooked the fact that the armies of Maldev and Sher Shah remained a month at Ajmere facing each other. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, pp. 231 and 232. Maldev could not have allowed Sher Shah to penetrate so far he was coming not from Agra but from Delhi. The argument based on sand-bags loses its importance when we remember that *Abbas in Elliot*, vol. iv, pp. 404, 405, says that they were used only once and that *Badauni*, vol. i, p. 367, says that it was near Ajmere.

⁵ *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, *ibid.*, pp. 231, 232; *Abbas in Elliot*, vol. iv, p. 405.

⁶ *Mundayar*, p. 81.

¹ They refused to retire from the land that had been won by their grand sire Rao Jodha who was as much their Progenitor as his. The district of Jetaram had been conquered by Rao Godha. Girri is fourteen miles to the east of Jataram in the district of the same name.

² In spite of Qanungo's assertions to the contrary, we are convinced that Sher Shah regarded the situation as desperate. Here are some narratives of the episode.

(a) Maldev waxed so powerful that Sher Shah nearly lost his life in his campaign against him. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., Trnl., vol. ii, p. 271.

(b) *Sher Shah* as translated by Briggs, vol. ii, p. 121, Sher Khan would certainly have retired quietly but the danger was too great to admit of his venturing to quit his entrenchments.

(c) When a war could not help him out, p. 231, as we shall see later on an engagement with 12,000 of Rathor blades made Sher Shah cry on later that it would have nearly lost him his empire. The reader can well imagine Sher Shah's plight if Maldev had chosen to give him a battle with 5,000 of his Rathors at his back. *Tohfat-ul Tawarikh*, p. 231.

³ Neusi, p. 113; *Mundayar*, p. 85.

The story is told with many elaborations in many modern chronicles of Jodhpur and Bikaner. Cf. Also *Bikaner Gazetteer*, p. 12; *Abbas in Elliot*, iv, p. 405; *Badauni*, i, p. 368.

fact that he had given most of his chiefs some cause of offence confirmed him in his belief and he ordered a retreat. His two generals of the army Jeta and Kampa now refused to obey him again and decided to prove their faithfulness by their blood. They decided to make a night attack but did not succeed in that. It was morning before they found themselves face to face with Sher Shah's troops. They had a following of 12,000 Rathors to face an army of 8,000 strong. But they had come to meet a warrior's death and not to reap his glory. They fought as hard as they could but Sher Shah had his advantage in his elephants which he sent against them as a wall of protection for his archers. His artillery also plied their weapons hard but the brave Rathor could not be easily conquered. With all the advantage that Sher Shah possessed, with seven times their number, he was so much on the brink of ruin, that it made him cry out while later speaking of the affair that he would have lost his empire at this battlefield of Girri.¹ At last numbers prevailed, more was done by elephants and artillery but it was not before twelve thousand Pathans lay dead on the battlefield that Sher Shah was able to count it as his victory.² Had Maldev not been tricked, it was possible that Sher Shah might have lost his empire at this battlefield of Girri. But the Rajput is brave and the Rathor is braver in battle. This never allows him to see that his adversary may not be as chivalrous in his ideals of warfare as his own Aryan traditions invariably lead him to be. Maldev lost the chance of his life, the chance for which Rana Sanga of Mewar had planned before him.

¹ *Abbas in Elliot*, iv, p. 405; *Badauni*, i, p. 368.

ہوئے یک مشت باد شاہی داستان بر باد دادہ بودم -

Prof. Qanungo in his *Sher Shah* had located the battle at Meria because forsooth it is a place famous in Rathor history. Rajput chronicles as well as oral tradition hold that the battle was fought at Girri, though sober history records that fact in English for the first time here.

This saying had been utilized in the present colours of Jodhpur by giving a stalk of millets an honourable and a prominent place therein; millets form the one staple product and food of the Rathors in Marwar.

² A Marwari couplet records the heroic self-sacrifice of Jeta and his men on this battlefield beautifully.

गिरी तोर मोर में लंबी वथी खजूर

बीते कूपे देखयो सुर्ग नेटो धत दूर ।

Oh, Girri, in your plains so tall grew the palm trees that Jeta and Kampa decided that it would be never heaven there than here.

All now lay open before the conqueror. Maldev in his flight had taken refuge in the fortress of Sivan leaving the defence of Jodhpur to its Governor.¹ Khawas Khan invested it and starved the garrison to surrender. Sher Shah busied himself in reducing other parts of Jodhpur leaving Maldev in Sivan. Garrisons were left at Jodhpur, Bhagesor, Khwaspur and Mander.² Merta was restored to Birampur and Bikanir to Kalyan Rao.³

The occupation of Jodhpur lasted for about two years. During this time Sher Shah's representative busied himself in adding to the works of public utility in which his master so much delighted.⁴ But Sher Shah's death gave Maldev his opportunity and by the end of the year 1546 he was again lord and master of Jodhpur.

¹ *Neusi*, pp. 112-114.

² Local tradition has preserved small relics of this occupation. These places are also mentioned as the places wherefrom he drove out the Pathans after Sher Shah's death.

³ *Official History of Bikanir*; *ibid.*, pp. 110, 112.

⁴ *Abbas in Elliot*, iv, p. 417; *Mundayar*, p. 86.

A Shooting Incident in Bengal and its Consequences

BY

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

THE accidental shooting of Indians by Europeans, while in pursuit of game, has often led to affrays and other unpleasant incidents ; but it may well be doubted whether any case of this kind has had such unfortunate results as one which occurred at Murshidabad on October 7, 1817. A full account of this event, and the subsequent proceedings connected with it, is contained in a pamphlet written and published in 1828 by Capt. William White, a former officer of the East India Company's Service. It is entitled 'An Appeal to the BRITISH NATION against the Honourable the East India Company' and consists of 106 pages, which include a reproduction of most of the documents relating to the matter, and a profuse commentary thereon by Capt. White. A copy of this is contained in a collection of pamphlets of 1828, which is marked 'Sinking Fund-Grenville—RR-i-10', in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It seems to me that there is a good deal of historical interest attaching to this publication, and I have therefore prepared the following résumé of its contents.

Its author, Capt. White, says ¹ that at the age of seventeen he went out to India as a cadet in 1807 and was attached to the Cadet Institution at Baraset. The state of insubordination and other evils that marked the life led by cadets in this Military College are well depicted in Carey's *Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*.² In July 1808 a mutiny broke out among the cadets, in which White refused to join. His conduct on that occasion in leading the resistance to the outbreak brought him the thanks of the Governor-General in Council ³ ; and as a reward he was allowed to join his Corps at once. This was the 15th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry. In September

1813 he was appointed Adjutant of the Murshidabad Provincial Battalion ; and as such he also acted in command of it from some time in 1815.

He complains that by his behaviour in the mutiny at Baraset he had incurred considerable enmity, an attempt even being made to assassinate him, and that he had become the object of persecution.¹ He also mentions incidents that occurred at Murshidabad, which enhanced this ill-feeling.² One of these is thus described in his petition to the King :—

'That, early in the year 1814, while your Petitioner was proceeding on his duty visiting the guards attached to the civil officers of the city of Moorshedabad, your Petitioner called at the guard at the Company's Silk Factory at Cossimbazar ; and it was reported to your Petitioner, by the native Commissioned Officer commanding the guard, that Mr. Droz, the Commercial Resident, had, about half an hour previously, with a heavy hunting whip, most inhumanly, dreadfully horsewhipped one of the sentries standing at his gates, for having stopped a man entering the premises with arms, although it was consistent with an order previously given by Mr. Droz himself.

'That, when the Havildar, or Sergeant of the Guard, attempted to interfere, Mr. Droz was proceeding to horsewhip the Havildar, who was obliged to run to avoid it : that when the Subedar remonstrated with Mr. Droz, he was most grossly abused, and also threatened to be horsewhipped !

'That, the Sepoy stood before your Petitioner with his coat nearly cut off his back, dreadfully lacerated, crying, and appealing for redress.

'That, the Commanding Officer of the Guard stated to your Petitioner, that they dreaded the rage and violence of the Resident ; and, that it was impossible to do duty at the Factory if such things were allowed ; and he further solicited instructions how to act in future.

'That, this conversation passed immediately under the windows of Mr. Droz, who heard every word ; but instead of coming forward and explaining his conduct, he concealed himself behind the window-blinds.

'That, your Petitioner applied to be favoured with an interview with Dr. Droz, but was refused.

¹ p. 81.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 236-45.

³ p. 83.

¹ p. 84.
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² pp. 86 and 87.

'That, your Petitioner then, within the hearing of Mr. Droz, desired the Commanding Officer or the guard to wait upon him with your Petitioner's compliments, and to say, that if there was any ground of complaint against any of the men, that on its being made known to the Officer commanding the guard, the Sepoy would be confined, and brought to trial, but to request, for the future, that Mr. Droz, would not upon any consideration attempt to strike the sentries, for if he did the consequences might prove very fatal to himself, as they had received instructions, in such a case, to make use of their bayonets.

'That, Mr. Droz never forgave your Petitioner for sending him the polite and friendly intimation; but subsequently used his utmost influence in the Society of Moorshedabad to injure your Petitioner.

'That, your Petitioner directed the Sepoy, together with his evidence, to attend upon the Officer commanding the regiment at the orderly hour; that they did attend, and in the presence of your Petitioner offered their complaint.

'That, the Commanding Officer would not receive the complaint; and stated to your Petitioner, as his reason, that Mr. Droz had just been with him and *satisfactorily* explained the affair.

'That, the Sepoy, in vain, urged to be heard, prayed for redress, and called to be tried by a court-martial; declaring that he was disgraced and ruined, and unless he had a trial, or redress, that he would destroy himself.

'That, your Petitioner could not prevail upon the Commanding Officer to bring the Sepoy to trial, or to make any report of the occurrence either to the Governor-General, or the Commander-in-Chief.

'That, the Commanding Officer got angry with your Petitioner for pointing out in a friendly manner what the consequences might be if the Sepoy should desert, and go with his complaint direct to the Commander-in-Chief; that subsequently, on all occasions, the Commanding Officer conducted himself with great severity, intemperance, and hostility towards your Petitioner.

'That, the unfortunate Sepoy did destroy himself.'

Besides this, he says he unfortunately became entangled in controversial correspondence, in points of public duty, with the

A SHOOTING INCIDENT IN BENGAL

Magistrate of Murshedabad, and the Commanding Officer of Berhampoor.¹ There can be little doubt that at any rate he had a feeling of resentment, which finds expression in the following passage of the same Petition:—

'That, many acts of cruelty and mal-treatment were practised upon the Sepoys of your Petitioner's regiment; that whenever your Petitioner attempted to seek redress for them, it was denied, as though it were solely because your Petitioner sought it for them.'²

That this ill-feeling was reciprocated, at any rate by Col. Pine, the Officer commanding the neighbouring Cantonment at Berhampoor, seems probable from the incident referred to in the Adjutant-General's letter of May 1817, which he next reproduces.³ Col. Pine had complained against Lieut. White for his refusing to obey an order appointing Native Officers of the Provincial Battalion as members of a Line Court-Martial, saying it was a glaring instance of disobedience and disrespect; but he was told by the Adjutant-General that he was 'in error' in supposing he could do this, as that Battalion was not within the limits of the Cantonment under his command.

This state of ill-feeling is of importance in considering the turn that things took after the occurrence, that is the subject of this article. It seems, however, that on his own showing Lieut. White was apt to adopt a provocative attitude towards others, including his superior officers, and so must have been to some extent to blame for its existence.

On the afternoon of October 7, 1817, Assistant Surgeon Wray and Lieut. Ledlie, both being officers of the European Regiment, were out snipe-shooting near the lines of the Provincial Battalion. In the course of this shooting Mr. Wray fired his gun with the result that some of the shot hit three Native Officers of the Battalion, who were sitting together in a hut in the lines. Mr. Wray's own account of the matter in his statement to the Court of Inquiry on October 23, 1817, is:—'When we had arrived within a short distance of the lines, I saw some sepoy under a *matter* house, or shed, and called to them to go away. I made use of the word, *Joa* (go) once or twice. One of the servants who was along with me also called out to them; and I believe they did go away, or appeared to

¹ p. 88.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

'do so. On proceeding a little further, one of two snipes rose up, 'and was flying nearly parallel to the lines, when I fired, and the bird 'fell a short distance from the huts.' As to his distance from the hut when he fired, the Native Officers put it at about twenty-nine paces, and Mr. Ledlie at some eighty yards. There is some dispute as to what occurred afterwards. The two principal Native Officers, viz., Subhedar Mayput Sing and Havildar-Major Ajaib Sing, said that Mr. Wray abused them and levelled his gun at the Havildar-Major, with a threat to shoot him. This, however, was denied by Mr. Wray. They went and reported the matter to the Sergeant-Major (Archibald McKoy) who came and spoke to Mr. Wray. The latter examined the injuries to the Native Officers and said they were not seriously hurt. Mr. Wray in his statement says he expressed sorrow at the occurrence ; but the Sergeant-Major in his evidence denies this. Wray gave his name on the Havildar-Major intimating that he would make a complaint, and then left to go on with his shooting. The next morning their complaint was recorded by the Sergeant-Major as follows¹ :—

'The complainants state as follows :—On the seventh instant, between the hours of four and five in the evening they were sitting in the verandah of the Subhedar's house, when Mr. Wray came with a double-barrelled fowling-piece and fired off one of the barrels, which wounded the Subhedar in two places, while quietly sitting on his couch in his verandah ; it also wounded Ajaib Sing, Havildar-Major, twenty-six shots entering him in different parts,—his head, face, body and arms. Roudee Sing, Court Havildar, was also wounded in thirteen places. The Subhedar then went out to ask Mr. Wray why he came and shot within the lines, people in their own houses. Mr. Wray made no answer, but was going away, when the Subhedar asked a native what the gentleman's name was ? The native replied that he did not know, he was not a servant, but a cooly (porter) from the bazaar. Mr. Wray then turned round and abused the Subhedar, saying, " *joa* (go) damn your eyes, *joa*, damn your eyes, *joa*, damn your eyes." Upon this, the Havildar-Major went out of the house, with the blood falling from his wounds, and asked Mr. Wray what he meant by coming there to shoot people in their own houses. Mr. Wray then lifted the

¹ p. 96.

fowling piece to his shoulder, and presented it at the Havildar-Major, saying, " Hold your tongue, do not speak to me, or I will shoot you." Seeing the piece levelled, and fearing that he might shoot me, I turned back and reported it to the Sergeant-Major, who came and spoke to Mr. Wray. The spot from which Mr. Wray fired the gun was at twenty-nine paces from the Subhedar's house and cot.

Evidence.—Monorat Sing, and Hudirah Tewaree, Naiks ; Bowanny Sing, Adden Sing, and Monorat Sing, sepoy.

A. M'COY,
Sergeant-Major.

MOORSBEDABAD, *October 8th, 1827.*

This was sent by Lieut. White to the District Magistrate of Murshedabad on October 8 with the following letter¹ :—

'It is with extreme regret I have to trouble you with the accompanying complaint, preferred by Mayput Sing, Subhedar, Ajaib Sing Havildar-Major, and Roudee Sing, Court Havildar, of the Battalion under my command, against Mr. Wray, an Assistant Surgeon of the Honourable Company's European Regiment at Berhampoor, with a request that you will take whatever steps you deem necessary to redress the complainants.

'The injury sustained is trifling from the shot ; and I am assured by the complainants, that they would readily have submitted to it as an accident, but for the subsequent abuse and threats. The Subhedar has presented me with a paper, which I have the honour to send you, containing 195 shots, which have been picked off his cot.—October 8, 1817.'

To this Lieut. White on the same day received the following reply² :—

'I have been favoured with your letter of this date, and its enclosures, and beg to inform you, that prior to any steps being taken by me, it is indispensable that the circumstances related in the paper presented to you, should be deposed upon oath before me ; it would be necessary to examine the evidence and to ascertain the origin and particulars of the case, before I take any decided measures against Mr. Wray, the charges being of a most serious nature ; and I cannot

¹ p. 11.

² p. 12.

reconcile it to my mind that any gentleman can be capable of such outrages. At all events, I feel convinced that some great provocation must have been given, to occasion a person to act in a manner so very extraordinary.

'Under these circumstances, I beg you will direct the parties with their evidence to attend to-morrow, or any day you can best dispense with their services: it will, also, be essential that Serj. McCoy accompanies them.—Fendal Baug, October 8.'

Lieut. White accordingly ordered the men to attend before the District Magistrate Mr. Loch, and their depositions (or at any rate those of the Subhedar and Havildar-Major) were recorded by him. On the 10th Mr. Loch forwarded the papers to Col. Pine, with a request that a public inquiry might be made into the matter.¹ A Court of Inquiry was accordingly appointed to investigate the circumstances of the complaint against Mr. Wray. It was held on October 20, 21 and 23. The record of its proceedings (as contained in a 'true copy' purporting to have been certified by the Adjutant-General) is among these papers.²

The following correspondence then took place between Lieut. White and Mr. Lock³:—

'TO LIEUT. WHITE, COMMANDING MOORSHIDABAD
PROVINCIAL BATTALION.

'SIR,

I beg to inform you that Colonel Pine has favoured me with a perusal of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry; and I have no hesitation in giving my decided opinion that Mr. Wray is entirely innocent of any intentional act of criminality: he has been very hastily and shamefully accused of crimes, not only derogatory to common humanity, but charged with accusations highly offensive to the character of a British Officer.

'That Mr. Wray was inconsiderate in firing so near the lines there can be no doubt; the regret and sincere sorrow he has expressed for the accident, which his unguardedness occasioned ought surely, however to afford every satisfaction; while, on the contrary, I think the serious and vile aspersions with which Mr. Wray has

¹ p. 15.

² pp. 65-79.

³ pp. 20 and 21.

been charged, imperiously demand an apology on the part of the Subhedar and others concerned.

'I conceive it is your particular duty to make them sensible of their error, and that you will point out to them the propriety of complying with the requisition: and in the event of their doing so, you will appoint a day for them to meet at Colonel Pine's, before whom they will offer up their apology to Mr. Wray.

W. LOCH,
Magistrate.

CITY OF MOORSHIDABAD, *October 31st, 1817.*

'TO W. LOCH, ESQ., MAGISTRATE OF MOORSHIDABAD.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 31st ultimo. In reply, I beg leave to inform you, that having assembled the Native Officers, and others concerned, and read to them your letter, agreeable to the conception you have made of the case, they are so far from being satisfied, where they themselves complain of injury and insult, that they should not only be required to submit without redress, but come forward with an apology; they require the complaint against Mr. Wray, should be instantly forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief.

I am not aware of any regret or sorrow expressed by Mr. Wray. Your letter of 31st ultimo contains the first intimation of the sort; and that is very unsatisfactory, as I have not been able to explain at what period this contrition was expressed, or its nature, and the objection they have to any accompanied with such charges and requisitions against them.

Much as I lament the unfortunate affair, and happy as I should have been had Mr. Wray at first come forward with a desire to appease the men, to have left it to themselves;—under the present existing circumstances, I have no alternative but to submit the affair to the consideration of His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief.

To admit of his Lordship obtaining every information, allow me to beg the favour of your submitting to Colonel Pine, my particular request that he will have the goodness to forward the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

November 2nd, 1817.

W. WHITE.'

‘ TO LIEUT. WHITE, COMMANDING MOORSHIDABAD
PROVINCIAL BATTALION.

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of this day's date, and lament to find the officers and men of your battalion are so much dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, and have decided on the steps you mention. I equally regret to observe, you seem to have had so little influence over their minds, and to have adopted very much their sentiments.

The charges against Mr. Wray may be comprehended under three distinct indictments, viz. :—

First.—Wilfully and maliciously shooting at a party of soldiers, without cause or provocation, by which a commissioned officer, and two non-commissioned officers, were wounded.

Secondly.—For offering reprehensible abuse to the above persons; and a second time threatening to fire upon the Havildar-Major.

Thirdly.—For appearing in a state of drunkenness.

Now these are literally the charges preferred by the officers of your Battalion against Mr. Wray, and can you possibly believe, that a human being in his senses could be guilty of a crime so atrocious, so heinous, so perfectly wanton, as the first charge makes him to be?—You cannot admit it; and when acquainted with Mr. Wray's character, his known benevolence and humanity, his mildness of disposition, and goodness of heart, you cannot doubt it for a moment.

W. LOCH,
Magistrate.

November 2nd, 1817.

‘ W. LOCH, ESQ., MAGISTRATE OF MOORSHIDABAD.

SIR,

Extract.—‘ In conformity with your advice, I have re-assembled the Native Officers and men, who adhere, after every explanation, to their former resolution which renders any further interference with them impossible. Indeed, by so doing, and endeavouring to persuade them to any act they conceive unjust, and the demand unwarrantable. It should subject myself to be complained against, and inevitably fall under the severe displeasure of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I have offered no opinion; and how is it that I am accused of adopting very much their sentiments? I have, as far as my duty warranted as their Commanding Officer, explained to them the serious

consequences of its being out of their power to prove their charge; also the possibility of their being mistaken; yet they are resolved to trust their commissions and everything to the sentence of a Court-Martial.

November 4th, 1817.

W. WHITE.

On the 4th November, 1817, Lieut., White forwarded an appeal of the Native Officers to the Adjutant-General¹ complaining of the way they had been treated by the Court of Inquiry.

On the 15th November, 1817, Mr. Loch transmitted a copy of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry to the Government, and received the following reply² :—

‘ JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

I am directed by the Honourable the Vice-President in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, submitting a copy of the proceedings of a Court of Inquiry at Berhampoor, and of your correspondence, connected with the charge preferred against Assistant Surgeon Mr. Wray, of having wounded some individuals belonging to the Provincial Battalion of Moorshidabad.

With reference to the nature of the complaint preferred against Mr. Wray, the Vice-President in Council conceives that the inquiry into it falls properly under your cognizance, in the first instance, as a Justice of the Peace. The proceedings of the Court cannot be properly considered by the Vice-President, in Council, and the Commanding Officer will determine on the steps which he should take with reference to those proceedings, under the rules in force in the Military Department.

The whole of the documents which accompanied your letter, are herewith returned.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
December 9th, 1817.

W. B. BAYLEY,
Chief Secretary.

Mr. Loch, however, took no magisterial action on the complaint, and the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were dealt with in the Military Department.

¹ p. 22.

² p. 15.

On the 12th July, 1818, the following letter was sent to Lieut White at the instance of Lord Hastings, who was the Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General¹ :—

‘ July 12th, 1818.

‘ SIR,

‘ The Commander-in-Chief has attentively perused the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, which investigated the charges against Mr. Wray.

‘ It appears to His Lordship, that you encouraged in individuals of the Battalion then under your command, the monstrous supposition that a British gentleman had, without provocation, intentionally fired at them.

‘ His Lordship would lament to think otherwise of you, than, that the imputation must have been incredible to yourself; yet, instead of attempting to do away misapprehension respecting the accident, as every moral and professional duty demanded, you perseveringly aggravated the irritation, and advised the offended parties to make depositions before the Magistrate, which are strongly tainted with a presumption of perjury.

‘ The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to remove you from the Adjutancy of the Moorshedabad Provincial Battalion, and to order that you do immediately repair to resume your duties in the 2nd Battalion, 15th Native Infantry.

JAMES NICOL,
Adjutant-General.’

This is characterized in the pamphlet² as a ‘scandalous and most infamous libel, written for the worst and basest of purposes.’

White’s attempts to get redress ended in his dismissal from the Company’s service.

In addition to the above action Lord Hastings ordered the Sub-hedar and Havildar-Major to be tried by a General Court-Martial for (1) having falsely and maliciously charged Mr. Wray before a Magistrate with having intentionally fired at them, and (2) perjury in deposing falsely before a Magistrate that Mr. Wray levelled his fowling piece at Havildar-Major Ajaib Sing and threatened to shoot him.³ They were acquitted of the second charge but convicted of the first,

and sentenced to be suspended from rank and pay for one month. Lord Hastings refused, however, to accept this decision, and dismissed the two officers from service.¹ He held that there had been not only the false charge, but also fabrication of evidence to support it. The latter finding is challenged by Capt. White with considerable reason, but the main thing is whether they did make a false charge. They denied that they had in fact charged Mr. Wray before the Magistrate with firing at them intentionally. A copy of their depositions is not among the papers; but they were produced at the Court-Martial, and presumably contained expressions to the effect mentioned in the charge. They alleged that the depositions produced were not the original ones; and Capt. White goes so far as to assert his belief that Mr. Loch fabricated them.² But the grounds for so grave an accusation are certainly insufficient to sustain it. The probability is that they did make statements suggesting at any rate the possibility of Mr. Wray’s intentionally firing at them, like those they are recorded to have made in their evidence at the Court of Inquiry. Thus the Subheddar’s statement contains the following³ :—

‘ *Ques. by Mr. Wray.*—The first time you saw me near your hut, you said I fired my fowling piece. Did I actually fire into the hut, or at a bird near it; or, do you mean to say, I fired at you, or any body else?

Ans.—I saw no bird.—Observing the piece levelled at me, I conceived Mr. Wray meant to fire at me.

Ques. by the Court.—What reason had you to suppose that any British Officer would intentionally fire his fowling piece at you?

Ans.—I could only account for such a circumstance by supposing the gentleman to be intoxicated, and not to know what he was about.’

Again Ajaib Sing’s statement says⁴ :—

‘ On turning round, he saw a gentleman taking a gun from his shoulder; he cannot say whether the gentleman fired intentionally at them, or at a bird.’

‘ From the gentleman acting in this manner I conceived he was intoxicated.’

The assertions are obviously half-hearted, and amount to little more than saying that they did not know whether Mr. Wray aimed at

¹ p. 73.

them, but the gun was pointed in their direction, and he might have been drunk. On the other hand such statements did afford technical ground for saying, as Mr. Loch did in his letter of 2nd November 1817, that Mr. Wray was charged with wilfully and maliciously shooting at the Native Officers. The stress laid on this point by the authorities to the exclusion of practically all other considerations such as the injuries actually caused to the Native Officers and the carelessness of Mr. Wray, may, I think, be largely attributed to the then unsatisfactory state of the English law on the subject of offences to the person, falling short of murder or man-slaughter.¹

Neither the English nor the Indian law in 1817 made specific provision for an offence like that now covered by Section 337 of the Indian Penal Code, viz. causing hurt by doing an act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or the personal safety of others. The admitted conduct of Mr. Wray, who after seeing persons sitting in the hut and merely calling out to them to go away, went nearer to them and fired in the way he did, without making certain that none of them were likely to be hit, would appear appropriately to fall under this section. In his letter of 31st October to Lieut. White, Mr. Loch describes this action of Mr. Wray as 'inconsiderate' and 'unguarded,' but expresses the opinion that he 'is entirely innocent of any intentional act of criminality'. He clearly took the view that the act could only be criminal, if there was an actual intention to hit the Native Officers. His examination of the latter on 10th October would naturally be directed mainly to ascertaining whether there was a charge of that nature; and no doubt the Subhedar and Havildar-Major made statements that could, at any rate, be construed as such a charge. Upon this, the reasonable basis of criminal negligence that existed for their complaint against Mr. Wray was entirely submerged by the indignation that was not unnaturally felt at a British Officer of Mr. Wray's 'well-known benevolence and humanity' being charged with so heinous a crime.

It must be remembered that the offence of intentionally shooting at a person was at that time a capital felony under a Statute of 1803.² Mr. Wray, in his address to the Court of Inquiry naturally makes the

¹ They were acquitted of the second count, *Law of England*, vol. iii, pp. 113-118.

² p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ pp. 19 and 24.

most of this, and seems to suggest that the Native Officers had been incited by Lieut. White to give evidence of his deliberately firing at them. He says¹: 'Why these Officers (knowing, as they unavoidably must, that the shot were fired from my gun by mere accident) should swear that I took aim, and fired at them, I am unable to conceive. It could hardly be for the purpose of extorting money from me; or, when I went to see them, two evenings after the accident, they would have given me a hint to that effect.'

'That any person could be so insidious and evil minded, as to invite those Officers to give such evidence as to endanger the life of a fellow-being, I can scarcely believe.' I think, however, that a study of the papers will leave no doubt that such a suggestion, as well as Lord Hastings's decision that Lieut. White had 'encouraged . . . the monstrous suggestion that a British gentleman had, without provocation, intentionally fired at' the Native Officers, is not established by any sufficient evidence. In his letters to Mr. Loch, Lieut. White never made any such assertion, and the original complaint that he forwarded to the Magistrate with a request that you will take *what steps you deem necessary* to redress the complainant's contained no such charge. He was not a lawyer, and would not be likely to realize the full consequences of his action. Nor does the subsequent correspondence about the Native Officers apologizing to Mr. Wray afford any substantial ground for holding that he was encouraging the 'monstrous supposition' in question. It seems clear that the Native Officers had taken umbrage (whether justifiable or not) at Mr. Wray's behaviour after they were shot. In these circumstances the mere fact that they refused to accept the subsequent vague statement made by Mr. Loch as to Mr. Wray's regret, and refused to apologize to him for bringing a false charge against him, cannot fairly be said to raise a justifiable inference that Lieut. White was inciting or encouraging them to persevere in their complaint. On this point, in a letter to Lord Hastings, he says²:—'I most solemnly declare to your Lordship, upon my honour as an Officer, that on the receipt of the Magistrate's letter of the 2nd of November, I sent for the parties concerned (the Officers) read and explained to them the letter, and pointed them, in a peremptory manner, the necessity of complying

³ p. 73.

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Magistrate's request. They, in the most solemn manner, denied 'having made the charge alluded to, viz.—accusing Mr. Wray of "having wilfully and maliciously fired at them." My injunctions 'were repeated to them three times; and they, each time, refused, in 'the most decided and positive manner, to make the desired concession; and they insisted upon an appeal to your Lordship.'

Against him, no doubt, is the fact that he was responsible for sending the complaint to the Magistrate. This was a point on which at the Court of Inquiry the two Native Officers were questioned as follows¹:—

'Mayput Sing, Subhedar, again called into Court, and the following questions put to him:—

'*Ques. by Mr. Wray.*—When you went to your Commanding Officer, did you request to be sent to Mr. Loch, the Magistrate; or what did you request to be done on the occasion?'

'*Ans.*—I requested that the matter might be enquired into. I was ordered by Lieut. White to attend before Mr. Loch.

'*Ques. by the Court.*—Would you have been satisfied with your Commanding Officer procuring you satisfaction for the injury of which you complain, in any other manner, than that of sending you to make oath before the Adowlut?

'*Ans.*—I had no wish to be taken before Mr. Loch, the Magistrate. I wished a proper investigation should take place. I wished an enquiry before a Court-Martial.'

Office Sing, Havildar-Major, again called into Court and the naturally questions put to him:—

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¹ They were acquitted of the second charge. *Law of England*, vol. iii, pp. 113-118.

² p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ pp. 19 and 24.

A SHOOTING INCIDENT IN BENGAL

It will be seen that the Subhedar said he had no wish to be taken before Mr. Loch; and the probability is that the action of Lieut. White was represented to Lord Hastings as an unwarrantable interference, showing his *animus* against Mr. Wray in the matter.

Lieut. White, however, cites in support of his action the provisions of the Mutiny Act, then in force as follows¹:—

'MUTINY ACT, GEO. III, CAP. 35.

'And be it further enacted, that if any Officer, non-Commissioned Officer, or soldier, shall be accused of any violence or offence against the person, estate, or property of any of His Majesty's subjects, which is punishable by the known laws of the land, the Commanding Officer of every regiment, troop or party, is, and are hereby required to use his and their utmost endeavours to deliver such accused person to the Civil Magistrate; and in event of their neglecting to do so, upon being convicted thereof, he shall be deemed, and taken to be *ipso facto* cashiered.'

This is a provision that had been part of the Mutiny Act since 1718,² and was applicable to the Company's forces under 27 Geo. 2, Cap. 9, Sections 8 to 11. If, therefore, the 'violence or offence against the person', in the case of these Native Officers, was 'punishable by the known laws of the land', there is certainly ground for saying that Lieut. White, as their Commanding Officer, was justified in bringing the accusation to the notice of the Magistrate for his taking action in the matter. There is also authority for the view that (apart from the alleged charge of capital felony) the misdemeanour of wounding the Native Officers by criminal negligence was an offence punishable by 'the known laws of the land.' Section 105 of the Charter Act of 1813 (53 Geo. 3 Cap. 155) provided as follows:—

'And whereas it is expedient to provide more effectual Redress for the Native Inhabitants of the said Territories, as well in the case of Assault, Forcible Entry, or other injury accompanied with Force, he says³:—'I most solemnly wish Subjects, at a distance from honour as an Officer, that on the receipt of the letter, in case of the 2nd of November, I sent for the parties concerned (the Officers) read and explained to them the letter, and pointed them, in a peremptory manner, the necessity of complying

the East Indies, or Parts aforesaid, and without the said Towns, in case of any Assault, Forcible Entry, or other Injury accompanied with Force, alleged to have been done against his Person or Property by a British Subject, to complain of such Assault, Forcible Entry, or other Injury accompanied with Force, not being Felony, to the Magistrate of the Zillah or District where the alleged Offender shall be resident, or in which such Offence shall have been committed; and that such Magistrate shall have Power and Authority, at the Instance of the Person so complaining, to take Cognizance of such Complaint, to hear Parties, to examine Witnesses, and, having taken in Writing the Substance of the Complaint, Defence and Evidence, to acquit or convict the Person accused; and, in case of Conviction, to inflict upon such Person a suitable Punishment, by Fine, not exceeding Five hundred rupees, to be levied in case of Non-payment by Warrant under the Hand of the said Magistrate, and upon any Property of the Party so convicted, which may be found with the said District; and if no such Property shall be found within the said District, then it shall be lawful for the said Magistrate, by Warrant also under his Hand, to commit such Offender to some Place of Confinement within the said Zillah or District, which in the Judgment of the said Magistrate shall be fit for receiving such Offender; or if there shall be no fit Place of Confinement, then to the Gaol of the Presidency, to remain there for a Period not exceeding two months, unless such Fine shall be sooner paid; and it shall be lawful for the said Magistrate to award the Whole or any Portion of such Fine to the Party aggrieved, by way of Satisfaction for such Injury.'

This enactment seems wide enough to cover an injury through criminal (i.e., gross) negligence: and the Magistrate could have done substantial justice by fining Mr. Wray and awarding the whole or part of the fine to the Native Officers as compensation. But no reference was made to this statute by Mr. Loch. Possibly, as he considered the Native Officers to make a charge of felony, he held no jurisdiction to act under it. Nor did the possibility of this at a pe ever occur to Capt. White, who contends that, if the Native Mr. Wray charge Mr. Wray with capital felony, he should have been committed for trial before a Jury at Calcutta.

there is a good deal to be said for the view
plaint which should have been sent to the

District Magistrate. The provisions in the Mutiny and Charter Acts on the subject mainly contemplate cases of injury by an officer or soldier to an ordinary native, *not under military control*. Here, however, the alleged offence was one committed by a military Officer in military lines against other military officers, and it could, therefore, be more properly dealt with by the military authorities. The Native Officers could have got redress by means of a Court-Martial, which under 27 Geo. 2, Cap. 9, had authority even to deal with capital offences by cashiering. And if the suggestion of Mr. Wray's *intentionally* firing at them had not been made, probably the matter would have been arranged and the Native Officers have obtained redress to their satisfaction, without any resort to a Court-Martial on Mr. Wray.

It is easy, therefore, to understand how Lord Hastings came to adopt the unfavourable view of Lieut. White's conduct that he did. The ill-feeling towards the Lieutenant that has already been mentioned would conduce to his action being represented in the worst possible light; and *prima facie* the suggestion that Mr. Wray *intentionally* fired at the Native Officers was absurd. The only comment that can, it seems to me, be properly made is that Lieut. White's explanation was not apparently called for and considered before he was condemned. Nor was he granted his subsequent request 'to be honourably acquitted of the imputations that had been cast upon his character or to be allowed the benefit of a trial by a Court-Martial.' There is considerable force in the complaint of Capt. White² that Lord Hastings 'might have enquired a little' before he drew his conclusions against him. He also charges him with undue credulity and gives the following story in support of his assertion³ :—

'For instance, in one of his shooting excursions, a man was shot for a tiger in the grass. This was at least an awful, if not singular occurrence. It happened to be one of the attendants that was shot. Two guns were fired at the same time—the one by Lord Hastings the other by Mr. Chester, the Resident of Malda. Lord Hastings was instantly persuaded, that it was Mr. Chester's shot that the man and Mr. Chester; very gallantly came forward upon himself the credit. The noble Marquis's con-

'easily calmed;—he empanelled a jury, instantler, elected himself their foreman, and returned a verdict of accidental death.'

He concludes with the remark: 'Now, after this, it will be no matter of surprise, that my Lord Hastings could discover Mr. Wray's conduct to have been purely accidental.' But the contention that Mr. Wray wantonly fired at the Native Officers is one that any unbiassed person must, I think, discard.

In this and other respects, the pamphlet contains a good deal of argument and vituperation that weakens, rather than strengthens, Capt. White's case. It affords, however, some interesting and lively reading as to cases of misconduct, injustice or oppression, that he cites as having come to his notice. An instance—the horse-whipping of a sepoy by Mr. Droz—has already been given. He also alleges that he lost upwards of £12,000 through Government interference with his property at Murshidabad. Thus he says¹:—

'At the period of my removal from office, I had laid out several thousand pounds upon a building I was erecting. No purchaser was to be found for it, it must be furnished, or the money laid out thrown away.—His Highness the Nawab of Bengal, a particular friend of mine, proposed to me to extend the building and lay it out as a country residence for him.—There being no probability of any other advantageous offer for the disposal of the property, I embraced it. When the building was nearly finished, the Nawab, when breakfasting with me one morning, stated, that Mr. Loch had paid him a visit, and had been endeavouring to prevent his purchasing the house. That upon his Highness's stating that he was bound to have it, and that he should, Mr. Loch, with great warmth and anger informed him, that he would write to the Government to prohibit it, or his living in it (Mr. Loch) would not have the roads cut up by his carriages and elephants,' and that Mr. Loch then, in a passion, left him. The affair concluded by saying, that he felt Mr. Loch's conduct very wrong:—'That he (the Nawab) had done everything in his power to accommodate him; that Mr. Loch has formerly harassed him by his servants, confining them without his knowledge upon his points, neglecting to reply to his letters on the subject, and seizing without ceremony, on various occasions, his property.'

¹ p. 9.

² pp. 90, 91 and 93.

servants as witnesses; that, he attributed this to proceed in consequence of his having refused to give up his principal residence (Fendal Baugh) to Mr. Loch; that he had subsequently let him have one, after which Mr. Loch was very polite until now; that he (the Nawab) considered it very hard that he should be so restricted, but that he was determined to have the house as soon as finished. The Nawab did not renew his visit for some time, but one morning he called, at about eight o'clock, and remained until twelve. The Nawab then informed me, that Mr. Loch had communicated to him an order of the Government, positively prohibiting his purchasing the property or his residence in it, and that if he did purchase it, the Government would reduce his salary (£280,000) as it was not their intention to allow him money to fool away. The purchase was declined, and the property consequently totally ruined.'

Again he says¹:—'Nine houses, or sets of Barracks in the cantonments of Berhampoor, let then at a rent of upwards of £900, a year, besides the house sold to the Nawab of Bengal, have all been entirely lost, partly by the mismanagement of those into whose hands the property was placed after my removal.'

Lieut. White was, as already mentioned, removed from the Murshidabad Provincial Battalion, and ordered back to his Regiment. He addressed a spirited protest to Lord Hastings, which produced a reply on the 8th February, 1819, saying²:—

'You pertinaciously insist that you have been stigmatized as a suborner of perjury; no such imputation has been thrown upon you. Your removal was not intended as a mark of disgrace.'

From a material point of view, Lieut. White would probably have been well advised to let the matter drop at this stage; especially as he says he did not suffer socially. Thus he mentions³ that even at Murshidabad he was invited by the officers of the 59 (H.M.) Regiment to a Ball in December 1819. His further proceedings in the matter resulted in an interview with the Adjutant-General, who told that Lord Hastings wished him to drop the subject; other would bring upon him the severest displeasure of Government.

He, however, resisted this pressure and made known to appeal to the Court of Directors. He submit

¹ pp. 90, 91 and 93.

² p. 55.

accordingly on the 5th of November, 1819, through the Bengal Government.¹ Previously to this he had applied for furlough, which was granted; and he was ordered to embark for England.² Subsequently, in view of his intention to memorialize the Court of Directors, he was told that, if he left India, he would be liable to dismissal. In spite of that he embarked for England, and thereby must have ruined what little chance there was of his Memorial succeeding. The answer of the Court, dated the 3rd November, 1820, was as follows³ :—

‘The Court having considered the proceedings connected with your removal from the Adjutancy of the Moorshidabad Provincial Battalion, and all that you have thought proper to state in your Memorial of the 5th November, 1819, I have received their commands to make the following communication to you :—

‘The Court have approved of the proceedings of the Commander-in-Chief, in removing you from the office you held in the Moorshidabad Provincial Battalion.

‘The Court considers it unnecessary to reply to the different points of your Memorial of the 5th of November, 1819; but in regard to that part which prays the Court to consider the pecuniary damages your private fortune has sustained in consequence of your removal from Moorshidabad; they do not hesitate, altogether, to disapprove of your conduct, in speculating in that description of property (buildings and land) from which the damage is alleged to have been sustained.

‘The Court have also had under their consideration the circumstances attending your departure for Europe.

‘It appears that, upon notifying your intention to address a Memorial to the Court, before quitting India, on the furlough which had been granted to you, your attention was drawn, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, to a regulation, which provides that any Officer having memorialized the Court, praying the redress of grievances, does not await in India the determination of the Court, but at a period to Europe before an answer is given on the subject, shall be dismissed from the Company’s service.

‘It appears that you were warned a second time, by a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, of the consequences which might attend

your embarkation for England, with the regulation over you; and that you were also verbally warned to the same effect.

‘You embarked, nevertheless; and the Court are of opinion, that your conduct, in this instance, indicated the absence, on your part, of all proper feelings of subordination.

‘Although this opinion would lead the Court to enforce the penalty which you have incurred, yet, on a general review of all the circumstances of your case, they have resolved to adopt a middle course.

‘I am commanded then to state, that upon your tendering your resignation of the Company’s service, the Court will grant to you a pension of £50 a year.’

There can be no doubt that the regulation, rendering him liable to dismissal, operated harshly in a case like White’s. He had done thirteen years’ service, which entitled him to the furlough that had been granted him; and the practical effect of the regulation was to prevent him memorializing under pain of giving up his furlough for at least a year.

In a letter of December 24, 1820, he scornfully declined the offer of a pension of £50, and made remarks which the Court afterwards stigmatized as ‘incorrect, intemperate and improper.’¹ These, as well as his threat to bring the affair before the House of Commons, can have done him no good.

His furlough expired on February 28, 1823, and he had apparently heard that a despatch had been sent to India, containing severe censure upon his conduct and strictures on other points. One of these would probably be upon his speculating in buildings and land, which was condemned by the Court in their letter of November 3, 1820. Wishing to know how he would stand, if he returned to India, he applied for a copy of the despatch and for an extension of furlough; but both these requests were refused.² Losing patience, he tendered his resignation in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated November 30, 1822.³ This contained much vituperation and derision of the Company; and it probably led to the order of the Court in April 1823 that the name of Lieutenant and Brevet Capt should be struck off the list of the Army from August 22

¹ p. 9.² p. 105.³ p. 34.¹ pp. 35-37.² pp. 57 and 58.

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Meanwhile Capt. White addressed a letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, and tried to get the case brought before a General Court of Proprietors.¹ This appeal was unsuccessful; he could get no Proprietor to take up his case. On this point he makes some interesting remarks² :—

'In short, that there is no appeal against the despotic acts of the Directors. I say, no appeal, because the Proprietors of East India Stock, from their wilful neglect and disregard to applications for redress, and the East India Directors, are the one and the same thing. The former evince little else than a readiness to receive their dividends, and a desire to obtain a portion of the patronage of the East;—while the latter take care to grant it, in such proportions, and in such quarters, as will secure a majority of votes upon every occasion; and by these means an appeal to them, is like an appeal to the winds; they heed it not; they know that by their silence they best promote their own interests, and secure the power of their Directors; and by these means, without appearing to countenance the conduct of their Governors or Directors, they tacitly sanction and approve of anything, and everything; and if occasion should require, at a General Court myriads of voters appear to support and confirm any measure and every act; and to laugh and cough out of Court the more honest and honourable men, who would venture to espouse the cause of justice, truth, and virtue.'

He also failed to get any member of Parliament to present his Petition to the House of Commons against the East India Company.³ He then resorted to his pen as a means of obtaining a living. He became the Editor of a weekly paper in London, entitled *The British and Indian Observer*.⁴ It appears to have been mainly devoted to attacking the East India Company. In an extract from Buckingham's *Oriental Herald for 1827*, which is cited in the *Constitution*, it is described as 'chiefly remarkable for the scurrilous and gross attacks on private character with which it abounded, and the gross calumnies against the Board of Control and Ministers generally, whose conduct was eulogized as everything that was perfect in Government.' Mr. Wright was not, however, a success, and the paper appears to have been discontinued in 1827.

¹ p. 9.

and 93.

² pp. 4 and 5.

⁴ p. 93.

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have ceased publication in 1825 or 1826. In 1827 he complains that he has been rendered destitute;¹ and according to the following passage from a vituperative letter to the Court of Directors he also suffered a year's imprisonment for Contempt of Court. He says² :—

'Be assured, Honourable Sirs, that I did not appeal to your liberality until such time as I was driven to it through absolute distress; and for which I feel that I am entirely indebted to you. The hour I started my Newspaper *The British and Indian Observer*, with a view of gaining an independence, it became the signal for fresh persecutions; and every means was resorted to which calumny and revenge could devise. You could not, with propriety, appear yourselves; but your relations and friends did it for you. Criminal informations were filed in the Court of King's Bench, but not proceeded in. The rule had been obtained upon the blackest of perjury; the Attorney-General had thrown up his brief; and the informant dreaded the consequences of proceeding. An action for damages was brought by a brother of one of your Directors, for stating a fact which had occurred in your Court. The action was brought for two purposes; the one, was to ruin me,—the other, to endeavour to discover my author. The first point they gained; but the latter they were foiled in; for I stood the consequences, and I lay twelve months in prison rather than give up the author of my information (who was in Court at the time the occurrence happened) to the vindictive and unrelenting fury of your Honourable Court, and to which he must have been exposed.'

Towards the end of 1826, he was reduced by his misfortunes to what must have been the very galling situation of expressing regret for his 'political writings,' and appealing to the Court of Directors to take pity on him in his distress. He had an interview with the Chairman, who however told him that he saw no hopes of the Company doing anything for him.³ He then made a Petition to King dated April 6, 1827. It is a well-written, detailed and respects pathetic application, but it was necessarily doomed. It is not as if Capt. White was a King's Officer who by Court-Martial and who could appeal to His Majesty for mitigation of punishment. He was merely a se.

¹ p. 94.

² p. 63.

³ r

India Company, removed by its Board of Directors. His petition was accordingly transmitted for consideration to the Board of Control, which pointed out that under 33 Geo. 3, Cap. 52, Section 36, the Court of Directors had an absolute power, uncontrollable by any Government department, to remove any of their servants. It is this despotic power which was the main theme of the *Appeal to the British Nation*.

Before, however, publishing that Appeal, he made a last attempt to get the Directors to relent and grant him a pension.¹ The threat of this publication was ineffectual. He was informed in July 1827 that 'as the Regulations authorize no pension to an Officer who has 'ceased to belong to the Company's service, under circumstances 'similar to those in which you are placed, they must decline to grant 'you any such allowance.'² In reply White sent a bitter tirade³ detailing instances of pensions having been granted even to cashiered officers, and ending up as follows :—

'By what "*Regulation*" is it, Honourable Sirs, that you all dine at the City of London Tavern every week, at five guineas a head, wines exclusive, while the "*Regulations*" cannot afford me a morsel of bread ?

'It is, however, to be hoped that the time will shortly arrive when the abuses of your administration will be listened to. The exposure is absolutely necessary for the welfare of India, and the future interests of England. If I have been instrumental, or yet can be, in promoting so desirable an object, I shall not repine at what I have suffered, or yet may endure.'

The '*Appeal*' may have had some effect as contributing to the success of the agitation, which led to the considerable alterations effected in the Government of India by the Charter Act of 1833. It was noticed, with marked commendation, by *The Times*⁴; but so far as the author was concerned it could not be expected to lead to any redress of his treatment by the Company. In May 1828 he issued a pamphlet⁵ proposing to re-publish the *British and Indian* Mr. White was

118. they were

60.

² p. 60

³ pp. 61-63.

⁴s prefixed to the Pamphlet.

ved to the Pamphlet.

⁵ p. 9.

home abuses. He wrote other works, which are thus described in Allibone's *Dictionary of English Literature* (1871), vol. iii, at p. 2692 :—

'White, Capt. William, late H. E. I. Co.'s Service.

'1. Political Events which led to the Burmese War., Lon., 1827, 8vo.; 2. Evils of the Quarantine Laws, 'December 1837, 8vo. See London Athen., 1838, 99.; 3. Letter to Lord Melbourne, 1838, 12mo.; 4. Police Spy, 1838, 12mo.; 5. Claims of the Prince of Oudh, 1843, 8vo.'

The last item in this list shows that he was alive in 1843 and still interesting himself in Indian affairs. Let us hope that latterly he had a more prosperous and happy time of it than he did in the decade (1817 to 1827) that is dealt with in this article !

In expressing the opinions that I have above, I am aware that I may be deemed presumptuous, and that there are not available the full materials, which are essential for anything like a judicial verdict. On the other hand I have confined myself, as much as possible, to the documentary evidence contained in the pamphlet; and I trust my attempt to do justice to the two sides of the case may be of some interest and utility, in helping at least to recall the circumstances and difficulties of a century ago. The dismissal of Capt. White and the two Native Officers was certainly a very severe punishment for the part that they took in the matter; but it was based on the view that an offence had been committed which is still punishable with transportation for life, under Section 194 of the Indian Penal Code.

It is some satisfaction to know that the present law renders the recurrence of any such consequences from a similar shooting incident extremely improbable. And indeed the recurrence of an incident of this kind is itself almost impossible, now that snipe and other game no longer frequent the immediate vicinity of military lines !

A Supplementary Note on The 'Newly Discovered Grant of Govind III of the Saka year 732'

BY

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

AT the time I submitted my preliminary note on 'A Newly Discovered Grant of Govind III' to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., F.R. Hist. S., I was in correspondence with Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B.A., retired Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, regarding the identification of certain localities mentioned in the record. I thank him sincerely for the assistance rendered as also to Mr. K. L. F. Armetaji, I.C.S., who kindly made local enquiries. I am indebted to Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., for further elucidating some points.

The copper-plates on which the grant is incised have now been thoroughly cleaned so that the names of all the places can be read with certainty. The identification of most of them is pretty certain.

In the record Baśapura, Sukali, the two Pipparikās (*Pipparikā-dvayam*), Tiyadi and Bhaggali are said to be situated in the district of Khēd (*Khēda-vishayāntargata*). They were bounded on the east by the village of Uindūurikā. To the south lay the village of Raṭṭōva-bhōga-Tiyidi. To the west was Lādāvallika. To the north-west lay the village of Piṭṭakaṅga-chichchhakā. The northern boundary was the Vindhya Mountain. The grant was made after the king had bathed in the holy place of Amviliktaṇḍa.

The district in which the group of villages was situated is in all probability Khēd Tarōdē otherwise called Deshamukhache Khēd or Khēd Pimpāri, about six miles from Pimpāri in the Morsi Tālukā of the Umraoti District. It is spotted with ancient remains. Daśapura is Dasur in the same tālukā. The modern form of Sukali would be Sukaḷi. But I am not in a position to say definitely which particular Sukaḷi is meant. Pipparikā is Pimpāri mentioned above. As regards the insertion of an *anusvāra* in the *Prākṛit* form we may compare the *Prākṛit* word *Pimpala* for the Sanskrit *Pippala*. The

village consists of two parts. In modern times we have similar divisions one called *Khurd* or small and the other *Budruk*, large or old. Tiyadi would regularly become Tivadi. Apparently this is the one in the Ellichpur Tālukā, four miles from Pimpāri. Bhaggali appears to be Bhāngar in the Morsi Tālukā. Uindūurikā, the eastern boundary of this group of villages may be the modern Indāpur in that direction. If it be so, the name seems to be a reminiscence of the Sanskritized name. Tiyidi may assume the form Tividi in the first instance and later on Tivadi. It is qualified by Raṭṭōvabhōga. The word *bhōga* occurs in the Vaṇṇēr grant of Buddharāja.¹ It means a sub-division corresponding to the modern *mahāl*. Lādaki in the Ellichpur Tālukā is apparently the representative of Lādāvallikā. It is true that the village lies not exactly to the west but rather to the south-west. But in giving boundaries, if there was no village to the west at the time of making the grant, one to the south-west which extended more to the west than to the south, would be noted. Again it is a well-known fact that owing to scarcity of water and similar difficulties, the extension of even large villages proceeds a few miles off. In the map supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, through the kind offices of Mr. Armetaji, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Nagpore, there are two villages corresponding to the two parts of the ancient village of Piṭṭakaṅga-chichchhakā, Piṭhōdā equivalent to Piṭṭakaṅga and Chich-kumbha evidently to Chichchha in the Ellichpur Tālukā. These are in the proper direction still. It is recorded that the Vindhya range lay to the north while the Sātapuḍā hills are in that direction. But they need not confound us. Rai Bahadur Hiralal assures me that in ancient times, these hills were included in that range though they have a distinct and different name now. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande confirms this statement and tells me that Sātapuḍā is quite a modern name. It is not known if Amviliktaṇḍa-tīrtha is a local holy place. It cannot be identified. It is tempting to suggest Bārśi as an equivalent of Bārāśiva, the residence of the first donee. Bārśi in the Sholapur District of the Bombay Presidency is far off. It was not known as a holy place, where Brāhmanas studied religious books or practised austerities. But Bārśi in the Bālāpur Tālukā of the Akola District

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, pp. 32 and 34 and in the Satara Grant of Vishṇuvardhana, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 309.

(Berar) has ancient remains ranging from the sixth to the twelfth centuries. It may represent Bārāsiva of the grant. Karahāḍa, the residence of the third donee has already been shown in the September issue of this journal to be apparently the modern Karād or more correctly Karhād situated at the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Kōyanā in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency. In the grant of Kṛishṇarāja III, discovered here and edited by the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in the *Epigraphia Indica*¹ the spelling occurs as Karahāṭa. But it makes little difference. We know that the name of the grandfather of the Vallabhi King Dharasēna II, is spelt either Dharapaṭṭa or Dharapaḍḍa.

¹ See vol. iv, pp. 278-79.

A Great Civilization in Pre-Historic Times

READERS of the *Journal of Indian History* may remember that a proposal was presented to the Legislative Assembly at its budget meeting that an archæological fund be created by the Government of India setting apart fifty lakhs of rupees as a nucleus for that fund. The Secretary in presenting the proposal pointed out the importance of the excavations carried out in the Punjab and Sindh so far, and asked for the sanction of this grant on the ground that the results of the excavations were of far-reaching importance, and would ultimately turn out to be matter for pride for the whole of India. It is matter for regret, however, that the Assembly took a narrower view, and declined to accord their approval to the proposal. It is creditable to them however, that they agreed to sanction the annual allotment of two and a half lakhs of rupees a year for this purpose.

While thanking the Assembly for doing this, and sympathizing with their point of view to the fullest extent possible, it would be still open to us to take the view that on the whole they looked at the question from a very narrow angle of vision. For the carrying out of excavations on sites of similar importance in Egypt or Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, the amount of money spent is very much more than the half crore asked for; but most of the money came from sources far other than that of a single Government like the Government of India. Various missions were sent out with grants from various bodies other than Government, and the work was financed by philanthropic bodies, sometimes individuals.

In the initial stages of the work however in India, and having regard to the fact that individual philanthropy is limited narrowly in this country as yet for objects such as this, it would have been well if the fund for archæological work had been started. Such an initiative on the part of the Government might have evoked a considerable response, and the fund would have grown to dimensions that would put the work beyond financial anxiety.

In this connection it would be of great value to those interested in the history of India to note the progress of work so far made. This can hardly be done better than in the words of Sir John M. M. the distinguished archæologist, who presides over the question,

in India. During the last year he had been interesting himself in the excavations directly, and was recently in the deserts of Sindh at the head of an adequate staff and technical assistants employing about eight hundred workmen. While thus engaged he managed to contribute to *The Times* a note of considerable importance, which was published in its issue of February 26, 1926. We extract the greater part of it for the benefit of the readers of this journal, who, we have no doubt, will appreciate it very much.

EDITOR.

Extract from 'The Times' of February, 1926

Excavations of a preliminary character, but with most promising results, have been carried out by Mr. Sahni at Harappa, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, and by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, at Mohenjo-daro: valuable sidelights on the Indus culture were obtained from an expedition dispatched to Baluchistan under Mr. H. Hargreaves, and several previously unknown sites were revealed by an experimental aeroplane survey carried out along some fifty miles of the old bed of the Ravi, on which Harappa stands. Some of these newly discovered sites appear to be contemporary with Harappa itself, while others may help to bridge the wide gap which at present separates this prehistoric from the historic age of India. Taking this survey on the Ravi as a rough criterion of what may be expected along other river-beds, and remembering that some 3,000 or 4,000 miles of these beds have still to be examined, it may be imagined how almost limitless is the field awaiting the excavator. Fortunately, the story of her immemorial past is one in which Indians are deeply interested, and members of the Legislative Assembly, with whom the final say in these matters rests, are now fully alive to the value of the work to be done. It may confidently be hoped, therefore, that they will vote whatever funds are needed for carrying it forward on a reasonably liberal and comprehensive scale.

A FINELY BUILT CITY

An excavator could hardly hope to find a more promising site than that of Mohenjo-daro, though it is much smaller than Harappa. It consists of about a square mile of rolling mounds rising some 40 ft. at its highest above the dead level of the surrounding plains. Where trenches have been sunk in these mounds they have disclosed, well below the surface, the remains of a finely built city of

the Chalcolithic period (third millennium B.C.), and beneath this city layer after layer of earlier structures, erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors. The buildings hitherto exposed in the uppermost stratum belong to two classes—temples and private houses, both constructed of kiln-burnt and sun-dried bricks, the latter being employed mainly for the foundations of terraces and courtyards. The temples stand on elevated ground and are distinguished by the relative smallness of their chambers and the exceptional thickness of their walls—a feature which suggests that they were several stories in height. To a temple also doubtless belongs the spacious courtyard, with chapels or other apartments on its four sides.

Whether the worship performed in these temples was iconic or aniconic has yet to be determined. The only objects found in association with them and intended apparently for cult worship are of two kinds—namely 'ring stones' and 'chessmen.' The former have been compared with the 'mace-heads' of Sumer, but their undulating shape and the ponderous size of many of them (they require four or five men to lift) make it very doubtful if they were intended to represent mace-heads. The latter are sometimes of faience, sometimes of stone or other substances, though small size by comparison with some of the ring stones; their shape recalls to mind the mediæval 'chessman' pillars of Assam, with which it is not outside the range of possibility that a connexion may be established. The fact, however, that no anthropomorphic images have yet been unearthed in these temples must not be interpreted as proof that the worship of such images was unknown. On a tablet of blue faience which has just come to light is depicted a figure seated cross-legged (like Buddha on a throne) with a kneeling worshipper to right and left, and behind the worshipper a snake (*naga*), while at the back is a legend in the pictographic script of the period. Now it is possible that this seated figure is nothing more than a royal personage, but the presence of the kneeling devotees, and particularly of the *nagas* certainly suggests the central figure was intended to represent a deity rather than a king.

COMFORTABLE HOUSES

The dwelling-houses of the citizens at Mohenjo-daro, of which a considerable number have now been exposed, are bare of all ornamental decorations but are remarkable for the excellence of their construction and the question,

relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of wells, bath-rooms, brick flooring, and an elaborate system of drainage, all of which go to indicate a social condition of the people surprisingly advance for the age in which they were living. These people were still, be it remembered, in the transition stage between the Stone and Copper Ages. For every-day purposes they were using stone-knives or scrapers of the crudest types, hundreds of which have been found in their houses. But they were familiar, nevertheless, with the working of copper, gold, silver, and lead, and probably of mercury also; they were manufacturing jewelry and other articles in highly polished gold, fine paste, and glazed blue and white faience, and they were engraving seals in a style worthy of the best Mycenaean art. These last seem to have been in very common use, having been found in almost every building excavated. Of those recovered by Mr. Dikshit last season, the most striking perhaps is one depicting a 'Brahmani' bull, the drawing of which shows great breadth and a fine sense of the decorative. Incidentally, it may be remarked, this seal also proves that the breed of Brahmani bulls was every whit as good 5,000 years ago as it is to-day.

Another interesting seal portrays the sacred *pipal* tree of India, with twin heads of antelope springing from its stem; and on others are tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses, and a variety of other animals, but not, be it noted, the horse, which was probably imported into India at a later date by the Aryans. The inscriptions engraved on the seals are all in the pictographic script of the period, which has yet to be deciphered. A noteworthy find made beneath the floor of one of the houses was a group of copper vessels and implements, and in one of the larger vessels a collection of jewelry of polished gold, silver, carnelian and other stones, including a particularly handsome necklace or girdle of carnelian and copper gilt, talismanic stones in polished gold settings, 'netting' needles of the same metal, and bangles of silver.

At Harappa most of the ancient structures near the surface of the mounds have been sadly damaged by depredations of villagers and railway contractors in search of bricks, but it is unlikely that much harm has been done to the lower strata. Generally speaking, the buildings exposed on this site, as well as the antiquities within them, are in character to those found at Mohenjo-daro. But there is one place wholly unlike anything at the latter site. What remains

of it consists of two series of solid brick walls set parallel to each other, with a broad aisle 24 ft. in width running down the middle. Up to the present twenty of these walls have been exhumed—viz., fourteen to the east of the central aisle and six to the west; all having a uniform length of 52 ft., but varying in thickness. The stouter kind are 9 ft. at the base, and these are placed at regular intervals of 17 ft., so that, had it not been for the thinner walls intervening between them, it might reasonably have been inferred that they belonged to a range of long, narrow halls. As it is these intervening walls leave sufficient space only for corridors between, the purpose of which cannot as yet be surmised.

The usual method of disposing of the dead in the latest cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa was by cremation, a few fragments of the burnt bones being subsequently collected and placed in a large earthenware jar along with a number of medium-sized and miniature vessels or in small brick structures resembling Hindu *samadh*s. At Mohenjo-daro, it is true, some complete skeletons in excellent preservation are now being unearthed, but these appear to have been interred at a much later age, probably about the beginning of the Christian Era. At a spot called Nal, however, some 250 miles south of Quetta, in the Jhalawan country of Baluchistan, Mr. Hargreaves has discovered a burial ground of the same Chalcolithic period, where the dead were buried either in the graves of sun-dried brick or directly in the ground. In the former case, the skeleton was complete; in the latter only a few bones and the skull of each body were found, instead of the whole skeleton, and they were accompanied by numerous earthenware vases, copper implements, beads, grind-stones, and other small objects. These objects are generally analogous to those found at Mohenjo-daro and at Harappa, though perhaps somewhat later in date. The painted potteries from this burial ground constitute an exceptionally fine series, most of them being superior in fabric and design to those from the city sites.

A GREAT CIVILIZATION

That this great civilization which is now being revealed was no mere provincial off-shoot of Mesopotamian culture, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries, is becoming more and more manifest as our excavations advance. Who the people were who evolved it is still an open question,

but the most reasonable view seems to be that they were the pre-Aryan (probably Dravidian) people of India known in the Vedas as the Dasyus or Asuras, whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B. C. by the invading Aryans from the north, just as the older Aegean culture of the Mediterranean (which in some respects bears a striking resemblance to this culture of the Indus) was largely overwhelmed by the invading Achaeans. Whatever their racial origin, they seem, from such evidence as is available, to have borne as little resemblance to the modern Sindhi as the Sumerian did to the present inhabitants of Southern Mesopotamia. Thus, statues of bearded men which have just been exhumed at Mohenjo-daro portray a very distinctive brachycephalic type, with strikingly low forehead, prominent nose, fleshy lips, and narrow, oblique eyes; and this is the type also which is seemingly portrayed in some of the rough terra-cotta figurines found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The material, however, is as yet too scanty for inferences to be drawn from it on this interesting question. One of the statues referred to, it may be mentioned, is of alabaster; the other is of limestone with a veneer of fine white paste, the patterning on the robe being coloured in red ochre and the eyes inlaid with shell.

Bodhayana and Upavarsha

BY

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Assistant Epigraphist

I READ with very great interest the papers entitled '*Bōdhāyana and Dravidāchārya*', two old Vedantins presupposed by Rāmānuja', presented to the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras. In the first paper the author Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., proposes to identify Bōdhāyana, or Bhagavad-Bōdhāyana as he is known in the works of Rāmānuja like the *Sribhāshya*, the author of a *Vṛitti* on the *Brahma Sūtras* upon which Rāmānuja claims to have based his views on several points, with Upavarsha who is quoted and referred to by Śankara. At present the works of both Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha are known only by their names, and nothing remains of their works except the references to them and their works in the works of later authors. One has to rely on these references and the quotations from their works to form an opinion of their works. Though Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri professes to do this in the present paper, he does not appear to have exhausted such references. The conclusion to which he arrives therefore, does not seem to be warranted in the light of other significant extracts ignored by him.

The attempt to determine the relation of Bōdhāyana, or Vṛittikāra as he is known, with Upavarsha is not a new one. The Vṛittikāra is known as the first commentator of the *Mīmāṃsa Sūtras* of whose work extracts are found in the works of later authorities as the *Bhāshya* of 'Śabarasvāmin'. The following extract from Prof. A. B. Keith's *Karma Mīmāṃsā*¹ may not be out of place in this discussion: 'The name of the Vṛittikāra is uncertain. The conjecture that he was Bhavadāsa, mentioned in one place by Kumārila may be dismissed as wholly without support.'² The current opinion takes him to be

¹ p. 8.

² Ganganath Jha, *Śloka Vārttika*, Tr., p. 116.

Upavarsha, who, we know from Śāṅkara, wrote on both the texts. To this the objection has been brought that in the passage cited from the Vṛttikāra by Śābarasvāmin, there is a reference to Upavarsha with the epithet Bhagavat, implying that he was in the eyes of the Vṛttikāra an authority of venerable antiquity. It is probable, however, that the citation from the Vṛttikāra is only a resumé and not a verbatim quotation and that Śābarasvāmin is responsible for the name, Upavarsha, the Vṛttikāra's proper name, and for this view support may be derived from the mode in which the Vṛttikāra and Upavarsha are referred to by Kumārila, elsewhere. If this view is rejected, it is possible that he is Bōdhāyana, who certainly wrote on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, but this theory is a bare and unnecessary conjecture, seeing that Bōdhāyana nowhere else appears as a *Mīmāṃsā* authority.'

This was the position of Orientalists in regard to the identity of Bōdhāyana before the appearance of the present paper. The contribution made by Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri to this discussion is his bringing prominently before scholars the extract from Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika's Commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, the *Tattva-tīkā*. The extract is given below on account of its importance for the discussion in question:—

वृत्तिकारोपज्ञं स्वमतमाह - शब्दस्येति । अपि द्वेयणसमुच्चयार्थः ।

अत्र शाबरम्—“गौरितिकशब्दः । गकारौकार विमर्जनीया” इति ।

वृत्तिकारस्य बोधायनस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्यान्नाम ॥

In this extract Vēdānta Dēśika, the great authority on *Viśiṣṭādvaita* suggests that Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha might be identical. But the appearance of the verb स्यात् in the extract seems to suggest that the *Āchārya* was merely suggesting the possibility of the identity of Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha, and that he was not affirming it. It is significant that in spite of this extract in the *Tattva-tīkā*, followers of the school to which Vēdānta Dēśika belonged do not appear to have laid stress on the identity, and several authors even took Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha as separate individuals. The tradition among the Sri Vaishnavas as recorded in their *Guruparamparas* is that Rāmānuja wanted to consult the voluminous Bōdhāyana Vṛtti on the *Brahma Sūtras* before writing his *Śrībhāṣya*, and that, as manuscripts of the

work were not available in South India, he along with a few of his ablest disciples like Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra journeyed to the distant Kashmir in the north and there with great difficulty borrowed the manuscript from the Sarasvatī Pīṭha and had the manuscript with them for a very short period before it was claimed back. But fortunately, as the tradition says, before the demand for the return of the book came and the book was returned, Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra had gone through the whole work once and so Rāmānuja chose Śrīvatsāṅka as the scribe to write down the *Śrībhāṣya* to his dictation stories are also current that in several places Śrīvatsāṅka used to stop without writing further when he perceives that his master was differing in his interpretation from Bōdhāyana, and that he would resume writing only after Rāmānuja perceived the difference and without the correct view suggested itself to the master. The writing of the *Śrībhāṣya* was in consequence much delayed. It is not known from the bulk of the works of Rāmānuja and his followers if there are any other references to Bōdhāyana's work in addition to those found in the *Śrībhāṣya*. Such being the case one cannot lay any great stress on the identity of Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha suggested by Vēdānta Dēśika in his *Tattva-tīkā*. Perceiving the similarity of the views in several of the extracts from Bōdhāyana in *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta* works with those of Upavarsha he appears merely to suggest the identity. His statement cannot be taken as final on the subject, because though the authority of Vēdānta Dēśika might be the greatest in points of doctrine and interpretation, he is here speaking about authors whose works do not appear to have been available to him except through the short extracts from them in very much later works.

But one need not give up the question about the identity of Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha as beyond demonstration. There exist extracts from other works bearing upon the interesting question. The most interesting extract in this connection is the following taken from the *Prapañchahridaya*, a Sanskrit¹ work dealing with *Sāstra* bibliography as it were, which is widely current in the Kerala country and gives very important information regarding the early history of the several *Darśanas* and adds much to our knowledge of their

¹ Published in the Travancore Sanskrit Series.

bibliography. The extract from that work bearing on our present discussion is given below:—

प्रपञ्चद्वयं । उपाङ्गप्रकरणम् ।

तत्र साङ्गोपाङ्गस्य वेदस्य पूर्वोत्तरकाण्डसंभिन्नस्य अशेषवाक्यार्थविचारपरायणं मीमांसाशास्त्रम् । तदिदं षोडशाध्यायनिबद्धं पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रं पूर्वकाण्डस्य धर्मविचारपरायणम् जैमिनीकृतम् । तदन्यदध्यायचतुष्कम् उत्तरमीमांसाशास्त्रम् उत्तरकाण्डस्य ब्रह्मविचारपरायणं व्यासकृतम् ॥

तस्यविंशत्यध्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनामधेयं भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतम् । तदग्रन्थबाहुव्यथयादुपेक्ष्य किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तं उपवर्णनकृतम् । तदपि मन्दमतोन्प्रतिदुष्प्रतिपादं विस्तीर्णत्वादित्युपेक्ष्य षोडशलक्षणपूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रमात्रस्य देवस्वामिना संक्षिप्तकृतम् । भवदासेनापिकृतं जैमिनीयभाष्यम् । पुनर्द्विकाण्डे धर्ममीमांसाशास्त्रे पूर्वस्यतन्त्रकाण्डस्य आचार्यशबरस्वामिनाति संक्षेपेण संकर्मकाण्डं द्वितीयमुपेक्ष्य कृतंभाष्यं । तथा देवताकाण्डस्य संक्षेपेण । ब्रह्मकाण्डस्य भगवत्पादब्रह्मदत्तभास्करादिभिर्मतभेदेनापि कृतम् । तथा शाबरभाष्यं वाक्यार्थभेदमभ्युपगम्य भट्टप्रभाकराभ्यां द्विधाव्याख्यातम् । तत्रभावनापरत्वेन भट्टकुमारेण, नियोगपरतया प्रभाकरेण ॥

We have given the extract *in extenso* on account of its very great importance to the subject. It gives in a nutshell the whole range of the history of *Mīmāṃsā* from Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa up to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara. The relations between the various early authorities on the subject are very plain from the passage. It says that the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* is composed of twenty *Adhyāyas* or chapters of which the first sixteen dealing with the *Dharma* of the *Pūrvakāṇḍa* were composed by Jaimini. The four remaining chapters dealing with the speculations about Brahma in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* were composed by Vyāsa. A gloss or *Vṛitti* on the whole of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* comprising twenty chapters was composed by Bōdhāyana and it was called *Kṛtakōṭi*. Since this work was very voluminous, it was abridged by Upavarsha.

After Upavarsha the work does not name any author who has dealt with both the *Mīmāṃsās* and the subject seems to have soon

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after been split up into two and the idea of the शास्त्रैक्यम् gradually vanished from the view of the *Mīmāṃsakas* until it was propounded with great emphasis by the school of Rāmānuja. As a result of the splitting of the original *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* into two portions and as later authors began to deal with a single portion of the subject without reference to the other, in course of time scholars began to think that the two *Mīmāṃsās* were two different subjects and their conclusions had nothing to do with each other. The extract from *Prapañchahridaya* not only says that Upavarsha abridged Bōdhāyana's voluminous *Vṛitti*, but gives the name which Bōdhāyana gave to his work. It is *Kṛtakōṭi*. It is now left for a student of this subject to find out if there are references anywhere in literature to this *Kṛtakōṭi* without mentioning that it is the work of Bōdhāyana. In that way also we would be able to get some information of Bōdhāyana's work.

Curiously enough we have a reference to the *Kṛtakōṭi* in a wholly unexpected quarter. The place where the reference occurs is in the early Tamil classic *Maṇimēkhalai*, a Buddhist work by the famous Poet Śittalai Śāttanār. This reference is found in chapter 27 of the work which is called *Samayakkaṇakkar Tantiṇṇēṭṭa Kādai* or the *Kādai* dealing with the enquiry into the *Tantras*¹ of the professors of the various *Samayas* or religions. The heroine Maṇimēkhala while at Vanji approached the professors of various religions and philosophies and enquired of them the true nature of things. The chapter is a unique one in the unique epic poem. It is a work written on the lines of Śankarāchārya's *Sarva Siddhānta Sangraha* and Vidyāranya's *Sarvadarśana Sangraha* but written long before the age of Śankara and from the Buddhist point of view. The portion of the chapter dealing with the Vedic Religion is given below as it has got the reference to *Kṛtakōṭi*.

MANIMEKHALAI, CHAPTER 27

A summary of this portion of the chapter as given in the late Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai's *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, given in Chapter xiv of that work is given here with slight modifications.

¹ *Tantra* is not the equivalent of the term *tain-tiṇam*, the whole expression meaning the Kādai or narration where she enquired of the teacher of the various religions and their convictions in matters of religion.—ED.

She (Maṇimēkhala) approached the professors of Philosophy eager to know the true nature of things and going up to the Vedic philosopher, requested him to explain his tenets. (He stated that) an accurate knowledge of things may be obtained by ten means : (1) Perception (*kāṇḍal*, *pratyaksha*), (2) inference (*karuḍal*, *anumāna*), (3) comparison (*uvamam*, *upamāna*), (4) authority (*āgama*), (5) implication (*arthāpatti*), (6) propriety (*iyalbu*, *svabhāvaliṅga*), (7) rumour (*ālihya*), (8) impossibility (*abhāva*), (9) reversion (*mitchi*, *pāriśeṣa*), (10) association (*ozhivarivu*).

The authors Vēdavyāsa, Kṛtakōṭi and Jaimini, recognized ten, eight and six of these means respectively.

Correct perception (Kāṇḍal) is of five kinds. It is to know colour by the eyes, sound by the ear, smell by the nose, taste by the tongue, and touch by the body. To see, hear, smell, taste and touch with feelings of pain of pleasure, with life and sense and mind in perfect health and in light and space free from any defect and to ascertain the place, name, class, quality and action of a thing without the faults of prejudice, incongruity or doubt is perception.

Inference is the mental process by which we understand the nature of an object and it is of three kinds ; by co-existence, by the effect or by the cause. (Inference by) co-existence is to know the presence of an elephant on hearing its trumpeting in a forest. (Inference by) effect is to say that it has been raining on seeing floods. (Inference by) cause is to say that it will rain on seeing a dark cloud. Whether the cause and effect be past, present or future, to know the existence of a thing that is not seen by a thing that is seen, without the faults of prejudice (incongruity and doubt), is inference.

Comparison is to know a thing by similarity, for instance, to imagine that a bison (*gavaya*) is like a cow.

Authority is to believe that heaven and hell exist because they are mentioned in the writings of the wise.

Implication is to understand that a shepherd-village (गोधः) stands on the banks of the Gangā when we are told that it is on the Gangā.

Propriety is when a man mounted on an elephant asks for a thing, (to know that he asks for a goad) and to give a goad and nothing else.

Rumour is what people generally say, for instance, to believe that an evil spirit had taken its residence on a certain tree.

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Impossibility is the denying of an object where it cannot possibly be.

Reversion is to infer that the wicked Rāvaṇa was defeated when we hear that Rāma was victorious.

Association is to know that iron changes into magnet by a peculiar alteration in its properties.

Of fallacious mediums there are eight kinds : prejudice (*suttunaru*), misconception (*tiriyakkōḍal*), doubt (*aiyyam*), decision without examination (*tēradutēḍal*), failure of perception (*kaṇḍuṇarāmai*, *upēkshātmakajñāna*), false belief (*ilvalakku*), belief in what is felt (*uṇarvadai-uṇarḍal*) and imagination (*uinaippu*).

Prejudice is to decide the nature of everything by first impressions.

Misconception is to suppose one thing to be another, for example, mistaking the shining shell of an oyster to be silver.

Doubt is to be uncertain of the nature of an object ; for instance, to remain undecided whether a certain figure seen in the dark is a man or the stump of a tree.

Decision without examination is to mistake the stump fixed in the ground for a man.

Failure of perception is not to know (the danger in) the approach of a ferocious tiger, although seeing it coming.

False belief is to believe in the horn of a hare which is imagined on hearsay.

Belief in what is felt is for example to fancy that sitting near a fire will cure fever.

Imagination is (for instance) to believe on the assertion of others that a particular man and woman are your parents.

The different systems of philosophy are (1) *Lōkāyatam*, (2) *Baud-dham*, (3) *Sāṅkya*, (4) *Naiyāyika*, (5) *Vaiśeṣika*, (6) *Mīmāṃsā*. The authors of these systems are respectively Bṛihaspati, Jina, Kapila, Akkapāda (Akshapāda), Kaṇāda and Jaimini. Only six of the above media of knowledge are recognized in the above systems.

Having listened to the professors of the five systems of Philosophy, viz., (1) the Vedic *Pramāṇavāda* or *Mīmāṃsā*, (2) the *Naiyāyika* which comprised the *Ajīvika* and *Nigaṇṭha* systems, (3) the *Sāṅkhya*, (4) the *Vaiśeṣika* and (5) *Bhūtarvāda* or *Lōkāyata*, the work says, Maṇimēkhala was eager to learn the Baud-dha system and

went to the venerable Buddhist Monk. The whole of the previous account is unique in literature. But what is important for our purpose is that it gives an account of several views contained in *Kṛtakōṭi*,¹ the *Vṛitti* of Bōdhāyana on the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta Sūtra*. It is already known to scholars that the Vṛittikāra made an important addition to the teaching of *Mīmāṃsā* in the shape of the introduction of discussions of the validity of knowledge and its diverse forms. The *Sūtra* itself is content with the denial of the validity of perception for the purpose of the knowledge of *Dharma*; and the exaltation of vēdic injunction as the source of the necessary knowledge under the influence perhaps of the *Nyāya* the earlier doctrine is now elaborated into a critical examination of the nature of evidence, its validity and the forms of proof. The above extract from the *Maṇimēkhalai* gives in a short compass the summed up views of Bōdhāyana on the *Pramāṇas*.

It now remains to fix the date of the Vṛittikāra, Bōdhāyana. The extract from the *Prapañchahṛdaya* shows that Bōdhāyana came immediately after Vyāsa and Jaimini, the joint authors of the complete *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*, and was succeeded in order by Upavarsha, Dēvasvāmin, Bhavadāsa, and Sabarasvāmin. The *Bhāṣya* of the last of these authors is generally taken to belong to the Gupta period. Allowing a decent period to have elapsed between each of the others and his predecessor one would be fairly correct in assigning the first century A. D., as the period when Bōdhāyana lived. He could have been earlier but not later than that. In this connection distinction is to be made between the several Bōdhāyanas known to us. There is nothing that connects the Bōdhāyana, the author of the *Kalpa Sūtras*,

¹Since writing the above a pandit friend of mine, Mr. E. R. Krishnamacharya, has drawn my attention to the following reference to Kṛtakōṭi from an unexpected quarter. This is from a lexicon called *Sanyamināmanālikā* preserved in the Tanjore Palace Library. The following line from the work quoted in Burnell's catalogue of the manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library is very important as it deals with Upavarsha.

The line gives as synonyms of the name Upavarsha, Hālabhūti and Kṛtakōṭikavi. It is significant that we do not have the name Bōdhāyana here which would not have been the case if Bōdhāyana and Upavarsha were identical in the mind of the author, nor is it likely that the author would have been ignorant of the word Bōdhāyana, the Vṛittikāra's proper name, when he gives synonyms for it. The terms Kṛtakōṭikavi applied to Upavarsha signifies merely that Upavarsha wrote a work on the Kṛtakōṭi, the *Vṛitti* of Bōdhāyana. We have already shown from the *Prapañchahṛdaya* that Upavarsha abridged Kṛtakōṭi, the *Vṛitti* of Bōdhāyana. A. R. S.

Bōdhāyana, the Vṛittikāra and Bōdhāyana, the author of the 22nd drama *Bhagavad-Ajjuka*, where the author ridicules Buddhism.

Leaving the question of Bōdhāyana for the present, it seems interesting to determine the date of the Tamil Classic *Maṇimēkhalai*, which gives us the account of his *Vṛitti*. While giving its account of the six *Darśanas*, it does not note that the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* and the *Vedānta* are two different subjects. If the work was written long after Upavarsha, who commented on the whole of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* as one subject only, it would have divided the subject into two. It does not even mention Upavarsha. Although the author of the *Maṇimēkhalai* was a Buddhist, when he shows such an intimate knowledge of the work and views of Jaimini, Vēdavyāsa, and Bōdhāyana, it is not likely he would have missed noting down the views of later authors on *Mīmāṃsā*, especially as, soon after the date of Upavarsha, the metaphysical speculation respectively of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta* schools led them into two different directions and perhaps they never met again. So seeing how the two *Mīmāṃsās* are taken together as one subject and while giving the names of its propounders the names of Vēda Vyāsa, the author of the *Brahma Sūtras*, Jaimini, the author of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*, and *Kṛtakōṭi*, the *Vṛitti* on the previous works by Bōdhāyana, alone are given, a very ancient date ought to be assigned to the poem. The poem therefore appears to have been written soon after Bōdhāyana's work and before the works of Upavarsha and the rest. The date of the composition of the *Maṇimēkhalai* is intricately connected with the date of the composition of the other Tamil works of the Sangham period. Our present discussion leads us to the conclusion that the *Maṇimēkhalai* should have been written about the first century after Christ. There has been a long controversy among scholars and historians about the date of the Sangham period of Tamil literature. The examination of the religious views presented in the *Maṇimēkhalai* would also contribute its share in attempting to fix the period. Such an examination has not so far been undertaken exhaustively by any scholar and if undertaken is sure to yield valuable results.

Obituary

THE LATE SIR GEORGE FORREST

1846-1926

WAS born in 1846; and, after graduating from St. John's College, Cambridge, entered the Bombay Education Department in 1872. He was Census Commissioner at Bombay in 1881-82, Professor of History at the Elphinstone College and subsequently Director of the Bombay Records. Even before this he was placed by Government on special duty with the Bombay Records in 1884. It was then that he prepared and edited *The Home and Maratha Series* (2 volumes each) of 'Selections' from the letters, dispatches and other State papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (1885-87). A number of years afterwards he published (1906) another volume of 'Selections' from the travels and journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat.

Forrest was promoted to be Assistant Secretary to the Government of India and Director of their Records in 1894 and continued to occupy that office till 1900. He was made a C.I.E. in 1899 and continued to be active in his literary labours even in the period of his retirement. His last great work was *The Life of Lord Clive* (2 volumes, Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1918), which was long in preparation, being based on an examination of manuscripts in the Archives of India as well as of Europe and of the vast accumulation of private papers of the Clive family at Walcot. The various visits that Forrest paid to Madras as Director of the Government of India Records enabled him to choose those documents at Fort St. George which threw light on Clive's part in the Carnatic struggles. Incidentally he examined also relevant records in the Pondicherry Archives where he came across important evidence as to La Bourdonnais having taken a bribe to conclude an unauthorized treaty for the ransom of Madras (1746). It was on one of those visits to Pondicherry that General Macleod, the Consular Agent and himself brought to the notice of the Madras Government the existence of the famous Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillay.

In 1890 Forrest was requested by Sir George Chesney, then the Military Member of the Government of India, to examine and arrange

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systematically, with a view to publication, all the State papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857 which were deposited in the different military offices of the Government. The results of the laborious investigation that followed are embodied in the four volumes of 'Selections' from the letters, dispatches and other State papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India (1893-1912). As an introduction to this series Forrest constructed from the official materials a continuous story of the Mutiny shorn of all technical details. He also edited 3 volumes of 'Selections' from the papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India in the time of Warren Hastings to whose great capacities he did ample justice and reparation. He also edited for Government a printed 'Collection of Clive's Papers' from Bengal, Madras and the India Office, with other papers illustrating the rise of the British power in India in the epoch 1671-1785 (Calcutta, 1891-93). Other books that came from his learned and facile pen are *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne*, *Sepoy Generals*, *The Cities of India*, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, etc. It is a great pity that we have to mourn the passing away of two eminent historians like Robert Sewell and Sir George Forrest within such a short time as a month.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE LATE PANDIT MAHAMAHOPADYAYA DR. T. GANAPATI SASTRI OF TRIVANDRUM

It is with feelings of profound sorrow that we have to record the death of Pandit Mahamahopadyaya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, whose services in the cause of Sanskrit literature and Indian historical research have been remarkable, and in some respects unique. The talented editor of the well-known Trivandrum Sanskrit series was born in October 1860, and was educated on old traditional lines. Before he was sixteen he had completed the study of *Yajur Veda*, *Nataka* and the *Alankara* Sastras. In his seventeenth year he wrote a Sanskrit drama, *Madhavi Vasantam*, which attracted the notice of the then Maharaja of Travancore. He further pursued his studies which soon made him an all round Pandita. Under the kindly patronage the late Maharaja Sri Mūlam Tirumāl of Travancore, Ganapati Sastri rose to a prominent position as the Curator of Government Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.

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In 1889, he was appointed Professor of Sahitya in the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, and became the Head Master, and finally the Principal of that institution. With limited knowledge of English and without special training in modern methods of research, he effected far-reaching improvements in the methods of Sanskrit studies in Travancore. His extraordinary abilities, and great capacity for original work induced the higher authorities to create a special department for the recovery and publication of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts. He was made first Curator and held that office for seventeen years. He edited and published eighty-seven volumes comprising various branches of Sanskrit literature. Each of these is provided with a scholarly historical introduction, giving evidence of scientific methods of research. Conspicuous among these publications are Bhasa's plays and the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. To these he has appended not only valuable introductions but authoritative commentaries. These and other works of his won for him admiration and respect from several learned savants in all parts of the world.

The Government conferred on him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in 1918. He was the President of the All-India Sanskrit Conference held at Allahabad in the same year. In 1920 he was enrolled as an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Again an address was voted to him in the same year at a joint session of several oriental societies of Europe and America expressing their grateful appreciation of his invaluable services to the cause of Sanskrit literature. The address was presented to him in person by that distinguished orientalist Dr. F. W. Thomas during his tour in India. He was one of the distinguished group of Pandits to whom His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales presented *killets* on the occasion of his visit to the University of Madras. Lastly the University of Tübingen conferred on our Mahamahopadhyaya an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy. May his soul rest in peace!

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS OF SATARA

It is matter for sincere regret that we have to add another obituary notice in this issue of the Journal, of another student of Indian History, the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara. He is well-known

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to the public as a writer on the history and topography of various localities in the Mahratta country, such as Mahabalishwar and Satara. He has recently come more prominently to the notice of students of Indian History by the three volumes on the History of the Mahrattas in collaboration with Mr. C. A. Kincaid, who retired recently as one of the Honourable Judges of the High Court at Bombay.

The late Mr. Parasnis came of a family of Persian Secretaries under the Muhammadan Governments of South India, as his name indicates. As such he came into possession of valuable historical papers relative to Mahratta history in possession of the family. He added very considerably to this collection by his own efforts. He was an ardent collector of manuscripts and pictures and other material of history, so much so that his collection was one of the most remarkable among the private collections. The best part of his bungalow was set apart for this till within the last few years when he was able to get the Government to build a museum of antiquities just opposite, to which he removed the whole of his collection a few months before his death.

The late lamented scholar was a man of great urbanity, and belonged to that school of well-to-do gentlemen who spent their time in learned leisure. He was eminently partial to learning and learned men, and extended his hospitality very freely to all those that were that way inclined. He was just past fifty-five, and we recollect the kind host in him when we visited his place in connection with the recent Historical Records Commission, which held its sittings in Poona in January 1925. He was apparently in very good health, and we hardly suspected that his death was so near.

Reviews

'THE OCEAN OF STORY'

BY

PROFESSOR J. JOLLY, WURZBURG

[*The Ocean of Story*. Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's *Katha Sarit Sagara*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory notes, and terminal essay, by N. M. Penzer, Vol. II. xxii+373 pp., London, 1921, vol. III. xxv+365 pp. London, 1925.

THE first volume of this admirable work has been already noticed in this journal, the second and third are fully as interesting as the first and contain the continuation of Tawney's translation, revised by Dr. Barnett, Mr. Penzer's highly instructive Notes and Appendices, two valuable Forewords by Sir G. Grierson and Dr. Gaster, besides copious Indices. The Appendices treat of the love-story of Urvaśi, Max-Müller's interpretation of which is refuted, of umbrellas, the poison damsel, sneezing, salutations and Indian eunuchs. Of the numerous longer notes we may mention as particularly interesting those on the act of truth motif, alchemy, the barber caste, the birth-chamber, chowries, cross-roads, eating disgusting things, gambling, the hand of a dead person, magic circle, magic pipes, moving figures, omens, the over-hearing motif, polyandry, sacred cows, serpent worship, etc.

Though references to that curious creation of imagination, the poison maiden, are rare in Sanskrit literature, the author has omitted to quote Suśruta's text on the deadly embrace of the poison damsel (v, 1, 4). The iron knives in the birth-chamber and the custom of eating disgusting things might also have been traced to Sanskrit medical works. Somadeva's reference to alchemy might have been supplied from Al Biruni, who was almost contemporaneous with Somadeva. A striking passage on the omnipotence of truth is found in the Kautiliya *Arthaśāstra* (vii. 77). The story of Sindbad landing on a huge fish may be derived from the Avesta.

On some minor points we cannot agree with Mr. Penzer, but his work certainly is a wonderful production and a mine of valuable information. The fourth volume has just appeared also and we may congratulate the author on the rapidity of his pen no less than on the solidity and wide extent of his researches.

REVIEWS

ORISSA IN THE MAKING

BY

B. C. MAZUMDAR

[With a foreword by Sir. Edward Gait. Published by the Calcutta University.]

THE History of Orissa constitutes as yet one of the darkest chapters of Hindu India. Orissa as a geographical entity has varied from time to time, and connoted at various periods of history several parts of what now constitutes Orissa, sometimes even standing for a larger geographical unity than the present Orissa. Any light, therefore, thrown upon the history of Orissa would be welcome. Mr. Mazumdar's work is an attempt to unravel the history of the constructive period of modern Orissa. It is apparently with that idea that the title is given for the work. Mazumdar treats the subject from the geographico-historical point of view interspersed with odds and ends of anthropological material. In dealing with Orissa it gets confounded with Kalinga not altogether without historical reasons, though that side of it is not adverted to in the course of the work under review. According to Mr. Mazumdar Orissa constituted but one part, and a distinct one at that, of what constitutes modern Orissa. The rest of it he would divide between southern Kosala and Kalinga. In dealing with the history of this block of territory, he passes over the period before the rise of the Kēsari dynasty very lightly, and throws a considerable amount of welcome light upon that history from the age of Hiuen Tsiang onwards to the Muhammadan Conquest late in the sixteenth century. Without professing to be a regular history, it provides a considerable amount of historical material collected at first-hand by the author. But as ill luck would have it he is prevented from this ambitious attempt at history by a physical disability which has overtaken him. It is matter for great pity that a scholar with such competent knowledge of the subject should be debarred from attempting a work which is so much needed.

In regard to the work itself, Puranic beginnings are passed over lightly, and the period immediately following is treated no better. As a matter of fact the amount of information available is comparatively little, but that little could have been exploited to some advantage. The condition of Kalinga in the early Mauryan period is touched upon but slightly except for the solitary episode of the Asokan conquest

interlude. The Ceylon Mahavamsa contains a few Kalings who came to be constituted, and Tamil reference to the two divisions of the country already in the Mahavamsa and how they came to ruin as a result of the war between the two. That seems to mark one serious gap in Orissa history. In regard to Kharavela himself, the author points out very nice points of objection against Mr. Jayaswal's suggestions in regard to the interpretation of this valuable document of history. He shows a tendency, not in itself objectionable, to ascribe things, sometimes even unduly, to Dravidian origin. He blunders very badly in this effort as in the case of the name Kharavela. He wants to derive this name, which is generally equated with the Sanskrit *Kṣhāravela*, the waves of the salt sea. After all this seems to be a mere title, the name of the individual being Meghavahana. What particular fancy led to this title, we are not able to trace unless it be an earlier glimpse of the description in Kālidāsa that the waves of the sea lashed on the palace walls of the royal house of Kalinga. He wants to make it equal to the Tamil *Karavēla* meaning 'spear in hand.' Tamilians hear constantly of a Tangavēlu, a Ratnavēlu and a Vaḍivēlu, but we really do not come across such expressions as Karavelan though *Karavēlan* as a descriptive term does occur in Tamil classics. What is perhaps worse, Mr. Mazumdar makes a quotation from Avvaiyar on page 60 which is extremely unhappy. The quotation is 'Īvadu Keravēl.' Karavēl, is unfortunately for Mazumdar a verb, and the affix 'vel' is not a word nor has any meaning by itself, but is actually two grammatical affixes with an intervocalic consonant. The whole expression simply means do not cease giving. This is an instance *par excellence* of riding philology very hard, which sometimes scholars attempt to do.

Mr. Mazumdar tries to trace the overthrow of the Kalinga dominance and the coming in of that of the Odra to a period somewhere about the age of Harsha. There is some ground that probably the conquest of Samudragupta of this region was mainly responsible for the dismemberment of the Kalinga Empire and the consequent incursion of the native tribes less civilized than their neighbours. This is what is referred to as the Yavana invasion. Modern Orissa emerges under the dominance of various dynasties, chiefly of the

states, culminating in the so-called K²_E INDIA 'the Jainar of the Mahomedan historians.

Later on in the discussion of the dynastic survey in a single in that of the Kalinga Gangas, the author has made a valuable historical material available in the Cho. the author lays himself out to deal with this part. The records of Rajendra Chola, particularly the published Tiruvalangadu plates, throw a very considerable light upon the position which we have tried to make use of in a contribution on Rajendra Chola to the Sir Asutosh Mukerji Silver Jubilee Memorial Volumes of the Calcutta University. The Tamilians are accustomed to describing Kalinga even in that age as of three, sometimes even of seven divisions. These records carry the Kalinga territory right up to the banks of the Ganges. Notwithstanding these defects, we welcome the book as throwing light upon a dark period of Indian History.

'SELECTIONS FROM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS'

(PART I TEXT)

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR,

Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

THE study of Indian History is advancing if slowly but surely, and, interest in the subject is gradually rising. One great drawback to the promotion of the study of Indian History has been the defective apparatus for the study of the subject comparatively to similar subjects of European History. This drawback is being slowly removed by the provision of suitable publications for the purpose. Among these, source books on Indian History constitute one large section. There have been some few made available so far, but there is still a large mass of historical material of a class which lie buried in costly and recondite volumes not so easily available to the public. Among these inscriptions published by the Archaeological Department in its various sections are perhaps by far the most important. Mr. Diskalkar has done valuable service by making a small selection of these and publishing fifteen of these typical records. Several of these are of the

interlude. Gupta Inscriptions of the late Dr. Fleet
w Kalinga volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* and
reference to *Indian Antiquary*, both of them not very
e Mahav one of these that he has taken from other
between as the *Kavyamala*.

Oru Part 1, text. Mr. Diskalkar proposes to give other
author's readers by way of translations, notes, etc. The object
suggestions. lkar has set before him is two-fold, to demonstrate, (1)
of the value of the inscriptions and (2) their historical value.
There is no doubt that the popularizing of the inscriptions would give
the necessary stimulus to the promotion of research. We commend
the book to all interested in the scientific study of literature from
the point of view of history. The little book has the advantage of an
introductory note by Rai Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, Epigraphist to
the Government of India, recently retired.

'INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA'

BY

MR. S. V. VISVANATHA, M.A.

[Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Madras.]

THIS book of 200 pages is an introductory study to the great problem
of International Law in Ancient India. It is introductory in the sense
that the author has not fully exploited all the sources of information
which are available and which admit of critical examination. It is a
study perhaps based on the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭalya from which treatise
passages are often quoted and references are always drawn. The
author does not exhibit any deep knowledge of the Vedic or even post-
vedic literature. The Epics and the Puranas especially contain an
unfailing mine of information, which if properly collated would shed
unquestionable light on the question, and would go a long way to
indicate that International law was not only a theoretical question but
was actually realized in practice. The stray references to Krishna as
the best ambassador, or even to certain passages of the *Ramayana*,
do not amount to a critical study of the Epic texts. The book gives
Kaṭalya's views on the subject more or less fully.

The *Sukraniti* is invariably quoted but with no definite reference

to chronology, though in the pr² OF INDIA'
in the survey extends up to A.D. 500.
conditions that obtained in later times.
extant *Sukraniti* are not occasional but c².q. 6d.]
to infer that the author places its comp².
A.D. 500. This may or may not be true. But the survey in a single
would wish a little more precision. A siml. After a bird's eye
statement that the '*Niti prakasika* is a work no doubt through the
The implements of war and methods of warfare given in it has his
correspond more or less to the list given by Viśvāmitra to perspec-
the *Ramayana*. It certainly stands to reason that an impartial just
of both these texts may lead to the conclusion that the *Niti prakasika*
is to be referred to the time of the composition of the *Ramayana*
unless it borrowed wholesale from the epic. On what evidence is it
'a work of a later age,' one cannot gather from the book under
review.

In the opening pages of the book the author discusses the sources
for his subject and mentions Sruti, Smriti, Epics and Purānas and
secular writers among others. Under the category of secular works
come the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭalya, the *Sukraniti* and others. Here
again one has to infer that the author's conception of the true
place of Smriti, of *Dharmaśāstra* and of *Arthashastras* in Sanskrit
literature is quite hazy. Is not the *Arthashastra* only a part of the
Dharmaśāstra?

The author has examined the whole question on the accepted
divisions of modern International law, war, peace and neutrality. It
is our honest opinion that judging or examining ancient principles and
notions by modern standards is not a happy way of approaching the
subject. It would lead to the confusion of the real issue, and perhaps
to a wrong understanding of the view-point of ancient writers. Even
here we do not come across any scientific examination of any
statement after careful or searching scrutiny. There are no original
theories that would arrest the attention of a serious student of modern
or even for the matter of that ancient International law. The book
is thus neither an encyclopædia of information on the subject,
nor a critical study of the interesting problem which it seeks to
expound.

'KAUTALYA.'

‘INLAND TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN
MEDIÆVAL INDIA’

BY

BEJOY KUMAR SARKAR

[Calcutta University Press, 1925, pp. 87.]

THIS short monograph is a study of the methods of water and land transport and post which prevailed in India from about the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries. The main sources of information are the Mussalman historians from Barani onwards and European travellers, supplemented in places by references to purely Hindu books like *Śuṣṛāṇīti* and the *Rājatarangini*. A fairly connected account is given of inland water-transport, particularly in Bengal, ‘South India having developed little communication on her Inland waters.’ In the chapter on land-transport, animal carriers, roads, bridges, rest houses and the *ḍāk*-post are all described. In connection with the facilities that existed for the accommodation of travellers in cities, the acute Bernier, when describing the *Bēgam Serai* at Delhi, observes: ‘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 . . .’ (p. 47). Means of Inland communication were fairly adequate considering the times and the nature of economy that prevailed then. The post and the news-reporters are very minutely traced in their evolution from the days of Alāu-d-dīn down to the close of the eighteenth century. Footnotes cite all the authorities quoted, and there is a list of books used given at the end. This monograph, though not striking, is a sober and useful account of a topic which is relatively little known.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘SCENES AND CHARACTERS FROM INDIAN
HISTORY’

AS DESCRIBED IN THE WORKS OF SOME OLD MASTERS

BY

C. H. PAYNE

[Compiled and edited with notes. Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. vii and 251.]

THIS book presents extracts from the narratives of ten original authorities, five of whom were eye-witnesses to the events they

describe, the others basing their narratives directly on the accounts of eye-witnesses. The author justifies the great utility of his selection on the ground that the greatest historians writing subsequent to the events they describe do not give the genuine period atmosphere, though they may abound in perspective, proportion and sequence of cause and effect, and that the narratives of eye-witnesses are valuable in the intimate personal touches with which unconsciously they give reality to their scenes and life to their characters. Of course these may lack in time perspective and in focus, and even fail to describe with scrupulous accuracy what is before their very eyes. But what they lose in these, they more than gain in other ways.

Abdur Razzak who has been translated by M. Quatremere and Mr. R. H. Major (*India in the Fifteenth Century*) and by Sir Henry Elliot (*History of India*, vol. iv) is made to give here his account of Vijayanagar as he saw it under Deva Raya II. The *Roteiro* of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama being the personal diary of a member of the expedition (translated by E. G. Ravenstein for the Hakluyt Society) is made use of for describing Vasco da Gama's visit to Calicut. Babar's account of the battle of Kanwaha, H. Oxinden's narrative of his mission to the court of Shivaji (a copy of the *Ms* of which is contained in the Factory Records of the India Office) and the description of the Mughal Court by Baron Tavernier in 1665 belong to the class of accounts of eye-witnesses. The other five original authorities, Hwui-Li, the biographer of the Chinese Master of the Law; Plutarch; Castanheda who drew his materials from the *Roteiro* and other first-hand sources; Ferishta and Du Jarric; are each valuable in his own way. Hwui-Li's narrative of his Master's spiritual triumph at Prayag and Kanauj and Du Jarric's character-sketch of Akbar may be specially mentioned for their value. The supplements to the extracts in the shape of fairly exhaustive notes are generally sound and helpful. We may however legitimately enquire whether some of the points in the notes are not capable of better interpretation and whether Plutarch writing at a great distance of time from his hero, the Boswellian-Hwui-Li and the uncritical Du Jarric are entitled to all the value of strictly contemporary and original writers.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘ READINGS IN INDIAN HISTORY, PART III.
THE BRITISH PERIOD ’

SELECTED AND EDITED BY

SIR W. W. HUNTER AND H. O. B. GARRETT

[Ninth Edition, revised and enlarged, Calcutta; S. R. Lahiri and Co., pp. vii and 247.]

THE first edition of this little book was made years ago by the late Sir William Hunter with the object of showing by means of extracts from standard writers on the subject like Mill, Thornton, Malleon, Trotter, Aitchison, Macaulay and the compiler himself, how the English East India Company grew into a great governing power. The selections which ended with the death of Lord Mayo, have now been supplemented by similar ones taken from the book of Lady Betty Balfour on *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, Lytton's Note on the Famine Policy of Government, Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After*, John Buchan's *Lord Minto* and the Montagu Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reform. The Manual may be used as a good supplementary reading book but it lacks notes and explanations.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘ A HISTORY OF THE DECCAN ’

BY

J. D. B. GRIBBLE

[Edited and finished by Mrs. M. Pendlebury. Vol. II. Luzac and Co., London, 1924, pp. viii and 278.]

THE first volume published many years ago carried the narrative of Deccan history to the accession of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asaf Jah to power in the Deccan, the work appearing at first in a series of articles entitled ‘ Tales of a Deccan Grandfather ’. After Gribble's death his daughter, Mrs. Pendlebury, has edited and completed the work in this volume which carries the story of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty down to the epoch of the death of the well-known statesman, Sir Salar Jang. The narrative of this book deals somewhat scantily with the reign of Asaf Jah (1723-48) and the fortunes of his successors down to the establishment of British influence permanently at Hyderabad about the beginning of the last century. The main sources of information seem to be only European writers like Orme and the Despatches and Letters of Anglo-Indian statesmen like Wellesley. The large mass of

records of the Nizam's Government does not seem to have been made use of.

Prominent attention has been devoted to the question of the development of the Berar Trust now so much in evidence. It was the author's articles on the subject contributed to the *Pioneer* and the *XIX Century Review* that first attracted public interest in this problem; and later, his efforts succeeded in bringing about a debate on this subject in Parliament itself. From the time of the starting of the Hyderabad Contingent by the resident, Kirkpatrick, on through the confused period of Chandu Lal's Ministry, down to the point when Dalhousie forced the Treaty of 1853 down the Nizam's throat, the narrative is full and free, showing how well the Nizam tried to avoid the calamity ‘ by passive resistance and protracted negotiations ’. The way in which the stipulations of the Treaty have been observed by the British Government, much to the detriment of the Nizam's claims is graphically recounted, down to the much-made-of agreement of Lord Curzon and the late Nizam in December, 1902. The author shows how this settlement has not been received with universal satisfaction as it did not meet the claims in question. The last pages of the book are devoted to a picture of the state as it was when Sir Salar Jang took charge of the administration in 1853 and of the extraordinary progress made by it under his long regime as Minister (1853-83). The comparison that Mr. Gribble institutes between the great Minister and Turgot may not be quite happy in all respects, but brings the point home to the reader. The book is very readable and attractive in its get up, and is beautifully illustrated. ‘ It is an attractive book which is accurate without being dull ’; but it cannot be deemed to be very scholarly. It fills a long-existing gap in the modern history of the Deccan.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘ THE RISE OF THE IMAMS OF SANAA ’

BY

DR. A. S. TRITTON

Muslim University, Aligarh

[The Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 141. Price Rs. 6.]

THIS book is the revised edition of a thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh by the author for a Doctorate Degree; and the

first four of its nine chapters have already appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*. It is based on a MS. of which the University of Edinburgh possesses a recent copy and is controlled by several other books in the British Museum. The Governor of Yaman became independent in the beginning of the third century of the Hijra in the shape of the Ziyāddī line of Zabid which was followed by other dynasties like the Najāhids, the Hamdānids, the Rassid Imams of Sa'da (A.D. 893—c. 1300), etc. The last-mentioned line had their chief seat at Sa'da, but they frequently succeeded in taking Sānaa; and after the expulsion of the Othmanli Turks, Sānaa became the permanent capital of the Imamate of the Yaman. These Imams are really only a continuation of the previous line of Sa'da. These Imams ruled from c. 1591 A.D. to c. 1776. Qasim headed the first rising against the Turks which however collapsed. The second rising was more formidable and after several years of struggle ended with the surrender of Sānaa. The book contains an account of the religious and social life of the period in Yemen (Yaman) based on the accounts of the historians including the particulars where the Imams differed from other Muslims. An appendix gives particulars of the language and vocabulary of the historians, while the index is exhaustive with regard to places, tribes and sects.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘JAHANGIR'S INDIA: THE REMONSTRANTIO OF
FRANCISCO PELSÆRT’

BY

W. H. MORELAND AND P. GEYL.

[Translated from the Dutch. W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1925, pp. xvii and 88. Price, 8s. 6d. net.]

It was the Dutch and not the English who succeeded to the Portuguese mastery of the Asiatic seas and trade; and it was they who took the largest share in the external commerce of India in the seventeenth century. Dutch sources of information are naturally important for this and other reasons; and according to the high authority of Moreland, the

Dutch factors were careful to write out many things which the English took for granted; their more extensive operations gave them wider views and ‘the discipline enforced by the authorities at Batavia produced detailed and precise records of transactions carried out in distant places’, and hence Dutch information might correct inaccurate and distorted views on many points shaped by reliance on English sources alone.

Thus the Report of Pelsært which is a document submitted to the Dutch East India Company about the author's observations during his seven years' stay in Agra (1620–1627) and submitted in 1626 is important as it gives a first-hand picture of the manner in which the Dutch gained a definite predominance in the trade of Western India ‘largely superseding the English merchants who had been the first in the field’ obtaining a supply of cotton goods from Gujarat and establishing a factory at Agra, the centre of the indigo trade. Pelsært was early translated by Thevenot, used by historians from de Laet downwards. The present translation is from a manuscript preserved in the Rijks—archieff of Holland which is evidently a contemporary copy of 1628 and is marked by small modifications and enriched by footnotes.

The Report describes the City of Agra, the trade of Agra and the East Country, the processes of indigo-making and its trade, the details of Dutch commerce in Northern India and similar topics relating to the trade of the western and north-western regions. The more valuable part of the account, from one point of view is a description of the Mughal administration under Jahangir, the manner of life and the religious superstitions of the various classes of the population—evidently intended to give the Dutch at home an idea of the tastes and commercial demands of the classes which consumed European goods to some extent. The Report is thus full of interesting matter to the students of the economic as well as administrative history of the Mughal age and is an additional enrichment of the European sources of information. Of course the story of Pelsært will become familiar to scholars from now as supplying some knowledge of the social and administrative environment in which European commerce had to be conducted in India in the early seventeenth century.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (AFTERWARDS
HAMILTON)—PATNA AND GAYA, IN 1811-12

BY

V. H. JACKSON

[Edited with Notes and Introduction. Government Press, Patna, 1925. pp. xxvi, 250 and xiii. Price, Rs. 4.]

FRANCIS BUCHANAN-HAMILTON (1762-1829) was an Edinburgh doctor who joined the East India Company's service in 1794 and was employed on various missions, botanical, zoological and statistical inquiries in Madras, Mysore, Bengal, etc., till he retired in 1815. He contributed largely to literary and scientific societies, wrote on the History of Nepal, the genealogy of the Hindu gods, the Fishes of the Ganges, etc. His best known work is *A Journey through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, being the result of the labours of an extended tour undertaken in 1801-2, in the course of which he wrote his report day by day, while travelling, in the form of a journal. The tour was undertaken at the instance of the Governor-General and the journal published in 1807 under the orders of the Directors. The book embodied the results of his investigations into the economic condition of the regions, the religions, manners and customs of the people and their history and antiquities. In 1807 the Directors ordered him to carry out a statistical survey of the then very extensive Bengal Presidency under instructions which were obviously an amplification of those given to him in respect of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.

Buchanan started his work in the cold weather of 1807-8, commencing in the eastern districts and then moving westwards and finishing with Patna, Gaya, Shahabad and Gorakhpur, the last being completed in 1813-14. He had no previous accounts to guide him; he had himself 'to formulate the methods of collecting the details required under each head of inquiry, sift, classify and check the information obtained and finally compile and write out the voluminous reports, the manuscript of which filled twenty-five folio volumes.' Unfortunately these were deposited at the India House in 1816 and were not utilized for twenty-two years when R. M. Martin published a 'judicious selection' from the Buchanan MSS in 3 vols.; but without indicating anywhere on the title-page Buchanan-Hamilton's authorship of these

Mr. Martin omitted much matter of importance, not having had knowledge of the subjects dealt with.

Each of the Reports of Buchanan-Hamilton is a self-contained and carefully finished work 'which was clearly intended for publication.' There are now available besides the Reports, the official daily journals which he kept during his tour of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, of Bhagalpur in 1810-11, and Shahabad in 1812-13. Similar journals which might have been kept for the other districts surveyed cannot be now traced. These journals are now being edited—the journal for Shahabad by C. E. A. W. Oldham, published in the *J.B.O.R.S.* for September-December, 1925, and the *Journal for Patna-Gaya* by V. H. Jackson in the publication under review. Mr. Jackson was enabled to obtain a copy of the journal from the India Office Library which was made most accurate verbally. Though the journals were evidently not intended for publication, they contain topographical and antiquarian matters particularly as regards the districts of Patna and Gaya; and the publishing of these now serves a useful purpose, 'because much of the material included both in the journal and in the Reports has never yet been published,' Martin's abridgment being justly condemned by every one who has examined the original papers.

Mr. Jackson's introduction to the *Patna-Gaya Journal* is elaborate; and the book is enriched with a map showing the route of Buchanan's tour. He says that the journal leaves out very little of importance in the districts except in the neighbourhood of Rajgir and Jethram. The footnotes are numerous and suggestive. Mention may be made also of Mr. Oldham's edition of the Shahabad Journal which occupies the bulk of the pages of the *J. B. O. R. S.* (vol. xi, Nos. 3 and 4) which will also be soon published as a separate volume by the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SURVEY OF INDIA (1923-24)’

I—SIR JOHN MARSHALL ON THE EXCAVATIONS IN
HARAPPA AND MOHENJO-DARO

In the recently published *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1923-24, Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of

Archæology brings prominent into view the importance of the discoveries recently made in Sind and the south-west of the Punjab 'which are as remarkable as any ever made in this country and would alone suffice to make the year 1923-24 a memorable one in the history of Indian Archæology.' As pointed out by Sir John, they have appealed powerfully to the national sentiment of India and are likely to 'revolutionize our ideas of the cultural development of man in the Middle and Nearer East.'

Apart from the paleolithic and neolithic implements and antiquities discovered by workers like the late Mr. Bruce Foote, the pioneer of this branch of research in India, and apart from such primitive remains as the Cyclopean walls of Rajagriha no monuments of note were known to exist earlier than about the third century B.C., 'an epoch when Greece had already passed her zenith and the mighty empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt had been all but forgotten. The discoveries recently made at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab and at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkhana District of Sind take back our knowledge of Indian culture some three thousand years earlier, in fact to the third millennium before Christ and even before that the peoples of the Punjab and Sind were living in well built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature culture with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of pictographic writing.'

Specimens of seals from Harappa of a unique type, engraved with the effigy of a bull—and bearing inscriptions in a pictographic script were discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham as early as 1875 and published in his Report for that year. Subsequent specimens of the same type were acquired for the British Museum and described by Dr. J. F. Fleet in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1912 (pp. 699-700). These seals baffled investigators as to their age and character until the recent discoveries threw a flood of light upon them. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Superintendent of Archæology, Northern Circle, started excavations at Harappa in 1920-21 which disclosed the ruins of a great city covering a vast area and containing many strata of successive buildings. Mohenjo-Daro situated more centrally in the main stream of the Indus culture began to be excavated by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, when the examination of a mound exposed brick walls, masonry drains, water channels and portions of

residential buildings separated by narrow streets. The rooms were paved with brick tiles and the pavements are sub-divided by brick-on-edge portions. Among the minor antiquities unearthed here are a number of square steatite seals of the Harappa type, most bearing the effigy of a bull and a pictographic legend, besides a collection of shell and mother-of-pearl objects, terracotta toys, stone cubes polished and probably used as weights and painted pottery of different shapes.

At Harappa the exploration of one mound disclosed certain well-preserved walls and furnished besides a few seals, a pair of faience bangles and the painted neck of an earthen jar, besides a well preserved water reservoir lined with brick and containing several smaller jars and terracotta figurines. The examination of another mound disclosed as many as seven layers of buildings indicating a very prolonged occupation of the site 'with no doubt other strata still unexposed below them.' In the topmost stratum a round brick granary and a black painted earthen vase were found while in the fifth stratum from the top two brick structures were discovered with thick walls and paved interior, and in one of these are two low masonry benches. These are supposed to have been places of worship, the defaced terracotta base of a statue found there being supposed to have been an object of worship. In the seventh stratum there is a building of considerable magnitude in which a small steatite seal was discovered. Other mounds bid fair to yield very valuable relics, among those discovered in the preliminary examination being a handy combination of three copper instruments.

The publication of these finds by Sir John Marshall in the *Illustrated London News* in 1924 was followed by a letter from Professor Sayce, the eminent Assyriologist pointing out the close resemblance between these finds and certain Sumerian antiquities from Southern Mesopotamia. A further letter from Messrs. Gadd and Smith of the Assyrian Department of the British Museum gave a more detailed comparison of the pictographic scripts and other antiquities found in the two countries. Thus eminent scholars hold that the 'Punjab and Sind antiquities are closely connected and roughly contemporary with the Sumerian antiquities of Mesopotamia dating from the third and fourth millenniums before Christ.' An American scholar, Dr. Mackay, has pointed out to Sir John Marshall the similarity between the ceramic wares found at Mohenjo-Daro and at Kish and declared that a

seal identical with those found at Harappa and at Mohenjo-Daro had been discovered in the debris beneath a temple of Hammurabi's time (*circa* 2000 B.C.).

A great deal has appeared in the press on the likely consequences of these momentous discoveries. But Sir John Marshall is naturally reticent about giving a decided opinion as to the probable effect of these finds. He says, 'it will be safer not to issue any detailed memoirs on the subject until the excavations have progressed further and we can feel our way with relative certainty in this new and unexplored field.' He however postulates that this Indus Valley culture is of a similar nature with that of the civilizations developed in the Nile Valley and along the Tigris and the Euphrates. It may be discovered to throw a great deal of light on the wider sphere of culture which embraced 'not only of Southern Mesopotamia and India, but probably Persia and a large part of Central Asia as well and which may have extended as far West as the Mediterranean—where the early Aegean civilization presents somewhat similar features.' It is with Sumerian culture that these discoveries indicate a close relation. The Sumerians have been admitted by scholars to be both linguistically and culturally an intrusive element quite distinct of Western Asia from other indigenous stocks of that region; and numerous theories have been attempted to be put forward in recent years to connect them with an original habitat outside of and to the east of Mesopotamia. The fact that the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro excavations threw up seals of the Sumerian type which were found to lie near the surface of city sites remote from the sea 'with clear evidences of multiple strata lower down' proves according to Marshall that 'whatever the history of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia may have been, a culture closely akin to theirs must have been widely disseminated in the valley of the Indus and have undergone a development reaching back incalculable centuries on Indian soil.' Hence it may be likely enough proved that India (the valley of the Indus) was the cradle of the Sumerian civilization which in its turn served as the root of the Babylonian culture.

Sir John Marshall is struck with the peculiar pictographic writing in which the seal legends are written which were probably Sumerian where each character originally represented a single word, without phonetic element, but pronounced as a monosyllable, the characters

being thus analogous to a numerous class of Chinese ideographs in use to-day in the Far East. He says the present scanty materials are too meagre to allow of our determining whether the spirit was used in India in its pictographic or in its phonetic value or in a combination of the two. He urges that a comprehensive plan of excavation of sites of the same age in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan should be undertaken on a scale similar to that attained at the early Aegean site of Knossos in Crete. It is only a few mounds at Mohenjo-Daro that were opened and dug up and numerous others will reveal to us greater treasures especially since Mohenjo-Daro is an ideal site from the digger's point of view. The Harappa mounds were equally prolific in results. We in India have also our own quota of great prehistoric relics to give forth to the world, just as the Egyptians are now giving out to the world the wonderful art treasures unearthed from Tutankhamen's tomb. We hope Sir John Marshall would induce the Government to renew operations on a much larger scale and thus provide a basis for building up valuable results.

II—OTHER CONSERVATION AND PROGRESS

The south-west corner *chattri* of the Taj was rebuilt with great care; besides minor works which were carried out in the Taj itself, in the Agra Fort and two special works undertaken at Fatehpur Sikri. The Roman Catholic Church and the gardens built by Begam Samru at Sardhana have also been put in repair. A wooden replica of the iron pillar at the Kutb was supplied for the Indian Pavilion of the British Empire Exhibition in London. At Sarnath, the eastern enclosure wall of the fore court of the main shrine was repaired with old bricks obtained from the site itself; and a beginning was made in the conservation of the *Dharmachakrasaji vihara*. In the Lahore Circle among the improvements effected to monuments may be noted (1) the conservation of the Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan who was Governor of the Province under Shah Jahan, and (2) that of the gateway of the garden of Zebun Nissa, the poetess and eldest daughter of Aurangzib.

In the Bombay Presidency steps were taken to divert the flow of corroding rain-water from the facade and the two side-wings of the Main Cave at Elephanta; while repairs were undertaken in the enclosure of the palace at Ahmednagar and of the *Shaniwar Wada* at Poona. The Chaitya Hall at Karla has been much improved in

appearance while the dome of the Gol Gombaz at Bijapur has been specially treated in the matter of cracks. The cave-temples at Badami, a few temples at Pattadakka and the Chalukyan Temple in the Sholapur Fort have been also conserved and improved. Burhanpur and Asirgarh, the fragmentary early Gupta remains at Eran, monuments at Gaur and at Vishnupur, the hill-fortress of Gooty, the Hampi Ruins, the Asoka Rock-Inscription at Jaugada, and European monuments at Sadras and at Pondicherry have all come under the comprehensive activities of the Department; while M. Duroiselle reports that excellent work has been done in Burma, at places like Pagan and Mandalay.

Besides conservation, new excavation and exploration was undertaken, particularly in the Pippala Mound at Taxila, the Buddhist ruins of Khasia, Mangali, the supposed site of the capital of Urusa and Hund, the Chind of the numismatists—at the last of which coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Kushans and the Shahi kings have been recovered. The Nalanda site has been further probed; and of the multiplicity of building levels so far revealed, none can lay claim, according to authority, to an antiquity higher than the sixth century A. D.,—though the legendary association of Nalanda with the person of the Buddha and his contemporary disciples encourages the hope of still earlier finds. The Kamakhya Hill in Assam has been also further probed; and the results of the excavations conducted at Old Prame have been particularly rich.

Epigraphy has also made rapid strides in the period under review. Mention should be made of inscriptions written in characters of the Gupta type on bricks discovered by Mr. Page at Nalanda, which give complete texts of the *Pratityasa Mutpada* or the *Nidāna-Sūtras* and their expositions in Sanskrit. The rock-cut Andhra inscription of Kodavali and the Brahmi inscriptions at Nanaghat were examined more thoroughly and improved readings got of them. The monumental revised edition by Dr. Hultzsch of the *Asoka Inscriptions*, and Parts I to VI of Vol. XVII of the *Epigraphia Indica* were the chief publications of the year. These latter contain among others, the chief astronomical contributions of the late Mr. R. Sewell; the inscription of the Kushana Shahi Kanishka cut beneath a Naga figure from the Mathura Museum, and a small record of the Pallava King Mahendra Varman I Vichitrachitta, besides two grants of the Maitraka King

Dhruvasena I, the Somalapuram Grant of Virupaksha, etc. Vol. V of the *South Indian Inscriptions* has been seriously taken in hand; and good progress has been made in the task. We congratulate the Department on its all-round activities which marked the year in the various circles in the matter of the collection of fresh inscriptions, of which the Brahmi Inscription of Alluru and the grant of the Early Ganga King Indravarman deserve mention. There were also other important epigraphical acquisitions.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘SELECTIONS FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE
HEREDITARY MINISTER OF BARODA’

COLLECTED BY

RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTA

[Consisting of letters from the Bombay, Baroda, Poona and Satara Governments. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1922, pp. ix + 127—with seventeen illustrations.]

THIS is a collection of fifty-four original Marathi documents from the family of the hereditary minister at Baroda. Several of these throw sidelights on the transactions of the Company's officers; others throw great light on the doings of Nana Fadnavis and his colleagues in the Poona Government; and others disclose the nature and the working of the almost nominal sway of the Raja of Satara, besides the efforts made by English officers in obtaining historical chronicles from the *daftars* of eminent Maratha families through enlightened men like Gangadhar Shastri ‘the real source of Grant Duff's monumental history of the Marathas.’

This attempt to present original materials for the study of Maratha history is only part of a growing movement to make the study and research of Marathi records more interesting and easy to the student. Grant Duff had indeed made use of the mass of papers lying in the Peishwa's palace and of the records of the Satara Government which were in his own charge. He had also free access to the records in the Bombay Secretariat and those of the old Surat Factory. The Viceroy of Goa furnished him with extracts from the records of the Portuguese Government. He used indeed upwards of one hundred manuscripts of every description in Persian and Marathi

(translated for him), which had any bearing on Maratha history. All the materials collected by Grant Duff had long since vanished, though attempts to trace them were made by Wilson, Mandlik and others. It is the interest created by the criticism which Grant Duff's *History* evoked that led to the rise of successive bands of workers whose pioneers were V. K. Chiplunkar and K. N. Sane who started the *Kavyelihas Sangraha* publishing therein a number of valuable *Bhakars* as well as far more valuable original letters and memoranda. Mr. V. K. Rajvade's *Materials for the History of the Marathas* contain letters to and from personages 'who made Maratha history what it is.' Mr. Khave of Miraj has brought out eleven volumes of letters from the *daftars* of the great Patvardhan chiefs of the Deccan from 1760 to 1818 which reflect successive events as they happened. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, the collaborator of Mr. C. A. Kincaid, has also published a collection of letters, memoranda, etc., relating, amongst others to events of the time of the younger Madhava Rao, as quarried from the private collection of letters belonging to Nana Fadnavis preserved in his *Daftar* at Menaoli, though unfortunately depleted by General Briggs who took over 7,000 original letters with a view to writing the biography of the last great Maratha statesman. Some documents of historical value have been published by the Bharat Itihas Shamshodhak Mandal of Poona. Selections have also been published under the authority of Government from the Poona *Daftar*, containing the Peishwa's Diaries; *Kaifiyats* of the Deccan Sardars, Military *Saranjams*, treaties, agreements and sanads.

It is not an easy task to fully utilize all this great mass of materials, a large part of which still remains unexplored, may even undiscovered. Mr. Sardesai of Baroda, Professor J. N. Sarkar of Patna, Mr. Takhakasu of Bombay and Professor Sen of Calcutta have made large use of these materials. Mr. Sen has given us a translation of the *Sabhasad Bhakar* of Shivaji (which has been earlier translated by Mr. Mankher). An elaborate index in English of the contents of the various records and materials is a great desideratum.

Mr. Gupte's *Selections* form interesting reading. Document No. 1 contains valuable information of the doings of Govind Rao Gaekwar who was so much mixed up with Mahadaji Sindia and Poona politics. Herein we are told by the writer that Baji Rao II was born with his face down (towards the earth—a bad omen). The fifth document is a

good example of the grant of a freehold (*inampatra*) by the nominal king (*sarkar*), the grant having to be agreed to by the *Sumanl* and the *Mantri*. Another document guarantees the *dewanship* of Baroda in the family of Ravji Appaji by the English Governor Duncan. Document No. 52 is a summary of historical notes about the original conquest of Gujarat by the first Gaekwar collected by Raghunath Lakshman Chitnis at the request of Gangadhar Shastu, the Vakil of the Company, who wanted them for submission to the Peishwa and to the English. The fifty-fourth document is long, dealing largely with Govind Rao Gaekwar and serves as a typical chronicle. An appendix contains notes of the chief persons mentioned in the book and of the town of Satara. The index and glossary are fairly exhaustive and the explanations of official and technical terms clear and full. A number of illustrations at the end enhance the value of the book, among them being those of Bapu Gokhale, of the last three Peishwas, the Baroda Minister Ravji Appaji, Fadake, and two of the Gaekwars.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

‘INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AS DEPICTED
BY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS’

BY

J. N. DAS GUPTA

[Published by the University of Calcutta, 1916, pp. 231.]

THIS book is the embodiment of the series of Readership Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University by the author mainly on the subject of the East India Company's grant in the seventeenth century. It begins with an account of the early English voyages to the East Indies and of the early years of the Company. This is followed by the story in outline of the early English settlements in Bengal, an account of the Diary of William Hedges, first published by the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of Sir Henry Yule (1887–89) and a description of the organization and some interesting phases of factory life in India, which the writer says resembled very much that of the college of mediæval times in Europe. Increasing interest is being evinced in the history of the early years of British enterprise in the country, since the days of the publication of the first volume of the *magnum opus* of Sir William Hunter, and the still earlier attempt to systematically

conserve and classify the India Office Records begun by F. C. Danvers in 1879 and the systematization of the records in India begun almost simultaneously by Sir George Forrest. Eminently fruitful results have accrued from these noble and continuous efforts in the shape of Bridwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, the *First Letter-Book of the East India Company* printed by Quaritch in 1893; *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, vols. i-vi, transcribed from the original correspondence series of the India Office Records and edited by F. C. Danvers and W. Foster; *the English Factories in India* series in progress; and *the Court Minutes of the East India Company* series in progress.

The other sources for the History of British India in the seventeenth century are detailed by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in an article contributed to this *Journal* (vol. i, pp. 23 *et seq.*) and they involve a constant comparison of records in the various archives. It was Sir George Birdwood that first called attention to the value of the vast store of historical documents stored in the India Office; while Sir Henry Yule, Sir G. Forrest, C. R. Wilson and A. T. Pringle and others have given us an idea of the actual lives led by English factors and merchants in India in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Das Gupta begins with the importance of the study of the early history of the English in India and then takes us over the 'thrice-told tale' of the incorporation of the East India Company; but he does render valuable aid to the student when he quotes passages from Mun's celebrated *A Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies* (first published in 1621) and from Tavernier which describe the popular objections to Eastern trade that prevailed at the time and point out its outstanding features. The author then outlines the first voyages of the Company—the first voyage of Captain Lancaster—an account of which was published by the Hakluyt Society and the third voyage of Keelling and Hawkins (1606-9) the journals of which existing in fragmentary form are 'the oldest existing manuscripts in the India Office.' There follows an account of the court life as depicted for us by European observers from Finch to Thevenot. The narrative dealing with the organization of English factory life in their Indian settlements is specially full in relation to the Surat settlement about life in which Pietro della Valle (1623) and Albert de Mandelslo (1638) have given quite interesting glimpses which have been brought nearer to us in

the books of Chaplain Anderson (*The English in Western India*, 1856) and of H. G. Rawlinson (*British Beginnings in Western India*, 1920). The Company kept a paternal eye even on its factors in India, sending out to them good books for Sunday reading which proved too dry for the tropics and worthy of chaplains who 'although some times keen traders, did not always command the respect of their little flocks,' nevertheless complaining on occasions bitterly of their 'luxuriars and hare-brained' factors and flock; their gambling and their intemperate living. Instances are given by Talbays Wheeler and others of the chaplains themselves becoming backsliders. Dr. Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters* (published first in London, 1698, later collected and published in book form in 1873) together with the account of the travels of Roe in Trübner's Oriental Series and still later by the Hakluyt Society, a store-house of information regarding factory life at Surat, Bombay and Madras, has been made full use of by our author, as well as the writings of Streynsham Master who was President at Madras from 1677 to 1681. *The Diary of William Hedges* and that of Master (edited by Sir Richard Temple have been brought out in all their full value—Hedges expatiating upon the misrule of the servants of the Company and 'constantly brooding over the present and trying to peep into the future, and planning future reforms. The outline of the growth of English Settlements in Bengal, given in the last two chapters of the book have been rendered clear and traced up to the formation of a distinct Agency in the Bay independent of Madras. The author has also drawn upon William Bolts and other authorities. There are a few interesting and illustrative appendices. It may be suggested here that some one like Professor S. A. Khan well versed in the materials for the seventeenth century history of British India may be asked to issue a new and fuller edition of the book done so clearly by the late author.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

VOL. XVI, No. 4

April 1926—

Valmiki's Ramayana and Western Critics. By B. V. Kameswara Aiyar.

Sea-power in Early South Indian History. By S. V. Venkateswara.

The Seven Dwipas of the Puranas. By V. Venkatachellam Iyer.

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February 1925—

External Evidence about the Teachers of the Upanishads. By W. C. Bhattacharjee.

March 1926—

Notes on Indian Musical Instruments. By B. A. Gupte.

Some Aspects of the Career of Guru Hargovind. By Indubhusan Banerjee.

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Gwalior, the Capital of the Scindias (its origin, events during the Mutiny and since). By M. J. Meade.

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On the Adbhuta-Ramayana. By Sir George Grierson.

The Mission of the Jesuit Travellers in China. By A. T. Wilson.

The Original Homes of the Indo-Europeans. By Jarl Carpentier.

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VOL. VII, PARTS I AND II

Some Points connected with the Constructive Geometry of the Vedic Altars. By R. N. Apte.

Kalidāsa and Music. By G. N. Majumdar.

The Plays ascribed to Bhasa, their Authenticity and Merits. By C. R. Devadhar.

Date of Kautilya. By D. R. Bhandarkar.

Dharmasūtra of Sankha-Likhita. By P. V. Kane.

The Geography of Vatsyayana. By H. C. Chakladar.

Miscellaneous Articles

A Sunga Inscription from Ayodhya. By N. G. Majumdar.

The Allahabad Prasasti and the Asvamedha. By H. R. Diwekar.

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A Short History of Ceylon. By W. Geiger.

Stūpa and Tomb. By M. Barua.

Rasatala or the Under World. By Nandalal Dey.

The Trade of India. By P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar.

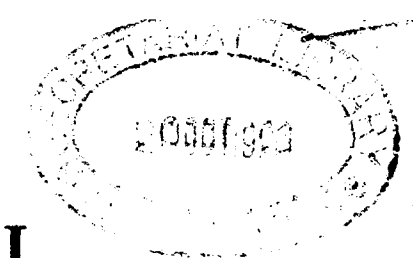
Principles of Hindu Taxation. By J. N. C. Ganguli.

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The Date of Kanishka and Mr. Kimura. Sten Konow.

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 Universitys London, Longmans, Green & Co.
10. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla. (Bombay).
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14. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
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17. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona.



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 Brahmain 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 *grande*es 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 *Kenchen*s; 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 *Kenchen*s 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 *Kenchen*s 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 before ¹ 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 *Rāmarājīyam* 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 Āravīḍu 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][illegible]

Two pages of the Portuguese account of the civil war of Vijayanagara found in Sewell, *The Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222-31. It was probably written by Fr. pages the death of Venkaṭa II and the beginning of the reign of Ranga II are

the Jesuit Archives, slightly different from the 'Story of Barradas', published by Manoel Barradas, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. In these two narrated,

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 Jilleḷḷa Narasimha. ² The *Rāmarājīyamu* 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 *Rāmarājīyamu*; 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 Ceilão*, 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 *Chatupadyaratnākaram*.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 Gobburī 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 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 *Chatupadyaratnākaram*.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 Āraviḍu 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 *Ramarājīyam* records the three following names which have not been identified as yet, Chenchu, Virappa and Yachana,¹ and the *Chaṭupadyaratnākaram* also gives the name of one Rāvīḷḷa 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 *Raghunāthābhyudayam* 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 *Bahulaśvacharitam*, 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 Araviḍu 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 *Ramarājiyamu*,³ the *Sāhithyaratnākara*⁴ and the *Raghunāthābhayudayam*.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 Índia 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 Ceilão*, 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 Iteobleza (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 Iteobleza 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.

bhyudayam 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 Chinabaju (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 Ceilão*, 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 *Sahityaratnakara* 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 (Veṅkaṭa 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 Āravīḍu 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 Veṅkaṭa 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 Ramāchandrārāya. 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 *Ramarājīyam* 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 *Bahulaśvacharitam*.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, *Bahulaśvacharitam*, 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 Veṅkaṭa 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 (Veṅkaṭa II) who took up the child's cause, according to the *Raghunāthabhyudayam*.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 *Sahityaratnākara* 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 *Raghunāthabhyudayam* 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 *Sahityaratnākara*.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 Venkaṭa 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 *Sahityaratnākara*, '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 Raghutilaka 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 *Raghunāthabhyudayam* and the *Sahityaratnākara* 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 *Raghunāthabhyudayam* 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 *Sahityaratnākara*.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 *Sahityaratnākara* 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 Trichenepali (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 Paḷavānēri.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 Kōnēti 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 Miṭṭāpalem. | 19 The Pālela Chiefs. |
| 5 Rāma Rāju. | 20 The Paṇṭa Chiefs. |
| 6 Raghunātha Rāju of Owk. | 21 Srīpati Rāju and his mercenaries. |
| 7 Obala Rāju, who is called the | 22 The Jūpalli people. |
| Māma, maternal uncle, possibly | 23 Dēśur Reḍḍi clans. |
| of the young Emperor. | 24 Mūrteppa. |
| 8 Manuboli Rāju. | 25 Kumāra Raṅgayya. |
| 9 Srīraṅgapati Rāju. | 26 Pāmināyanivāru. |
| 10 Srīgiri Rāju. | 27 The Balumūri Chiefs. |
| 11 Vira Rāghava Rāju. | 28 The Chiefs of Maṇḍuva. |
| 12 Viṭṭhāla Rāju. | 29 The Reddis of Kambam, Koṇḍa-
viḍu and Koṇḍapalli. |
| 13 Chiṭṭrāju 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.

Rāviḷḷa 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.' Kṛishṇappa 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 Kṛishṇappa 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 Kṛishṇappa 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 Índia 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 Wemmer 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. *J.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 *Raghunāthavilāsanatakam* 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

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

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

³ *Rāmarājīyam*, 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.

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 Veṅkaṭagiri 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 *chaṭu* verse of the collection *Chāṭupadyaratnākaram* says, that a crore of Jagga Rāya, seventy crores of Maka Rāja's father and one lakh and a sixteen Rāviḷla Veṅkas 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 Veṅkaṭa, 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 Veṅkaṭapati II, Rāja of Vijayanagara.² Was he supposed to be a descendant of the putative son of Veṅkaṭa for whom Jagga Rāya fought so unceasingly and unfortunately?

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

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

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.

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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 Chundargerry, 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-

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-

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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 show that he went about almost daily with

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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 *Mahānubhāvya Marāthī Vāṇmaya*, 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 Singhana II) in Śaka 1132 that we first have Dēvagiri mentioned as the capital.' But from the *Līlācharitra* composed about Śaka 1184-1193, we learn that it was Bhillama, who first shifted the seat of Government to Dēvagiri from Śrīnagara, which according to the Mahānubhāvās is Sinnar in the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency. Hēmādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa* confirms this statement. At Śrīnagara 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 *Rukmiṇī-svayamvara* 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 Śrīnagara.

Mr. Y. K. Deshapande says, on page 15 of his *Mahānubhāvya Marāthī Vāṇmaya* that Mahādēva was Kanhara's (Kṛishṇa's) son. The passage in the *Līlācharitra* translated below, however, uses the word 'Dhakuṭa' 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 *Vratākhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri, the contemporary of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra, the following verse occurs :—

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतीतो जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।

तस्योस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोतिविख्यातमतिर्नृपोभूत् ॥

Again further on we find :—

स भूमिपालो जनयांबभूव कृष्णमहादेवमहीपतिंच ।

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 *Līlācharitra* 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.’ *Līlācharitra*, 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 Marāṭhī passages in the *Līlācharitra* from which the above inferences are drawn.

The passage on page 15 of the *Mahānubhāvīya Marāṭhī 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 केलिया परी न घेतां तयाचि आनि धृतकेची बास पाहतां बंदीजन मणती:
‘घेई जोजो. सिंगनाचा कान्ह प्रसन्न झाल,’ त्या द्रव्याचा स्वीकार न करता
कमळजेचा मंडप, कुमारेश्वरोचा घाटु आणि पौळो, मग चुना सरविला, 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 Sōmavati. 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

Singhana (Singhana) 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 *Mahānubhāvīya Marāṭhī Vāṇmaya*, runs as follows:—

“तंव इंद्रभट तैलु घेवौनि आले: सर्वज्ञे भाणितिले ‘इंद्रेओ गांवांतु वार्ता
काइ मातु’: ‘जी कांहीं नाहींजी’: सर्वज्ञे भणितिले ‘वार्ता कैसो या कांहीं नाहीं?’
राज्यांतर जाळें: रामदेवो रावो राज्यां बैसला: आमणदेवो खालि उतरीला:
देवगोरि पालटोली ॥ तथा हा नव्हे लोक पळतु असें: ॥ हा होए: जा वार्ता
शोधा: तुमचे ए गांवीं सोइरे असति: आन वार्ता कैसी नाहीं ॥ कैसे कांहीं
नाहीं: एसणें राज्यांतर जाळें: आमनदेयाचे डोळे काढीले: रामदेवो राजी बैसला:
ए नव्हे की: घायालें जातें असोति’: भणौनि सर्वज्ञे तया खाटारें श्रीकरें दाखवोले:
सर्वज्ञे भणितिले: ‘एक वेळ शोधा पां जा’: ॥ छ ॥ हो कां जी भणौनि इंद्रभट
मागुते गेले: शोधिलें: एवोनि सर्वज्ञांपुढें सांघितिले: ‘साच जी: हें काई हो अपूर्व:
तेही भणितिले: हाती सेहाणी मारिला: पाट सेहाणी भेदिला नरासिंहदेओ
पळाला: आमणदेआचे डोळे काढिले: रामदेओ राओ राजी बैसला: औसे शोधीनु
आले: सर्वज्ञां पुढारां सविवर सांघितिले: तंव लोकु घरा वेंघौनु पाहात असें:
मग गोसावी देऊळांतु बोजें 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 Kēsava Vyāsa, was the treasurer (*kōśadhikārī*) 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.

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

It is interesting to find that the *Riddhapuramahātmya* 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.

Amitasāgarar¹

BY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

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

The author's name is variously given as *Amudasāgarar* and *Amitasāgarar*. The prefatory verse to *Yāpparun-kalam* gives the name as *Alapparun-kadar-peyarōn* and this has been well explained to be the Tamil rendering of the poet's name* *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*⁴ of the Nīḍūr 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

[ஆ]ரிய வுலக மனைத்தையுங் குடைக்கீழ்
ஆக்கிய குலோத்துங்க சோழர்
காண்டொரு நாற்பத் தா[தி]டைத் தில்லை
யம்பலத் தேவட கீழ்பாற்
போரியன் [மதத்துச்] சொன்னவா றறிவார்
கோயிலும் புராணநூல் விரிக்கும்
புரிசைமா னிகையும் வரிசையால் விளங்கப்
பொருப்பினால் விருப்பமுச் செய்தோன்

¹ A 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 *Yāpparun-kala-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 *Alaṅkāraṣṭraḍḍam* in the *Vīra-śōḷiyam*.

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

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

⁵ Vol. xiii, pp. 64-69.

AMITASĀGARAR

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நேரியற் காண்டே மைஞ்சுடன் மூன்றில்
நிகரிலாக் கற்றளி நீரே
நிலாவினாற் கமைத்த நிலாவினா னமுத
சாகர னெடு [ந்தமிழ்த்] தொகுத்த
காரிகைக் குளத்தூர் மன்னவன் ரெண்டை
காவலன் கிறகுன்ற நாட்டுக்
கற்பக மிழலை நாட்டுவே ளாண்மை
கொண்டவன் கண்டன்மா தவனே.

SECOND INSCRIPTION

என்மிகை யுலகை யொருகுடை நிழற்கீ
ழிருத்திய குலோத்துங்க சோழர்
கியாண்டொரு முப்பத் தெட்டினிற் சோனாட்
மகைவள ரிந்தனார் நாட்டு
[னா]ண்டை நீ மயரீ ருமை யோடு
[மு]லாவிய [சிவ]பெரு மா[னு]க்
குவந்த[வெண்] கயிலை மலையெனச் சிலையா
லுத்தம விமானமிங் கமைத்தான்
தண்டமி முயித சாகர முனியைச்
சயங்கொண்ட சோழமண் டலத்துத்
தன்சிறு குன்ற [நாட்டகத்] திருத்திச்
சந்தநூற் காரிகை யவனாற்
கண்டவன் மருமான் காரிகைக் குளத்தூர்க்
காவல னிலாவினா னெவர்க்குங்
கருணையு [நிதியுங்] காட்டிய மிழலை
நாட்டுவேள் கண்டன்மா தவனே.

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

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

¹ Akanānūru, 266.

perumāḷ nāyanār, and a *maṇḍapa* 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-kuḷattūr* 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 யும்பல் வழித்தோன்றல் (சிவாகரம்).

'குடபுலங் காவலர் மருமான்.'

'தென்புலங் காவலர் மருமான்.'

'குணபுலங் காவலர் மருமான்.' (செய்பாணம்முப்படை, 47, 68, 79).

'மாவலி மருமான் சீர்கெழு நிருமகள் (மணிமே.)

² 'காரிகை யமுது பெண்ணே கவித்துறை யொருநூற்கும்பேர்' (குடாமணி நிகண்டு, 11, 187).

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

Perundēvanār, the commentator of *Vira-sōḷiyam* 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 Virārajendra 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 *Alankāra-p-paḍalam*, of the *Vira-sōḷiyam*, Perundēvanār quotes the last *sūtra* in *Yāpparuṅkalam* 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 *Sūlamani* of Tōlāmoḷi-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 Kuḷattūr caused Amitasāgarar to stay at his town in *Jayaṅkonḍa-chōḷa-maṇḍalam*. It is well-known that after his conquest of it, Rājārāja I gave Tonḍai-nāḍu the new name *Jayaṅkonḍa-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 *Jayaṅkonḍa-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-moḷittēvar, 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 Rājārāja 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 *Yapparunkalam*¹ that the preceptor of Amitasāgarar was *Gunak-kadaṭ-peyarōn*, 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 Paṇḍiyan, the grantor of the Śhinnamanoor 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 தவத்தொடி புணர்ந்த
குணக்கடற் பெயரோன் கொள்கையின் வழாஅ
அளப்பருங் கடற்பெய ரருந்தவத் தோனே.”

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

rāntaka, 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 Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions¹ dated the 28th regnal year of Parakēsari-varman Rājendra I (1011-1049) mentions a *Kārikai-p-pērūr-nāḍu* in *Puḷar-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-maṇḍalam*, *Kārikai-p-pērūr* of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions should in all probability be the *Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr* of the Nīḍur 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 Mathurāntaka'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-maṇḍala-śathakam* 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 greater 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 kingdom 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 Ambassadour 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 reputation 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 2/3 sterling was the standard unit, and the other relative values were as follows:—1 pagoda = 3½ 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 of men in any Nation, and I beleive could outwit . . . any Jews.' Still 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 believeinge themselves to be ye true antient Brittaines 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 23 the diary 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 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 under-hand 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 Vernan, 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 necessaries 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 clashinge 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 necessities 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 offering 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 havinge 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 'havinge had some suspition lately of their management chiefly 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 necessities 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. Hadgee Zuffer Khan, King's Dewan of Bengal, his *Perwana*.
8. Nabob Shaista Khan's or Emir Umbrab, 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

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

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 suspitions of Vincatadre's false and double-dealinge, but he always pasionatly . . . 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

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 28 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

¹ See O. C., 56, i.

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 necessaries 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 permit them 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, 1.

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 *Hasbull 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, 1.

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 *Rajasthya*, 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 Brahmana*.³ It would be hazardous no doubt to speak of the war of the *Mahabharata* 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 Kaniṣka 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 extrenuous 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 Madhyadeśa, the Pāñchālas, the Matsyas, the Cedis, the Karuṣas, the Daśārnas, the Kāçis, 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, Prāgjyotiṣas with Cinas and the Kirātas, the Aṅgas, the Veṅgas, the Pundras, the Utkalas, the Mekalas, the Kalingas and the Andhras;

(b) from the Madhyadeśa, the Śurasenas, the Vatsyas and the Kośalas;

(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 Niṣādhas 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 *Mahabharata* 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 *Mahabharata* 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 *Mahabharata* 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 Kshatriya. 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 *Mahabharata* 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 *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. 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 *Mahabharata* 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 Draupadi, an event which made them stronger than ever. During this period of intrigues, the aged uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra took counsel of his Brāhman minister Kanika who is represented as a great diplomat (*Mantrajña*) well versed in the science of kingship (*Rajasastra*). 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 (*uddatadaṇḍa*).² He must exhibit his power. Without any foible in himself he must observe the weak points of his enemies (*chidradarçī*). 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 (*asamyak-kytakāri*). 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. Arthashastra*, 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 (*sahaya*) and all his partisans (*pakṣa*). By the ritual fire (*Agnya-dhāna*), by sacrifice, by the ascetic-robe (*Kaśaya*), by plaited hair, by the skin of the antelope (*jaṭa-jina*), win the confidence of the people to throw yourself over them afterwards like a wolf. For it is the sacred discipline (*śauca*) 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 (*dandēna*), 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 *Panchatantra*, 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

¹ *Panchatantra*, Har. Or. Series-Introduction.

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 *Tirthas* 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

² *Mhb.*, xii. 140. 4; *Yājñ.*, i. 358; *Mhb.*, xii. 54. 27.

³ Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, vii. 124-6.

⁴ *Mhb.*, xii. 56, 76.

⁵ *Arthaśāstra*, i. 7, 8. *Kāma*, xiii. 37.

⁶ *Mhb.*, xii. 68. 10-13.

⁷ *Arthaśāstra*, ii, ch. 54-55. *Bri. Nīt.*, iii. 22-27.

⁸ *Mhb.*, xii. 140. 57; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 12, 361-62.

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>Arthashastra</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>chakra</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>Dvārapāla</i> .	<i>Dauvārika</i> .
6. <i>Antarvaṃcika</i> .	<i>Antarveçika</i> .	<i>Antahpurādikṛta</i> .
7. <i>Praçastṛ</i> .	<i>Karāgarādikarīn</i> .	<i>Bandhanāgarādihikṛta</i> .
8. <i>Samāhartṛ</i> .	<i>Dravya Samcayakṛt</i> .	<i>Dhanādhyakṣa</i> .
9. <i>Sannidhatṛ</i> .	<i>Kṛtyakṛtyesu Artha-nāmviniyojaka</i> .	<i>Rājājñaya ajñāpyeṣu-vakṛt</i> .
10. <i>Pradeṣṭṛ</i> .	<i>Pradeṣṭṛ</i> .	<i>Prādvivakasaṃjño Vyavahārapraṣṭṛ</i> .
11. <i>Nayakapaura</i> .	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa</i> .
12. <i>Vyavahārika</i> .	<i>Dharmādhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Dharmāsanādihikṛta</i> .
13. <i>Karmāntika</i> .	<i>Kāryanirmānakṛt</i> .	<i>Vyavahāranirṇetr</i> .
14. <i>Mantri-pariṣad Adhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Sabhadhyakṣa</i> .	<i>Karmānte Vetanagrāhin</i> .
15. <i>Dandapāla</i> .	<i>Dandapāla</i> .	<i>Vyavahāranirṇeta Sabhyakṣa</i> .
16. <i>Durgapāla</i> .	<i>Durgapāla</i> .	<i>Duṣṭānām dandanādhi-kārīn</i> .
17. <i>Antapāla</i> .	<i>Raṣṭrāntapāla</i> .	<i>Durgapāla</i> .
18. <i>Ātavika</i> .	<i>Ātavipālaka</i> .	<i>Raṣṭrāntapāla</i> .
		<i>Ātavika</i> .
	19. <i>Senāyajīvita</i> = <i>bhṛtidanādhyakṣa</i> .	

These eighteen essential parts of the state are given exactly as above in the (*Mahabharata*) commentary of Nilakantha who indicates his sources as manuals of diplomacy (*Niti-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*, Nilakantha 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, *Trin*, *Pañca* and *Sapta*,⁴ understood formerly, had to be explained by the commentators thus :—

The *Trin* comprised of wealth, counsel, and activity. Kauṭalya mentions these with one difference,—the lord (*prabhu*), the council (*mantra*) and energy (*utsāha*).⁵ The *Pañca* 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 *Mahabharata*. 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 Yudhisṭhira 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.

³ *Budda carita*, li. 41.

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

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 (*Purakalpaviśeṣa*). Then follow the enumeration of his philosophical equipments *Nyaya*, *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 *Ṣaḍgunyavidhi*.

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 *Sama*, *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 (*Yatra*) at the propitious moment fixed by astrologers ? Do you comprehend that the security and defeat

¹ *Mhb.*, xii. 56. 12.

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

are dependent on the reserves (*pārśpi 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 (*Upaya*) 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 (*ṣulka-pajivī*) 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 (*Upadhabhiḥ*) by your officers or your subjects ?

Thus at the conclusion of his discourse Nārada uses an expression *Upadha* 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 (*Upadha*).’ ³

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

² Manu, vii. 26-29.

³ *Arthasāstra*, i, 10.

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 Kauṭalya 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' *Mudra*³ and of Customs (*ṣulka*).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-Brahmana*) furnishes us with important indications. But the materials which we find in the Kshatriya literature (*Itihāsa-Purāna*)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

¹ Fg. 36-A. *Strabo*, xv. C. 707.

² Ch. xxxiv.

³ Ch. xxxiv.

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

⁵ Ch. xxxix and xl.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, xxxix.

⁷ *C.H.I.*, I, ch. xlii, p. 297.

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 Viduranīti 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 *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 Yāṣka 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, Baudhāyana, 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-lamkāra*. Finally the canons of Pali-Buddhism and also those of the Jains following the tradition, were fixed at Patalīputra about 313 or 312 B.C. And the systems of Lokāyatas or Ājivikas 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 (*lokayata*) and secondly the *Annatithiya*² 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 article³ how these professors prepared the way for the systematic writers of manuals like Chāṇakya who respectfully quotes them under the generic name of *Acharya*.

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.⁴

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 (*sippa*) no less depreciated, which we find in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (Ch. 1); recitation of ballads (*Akkhaṇam*); chants of the bards (*Velālam*); instrumental music, dance, shows (*Pekkham*), elephant and horse fighting, boxing, mock fighting, manoeuvres, 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 (*Dhanurveda*), the science of poisoning⁵ 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

² *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 35.

³ *Dialogues of Buddha*, i, p. 245, ii, p. 13.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, 1918.

⁵ *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 *Jatakas*, 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 Sutta*), 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 Samhita* 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 *Arthasāstra* 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 *Sukranīti* and some others appeared separately in later forms, for instance, the *Mātangalīlā* 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 (*Arthasāstra*) 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 Brāhmins 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 Arthasāstra and Dharmaśāstra*. Some striking resemblance between the phraseology of the *Arthasāstra* 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 (*Vidya-Kala*) under the influence of the schools is evident in the lists of the *Sūtra*-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 Kauṭalya.

In his chapter on the enumeration of sciences (*Vidya Samuddēṣa*) 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 *Apana* 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 Kauṭalya mentions the six auxiliary sciences: phonetics (*Śikṣa*), ritual (*Kalpa*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), etymology and glossary (*Nirukta*), prosody (*Chandas*) and astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*). These are the *angas*—the members of the scholastic body. The philosophical sciences are presented by the systems of *Sankhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokayata*, collected under the common title of *Ānvikṣikī*. Next come two purely secular disciplines, first the *Varta* comprehending agriculture (*Kṛishi*), the science of animals (*Paśupalya*) and commerce (*Vaniṣā*) and secondly the *Dandanīti* or the science of government.

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

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

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

¹ *A. C.*, pp. xii-xvi.

² *S. B. E.*, xiv, pp. 395-6.

³ *Journal, University of Calcutta*, 1921

⁴ *Sut. Nip.*, *S. B. E.*, x, p. 98.

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

But Kauṭalya 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 (*Labhalabha*); to the *Dandanīti*, in that which concerns expediency or otherwise (*Nayanaya*) as well as the questions of force or weakness (*Balabala*). Among these the science of Government is the more important because it is the veritable root of all other sciences (*Dandanmūla*). 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 (*Vyddha*).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 *Ānvikṣikī* under competent savants (*ṛiṣṭa*),³ the science of the *Varta* with the functionaries (*Adhyakṣa*), and the science of the *Dandanīti* with experts in theory and in practice (*Vaktr-prayoktr*). 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-ṛavana*), ancient legends (*Purāṇa*) chronicles (*Itivṛtta*), stories (*Ākhyāyika*), 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 Kauṭalya 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 *Hiranyakēsi-Grihya Sūtra*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, Vasiṣṭha 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. *Dandanītirēva Vidya*.

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 *Vidya* 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 *Prasthānabheda* 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 (*Rajadharma*) 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 Upanas, but that it has an allusion to the conflicts between the *Dharmaśāstra* and its supplementary chapter on the *Rājāniti* 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, *Charitram* or established precedent or traditional authority, and *Rājaḍāsanam* 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 (*Satyasthitak*), *Vyavahāra* on the witness (*Sakṣi*), whilst *Charitram* is a collection of personal examples or precedents (*Samgrahēṇa Puṇsām*) and *Rājaḍāsanam* is based on the mandates of the king.'

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

¹ *S.B.E.*, ii, p. xxvi.

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

the faults of the moment (*Yathadoṣa*) 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 *Sukranīti* 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, *Danḍadhara* (he that wields the sceptre) is the true supporter of the four *Varnas* and *Aśramas* 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 *Danḍanīti* as the veritable soul of the science of Government. The very highest place, except for the Brāhmins, is attributed to the king by a *Śāstra* of Gautama (xi. 1) (*Rajasarvamsyeṣṭe 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 *Rajadharma* exposes the same principle according to which the *Danḍanīti* is an eternal subject (*Śaśvatī*).

¹ *Arthashastra*, i, 3.

² Manu, vii. 14 and 43; Yajñā., i. 310 and 363; Gaut., xi. 3.

And the excellent commentator Mēdhātithi honoured Chāṇakya specially as an expert in the science of *Danḍanīti* while Kullūka gives the *Arthashastra* as a synonym for *Danḍanīti*. The same tradition is preserved in the lexicons (*Koṣa*). Amara in his *Namalingānuśāsana* i, defines *Ānvīkshikī-danḍanīti* 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 *Danḍanīti* or the *Arthashastra*¹ holds a very important place in the *Mahābhārata*, especially in chapter 58 of the *Santiparva* relating to *Rajadharma*. 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 *Rajadharma* in Manu³ and in the *Santiparva*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 *Santiparva* 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 Kaṇika. '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. xviii-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 *Gita* :

'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 Smṛiti*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 *Rajadharma*. 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 इवाभक्ष्यन् दुर्बलान् बलवत्तरः ॥

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

अप्रणितो हि मात्स्यन्यायम् उत्भावयति । बलोर्यान् अवलं हि प्रसते दण्ड-

धराऽभावे तेन गुप्ता प्रभवति इति ॥

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

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 *Danḍantī*. In the preceding chapter (lviii) the compilers (राजशास्त्रप्रणेताः) of the royal science are enumerated as follows:—

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

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 *Arthasāstra* is of enormous importance. Dr. Jacobi in two essays³ studied this subject and gave a list of schools and the respective authors of the *Rajantī*, and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has utilized⁴ the results of Dr. Jacobi in his study of the *Śāntiparva*.

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

² *Arthasāstra*, p. 431.

³ Sitzber, *Berlin*, 1911-12.

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

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Individual authors</i>
1. Mānavāḥ.	1. Bhāradvāja.
2. Bārhaspatyāḥ.	2. Viçālākṣha.
3. Auçanasāḥ.	3. Parāçara.
4. Pārāçarāḥ.	4. Piçuna (Nārada).
5. Āmbhīyāḥ.	5. Kaunapadanta (Bhīṣma).
	6. Vātavyādhi.
	7. Bāhudantiputra (Indra or Aindra) ?
	8. Kātyāyana.
	9. Kapnika Bhāradvāja.
	10. Dīrga Cārāyaṇa (—? Cārāyaṇa of <i>Kāmasūtra</i> , i. 12).
	11. Ghoṭa-Mukha (—? Ghoṭakamukha of <i>Kāmasūtra</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 (*Sūtra* or *çloka*). 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 *Sūtras* but is surely a later work, whilst the syntax of several *çlokas* of the famous *Arthaśāstra* proclaims them as ancient.

It is probable then that many *Sūtras* and *çlokas* 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 *Rajanīti* in the *Sāntiparva*) and Kaunapadanta, following

the authority of Trkāṇḍaçaṣa, 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 Hanuman² 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 *Sukranītisāra* 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 sūtra*. Written in the ancient style of the *Sūtras* they contain many ancient things. That text includes recent sectarian interpolations amidst which is preserved in the old orthodox style several genuine *Sūtras*.

We have also a very complete resumé of the *Sāntiparva* and *Manusmṛiti* in the style of *çlokas* 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 *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (which we suppose

¹ *Kāmasūtra*, 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 *Adhikaraṇa*. 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 Iesus nas partes da Índia 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 Iesus 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 Cossaro (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 Ecbar 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 Ecbar: 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 Cossaro, 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-ed 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-l-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-l-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-l-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 Sikandarrah.

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 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 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 Strek 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 Hullaul 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 adjoining, 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 Khusrau in chain.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 68. 'Moreover he suffer'd him (Khusru) 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 (*aftab-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 Qutb 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 *Pāñchatantra* volume, as it contains, *inter alia*, Somadeva's interesting extract from the *Pāñchatantra* and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the *Pāñchatantra* in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of *Pāñchatantra reconstructed*, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the *Pāñchatantra*, 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; xcvii 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 Duraud. 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.

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 philosop-

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 Marina, 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 Tamils 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.' In

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 Valluvar'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-sāstras* and *Arthasastras* including Kautalya'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 *Padiṟṟupattu*, etc.. An instance of carelessness in proof correction is furnished in the following :—*Udayakumaran*, (page 95), *Kalpasutra* (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. BENOY 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 FZYEE-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

ordinarily anticipated. Experts in Indian music have been making their own efforts, and in the words of the Begum 'our never-tiring efforts have proved somewhat successful, in the past five or six years, pointing to the dawn in the musical world of India.' There have been three Conferences of importance for the purpose, and efforts have been many to make the music of India understood by the outside world. There have even been two or three books on the subject, which expounded Indian music in European notation by Europeans and Indians alike, and the work under review is the latest of such efforts.

The work attempts to treat Indian music in a systematic style. The talented authoress treats the subject by a survey of works bearing on it and the lives of the practical exponents of the art; she then proceeds to a brief survey of the history of the subject. She then proceeds, in the following chapters, to treat of the seven divisions of music, such as *svara* or tones, *tala*, time and rhythm, *rāga* or tunes and melodies, *vādya*, musical instruments, *nritya*, dance to the accompaniment of music, *bhava*, or the significance of music as exhibited by action, and *artha*, or exposition or modes. All these subjects are treated with an understanding and simplicity making the somewhat abstruse subject comprehensive even to the ordinary understanding. The book gives, however, but a partial treatment, as for obvious reasons the talented lady has not been able to give adequate treatment to the music of South India, which forms quite a separate department of Indian music, and has to be cultivated altogether differently from the methods of the other schools. 'The leading motive,' according to the authoress, 'of Indian music is an expression of the feelings and emotions in a series of moods; this being woven with the legends and traditions of the poetic fancies and reveries of the human soul and spirit of the country.' These she tries to render, as far as may be, in words assisted by a number of illustrative blocks, which take one farther than mere exposition can.

The work is very well got up, and will certainly prove a very useful introduction to the music of India. It has an interesting chapter upon the various exponents of music and anecdotes connected with them. It has further the advantage of a valuable appendix upon the connection of Indian music with Indian astrology explained by means of a table noting the astrological significance of Indian music. The book is bound to be of great value to those interested in Indian music.

'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 Sindu, 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 *disiecta 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 Vyasa Raja.' 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 reasons 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.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 305

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. GHOSE: '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 Aryabhata.'

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 Serpant 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.

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 fur Indologie und Iranistik.*
Von Wilh. 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 Franchise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Ancient Indian Culture.¹

BY

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GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to be present amongst you this evening and to participate in the JUBILEE CELEBRATION of the Sanskrit College. Both my revered father and myself have been always keenly interested in the welfare of this College and watched its work with pride and pleasure. Started in 1876 at the expressed desire of my grandfather, it has passed through many vicissitudes; but in spite of these, it has continued to flourish and it now occupies a unique place in the educational system in the State. It is no doubt true that latterly it has been eclipsed in importance by other educational institutions which cater to modern needs. Nevertheless the work which this College has been doing is of immeasurable value and its importance cannot be judged by numerical standards alone. For, this institution stands for all that is great, noble and eternal, in our ancient culture. It is the centre of Sanskrit learning, from which a knowledge of the rich store of our ancient heritage has radiated to all parts of the State and even outside. It has, in fact, preserved, for the use of future generations, the essence of those traditions and characteristics,

¹ His Highness the Maharaja's Speech on the Occasion of the Jubilee of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College. Reproduced with the gracious consent of His Highness. Ed.

on which the structure of our Indian civilization was built in the past. This College is thus rendering a national service of no mean order to the country. That this is not an unduly large claim will be clear, if we remember that in any reconstruction of our social, political or religious polity, we could not, and should not, cut ourselves off from all our historic past and that our future must have its roots deep in the past.

Besides, Sanskrit learning embodies a culture, a discipline, a type of humanism, which no other learning, old or new, dead or living, can present to our age. It is not from the stand-point of objective knowledge, the knowledge of the facts and laws of the world, that we should adjudge the value of Sanskrit learning. For, the Knower that stands behind that knowledge, the *Atman*, has also to be known, and it is this *Atma-vidya*, the knowledge of the self, to which the study of Sanskrit opens the way, in a sense which is true of no other literature to the same degree. And this is not a barren knowledge—it is indeed the supreme *Vidya*, the science of sciences. And its sovereign character is known by its fruits. For, in India, it has created and illumined the arts, and given birth to a distinctive civilization.

Oriental Art, to-day, is seen to be a new world in itself, the discovery of which is likely to usher in a World-Renaissance as creative as the sixteenth-century Renaissance in Europe. And much of what is unique in this Asiatic art had India for its fountain-head. And it is the spirit enshrined in Sanskrit literature that can alone reveal the inner meaning of that art, in architectural types of temple and pagoda, in sculptural *motifs* of the Nataraja or the Buddha, in generalized lines and curves of the Ajanta frescoes, or in the melodic systems of the *Ragas* and *Raginis*. It is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the steppes of Central Asia to the coral strands and reefs of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

But deeper than all this is the need of the world to-day for that sovereign truth, which Sanskrit learning utters more clearly, more powerfully, than any other learning of literature—the truth which finds

in Bramha and the Peace of Bramha, in other words, in the oneness of man and all creations in the cosmic Reality and in the realization of that oneness, the sovereign cure for the malady of the world, a malady which an ill-directed pursuit of Science and Power has only aggravated, has indeed brought to a paroxysmal fury in our age. The emancipation of the man and the world of man from this illusion is the problem of our age, and this emancipation will not only be a fitting conclusion to the age-long history of human freedom, but will also usher in a Renaissance fruitful in works of Peace and in saving Power and Knowledge. Sanskrit Learning and the spirit enshrined in it, are of inestimable value to this world's emancipation and renaissance.

But, this makes it all the more necessary that all students of Sanskrit learning including the *alumni* of this institution should value this discipline of the spirit, this cultural ideal, more than the mechanical or formal elements, the *debris* of ages, with which all ancient learning must be loaded. A Pandit, trained in an institution like this, cannot be a Vidwan unless his whole mind and life are rightly attuned to this sovereign culture, which is the genius of India and of her Sanskrit learning. He must be a light-bringer, a bearer of this message of Wisdom, a living example of the true *Vidya* and the *Satyadharma*, of that conquest of matter by the Spirit, that independence of mind and character, and that fearlessness of conduct, which are of the very essence of Bramhanya. He must always be conscious that he bears a sacred responsibility, for by him and in him will the ancient *Vidya* be judged. And, if he thus fits himself for serving his fellow-men in the higher needs of the soul, he may rest assured that the Providence, which works ever in the dispensations of Society, will not abandon him, for is it not written—'*Yoga-kshēman Vahāmyaham*'?

But, his greatest treasure in life will be that learning of which he is the custodian,—a blessing and a treasure of which none can deprive him. Let him live happy in the consciousness of his privilege.

In the brief, but comprehensive, report read on behalf of the

Committee this evening, two points of some importance emerge, viz., the future policy regarding the courses of studies to be followed in the College; and secondly, the prospects of the students who take degrees here. With regard to the first point, you must all realize that the Sanskrit College alone cannot escape the consequences of the impact of Western civilization upon all our ideas and institutions. I do not propose to lay down this evening what shape the courses of study should take in future. Such questions must be left to the experts; but this much I must say, that, whatever changes may be called for in this respect to suit modern conditions, every care should be taken that the essentials of our ancient culture are preserved, viz., that intimate, nay, almost filial, connection between the teacher and the taught, that thorough mastery of the subjects studied, that love of learning for its own sake and keenness to impart it to others without thought of reward, and, above all, that close association of religion and education, which has so large an influence on the formation of character. As regards the second point, I can assure you that my Government will view with sympathy any representations on this matter and on other matters pertaining to the improvement of the College, which the authorities of the College may make.

Gentlemen, the occasion that has brought us together this evening is a historic one. The continued existence of any institution for fifty years is in itself remarkable and it is all the more so in the case of this College devoted to the neglected study of Sanskrit and confronted with innumerable difficulties. I must therefore congratulate all those, who have been responsible for its efficient maintenance on the success of their efforts. I must specially congratulate the teachers, past and present, of this institution, to all of whom it has been mostly a labour of love to work for the good of the College. I wish the Sanskrit College all success and many more years of prosperous and useful work.

In conclusion, let me thank the students and staff for the welcome they have given to me on this occasion.

Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India¹

BY

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'HARSHA's death must have loosened the bonds which have restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in India, and led them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century, and such it always had been except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.' These are the terms in which the talented author of the *Early History of India* described the condition of affairs that followed the death of Harsha. The century following, namely, the period from A.D. 650 to 750 is comparatively barren of events so far as Hindu India as hitherto known, is concerned. There are, however, some few glimpses into the condition of India at the time from a few sources, the piecing together of which may give us an idea of the actual position of affairs during the period of the three or four generations from that of the great Emperor. From these it is found that an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to revive the empire of Magadha, so as to make it the dominant force at least in Mid-India. This empire perhaps held together for four generations when it passed on to another dynasty under Yaśovarman of Kanauj, of whom we have had but a few glimpses so far. It would be interesting, therefore, to pursue the painful process of building up from these stray glimpses a picture of the state of affairs, which would give us a fuller view of the

¹ This formed the introductory part of the course of Ordinary University Lectures on the Gurjaras by the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the Madras University.

political condition of India in the century following the death of Harsha.

The death of Harsha, without leaving a successor with a title beyond question, would in the ordinary course of things have resulted in the empire breaking up into the separate kingdoms composing it. It would have been the legitimate ambition of each of these to achieve the imperial position in its own turn. Such, however, does not appear exactly to have been the case in this instance. It is generally taken that there was a usurpation, and the usurper fell a victim to the consequences of his own unroyal treatment of the ambassador from China. For this so-called usurpation and what followed in consequence our only source of information is such references as we find in the History of the Tang dynasty of China. As far as the available details take us, there is nothing clear to indicate that Arjuna, or Aruṇāśva as he is called, usurped the empire. It seems to be much rather that Aruṇāśva was the ruler of the province called Tirabhukti in that period, embracing within it the region between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and extending eastwards from the Gangetic Doab to the Kharatoya River. That would mean no usurpation in the ordinary sense of the term, unless by usurpation is meant the assertion of independence by a governor when the empire ceased to exist in consequence of the death of the emperor and the absence of a successor. This inference seems clear as, among the details relating to the Tibetan war, there is no indication of Aruṇāśva having mobilized the whole of the military resources of the empire against the Tibetan army under the Chinese Ambassador. There is a positive statement that Kumāra Bhāskara Varman of Assam supplied provisions and rendered other assistance of the kind, to the Tibetan army. This he could not have done if it was the empire that was at war with the Tibetans. Besides Magadha, south of the Ganges seems to have remained absolutely unaffected by the war.¹ It seems, therefore, better to regard the war as a local affair concerned only with a single province of the empire of Harsha which at the time, had set itself up as an independent kingdom.

This conclusion comes out clearly from the dispositions that Harsha made of his empire in the later years of his reign. We learn

¹ On this see Waddell's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, for January 1911 and the *Indian Antiquary*, 1900.

from the Harshacharita and from Hiuen T'sang that one ruler that defied Harsha's power even after he established himself firmly upon the throne of the united kingdoms of Thanesar and Kanauj was Śaśāṅka of Bengal. Apparently the operations against him committed to the charge of Bhandi by Harsha did not have the result of crushing the enemy out of existence.¹ Far from it Śaśāṅka was still ruling over Bengal with considerable power till almost about the year A.D. 620. The only possible inference from this is that the punitive expedition against him ended merely in an agreement, the actual terms of which we do not know; but the fact that Śaśāṅka was still left in considerable power—perhaps even extended power—indicates that the terms were not all to the advantage of Harsha. The issue of the Ganjam grant in the Gupta *Samvat* 300, that is A.D. 619–20² would justify this inference. Up to the year therefore A.D. 620 Śaśāṅka lived and exercised his authority unimpaired over the eastern kingdom of Bengal and the adjoining territory.

Hiuen T'sang makes the statement in his description of Gaya, that Śaśāṅka uprooted the Bodhi tree there root and branch, and that a succeeding ruler, Pūrṇavarman by name, of the dynasty of Asoka repaired the damage and let the tree grow twenty feet. He further states that Pūrṇavarman was the ruler till some time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang. These remarks of the Chinese traveller warrant the inference that Pūrṇavarman became ruler in the region where Bodhi-Gaya is situated in succession to Śaśāṅka, and ruled till a short time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang.³ It seems probable that, after the death of Pūrṇavarman, Harsha annexed the territory to his own dominions, if he did not do that before, and this conclusion finds support in another remark of Hiuen T'sang that about the year A.D. 640, Harsha was returning from an expedition to Kongyodha.⁴ There is further support for this position in the fact that Kumāra Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam) issued a copper plate grant⁵ from Karṇāśvarṇa, the capital actually of Śaśāṅka. As this ruler and Harsha were on terms of a treaty alliance, and very friendly to

¹ *Harshacharita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 224.

² *Epigraphica Indica*, vi. 143.

³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 349, *Life*, p. 159.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, xii. 65–79 and *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 25.

each other, it would be safe to infer that *Karṇāśvarṇa* and a part of the territory of *Śaśāṅka* were made over to *Kumāra* by *Harsha* after the death of *Śaśāṅka*. It was probably in this general arrangement, that *Pūrṇavarma* became ruler of at least a part of *Magadha*, it may be the whole of *Magadha*. The death of *Pūrṇavarma* probably occasioned the need for *Harsha*'s intervention in *Magadha*, and that is perhaps what is indicated in his expedition to *Kongyodha* referred to above. It seems, therefore, justifiable that the death of *Śaśāṅka* led to the annexation to the empire of *Harsha* of the extensive kingdom of *Bengal*, and that *Harsha* did not straightway annex it to the empire but made his own dispositions by dividing the territory of *Śaśāṅka* among the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms or viceroyalties by rounding off their frontiers on a systematic basis. It seems, therefore, clear that the territory east of the *Doab* and extending from the *Himalayas* to the sea was, in the last years of the emperor, divided into the following viceroyalties—(1) *Tirabhukti* taking in the whole territory between the *Himalayas* and the *Ganges*, and westward of the *Kharatoya River* to the very frontiers of the *Doab*; (2) the territory of *Assam* to the east of the *Kharatoya River* taking in bits of *Bengal* in the near border; (3) *Magadha* with perhaps a considerable slice of territory added extending its frontiers up to the *Ganges* in its lower course; (4) *Bengal* itself must have been reconstituted by including in it all the territory in the lower course of the *Ganges*, and must have comprised in it the districts lying along the coast of what is now *Bengal* and all *Orissa*. This we find to be the actual disposition of powers in the century following the death of *Harsha* from such records as are accessible to us. *Tirabhukti* must have been a viceroyalty of very great importance, and so also *Magadha*. *Kāmarūpa* was undoubtedly a kingdom in alliance, subordinate alliance though it be. *Bengal* was perhaps a feudatory kingdom also, but may have been under the rule of a local dynasty, which may have been even that of *Śaśāṅka* himself. If *Harsha* made such a disposition of his territory during his life time, it is possible to infer that this territory broke up into four kingdoms on the death of *Harsha*, without leaving a successor.

Of these divisions of the empire in the east it was only *Tirabhukti*, or the region between the *Ganges* and the *Himalayas*, that was actually involved in the war against the *Tibetans* and the *Nepalese*,

who intervened on behalf of the Chinese ambassador *Wang Hiuen T'se*. The war went against the Indian ruler, who was taken prisoner along with his family, and was carried over ultimately to China by the ambassador, where he died. As far as the details of the war accessible to us go, we do not find that the neighbouring province of *Magadha*, the part of it south of the *Ganges*, or any other part of the empire was involved in it, except for the assistance that the ruler of *Assam* gave to the *Tibetans* by way of supplies, etc. Therefore it may be taken that the war was actually confined to the single province of the empire, which may for convenience be called the viceroyalty of *Tirabhukti*. Almost ten years after the war, the self-same Chinese ambassador, a high placed official of China, the Minister in charge of the Imperial Archives, visited India again on a tour of pilgrimage in the course of which he was able to proceed unmolested to all the Buddhist holy places within the sphere of a Buddhist pilgrim's beat. What was more he returned without molestation across the north-western frontier. The actual date of this pilgrimage is A.D. 657. In A.D. 657 therefore the country must have enjoyed a certain amount of peace and provided a sufficient amount of security for an official of the importance of *Wang Hiuen T'se* to pass through unmolested. More than this perhaps we may even presume that there was something like a common authority recognized though this need not necessarily be an inevitable inference. Was there such a power which may be taken to have exercised extensive authority over the region of *Mid-India* to be regarded more or less as a successor of the empire?

We have some records of a dynasty of rulers who affiliated themselves in their grants to the family of the later *Guptas*, though not to that of the imperial *Gupta* dynasty. One ruler by name *Ādityaśēna* has left behind him half a dozen records of his, of which all but one are undated.¹

The dated one belongs to the year 66, obviously of the *Harsha* era, which would mean the year A.D. 672. Another feature of these records is that in some of them he does not give himself the suzerain titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., while in some he gives himself those titles. The inference therefore is clear that he started as a subordinate

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 42-46.

ruler, and at some stage of his career he transformed himself into a suzerain power. This is confirmed by the fact that his father is referred to with no higher titles than that of a *sāmanta*, and nothing more is stated of him than that he was the intimate friend of Harsha. This reference to Mādhavagupta in association with Harsha in the records gives us the clue to an identification, which perhaps would throw light upon the connection of this feudatory family of the Guptas, with Magadha.

If this Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasēna, was the same as the Mādhavagupta who figures in the *Harshacharita* as the friend and companion of Harsha, we may draw the inference that when Harsha rearranged the province in consequence of the death of Śaśānka, he may have appointed his friend to the viceroyalty of the important and even palatine principality of Magadha.

The Apsad stone inscription¹ of Ādityasēna gives a list of eight generations of Guptas in the following order :—

Krishnagupta
|
Harshagupta
|
Śrī Jivitagupta
|
Kumāragupta
|
Damōdaragupta
|
Mahāsēnagupta
|
Mādhavagupta
|
Ādityasēna

In regard to some of these the following points of historical interest are also noted. No. 4 Kumāragupta is said to have defeated the ocean-like army of Īśānavarman, and entered, as if plunging in water, the fire specially lighted in Allahabad. This means that he fought against Īśānavarman and ascended the funeral pyre, perhaps because he was defeated. His successor Damōdaragupta died in battle against the Maukharis, whose elephants caused the death of the Hūna soldiers. His successor Mahāsēnagupta defeated Susthitavarman's army, 'the fame of which deed of heroism was heard on the

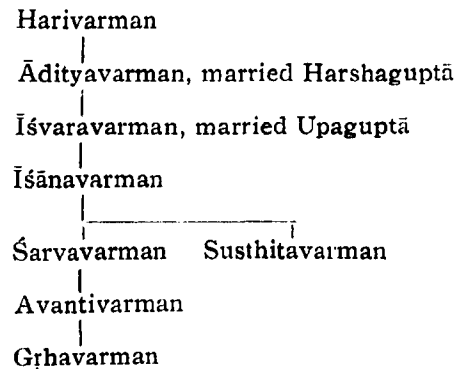
¹ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, No. 42.

banks of Lauhitya.' Then come Mādhavagupta, whose friendship Śrī Harshadēva sought. Then followed Āditayāsēna. Of these Mahāsēnagupta was probably a ruler connected by marriage alliance with the family of Harsha. Harsha's grandfather Ādityavardhana is said to have married Mahāsēnagupta, who from her name was probably a sister of Mahāsēnagupta. If so he must have been a maternal uncle of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha. Mahāsēnagupta is said to have defeated the army of a Susthitavarman. This Susthitavarman is taken to be the ruler of Assam and the father of Kumārabhāskaravarman by some scholars on the ground that the River Lauhitya is mentioned in the connection. This, however, does not necessarily follow. The River Lauhitya is not mentioned as anywhere near the scene of battle; it is merely mentioned as a place on the uttermost eastern frontier up to which the fame of the heroic deed had spread. It cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the inference that the Susthitavarman referred to is the ruler of Assam. There is undoubtedly an Assam contemporary of Mahāsēnagupta by name Susthitavarman. If this Susthitavarman had gone to war with Mahāsēnagupta, the fact is likely to be mentioned in connection with the embassy that came to Harsha from Assam.¹ The *Harshacharita* is not likely to have overlooked a detail like that. The probabilities, therefore, are that this Susthitavarman was a Maukhari ruler, though the name has not come down to us in any of the records or coins so far accessible, of this dynasty. Notwithstanding this want of direct reference, it would be more in keeping with the history of the relations between the Maukharis on the one side and the ruling dynasty of Thanesar on the other, to regard this Susthitavarman as a Maukhari, a brother probably of Śarvavarman rather than a son. Apart from that it is clear that this Mahāsēnagupta was the Gupta contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana. Where did he rule, and what was his kingdom? These are the points that we shall have to settle on the basis of such evidence as we have.

In the dynastic list of these Guptas, the first three names have no historical association. The next three names come into close connection with the Maukharis as almost hereditary enemies. The following

¹ *Harshacharita*, pp. 246-7. Trans C & T, p. 217. The translators adopt the reading Stithivarman. The *Nirnayasāgara* text gives the correct reading Susthitavarman.

two belong to a period following Harsha, which we have dealt with already in part. The Maukharis had their headquarters at Kanauj, and had a comparatively extensive kingdom.¹ Among them there are eight rulers in succession forming a dynasty up to the date of Harsha or Mādhavagupta. Their names may be set down in order as follows :—



The fourth Īśānavarman seems to be thought of as the ruler of this dynasty who really brought it into importance. Of the first we have no information; of the second and the third, the only useful information is that they married apparently two Gupta Princesses, and if we may assume from the name that they were related to the contemporary Gupta rulers, the queen of Ādityavarman must have been a sister of Harshagupta, and the queen of Īśvaravarman a princess perhaps similarly related to Jivitagupta. Whether that be so or no, Īśānavarman assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, and was the son of Īśvaravarman by Upaguptā. It is against him that Kumāragupta fought and failed. His son was Śarvavarman, who styled himself Paramamāhēsvara and Mahārājādhirāja. We have already stated that Sushitavarman, must have been a successor of Śarvavarman, either a brother or a son, and as such fought against the Maukharis. Next follows Avantivarman, whose son Gṛhavarman was married to Rājya Śrī, sister of Harsha. We thus see that Sushitavarman may have been the contemporary of Mahāsēnagupta. Passing on to the family of Harsha himself, we find that Prabhākaravardhana was the son of Ādityavardhana by his queen Mahāsēnaguptā. The latter name Mahāsēnaguptā raises a presumption that she was a sister of Mahāsēna-

¹ Fleet, *op. cit.*, Nos. 47-52.

gupta who fought with Susthitavarman. If this should be correct Prabhākaravardhana took rank with Avantivarman, his son Harsha with Gṛhavarman, a position which seems to be warranted by what appears in the *Harshacharita*. Where did this dynasty of Guptas rule? Was it in Magadha?

We know that Mādhavagupta's successors were associated with Magadha. This would naturally raise a presumption that the family ruled in Magadha. We see in the *Harshacharita* and in the inscriptions that a certain number of Gupta princes played a prominent part in his reign. Of these three names are worthy of notice. The first is Dēvagupta whom Rājyavardhana destroyed according to the Madhuban grant of Harsha.¹ Rājya during his short life fought only two wars the one against the Huns and the other against the Malva ruler who carried on a war against Gṛhavarman, his brother-in-law, killed him, and threw Rājyasrī into prison. Rājya had to conduct a war of reprisal against him. He conducted the war successfully, killed the Malva ruler, and returned victorious with his cousin Bhaṇḍi as his companion. When Rājya in his turn was assassinated by Śasānka, Bhaṇḍi led the army of his master successfully back to Thanesar and is said to have brought along with him a number of Malva notables in Chains.² It, therefore, seems indubitable that Dēvagupta was the ruler of Malva. Again the *Harshacharita* makes reference to two princes of Malva.³ Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, slightly older than the brothers, Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana who were sent by their father to the court of Prabhākaravardhana.

Of these two brothers, Kumāra was made the companion of Rājya and Mādhava occupied a similar place with respect to Harsha. It is obviously this person to whom the *Harshacharita* refers as the Malva prince (*Mālava Rājasūnu*)⁴ when Bāna paid him the first visit.

The Mālava Rāja from whom these princes came to the court of Thanesar must have been in alliance, and related to the royal family, or else it would be difficult to understand that these princes should be

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, i. 67.

² *Harshacharita*, pp. 254-5. See also note on this subject by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, vol. i.

³ *Harshacharita*, p. 153 and Translation, 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87 and *Ibid.*, p. 66.

sent as pages in attendance. If Mahāsēnagupta, the mother of Prabhākaravardhana was the sister of Mahāsēnagupta he would then be sending his sons to the court of his nephew, and there would be certainly nothing undignified in it. It appears therefore that Mahāsēnagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta was the ruler of Malva being allied by marriage with the family of Thanesar and kept the peace with them while carrying on an unremitting war against the Maukharis of Kanauj. The fact that the brothers Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta were sent to Prabhākaravardhana's court was probably because there was another prince who succeeded to the throne with whom these princes could not have been as happy as at the court of Prabhākaravardhana. Dēvagupta whom Rājyavardhana punished must, therefore, have been the ruler of Malva in succession to Mahāsēnagupta. So then we can take it that Mahāsēnagupta and his predecessors ruled in Malva in all probability and were Gupta rulers of Malva.¹ After the conquest of Malva the dynasty came to an end in Dēvagupta, and the two princes belonging to the royal family were in the court of Harsha himself. Harsha made other arrangements to carry on the government. That accounts for the statement of Hiuen T'sang that there was a Brahman ruler in Malva. Dēvagupta and Kumāragupta get omitted in the inscriptions of Ādityasēna and his successors, because they were collaterals and Mādhavagupta had perforce to be mentioned as he was in the direct line. Even so the Aphsad inscription has nothing more to say of him than that he was sought in friendship by Harsha. There is no other person who appears to have been as good a friend of Harsha as the Malva prince Mādhavagupta in the *Harshacharita*. We can, therefore, safely take it that the Mādhava of the inscription referred to is no other than the Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harsha according to the *Harshacharita*. This Mādhava was in the company of Harsha almost in all critical moments of his life. He was the one companion on whom Harsha rested his arms when fatigued by his wandering in search of his sister, as he had to go on foot in the last stage of it.² He seems to have been the person to whom he addressed the remark about the young gallant when Bāṇa first paid him a visit in his camp on the river Ajitāvatī. This Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasēna was clearly

¹ Mr. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, note referred to above.

² *Harshacharita*, p. 265. Translation, 235.

the Malva prince of the name. How did he come to be the ruler of Magadha?

This could only be by appointment of Harsha. As we have pointed out already Harsha must have made disposition of the territories in the eastern part of his empire after the death of Pūrṇavarman, and in the arrangements must have constituted the viceroyalty of Magadha, to which he probably appointed his trusted friend Mādhavagupta. Ādityasēna inherited the territory from his father. He probably assumed independent titles, and even styled himself paramount ruler some time after the Tibetan war when there was no chance of a revival of the empire. After the death of Śaśāṅka, Harsha must have reconstituted the province by creating a viceroyalty for the whole of the region of Tirhut carrying its eastern frontier up to the Kharatoya River. All east of it was within the kingdom of Kumāra Bhāskara-varman, whose authority extended even to this side of the Kharatoya river, as he issued a grant from Karnaśvarna, near the capital of Śaśāṅka. The territory on this side of the Ganges, extending as far as the frontiers Orissa, was constituted as the province of Magadha, appointing Mādhavagupta to the charge of it. The kingdom of Bengal must have been reconstituted and with the addition of Orissa, and possibly a part of Kalinga, should have been formed a province by itself. That it was so under the empire is clear from the fact that Hiuen T'sang refers to Harsha's return from an expedition to Kongyodha which is referred to in the Ganjam inscription of Śaśāṅka. Arjuna or Aruṇāśva was apparently ruler of Tirabhukti, and his defeat and imprisonment as a result of the Tibetan war must have induced the others to seek their own safety. That was probably the occasion when Ādityasēna assumed independence which may be about A.D. 650. His inscription is dated A.D. 672 and gives him paramount titles; and these were probably assumed by Ādityasēna some time about the period when the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen T'se visited India on his third mission. The position thus founded by Ādityasēna continued intact through the reigns of his son Dēvagupta, his grandson Viśṇugupta, and his great grandson Jivitagupta. The Deo Barnark inscription of the last makes reference to grants of Bālāditya, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman which he renewed by this grant. This is additional evidence that he was ruler over the territory not only of the two Maukharis, but even

of Bālāditya, in all probability the Mahārāja Bālāditya of Hiuen T'sang. The territory of Ādityasēna should have been the same as the territory over which the Maukharis ruled in this part, and supports the view put forward here that the earlier Guptas were rulers of Malva, and the father of Ādityasēna was transplanted in Magadha.

What was really the position or the extent of the empire of Ādityasēna, if it is permissible to call it such? Of the few inscriptions that have come down to us relating to this period and of this dynasty the actual records of the dynasty do not give us any idea of the extent of his empire, or the character of his authority. But there is a record at Deogarh in Bihar,¹ in the heart of his territory proper, which states that he was ruler of a comparatively extensive empire, and that his authority at any rate, extended as far as *Cholapura*. He is said to have brought vast wealth obtained at the capital of the Chola, and with that, celebrated the third *Āsvamedha*. He is further said to have constructed a temple of Vishṇu in the form of Narasimha, and in connection with this establishment the record purports itself to have been originally made. Unfortunately however, the record is found in a temple dedicated to Vaidyanātha, that is Śiva, and is in the Maithili characters of about the sixteenth century. As the record itself contains reference to a further establishment of Vishṇu in the form of the Primeval boar (*Varaha*), the document that has come down to us cannot be the original, but a comparatively late copy. One feature in it is worthy of note. Ādityasēna is said to have brought the wealth and built the temple referred to before, in the *Krīlayuga*, that is in the golden age of the Hindus, and the queen's name is given as Koshadēvi, instead of Konadēvi which was her actual name. The latter feature can be explained as a copyist's error, and the former feature would mean that at the time the record was put in its present form, it was so ancient in the estimation of contemporaries that the temple was taken to be of immemorial foundation. Notwithstanding these defects, we may take it that the record is a copy of an older, and even genuine original. At the same time it must be admitted that the *Cholapura*, which would mean nothing else than the capital of the Chola country, may contain an error in transcription. It may not be safe, therefore, to draw the inference

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 212, No. 6.

that he actually went to the Chola country, or laid the Chola under tribute. In the latter half of the seventh century, the Chola power may have existed, but in no high position in the Chola country proper. But there was perhaps a Chola country in the region extending from Kālahasti to Cuddapah, to which Hiuen Tsang refers in his *Chuliye*. Whichever be the Chola country under reference it would perhaps be unsafe to take it that Ādityasēna's authority, or even influence, extended as far south as the Chola country. But the mere general achievements ascribed to him seem possible from the other records of his, and would make the inference sustainable that he was a sovereign of very great influence in Magadha and the surrounding territories, and that his influence and power were great enough for him to put forward a claim to imperial authority, without the claim being seriously called in question.

We have the date for Ādityasēna of A.D. 672 as was mentioned already, and according to a Nepal inscription,¹ he married one of his daughters to a Maukhari-prince, by name Bhogavarman, which means that at the time of the dominance of Ādityasēna's influence in the central region of Hindustan, the Maukharis, had not gone quite out of existence. They were still in a position of sufficient influence and retained so much of their prestige, as to enter into marriage relations with the suzerain dynasty for the time being.

This Bhōgavarman's daughter married the Nepal prince, Śivadēva, and her son was a Jayadēva for whom we have a date in the Harsha Sam. 153, which would correspond to A.D. 759-60. At the time of the Tibetan invasion, Nepal was in alliance, perhaps a subordinate alliance with Tibet, the Tibetan ruler having married one of the princesses of Nepal. This Jayadēva of Nepal was the great grandson of Ādityasēna in the female line. Jīvitagupta was his great grandson in the male line. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we took it that Jīvitagupta of the Deo Barnark inscription was almost a contemporary of this Jayadēva of Nepal. Therefore Jīvitagupta's date would be roughly about the middle of the eighth century when according to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* the Kashmir ruler, Lalitāditya, Mukṭāpīḍa defeated, and overthrew completely the ruler of Kanauj, Yaśovarman. This perhaps indicates that the suzerainty of Ādityasēna

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, ix, 180.

and his successors gradually shifted from the Guptas of Magadha to the ruler of Kanauj, who might possibly have been of the dynasty of the Maukharis. This seems to be borne out by the statement in the inscription of Jayadēva of Nepal, referred to above, for the record mentions the fact that this Jayadēva married princess Rājyamati. Rājyamati is said to have been *the daughter of a Śrī Harshadēva, Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, and was of the race of Bhagadatta*. The race of Bhagadatta was the race that ruled over Assam, as Bhagadatta was the son of Narakāsura, and the family of Kumāra Bhaskaravarman claimed descent from him. This Harshadēva must, therefore, have been the ruler of Assam, to which perhaps, he had added by his own efforts, or by those of his immediate predecessors, the province of Odra, Kalinga and Kosala, as Puṇḍra had already been added to the territory of Kumāra perhaps in the last years of Harsha. This description of Harshadēva's territory keeps clear of Magadha, and is almost along three frontiers of it. Therefore at the period of rule of Yaśovarman the rulers of Puṇḍra or Bengal must have exercised authority or rule over a considerable extent of territory along the eastern frontier, extending from Assam to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency. When Mukṭāpīḍa had overthrown Yaśovarman and started on his *digvijaya*, the first ruler he could attack was the ruler of Kalinga, according to the *Rājatarangini*¹ as the territory of Yaśovarman had already been subdued. In another of his adventures he had to get across to the ruler of Bengal to try his strength against. When he wanted to gain assistance against the Bengal ruler, having escaped from prison by stratagem, he could apply to the king of Nepal. Thus the reduction of Yaśovarman to subjection brought the Kārkoṭaka ruler into conflict with the ruler of Kalinga with none other between. Yaśovarman's authority must, therefore, have extended not only over the territory of Kanauj proper, that is, the ancestral kingdom of the Maukharis, but must have taken in the whole of Magadha. That again is an indication that the dominant authority passed from the family of Ādityasēna, that is, from the Guptas of Magadha, to Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

Of Yaśovarman we have hitherto known but little beyond what is contained in Kalhana's *Rājatarangini*. So far as that work is

concerned it mentions Yaśovarman only incidentally as an important ruler of Central India who had been overcome in war by Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, in the course of a description of the incidents of the reign of the Kashmir ruler. It adds one more detail regarding Yaśovarman, namely that he was a patron of two great poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja. Bhavabhūti is the well-known author of the three dramas, *Mahāvira Charitam*, *Uttara Rāma Charitam*, and *Mālati-Mādhava*. Vākpatirāja describes himself as a pupil of this Bhavabhūti who ultimately succeeded to the position at court occupied by Bhavabhūti as poet laureate.¹ In his Prakrit poem *Gauḍavaho* (Gaudavahha, the slaying of the Bengal ruler), he is described in true epic fashion as a great ruler, a veritable incarnation of Viṣṇu, whose chief achievement and title to fame was his conquest of Gauḍa (Bengal) and the killing of the Gauḍa ruler, which forms the subject of the Prakrit epic. Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa who vanquished Yaśovarman in his turn claims to have overthrown and killed another Bengal ruler. From what has been said above, Harsha was the great ruler of Assam in whose territory was included Bengal and the province appurtenant thereto. He is given the name of Harish in the traditional history of Assam.² That probably was the ruler who was overthrown by Yaśovarman, and hence the great glorification that is made of this incident in the *Gauḍavaho*. In the *History of Assam* the dynasty of Bhagadatta is said to have come to an end either directly or indirectly with the ruler Harish. Is this not a variant of the name Harsha? There was a short succession of two or three rulers following this revolution, and another dynasty settled itself upon the throne. Has this not a reference to the death of the two successive rulers one of them having been put to death by Yaśovarman and the other by Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa? If this should happen to be correct, Yaśovarman must have established an empire in succession to Ādityasēna in Mid-India, as his first title to greatness, according to *Gauḍavaho*, is the overthrow of a Magadha ruler. He extended this empire to include Vanga (Bengal) and all that formed part of it at the time. The empire, therefore, founded by the later dynasty of the Guptas in Magadha was continued under Yaśovarman and was put an end to by the overthrow of Yaśovarman by the ruler

¹ Translation by Stein, Book I, p. 145, etc.

¹ *Gauḍavaho*, 797-804. Introduction xxxiii.

² *Vide* Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*.

of Kashmir. This put an end to the suzerainty of the central powers, and it was now the turn of the frontier kingdoms to assert their power and establish an ascendancy if possible. Three powers stood out almost in competition to achieve this ascendancy, the frontier kingdom of Kashmir, the rising kingdom of the Gūrjaras in Maru or Marwar, and the newly established kingdom of Bengal in succession to the rulers of Assam. The latter half of the seventh century and the greater part of the eighth century were taken up with the revival of the Gupta empire in Magadha followed by that of Yaśovarman, possibly a Maukhari, and this central Indian Empire made way for the struggle between the Gūrjaras and the Pālas of Bengal and culminated in the establishment of the empire of the Gūrjaras at Kanauj.

NOTE

The poem of Gauḍavaho of Vākpatirāja, published so far, consists of 1209 *ślokas* in the Bombay Sanskrit series (No. 34). On the face of it it deals with the slaying of the Gauḍa king on the analogy of the poem Rāvanavadha. The poem therefore is expected to deal with the death of a Gauḍa king at the hands of the enemy presumably in war, or after a combat of some sort. In the form in which it is available to us it seems an incomplete poem. The 1209 *ślokas*, all that is available so far, do not carry us far into the narrative. The Editor, Mr. S. P. Pandit, sets himself up to consider whether it is a complete work or no, and adduces many arguments of value to prove that the poem is incomplete. He nowhere refers to the colophon of the work which states in clear terms, that what is printed, the whole of 1209 *ślokas*, is *Kathāmukha* or introduction which makes all discussion on this question superfluous. Obviously therefore, he had some reason to regard this colophon as not genuine or not forming part of the original. Even if it should be so, there is but little doubt that the part printed is nothing more than the introduction.

If the published part of the 1209 *ślokas* is the *Kathāmukha* that it pretends to be, there must be a hint at any rate of the Gauḍa monarch who died at the hands of the hero and some indication of the greatness of the achievement. The first 697 *ślokas* describe a sort of *digvijaya* of the hero, and what follows is merely an account of the author and the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed. Is it legitimate to expect any indication of the main topic

in the first as Mr. Pandit has done? This part has reference only to the anterior history of the hero and what follows is really the introduction to the main theme. In the first 697 *ślokas* there is frequent reference to the defeat and death of a Magadha king¹ and to an invasion of Vanga territory involving a defeat of the king.² There is no warrant for equating the *Magadadhipa* of the *ślokas* as equivalent to the Gauḍa, nor does the commentator do so in these cases. He falls into the blunder, so it must be called unfortunately, as the poem refers to Magadha, Vanga and Gauḍa separately only in *śloka* 844³ which states that *formerly*, Magadha-nāyaka was uprooted and dispossessed of his kingdom.

This was not all. The Magadha king fled from the field and was taken and killed, his queens having been taken prisoners and reduced to servitude. Hence this achievement against the ruler of Magadha stands out distinct as a separate achievement, and this is clearly indicated in the expression *purā* in *śloka* 844 meaning a former achievement of the monarch.

Following this comes the successful invasion of Vanga and the defeat of its ruler. Then the hero is taken to the Dakhan and the South, then against the Pārasikas and ultimately against the Himalayan regions almost on the lines of *Raghuvamśa*. In all this Gauḍa as such, or its ruler, finds no mention whatever.

Śloka 1184 describes Yaśovarman as *Chānakyaacharita* meaning thereby that he was a proficient in the arts of statecraft and diplomacy. It is in *śloka* 1194 that we get the first direct reference to the Gauḍa ruler as the *śloka* states, your sword prospers by cutting the throat of the Gauḍa ruler.⁴

Does it not follow from this that, in the first half, Vākpatirāja merely describes the anterior history of Yaśovarman and then gives the actual introduction to the subject which he intended to treat in true epic form in the rest of the work whether it ever was written or no. It would be too much of an idiosyncrasy in an author of the eminence of Vākpatirāja to call his work Gauḍavaho and refer to the Gauḍa uniformly as the Magadha king. In what is actually no

¹ *Ślokas* 354, 414 and 696.

² *Ślokas* 417 and 420.

³ *niṣṭāviyo purā magadha-nayayo*.

⁴ *Tuḥa dharmā sandhaniya-gayinda-mukta-halo asi jayayi Gauḍa gaḷa cchēdā valagga santhye āvali ovva*.

more than the *Kathāmukha* or the introductory chapter,¹ Yaśovarman first of all conquered Magadha killing its ruler in war, and having established an empire in consequence in succession to that of Ādityasēna, went further and annexed to it Bengal though only for a very brief period of time. This seems the only legitimate inference from the Gaudavaho in the form in which it is accessible to us so far.

¹ Cf. *Kathāmukha* in the *Kathāsaritsagara* of Somadeva.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasastra'

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CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF KAUTALYA

I

THE BASIS (*Prakṛti*)

(*Ar. Śas.* vi. 96; *Kām.* iv; *Agnipur.*, ch. 238)

As the true founder of a system, Kauṭalya endeavours at first to determine the basis of diplomacy. He distinguishes seven elements which he calls *Prakṛti*. This expression is as old as the Sāṅkhya philosophy which is pre-buddhistic in its origin. True to the tradition and the special psychology of Hindu scholiasts, Kauṭalya takes hold of an old word and gives it a new meaning. In the last chapter¹ of his book, he describes his method of exposition (*Tantrayukti*) and remarks thus :—

'I call that my own definition, which has not been given in a similar form by others. For example, the first *Prakṛti*, the contiguous ground and the second *Prakṛti*, etc. . . .'

So the word *Prakṛti*, possesses a special significance. But we must remark also that Kauṭalya mentions first the Sāṅkhya in the group of the four systems of philosophy which he calls by the common word *Anvikṣakti*. Besides there seems to be a close parallelism between the struggling primordial atoms which we find in the *Prakṛti* of the

¹ *Ar. Śas.*, xv, 180, p. 430.

Sāṅkhya,¹ and in the atomic diplomacy of Kauṭalya. Leaving aside this problem, tempting to students of pure philosophy, we shall analyse the conception of Kauṭalya.

These seven *Prakṛtis* are:—

1. The sovereign (*Svāmin*).
2. The ministers (*Amātya*).
3. The country (*Janapada*).
4. The fortresses (*Durga*).
5. The treasury (*Kośa*).
6. The army (*Danda*).
7. The allies (*Mitra*).

These are according to Kauṭalya the veritable elements of all sovereignty. But some centuries later Kāmaṇḍaka, who is a pundit and not a politician, gives in his *Nītisāra*, a resumé in verse of the *Arthaśāstra* and does not seem to realize the comprehensiveness of the definitions of Kauṭalya. Kāmaṇḍaka enumerates indeed the seven elements but in following his conclusions he narrows down the general idea of sovereignty (*Rajasampat*) to that of a kingdom (*Rājyam*). He forgets that the kingdom is already one among these elements and thus he confounds the part with the whole. But his excellent commentator Saṃkarāryya who seems to have studied profoundly the text of Kauṭalya, partly corrects the error of Kāmaṇḍaka by returning to the original conception of the elements (*Upādāna*) at their state of integration and of disintegration (*Viśleṣa*). The theory of seven elements appears also in Manu (ix. 294). Yājñavalkya (i. 352) in the *Mahabhārata* (lxix. 69-70) and the *Sukranīti* (i. 61). But in *Sūkra*² these *Prakṛtis* are defined as ten functionaries.

Finally the word *Prakṛti* finds a place in the lexicon of the *Amarakośa*:

स्वाम्यमात्यमुहृत्कोशराट् दर्गवत्यनिच³

Then Kauṭalya characterizes every one of these elements, and the sovereign (*Svāmin*) appears as the centre of the whole system.

इश्वर प्रकृतेः प्रधानत्वात् स्वामिनं अधिकृत्याह

¹ Vide Dr. Brajendranath Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* section.

² ii. 71-74.

³ Compare with *Arth. Śās.*, viii. 127 प्रकृतिव्यसनवर्ग Manu, ix. 295-297.

Here Saṃkarāryya (on Kāmaṇḍaka, iv, i) following Kauṭalya is in accordance with all the other schools. The first question put by Yudhiṣṭhira to Bhīṣma (*Mbh.* ch. 59, 8) on royal diplomacy was: 'Why a certain person who is subject to both birth and death, and who possesses the same qualities as others, is placed at the head of others?' In reply (*Mbh.* ch. 68) Bhīṣma represents royalty as the last remedy against anarchy (*Matsyanyāya*). He tells how the social contract with the first king Manu secured the life and property of the people.¹ The same argument in favour of monarchy is given in Manu (vii), Kāmaṇḍaka (i, ii) and the *Sukranīti* (i) with simple variations. It is dangerous to affirm that such a one is borrowed from such another. They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom—, oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of floating truths long before the schools and the schoolmen.

Just because kingship is an exalted privilege it carries with it grave responsibilities. Nowhere is this point better developed than in the employment of time as indicated by Kauṭalya for the king. In the section on diplomacy he gives the first place wholly to the necessary virtues of the king (*Svāmi Sampat*).

There he follows the footsteps of his two great masters, Śukra and Bṛhaspati. According to one stanza of the *Sukranīti* (i. 92)² the king has at first to discipline himself, afterwards discipline his sons, then his ministers, his officers and lastly his subjects. Also the *Bṛhaspatinīti* (i. 1) begins with the *sūtra*; आत्मवान राजा³ and Kauṭalya seems to have written only one *Bhāṣya* (commentary) on this point in his first chapter on diplomacy. We find there a veritable catalogue of the royal virtues carefully classified:

(a) The qualities which attract partizans to the king (*Abhigamika guṇāḥ*): noble birth, luck, intelligence, heroism, habit of taking counsel from the aged, piety, sincerity, fidelity, gratefulness, magnanimity, great energy, promptitude, possession of powerful (or disciplined) vassals, resolution, aptitude of drawing near himself the broadminded people, and lastly love of discipline.

¹ The same history is repeated in the *Arthaśāstra* (i. 9) although it is presented as a pious fiction destined to terrify the detractors of kingship and to reclaim them to obedience.

² Cp. *Mbh.*, xxxiii. 56-60.

³ Cp. with गुणवतो राजर्षि *Br. Nīti*, ii. 1.

(b) The intellectual qualities (*Prajña guṇāḥ*):¹ curiosity, attention, assimilation, memory, discernment, reasoned choice (*Ūhapōha*) and passion for truth (*Tattvābhiniṣeṣa*).

(c) The signs of energy (*Utsāhaguṇāḥ*): courage, pride (*Amarṣa* or impatience under humiliation), promptitude, competence (*Dakṣya*).

(d) The personal qualities (*Ātmasampat*): he must be prudent (or eloquent), spiritual, of good memory and vigorous intelligence, of imposing presence, master of himself, master of different arts (*Kṛtasilpa*); he must employ the punishment, etc. . . in moments of danger, do good to the good and harm to the wicked; be moderate, capable of preventing public dangers; he must see profoundly and ahead (*dirghadūradarsi*),² expert in what concerns the place (*Dēsa*), time (*Kāla*) and personal initiative (*Puruṣākara*), the treaties (*Sandhi*) and wars (*Vigraha*), the concessions (*Tyāga*), the reserves (*Samyama*) and agreement (*Paṇa*); he must be sharp to discover the weak points of the enemy; measured in his emotions, dignified in manifestations of his fatigue, of his anger, etc.; free from passions, from irritability, greed, arrogance, indolence, inconstance, impatience and cruelty, and he must be ready to speak first with a smiling countenance, agreeable to the counsels of the ancients.³

This respectable list of virtues is almost entirely reproduced in verse by Kāmaṇḍaka⁴ and his excellent commentator Saṃkarāryya quotes from time to time the original text of Kauṭalya, drawing our attention to the alterations due to the requirements of the metre in Kāmaṇḍaka. Thus the group (a) is reproduced in Yājñavalkya i. 308, 310. The *Śukranīti* also contains the echoes of the phraseology of Kauṭalya. Lastly when the *Rāmāyana*⁵ enumerates the catalogue of the virtues of an heir-apparent, it reproduces the list of choice virtues mentioned in the four groups of Kauṭalya. On the other hand,⁶ the counsels of the venerable King Dasaratha to his son Rāma, accepted as the succeeding prince by the people, are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Arthaśāstra⁷ such as they are formulated in the brief and profound paragraph entitled the conduct of a saintly king (*Rājarsivṛttam*).

¹ Cp. Śukra, iii. 58-59.

² Cp. Śukra, i. 643, also *Raghu*, viii, ix, xvii.

³ ii, 2, 30-44. *Rāmāyana*, ii. 3, 42-45.

⁴ Śukra, iii. 69-75.

⁵ iv. 6-23.

⁶ i. 3,

'The ideal king must first conquer his senses by watching over the group of six moral enemies. . . . (*Arishadvarga*); he must acquire wisdom (*Prajñā*) by associating with the aged (*Brddhasamyoga*), he must see by means of his spies (*Cāra*), be attentive towards acquisition and energetic to consolidate what is thus acquired (*Yoga-kṣemasādhana*); he must defend the respective duties of the four orders (*Svadharmasthāpana*)¹ by proper administration; and attain self-mastery (*Vinaya*) by cultivating the sciences (*Vidyopadēṣa*), he must endear himself to the people (*Lokapriyaṭva*) by assuring them profits, and must regulate his conduct by considerations of general welfare' (*Hitēna Vṛtti*).²

This solicitude to win the goodwill of the people is the strongest guarantee against despotism. Therefore all the manuals on Nīti insist on this point and Kāmaṇḍaka³ has faithfully conserved this tradition when he coins this significant title: The 'manner of winning the subjects' (*Prajāsamgraha*). For success in this line, the king must sacrifice his vanity, and then by the positive virtues of discipline, he will be able to conquer the whole world. His very enemies will be transformed into good friends. This idea is found also in Aśvaghoṣa who gives an ideal portrait of king Śuddhodhana, the father of the Buddha.⁴ It is developed later on in the poetic sketch of the great kings like Dilīpa, Raghu, Daśaratha, Atithi outlined by Kālidāsa in his epic of *Raghuvamśa*.

The king, even if he were to be perfect, cannot bear alone the burdens of Government. Hence the necessity of ministers,⁵ and other functionaries. Kauṭalya⁶ lays down as a principle that sovereignty depends on co-operation; a single wheel cannot suffice. The king must elect the ministers and follow their counsels.⁷ His predecessors, Bṛhaspati and Śukra both attribute the same importance to the ministers and to those who help them. Bṛhaspati, indeed, immediately after his first *sūtra* on the king, said that the king must choose as ministers those who are masters of themselves. The king must not do what he thinks right, if it had not the

¹ Cp. *Bhagavadgītā*, iii. 35.

² Cp. the ideal of Kalyāna and Hita sukha of Asoka's inscriptions, and Kalyānābhijana of the *Rāmāyana*.

³ iii. 39-40.

⁴ Cp. *Buddhacarita*, i. 9-14; ii. 6.

⁵ Manu, vii. 54; Viṣṇu, iii. 71.

⁶ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 3.

⁷ Cf. Yājñā, i. 311.

approval of the majority. He may, however, do it if men of experience recommend it.¹

Likewise the second book of the *Sukraniti* commences with a *sloka* which appears with a slight variation in the *Santiparva* of the *Mahabharata*.² If, for a petty action, it is difficult to achieve the task alone, how could one without co-operation cope with the great task of Government? Therefore even if the king is versed in all the sciences, and expert in diplomacy, he should never discuss the problems of *Artha* without his councillors. Thus the second Chapter of the *Sukraniti*³ devotes the *slokas* from 71 to 109 to the higher officials and the *slokas* 110 to 176 to the smaller officials. That text rivals the second chapter, *Adhyakṣapracara*⁴ of Kauṭalya, on the same subject, if not in quality, at least in extent. The *Ramayana*⁵ also, when it describes the ministers of King Daśaratha, summarizes the essential virtues of ministers according to the rules of Kauṭalya. But the latter is superior to all the other texts on that point because Kauṭalya conserves the different theories of divers schools on the subject of the creation of ministers.⁶

Bhāradvāja says :—

‘The king shall choose his ministers from among his companions of study for their purity (*Śauca*) and capacity (*Samartha*) are well known. He can have confidence in them.’

‘No,’ says Viśālākṣa, ‘such men, being playmates shall dominate the king : the ministers shall be chosen from those whose private character is known to the king who shares their vices and virtues. They will thus be afraid to injure the king who knows their hearts.’

‘But the danger is reciprocal,’ says Parāśara, ‘because the king will have to follow them in their bad as well as in good actions, since they know his secrets as well. So long as the king fears, lest the people should know his secrets, he is independent only in theory. Let those only be ministers who serve the king in his dangers, even at the peril of their lives, for their loyalty is proved.’

‘No,’ says Piśuna, ‘this is loyalty but not intellectual capacity (*Buddhiguṇa*). Those who are experts in the financial matters,

¹ *Br. Niti*, 1, 2, 4, 5 and vi. 5, 6.

² *Cp. Agnii Purāna*, ch. 220.

³ i. 7, 9-10 ; ii. 100, 4.

⁴ lxxx. 1 ; *Manu*, vii. 55.

⁵ *Cf. Manu*, vii. 81 with *Medhātithi*.

⁶ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 4, 8.

who maintain steadily the level of profits and even produce a surplus, such men are to be appointed ministers, for their capacity is proved.’

‘No,’ says Kauṇapadanta, ‘such people are devoid of other ministerial qualities. The king must have hereditary ministers, for even if they act wrongly they will never abandon the king, for they know his glorious actions and respect the family relations which bind them (*Saganuhatvāt*). It is the same even in animal species : the cattle remains always with its own herd and leaves that with which it has no bond.’

‘No,’ says Vāṭavyādhi, ‘for these hereditary men would domineer over all and act as the king himself. The king shall choose, on the contrary, new ministers versed in politics. Such ministers would dare not offend the king since they would consider him as Yama, the god of Justice, the strong upholder of the sceptre of discipline.’

‘No,’ says Bāhudantiputra, ‘for a mere theorist of political literature would bring disasters through lack of experience in the matter of good and bad actions. The ministers shall be chosen from among those who are noble by birth, wise, honest, and pure,¹ heroic and loyal and chosen only on consideration of their virtues.’²

‘This,’ says Kauṭalya, ‘is just from all considerations : the way of working proves personal worth in general.’

Having thus fixed the method of choosing the ministers (*Amātya*), Kauṭalya³ indicates the criterion to be employed in the choice of councillors (*Mantrin*). The king shall verify the following points concerning them ; domicile (*Janapada*) and local influence (*Avagraha*) by means of persons worthy of credit ; technical ability (*Śilpa*) and knowledge of the *sāstras* by means of colleagues ; wisdom (*Prajñā*), tenacity (*Dhārayiṣṇutā*) and skill (*Dakṣa*) by means of practical test (*Karmārambha*) ; eloquence (*Vāgmitva*), resourcefulness (*Pragalbha*) and ever-renewed talent (*Pratibhānavatva*) by way of discussions ; endurance (*Kleśasahatva*), by means of the display of energy and heroism in case of danger ; honesty (*Śauca*), amity (*Maitrata*), proved loyalty (*Dṛḍhabhakti*), by means of intimate association (*Samvya-vakara*) ; conduct (*Śila*), strength (*Bala*), health (*Ārogya*), powers of resistance (*Sattva*), application (*Yoga*), vigilance in work (*Astambha*),

¹ *Cp. Ar. Śās.*, i. 6 cited by *Medhātithi* on *Manu*, vii. 54.

² *Cp. Kam.*, iv. 24-37.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 9.

constancy (*Acāpalya*) by means of intimate friends; affability (*Sampriyatva*) and absence of all hostile sentiment (*Avairitva*) by means of personal experience.

By such standard of choice of capable and responsible ministers, the *Arthaśāstra* places itself high above the picture of the primitive and conservative constitution that we find in the literature of the school of law (*Dharma*). It would, however, be an error to conclude that the tradition of the school of *Artha* is but a late and amplified version of ancient traditions of the school of law. For it is possible that the theory of Government, inasmuch as it concerns directly the school of *Artha*, is more faithfully and completely preserved in the literature of that school than in that of the school of law. Everything in the latter is summarized and subordinated to the central theme, the *Rajadharma* which is but a section of the *Dharmaśāstra*.¹

The third element is the country whose ideal qualities are enumerated thus :—

'A beautiful country must be extensive, must support itself and support others, be able to defend itself, and be self sufficient in case of danger, to be redoubtable towards the enemies, to possess obedient vassals,² to be free from swamp, from rocks, from rock-salt, from unevenness, from thorny bushes, from forest shelters of tigers and wild beasts; to be pleasant, to have fertile furrows, to contain precious minerals, forest products, parks for elephants, pasturages for cattle; to be populous, to have hidden ways of access, to be rich in cattle,³ to be naturally irrigated, to be provided with routes on land and water, rich in valuable and various merchandise, capable of supporting military charges; having active agriculturists, intelligent masters and labourers, and a loyal and honest population.'

This description of an ideal country resembles the description of *Milinda Panho* (i. 2, v. 4). This classical Buddhist work, in a dialogue between a conquering prince and a learned savant reproduces numerous reminiscences of the *Arthaśāstra* as understood at that time. The excellent commentator *Medhātithi* cites, so to say, word for word, this section of *Kauṭalya* in commenting on *Manu* (vii. 56). The expression *Sihana* is defined by him as a synonym of a group comprising army, treasury, fortress and kingdom; but this seems to be a late

¹ Cp. Buhler, *Vāsisṭha Dh. Śūtra*. Intro., S.B.E., xiv, p. xxvi.

² Cp. *Manu*, vii. 69; *Viṣṇu*, iii. 4, 5.

³ Cp. *Yājñā*, i. 320.

refinement. He accepts *Raṣṭra* as synonymous with *Janapada* after *Kauṭalya* (ii. 24) and in his *Dēśaparyyāya*, he cites the authorized text of *Kauṭalya* almost with the same expressions. The commentaries on *Manu* (vii. 69), *Yājñavalkya* (i. 320) and *Viṣṇu* (iii. 4) show us interesting parallels. *Kāmandaka*¹ has simply given in verse the text of *Kauṭalya*.

The fortresses² have played a great rôle in primitive wars and naturally occupy an important place in the diplomacy of *Kauṭalya*. Curiously enough the description of an ideal country immediately followed by that of a fortress considered as a glorious crowning piece, is found in *Kauṭalya* as well as in the *Milinda Panho* (v. 4). The similarity is striking, if not in the phraseology, at least in contents especially in what concern the construction and decoration of fortress-cities. Leaving the architecture of the fortresses of *Kauṭalya* to the students of Hindu Archaeology, we would give only the diplomatic utility of such fortresses.

*Kauṭalya*³ classifies these in four groups :—

- (a) Those which are in an island or on a plain in the midst of a low country (*Audaka*);
- (b) those which are on rocks or in caves (*Parvata*);
- (c) those which have no water-course or wells (*Dhānvan*);
- (d) those which are in forests with the water-course known only to the inhabitants (*Vana*).

Among these (a) and (b) are defences of inhabited country, whilst (c) and (d) are those of desert or forest countries. This classification is faithfully preserved by *Kāmandaka*⁴ and is shown with slight variations in the following texts :—

Manu, vii. 70-71.

Mahābhārata, xii. ch. 87, 4-5.

Śukra, vi. 6.

*The treasury*⁵ : The treasury ought to have been acquired honestly⁶ by the king himself or his predecessors, must be rich in gold and silver, must possess divers and vast collections of jewels (*Ratna*) and coins (*Hiranya*), be capable of tiding over misfortunes and the stoppage of supplies of long duration.

¹ iv. 48-54

² ii. 21.

³ Cp. *Kām.*, iv. 61-62.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.*, ii. 21, 22; cp. *Agni Purāna*, ch. 221.

⁵ iv. 59, 60.

⁶ Cp. *Manu*, vii. 80; *Yājñā*, i. 339.

*The Army:*¹ The army must be hereditary and permanent. The soldier must be obedient and contented. He must be able to support his family and children. Far from being demoralized, as it happens, in foreign service, the army must be redoubtable in all circumstances, accustomed to fatigue, experienced in several combats and in the science of arms, entirely loyal in adversity as well as in prosperity, having a common purpose, and being mainly composed of Kṣatriyas.

*The Allies:*² The allies ought to be hereditary, permanent, obedient, and loyal; they must act with promptitude and vigour.

The qualities of allies are developed by Kauṭalya in the section on alliances.³

These seven elements form the basis in the diplomacy of Kauṭalya, and these he has emphasized at the end of this section.

The king who is a master of himself develops the elements which were little prosperous. On the contrary a king who is not a master of himself, destroys his elements, even though they were prosperous and loyal.

Thus the king who has at his disposal only bad elements and who is not a master of himself, though he is the master of the four corners of the world, is exposed to assassination by his subjects or falling into the hand of his enemies.

Such a king, stupid, and devoid of character, is considered as easy to conquer. The diagnosis is formulated under the title:

'Desirable qualities in an enemy.'

II

THE SPHERE OF ACTION

(*Ar. Śās.*, vi. 97; cp. *Kām.*, viii; Śukra, iv. 1; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 232; *Yājñ.*, i. 344, Comm.; Manu, vii. 154-158, Comm.)

Having thus established the basis of diplomacy, Kauṭalya defines its jurisdiction which he calls the *maṇḍala*, the circle of states. It is almost a commonplace of Hindu political literature to describe diplomatic relations in term of the number of states which play the rôle of allies or enemies, conformably to their mutual relations in space. It leads us to consider zones of friendship or enmity of different grades and

¹ Cp. *Kām.*, iv. 63-65; Śukra, iv. 7.

² Cp. *Kām.*, iv. 66-73.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116.

shades. The centre of the circle is composed of the conquering king (*Vijigīṣu*), and his immediate enemy (*Ari*), and, on the circumference, the different *maṇḍalas* of other states follow their orbits described in accordance with the laws of attraction and repulsion that are primordial and fatalistic.¹ This is probably the reflection of the ancient astronomical theories on the movements of stars and planets. The conception of *Maṇḍala* is essentially dynamical.

The states are as follows:—

1. the central conquering state (*Vijigīṣu*);
2. the central enemy (*Ari*);
3. the primary ally of No. 1 (*Mitra*);
4. the primary ally of No. 2 (*Arimitra*);
5. the ally of the ally of No. 1 (*Mitramitra*);
6. the ally of the ally of No. 2 (*Arimitra-mitra*);
7. the enemies in the rear (*Pārṣṇigraha*, those who catch the heels);
8. the friends in the rear (*Ākranda*);
9. the friends of the enemies in the rear (*Pārṣṇigrahasāra*);
10. the friends of the friends in the rear (*Ākrandasāra*).

Thus the first two are surrounded by the eight others and form with them the ten diplomatic zones. Kauṭalya adds to these two more exterior zones.²

11. the intermediate power (*Madhyama*);
12. the neutral king (*Udaśīna*).

In this way are formed the dozen royal elements (*Rajaprakṛti*).³

Every one of them possesses five out of the seven fundamental elements (*Dravyapakṛti*),⁴ without counting the king and the ally; this gives us sixty elements, plus twelve kings, making a total of seventy-two.

Kāmaṇḍaka discusses this question of *maṇḍala* in chapter xviii by giving different definitions, in accordance with several schools which Kauṭalya has not mentioned; for example, the school of Manu; Guru (Bṛhaspati); Kavi (Śukra) Viśālākṣa, etc.

Here are some definitions⁵ of the essential elements given by Kauṭalya.

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 8-11.

² Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 20-12.

³ Cp. the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin and Sarvānanda on *Amarakōṣa*, lii. 2, *Kṣatriyavarga*.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vii. 156-157, Comm.

⁵ Cp. Mēdhātithi on Manu, vii. 155.

The conqueror is a king who is master of himself, who is possessed of the fundamental elements and who understands diplomacy.¹

The enemy is a king who is possessed of hostile qualities and resources.² The intermediary is a king who possesses the territories adjoining to those of the conqueror, and to those of the enemy, and who is capable of assisting, or injuring by joining the one or the other. The neutral king is one who is outside the territories of the three preceding kings, and who being very powerful is capable of assisting the three kings either by joining them or of injuring them by fighting.

These are the four great circles (*Caturmaṇḍala*). Each of them finds its power and success according to its wealth of elements. Power signifies force; and success signifies prosperity.³

The power (*Śakti*) is of three sorts.⁴

1. Power of counsel (*Mantraśakti* : cp. मंत्रमूले विजयः); intellectual force.⁵
2. Power of lordship (*Prabhuśakti*): force of treasury and of army.
3. Power of action (*Utsāhasakti*): force of heroism.⁶

Success (*Siddhi*) is defined likewise. For all the masters of the (*Maṇḍala*) there are three fundamental considerations:

1. The decline (*Kṣaya*).
2. The equilibrium (*sthāna*).
3. The prosperity (*Vṛddhi*).

In that respect what concerns good conduct and its opposite (*Nayāpanaya*) belongs to human action (*Mānuṣā*). That which concerns good luck and bad luck (*Ayanaya*) belongs to divine action (*Daiva*).

The world is governed by divine and human actions.⁷

The divine action cannot be foreseen. In consequence, to obtain a result which we did not expect is good luck (*Aya*). The human action can be foreseen. Consequently good success depends on the acquisition and consolidation of habits (*Naya*).⁸

Success is due to good conduct and failure due to its absence. Both

¹ Kāma., viii. 16-22.

² Cp. Śukra, iii. 1.

³ Br. Niti, iv. 27.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vii. 205; Yājñā, i. 348.

⁵ Cp. Manu, vii. 210.

⁶ Cp. Raghu, viii. 19, Comm.

⁷ Cp. Manu, ix. 300.

⁸ Cp. Br. Niti, vi. 1.

depend on human reason; but the divine action surpasses them. The tranquillity (*Śama*) and the activity (*Vyāyāma*) are the principles of acquisition¹ *Yōga*, and of consolidation *Kṣema*.² Activity secures the acquisition of the desired object.³ Tranquillity secures the consolidation of the fruits of action.⁴ Activity and the tranquillity have as a principle of operation the sixfold method (*Ṣaḍgunya*).

At the end of this section, Kauṭalya explains the conception of the *maṇḍala* and of the conquering king who is its centre.

'In the *maṇḍala*, the master of the circle constitutes the outer ring with those who are beyond, the radii with his neighbours, and the nave by himself.'⁵

The sixfold method to which Kauṭalya has first alluded is explained in the succeeding chapter of Kauṭalya which we propose to give in full.

THE SIXFOLD METHOD (*Ṣaḍgunya*)

Ar. Śas., vi. 98-99; cp. *Agni Purāṇa*, chs. 233, 239; Manu, vii. 159-180, Comm.; *Mbh.* ch. xv, vi. 1-12; Śukra, iv. 7 (232).

Enumeration of the six-fold political methods, determination of decline, of equilibrium and of progress.

The source of the sixfold policy is the circle of elements.

The entente, the war, the equilibrium, the expedition, the alliance and the double relations, form the sixfold policy; thus speak the masters. 'There are only two methods,' says Vātavyādhi. The war and the entente form the basis of the sixfold policy.

'Rather six methods,' says Kauṭalya,⁶ 'because of their different characteristics.' These are: in case of entente (*Sandhi*) reciprocal stipulation (*Paṇabandha*),⁷ in case of war (*Vigraha*) the attack, the balance of power (*Āsana*) which signifies indifference (*Upekṣaṇa*), the expedition (*Yana*) which shows expansion, the support (*Samsraya*) which consists in resting on another, the double relation (*Dvaidhibhāva*) which is to make peace with the one and war with the other;⁸ such are the six methods.

He who is humiliated by the enemy ought to come to terms, and he who is powerful ought to make the war.

¹ Cp. Manu, vii. 99, 101.

² Cp. Gautama, *Dh. Sr.*, ix. 63.

³ Cp. Raghu, ix. 15, Comm.

⁴ Cp. Raghu, viii. 21, Comm.

⁵ Cp. Yājñā, i. 316.

⁶ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii, chs. 58, 60.

⁷ Cp. Kām., xi. 35-40, Comm.

⁸ Cp. Manu, vii. 160, Comm.

'My enemy cannot ruin me and I cannot ruin him.' In that case we must apply the method of equilibrium.

When one is possessed of superior resources, one ought to undertake an expedition.

When one is deprived of force, he must look for support. In an action where success depends on support, one must practise the method of double relations. Such are the circumstances that determine these methods.

Among these methods, one shall stick to that which permits of development of one's fortresses, the embankments (for irrigation), the commercial routes, the colonization of deserted regions, the production of minerals, the reserves for elephants, etc., and at the same time ruin all these things of the enemy. This signifies progress.¹

One may see without anxiety the progress of the enemy by arguing thus: 'my progress will be more rapid and greater than his, whilst it will be contrary with the enemy.'

One must have recourse to the entente (*Sandhi*) when progress produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one witnesses the failure of his own affairs and not those of the enemy, he must not remain idle for he is on the decline.

In course of time my decline will be less and will lead to prosperity, while it would be contrary to the enemy.'

When one knows that one may disdain his own (temporary) decline. One shall have recourse to entente when the decline produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one perceives in his own efforts neither progress nor decline, it is the state of equilibrium (stagnation).

One may scorn his own equilibrium (stagnation) when one knows that his will be shorter and it will produce greater results while it will be contrary with the enemy.

'One ought to have recourse to entente when the policy of equilibrium produces simultaneously equal results to both,' say the masters. 'This is not unreasonable,' says Kauṭalya.

One must stick to the entente in time of prosperity under the following conditions:—

'By employing the policy of entente (*Sandhi*), I may ruin the works of the enemy by my great activity, I shall enjoy the profits of my

¹ Cp. Medhātithi on Manu, vii. 160; Mallinātha on Raghu, xvii. 61.

activity or those of the enemy; profiting by the trust of the enemy in the entente, I shall ruin his works, by intrigue, magic and espionage in order to win the people who supply my adversary with the means of action; I shall offer favours (*Anugraha*), immunities (*Parihāra*) and facilities (*Saukaryya*) to profit by the prosperity of my works. Or my enemy being allied with a greater power will find himself ruined by his own enterprises; or fighting against another enemy, he will endeavour to obtain my alliance so that I would prolong his campaigns; or the enemy would harass the kingdom which, though allied with me, is hostile; or that the oppressed subjects of my enemy will come to me and thus I shall succeed in my enterprises. Entangled in his affairs and dragged down by a crisis, my enemy will be incapable of thwarting my affairs. Being allied with two of the adversaries of my enemy, I shall augment my resources; or if harassed by the enemy, I shall conclude an agreement; and then I shall break up the circle of the states and shall win them over to my side when they are divided; or, mastering the enemy by favours or punishments, I shall make him hateful for his ambition to dominate the circle of states and when he will be hated by all I shall destroy him.'

One shall hold by war to attain prosperity, in the following conditions: 'My country is full of warriors and of corporations, it is defended by the rocks, forests, rivers, fortresses, ways of unique access, thus it will be capable of resisting the efforts of the enemy on the frontiers while I screen myself behind impregnable fortresses: losing his energy in calamities and troubles, my enemy will be ruined during the calculated period, or whilst he would attack me in another direction, I may seduce his subjects (or induce them to come and settle in my country).'

One shall hold to the policy of equilibrium for prosperity in consideration of what follows. 'The enemy cannot injure my affairs nor I, his. It is as it were, a combat between a dog and a wild boar which could terminate only in fruitless efforts. Concentrating therefore in my own enterprises, I should try to prosper.'

One should undertake the expedition for prosperity after considering what follows. 'The destruction of the works of the enemy depends on the expedition, and it is in my power to safeguard my own enterprises.'

If one realizes that one is neither capable of ruining the affairs of

the enemy nor safeguarding his own affairs from ruin, then one shall rely on a stronger power with a view to pass from decline to equilibrium and from that to prosperity.

One should hold to the double policy for prosperity in the following conditions : ' On the one hand in observing the entente I shall promote my affairs and on the other hand by declaring war, I shall ruin the affairs of the enemy.'

In this way, in the diplomatic circle, one should endeavour to push his own enterprises from decline to equilibrium, and from equilibrium to prosperity¹ by means of these six methods.²

METHOD OF ALLIANCE (*Samśrayavṛttih*)

Ar. Śas., vii. 100; cp. *Kām.*, xi. 24-27

Among these six methods, Kauṭalya discusses first the method of alliance. As befits a practical politician he views the problem from the utilitarian point of view. ' One must make alliance with a power stronger than the neighbour.³ If there is none one must ally himself with the neighbours, and one must endeavour to furnish them in secret with money, army or a part of the territory. It is dangerous for the king is to ally himself with a strong power except in case of a sudden attack on the part of the enemy.'

When a king, in a moment of distress, is obliged to accept a humiliating alliance he is advised to break this alliance at the first opportunity, when his ally is in a disadvantageous situation.

When a king is placed between two powerful kings, he should lean on him who can defend him or on him who, notwithstanding his weakness, can serve as an intermediary.

He may also ally with both at the same time with a view to divide and then to destroy them by secret blows. A king placed between two powers (*Antardhi*) shall attempt to draw each of them to form a *mandala* and after having seduced the one, he must destroy the other or both.

In spite of his utilitarian attitude, Kauṭalya is not indifferent to the moral value of an alliance.

' If one is about to be uprooted by two kings, one shall lean on the power whose conduct is more upright (*Nyāyavṛtti*),⁴ a mediator king, a neutral king or one of their partizans.'

¹ *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 58 (31).

² Cp. Govindarāja on Manu, vii. 161; *Mbh.*, xii, chs. 68, 71-74.

³ Cp. Govindarāja on Manu, vii. 161.

⁴ Cp. Śukra, iv. 7, 288.

In conclusion Kauṭalya indicates as the solid basis of alliance, reciprocal sympathy.

' Those who like each other go together. That is the best way of making an alliance.'

METHOD OF ENTENTE (*Sandhi*)

Ar. Śas., vii. 101-102

Though war seems inevitable to Kauṭalya, we notice that he seeks always to avoid or arrest war by every kind of entente. We also see that the entente occupies the most important place in his system. He classifies with care in several chapters the ententes which result either from war or from peaceful combinations.

Since the quality of ententes¹ varies according to the power of the parties concerned, Kauṭalya classifies them as follows :—

1. equal ;
2. inferior (of less strength) ;
3. superior (of more strength).

On this point, Kauṭalya makes a few observations : ' One should conclude an entente with an equal or with a greater power, but should make war with the inferior powers.'² ' If the stronger power does not accept the entente one should accept the position of the conquered.' If a king of equal power is not amenable to an entente, one must return to him all the harm he has done. The glow (*Tejas*) of fire and of glory makes union possible. A piece of iron which has not been heated in fire cannot be soldered with another piece of iron. If a king of inferior force remains always submissive, one must maintain the entente : for otherwise the strength growing out of suffering and resentment breaks out as fire in the forest and such a king brings round the circle of states to him. If while fighting one finds :

' The subjects of the enemy are greedy, impoverished, and oppressed, and yet do not come to me even when they are haunted by fear of war,'—one must make the entente even if he is the stronger party. He must seek to pacify the troubles due to the war.

Even the stronger king should make the entente in case he is equally in danger with his adversary ; or if he argues thus : ' I am greatly embarrassed, the enemy is less so and he can easily repair the troubles arising from his elements.'

¹ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 58 (37).

² Cp. Mallinātha on Raghu, xvii. 56.

Afterwards Kauṭalya gives a classification of ententes which can be concluded by inferior kings when they are greatly humiliated.¹

A weak king attacked by a strong one who is supported by his circle, must yield immediately and make the entente by delivering the treasury, army, his person or a portion of his territory.

When one offers himself with an army specified beforehand, or with the best part of his army, it is called the entente in which one is the victim furnishing its own flesh (*Atmāmisa*). When one offers his general or the heir-apparent it is called the entente of a third person, (*Purṣantara*); in that case one guarantees without delivering himself.

If one has the choice of withdrawing alone with one's army, that entente is said to be of 'invisible person' (*Adṛṣṭapuruṣa*) where one saves his own life and also that of the general.

The notables² and the high class ladies (*Mukhyastrī*)³ of the court in the two first species of the entente, must be delivered as hostages. In the latter forms of the entente the settlement with the enemy is in secret. Such are the forms of the entente founded on the surrender of an army (*Danḍa*).

When the treasury only is delivered and one is allowed to preserve the rest of his elements, his is an entente of money (*Parikraya*), which depends on chance.

When one is to submit to heavy and varied charges it is called the entente of confiscation (*Upagraha*): this is harmful in space and in time and exposes the state to bankruptcy (*Atyaya*).

The entente of gold (*Suvarṇa*) is that which can be easily borne, in point of view of indemnity, which is beneficial for the future and which does not require women hostages, which is founded on complete accord (*Ekibhava*) and which results from mutual confidence.

The opposite kind of entente is called the entente of upturned cups (*Kapala*), owing to the excessive indemnities (*Atyādāna*) which are exacted.

In the two first cases, one shall have to give up the forest products, elephants and horses with their harnesses. In the third case one should offer one half only by pretending bankruptcy. In the fourth case one should stop payment. Such are the ententes based on the

¹ Cp. Kām., ix. 2-20.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, p. 314.

³ Cp. *Manu*, vii. 213; *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 57 (41).

surrender of the treasury (*Kośa*). The surrender of a part of the territory to save the other parts is called the entente by cession or by order (*Adiṣṭa*). This is advantageous for him who desires the extirpation of thieves and secret criminals in the surrendered parts of his territories. The private entente of profit (*Ucchinna*) is that which demands the cession of all the territory and its total exploitation, the capital only being excepted. This is advantageous for him who desires to create troubles in the enemy's country.

The liberation of the territory by the payment of revenues is called the entente of imposts (*Apakraya*). The liberation of revenue by the cession of territory is called the entente by homage (*Paribhūṣaṇa*). One must prefer the first form. The two last ententes based on the revenues of the land must be concluded only when one is powerless. Such are the ententes based on the surrender of territories (*Deśa*):

These are the three different classes of entente for the inferior powers.

The entente between superior and inferior powers, following a war, is not the only one comprised in the system of Kauṭalya. There is also the entente between equals for peaceful purposes.

We could see it easily if we were to read the sections 101 and 102 and also 111, 112 and 116. The form and conditions of the entente change according to circumstances, but it is not necessary to change the definition of the entente, as Mr. Law has done in his *Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 39-40. The complication of his exposition is due to the fact that he translates *Sandhi* as 'an agreement of peace.' Thus he is obliged to change the definition in each case. But if we define *Sandhi* as entente, in the general sense of the word, everything becomes simple. Without attributing our interpretation to Kauṭalya, a risky method, we shall explain his system according to his own statements:

(a) Entente for obtaining the allies and money (*Mitra-Hiraṇya Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(b) Entente for obtaining the territory (*Bhūmi Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(c) Entente for colonizing the uninhabited territories (*Anavasita Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(d) Entente for common enterprises (*Karma Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(e) Entente of definite or indefinite periods and entente for betrayal (*Paripañitaparipañitapasṛta Sandhi*, *Ar. Śas.*, vii. 111-112).

The common traits of the different ententes are :

(a) The existence of two parties: apparently amicable but who attempt ever to take advantage of each other.

(b) The greater profit results always from superior intelligence, and the depth and extent of experience.

(c) Thus there is always a silent combat during which the ally becomes an enemy, or when the enemy becomes an ally.¹

According to Kauṭalya profit is always the ultimate criterion.

In discussing this problem, Kauṭalya presents us with his observations on the diplomatic relations. All his conclusions mark him as a wise statesman. At first he admits of three different kinds of ententes:²

(a) *Sama Sandhi* : equal entente, for example : 'you and I shall gain the allies together.'

(b) *Viśama Sandhi* : un-equal entente, for example : 'yourself alone will have the allies.'

(c) *Ati Sandhi* : deceitful entente, for example, when one has the advantage to beguile the other completely.

After this he directly expresses his opinion on this question.

(A) Entente for having allies and gold.³

'Which is preferable, immediate and small gain or deferred and important gain? The small and immediate gain is preferable inasmuch as it would serve the enterprise from the point of view of the place and time,' say the learned. 'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the gain, which is deferred without being lost, which produces good consequence and which is ultimately important, is preferable.' In exceptional cases only the first should be chosen. 'When one can balance the advantages of constant gain or partial gain, and can judge in advance his own interest, he should undertake an expedition with other powers combined and well-organized.'

The reasons which determine the preferences of Kauṭalya are very remarkable, and these are expressed with the ardent conviction of an experienced politician.

'Which of the two is preferable (an ally rich in men or rich in gold)?'

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 8-9; *Mbh.* xii. ch. 139 (109).

² *Ar. Śas.* 289.

³ Cp. Yājñā, i. 351; Manu, vii. 208-209.

'An ally rich in men is preferable, for he shall be the source of military glory and when he enters into action, he secures success. Such is the opinion of the learned.'

'No,' says Kauṭalya 'it is preferable to have an ally rich in wealth, for the possession of wealth ensures a constant use whilst the possession of an army is only for temporary employment. Moreover with wealth, one could procure an army as well as other things which are desired.'

'Which of the two is preferable, an ally who possesses wealth or one who possesses territories?'

'An ally who possesses wealth is preferable. Being conscientious, he will be brought round to meet the expenses,' say the learned.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the allies and wealth are the results of the acquisition of territory, and consequently an ally who possesses territory is preferable.'

(B) Entente for gaining territories :—

'Which is better, a rich territory adjoining that of a permanent enemy or a small fertile territory adjoining a temporary enemy?'

'A rich territory contiguous to that of a permanent enemy is preferable, for if it is prosperous it enriches the army and the treasury which are the two means of defence against the enemy: such is the opinion of the masters.'

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'to have a permanent enemy means to have an ever-increasing enemy. For a permanent enemy, whether well or badly treated remains always an enemy, whilst the temporary enemy can be appeased by active good treatment or cessation of bad treatment.'

'Which is to be preferred, an isolated territory or non-isolated one; or a territory, which is protected by an external army (*Danḍadhārana*) or one which protects itself (*Ātmadhārana*)?'

'That which protects itself is preferable, because it is supplied by gold and the army, collected by itself. On the contrary that which is defended by an external army is under military occupation (*Danḍasthāna*).

'What is to be preferred, the acquisition of a territory belonging to a stupid king or a wise king?'

'We must prefer the acquisition made from a stupid king because

that territory is easy to acquire and to maintain, for it cannot be retaken.'

'It is the reverse that results when the king is wise and possessed of loyal subjects.'

(C) Entente for colonizing uninhabited countries : (cp. *Raghu*, xv. 29, Comm.).

'Of the two colonizers, he who colonizes a land of recognized fertility and ever ready to produce better fruits, is the better.' 'Of two lands—one with mines and another with rice, that which contains mines fills the treasury. The rice land fills the treasury and the granary at the same time. The fortifications and other works are dependent on the production of rice. On the other hand, a mining country containing largely vendable substances is superior.'

Of two powers one possessing a park rich in forest products and another of a park for elephant, the first has the source of all sorts of enterprises which serve for investment of large capital. (*Prabhūtanidhānakṣama*). The reverse is the case with forests rich in elephants, say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'it is easy to plant an ordinary forest, in many parts of the country, but it is not so for forests of elephants; and the destruction of the enemy depends above all on elephants.'

'Which is better, a country peopled in groups, or a country having a scattered population ?

'The country of scattered people is better, for it facilitates administration and is not susceptible for intrigue with the enemy. It would be the contrary in a country where the population is in groups. The latter does not share the difficulties and if it is discontented, it becomes very dangerous.

'Which is better, the country which is defended by fortresses or that which is defended by the people ?

'The kingdom defended by the people is better. The state depends on the people (*Puruṣavad hi rājyam*). A barren country is like a barren cow : what can it produce ?'

At the end of this section² Kauṭalya gives two new terms of entente :

The verbal entente (*Abhikṛta Sandhi*).

The open entente (*Anibhṛta Sandhi*).

¹ Cp. *Mēdhātithi* on *Manu*, viii. 399.

² *Ar. Śās.*, p. 298.

(D) Entente for common enterprises (*Karmasandhi*). In that form of entente as in all others, the parties concerned endeavour to outdo each other in profit-making.

At the close of this section, Kauṭalya formulates some general principles. The so-called allies are really rivals from the point of view of profit. For in the system of Kauṭalya, the sense of the term ally or enemy changes always according to circumstances :

'The success of enterprises of the enemy lies in the decline of the rival chief. Their non-success is to his advantage. In case of equal enterprises the conqueror suffers stagnation.'

'A small gain and a great loss, that is the decline. The contrary is the prosperity. Equality in profits and losses, that is stagnation.'

'Therefore in the works of fortifications, etc. . . . one shall endeavour to attain superiority by undertaking works of less expenses at the beginning, but of great profit for the future.'¹ In case of works with mines, the choice of Kauṭalya is remarkable.

'If it is a question of mines, he who digs a mine of great yield, and of easy communications which occasion little expenses at the commencement, is superior to the other.

'Which is better, a small mine of very valuable products or a big mine productive of little value ?'

'A small mine of very precious products is preferable for the diamonds, the gems, the pearls, the corals, the gold, the silver and other similar products admit of securing a great quantity of things of small value,' say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'for the products of small value are immense and inexhaustible, their possessor could purchase the small mines of precious products.'

When there is a question of recruiting among two different peoples the preference of Kauṭalya is no less interesting.

Between a multitude of indolent persons and a handful of heroic men, better to have a small number of brave men. The result of the battle depends on the heroes. A few brave men defeat many weaklings, who once beaten cause the rout of their own army, say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'a multitude of indolent persons occupied in various works, other than those in camps, form the auxiliaries of the army in the battle and cannot be crushed by the enemy : moreover

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, p. 301.

they serve to spread terror by number. These indolent persons can, by the effect of discipline, catch the infection of courage, whilst the braver are few and it is impossible to increase their number.'

(E) Entente with definite terms, entente of indefinite terms, false entente.

In the course of the combined march, the partisans attempt always to take advantage of the other through weak points in the engagement.

(a) Entente of definite terms (*Paripāṇita*).

'You march against his country, I march against that country' it means definite place.

'You fight during that length of time and I, during this length,—it means definite time.

'You effect so many works and myself so much'—it means definite object.

Thus with place and time, with time and purpose, with place and purpose, with place, time and purpose, are brought out the seven types of entente.

(b) Entente of indefinite terms (*Aparipāṇita*).

The enemy who has vices or troubles, passions and meanness, indolence and ignorance, may be surpassed if one discerns how to profit by vagueness due to the non-fixation of the place, time and purpose. One must strike at the vulnerable points of the enemy under entente, while declaring to him 'we are allies.'

This is what is called the indefinite entente.

Next Kauṭalya gives an exposition of the four different stages in the evolution of the entente.¹

(a) The desire to accomplish that which is not accomplished (*Akṛtāciktṛṣā*) signifies the realization (*Paryāṣaṇa*) of one entente which does not exist, by the prosecution of peace and other methods, and by the stabilization (*Avasthāpāna*) (of this entente) according to the relative forces of equal, inferior or superior powers.

(b) The confirmation of that which is already accomplished (*Kṛtāśliṣaṇa*) signifies: the development of the entente concluded by means of amities and benefits (*Priyāhita*) on both sides, by the accomplishment of the given pledges, by its execution and by its conservation, so that this entente is not dissolved through the enterprise of the enemy.

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 111-112, p. 280.

(c) The destruction of that which is accomplished (*Kṛtavidāṣaṇa*) after the manoeuvres of the enemy against the entente, have been attested by the spies and the traitors; denunciation of the entente.

(d) The revival of a ruined entente (*Avasīrṇakriyā*) signifies, the reconciliation effected by those who remove the grievances, for example, by the servants or friends. Kauṭalya, as a true politician, admits the value of any sort of individual in diplomatic negotiations. In this respect he appears remarkably courageous and rid of all prejudices. His predecessors advise us to forego the services of certain men, such as one who is bankrupt, who has lost his power, who misuses his talents, who is covetous, who has passion for vagabondage, who is wanting in confidence and who has many enemies. But Kauṭalya considers this as due to fear or lack of professional spirit and lack of patience towards the men. Whoever has a positively outrageous conduct should be abandoned; whoever annoys the enemy should be accepted; he who does equal harm to both, should be politically examined. This is the right attitude.

His tolerance embraces even his very deserters. He studies them with great care and classifies them.¹

(a) He who deserts his masters on account of their vices and returns on account of their virtues, he who abandons on account of the virtues of the enemies and returns on account of their vices, after due considerations should be reconciled.

(b) He who abandons or returns on account of his own faults and neglecting the virtues of both parties, abandons and returns without reason. Such an individual is too unsteady, and should not be taken back.

(c) He who abandons his master by reason of his faults and returns to him from the enemy by reason of his own faults must be examined according to the reasons of his returning.

(d) 'He who is employed by the enemy or desires to harm by reason of his vicious nature, or who knowing that he would be ruined by the destruction of the enemy, comes back to me through fear of vengeance; or he who abandons me and my enemy when we determine to ruin each other; and comes back afterwards by reason of his aversion for cruelty: such an individual having good intentions, should be welcomed.' In this way the Kauṭaliya employs all sorts of individuals

¹ *Cp. Kām.*, xiv. 46-48 and *Mādhatīṭhi* on Manu, vii. 186.

for strengthening his cause, and when they appear unnecessary or dangerous he destroys them without any scruple. His detachment of spirit is indeed amazing.

CONCLUSION (*Sandhi Karma*) AND ABROGATION

(*Sandhimokṣa*) OF ENTENTES

(*Ar. Śas.*, vii. 122-123)

Under this title Kauṭalya gives towards the end a few interesting details about ententes:

'A treaty based on the integrity and the oath is unstable (*Cala*) but a treaty based on hostages (*Pratibhā*) and securities (*Pratigraha*) is stable (*Sthāvara*),' say the teachers.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the entente based on the integrity and oath is stable in this world as well as in the other. It is only in the interest of this world that hostages and securities are admitted from the point of view of force. "We are united." It is in these terms that the ancient and virtuous sovereigns were in the habit of making allies. To avoid the non-observation of the entente, the kings allied themselves with oaths, swore by the fire, by the water, by the plough, by the stones of ramparts, by the shoulders of elephants, by the back of the horse, by the forefront of a chariot, by the arms, precious stones, grains, perfumes, poisons, gold (*Svarna*) and coins (*Hiranya*): "these objects," they said, "kill or abandon him who violates the oath." In anticipation of the violation of the oath the nobles, the holymen and the chief hostages (*Pratibhā*)¹ are imprisoned. In this case he who can secure as hostages those who can influence the enemy has an advantage over the other. The reverse case is disadvantageous. "The imprisonment of friends or nobles of the enemy is called the security (*Pratigraha*)."

'In that case, he who gives to the enemy a dangerous minister has an advantage over the other. The contrary case is disadvantageous. The enemy strikes surely and unexpectedly at the weak points of him who reposes entirely on the promise of security.

'In an entente based on the gift of children, whether sons or daughters, he who gives girls as hostages has an advantage on the other, for

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 5, 122.

a girl can help to capture the enemy or to conquer him. The reverse results for him who gives a son.'¹

Then Kauṭalya makes an evaluation of the different types of princes given in hostages and finally furnishes a great number of means by which a prince in hostage can escape and break off the entente:

'A king whose power is increasing, should attempt to break up the entente. The spies who accompany the prince in hostage disguised as artisans or artists (*Karusilpiviyanjanah*), by working with the enemy, shall effect the escape of the prince by digging an underground passage during the night. Actors, dancers, singers, instrumental musicians, buffoons, minstrels, swimmers and jugglers, established beforehand in the service of the enemy, must use their power to serve the prince given in hostage. They must also arrange so as to be able to visit the prince's apartments at any hour, to stay there and to go out. Then the prince can escape under one of those disguises during the night.

'For the same, he could utilize prostitutes (*Rupajīva*) disguised as ladies.'²

'One shall escape also in carrying their instruments, utensils, or refuse, or by using the cooks, pastry-cook, swimmer, porter or massage man, maidservant, hair-dresser, tailor, servant;³ one shall escape by carrying again some unnecessary things.

'If one is on the point of being captured, one shall endeavour to escape by the politic means, as by the gift of wealth, etc., or by employing poisoned food or by substituting another corpse to the body which the prince intends for the sacrifice of God Varuna, or finally by setting fire.'

In the diplomatic system of Kauṭalya the espionage plays a significant rôle. He devotes several chapters to the organization of espionage. In the first book, chapter vii (*Gādhapuruṣōtpatti*), he gives the organization and the classification of espionage. In chapter viii (*Gādhapuruṣapraṇidhi*), he defines the employment of spies and all the disguises and subterfuges, without omitting false students, false mendicants, and false artists, employing secret codes (*Gādhalēkhya*) with symbolical signs (*Samjñālipi*).⁴ Thanks to the complicity with the minister, the spies can create confidence by communicating some

¹ Cp. Śukra, ii. 32.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 203-204.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 14-15.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vii. 153, Comm.

information on foreign affairs. The king employs them also for testing the sincerity and honesty of all these functionaries¹ including the ministers. They are useful not only in the internal affairs of the kingdom² but also in all sorts of diplomatic intrigues in the state's neighbours, enemies, intermediaries or neutrals³ (*Kṛtyākṛtya-pakṣaraksanām*).⁴

In fact the work of Kauṭalya has become the greatest authority on espionage. That is why Mēdhātithi, when treating of espionage, cites entirely one of the chapters of Kauṭalya, in commenting on the term (*Pañcavarga*).⁵ However it seems that Mēdhātithi employs another version of the *Arthasastra*. This explains the divergences which are seen in certain of his quotations. In reality the king must have depended so much on the espionage for realizing the diplomatic situations that he was called (*Caracakṣu*). 'He who has for eyes the spies.'⁶

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 6.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, iv, *Kaṇṭakaṣṭhāna*; Mann, ix. 252-269; Kāma, ix. 86-89.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 9-10.

⁴ vii. 1, 119-120 309; cp. Mēdhātithi on Manu, vii. 104; *Rājatar.*, v. 247; Yājñā, i. 337.

⁵ Manu, vii. 154; cp. Vallauri, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. vi, pp. 1346-1347.

⁶ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii. ch. 86 (21); *Viṣṇu*, iii. 33-35.

(To be continued.)

Akbar's Cavalry—(1) The Zat and Sawar Ranks

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IN 1573, Akbar fixed the grades of the officers of the empire, and decreed that their salaries be paid in cash.¹ Of these office-bearers the chief were the *Mansabdars* or holders of places of rank and profit. 10,000 was the highest and 10 the lowest *Mansab* that was granted, and commands above 5,000 were reserved to the princes of the royal blood. The *Mansabs* were given in accordance with the merit of men, and the soldiers they commanded.² A *Bisti* (commander of twenty) had to be ready with his twenty soldiers at the muster before he could be promoted to the next rank,³ and every *Dahbashi* (commander of ten) had to muster three *Sihaspah*, four *Duaspah*, and three *Yakaspah* troopers, that is ten troopers with twenty horses, and the other *Mansabdars* in the same proportion.⁴

In 1595, a new classification was introduced by the addition of *Sawars* to the original *Mansab*. A *Mansabdar* whose *Sawars* were equal to his *Mansab* was put into the first class of his rank; one whose *Sawars* were one-half and upwards of his *Mansab*, was put into the second class; and the third class contained those whose *Sawars* were less than half the *Mansab*, or who had no *Sawars* at all.⁵ Officers above 5,000 were exempt from this division. Both Smith and Irvine restrict the second class to those whose *Sawars* were half the *Zat* rank.⁶ But in this they certainly commit a mistake, for we find *Mansabdars* with 3,500 *Zat*, 3,000 *Sawar*, and 3,500 *Zat*;⁷ 2,000 *Sawar* mentioned in the *Akbarnama*, and these according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* must have been in the second class.

¹ *Akbarnama*, English Translation (Beveridge), vol. iii, p. 167.

² *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 166.

³ Lowe, *Badauni*, vol. ii, p. 193.

⁴ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 251.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1031; *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 238.

⁶ *Army of the Moghuls*, p. 6; *Akbar*, p. 364.

⁷ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, pp. 1239, 1249.

A good deal of controversy has been raging about the meanings of the words *Zat* and *Sawar*. Blochmann thinks that the *Zat* indicates the nominal rank, while *Sawar* connotes the actual number of horse-men;¹ Irvine regards both the ranks as actually existing; while Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and regards the *Zat* as the actual rank, and the *Sawars* as an honour which had no actual existence in horsemen, but 'indicated the rate of allowance, which was given to an officer honoured with the additional distinction.'² All the possible alternatives have thus been laid before us, and supported by the arguments brought forward by the writers named above. It is our business therefore to examine the main arguments advanced and come to one conclusion or the other.

Blochmann's view is hardly tenable. It is perhaps due to the fact that he has not perceived that the little *Mansab-i-Zat* is nothing more than the *Mansab* of 1573. That these two words are identical in significance can be proved by means of instances from contemporary history. In 1593, that is two years before the introduction of the new classification, Mirza Shahrukh was made a commander of 5,000,³ that is, according to the rules of 1573, as given by Badauni and Abul Fazl, he was expected to keep 5,000 horsemen, and 10,000 horses. In the forty-first year of his reign, that is, one year after the introduction of the changes of 1595, the Emperor was much pleased with the Mirza and made him a commander of 5,000 *Zat*, 2,500 *Sawar*.⁴ Are we to suppose that Akbar's pleasure was signified by a decrease in the command of horsemen kept by the Mirza? In 1001 Higri, Rai Sal Darbari was a *Mansabdar* of 2,000 and Ram Dass Kachbwaha one of 500.⁵ In the forty-seventh regnal year, Rai Sal was made a *Mansabdar* of 2,500 *Zat*, 1,250 *Sawar*,⁶ and in the fiftieth regnal year Ram Dass Kachbwaha was made a commander of 2,000 *Zat*, 200 horse.⁷ Are we again to conclude that the real command of these men was largely decreased, while their mere dignity was raised? Blochmann's view leads to some other strange conclusions too. In his scheme of

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 241.

² *Proceedings of the Meetings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, vol. i, p. 160.

³ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 991.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1069.

⁵ Nizamuddin, quoted by Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, pp. 532, 534.

⁶ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1215.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1253.

Mansabdars, third class commanders, who had no *Sawars* at all, would either have no place, or be the enjoyers of mere sinecures. Facts recorded in the *Akbarnama*, however, do not justify any such assumption. Qulij Khan,¹ Zain Khan² Koka, and Sadiq Khan³ were without *Sawars*, and at the same time famous generals of the Empire.

Moreover that the *Zat* rank connotes the keeping of a large number of horsemen can be conclusively proved by means of examples from the *Padshahnama* of Abdul Hamid. In the reign of Shah Jehan, Asaf Khan was granted the mansab of 9,000 *Zat*, 9,000 *Sawar*, *Duaspath Siaspath*, and his salary was fixed at sixteen *crores*, twelve *lac dams* or 40½ lacs.⁴ In the reign of Alamgir, the pay of a *mansabdar* of 9,000 was Rs. 4½ lacs, and this might have been approximately the pay in the reign of Shah Jehan also. If we put the pay of a *Duaspath Siaspath* commander as double that of a commander of mere *Sawars*,⁵ we have nine lacs as the pay of Asaf Khan, and the rest of the sum must be the pay of the soldiers serving under him. The pay of 9,000 *Duaspath Siaspath*, however, does not go above twenty-two lacs, sixty-eight thousand rupees and the rest of the sum must therefore be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zat* rank. The same point can be established by a reference to the salary of Prince Dara.⁶ After deducting the pay of the Prince and his *Sawars* the sum of thirty lac remains, and this must be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zat* rank. Further if we take into consideration the statement of Bernier that the *Mansabdars* were neither paid for nor kept the number of soldiers indicated by their rank, the sum remaining for the *Zat* rank would be still greater.

Mr. Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and his view is quite the reverse of that of Blochmann. For him *Sawar* is a mere honour and *Zat* the actual rank. The theory he has formulated hangs on two slender pieces of evidence. The first in an extract from the third *Ain* of Book II. The passage that he quotes has been thus translated by Blochmann.

'The first class contains such as furnish 100 troopers (*Sawars*). Their monthly salary is Rs. 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops (*Sawars*) of their own in accordance with the statement

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1076.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Padshahnama*, vol. i, Persian edition, p. 258.

⁵ *Padshahnama*, vol. i, p. 113, quoted by Blochmann in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 245.

⁶ *Padshahnama*, vol. ii, p. 715.

made above that the Dakhili troops are nowadays preferred. This class gets Rs. 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from Rs. 700 by Rs. 20, for every ten troopers which they furnish less.¹

This according to Mr. Tripathi gives a scale of Rs. 2 per additional horse or *Sawar*, and it was in this manner that all the *Mansabdars* with *Sawars* were paid. How hollow are the foundations of this theory will be seen if we exactly interpret the above passage, which means nothing more and nothing less than that a 100 *Zat* 100 *Sawar* or a first class commander of 100 got Rs. 700, a 100 *Zat*, and 50 *Sawar* got Rs. 600; and a 100 *Zat* without any *Sawars* or a third class commander got Rs. 500 as his *Zat* salary. This view is borne out by the figures in the table given on p. 248 of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The only difference to be noted in this case is that instead of the three ranks to be found in other grades, we have eleven in this case.

If we take Rs. 700 as the *Zat* pay of the first class commander of 100, his net salary should be 900 rupees and not Rs. 700 as given in the table. If, however, it be argued that the first class commander received Rs. 200 more than his friend of the third class on account of the honour of 100 *Sawars* at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*, we are undoubtedly led to believe that the difference in the *Zat* pay of the commanders of the same *Mansab* but of different classes was due to their receiving or not receiving extra pay for their nominal *Sawar* rank. That this view is wholly untenable can be shown by means of the following examples from the *Ain-i-Akbari*:—²

Rank	Class	Salary
4,500	1st	26,000
„	3rd	25,700

The difference between the *Zat* salary of the first and third class commanders is obviously Rs. 300 only. But the difference in their nominal *Sawar* rank cannot at any time be less than 2,251, and might at others go up to 4,500. Thus the difference in their pay ought to have been at least Rs. 4,502, and might have gone up to Rs. 9,000 at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*. Again the fact that the *Zat* pay of all the commanders of the second class was in spite of the difference in the number of *Sawars* always the same would go hard against any

¹ Blochmann,—*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

such view. A theory therefore that explains only one case out of sixty-six and leaves the rest unexplained can hardly be called a true explanation of facts.

Having disposed of Mr. Tripathi's first piece of evidence, we might now take up the evidence that he gives from the account left by Hawkins. 'The custom is,' wrote Hawkins, 'they are allowed so much living to maintain the post, which the king hath given them, that is, they are allowed twenty rupias by the month, and two rupees for every horse fame, for the maintenance of their stable. As thus: a captain of 5,000 horse that hath 5,000 horse to maintain in the wars, hath likewise of fame other 5,000 horse . . . allowed upon every horse by the month two rupias and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.' According to Mr. Tripathi the words 'of fame' that occur in this passage refer to the *Sawar* rank for which the officer received an allowance at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar* per mensem.

That this interpretation by Mr. Tripathi is wrong will be clear from a reference to the passage, where the words 'of fame' have been even before this used by Hawkins. In his discourse on the government of the Great Mughal he writes, 'They that be of the fame of 12,000 horsemen belong to the king and his mother, and eldest son. . . . Dukes be nine thousand fame, marquesses five thousand fame. . . . All they that have these numbers of horsemen are called *Mansabdars* or men of livings or lordships.'¹ In the next thirteen or fourteen lines he gives the names of the *Mansabdars* and their ranks and ends the passage by saying, 'The rest be from 2,000 downwards till you come to twenty horses, two thousand, nine hundred, and fifty.' If we take into consideration one or two points, it will be obvious that in the above passage Hawkins does not refer to the *Sawars* of Mr. Tripathi's theory. There was, in the first instance, absolutely no rule confining the number of *Sawars* to be given to *Mansabdars* to twenty men. According to the *Ain-i-Akbar* a Bisti could have ten *Sawars* or sometimes have no *Sawars* at all. Further it would be really quite strange that a man should classify commanders not according to the number of men they kept, but mere honour which had absolutely no existence in real horsemen. Moreover in the above passage the rank of Prince Khurram is put down at 9,000. This cannot be his *Sawar*

¹ Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 98-99.

rank for we know for certain that the number of his *Sawars* before 1615 was not above 6,000¹ and Hawkins left India in 1613. Both the grounds on which Mr. Tripathi relies, thus fail to support his view.

That the view of Mr. Tripathi does not rest on any sound basis can further be proved by re quoting the examples from the *Padshah-namah*. The annual salary of Dara, a *Mansabdar* of 20,000 *Zat*, 20,000 *Sawar*, 10,000 *Duaspath* *Siaspath* was ten million rupees. That the *Mansabdars* under Shah Jehan neither kept the number of men indicated by the *Zat* rank, nor were paid for that number is a well-established fact which few would deny.² It would therefore but be reasonable to suppose that Dara was expected to keep about 10,000 men and was paid for that number from the royal treasury. The total of the pays of the soldiers, the *Zat* salary of the prince, and the sum given at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar* per mensem does not reach above three millions per annum and thus Dara is left a surplus of about seven million rupees which can hardly be explained by the theory of Mr. Tripathi. The same difficulty comes in on the examination of the salary of Asaf Khan.

An examination of the views of Mr. Tripathi and Blochmann naturally leads one to the conclusion that both the ranks *Sawar* as well as *Zat* were actual. In Akbar's reign *Mansabdars* seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their *Zat* rank, and were paid for these from the imperial and local treasuries. *Sawars* were additional soldiers given to *Mansabdars* specially favoured by the Emperor and were a sort of honour. From the *Zat* salary the *Mansabdar* maintained his household, and kept the specified establishment. Higher *Mansabdars* must have maintained a number of horsemen for the horses assigned to them.

The view thus established tallies in most respects with that of Irvine. One difference from his theory, however, has been noted in the beginning of the article, and one more might be recorded at this place. Irvine lays it down as a general rule that from the *Zat* salary the *Mansabdars* had to maintain some horsemen, besides their transport and household. To me it seems that only the higher *Mansabdars* did so, for the lower ones it was an impossible undertaking.

¹ Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 193

² *Bernier's Travels*, p. 212, Oxford Edition.

I shall give an example from the *Ain-i-Akbari* to substantiate the contention. The monthly salary of a *Mansabdar* of 50 was Rs. 230 and the cost of his establishment was Rs. 186½. Deducting this from his salary we get Rs. 43½ as his net income. He had eight horses in his charge and if for these he kept even two horsemen his own net income would be badly reduced. In that case even an *Yakaspah Iraqi* whose monthly salary was Rs. 30 would be better off than the poor *Mansabdar* of 50.

The next question to consider is as to the motives leading to the innovations of 1595. These are not far to seek, and can be best studied from the political situation in that year. Akbar though the lord of Northern India does not rest satisfied with what he had secured, and wants to conquer the Deccan Sultanates whose very presence as independent powers is an offence to him,¹ desires to drive out the Portuguese from India, and guard the frontiers against the Persians from whom Kandhar has just been captured. Salim is a further element of danger, and he cannot but feel that if Salim's military power were greater than his own, he would at once capture the throne. Akbar seems to feel the need of a greater army, and probably therefore introduces a new scheme which is at once economical and efficient.

That the addition of the *Sawar* rank to the original *Mansab* was a wise measure can hardly be doubted. To his placing the newly raised additional forces under the old *Mansabdars* without increasing their *Mansab* there were two alternatives; first the creation of new *Mansabdars*, and second, an increase in the *Mansabs* of the old commanders. Both of these were inferior on account of the greater expenditure they involved, to the scheme that Akbar devised. An example would make the matter clear :—

(a) In the case of a first class commander of 4,500 the total monthly cost to the State would be Rs. 26,000 (the salary of the *Mansabdar*) + (4,500 × Rs. 16-10-8) 2 = Rs. 1,76,000.

If the State would have created a new *Mansab* the total cost would have been Rs. 25,700 × 2 (the salary of 2 third class *Mansabdars*) + Rs. 4,500 × 2 × Rs. 16-10-8 (the salary of 9,000 troops) = Rs. 2,01,400.

The monthly cost for a new commander would thus be Rs. 25,400

¹ 'Father Xavier's Letter,' *Indian Antiquary*, February 1924.

monthly, and 3,04,800 annually in excess to that in case of a commander with *Sawars*.

(b) If the *Mansab-i-Zat* of an old commander would have been increased the cost to the State would have been Rs. 55,000 (the salary of a commander of 9,000) + Rs. 16-10-8 $\times$ 9,000 = Rs. 205,000.

This again would have involved the expenditure of Rs. 29,000 monthly, and 258,000 annually more than in the case of a first class commander of 4,500.

That the state gained much by the new order of things will have been made clear from the above example. On the other hand those who were given the *Sawar* rank were materially benefited. They keep $\frac{1}{20}$ th part of the pay of the soldiers put under them,¹ and this must not have ill compensated the *Mansabdars* for the pains they took in commanding the new forces.

The addition of the *Sawar* rank besides being a good measure from the economic point of view settled satisfactorily the question of rank and dignity. If Mirza Shahrukh would have been made a *Mansabdar* of 13,000 his position would have been officially regarded as superior to that of Prince Salim, who held the rank of 12,000. The scheme of Akbar while giving men like Shahrukh the command of 7,000 + 6,000 kept them in rank below the Prince. It reserved to the royal scions the nominal dignity that counted for much in Darbars, Kornish, Taslim, and the grant of the *Zat* salary, but gave the real power to trusted commanders, who while remaining in mere rank below such Princes as the infant Khusro, were the mainstays of the Empire and directed the operations of the army in wars.

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 265.

Mir Jumla and Ram Singh in Assam

(Mainly based on Assamese Chronicles or *Buranjis*)

BY

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The Mir Jumla Couplet.—Every student of Indian history knows the couplet about Warren Hastings :—

*Hati par howdah, ghora par jin,
Jaldi ao, jaldi ao, Saheb Hasting.*

Mir Jumla who invaded Assam in 1662, had previously played a very important part in the affairs of the Deccan and of the Mogul capital. His meteoric rise to affluence and power from the position of a mere fortune-hunter from Persia, his *debut* at Golconda, his prime-minister-ship in the Court of Emperor Shah Jehan, his strategic *coups* in the war of succession, his assistance to Aurangzeb with his 'twenty maunds of diamond' ultimately placing the latter on the throne, made Mir Jumla the most conspicuous figure in Mogul India, and created round him a very magnetic and influential personality. When such a man appeared on the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley, and carried his arms to the farthest limits of Assam, he naturally left a very deep impression upon the minds of the people, and the result is a couplet which we have found in two separate manuscript Assamese *buranjis* or chronicles,¹

*Khata-khota Majumkhan, mukhe chap dari,
Beharaka bhang Jaibo Guahati bari.*

which, when translated into English will be approximately as follows :—

Short and robust Majum Khan,²
With rounded beard in his face,
First will vanquish Cooch Behar,
To Gauhati then he'll pace.

¹ *Buranjis*, Nos. 1 and 3, referred to in the list of authorities, *post*.

² Mir Jumla appears under various designations in Assamese chronicles,—Majum Khan, Amir Jumla, Mirja Mulla, or simply Khan-i-Khanan. 'Mir Muhammad Said Ardastani, surnamed Mir Jumla, and afterwards Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan Sipahsalar, was born in Ardistan near Ispahan, and came to India as the personal attendant of a Persian merchant,' Bernier, p. 16, footnote,

A Prediction.—This is how the couplet originated. Mir Jumla stood at the borders of Cooch Behar and Assam with 60,000 horse, and despatched two messengers to the Barphukon at Gauhati, demanding the evacuation of that place. According to the custom of the Ahom Court the messengers were served daily with provisions and necessities. One day, a deer was added to the articles of food. The Mogul ambassador retained the other provisions and let loose the deer, and told our men as follows :—

‘Now, listen to me. I will tell you a story. Two flocks of peacocks were engaged in fighting, flying from one branch to another. From there they flew upon a hill. As they were engaged in a long and continuous flight commencing from midday, they were all exhausted with fatigue. A herd of elephants witnessed this fight, and their leader said,—“It will be disastrous, if we remain here; let us move from hence.” Another elephant retorted,—“Why should we leave this place? If the birds fly upon our bodies, do you think we shall not be able to kill them?” Then the birds, engaged in scuffling together dropped upon the herd, and wounded and pierced the eyes of several of the elephants, which being seized with fright at this sudden and unexpected attack, dispersed in confusion to all possible quarters. They fell on pits, on beds of thorns or got themselves bogged in morasses. Most of them perished in the scare, and only a few could depart with their lives. The elephants met this calamity because they ignored the sage counsel of their leader. But stirred and agitated by our elephants, horses and foot-soldiers the waters will be converted to blood, the forests to sands, and the deer will come out in herds; for, Mir Jumla, who is short and stout and has a rounded beard in his face, will proceed to Gauhati after the conquest of Cooch Behar.”¹

The story with slight textual variation appears also in *Buranji*, No. 3, with the following concluding verses :—

हाती घोड़ार आन्दोलत जल स्यंघडत ।
जलर शोनित जंगल बाला ।
यूथे यूथे आइबो पहर पाला ॥
खाटा खटा मजुमखौं मुखे चाप डाडो ।
थाता बेहार भंगे जाइबो गुयाहाटोबाडो ॥

¹ We quote the last few lines constituting the metrical ending of the fable from

And its fulfilment.—The Barphukon discovered from the trend of the fable that Mir Jumla meant mischief, and accordingly sent messages to the Ahom King Jayadhwaja Singh (1648-1663) at Gargaon. The prediction made by the Mogul diplomat and story-teller was fulfilled.—‘Mir Jumla made his way into Cooch Behar by an obscure and neglected high way.’¹ ‘On the 27th of Rubby-at-Avul (December, 1661) Mir Jumla took possession of the capital of Cooch Behar, and in compliment to the reigning Emperor, changed its name to Alungir Nagar.’² The Nawab then invaded Assam, entered Gargaon on the 17th of March, 1662. The Ahom king fled to the ‘Pestilential hills of Namrup,’ and earned for all ages the unpatriotic epithet of the ‘Bhaganiya Raja’ or the Deserting King. A treaty was concluded, which was favourable to the invaders. But the great Khan-i-Khanan Mir Jumla died in March 1663 on his way back to Dacca, and Aurangzeb wrote to the valorous commander’s son Mahammad Amin Khan,—‘You mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and the most dangerous of my friends.’³

Dead Bones unspared.—We shall give an instance of the accuracy of details noticeable in Assamese chronicles, as seen from the manner in which facts narrated there are confirmed by the accounts of Mogul historians. During Mir Jumla’s residence in or about the Ahom capital he excavated several tombs or *maidams* of Ahom nobles and princes, in which were deposited their personal belongings, their garments and their jewels. We reproduce the following passage from the *Fathiya-i-ibriyya*, the official Persian account of the invasion given by Shahabuddin Talish.⁴—

‘The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east, and feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults for their dead, and place therein the

Buranji, No. 1. हस्तो घोड़ा पदातिर धञ्जालत जल शोनित होयबो, जंगेरु होईबो बाला । यूथे यूथे आइबो पहर पाला ॥
खाटा खटा मजुमखौं मुखे चाप डाडि । बेहारक भंगे याईबो गुयाहाटी बाडि ॥

¹ *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, p. 180.

² Stewart’s *History of Bengal*, p. 325.

³ Bernier’s *Travels*, p. 173, and Mill’s *History of India*, vol. 2, Book III.

⁴ The extract is taken from *Assam and the Ahoms in 1660*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, c. i. e., published in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society for December, 1915*.

wives and servants of the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes and food-stuffs. . . . From the vaults which were dug open (by the Moguls) nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realized.'

The first part of the above passage describing the contents of the tomb of an Ahom noble is thus supported in an Ahom chronicle.—We read in Lt.-Col. P. R. T. Gurdon's *Short Note on the Ahoms* (p. 10),—'A Buranji (*Ahom Chronicle*) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gadadhor Singha who died in A.D. 1696, a number of living persons, who had been the deceased's attendants were interred with the corpse, together with many articles of food, raiments and ornaments.' Though Shahabuddin wrote of Assam thirty years prior to Gadadhor Singha's death he only speaks of a custom obtaining in both these periods.

The second part of the passage quoted from the *Fathiya-i-ibriyya* describing the exhumation of the remains of Ahom tombs by the Moguls, is confirmed in an Assamese chronicle.¹—

'During Mir Jumla's stay in upper Assam he came to learn from some Assamese people who became friends with the Moguls that the tombs or *maidams* of the kings had vast wealth, and he accordingly employed his men to dig open the graves. Our men pointed out the mouths of the tombs, after which Mir Jumla carried on his excavations. The tombs of Barjana Gohain, Lachit Gohain yielded huge treasures; and their bones were also extracted and removed. During the months of *Baisakh*, *Jaistha* and *Ashar*, the grave of Burha Raja (Pratap Singha, 1603-41) was unearthed, and untold wealth was recovered from there: his bones were also removed. On the seventh of *Baisakh*, 1584 *saka*, the tombs of the Nariya Raja (Sutyengpha, 1644-48), Bhaga Raja (Surampha, 1641-44) and Khorā Raja (Sukhampha, 1552-1603) and Gargayan Raja (Suklenmung, 1539-1552) were excavated and their treasures and bones were removed. The king Jayadhwaja Singha heard this, and expressed his sorrow, saying, "I have not been able even to protect the bones of my forefathers."'

¹ *Buranji*, No. 1, *vide* list of authorities, *post*. For further particulars, regarding Ahom tombs *vide* Sergeant C. Clayton's 'Description of the Tomb of an Ahom Noble' in *J.A.S.B.*, June 1848, where we read,—'Rudra Singha (1696-1714) is said to have prohibited the burying alive of the queens, guards, attendants, slaves, elephant, etc., at his decease.'

The Valour of Assamese Soldiers.—The terms of the treaty concluded between Mir Jumla and the representatives of the Ahom king were certainly favourable to the invaders.¹ From the humiliating nature of the treaty it is evident that Assam did not play her part so well in the game. The Assamese were not lacking in vigilance or courage or military craft. They dealt occasionally heavy blows on the invaders; and Mulla Darvish of Herat, 'that master of eloquence' who accompanied Mir Jumla during the expedition has thus celebrated the bravery of the Assamese people in an elegant *qasida* or ode.²

'The Rajah of Assam brought to the field an army,
Whose large number became a cage on earth;

[They were] tumult-raising and sudden (in attack) like the eyes of the fair
sex

Hurling arrows and (other) missiles, and making a (firm) stand in the
battle-field,

Their bodies full of life, they robbed lives on plains and hill.

All of them were terrific, like the demon Ifrit in the river.

If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,

Their bodies would be severed from their heads, and their heads from the
bodies (before they left it)

They seem to be Ahrimans come out of hill,

Or some heart that has escaped from the chains of captivity.

They are strong-lived to such a degree that if they are turned to dust

Their veins do not become the least slack.

All of them are without light like the eye-balls of the blind,

All of them are like poisonous plants in quality and effect.

Jayadhwaja Singha's Delinquency.—Then, why could not the Assamese do justice to the valour and martial ardour attributed to them by successive generations of visitors? There were men and money, and all the requisite materials for a victory: but the Assamese army were at that time a body without a head. There was no military commander of supreme genius who could marshall and co-ordinate the materials, to bring out and organize the unexplored energies of the

¹ Gait's *History of Assam*, p. 136; Prof. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, p. 201. An Assamese *pulhi* giving an account of the tribute to be paid by Assam to Delhi goes to the extent of saying,—'The Nawab Mir Jumla invaded the country and conquered it, and the king Jayadhwaja Singha fled to Choral Khorong in Namrup;' *vide* Gait's *Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, p. 17. See also Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb on the terms of the treaty, etc., published by the present writer in *Sadhana*, vol. ii, p. 117.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, December 1915, Prof. Sarkar's *Assam and Ahoms in 1660*, p. 184.

people rendering them efficient for the issues of the war, to rouse national consciousness to a point when all subordinate considerations would be relegated to the background. The absence of such a leader and commander was felt even then, and the king's inefficiency in facing manfully and tactfully the critical juncture in the history of his country was recognized by his contemporaries. The king Jayadhwaja Singha was too unchivalrous to attend to the serious duties of a king. A manuscript chronicle¹ specifically pins the whole blame on the king when it says,—‘The fisher women and *Poharis*² said to the king at Doalguri Road during his flight to Namrup,—“O lord, you have paid your attention only to pleasure and dalliance. If you had only put during these fifteen years of your reign fifteen piles of earth at proper places, your fate would not have been like this. Where are you fleeing leaving us in the lurch?” The king was extremely aggrieved to hear this admonition from the lips of the female hawkers. The same unknown chronicler refers to the absence of able generalship at the time of Jayadhwaja Singha when he describes the proceedings of the war-council convened by King Rudra Singha (1696-1714) at North Gauhati, to discuss the proposal to invade Bengal with a view to restore to Assam the territories extending up to the river Karatoya, long held in fee by the sovereigns of Kamrup.—

‘The Barpatra Gohain in support of the king's proposal said,—
“The territories bordering on the Karatoya are ours.”³ The enemies

¹ *Buranji*, No. 2.

² One living in the Brahmaputra Valley would see on the roads of towns and villages female hawkers or *Poharis* with baskets on their heads, loaded with fish, lime, brinjals, pineapples, ginger, rice, paddy and other garden and agricultural products for sale or barter.

³ This patriotic assertion of territorial rights by Rudra Singha and his ministers is not without any historic foundation. ‘In the *Jogini-Tantra* Kamrup is said to include the tracts lying between the Karatoya on the west and Dikrang on the east . . . that is to say, it included roughly the Brahmaputra Valley, Bhutan, Rangpur, Kuch-Bihar’ (Gait, p. 10). According to Hieun-Tsang's account Kamrup extended on the west as far as the Karatoya (p. 24). Western Kamrup or Kamata had its western boundary at the Karatoya (pp. 40-41). Biswa Singha, king of Kuch-Bihar about the year 1515 extended his rule as far as the Karatoya (p. 47). During the reign of the Ahom King Suhungmung (1498-1539) in the war with Turbak, the invaders were completely defeated. ‘Turbak was transfixed by a spear. . . . The Ahoms followed hard on the fugitives as far as the Karatoya River’ (p. 91). The Ahom general Kancheng Barpatra Gohain washed his sword, drenched with the blood of the enemies in the waters of the Karatoya where he excavated a tank in commemoration of his victory. Haliram Dhekial Phookon writing so early as 1829 says that the Karatoya was made by

have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.” The Bura Gohain then added,—“The king's proposal is reasonable, and what the Barpatra Gohain says is equally reasonable.” The ancestors of our king, had, by virtue of their prowess and courage crossed the boundaries of Rangamati, and washed their swords at the Karatoya-Ganga. They found it inconvenient (to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karatoya), so they made the river Manas the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhati. In the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha there was an abundance of provisions and men, still he acquired the title of the “Deserting King”; arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent, the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation; they alone can infuse into the immobile war-provisions a dynamic force.’

Rajah Ram Singha in Assam.—On the death of Jayadhwaja Singha, Chakradhwaja Singha (1663-70) ascended the Ahom throne. Being highly sensitive to his prestige and dignity, the new king resolved to free the country from the burden of the heavy indemnities payable annually to the Mogul Court. A new army was raised, and trained on new lines and principles. The king personally supervised the military manoeuvres and practices. Lacit Barphukon was placed at the head of this newly mobilized force. Gauhati was wrested back from the Moguls. The Mogul forces under Raja Ram Singha, the heroic son of Aurangzeb's firm and resolute Rajput adherent Mirza Jay Singha of Ambar, were after a series of engagements defeated at the naval battle of Saraighat, near Gauhati in 1670.¹ The chivalrous Rajput commander Raja Ram Singha was deeply impressed by the dash of the Assamese soldiers, their tact, courage and tenacity in the battle-field, and the invincible leadership of the Assamese general, and he said,—‘Glory to the king! Glory to the councillors! Glory to

Kancheng Barpatra, the western boundary of Assam. During the reign of Rudra Singha the Manas River was the western limit of Assam.

¹ For a complete and authoritative account of the battle of Saraighat, see Sjt. Hem Chandra Goswami's article of that name in *Usha*, vol. i.

the commander! Glory to the country! One single individual leads all the forces! Even I, Ram Singha, being personally on the spot, do not find any loophole and opportunity.'

A Patriotic Bluff.—During the earlier stages of the war, Ram Singha and Lacit Phukon fixed the boundary of Assam, by retaining the limits arrived at between Momai Tamuli Barphukon (Lacit's father) and Ahleyar Khan in the reign of Pratap Singha.¹ They both regarded the ancient boundaries as pillars of gold and silver; and Ram Singha delivered the following oration,—'As long as the sun and the moon remain in the sky, no one will be able to alter the boundary. But, may I ask, where was this valiant general (Lacit Phukon) when Mir Jumla over-ran the country?' The Assamese ambassador Kaupatiya Madhavacharan thundered forth a Himalayan bluff,—'In the eastern region there is a kingdom named Nara, which was bound by a treaty to pay annually to the Ahom monarch a stipulated tribute of horses, clothes, elephants and money. The king of Nara disregarded the terms of the treaty, and Lacit Phukon was despatched by the Ahom monarch to extort the tribute from the refractory king. The Ahom general devastated the country of Nara, and exacted from its unwilling lord the tribute. On hearing of the arrival of Mir Jumla in Assam, the Assamese commander hurried back from Nara, pursued the Nawab, but on reaching Kaliabar, he learnt that Mir Jumla had been gathered to his fore-fathers.'² But though there is a tribe, known as the Naras, in the neighbourhood of Assam, with which the Ahoms came occasionally into conflict, we have not heard of any Nara expedition during the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha, and Lacit was then only a junior officer of the Ahom Court, and history is mute regarding his alleged association with any frontier warfare! It should be remembered that subsequent misunderstandings between the Ahom and the Mogul camps developed fresh hostilities on both sides, which were set at rest only by the decisive battle of Saraighat.

Why was Mir Jumla sent to Assam?—Both Mir Jumla and Ram

¹ At the conclusion of the hostilities with the Muhammadans in the reign of Pratap Singha, 'a treaty was negotiated (in 1638) under which the Barnadi in the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the Asurar Ali on the south were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and the Muhammadan territories.' Gait, pp. 115-16.

² *Buranji*, No. 1.

Singha were great figures in the Mogul administration. But why did not Aurangzeb despatch inferior commanders to invade Assam, and retain these able soldiers and councillors for more urgent imperial purposes? There is a suspicion in some quarters that the Emperor, after sitting on the throne looked upon Mir Jumla with fear, thinking that the man who had materially helped him 'to wade through slaughter to a throne' might also remove him from that giddy eminence. Bernier explicitly states (p. 171) in this connection that 'Aurangzeb justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier (like Mir Jumla) could not long remain in a state of repose and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions.' So off to Assam and Arracan and the pestilential airs and floods and mosquitoes and inclemencies of the eastern regions of India! Various motives and reasons are ascribed for the invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla. Bernier seems to think (p. 171) that the invasion of Assam had already figured in the imagination of Mir Jumla, who intended to carry his victorious arms to the mountainous steppes of China and thereby earn immortal fame; so the Emperor's orders to invade Assam gave him the official sanction to pursue his own ambitious project. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., states with authority in his *History of Aurangzeb*¹ that 'Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal with orders to punish the lawless Zemindars of the province, specially those of Assam and Magh (Arracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims.' The king of Arracan had already exasperated the great Mogul by harbouring his only surviving brother and rival Sultan Shuja, and 'Aurangzeb desired that Mir Jumla, the new Viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Arracan to recover Shuja's family if possible.'² Charles Stewart is however of opinion that the provocation for this

¹ Vol. iii (p. 178).

² Prof. Sarkar quotes as his authority for this passage *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 405 and 84 and Orme's *Fragments*, p. 50. During the earlier part of Jayadhwaja Singha's engagements with the Muhammadans, referred to by Stewart, *post*, he won victory over them. A cannon was found at False Point bearing the following inscriptions: श्री श्री स्वर्गदेव जयध्वजसिंह महाराजेन यवनं.....इदं यत्नं

प्राप्तं.....९०. Which has been translated by Gait as follows,—'The king Jayadhwaja Singha having vanquished the Muhammadans at Gauhati obtained this weapon in *saka* . . . 80.' He surmises the *saka* era to be 1580, or A.D. 1658.

invasion of Assam was given by Jayadhwaja Singha himself. He says in his *History of Bengal*, p. 324.—‘The prince of this country (Assam) Jydej Singh (Jayadhwaja Singha) had during the civil wars (wars of succession to the throne of Delhi) sent an army down the Brahmaputra; which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca, and carried away with them a number of the inhabitants as slaves. To avenge these insults, and to re-establish the fame of the Mogul Government, was an object of great solicitude to Mir Jumla; who as soon as he was satisfied with regard to the prince Shuja, in the year 1071 (A.H.) collected, in the neighbourhood of Dacca, a numerous army, well equipped with artillery and warlike stores, and accompanied by a strong fleet of war-boats.’

The Offence of Ram Singha.—We have got some idea of the complicated motives of Mir Jumla’s invasion of Assam. But why was Ram Singha selected to lead the expedition provoked by King Chakradhwaja Singha’s bold and chivalrous attitude against the indignities¹ he had received in the hands of Mogul ambassadors? It was Ram Singha who under the orders of the Emperor, had looked after Shivaji when that great empire-builder was a ‘guest’ in Aurangzeb’s palace at Agra. Jay Singha invaded Bijapur, and at his instance Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji inviting him to the imperial court. We read in the *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, by Messrs. Takakhav and Keluskar,—‘Jay Singha advised Shivaji to proceed to Agra without any anxiety, promising that his son Ram Singha would look after his comforts and safety. Upon these assurances Shivaji resolved to visit Agra. Shivaji’s restless and undaunted spirit pining in the luxuries of the Mogul Court resembled the grains of dynamite cribbed and confined in a German howitzer, ever ready to burst and explode, producing a terrific boom and commotion, and blowing to smithereens all surrounding objects. Shivaji by a bold and original stratagem threw dust into the eyes of the wily Emperor and escaped from the surveillance and

¹ The indignities were (1) the insistence by the Moguls of the literal compliance of the terms of the treaty with Jayadhwaja Singha. Prof. Sarkar may be quoted. ‘The Mogul Government also dealt in an ungenerous and grasping way with the Ahom king in money matters.’ (2) A *buranji* states that king Chakradhwaja highly resented the Emperor’s present of a *Sirpao* to him, and the Mogul messengers’ insistence on his wearing in their presence that token of imperial favour. It should be remembered that the memorable battle of Saraighat, where Ram Singha was defeated, took place in the early months of the reign of Chakradhwaja’s successor King Udayāditya.

humility to which he was subjected; and the suspicion naturally fell upon his Hindu custodian Ram Singha as having loosened the strings of the caged bird. The Maharatta historians continue,—‘Ram Singha did not quite escape a certain measure of suspicion. Chitnis asserts that Ram Singha connived at Shivaji’s escape. Some Mahratta Brahmans who were caught admitted under torture that Shivaji had escaped with the connivance of Ram Singha. But when Jay Singha heard that he protested his son was innocent of such faithlessness to the Emperor. But Aurangzeb would not listen to all that, and Ram Singha was forbidden to appear at court. Jay Singha who had served the Emperor so well in his struggle for the throne, and in his campaigns in the Deccan took to heart his son’s humiliation. He hurried to the defence of his territories, intending to recover his independence. But the valiant Rajput chief, an offspring of the renowned Kachhwahas of Ambar, died on his arrival at Burhanpur, on the tenth of July, 1667.¹ And the culprit Ram Singha was placed at the head of an expedition against the Raja of Assam as a punishment for his alleged connivance at Shivaji’s flight from Agra.²

Warning to Ram Singha.—But Ram Singha’s mother and his wife, with the instinctive sagacity of Rajput women foresaw the disastrous consequences of the expedition to Assam. The unknown Assamese *buranjist*, ever eager to record the faintest gossip about great Mogul personalities connected with Assam,³ thus writes:—

‘When Ram Singha was in Assam he heard the story that the Emperor Aurangzeb in a fit of anger asked his son Krisna Singha to entertain him (the Emperor) by playing with tigers. Krisna Singha agreed and two tigers were released within a net. Krisna Singha,

¹ We take these details of Jay Singha’s end from Bernier’s *Travels*, p. 35 n and 190-191.

² ‘Service in Assam was extremely unpopular, and no soldier would go there unless compelled. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Ram Singha was sent to Assam as a punishment for his having secretly helped Shivaji to escape from captivity at Agra.’ Prof. Sarkar’s *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, pp. 213-214, and Manucci, iii, 153.

³ From *Buranji*, No. 1. Two Assamese chronicles of the Mogul Court have been recently discovered, one by Mr. Benudhor Sarmah in the India Office, London, and the other by the present writer in the American Baptist Mission at Gauhati. They relate to the pre-Assam activities of Ram Singha, Mir Jumla and Jay Singha.

armed with his shield and sword, saluted the Emperor, and leaped into the arena. The brutes rushed at him, but the Rajput "gladiator" escaped being mauled and torn to pieces by a deft manœuvre of his shield. When he was next attacked, he with his sword, cut one tiger into two pieces, dashed off at its fellow, and killed it as well. Then the surrounding people rent the sky with acclamations, shouting,—"Glory to thee, O Krisna Singha, son of Ram Singha, thou art a true Kshatria's son." Ram Singha's widowed mother and his wife sent a letter to him in which they wrote,—“The Emperor contrived the death of Krisna Singha, by making him wrestle with tigers. Such a friend is the Emperor! We have received enough tokens of gratitude for the conquest of contries for the Emperor (by Jay Singha and Ram Singha)! Never think that by your invasion of the eastern country (Assam), we will gain more. We are told that there is universal *nama-kirtan* (religious music and recital) in that country. By invading it, oh, how long could Mir Jumla thrive? So take heed, and do as you think proper.” Shaista Khan said to the messenger,—“Well, tell Ram Singha that for the fear of Assam, the honour and prestige of the Nawabs and Rajas have remained in tact. If that country be invaded and subjugated then we shall be dishonoured as well.”¹ On the receipt of this message Ram Singha became disheartened. It should be remembered that the letter was received by Ram Singha on the eve of the battle of Saraighat in which the Mogul forces were completely defeated and routed by Lacit Phukon and ‘Hadira, opposite Goalpara, now become the Ahom frontier out-post’ on the west.

¹ I would like to give the original sentence of the *Buranji* :—

चास्ताखाँ बोले, रामसिंहक कोबि, आसाम देशके सशंये नबाब रजा सकल
मान मर्यादा गोट रहिसे । त क मारि बशाकरिले आमार सकलोरे भास भागे ।

Shaistakhan, uncle of Aurangzeb, became Governor of Bengal after the death of Mir Jumla. His famous escape from Shivaji at the Poona Fort has made him a well-known figure in Indian History. The meaning of his message to Ram Singha is probably as follows :—

The existence of the powerful independent kingdom of Assam has made the Emperor careful in his dealings with his chiefs and lordlings, as he has to count upon their help in times of emergency, when he projects an invasion of Assam. The position of the Governor of Bengal is of supreme importance under the circumstances.

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The Rise of Daud Khan Rohilla

OR

AN EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROHILLAS IN INDIA TILL
THE DEATH OF DAUD KHAN

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Condition of India after the Death of Aurangzeb.—The Mughal Empire had a glorious history from the reign of Akbar, who may be regarded as its real founder, to that of Aurangzeb. The royal treasury was replete with money and jewels, which dazzled the eyes of the various foreign visitors. The people were prosperous, and there was universal toleration. A great advance of culture, marked by the erection of magnificent structures and the production of the finest works of art, was made. But this prosperity had already begun to decline in the reign of the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb. A series of rebellions broke out in different parts of his Empire, as a result of his religious policy, and the Mahrattas in particular became enemies of the empire. The death of the old orthodox warrior aggravated the situation. As usual the sons of the Emperor contended for the throne, and by coaxing and lavish distribution of presents, bounties and preferments, enlisted the nobles and soldiers under their standards. Bahadur Shah emerged successful from the struggle. His reign was short, but was crowded with revolts and rebellions in all quarters. The Rajputs withdrew their support and as Eradut Khan writes in his memoirs, 'Now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other to bind which Jeysingh had espoused the daughter of Ajit Singh.'¹

In the north there was another tale to tell. Seeing the utter weakness of the Empire, the Sikhs formed designs to avenge the

inhuman miseries they had suffered at the hands of their Musalman rulers. Finding themselves strong in the hilly regions of the Punjab, they raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of Banda, and swept the neighbourhood of Delhi, 'committing excesses, razing all edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity.'¹ The degenerate nobility, pampered in luxury, could not find courage to meet the Sikhs, and so fled away from the capital with their families and goods. The Emperor left the Rajputs and proceeded against the northern enemy, whom, however, he could not thoroughly suppress.²

In the south the Mahrattas, though disconcerted by the death of their leader, Shivaji, assailed Alamgir with success and had been able to free their fastnesses from the Muslim control. Their aggressions were daily increasing, and 'the Mahrattas' as Prof. Sarkar says, 'were an open sore which drained the life-blood of the Empire and steadily reduced its size.'

At the same time, the 'weakness of the central government emboldened the provincial governors to defy imperial prohibitions,'³ and they made themselves rich by heavy exactions from the merchants and the peasants. Guardians of peace became its disturbers; and when they had made themselves rich and strong, gradually shook off the imperial authority and established their independence. The court was the hot-bed of intrigue, profligacy and luxury. High offices of state were given to the buffoons, minstrels and favourites of the mistresses. Career was not open to talent. The public service was a means of gratifying sycophants, kinsmen, and comrades in revelry. Vice and sloth under the later Mughals drove out efficiency and fidelity. Merit was eclipsed by immorality; and so the capable and efficient nobles had to look somewhere outside the court for appreciation and remuneration. Finding themselves insecure against capricious dismissal and degradation, their property and family honour unsafe, they resorted to their last hope of 'asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own.'⁴

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 58-9.

² *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, MSS, p. 167.

³ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 444.

⁴ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 80-90.

¹ *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, translated by Scott, p. 58. *Tarikh Muzaffari*, Allahabad University MSS, pp. 162-163.

The army, once the boast of the Mughals and the dread of their enemies, was disorganized, degenerate and ill-equipped. Long wars in the Deccan had consumed the flower of the fighting class and now the residue was left in misery. Its spirit was utterly broken. In discipline, mutiny and a constant desire for bounty were its chief features. Luxury had crept into its ranks, so it was quite useless for sustained action. Owing to the civil wars it had grown in numbers, so much that in the reign of Bahadur Shah, writes Eradut Khan, the memoir writer, 'the army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast (caste) and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid.'¹ But the old solidarity was gone, and deprived of the support of the Rajputs, it could not stand against the Hindu and Muslim rebels.

The economic impoverishment of India had already begun. Owing to the unusual drain of wealth from Northern India to finance the southern wars, the peasantry was left destitute.² Coupled with this, the exactions of the local chiefs and provincial governors sucked the blood of the poor farmers. Many new cesses and taxes were imposed upon the agricultural and the industrial classes which killed village industries and ruined the people who lived by them. Mechanical skill found no patrons, and peace which is the first requisite for its healthy growth was absent from the land. There was no security for the wages earned by hard labour, and without this the incentive for work was lost. Trade could not be peacefully carried on as the roads were not safe. Caravans were looted by bands of raiders who inhabited the villages on the high roads. Agriculture could not flourish, and writes Bhimsen the chronicler, 'the ryots have given up cultivation'. When their hereditary occupation was gone, they became robbers and highway men and made the situation all the worse.

Lastly, there was a great deterioration in the character and capacity of the rulers who came to occupy the throne of Akbar and Shahjahan. 'The native genius of Akbar, the genial moderation of Jahangir, the sagacity, energy and refined taste of Shahjahan', and the puritanical continence of Aurangzeb, had changed into weakness, irresolution and capriciousness of the later Mughals. They had no taste for the dull

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan* p. 42.

² Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 445.

routine of state business, and passed their time in the harem in the company of buffoons, minstrels and sycophants. Jahandar Shah was notorious for his debauchery and drunkenness. He was foolish enough to go about publicly in the bazar with his mistress Lalkunwar, whose highhandedness had offended all the nobles of the court.¹ With such rulers at the head, the court and the public could not long remain unstained with immorality. Public corruption, immorality of the rulers, inefficiency of the state officials, weakness of the army, and the growing disorder in the provinces, all combined to bring about the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

When such was the state of the court and the army, when economic poverty was eating into the vitals of the tenantry, 'all classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north and south'. Their suppression was a task almost impossible for the local officials. The emperors, if they could get release from the luxuries of the harem, were not free from the pressing inroads of the Sikhs and the Mahrattas. In such times, the centrifugal forces, ever so conspicuous in Indian history, began their action. 'The proud Zemindars, whose grandfathers had been ruling princes before the coming of the Mughals, the Afghan families settled in various districts and still dreaming of their lost empire in India, claimants to principalities dispossessed by order of Aurangzeb, predatory tribes . . . and the turbulent Rajput peasantry . . . all rose in defiance of the government and began to lay hands on their weaker neighbours.'²

It was in such disturbed times that Daud Khan, the progenitor and founder of the Rohilla power in India, migrated from his mountain home in Roh to fish in the troubled waters of India. We will now trace his history in the subsequent pages.

The Rohillas.—But before proceeding with the history of Daud Khan, it is proper that we should understand the term 'Rohilla'.³ The Rohillas, it has been accepted by almost all the writers, were inhabitants of the mountainous region called Roh which extends from the Indus to the Hindukush, and includes Bajaur, Kabul, Kandahar and

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 80-83.

² Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 451.

³ The origin and descent of the Afghans have been thoroughly discussed by Bellew, Tate, Ferrier and Elphinstone, and so the readers are referred to their works for further information.

Ghazni. From remote antiquity they have occupied this land, and tradition ascribes them a descent from the Israelites of Syria and Palestine, from where they were driven out by Bakht Nasra. These dispossessed tribes migrated to the east and settled in the provinces of Ghor and Ghazni. This tradition has been accepted by almost all the Afghan chroniclers, and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in his book *Kholasat-ul-Insab*,¹ has given a general genealogy of all the tribes, tracing their descent direct from Abraham, the Patriarch of Palestine.

In India the inhabitants of these regions are generally called by three different names, Rohillas, Afghans and Pathans, the first of which is usually applied to the people settled in Rohilkhand, Dholpur and the Deccan.

The Afghans generally use their tribal names to denote their families and dynasties, and it seems strange that the successors and followers of Daud Khan and Ali Muhammad Khan should be called Rohillas. Possibly, as Mr. Tate suggests,² the low origin of Daud Khan, a slave or the freedman of Shah Alam Khan, about whose parentage and family nothing certain was known, might have compelled him to call himself a Rohilla in the absence of any distinguishing eponym. His followers also went by the appellation of their commander, and so eventually Katehar came to be called Rohilkhand, the land of the Rohillas.

The Afghans of Roh are hardy men, fierce and enterprising. They are agriculturists, traders, soldiers and robbers, 'whose hands can wield indifferently a cloth measure, a spade, a sword or rifle.'³ India has always been a field for the enterprise of these Afghans, who at times flocked in large numbers to serve in the army of the rulers here. After the battle of Panipat in 1556, they scattered all over the country and some of them settled in Katehar also. But during the confusion consequent upon the death of Aurangzeb, and the rise of Nadir Shah in Persia, many Afghan adventures of Roh migrated into India to seek employment or a safe refuge from the persecutions of Nadir Shah. One such early emigrant was Daud Khan, then a dependant in the family of Shihabuddin Khan at Tor Shahamat in Roh.

Shihabuddin Khan.—Excepting a few faint glimpses in the works of

¹ *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, Rampur MSS., pp. 8-20.

² Tate, *Kingdom of Afghanistan*, p. 23, foot-note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

his descendants,¹ very little is known about the life of Shihabuddin Khan, the ancestor of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. He was a God-fearing pious Afghan Shaikh of Roh, an inhabitant of Posheen Shorawak in the Kandahar District, which was the original home of the tribe of Barhaitch to which he belonged. He was a Budalzai, one of the sub-sections of Barhaitch. It is recorded that in² his youth he visited the districts of Attock and Lunger Kot, where had already settled some of the families of his tribe, and 'from among them he selected his bride.'³ Usually he lived in the hilly land of Chach Hazara. Though often rapt in meditation, he moved from place to place and paid occasional visits to the plains. With growing age increased also his solitary rambles in the woods and valleys, where he passed months in prayer and meditation without paying even a chance visit to his family. By hard meditation, he came to possess the power of working miracles, and was reputed all round as a great saint,⁴ and after death came to be venerated as a Pir. At a good old age he died and was buried on the main road from Peshawar to Kabul, near the village Shahider. 'On account of his sanctity he obtained the appellation of Shaikh Kuti Baba,'⁵ because he called himself 'kuta' or dog of the Almighty.

He had three sons,⁶ Pai, Adam and Mahmud, the last of whom took the appellation of Shaikh Moti Baba, and migrated from Posheen Shorawak to reside at Tor Shahamat, of which place he became the

¹ The main authorities for this account are *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, *Gul-i-Rahmat* and *Akhbar Husain*, all written by the descendants of Shihabuddin Khan. The MSS. consulted were those of the Rampur State.

N. B.—The account in the subsequent pages has been derived from the original authorities. So far as it was discussed by any English writer, Sir John Strachey relying mainly upon Hamilton has brushed it off in a few paragraphs of his book. I have consulted an Urdu work *Akhbar-ul-Sanadid* by Najmulghani of Rampur rather freely, but conclusions are my own and differ generally from those of Ghani who is at places very uncritical.

² *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 4 b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 4; *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, p. 22, Rampur MSS.

³ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 4b *Eliot*, English trans, p. 5.

⁴ *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS., p. 35.

⁵ *Eliot*, p. 6.

⁶ Ghulam Ali Khan in his book *Imadussiadat* writes, 'He had two sons, elder Husain Khan and younger Shah Alam Khan.' The statement is wrong, as Shah Alam Khan and Husain Khan were the grandsons of Shihabuddin Khan. Hafiz Rahmat Khan's *Kholasat-ul-Insab* is the most reliable authority on this point. Also Waliullah, *Turikh Farrakhabad*, Rampur MS., pp. 77-81. *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS., pp. 40-41.

Sajjadanashin. He had five sons,¹ the youngest of whom was Shah Alam Khan, the father of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Moti Baba also followed the example of his father and passed his days in devotional exercises. 'His character was held in high veneration' by the fierce Afghans, who respected him for his piety, generosity and sympathy.

Shah Alam Khan.—Shah Alam Khan was the youngest son of Moti Baba. He got a fairly handsome property in the partition of the patrimony. It is stated in *Farah Baksh*, which Hamilton copies, that Shah Alam Khan and his elder brother Husain Khan came to Katehar in the reign of Shah Jahan and settled there as petty traders but having had indifferent success returned to their paternal land.² But this account remains unsupported by Hafiz Rahmat Khan or his descendants. Nothing can with certainty be said on this point, but silence on the part of those who were in a position to know better means something. It is not improbable that he came to India on occasional commercial trips as a horse-dealer, in which capacity we find him later on coming to see Daud Khan. But a settlement in Katehar seems to be a fancy of the writer of *Farah Baksh* who has often uncritically given such other unauthorized and unsupported statements. Certain it is, nevertheless, that Shah Alam Khan was in Roh when Daud Khan, the Rohilla adventurer, came to Katehar and began his military career which ultimately led to the foundation of Rohilla power in the vicinity of the Mughal capital.

Early Life of Daud Khan.—A shroud of mystery envelopes the origin of Daud Khan. Chroniclers with diverse motives have given various conflicting statements, but leaving aside one or two³ all agree in ascribing him no direct descent from Shihabuddin Khan. Some

¹ Five sons: 1. Azad, 2. Shahdad, 3. Hakim, 4. Hasan and 5. Shah Alam.—*Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS. p. 43.

² Hamilton: *Rohilla Afghans*, p. 32. He writes, 'In the 1084th year of the Higerā (A.C. 1673) two brothers Shah Alam Khan and Hussein Khan, having forsaken their native mountains, settled in Kuttahar, where they procured some employment under the officers of the Moghul Government, but nothing further is related of them worthy of notice.' Also *Hadeeqat-ul-Aqalim*, p. 139 (Lucknow ed.). In *Farah Baksh*, Rampur MS, it is slightly different. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan came in the reign of Shah Jahan and engaged in trade.' *Farah Baksh*, p. 21. Rampur MSS.

The difference is due perhaps to the different MSS used.

³ Shro Prasad, author of *Farah Baksh*, and Hamilton call him the son Shah Alam Khan. Also *Hadeeqat-ul-Aqalim* MS., p. 139.

hold that he was a slave¹ of Shah Alam Khan, while others describe him as an adopted son. The authors of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* say that he fell to the share of Shah Alam Khan in the division of his patrimony, 'who, having no issue, treated him with care and affection and left the whole management to him.'² The author of *Akhbar Husain* gives a different story. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan had no issue for a long time, and as the desire of a child immensely rankled in his heart, he brought up a boy handsome, good-natured and intelligent, as his own son and named him Daud Khan.'³ There are some others who erroneously call him either a soldier or an adopted son of Shihabuddin Khan.⁴ Anyway, he was well educated by Shah Alam Khan, and being intelligent and ambitious, he could not reconcile himself to the peaceful surroundings of rural life, and hence turned his eyes to the usual career of an Afghan, the profession of arms, for which India, when civil wars were convulsing the whole land from north to south, offered a wide field. He came to India in the first year of the reign of Bahadur Shah, which was, as has been shown before, a favourable moment for such an adventurer. With or without the permission of his patron, he left the comfortable home in Roh, and proceeded to Hindustan to enlist under any one who would give him fair terms. The *Imad-us-Saadat*, has an interesting story relating to this period of Daud's life. It says that he tried hard but could get no employment for sometime, and then wrote to Shihabuddin⁵ that he would go to the Deccan in search of service. On this Shihabuddin Khan sent him a *hundi* of one thousand rupees asking him to keep two hundred rupees for his own expenses and with the remainder to purchase some mares at the Hardwar fare and send them home. Daud Khan went to Hardwar and purchased mares worth seven hundred rupees, but sent home only two of them, and kept the rest with him. Some more Rohillas gathered round him, among whom he

¹ *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, Rampur MSS., p. 494.

² *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* f. 6a. Rampur MSS. *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 10. *Allid-Ummi* MS.

³ *Akhbar Husain*, Rampur MS., p. 9.

⁴ Adopted son of Shihabuddin—*Imadus-Saadat* (Lucknow ed.), p. 40. Soldier—Waliullah, *Tarikh Farrukhabad*, Rampur MS., p. 77.

⁵ The unreliability of the story is evident from the fact that it makes Shihabuddin live at the time, though he was dead long ago, as is shown by *Kholasat-ul-Insab* and other works. The book was written early in the nineteenth century and so his testimony cannot be regarded as original.

distributed those mares, and began the career of a highway man. A rich Hindu had come to bathe in the Ganges and had with him only a small retinue of foot-soldiers. While going back on his chariot, accompanied by a cart and the retainers, he was followed by Daud Khan and his companions. For two days they could not dare to reveal their real purpose, but after the third stage, finding him with only six or seven retainers, the rest having been left behind with the luggage cart, they rushed upon him and put to the sword the unsuspecting weak liveried followers of the Hindu. The master too could not escape the fate of his poor servants, and was soon cut to pieces. He got some gold ornaments on the person of the Hindu, and gold mohurs and many other valuable articles in his luggage. The Nagor bullocks too formed part of the booty. Then leaving the main road leading to Bareilly, he entered the thick forest with the booty acquired in his first enterprise, and there wandered from place to place like a robber. Gradually he collected a following of 80 horsemen and 300 foot-soldiers, and built a mud fortress therein.¹

This romantic account invites attention. Many a man, who founded a dynasty in mediæval history, began his career in a similar way. His Afghan character sought gratification in robbery and plunder. But this story can hardly be accepted as the whole truth. The information of the writer from whom it comes cannot be relied upon as genuine and first-hand. But it is the most plausible account of his early career and in the case of silence on the part of the other chroniclers and authorities, we might accept it as a possible occupation of the adventurer before he entered the service of Madar Shah. To India he may have come with the pretence of buying horses at Hardwar, but his aim seems to have been to settle in this country. Fortune favoured him and he adopted Katehar, the province nearest to Hardwar as the field for his adventures.

The Situation in Katehar.—Situating on the left bank of the Ganges and stretching to the foot of the Himalayas, where it suddenly merges into the malarial tracts called Tarai, the usual abode of fierce tigers, Katehar had been from remote antiquity the home of independent

¹ *Imadus Saadat* (Lucknow ed.), p. 40.

Waliullah: *Tarikh Farrukhabad*, pp. 78-79. Rampur MSS.

The story in both the books is the same. Perhaps one has copied from the other. There is similarity in other points also.

turbulent Rajput chiefs. Its geographical situation favours rebels. Safe from invasions by the Imperial forces for more than six months in the year owing to the broad waters of the Ganges, they could with impunity withhold the Imperial revenues. The royal representative at Muradabad was too weak by himself to crush them without help from the capital. This security had turned the heads of the zemindars, and defiance of the royal authority became an established practice with them. Muhammadan rulers, ever since their advent into this country, had to face the constant revolts of the intractable Katehariya Rajputs.¹ Mughal authority had been felt under the Great Mughals, and then we hear of very few insurrections. But in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, rebellion raised its head again. In 1679 Muhammad Rafi was appointed to the governorship of Katehar, and during his rule the Kateharias and Janghars rose in revolt, with the result that when Aurangzeb died . . . all Rohilkhand was in a state of complete anarchy.² Civil wars between the sons of the late Emperor for the throne relaxed the hold of the Central Government, and there began an interminable war for lands and boundaries among the various zamindars, and a revolt against the authority of the Faujdar.

The province was divided into two Sarkars, with a Faujdar stationed at Muradabad, who was always a grandee of the Empire, and was usually a soldier of reputation. At this time, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur³ nephew to Chin Kulich Khan (afterwards the famous Nizam-ul-mulk) was appointed to the Faujdari of Muradabad by Bahadur Shah when he emerged successful from the fratricidal war. He was not feared by the many zamindars who were in possession of big estates all over the province. Narpal Singh was the zamindar of Pipli; Kirat Singh of Akbarabad; Kunjan Singh of Rajpur; Khem Karan of Ratangarh; Madar Shah and Lachman Singh of Mudkar in

¹ After the death of Muhammad Tughluq the zamindars (then called Muqaddams) of Katehar rose in revolt against his weak and degenerate successors. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives information about many such revolts and the invasions of the imperial armies. (*Elliot*, vol. iv, pp. 14, 49-50). This continued till the establishment of the Mughal rule when the strength and stability of the empire gave them no opportunity to raise their head. But with the degeneracy of the later Mughals, their rebellions became constant, until they were driven out by the Rohillas.

² *Gazetteer of Budaun*, p. 145.

³ Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 131.

Pargana Burseir; and Arjun Singh that of Aonla. Badaun was the seat of the governorship till the reign of Shahjahan, when it was transferred to Bareilly, and Badaun sank into insignificance. Bareilly was the seat of a Faujdar whose authority was supreme in the vicinity of the head-quarters. Shahjahanpur was in the possession of the successors of Bahadurkhan Daudzai, the founder of the city, and was the chief stronghold of the Pathan power in the south, but it was still under the nominal authority of the governor of Badaun and Bareilly. The Tarai lands were administered by the Raja of Kumaun, who had not yet sunk low in degeneration. It was the safe resort of the Zamindars and Rais when pressed hard by the royal army. Owing to its distance the Tarai could not be well controlled from the seat of Empire in Delhi.

A desire to extend their limited possessions led the Rajput chiefs of Katehar to fight amongst themselves.¹ Quite unmindful of the bloodshed and the loss and inconvenience to their subjects, they fought against their neighbours for a small strip of land, with characteristic pertinacity. Little regard, in such times, was paid to the welfare of the poor peasants, who were compelled to fight for their chiefs, in whose quarrels they had little interest. When villages and hamlets were burnt to ashes, the life and property of the farmers was sure to be in jeopardy. Night raids on hostile camps disturbed the calm repose of the peace-loving hardy agriculturists. Their savings earned by hard labour in sun and rain were plundered in the night; their sons and wives were captured to work as slaves in the household of the victorious enemy. All this was done not for their betterment certainly, but for the gratification of the beastly greed of their chiefs. Under such circumstances, that incentive to work which comes with security and the prospect of an undisturbed possession was stifled; and the province richly endowed by nature was turned into a desert.

Politically, the constant civil strifes of the Rajput chiefs weakened their resources for combating an external foe; and combined action, either defensive or offensive, was unknown to them. True, they were secure in their mud forts in the heart of impenetrable forests, amidst glens and valleys, but a powerful invader was sure to crush them one by one, as ultimately happened when the Rohillas took possession of

¹ This description cannot apply to the vigorous periods of Muhammadan rule, particularly under the Great Mughals.

the province. In the time of the Tughluqs and Saiyads, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the whole of the province was almost always in the possession of one sole Muqaddam. But now this small tract was divided among a dozen zamindars and more, who could not individually muster even a few thousand soldiers. Their revenues were meagre, and they could not sustain a long siege. When such was their state, it is easy to imagine the rise of an adventurer, bold, persevering and tactful who appropriated the whole country to himself and 'drove the Rajputs across the Ganges.'

Their interminable warfare led them to appoint foreigners and adventurers with their small followings. These soldiers of fortune hired themselves out now to one and then to another. Money was their chief motive. Their treachery and defection at the most critical moment very often decided the issue of a battle. Their income was always increased by the vast booty falling to their share in the plunder of villages near the battle-field. Their employers gave them villages and mahals in Jagir for their maintenance. The leaders of these mercenaries acquired the status of zamindars themselves, and by waging wars on their own account, added considerably to their original holdings. In this way Daud Khan began his career in Katehar and got a large Jagir in the vicinity of Aonla.

Daud Khan's Service with Madar Shah.—As has been previously shown, Daud Khan began a predatory career and collected a large following of similarly placed Afghans, who swarmed the plains of Northern India like ravenous vultures in search of prey. A strong, daring and capable leader in the person of Daud Khan led them on to bold enterprises, and in a very short time became the terror of the whole land. From his mud fortress in the bushy forests, he rushed out frequently like a falcon, with his followers, and preyed on the petty zamindars of the neighbourhood. But this predatory activity could not last long, for his name was very soon famous for bravery all over the province, and hence he was taken into service by one Rajput chief or another. His services were always welcome to the contending chiefs who settled their private quarrels by force of arms. In this way Daud Khan passed a few years, till he was engaged,¹ about the time that Farrukhsiyar came to the throne, by the zamindar

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f. 6b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; *Akhbar Husain*, p. 10; Rampur MSS.

of Mudkar, whose name was Madar Shah,¹ a Rajput brave and courageous in battle. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood, for his help was sought in settling the disputes between other zamindars. He kept a large force of Rajputs and Musalmans, and was feared by the other Rais. To add further to his strength, he employed Daud Khan and his followers, and assigned some villages for their maintenance.

There he was constantly engaged in fighting the wars of his master and his confederates. Very soon after, Khem Karan, the zamindar of Ratangarh, attacked Kanchan Singh of Rajpur, and plundered the town. Kanchan Singh complained to Madar Shah and wanted his help against the offender. The latter dispatched a large force composed of Rajputs and Pathans, under his two sons, Chattra Singh and Parbat Singh, and deputed Daud Khan as well for their assistance. The allied armies were successful over the hosts of Khem Karan. The vanquished fled from the field of battle, and the victors plundered the baggage of the retiring army, and the villages in the enemy's territory. Bakauli was looted by Daud Khan and his comrades,² and it is mentioned by some chroniclers, that he captured there a boy of about eight or nine years, whom he adopted and named Ali Muhammad Khan,³ and who ultimately became the Nawab of Rohilkhand and the founder of the Rohilla nawabship in Katehar. Much booty, besides, fell to the share of the mercenary band of the Pathans. This was one of the many engagements he fought in the service of this powerful chief. This Afghan force under Daud Khan added more to the lustre of Madar Shah; but Daud's fame, too, could not long remain concealed. He was reputed for his courage and bravery all over the province, and was held in esteem by the chiefs of the neighbourhood.⁴ He came

¹ The author of *Akhbar-ul-Sanadid*, the Urdu work referred to above, calls him 'Madar Sahai' saying that 'Madar Shah' is an uncommon name for the Hindus. But in '*Tarikh Unwan Khandan-i-Bangash*,' an Urdu history of Farrukhabad written in the later eighteenth century, 'Madar Shah' is given as the name of the Raja of Jalaun and Sipri. I conclude that this was a common name and so have kept it as it is in the chronicles.

Tarikh Unwan Khandan-i-Bangash, Allahabad University MSS., p. 15.

² *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, MSS. f 7a.

³ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 7a; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

⁴ *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

'Daud Khan was a brave man and in the wars of the zamindars had earned a great name.'

according to the statement in *Gul-i-Rahmat*, with 200 men in the service of Madar Shah,¹ but hearing of his bravery and capacity for leadership bands of Pathan adventurers, prompted by the ambition of a military career, swelled the ranks of his followers.² Brothers in adversity, co-sharers in prosperity, all stood shoulder to shoulder, and by treachery, deceit or faithful service made themselves rich and powerful. It is not certain how long he lived at Mudkar, for the chroniclers most indefinitely write, 'served under many big zamindars and Rajas'. However, he had in a very short time acquired a considerable estate in the rewards given to him by his employers, both in land and money, and fixed his headquarters at Buniya Beoli. At this time he commanded a force of about five hundred men,³ both horse and foot, for whose upkeep he required a large income.

Hamilton, perhaps wrongly, reverses the sequence of events noted above and writes, 'Daood . . . collecting together some followers, offered himself and was admitted as a volunteer into an army sent by the vizier to oppose the incursions of the Mahrattas, who were . . . laying waste the country between Narwar and Gwalior, and extending their depredations towards the banks of the Jumna.—On this expedition Daood distinguished himself by his bravery; and being on a particular occasion, detached from the main army, had the address to surprise and cut off a party of the enemy, bringing in with him some elephants and other spoils.

'As a reward for this service, Daood, on the return of the royal forces, obtained a grant of a little district in the territory of Budaoon, which forms part of Rohilkund; but a retired life ill suiting (with) his active and enterprising spirit, he presently recruited his little force, consisting of the first followers of his countrymen, and with these rendered many services to the neighbouring Rajahs and Zimeendars. . . .⁴ This seems to be a mistake arising from the identification of Daud Khan Rohilla with Daud Khan Panni, who was also an Afghan, and who had distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns against the Mahrattas. The contemporary chronicles would certainly have mentioned him as deserving of royal favours, if he had taken an active part in the Deccan

¹ *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

² *Akhbar Husain*, p. 11; Rampur MSS.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hamilton, *Rohilla Afghans*, pp. 33-34.

wars. There is no reference met with regarding this in the succinct but continuous account of his career in the Rohilla chronicles. In view of the above, it seems clear that Hamilton has mistaken him for Daud Khan Panni. There is no evidence that Daud Khan the Rohilla, had any concern whatsoever with the royal authority in his life, and a Jagir from the emperor would, therefore, be out of the question. As will be seen later, he associated himself closely with Azmatullah Khan, the Faujdar of Muradabad, and through him farmed the revenue of some villages. But at this time, when he was hiring himself out to different chiefs, he could not have got anything from the state.

Death of Shah Alam Khan.—When he was thus securely established in the service of Madar Shah, and had fixed his residence at Buniya Beoli, many ambitious Afghans, and his neighbours and kinsmen of Roh flocked to him. At this time came also Malik Shadi Khan, Painsa Khan, Dundi Khan, Sardar Khan, and Sadar Khan Kamalzai, all Afghans of Roh, who became famous generals in the service of his successors. There came to him about 500 Afghans from Roh, who settled in Katehar under his leadership, thereby increasing his strength considerably.

Hearing the story of his greatness, his old patron Shah Alam Khan¹ also left his peaceful home, and braved the risks of a journey to the distant Katehar. Whether emotion or self interest was his motive, it is difficult to say. Perhaps a kind regard for his old ward, now in affluence, might have prompted him to leave his home in such old age. After a toilsome journey he came to Buniya Beoli, and was received by Daud Khan with the respect due to his age and position. He remained there for a short time, and at his departure for home, Daud Khan gave him a large sum of money. Shah Alam Khan went back, but a few years after came again and was received warmly. This time he had come with the intention of taking Daud

¹In *Imadus-saadat* and *Tarikh Farrukhabad* of Waliullah the time of Shah Alam Khan's arrival is placed in the days of Ali Muhammad Khan after the death of Daud Khan. They blame Ali Muhammad for his murder writing that Shah Alam Khan called him the son of his slave which provocation led him to order his assassination. This is improbable as the other authorities are explicit about the time saying that Hafiz Rahmat Khan was only four years old. In the case of Shah Alam's murder in the time of Ali Muhammad Khan five years after the death of Daud Khan, we will have to put some other age of Hafiz. The mistake is due to their wrong information. *Imadussaadat*, p. 40, Waliullah; *Tarikh Farrukhabad* MSS., p. 79.

Khan back to Roh, for his affairs there were suffering for want of an efficient supervisor. But Daud could not leave his hard-won acquisitions and for ever separate himself from a career of fame and ambition. He persuaded Shah Alam Khan to leave him alone, and giving him a large amount at the time of departure, promised a sum of rupees 2,000 a year regularly, which would compensate him for the loss of his personal services.

On this promise Shah Alam Khan left him and returned to Roh, but on his way he was detained by certain horse dealers, to whom Daud Khan owed some money. This plan proved quite successful, for the conscientious old man left all his goods with the merchants at Delhi and returned to Katehar to expostulate with Daud. Money was duly sent to the merchants and the goods were released; but Shah Alam Khan could not now leave his old ward to oppress the poor and deceive the rich. The God-fearing conscience within him was touched and he could not bear the idea of the impotent curses of the oppressed poor against Daud Khan. All excuses and persuasions of Daud were of no avail. In the end Daud Khan resorted to violence and ordered a few of his men to assassinate the old pious, good intentioned man in the gloomy silence of a dark night in the forest near Budaun.

Daud Khan was invited by the Amil of Budaun, a representative of Muhammad Khan Bangash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, to assist him in a contest with certain zamindars of the vicinity. Daud Khan was quite glad to assist his co-religionist and compatriot against the Hindu zamindars. He set out to join him with Shah Alam Khan in his company, whom the four assassins, who had been hired by Daud Khan, attacked in the darkness of the night when he was quite alone and severed the head from the body. The darkness of the night could not conceal this hideous crime, and when news reached Daud Khan, he feigned sorrow at the event; but tears could not wipe off the stain on his character. Orders were issued to find out the culprits, and his body, in the meantime, was buried in the jungle outside Budaun, on which a mausoleum was raised afterwards by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the son of the deceased.¹

A different version is met with in the pages of *Akhbar Husain*,² which absolves Daud Khan entirely from the guilt. It mentions that

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 8 and 9; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 8; Rampur MSS.

² *Akhbar Husain*, p. 12, Rampur MSS.

Shah Alam Khan was attacked by a party of thieves while going from Budaun, whither he had come with Daud Khan, with his goods and money to his native land, and was killed with two or three men more in the encounter. Daud Khan tried hard to trace out the culprits, but they could not be found. The authors of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* represent that the perpetrators of the crime met with divine vengeance, for three of them were killed the next evening, and one became a leper who survived to tell the tale of his guilt.

On such intricate questions nothing can be said with certainty, but we cannot acquit Daud Khan of complicity in this crime. He was provoked by the insistent demand of Shah Alam Khan to go back to Roh, and fearing lest the old man should call him a slave before his followers, in which case his honour and prestige were in danger, he might have adopted the secret means to clear his path from similar obstructions in future. There is always a conflict between power and principle, and ambition waits not to consider the softer emotions of a weak man. His whole career was one of adventure, treachery and rapine. He was bound by no filial gratitude to the old man whose house he had left to try his luck in Hindustan. To get rid of him and to escape being constantly reminded of his late dependence on an old man's generosity, he may have resorted to secret assassination, so that 't might pass as an accident and give no offence to the other Afghans who were closely related to Shah Alam Khan. The *Akhbar Husain* perhaps adopted the version given by Daud Khan and his associates. His treachery against the Rajah of Kumaun later on, and his early career strengthen the suspicion against him.

This event happened some time about the last days of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, on Friday 9th Zilhijja,¹ of an unknown year. Shah Alam Khan left behind a son, Rahmat Khan (Hafiz), then a child a few years old. His goods were sent to Tor Shahamat by the merchants at Delhi when they had got their money.

Service with Raja of Kumaun and death of Daud Khan.—Daud Khan lived for a short time longer in the service of Madar Shah, and then joined Azmatullah Khan at Muradabad in expectation of royal favour and more lucrative employment under the Mughal Emperor. He farmed the revenue of some villages from the government and passed his days in prosperity with his followers.

¹ *Gul-i-Rahmat*. Rampur MSS., p. 9.

Then a few years after, he entered the service of Raja Debi Chand of Kumaun, who had succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1720. He was made commander of the forces stationed on the plains at Kashipur. The acquisition of Daud Khan with his followers increased the strength of the Raja, who was 'led to believe that the Raja of Kumaun was one of the greatest princes in the world.' Naturally his ambition turned towards the occupation of the Tarai lands lying south of his dominions, which had once formed part of the kingdom of Kumaun. He was seeking reasonable *casus belli* to invade the imperial lands and snatch them from the hands of the degenerate Mughal emperors. At this time one Sabir Shah who professed to belong to the royal family raised the standard of revolt against the legitimate authority in the Tarai lands and collecting a large number of Afghans, invaded Katehar, but he was repulsed by Azmatullah Khan. He went to Kumaun and sought help from Raja Debi Chand, promising that he would give Katehar to the Raja when he was seated on the throne of Delhi. The Raja thought himself strong enough to raise the pretender to the throne in place of Muhammad Shah, and so proclaimed him Emperor of India. Daud Khan was ordered to combine with Sabir Shah and the Adhikari of Kashipur against the imperial army. Azmatullah Khan was deputed by the Imperial Government to quell the disturbance, and he came to the field with 15,000 men and 12 elephants. Besides, he had secretly bribed Daud Khan to desert the Raja when the engagement had begun.

Amity and avarice proved stronger than fidelity.¹ The persuasion was effective, and when the two armies met at Nagina, Daud Khan treacherously left the field and stood aside to watch the events of the day.

The forces of Kumaun were routed and the Adhikari represented the treachery of Daud Khan to Raja Debi Chand. The Raja called the Pathan general to his court, and pretending ignorance of his late action, increased his pay and accorded him a hearty reception. After thus securing him in his power, he ordered his legs to be cut off and the sinews to be drawn out, which caused his death. He was buried near Thakurdwara by the officers of Debi Chand, and his family was

¹ *Akhbar Husain* MSS., p. 13.

² He played treachery to Raja Debi Chand either for fear of Emperor or love of Azmatullah Khan.

allowed to retreat unmolested to Muradabad. The treachery was justly punished and thus ended the life of Daud Khan after a stormy career of about sixteen years in India in the year A. D. 1724 or 1725.¹

He left behind him his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan and his own son Mahmud Khan, the former of whom was raised to the command of the small army by Dundi Khan and others, and was taken into the service of Azmatullah Khan in consideration of the sacrifice of his adoptive father.²

Daud Khan's Character.—Daud Khan was a brave and adventurous Afghan, unscrupulous in adjusting means to ends. He was a natural leader of men who rose from a humble trooper to the independent command of a large number of Afghan soldiers and officers. In his wars he was almost always successful, and his fortitude, courage and military skill were amply rewarded by his employers. His life was one of constant struggles and engagements. Beginning life as a robber he ended it as a treacherous general guilty of serious defection and dereliction of duty. The greatest stain on his character is the murder of his patron Shah Alam Khan, who was entitled to gratitude from him. But with all his defects, he was a great soldier and general who laid the foundations of the Rohilla power in Katehar.

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, MS. f. 10 b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 10.

² *Gul-i-Rahmat*, pp. 10-11; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f. 11a, Rampur MSS.; *Akbar Husain*, p. 14.

Dr. Aiyangar on the Vakatakas

BY

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[We publish with pleasure the following critical note of Mr. Y.R. Gupta on our papers on the Vākātakas. We have taken the liberty to add a few notes which it is hoped will meet with his approval.—*Ed.*]

DR. VINCENT A. SMITH had contributed an interesting article to the *J.R.A.S.* for 1914 in which he dealt with many doubtful points in the history of the Vākātakas in a most capable manner. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar later on published two articles, one on 'The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India,' one in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*¹ and the other on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History' in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*,² in which he brought forward a wealth of evidence from the *Purāṇas* and a work written by Rāmadāsa, to bear out the facts that the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vākātakas were fighting for sovereignty and that though the latter could boast of a succession of rulers as proved by the expression '*kramaprāpta*' in the legend on their seals, the former in the end succeeded in the bid for paramount power. Somehow or other a reconciliation was brought about between the two dynasties, the result of which was that the political relations passed on smoothly. Even the greatest of the Gupta emperors did not, in the Doctor's opinion, invade the territories of the Vākātakas,³ though he swept past to the south. This shows that friendly relations between these two dynasties existed. To crown all the renowned daughter of Chandragupta II was espoused by Rudrasēna II. The marriage alliance had also a political object, viz. that of securing Chandragupta's flank⁴ against the Śaka satraps of the west, who were later on uprooted. Dr. Aiyangar's attention might be drawn to Dr. Smith's remarks in

¹ Vol. v, part i, 1923-24, pp. 31-54.

² Vol. xv, No. 2, p. 153ff. I am furnished with an offprint of it, of which pages are quoted in this paper.

³ The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

the *J.R.A.S.* for 1914 and to my foot-note 3 on page 58, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, 1924, No. 1. One is inclined to think that the credit is due mostly to the early Imperial Guptas for their enlightened policy of conciliating an earlier great power and to cement that friendship. Had they pushed too far, probably they would not have succeeded. But even if their efforts would have been crowned with success, their military power would have been much weakened and their throne would have been tottering to the detriment of the dynasty and of Northern and Central India by their domestic fight.

The duty of training the offspring of Rudrasēna II and Prabhāvatī-guptā fortunately devolved upon Kālidāsa, the greatest court-poet of Chandragupta II, who, to commemorate his friendship with his eminent pupil began one of his poems of extraordinary merit, viz., Mēghadūta by the mention in the very first stanza of Rāmagiri, which in Dr. Aiyangar's opinion was his capital¹ but which being a very sacred place probably was only much frequented by the Vākātaka rulers. Curiously enough a fresh grant edited by me in the *J.A.S.B.*² was issued from the feet of the God of this very Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiri-svāminah padamālāt*). Dr. Aiyangar will do well to elucidate this point.

The short account of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā, given by Prof. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary* (and we may now say the article on them by the Professor and Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Ep. Ind.*)³ proved beyond dispute that Dēvagupta was only a nickname of Chandra-gupta II. This was a great point gained in regard to the history and relations of the two formerly rival dynasties.

A great service to the history of the dynasty of the Vākātakas has been done by Dr. Aiyangar by identifying the Vindhyaśakti of the *Purāṇas* with the Vindhyaśakti, the ancestor of the Vākātaka rulers. Much confusion reigned regarding the belief that Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana in contradiction to the Ajanta record where he is described as a *dvija* or 'twice-born.' The Doctor has on the whole succeeded in establishing the identification though some details may not carry conviction. The readings of the Ajanta inscriptions,

¹ The Vākātakas and their place in the *History of India*, p. 46.

² Vol. xx, New Series, 1924, No. I, pp. 53-62, Vol. xv, pp. 39-44.

proposed on p. 37 of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* are ingenious enough. For 'svabahu-vīryy (arjita) sarvalokah,' it is proposed that we should read 'svabahu-vīryyārttita-satrulokah.' The epigraphical difficulties, however, in support of the supposition are insuperable. *Ta* and *ja* and *sa* and *śa* in the period under discussion can hardly be misread one for the other. The words before—*kānam*, viz. *Rajā Mahendra iva bhuvi Vindhya* have been supplied. But it is too much to take it for granted that there are traces of so many letters. The Doctor's general conclusion, however, that Vindhyaśakti came of the family of the Vindhyaśakas, or Vākātakas is reasonable and remains unchallenged.¹

Another interesting point which is elucidated by him is the identification of the 'kings of the Bhōjas' with the Vākātakas. The country over which the Vākātakas ruled is evidently Vidarbha or Berar, the people of which province from the time of the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* are known as the Bhōjas.² This explains the fact why in literature the name Vākātaka nowhere occurs. Further Rāmadāsa in his commentary Rāmasētopradīpam on Pravarasēna's 'Sētubandha Kāvya' says that according to some Pravarasēna was Bhōjadēva. It should be noted (I would point out) that the tradition in the Deccan, viz. Kālidāsa flourished in the reign of King Bhōja is extremely well explained by the supposition that Pravarasēna was a Bhōjadēva that is 'a king of the Bhōjas.' For Bhōjadēva in this sense, through utter ignorance, Bhōjadēva (properly speaking King Bhōja and not the king of the Bhōjas) of Dhārā was substituted. The name 'Vākātaka' in short was a clan name or a family name.

From the study of the Kshatrapa coins, it is evident that the period extending from A.D. 305 to A.D. 348 is marked by the abeyance of the office of a Mahāksatrapa. A collateral dynasty set itself up with the inferior rank of a Kshatrapa. There is a cessation even of this inferior position from A.D. 332 to A.D. 348. According to the *Purāṇas*, Pravarasēna I, extended his authority into the territory of the Vindhyaśakas, at the expense clearly more or less of the Kshatrapas.

¹ The material points in the two suggestions are really not affected. If the readings are certain in regard to the first the suggested-reading is superfluous; but are they? In *re* the second what is wanted is 'Vindhya' before *kānam*. The suggested reading is on the basis of equivalent length for the first half of the verse. (*Ed.*)

² The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 7.

There is another break between the years A.D. 351 A.D. 364 during the reign of Prithvisēna I, who perhaps extended the Vākātaka territory. Simhasēna's titles were Rāya Mahā-Kshatrpa and Mahārāja Kshatrpa. The latter transformation might be due to the Vākātaka title Mahārāja.¹

Dr. Aiyangar remarks :—'Chandra-gupta was responsible for the foundation of the empire. The Vākātakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even actually countenancing the effort. Was there a larger motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandra-gupta I to this position?'² If we read between the lines, in the Doctor's opinion here was an attempt to found an Indian or rather a Northern and Central Indian empire or a 'federation of states' of these provinces against outsiders or at least against Scythians. His further elucidation of the problem before us is welcome.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Aiyangar has thrown a flood of light on the history of the Vākātakas and the Guptas.

Now I must do the unpleasant duty of drawing the readers' attention to small mistakes, which have crept into his articles, omissions and differences of opinion, and shortcomings of his article. On 'The Vākātakas and their place in the history of India' and other places he writes the name of the Dowager queen as Prabhavati-guptā.³ In her Poona and Riddhapura plates the spelling is Prabhāvatī-guptā. Prof. Pathak and Mr. K. N. Dikshit have shown that it is quite in accordance with the rules of grammar.

Dr. Aiyangar believes that Samudra-gupta's conquests do not include any part of the Deccan proper. He observes that 'Ērāṇḍapalli' and 'Daivarāshtra', two places located by Dr. Fleet in Western Deccan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kālīṅga.⁴ My acquaintance with the Kālīṅga country is not thick and I do not propose to discuss the identifications. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that 'Ērāṇḍapalli' and 'Daivarāshtra' or rather 'Dēvarāshtra' lay in the Deccan. 'Ērāṇḍapalli' is apparently 'Ēraṇḍol' in the East Khandesh District,

¹ The Vākātakas and their place in the *History of India*, pp. 48-49

² The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 11.

³ This is a mere slip due to oversight in proof. (Ed.)

⁴ The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 2.

which I am informed abounds in remains of the Gupta period. The form Yēraṇḍavallipur (a corruption of Ēraṇḍavallipur) occurs in a work written more than 250 years ago.¹ In Daivarāshtra or more correctly Dēvarāshtra apparently parts of the modern Khānāpur and Kahād Talukas of the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency were included. There is still a village called Dēvarāshtrē in the Khānāpur Taluka six miles from the Kuṇḍala station on the S.M.R. line. Curiously enough, the holiest object there, a *ling* of Śivā, is called Samudrēśvara in the grants made. What grounds are there for disbelieving that the god was not named after Samudra-gupta? At any rate the names Dēvarāshtra and Samudrēśvara are sufficiently tempting for identifying the region round Dēvarāshtra with 'Daivarāshtra' or 'Dēvarāshtra' of Samudra-gupta's time, and the god enshrined there (though he may not occupy perhaps the very site) as suggesting a reminiscence of the great conqueror.² If the above identification be correct, Dr. Aiyangar's statement, viz. it 'is certain that Samudra-gupta's southern invasion kept clearly and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākātakas' will have to be modified. For 'Kuntala' he has used the word 'the Mahratta country.' A more accurate term would be 'the Southern Marāthā country.' The River Kṛishṇā nearly formed the boundary of 'Kuntala.' Probably Kuṇḍala itself is a reminiscence of 'Kuntala.' It will thus be seen that the country called 'Dēvarāshtra' was not out of the list of conquests of Samudra-gupta. Dr. Aiyangar on p. 1 of his paper on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History' refers to the kings of Āryāvarta vanquished by Samudra-gupta. I wish to draw his attention to Mr. K. N. Dikshit's paper read before the 'First Oriental Conference'³ held at Poona.

He has referred to Nachanē-ki-talāi inscription of Vyāghradēva,⁴ the feudatory of Prithivishēna, which is the oldest one of the Vākātaka dynasty and which was assigned to the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

¹ Account of the sixth Conference of the Bhārata-Ithiāsa Samśōdhaka-Maṇḍala, p. 202.

² The identification suggested is quite possible, but what about the name of the ruler given in the Allahabad Pillar inscription? Till that could be identified with a contemporary Vākātaka or a known feudatory of his, the identification suggested will remain open to question.

³ Proceedings and transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Ancient History*, p. cxxiv.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xxi, p. 97f. and Gupta Inscriptions, p. 233f.

by Dr. Bühler. Another record in practically identical terms was discovered near Gañja¹ in the Ajaigarh State in Bundelkhand. The writing is distinct and we are enabled to correct minor inaccuracies in Dr. Fleet's transcript. Dr. Sukthankar who has edited the record observes:—'We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this (Vākāṭaka) family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them.'² But the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā now enable us to point out definitely a portion anyhow included in their territory. The Chammak plates too came from the same taluka. Vaṭapura mentioned in them corresponds to Vaḍagāon, Kīnihikhēṭaka to Kīnhī, Kinokhēḍa or Kinagāon, Kōllāpur to Kōlāpur and Karañja to Kārañjē.³ The dates too can be approximately ascertained as it is proved that Prabhāvatī-guptā was the daughter of Dēvagupta, who was none else than Chandra-gupta II. Dr. Sukthankar assigned the Gañja inscription to the seventh century A.D. In the light of recent discoveries, however, referred to above, the date must be corrected.⁴

Dr. Aiyangar on p. 53 of his article on 'The Vākāṭakas and their place in the History of India' refers to the Pushyamitras among the enemies of the Gupta emperors (in particular of Skanda-gupta), who made common cause with the Vākāṭakas to overthrow the power of the former. Prof. H. R. Divēkar, a student of the late Dr. Arthur Venis of Benares, has shown in the *Sarasvati* in Hindi that Dr. Fleet's reading 'Pushyamitrān' is clearly wrong. The actual reading of the text is 'Yudhyamitrān' 'yudhi-amitrān', meaning enemies in a battle. I had the pleasure of listening at Benares to Dr. Venis's arguments in favour of his student's suggestion. This happened shortly after the images bearing the Gupta inscriptions had been unearthed. If Dr. Aiyangar has based his arguments regarding the 'Pushyamitras' on the Paurāṇic references, the point should have been emphasized and authorities quoted.

On p. 51, vol. v, part i, of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Dr. Aiyangar has arrived at certain conclusions on the assumption that the Mehrauli pillar inscription is of Chandra-gupta I. In his

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, pp. 12-14.

² *Ibid.*

³ Rao Bahadur Yadava Madhava Kale's *History of Berar*, p. 66.

⁴ See a note on Vyāgra in the *Indian Antiquary* for Dec. 1926. (*Ed.*)

opinion 'the wars between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas began almost with the emperor and the Bāhlikas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Śakas and the Parthians of that region. This may account for the revival of the power of the Śakas after A.D. 340 which the assumption of the title Mahākshatrapa would seem to bear witness to. The Mehrauli pillar is certainly in the Gupta characters but it does not necessarily follow that it must be of a Chandra-gupta, much less of Chandra-gupta I. I would like to invite the Doctor's attention to Mahāmahōpādhyaya Haraprasad Śāstri's article on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman. He remarks:—¹ 'The Mehrauli pillar inscription mentions a king named Chandra, who had conquered the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus and the Vaṅgas. Nowhere in a Gupta inscription do we find any mention of any conquest of the Panjab or of Afghanistan by Chandra-gupta II or any other successor of Samudra-gupta. The Susunia inscription supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varmman, who belonged to Pushkarana in Western India, but had dedicated a wheel of Vishṇu close to the Vaṅga country. The Mehrauli pillar itself is the very *dhvaja*, another ensign of Vishṇu, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription and Chandavarman son of Simhavarman of Susunia inscription are one and the same person. In the former record the family name was omitted in order to satisfy the needs of the metre.'² If the Mahāmahōpādhyāya's identification is correct, Dr. Aiyangar's arguments are untenable.

Prabhāvatī-guptā lived to a good old age. In the Riddhapur plates the expression *sagravarsha-dīva-putrapo(au)trā* occurs, which as I have already pointed out, should not be understood too literally. But there can be little doubt that the queen saw sons and grandsons and that she was regent for her sons. The names of her sons occurring in the grants are these:—Divākarasēna, Pravarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna. Divākarasēna is assumed by Dr. Aiyangar on page 6 of his article 'The Vākāṭakas in Gupta History' as the princely name of Pravarasēna II. But on the same page he observes:—'This obviously refers to Pravarasēna II, who in this grant (a short notice of which I

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, pp. 315-321.

² Note was taken of this; but the matter is too long for discussion here. (*Ed.*)

published)¹ is given the name Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna which means that his princely name was Dāmōdarasēna while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatī-guptā had two sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna and she was the regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. On page 42 of his article on "The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India" he says "Divākarasēna is probably an elder brother of Pravarasēna II." On page 5 of his former article Pravarasēna II is made the son or at any rate the successor of Divākarasēna, while on pages 32 and 35 of his latter Dāmōdarasēna is given as the name of Pravarasēna II. How can all these statements be reconciled? I have in my article in the *J.A.S.B.* rather left the question open. I may be allowed to reassert my statements:—It (the present inscription) notes the fact that Prabhavati-guptā was the mother of Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna, (*Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna-janantī*). The question arises whether Divākarasēna was the same person as Dāmōdarasēna. In Dr. Vincent A. Smith's opinion "Divākarasēna may possibly have succeeded (Rudrasēna II) under the title of Pravarasēna (II), but it is more likely that he died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pages 327–328). He may either have been dead by this time so that the queen avoided his remembrance and omitted his unhappy name from permanent records after he departed from this world or he may be the same person as Dāmōdarasēna. 'The possibility that she had three sons, viz. Divākarasēna, Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna in the name of all of whom she ruled is not altogether precluded.'² Dr. Aiyangar should reconsider the question of his identifications in the light of Dr. Smith's remarks and the assertions made above.³

The Doctor has tried to show that Chandra-gupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasēna II, the regency of Prabhavati-guptā and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasēna II on the strength of the Prākṛit Kāvya Sētubandha which had been begun by Pravarasēna and which received a critical revision at the hands of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. lili, p. 48, *J.R.A.S.*, for January 1924 and the Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 6.

² Vol. xx, N.S., p. 56.

³ With the greatest pleasure. I had no knowledge of the Riddharpūr Plates when the first identification was suggested. (*Ed.*)

Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya (Chandra-gupta II). This can perhaps be better inferred from the wording of the queen in her own grants, which extol to the skies the glories of the Guptas, the maternal ancestors while the only facts noted about the Vākātakas are that she was wedded to Rudrasēna (II) of the family and was the mother of her sons (by him) or to use the very expressions 'she was the chief queen of Rudrasēna II, and the mother of Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna.'

In the foot-note on page 33 of his article on 'The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India,' Dr. Aiyangar says:—'It is just possible to assume that Rudrasēna II did not rule.' But his very next sentence contradicts this assertion. It runs:—'But this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhavati was the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II.' We have to rely on the statements in these historical documents and we are justified in drawing conclusions only in their absence. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Rudrasēna II did rule. The omission of his name from the record in question must be accounted for on a different ground.

On page 9 of his article on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History,' the Doctor remarks:—'The fact that the home territory of the Vākātakas was intimately associated with Bhōjakāṭa, the city built in the vicinity of the Paurāṇic capital Kuṇḍinapura by Kṛishṇa's brother-in-law Rukmi goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākātakas were Bhōjas, Vidarbhas and even Krathakaisikas as well.' Rao Bahadur Y. M. Kale has been fortunate to identify the localities definitely and thus has placed scholars under a new obligation. He has shown that the village of Kuṇḍinapura, inhabited by 400 to 500 persons marks the site of the ancient capital of the same name, the ruins extending to Umraoti.¹ Bhōjakāṭa can be identified with Bhātakulī, 8 miles from Umraoti.² Bhāndak near Chandravati is also believed by some to have been the capital of the Vākātakas.

Dr. Aiyangar remarks:—'Harisēna's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chālukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills

¹ *History of Berar*, pp. 447 and 458.

² *Ibid.*

the gap between the Āndhras and the Chālukyas in the history of the Deccan.¹ These statements will have to be considerably modified in view of the references to the Nalas in the records of Kirttivarman of the Chālukya dynasty² and especially on the strength of a more substantial discovery of a copperplate grant in the possession of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka-Manḍala of Poona,³ which is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.* by me. It was found along with the one of Prabhāvatī-guptā. It is engraved in the same box-headed characters. They are not much removed in date from those employed in the earlier grant of the queen. The grantor is Bhavattavarman of the Nala race whose banner was distinguished by 'Tripatākā.' It was issued from Kadambagiri apparently Kalamba in the Yeotmal taluka, Berar. It is evident, therefore, on *prima facie* grounds, that the Nalas exercised authority over the territory which was under the sway of the Vākātakas, long before the Chālukyas were masters of the situation. The Nalas apparently appropriated a part of the Vākātaka dominions. It is clear then that the Nalas too played a part in the drama. To study critically the later history of the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vākātakas and to clear up some of the obscurities which still surround the whole problem, we must know more about the Nalas, who rose on the horizon and with whom the Guptas and the Vākātakas or at any rate the latter must have come into contact.

¹ 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History,' p. 12.

² *Vide* the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, p. 6 and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 49.

³ *Vide* pp. 115-116 of the Quarterly of the Maṇḍal.

Napoleonic Wars in the East

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A STUDY of the Great European War (1914-1918) naturally produces a desire to find a parallel incident in History with as varied interest and as far-reaching results as the late war furnished. Even to a casual reader, one such parallel may be obtained in the great French Revolution and the consequent cataclysm which involved the whole civilized world of the day. Making allowances for the long space of time intervening between the two great episodes of human history as also for the rapid progress, constructive as well as destructive, that human skill and power of imagination have brought to bear upon the present-day civilization, the Revolutionary era produced results as complex and as difficult of solution as the late war. It seems that the social eruption of 1789 had more justification in its origin than the whirlpool of 1914 ushered in by national greed for territorial and colonial expansion, commercial and maritime rivalry, and military despotism. But the later developments of the Revolution of 1789 were as much destructive of peace and order, life and property, and productive of as much international chaos. Both the episodes called forth the utmost sacrifice, patriotism and determination of the several combatant parties engaged against one another. It is well known that in the Napoleonic Wars, England alone remained undefeated and unconquered, and in the end overthrew the grasping despotism of Napoleon. The heroism and sacrifice that England manifested on the occasion, the great national debt she incurred for keeping her head aloft more than 125 years ago, will ever remain bright in the pages of History and will not be dimmed by the brilliant achievements of 1914-18 effected in the full bloom of civilization and prosperity. The difficulty arising from the imperfect nature of communication in those days, though common to all parties, was more felt by the English people who had already established living interests in the different parts of the globe. Nor were those whom the call of Empire building

kept at a distance from the principal scenes of operation less mindful of the supreme need of their country, and they did their bit by preserving their country's interest at distant places under conditions more trying than they are to-day.

The part that India has played in the late war, the actual number or combatants that she furnished for the different theatres of the war, the equipment in gold and ammunition that she sent to help England, evoked praise and recognition even from the severest critics of India. But the almost unaided, yet successful, effort that the few servants of the East India Company and their Indian Sepoys made to maintain the British interest in India and in the East amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulties and complexities though but feebly recognized by History at this distance of time, is yet a fact the weight of which a grateful English posterity ought always to admit. During the years 1914-18 India spoke with one voice and 'bled herself white'. The energy of the Native States and of the Indian people together with their resources flowed into one channel and made for the achievement of one common object. To it may be compared the situation in 1798. Though Indian gold was undoubtedly a common factor a century and a quarter back as well, and though the loyalty and even the eager moral and material support of some section of the Indian people could always be counted upon, the British power in the country was as much threatened by a dreaded French invasion as it was by the hostile interests of the Native States of the country. The British power was yet to be established as the paramount authority in the country and it was indeed at the time in the throes of a perilous crisis, political and economical. In the south the enmity of Tipu Sultan was open and avowed. The power of the Nizam was hopelessly weak and a considerable body of French troops first under M. Raymond and later on under M. Perron had established French influence at the Court of Hyderabad. This body numbering 14,000 people seem to have concentrated under its control all the different French interests in the country for the benefit of France. Thus writes Lord Wellesley to the Rt. Hon'ble John Dundas on the matter¹—'The corps of Raymond in the Nizam's State consist of 14,000 men and though discipline is not of a very high order the numerical strength of the body is menacing.

¹ The letter of the Earl of Mornington to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, dated February 23, 1798—*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, pp. 4 and 5.

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The chief officers are French men of the most virulent and notorious principles of Jacobinism, and the whole corps constitutes an armed French party of great zeal, diligence and activity. No positive proof has yet appeared of a direct correspondence of this corps with the French Government, but it seems to be unquestionably certain that they communicate with Tipu Sultan and with the French troops in his service. The dangers to be apprehended from the existence of this corps are not to be estimated by a consideration of its actual state of discipline or even of its actual number, or degree of its present influence over the councils of the Nizam. I consider it as the basis of a French party in India, on which according to the opportunities of fortune and variation of events, the activity of the enemy may found a strength of the most formidable kind either in peace or war. If the war is to continue in Europe without extending to the continent of India in the first instance, the danger of French intrigue acting with such instrument as I have described would be greatly aggravated. But if the war should extend to the continent of India and if we should be under the necessity of calling forth the strength of our allies to assist us in any contest with Tipu, what assistance could we expect from the Nizam the main body of whose army would be officered by French men or by agents of France? However despicable the corps of Raymond may now be in point of discipline or effect in the field, would it be wise to leave such a large body of men in readiness to receive whatever improvement the ability, assiduity and zeal of French officers sent from Europe for that express purpose, might produce into the constitution of the corps so prepared by correspondent principles and objects to meet the most sanguine expectations of their new leaders? Under these circumstances, the corps which perhaps has now little efficiency other than that of a political party might soon become in the hands of our enemy as efficient a military force as it is now in that view wholly useless either to the Nizam or to us.' Thus the weakness of the good-natured Nizam and want of organization in his State made him an ally not only useless but for the time being a source of anxiety.

Equally perplexing was the state of affairs at Poona. The power of the Peshwa was reduced to a most deplorable condition owing to intrigues of all kinds being rampant at his Court. The Peshwa was smarting under the domination of Daulat Rao Scindhia. The

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Marhatta affairs slowly drifted into that condition which ultimately brought about the second Marhatta War and which taxed the company's resources simultaneously with the Napoleonic wars. There was also present a body of French soldiery at Poona apart from a considerable force under the Scindhia who had been pursuing an independent and ambitious course of policy in Central India. In the Court of the Scindhia the French had more than influence, they had a real power. Indeed this systematic introduction of French officers into the services of all native powers has been described by Mr. Wickam as the fixed policy of France, adopted with the view of establishing the most certain means for subverting the foundation of English power in India. Though the attitude of the Scindhia was shrouded in uncertainty, the company's Government could not count upon his support, rather his enmity might be expected. Anyhow he was to be humoured and flattered, for on him depended some hope of withstanding the other great difficulty of the English at the time viz. the invasion of Northern India especially of Oudh by Zemaun Shah¹ and his eventual co-operation with Tipu. For the moment this difficulty seemed impending, and if the support of the Scindhia could not be obtained, the English could only be on the defensive in the north for danger in the south was more pressing. It was thus the G. G. instructed Sir J. H. Craig the English officer stationed in Central India:—'The progress of the French arms in Egypt, our actual situation with Tipu and the doubtful posture of affairs at Poona must contract the means of our reinforcing the army under your command. We must therefore be satisfied in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach, with a system of operations strictly defensive. I have, however, no reason to doubt, that your army will very soon be augmented to the number of nearly 20,000.'² Again Lord Wellesley writes in his dispatch, 'The reports of Zemaun Shah's progress which hitherto have been vague and contradictory, have now become more uniform and consistent. Zemaun Shah is now advanced to Lahore and appears determined to prosecute his design of proceeding at least as far as Delhi.'

¹ Zemaun Shah—King of Cabool, son of Timoor Shah. He was the governor of Hīrat during the lifetime of his father. Later on he together with Agas Mahomed made a stand to stem the progress of the Russian forces in Central Asia.

² *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, under date October 27, 1798, p. 315.

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Nor did the complexities of the situation end there. The possession of the adjacent islands like Ceylon, Java, etc., by foreign powers pointed to the necessity of keeping a strict watch on them, and their occupation by the English may be considered as purely defensive steps for the preservation of the Company's interests in India. It is for this reason that the Governor-General puts the following in his minute: ¹ 'I am persuaded that the possession of Ceylon either in the hands of France or of her bond-slave Holland would enable the French interests to rise in India, within a very short period, to a degree of formidable strength never before possessed by them. The possession of Ceylon is universally held to be indispensable to the preservation of our power on the continent and of our commerce on the seas of India.' The Governor-General also dwells at length on the value of the Cape of Good Hope¹ as an English possession, as a frontier English depot against any foreign power. 'Its value,' writes Wellesley, 'as a naval outpost is still more important. Its possession by the enemy would furnish him easy means of pouring in troops upon the coast of Coromandel or Malabar. An enemy's squadron stationed at the Cape could not fail to intercept the greater part of our trade to and from the East without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force. The Indian trade and the Empire would be jeopardized with the Cape in possession of the enemy unless England would have another corresponding station on the southern continent of Africa. Moreover Ceylon without the Cape could not be long maintained in the English hand.' Equally great was the anxiety of the Company about the weak hold of the Portuguese on Goa which might furnish a foothold to an intending French army of invasion.²

It was, however, the strained relation with Tipu which required immediate solution. The Prince's conduct may appear justifiable from a view-point of his own notion of independence, but it could not but produce misgivings in the minds of the British Empire-builders in India, and they could not consider Tipu's movements in various

¹ Letter of the Marquess of Wellesley to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dudas. *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, pp. 33 and 34.

² Memoirs and correspondence of the Marquess of Wellesley, Edited by R. R. Pearce. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 2.

directions as anything different from French ambition in the country. James Mill regards the story of the growth of Tipu's power since the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) as an exaggeration and a myth.¹ He argues by saying that between 1792 and 1798 the English power in the country had grown beyond any doubt and that Tipu's negotiations with the French, if at all, and the ultimate results thereof were matters too insignificant to engage the serious attention of the Company's statesmen, and moreover the difficulties they had overcome in 1791 they would do, if necessary, with greater success in 1798. The force of these arguments lie very much in their humanitarian and charitable principles, but Empire-building depends more upon a cautious and far-sighted policy than on an enlightened policy of forbearance and toleration. The need of the time could not possibly make the English charitable.

Again Tipu had entered into an alliance with the English and hence his open overture to the French, though attended with little success, was an overt act of hostility. The landing of his emissaries in the Isle of France and the subsequent foolish proclamation of the Governor-General Malartic to the citizens of the Isle of France leave no doubt in the matter. Mill refuses to believe in the authenticity of the proclamation, for all interests pointed to the necessity of Tipu's negotiations with the French being kept strictly confidential. But it must not be forgotten that the French were determined to injure the English at any cost, and the parade of such a proclamation meant that the French intended to place before the world at large that they had secured the sympathy and co-operation of a great native power of India. Perusal of a part of the proclamation very much clears the situation.² 'Having for several years,' thus runs the proclamation, 'known your zeal and your attachment to the glory of the Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tipu Sultan through his ambassador whom he has despatched to us. This prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to all the generals employed under this Government and has addressed us a packet for the Executive

¹ Mill, *History of British India*, vol. vi, p. 85.

² Proclamation of General Malartic, translated from original French, *Despatches of the Marquess of Wellesley*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. 8 and 9.

Directory in France. He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French and proposes to maintain at his charge as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him. In a word he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English whom he ardently desires to expel from India.' Sometime after Tipu's power had been overthrown, the Governor of Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr. Jonathan Duncan, received a letter dated November 12, 1799, from Mr. Alexander Davidson to the following effect: ¹ 'I have the honour agreeably to my instructions from the Captain of His Majesty's ship the *Brave* to inform you of my arrival here in charge of the French Republican Corvette *La Surprise*, prize to the *Brave*. This corvette was proceeding from the Isle of France to Europe with General De Brie and two Mahammadan Ambassadors from the late Tipu Sultan to the French Republic. There is great reason to believe that there was and perhaps still may be presents to a considerable amount in charge of these Ambassadors for the French Directory.'

The Governor of Bombay wrote to His Excellency the Governor-General that the names of the Ambassadors were Bismillah and Abdur Rahim, and that they had with them the following presents according to their own declaration for the Directory: 5 Sirpeaches; 5 Jeeghas; 5 Necklaces and 5 Rings, but they said that they had destroyed them. On November 16, 1799, the Bombay Courier issued the following: 'The trinkets and Nuzzars to the Directory and their wives and the Khelauts were delivered up by Tipu's Ambassadors on Thursday the fourteenth instant and they landed on the same day.'

The above places beyond doubt Tipu's active propaganda for obtaining French co-operation and assistance, and though the help he derived from the Mauritius falsified all his calculations, he could not forego till the last the hope of considerable help from France. He received from the Isle of France a contingent of barely 150 men, the very scum of the population of the place, Negroes, assassins, old jail-birds, etc., who on their arrival at Seringapatam planted the tree of liberty there adorned by a tri-colour flag and fraternized with Tipu as citizen Tipu. Even the Wellesley despatch makes a very poor

¹ Extract of a letter from Lt. Alexander Davidson, Prize master of the *Corvette* to the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan Esqr.—Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 40 and 41.

estimate of the contingent thus raised : ¹ 'The Ambassadors aided and assisted in a levy of 100 officers and 50 privates for the service of Tipu. Few of the officers are of any experience or skill : and the privates are the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble of the Island.' Whatever the strength of the force might have been, Tipu Sultan's overt act of hostility, according to the known law of nations, remains unquestioned. Moreover the fact of his having sent Ambassadors to the Porte, to Cabul, to Persia, Egypt and France for enlisting support in every possible direction to oust the English from India was never seriously challenged.

The Company's interest in India became still more precarious owing to dramatic and almost electric developments in Egypt. A letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors despatched on June 18, 1789, to the Governor-General in Council apprised the latter of the sailing of the French armament from Toulon.² 'Although the ultimate object of this armament,' reads a part of the letter, 'has not been ascertained, it is not improbable, from many circumstances that have transpired, and from the spirit of the daring adventure by which the French have been actuated during the present war, that its destination may be for India either by way of Red Sea or by Bussora, Egypt being taken possession of on the way. His Majesty's Government have therefore ordered immediate reinforcement to be sent to East India and His Majesty's fleet, in case the French be not defeated in the Mediterranean, has been ordered to the Straits of Babelmandeb to intercept the French.' The letter also refers to Tipu's negotiations with the Governor of the Isle of France and warns the Company's servants to take note that the publication of the proclamation might have been a feint on the part of the French with a view to embroil the Company with Tipu. 'For,' proceeds the letter, 'our Empire in the East has ever been the object of jealousy to the French and the present French Government is likely to make an attempt of reducing our power in the Indian world. Such a venture without the assistance of one or other of the Indian powers seems almost impossible. Therefore Tipu appears to be the fittest instrument to be employed in the

¹ Wellesley Despatches, vol. i, p. 81.

² Extract of a letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated June 18, 1789, received in Bengal in September 1798, Despatches, vol. i, pp. 62 and 63.

furtherance of such ambitious projects. It would, therefore, be neither prudent nor politic to wait for actual hostilities on his part. We, therefore, recommend if steps have not already been taken, to adopt the necessary measures to bring Tipu to a satisfactory explanation. If his complicity with the said proclamation be considered conclusive, to take the most immediate and decisive measures to carry arms into the enemy's country. If it shall appear necessary military organizations amongst our civil servants and others in this country may be prepared to act on any emergency.' Whether India was the direct and immediate object of this enterprise it is difficult to conclude. Napoleon himself is almost silent on it. He cared for great names which, says he, could only be made in the East. Egypt itself was a position of great strategic importance. The country, as Napoleon always held, was the real point of correspondence between Europe and India—'the place where France ought to establish herself to ruin England.' 'From thence,' says M. Thiers ¹ 'could a command of the Mediterranean be ensured which was to be made into a French lake. Once established in Egypt, Napoleon would have in his power to do two things : either create a navy in the Red Sea and proceed to destroy the settlements of the English in the Great Indian Peninsula or make Egypt a colony and a magazine.' In any case the Indian trade could not fail soon to transfer itself to Egypt and desert the Cape of Good Hope. All the caravans of Syria, Arabia and Africa already crossed each other at Cairo ; thus whether Egypt were made a point of departure for the purpose of attacking the English settlements or whether it were made a mere magazine, it was certain to bring an enormous trade into its true channels and to make those channels lead to France.' It was this bright picture which fascinated the imagination of the Directory. Sorel in his *History of the French Revolution* lays special emphasis on the commercial aspect of the enterprise and on the fact how it would create a diversion which would decoy the English fleet from the European waters for the defence of their Eastern possessions.² England would thus be left more or less defenceless to fall an easy prey into the French hands. The following is the order of the Directory in the matter : 'The army of the East shall take possession of Egypt. The Commander-in-Chief shall chase

¹ M. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution*, p. 779.

² Sorel *L'Europe Et La Revolution Francaise*, part v, p. 339.

the English from all their possessions in the East which he could easily reach. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through : and he shall take all the steps necessary to assure the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea to the French Republic.¹

The Governor-General himself did not put much faith on the immediate approach of the French by way of Egypt. He writes on August 29, 1798 to Rear-Admiral Rainer,² 'I wish to call your particular attention to the preparations the French were making in the Mediterranean for fitting out a considerable naval force for the embarkation of troops. Various accounts are given of its destination; the strange report of its being destined for the conquest of Egypt, and after the success of that wild adventure, for the more extravagant project of conveying aid by Suez to Tipu Sultan; and this is not likely of producing much impression upon a person of your Excellency's experience. But some of my letters state an opinion to which I am much inclined to give credit, that at least a part of this force is probably destined for an expedition to India by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. A variety of circumstances combine to render it probable that the French army may attempt to send a force for the joint objects of reducing the Mauritius and of aiding Tipu Sultan. With these sentiments I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to direct your most serious attention to the coast of Malabar and as soon as you shall deem it expedient to detach any part of your squadron to that quarter.' The *Calcutta Gazette*, dated August 23, laid before the public a translated extract from the *Journal de Frankfort* relating to the extraordinary project of the French proceeding to India through Egypt.³ The Gazette commented on it in the following words:—

'It may be scarcely necessary to say that we place no faith in the account, or that we may give it the same credit that we allowed to the rafts a mile long, yet upon so singular an enterprise it is satisfactory to collect all the information that has appeared. A further article on the subject from *Courier Du Bas Rhin* of April 14, the

¹ Proceedings of the Directory quoted by M. Thiers.

² The Earl of Mornington to His Excellency Rear Admiral Rainier, Fort William, December 13, 1798. *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, p. 398.

³ *Calcutta Gazette*. Editorial Comments, Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 202 and 205.

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latest continental Gazette that reached India reads as follows: 'It is only in the absolute ruin of its absolute power that we can crush this superb rival; as long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal what foreign power can be insensible to the seducing influence of wealth? What means is there to prevent the rupees of Orissa purchasing the perfidy of kings, and subsidizing their hungry battalions? It is by uniting our efforts in concert and striking at the very root of the source of their riches. Europe and Asia must resound in the same blows, India must be subjugated by crossing the waves of the Red Sea and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repairing in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe.'

Like the German press during the late war which spread stories of English atrocities in India to discredit the English in the country and to rouse discontent, if possible, among the Indians themselves, the French also during the Napoleonic wars did not hesitate to describe at length the misfortune of India under British rule. There is unmistakable proof of the fact that the French in their designs in India had built some of their hope on the great aid which they might have expected from British subjects. It was with this expressed object that general De Caen with a military staff was sent to Pondicherry. In this connection an extract from the proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred may be read here with interest: 'In oppressed India not a step can be taken without discovering the train of English guilt. In that fair country favoured of heaven, but desolated by man, the English gave a few years ago a dreadful example how far despotism may go when joined with inhumanity and avarice. Debasement of coinage for the furtherance of the English trade was only one of the indirect blows which killed the native enterprise of the time. . . . A short time afterwards, Bengal was visited by a horrible drought. Rice grew only in some parts and then in a small quantity; of this the English took possession; they monopolized with avidity whatever provision was to be found and held it in reserve for themselves and their sepoys. Thus secured they disdained to attend to a numerous people who were threatened with the approach of famine. It came accompanied by despair, and followed by the most fearful of deaths. For many days the Indians, consumed by hunger, but still meek and suppliant, were seen wandering like plaintive ghosts around these fortresses where

their tyrants revelled in abundance. A vast silence soon reigned throughout, and public ways and places were covered with dead bodies, and the rivers rolled them by thousands to the astonished seas. Three millions of men perished; and their wretched remains, abandoned without interest, so corrupted the atmosphere as to create a pestilence which had nearly destroyed the unfortunate nation.'¹—(Extract from the writings of the Abbe Raynal). With the above may also be read an extract from the *Berlin Telegraph* which described the Earl of Moira as being descended from the House of Plantaganet, and that he, having had blood of royalty in his veins, would assert independence in India and commence a new line of English kings. Lavish praises are bestowed on him and 'the lofty merits, he possesses,' concludes the letter, 'entitles him to independence and royalty.'

Thus it will be seen that the company's attention was not only directed towards the preservation of their trade and power in the country, but mainly towards the growing power of Tipu, the French intrigue in the country and the menacing nature of the French enterprise in Egypt. However visionary the Egyptian expedition might have been regarded in this country at the outset, its real significance could not have long remained unseen. Not only in Europe but in India as well vast preparations were being set on foot to baffle the enemy. The energy and the coffers of the company were taxed to their utmost limit to meet the magnitude of the danger. The French contingent in the Nizam State must be disbanded and made absolutely harmless. The Governor-General's tactics in completely disarming them without any bloodshed and bringing the entire military organization of the Nizam State under the Company's supervision has been recognized by historians as statesmanship of a very high order. Complete and elaborate arrangements were to be effected to take the offensive against Tipu who is said to have received at this time a letter from Napoleon written from Cairo. The letter reads thus:—'You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your

¹ *Calcutta Gazette*, Editorial comments, Selections from the *Calcutta Gazettes*, vol. III, pp. 202 and 205.

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political situation. I could wish you would send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo possessing your confidence with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies,' etc.—Sd. Bonaparte.

Tipu was no longer to be allowed to go unpunished for his intrigues with the French. The difficulties which had thickened round Lord Cornwallis in 1791 demanded for some time the special attention of the Governor-General. We need not enter here into a study of the last Mysore War which called forth on both sides generalship, sacrifice and patriotism of a very high order. The company was not to remain content with the reduction of the power of Tipu alone; it must exert itself to render every possible relief to the Home Government and make all preparation for the eventuality of a French invasion of India. The *Calcutta Gazette* dated November 21, 1798, notified the general approbation of the Governor-General on the raising of volunteer corps from amongst the European, Portuguese and Armenian residents of Calcutta. It was so honorable to the character of the settlement and so conformable to that spirit which secured the British Empire in Europe against the combined efforts of all its enemies. The Rt. Hon'ble Henry Dundas had sent instructions to the Governor-General for the working out of such organizations in India.¹ 'If it be true,' thus wrote the President of the Secret Committee, 'that a successful invasion of England would prove fatal to us, it is still more peculiarly true to His Majesty's subjects settled in India. A successful attack upon our possessions in India and the overthrow of the British interests there would be a death's wound to every prospect which the Company can entertain. Why then are not they, so far as is consistent with their avocations and duties, learning to devote some leisure hours in each week, in order to learn the use of arms and to form themselves into corps, under the authority of the Government, for the purpose of your adding to your European strength in India and preparing themselves, in case of the last extremity to sacrifice their lives in defence of those interests upon which everything essential in life must depend? This is an advantage which, in the day of difficulty, no other nation but ourselves have the means of resorting to.'

¹ *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, p. 65.

Thus 125 years back volunteer corps and defence of the realm forces were raised in the same way as during the eventful years of 1914-1918. An expeditionary force was as well sent to Egypt to co-operate with the Turkish and English interests in that country against the French.¹ News reached this country from London to the following effect: 'The Turks were infinitely surprised at the appearance of the Sepoys in Egypt, more particularly when they saw them lay aside their shoes and enter their Mosques, in performance of the same religion. When they found an army of the Muhammedans descending the Nile they thought their Prophet was working a miracle in their favour.' The *Bombay Courier*, May 1, 1802, makes mention of the return of the officers who had left to join the army in Egypt. It remarks that their reception by the Arabs in general and the chief in particular was in the highest degree hospitable and the latter professed himself warmly and sincerely attached to the English character. In the same way the *Calcutta Gazette* reports the arrival in the Hugly of a commerce transport, having on board a detachment of the Bengal Artillery lately serving in Egypt. His Excellency the Governor-General entertained at breakfast General Baird and the officers of the army returned from Egypt. It is thus significant that the spirit which fired the imagination of the Canadian, the Australian and the South African in the late war was also present among the servants of the company more than a century back, although the expedition to Egypt may be regarded as only a defensive measure. The part that the Indians played in the drama must not also be lost sight of, for apart from the question of a few serving in the army, their general loyalty and solicitude for British success much facilitated the Company's work at the crisis.

The voluntary subscriptions that the European residents of the country raised to help their mother country speak again of the same healthy spirit. A public meeting of the British residents in Calcutta was held on July 19, 1798, under the Chairmanship of the Sheriff

¹ The Egyptian Expedition sent under Major-General Baird. It contained altogether 3759 Europeans and 4127 Indians. Of the Indians Bengal contributed in Horse Artillery and Volunteers 815 men, Madras nearly 300 and Bombay 1756 besides Engineers, Pioneer Corps and public and private followers—*Memoirs of Wellesley*, Edited by R. R. Pearce, p. 26 and Appendix No. 1. pp. 445 and 446.

and passed two resolutions, viz.: 'We shall be at all times ready with our lives and fortunes to support His Majesty's Government against all his enemies and further to assure His Majesty of our utter abhorrence of those principles which the tyrannical rulers of France have so fatally laboured to introduce in their own unhappy country. Further resolved that books be opened for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of all such persons as shall be desirous of entering into voluntary contributions for the support of His Majesty's Government in Europe and that the amount thereof be remitted to Europe.' A total sum of £130,785 was raised from Calcutta alone. The principal contributors were Sir R. Chambers, Mr. J. Hare, Mr. W. A. Brooke, Sir J. Craig, Major G. R. Smart, each subscribed £1,000, Sir Charles Cockerell, Mr. S. Speke, Mr. W. Cowper, Mr. Stephen Bayard, £1,000 each annually during the war. Corps of Engineers, £1,250 annually, Lt.-General Sir A. Clark and the Governor-General £2,000 and £3,000 respectively annually during the war. Subscriptions of £500 and upwards were very numerous from Indians as well as Europeans. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay exhibited a similar spirit of noble and patriotic feeling. It is worthy of note that even the poorly paid soldiery stationed in India contributed their quota. Thus His Majesty's Seventy-sixth Regiment stationed at Dinapur donated one month's pay: non-commissioned officers and privates two weeks' pay: the officers of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Dragoons stationed at Cawnpur offered one month's pay: the Seventy-fourth Regiment at Wallajahbad voted one month's pay for the defence of Great Britain. It is highly interesting to note that the leading Indian citizens of Calcutta headed by Gour Churn Mullick, Nemoy Churn Mullick, Ram Kissen Mullick, Gopy Mohon Tagore, Kaly Churn Haldar, Rasik Lal Datta, Gokul Churn Datta and others convened a meeting in imitation of the English citizens of Calcutta and resolved: 'As we take a sincere interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the British Empire, and as we can in no other manner show our attachment to that nation under whose protection we live than by contributing aid to the public service, that books of subscription be opened to receive the voluntary contributions of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and that the sum subscribed be applied in the same manner and under the same

¹ Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 190-199 also p. 34.

restrictions as the subscription of the Europeans are appropriated.¹ The Governor-General was pleased to write Home that the plan for the raising of subscription from Indian gentlemen originated in their own spontaneous solicitude for the safety of the British Empire and was not suggested by any interference of the Company's servants.

All possible measures for maintaining the internal security of the Company's possession in India were duly undertaken. Though there was no 'Defence of the Realm Act' all precautions were adopted to segregate and intern enemy subjects and suspected aliens. A police notification of the time may here be read with interest: 'All Frenchmen and other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in Calcutta or its vicinity, who have not already reported, are hereby directed to attend in person and deliver in their names, etc., at the Police office without delay. Persons entertaining foreigners of this description in their service are required to report the same and to give notice when such persons quit or are dismissed from their service. No Frenchmen or other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in the town, will be allowed on no account to leave or to pass the limits of Calcutta without the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council for which application is to be made through the Magistrates at the Police office. All Frenchmen and other foreigners of the above description coming from any of the foreign settlement to Calcutta are required to produce at this office a written permission of their being absent from such settlement; and are hereby informed that, in the event of their entering the town without such permission, they will be immediately taken to custody.'

The defeat and death of Tipu, the subsequent occupation of Mysore by the British troops, the Battle of the Nile and the subsequent dissipation of Napoleon's power in the East relieved the Company of much of its anxiety, and as well reduced the pressure upon her trade and on her resources in men and money. With the storming of Seringapatam a garrison order, Fort St. George, dated June 3, 1799, informed the public of the reception of the standard of

¹ Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 208. A sum one lakh and sixty thousand rupees was raised.

² Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 5. Police Notification, May 19, 1800. (Sd.) John Miller, First Clerk.

Tipu Sultan on May 4, 1799.¹ The colours of the French Republic were also taken on the same day from the French corps in the service of that prince. A breath of relief pervaded all throughout the Company's possessions in the East on the destruction of the dangerous power of Tipu. 'The glorious victory of the Nile,' however, produced a greater sense of security. It seemed as if a horrible nightmare which was choking the very breath of the English in the East was gone. In just gratitude the Company's servants in Bengal subscribed a sum of £1,074-10-0 to the fund raised for the benefit of the sufferers in Lord Nelson's victory. At a court of the Directors held on Wednesday, April 24, 1799, the following was unanimously passed, 'Resolved that the thanks of the court be given to Rt. Hon'ble Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the very great important services he has rendered to the East India Company by the ever memorable victory obtained over the French fleet, near the mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd August, 1798. Further resolved that in testimony of the high sense this court entertain of the very great and important benefit arising to the East India Company from his Lordship's magnanimous conduct on that glorious occasion, that this court request his Lordship's acceptance of a sum of £10,000.' Lord Nelson's reply to the above flattered the just vanity of the Directors.² 'I was this day honoured with your letter of May 3rd conveying to me the resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company. It is true, Sir, that I am incapable of finding words to convey my feeling for the unprecedented honour done me by the Company. Having in my younger days served in the East Indies, I am no stranger to the munificence of the Hon'ble Company, but this generous act of theirs to me so much surpasses all calculation of gratitude, that I have only the power of saying that I receive it with all respect. Give me leave, Sir, to thank you for your elegant and flattering letter, and that I am with the greatest respect your most obliged and obedient servant, (Sd.) Nelson,' addressed to Sir Stephen Lushinton, B.A., Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Directors further entertained Lord Nelson at the London Tavern in a great banquet on the occasion of his victory. In return for the toast proposed, Lord Nelson referred

¹ Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 237.

² Nelson's Letter:—Preserved in *facsimile* in the Relics of the Hon'ble East India Company by William Griggs, p. 33.

among other things to the death of an inveterate foe and the establishment of peace in India and the consequent frustration of the object of the arch enemy, the French. In India, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General fixing February 6, 1800, as a date of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy deliverance of His Majesty's dominions in Europe from the destructive designs of the enemy . . . as well as for the prosperous issue of the late 'just and necessary war' in Mysore.

Hereafter the Company entered into a period of comparative peace and security. Their undivided attention could now be devoted to the cause of their trade and to the taking up of those offensive measures in the important strategic stations in the Indian Ocean so that they might not be turned into profitable bases of operation by the French. In 1797 expeditions were planned to be sent to Ceylon, Malacca, the French settlement of the Mauritius and the Spanish possessions of Manilla.¹ Though the latter undertakings had to be given up for the time being, the first expedition ended in the eventual occupation of Ceylon. It is a mistake to think that the French were so pre-occupied in the continent of Europe that they had neither time nor enough resources to turn their serious attention to the East, and that the British interest in general and the Company's trade in particular went on unhampered after the destruction of Tipu's power and the collapse of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. A casual notice may here be taken of the enormous losses on the Eastern seas sustained by the English at the hands of the French naval power stationed in Asiatic waters. A *Calcutta Gazette* extraordinary dated October 27, 1799, announced that the undermentioned persons were made prisoners of war by the French and that they had been exchanged: Robert Ferguson, officer of the *Endeavour* taken off the Isle of France, Benjamin Brown, Commander of the *Greenwich* taken off Batavia, J. H. Lawrence, Commander of the *Brisk* taken off Batavia: Robert Sadler, officer, the *Princess of Wales*. The captivity of the officers also signified the loss of a good percentage of the ships they served. The *Madras Gazette*, September 13, 1800, notified the seizure of the Company's ship *Armenia* by the French privateer *Clarisse* off Madagascar. An extract from the minutes of the Bombay

¹ *Memoir's of Wellesley*, R. R. Pearce, vol. II, p. 115.

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Council, December 20, 1800, reads as follows: 'The Governor in Council sincerely regret the loss of so valuable an officer as Captain Hall who fell in the late action of the Cruiser *Intrepid* with an enemy's privateer in the Gulf of Persia.' On October 16, 1800, news were received in Calcutta of the capture of the Honourable Company's ship *Kent* by *La Confiance*, French privateer. In March 1802 the ship *Highland Chief* was captured by the French *Brig Substitute*. Late in 1803 the Company's freighted ship *Athea* was captured by two French frigates in the Bay of Bengal. The *Bengal Hurkura*, December 3, 1804, notified the capture of the ship by the French privateer *Caroline*. On January 31, 1805, Captain Barbour late of the *Pigeon*, writes to say that his ship was taken off Vizagapatam by the French frigate *La Psyche*. On February 7, 1805, Captain Waters notified the capture of his ship by *La Psyche*. Six days after the *Psyche* captured the *Thetis*. On December 12, 1805, the Calcutta Council made an estimate of the losses in shipping sustained within a short period of a little above a week preceding that date as amounting to eleven lacs of rupees. The principal ships of merchandise lost were the *Melville*, the *Waldegrave*, the *Commerce* and the *Phoenix*, and the Council remarked that the total loss to the mercantile community was of a very serious nature. On July 3, 1809, the Company's ship *Ceylon*, *Windham* and *Astella* maintained an unequal and losing fight with a superior enemy force and effected a clever escape. The *Calcutta Gazette* dated October 18, 1810, announced a decisive naval engagement in the harbour of Port South East, Mauritius. The enemy's frigates *Bellome*, *Minerva*, *Victor*, *Venus*, *La Manche* and *La Astre* were engaged by His Majesty's ships *Sirius*, *Iphigenia*, *Nereide* and *Magicienne*. The *Sirius* and *Magicienne* being mud bound were ordered to be destroyed. The *Nereide* was left a perfect wreck and later on taken possession of by the French. It was an unqualified English defeat. On July 9, 1814, news reached Calcutta through the *Dolphin* arriving from Penang of the capture by the French of the ships *Bertsey*, *Mary* and of the *Brig Favourite*, all from Bengal. Even to an indifferent reader this partial list would give an idea of the enormous shipping losses sustained in the Eastern waters, as also of the great insecurity prevailing all around.

It must not, however, be concluded from the above list that the

Company and the English were alone the sufferers on land and sea. The French undoubtedly suffered heavier losses. Their possessions in India, Pondicherry and Chundernagore were early captured and the French inhabitants of the places taken as prisoners of war. Reference has already been made to the capture of the French Republican Corvette *La Surprise* which intended to despatch Tipu's ambassadors to France. On April 2, 1800, the public curiosity in Calcutta was gratified by the appearance in the Hughli of the long-expected *La Forte*, prize to His Majesty's ship *Sybill*. A Fort William notification dated November 26, 1800, announced the capture of the French privateer *L'Adele* by His Majesty's *Brig Albatross*. On December 4, 1800, His Majesty's ship defeated and captured the French ship *Malartic* which had previously captured two English vessels the *Mermaid* and the *Rebecca*. With the renewal of the War of the Third Coalition and almost contemporaneously with the battle of Trafalgar, notification of the capture of the French ships *L'Eugene* and *L'Hirondelle* in the Eastern Seas was served. The *Calcutta Gazette*, January 8 and February 14, 1804, notified the capture of the French Privateer *L'Espiegle* off Cochin and of the Privateers *Les Freres*, *Unis* and *DeCaen* in the Bay of Bengal. The *Bombay Courier* extraordinary, dated November 11, 1804, announced the remarkable achievement of His Majesty's ship *Concorde* which made a simultaneous capture of *La Fortune* and *Le Meme*. A proceeding of the Directors of the East India Company dated August 16, 1805, expressed gratitude and voted liberal rewards to the members of His Majesty's ships, stationed in the Chinese Sea for beating off the French squadron under admiral Le Nois in that sea. A message from the Cape of Good Hope dated January 28, 1806, signed Major-General D. Baird, announced the conquest of the Cape by the joint effort of an expeditionary force from India and the British naval squadron in the Indian Ocean.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, 1808, notified that in consequence of intelligence having been received by the Company's Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, a detachment of troops from the garrison of Fort William under Lt.-Col. Carey took possession of the Danish settlement of Serampore at six o'clock, January 28. The Danish ships in the river Hughli were also on the same day taken possession of. A letter

NAPOLEONIC WARS IN THE EAST

dated Amboyna, March 6, 1810, conveyed the intelligence of the surrender of Amboyna with a garrison of 1500 Javanese and several guns to a detachment of the Madras artillery and European regiment in conjunction with 300 seamen and marines from His Majesty's ships. On August 26, 1810, His Majesty's forces aided by a regiment sent by Lord Minto commenced a brilliant and successful operation in Java. The enemy's camp was easily stormed and captured by the irresistible gallantry of the British forces. The whole of Java submitted to the English. An order in Council dated January 1811 reads as follows: 'The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has the satisfaction to announce to the public the intelligence of the surrender of the Isle of France to the arms of His Majesty and the Company on December 3, 1810. Ordered that a royal salute be immediately fired from the ramparts of the Fort William.'

The next place to fall in order of time into the hands of the English was the island of Bourbon. On August 23, 1810, the *Calcutta Mirror* had the following in its issue of that date: 'It is with much satisfaction that we are enabled to gratify the curiosity of our readers with many interesting particulars of the operation terminating in the surrender of Bourbon to the British arms. . . . At the end a flag of truce was sent by the enemy from St. Denis to treat for the surrender of the island.' Officers, mostly from Calcutta, were then appointed for the Government of the island. A *Bombay Gazette* extraordinary, 1811, reports of a naval action off the coast of Mauritius in which the English ships *Astrea*, *Phoebic*, *Galatea* and the *Brig Race Horse* engaged the French *Renomme*, the *Nereide* and the *Cholorine*. The latter were worsted with considerable losses and the British scored a great victory. Again, here, it will be seen what a considerable strength the French commanded in the Eastern seas, what strategic maritime stations they came to possess in their eventful career and what tremendous exertions His Majesty's forces and the Company had to resort to in thoroughly subduing them and in making them absolutely powerless.

In the midst of these constant engagements and pre-occupations, the English in the East did not lose sight of the jovial side of human nature and neglect the ordinary and formal amenities of life especially those connected with war. The Truce of Amiens was a matter of universal rejoicing throughout India and Ceylon. It was

also the occasion of a most splendid entertainment given to about 800 ladies and gentlemen at the New Government House, Calcutta.¹ Several distinguished Indian gentlemen were also present as guests. The ramparts of the Fort William, the shipping in the river and all the principal buildings facing the Esplanade were brilliantly illuminated. An extensive illumination was exhibited in the environs of the New Government House whereas the maidan was all resplendent with a magnificent show of fire-works. On February 3, 1809, the Governor-General in Council was pleased to order the firing of a Royal Salute from the ramparts of the Fort William and *feu de joie* at sunset by the troops in garrison in honour of the great victories of the allies in Spain. On July 30, 1814, a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry were ordered in honour of the splendid success of the allies. A public thanks giving was arranged for April 13, 1815, in honour of the great victory and for the peace so necessary for the good of mankind.² In the Government House a most magnificent entertainment was given to about 700 ladies and gentlemen in honour of the general peace. The most attractive illumination and display of fireworks on the occasion were exhibited at the mansion house of His Highness—Nawab Delwarjung at Chitpore. Peace and contentment soon prevailed all around and in the midst of the general prosperity and uniform success that marked the progress of the English in the East, henceforth, the losses sustained in the great undertaking against Napoleon were forgotten. At the same time a just feeling of pride surged in the bosom of those who had so eagerly responded to the call of patriotism and sacrifice. The brunt of the whole affair undoubtedly fell on the East India Company, and the paper may be closed here with a quotation from E. P. Robinson (the *Trade of the East India Company from 1709-1813*) whose thorough appreciation of the Company's work for the British Empire deserves mention.³ 'Throughout the century there are repeated offers of men and ships fully equipped at the Company's expense. Not content with fighting unaided its country's battles in India, the Company wished to have a share in the victories which England

¹ A lively description of the celebration is preserved in the *memoirs of Wellesley*, R. R. Pearce, vol. ii, pp. 273-282.

² Selection from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iv, p. 364.

³ Robinson, *the trade of the East India Company*, p. 147.

secured in all parts of the world. If ever British troops landed in India to fight the battle not of the Company but of the nation, the Company always paid and supported them from the time of debarkation. The Company voluntarily provided 10,000 tons of shipping to the Government for six months in 1803 and considered that its interests were so closely connected with the growth of British influence that it presented Lord Nelson with a large sum of money as an expression of gratitude for the victory of the Nile. The bitter attacks with which its actions are frequently assailed, the accusations of corruption and of selfish motive, lose much of their force when it is remembered how great a proportion of England's triumph in the eighteenth century should be attributed to the self-denying patriotism of this mighty corporation.'

Reviews

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS, AND THE ŚANGAM AGE

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

[Published by the University of Madras, 1925.]

STUDENTS of South Indian History are aware that the question of the age of the Tamil Śangam has been for some years engaging the attention of scholars and that though no final solution could be said to have been reached, dates ranging from second to eighth century A.C., have been proposed by them from several standpoints. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan's main object in the above monograph is to approach this problem from a new point of view, namely, the invasions of North India by South Indian monarchs. He takes his stand primarily on Karikālan's and Śenguttuvan's invasions of the trans-Gangetic regions detailed in *Śilappadhikāram* and enquires when they would have been possible. He thinks that these incursions could not have taken place during the heyday of North Indian supremacy such as the age of the Great Mauryas (B.C. 225 to 230) or during the time of Pushyamitra Sunga (B.C. 184-148) or again of the imperial Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C., and so eliminates them. He concludes after a cursory review of North Indian History that the invasions would have been possible only in one of the three weak periods of Northern India. (1) B.C. 208-184 during the time of the successors of Asoka, (2) B.C. 148 to A.C. 1, i.e., after the death of Pushyamitra and (3) the third century A.C.

In the first place, the dates above suggested are themselves spread over so many centuries that we can hardly consider them very 'helpful in a search for the valid solution of the Śangam Age;' secondly, though he has proposed these dates, as he has not investigated them in detail, he writes in several places as though he himself does not, seriously believe in them. Regarding the first period, B.C. 208 to 184, he says, 'The history of the period is so unsettled that we do not know if the invasions were possible,' (p. 56). As regards the second

period, B.C. 148 to A.C. 1, he says, 'A dynasty so powerful as this one (the Sātavāhanas) was, would not easily have consented to allow a Tamil king to go north on a mission of conquest' (p. 50). *Re* the third century A.C., he himself admits that 'it is so obscure that no valid conclusions can be drawn' (p. 57), and 'to place the Śangam here is simply to thrust an inconvenient problem out of the way without finding a solution for it.' (p. 53).

The fact is that though the author started with a new and fruitful line of enquiry he has simply played with it instead of pursuing it in right earnest. The real attempt must have been to investigate all these periods in detail from the standpoint of the political condition of Northern India and examine the history of the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in their relation to northern and southern powers as well. But instead of doing this he runs after the Will O' the Wisp of a Maukhari.

In one of the stanzas of the *Kaṭṭaṭṭupparani* relating to Karikālan a certain Mukhari is said to have been punished with the loss of an eye when he did not follow the example of other feudatories in personally working at the embankment of the Kaveri. Mr. T. G. Aravamudhan says that 'No king of the name of Mukhari being known to have ruled in South India, we are forced to cast our eyes farther afield who that Mukhari could have been' (p. 4). He therefore identifies this Mukhari with an imaginary North Indian Maukhari king of Magadha during this period. But on page 72, he himself draws our attention to the existence, on the banks of the River Ponni itself, of a chief of Mukhari (Kaṇakkadhikāram) and a certain Mukhari-nāḍālvān mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ceylon. It is thus more natural and appropriate to take it that the Mukhari referred to in the *Kaṭṭaṭṭupparani* to be a southerner—preferably a dweller on the banks of the Ponni or the Kaveri. After all, as he says, the identification of Mukhari with Maukhari 'is not an integral part of the age of the Śangam' and it is therefore all the more surprising that he should have dealt with the question at such inordinate length. Much more irrelevant, however interesting, is his excursus into the early history of the Kaveri.

On the whole, there is a large amount of clever writing, curious learning and ingenious reasoning which however cannot compensate for the fundamentally weak investigation of the central theme.

A. V. V.

HISTORY OF BURMA

BY

G. E. HARVEY

[From the earliest times to March 10, 1824, the beginning of the English Conquest.
Longmans, Green & Co.]

ALL those who have worked at the history of Burma would easily realize the great difficulty in bringing out a scientific history of this country. There are many dark spaces to be filled which involves the patient ransacking, not only of a great deal of Burmese material but also the thorough examination of large numbers of Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch records as well as several English state papers and documents. It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration to state that Mr. Harvey's book on Burma is a great achievement.

Hitherto the chief authority on Burmese History based on original sources has been the work of Sir Arthur Phayre published nearly half a century ago which was accurate and to a considerable degree impartial. The chief defects of this work are that it is based on much more scanty material and that it is uncritical. Again Phayre's work is not up to date and a great deal of material not available to him such as those of inscriptions and Chinese sources, have been brought to light in recent times thanks to the labours of the Archaeological Survey. Mr. Scott in his 'Burma from the Earliest times to the Present Day' has attempted a popular account of Burmese history from the earliest times. This cannot compare with Mr. Harvey's work being more or less a light work. Harvey's book is that of a mature scholar endowed with much industry and necessary sympathy for the Burmese people. The long notes in the appendices show wide research and the text itself is thoroughly referenced and documented.

In a little more than three hundred pages, Mr. Harvey has attempted the difficult task of writing the history of Burma tracing it from its beginning through the dynasty of the temple builders (1044-1287), the Shan dominion, the Taungoo dynasty and the Alaungpaya dynasty. It has been usually supposed that there is very little of historical material in Burma itself. Mr. Harvey's book, however, shows that the native material is fairly abundant. The inscriptions, although scarce between the fifth and the tenth centuries, are available for the following

period. The Glass Palace Chronicle, for instance, which has been largely drawn upon by Mr. Harvey provides delightful reading and shows what remarkable capacity the Burmese have for making their historical records readable. As Sir R. C. Temple has observed in the detailed preface to this book, the capacity of the Burmese 'for relating a story well is remarkable and makes their historical records enticing reading.'

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the details of the work. It is true that some portions of the work such as the account of Arakan and the Shan States is rather meagre. The discovery of fresh Epigraphical records such as those noticed in the latest report of Burmese Archaeology may lead to the writing of a larger account of this part of the book. As Mr. Harvey himself says perhaps some better equipped writer will tell this story and portray the life of which only glimpses are obtainable now.

The get up of the book is excellent and the illustrations add considerably to the value of the work. In addition to the genealogical tables of the dynasties (pp. 364-67) a very comprehensive bibliography is furnished which should be of immense use to all interested in the study of the subject.

R. G.

A HISTORY OF INDIA, PART II—THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

BY

H. L. O. GARRET AND SITARAM KOHLI.

[*A History of India*, Part III, L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., Price Rs 3.]

It would be remembered that this series was projected more than twelve years ago with the object of setting out the main outlines of Indian History in a manner suited to the requirements of the students of the Intermediate Examination. The first part comprising the history of the Pre-Mussalman period was written by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar as early as 1914 and for some reasons which are unknown, the subsequent parts had been locked up until their publication early this year by Messrs. Garrett & Kohli and Rushbrook

Williams respectively. During this interval several attempts have been made to bring out short accounts of the whole period so as to meet the requirements of the College Students, the most important of these being the work of the late Mr. Smith entitled *College History of India*. Another attempt was made by Mr. E. B. Havell to cover the same ground in his *A Short History of India*.

The writers of the second part Messrs. Garret and Kohli follow the plan of Mr. Smith, and have carried the period from the rise of the Muslim power to its downfall in 1761 when even the semblance of Moghal control terminated. They divide the subject into four books of rather unequal length which deal respectively with the period of Muhammadan invasions. The Sultanate at Delhi, the Bahmani kingdom, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and the Moghal Empire. The subject is treated in a masterly manner and the results of the latest researches of scholars are incorporated. The reference to the authorities are given at the foot-notes and include the results of recent research. The only defect of this portion seems to be the inadequate space given to treatment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and its significance in South Indian culture. A prominent omission among the authorities of this period is to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. The chronological chart and the illustrations are thoroughly good and inviting. The only error that we have detected in the work so far, occurs on page 316 (line 13).

In Part III, Prof. Rushbrook Williams, till recently Director of Information to the Government of India, continues the narrative of the British period in three books entitled respectively (1) Sea-Power, (2) British Supremacy in India, (3) The Growth of Modern India. Prof. Rushbrook Williams writes in a fascinating style and presents the subject matter in an orderly manner with profuse quotations from contemporary records. The subject is treated with considerable sympathy and insight which are not usually to be met with in ordinary text-books. The final book which narrates the Growth of Modern India and especially the concluding chapter entitled, 'India in the Twentieth Century' are particularly interesting. Another feature of this work is that the authorities are given at the end of each chapter instead of at the end of the work as in the case of Part I. One of these authorities is, viz. Mrs. Besant's Book, *How India Wrought for Freedom* figures as *How India Fought for Freedom?* The portion on nation

builders (p. 301) should have been more elaborately treated. In other respects, the get up of the book and the illustrations are very good. The work is eminently suitable for use in the college classes and the general public. In the light of recent researches, however, we may suggest the first part of the series by K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar has to be rewritten incorporating the latest views and discoveries such as those for example of the Punjab and Sind valley.

R. G.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY

B. K. THAKORE, I.E.S. (RETIRED)

[Revised edition, 1926—Bombay, D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co.—1926—pp. xiv, 495 and xxvii.]

THIS revised edition of Professor Thakore's book is welcome, since it gives an account of the working of Dyarchy in what is called its first phase. The second *triennium* of Dyarchy has also something to its credit, according to our author, if it should have really taught the country once and for all, 'the futility of idealogue intransigency' and shown that not root-and-branch non-co-operation but responsive co-operation is the right policy to pursue in working the Reforms. The Muddiman Reforms Inquiry Committee has very fully illustrated the features of the Dyarchical system so far as it had then gone. Of course we cannot agree that there has been a complete failure, both of the Central and Provincial Legislatures in organizing themselves into stable political parties; certainly there has been some work done even by our parties. The Central Legislature is still a subordinate partner along with the irresponsible executive; while in the provinces 'the ministers are more like Government officials and administrators and not yet tribunes of the people.'

Mr. Thakore treats of special problems, like the Native States, communalism which has put forth two very ugly manifestations, communal riots and communal greed for jobs, and the Indianization of the Army which will be the prime requisite of a self-governing

India. As regards the final shape that the developed Indian Constitution may take, whether the type will be unitary or federal, he would deprecate the fissiparous tendencies growing and diminishing the strength of the central institutions, and likewise would he be for the retention of the larger Native States as separate governments under hereditary constitutional monarchy, in perpetual subordinate alliance with British India, rather than they should be included in a federal system. In this edition each chapter is enriched with a bibliography and fairly elaborate notes, though the use of smaller type has not been an unmixed advantage.

C. S. S.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL 1769-1787

BY

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, I.E.S.

[The Oxford University Press, 1926. pp. v and 205.]

THE period 1765-1773 marked in the matter of revenue collection by the substitution of an untrained and foreign (English) agency for a skilled, though corrupt, native agency, was followed by an attempt at centralization in a Controlling Committee of Revenue at Calcutta with six Provincial Councils and a body of native *amils*; but the result proved financially to be no better, the fault being not so much with the administrative machinery as with the method and degree of assessment. Mr. Ascoli calls the next epoch 1781-1786 one of completion of centralization, when the Committee of Revenue was placed in full control and Collectors, though reviewed, were denied any interference. The reforms of 1786 laid the foundations on which the Permanent Settlement came to rest subsequently.

Mr. Ramsbotham has embodied in this book, the Amini Report and the Report on the Kanungos, both being documents of first-class importance for the revenue history of the period. The Amini Report was made in 1778 to Warren Hastings and was 'the first technical

and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal, that was placed before the Company.' It classifies and explains the various branches of the public revenue, analyses the different kinds of landholders and the different forms of land revenue as well as the various hereditary and temporary agencies for the collection work. It further goes into the details of the accounts of district administration and pleads for 'expert and continual supervision by responsible officers of the revenue collections.'

The other report on the Kanungos submitted in 1787 by Mr. J. D. Patterson, Registrar of the Kanungo's office is here published for the first time along with a previous shorter report on the same subject made by the same officer, six years previously. In the explanatory note on the Kanungo, Mr. Ramsbotham traces with great clarity the office and its growth and shows how the officer, by the time that the company became Diwan, held in his hand all the vital information necessary for the efficient collection of land revenue. After the conclusion of the Perpetual Settlement, the office both *Sadr* and *Mutassal* was abolished, to save the actual expense, though it was still considered necessary to continue it in Banares and the Upper Provinces where, in 1808, elaborate regulations were prescribed for their appointment and service.

The author to whom Mr. Ascoli was indebted for many valuable suggestions in the arrangement of his book *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report* (1917), is a high authority on the administrative and revenue history of Bengal during the eighteenth century. The two reports that he has now edited are valuable links in the chain of the complex revenue history of Bengal, culminating in the Permanent Settlement; and he has enriched his work with a great quantity of information culled from the voluminous records of the various Committees of Revenue that worked between 1772 and 1786 preserved in the Bengal Record office. We wish it very much that the learned author should bring out a companion book publishing the valuable records bearing on the famous Grant-Shore and Shore—Cornwallis controversies, thus illuminating the complex revenue history of the next stage.

C. S. S.

'REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.'

BY

MR. YAZDANI

A.D. 1921-24 (1331-33 F.)

Calcutta, 1926

THE Report presented by Mr. Yazdani, who during this period was partly away in Europe on a deputation to study the diverse phases of Moslem architecture in Islamic countries, points out the marked influence of Turkish engineers in the growth of a vigorous style of military architecture in the Deccan from about the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the consequent similarity that the Deccan fortresses bear in their arrangement to mediæval European fortresses. Three forts—Elgandal, Qandhar and Parenda—were surveyed; and an extensive programme of conservation was carried out, the most important measures being, as usual, the protection of the Ajanta Frescoes carried out under the direction of Prof. L. Cecconi and Count Prisini; and it is surmised that deterioration in the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come. The tombs of Aurangzib and Malik Amber in the Aurangabad district, have also been cared for; while in the Warangal District, the thousand-pillared Mandapa at Hanamkonda has been preserved. Two monographs in epigraphy have been published, which will be noticed in due course, one, a Canarese record of Bodhan, and the other an inscription of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramba. The coin-cabinet of the department has been enriched, especially with some *padma tankas* of the later Yadava kings of Devagiri. The appendices contain an account of the Parenda Fort with the inscriptions in it, and also a note by Mr. T. Srinivas on the coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum. The illustrations of views from the Ajanta Frescoes and the Parenda Fort and the coins acquired are, as usual, good.

C. S. S.

'A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC
PHILOSOPHY'

BY

R. D. RANADE

[*Encyclopædia of Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii.]

THIS is the first fruit of a projected *Encyclopædia of Indian Philosophy* in sixteen volumes, and is by Professor R. D. Ranade of Poona. Professor Ranade has issued a pamphlet descriptive of the project containing information regarding the scope of the work and the names of contributors to the different volumes and sections. Of the sixteen volumes the last is, of course, the index, and the three preceding ones are intended to contain sources of information for the other volumes. The work actually would comprise twelve volumes. It is a great project and all the available Indian talent is enlisted for the accomplishment of this great work. It is intended to begin from the beginnings of Indian philosophy in the early Vedic period, and brings it through all the gamut of the scale down to the most modern developments. The project deserves the sympathy of all who can assist in one way or another, so that the scheme may reach its completion without a hitch. Each volume would be on an average of about 700 to 800 pages, and will, as far as may be, self-contained both in respect of the division of the subject and of treatment. This vast project is one of a variety of enterprises in this branch undertaken by the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, constituted as an All-India body for the purpose of promoting the study of philosophy and religion. This would include publications both in Indian and European thought. There is to be a research branch attached to it for doing the necessary preliminary work with a number of branches all over the country with members, fellows and all the paraphernalia of a learned organization with schemes of finance for carrying the objects into effect. Ambitious as the project may seem, it is quite capable of fulfilment if there should be the co-operation that is possible. If all the resources of India could be called into requisition for the purpose effectively, it would be comparatively easy to accomplish the task and realize all the other ambitions of an academy of this character. We wish the enterprise all success. Mr. Ranade's work, *A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, is the first fruit of this project, and we publish the following review of the work by a sympathetic and well-informed friend of ours with pleasure.

EDITOR.

1. We congratulate the Indian Public and the author of the book under review on the publication of this excellent volume. Several eminent scholars have worked at the *Upanishads* for a long time and Max Müller's translation of the *Upanishads* in the Sacred Books of the East Series and his introductions to several other works mark an epoch. But there have not been many books on the Philosophy of the *Upanishads*, taking them as a whole and adopting the historical method, except perhaps Paul Deussen's brilliant treatise. Many of the books on the *Upanishada* Philosophy by Western scholars have not dealt with the subject from a sympathetic point of view—the point of true Mystic Realization. The author is already well known as a Sanskrit scholar in the department of philosophy and the treatise under review is worthy of his eminence and scholarship. He has brought to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge, the historical method of comparative religion and the evolution of spiritual ideas and methods of realization. He claims, we think rightly, that the blissful static mystic self-realization taught in the *Upanishads* is amply justified by truths of modern science and modern historical research in comparative religion and philosophy. He approaches the subject from a universal and not from any sectarian or narrow point of view without at the same time losing sight of the interpretations of the main texts adopted by the orthodox in India. English educated classes, if religiously inclined, will find the book most useful and illuminating. Whether we agree with the ultimate final views of the author on mystic realization or not, it should be stated that the subject is handled in a most impartial way.

2. The author has prominently brought out the view that all the three great Schools of Vedanta find ample justification for their being based on the *Upanishads*, and he has collated all the important Sacred Texts relied upon by the three great founders and given both the originals and their translations in Chapter IV (Roots of Later Philosophy). This is a very great step in the right direction and the chapter is most valuable.

3. It has been thought in some quarters that the *Upanishads* have not brought out clearly the moral and ethical Ideal. We hope with the author that hereafter the charge would not be sustainable. Readers may refer to Chapter VI. He has demonstrated that the *Bagavad Gita*, itself based clearly on the *Kaṭa*, *Mundaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*

Upanishads, brings out the spiritual activism and the theistic mysticism as the ultimate goal which is so much talked of by Western thinkers. The *Itavāsyā Upanishad* has laid the basis for disinterested performance of work without attachment to worldly selfish fruits, and that such disinterested work, as worship of God, leads to God realization.

4. Readers of Galloway on religious experience and the Gifford Lectures volumes by Ward, Pringle, Pattison and the treatises of Bosanquet, Royce, Bradley, Mactaggart and Bergson are well aware that the ultimate in religious experience is a controversial matter, and we need not be surprised if the absolute monists, qualified monists and dualists are not agreed as to the nature of the ultimate final realization in Hindu religion. When it is once established that the *Upanishads* themselves give the common basis of true religious experience, the quotations given in the last chapter on the everlasting eternal infinite, blissful mystic realization, preceded by moral and ethical grandeur, fully justify the different interpretations. They will amply repay perusal.

5. We would simply give a few examples here:—

(i) Brahman which is the light of all lights, which the seekers after *Atman* experience;

(ii) After having crossed the bund of Phenomenal Experience, even though a man may be blind, he ceases to be blind . . . night becomes day . . . the spiritual world is suddenly and once for all illumined.

(iii) There is neither sunset nor sunrise.

(iv) The *Atman* cannot be realized except by one whom the *Atma* chooses; before such a one the *Atman* reveals his proper form.

(v) Just as a mirror which is cleared of its impurities becomes lustrous and capable of reflecting a lustrous image, even thus the mystic sees Himself at the height of his spiritual experience and reach the goal.

(vi) Great and lustrous is that incontestable being, yet He is subtler than the subtle, farther than the farthest and yet quite near to us, being shut up in the cave of our heart.

(vii) The knots of the heart are broken, all his doubts are solved and the effects of his actions annihilated when once he has seen God who is higher than the highest.

(viii) When the individual self is embraced by the Universal Self he knows nothing outside nor anything inside. He has attained an end

which involves the fulfilment of all other ends, being verily the attainment of *Atma* which leaves no other end to be fulfilled.

(ix) The Brahman was before Him, behind Him, to His right and left, above and below.

(x) It was verily the All.

(xi) Brahman is truth, knowledge, infinite bliss and infinity.

(xii) 'Infinity alone is bliss—when one sees, hears, understands nothing else, that is the infinite. The infinite is above, below, behind, before, to the right, to the left,—I am above, below—The Self is above—He who knows this truly attains this.'

(xiii) He enjoys Brahman and His auspicious attributes. He attains equality with Brahman. He attains and becomes Brahman. He sings. I am (His) food. I am the enjoyer (of Him) I see the Brahman as all.

6. The author has most lucidly explained the several methods adopted in the *Upanishad* for expounding philosophic religious truths and mystic realization under several headings with copious illustrations.

(i) *The enigmatic method*.—(a) Pointing to a synthesis of opposites underlying the apparent contradictions, adopting a cryptic method, using a single (*Tajjalani*) word explaining that God is the origin, end and life of all.

(b) God is knowledge and non-knowledge, and so on.

(ii) *Aphoristic method*. Compressing all the materials of thought in short sentences. (Ex.) *OM* is all that exists.

(iii) *Etymological method*. (Ex.) *Purusha* is really *Purisaya* that is inhabiting the citadel of heart.

(iv) *Mythical*. Parables are introduced to teach a moral, or philosophic or religious truth.

(v) *Analogical*. (Ex.) The analogy of drum or the lute, in order to explain the process of apprehension of the soul.

(vi) *Dialectic*. (Ex.) Disputations in Janaka's Court with Yāgyalkya.

(vii) *Synthetic*. (Ex.) In *Chandogya*, six philosophers giving six explanations all afterwards uniting in *Vaiṣṇanara Vidya*.

(viii) *Monologic*. (Ex.) Some sages lose, in soliloquies, regarding spiritual realization. (Ex.) The *Antaryāmi Brahmana*. The several impasses—immanence of the Eternal All-seeing God.

(ix) '*Ad hoc*' or *temporizing*, i.e. the teacher gives only what the pupil needs for the moment.

(x) *Regressive*. Successive questions being put. Every new question carrying us behind the answer to the previous question. It is also shown that sometimes the teaching is given in the spirit of poetry and poetical outbursts.

7. Regarding the theory of *Maya*, the author has stated everything impartially and nothing more is desired. He has most clearly brought out the germs of the *Maya* theory in the *Upanishad*, and has stated, 'Let no man stand up and say that we do not find the traces of the Doctrine *Maya* in the *Upanishads*,' though we may be permitted to say that when once it is admitted that the word *Maya* is used in many of the *Upanishads* in the sense of power, wonderful power, and in the sense of *Prakriti* or matter, and further that it is not clear whether *Maya* is said to inhere in the Supreme or individual soul, the theory of *Maya* developed by the later absolute monistic school is altogether different from the one found in the *Upanishads*.

One feature of the book is that the author has not dealt with the interpretations adopted by the *Vedānta Sūtras* on many of the texts and subjects of the *Upanishads*. Even granting that the *Sūtras* perhaps teach a system different from the *Upanishads*, it would have been better if a chapter had been written on the subject as, after all, that would be the interpretation adopted by orthodox Hindus taking into consideration the theistic mysticism and work without attachment taught by the *Gita*.

9. The author seems to hold views directly contrary to the Hindu orthodox on the *Mantra Śāstre*, and we would be content with the remark that Sir John Woodroffe seems to be much more sympathetic and that his attitude is probably more correct from a religious point of view.

10. We may close this review with the observations of Prof. L. R. Farnell in his latest volume of *Gifford Lectures* on the 'Attributes of God' which is probably the best of all the books covering the same ground. With reference to the predominant school of Hindu thought, monistic idealism, according to which 'a permanent unchanging God could have no relation to the movement and activity of life, for according to its narrower view permanence is excluded from activity. But the Greek mind achieved the deeper theory, that

the power which caused change and movement might itself remain unchanged and unmoved and therefore such a power might be interpreted as a divine creator and the source of life activity.' May we insert instead of the words '*Greek mind*' the words 'the *Upanishads* as interpreted chiefly by the theistic mysticism of the *Gita* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*.' The book supplies a decided want and it is the best book on the philosophy of *Upanishads* that has so far appeared. We hope that a cheap edition will be printed to place it well within the reach of the college students and the English educated community as also students of Hindu religion and comparative systems of thought.

S. G.

'HISTORY AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS'

BY

ERNEST SCOTT

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[Oxford University Press]

THIS work is based upon a course of lectures delivered by the author to the teachers of history in Melbourne with a view to creating an 'interest in the method and processes of history, as well as in the matter of which it is composed.' The work falls into ten chapters, of which two have reference to the purpose of History and Historical Method; the next five chapters have to do with the relation of history with other subjects, such as Geography, Biography, Physical Science, Education and Patriotism. There is one chapter devoted to varieties of History, another to Historical Problems, and the last to, what is entitled, the Living Force of History. Each one of these subjects is handled with ability and presented in a way to interest even an audience of laymen. It is full of instruction to students of history and must be stimulative of thought to those engaged in the work of history itself. The author starts with an attempt at defining the purpose of history, and gives the definition in general terms that history is (1) 'the sum of human experience clarified by criticism,' and (2) 'that it is a great school of human character.' History, as everybody knows, clarifies, criticizes, compares and co-ordinates experience and then presents it to those who care for it. In order to make this experience useful, it

has to be acquired by all, and the acquisition is not in the acquisition of the facts of experience but in a mental habit for which the facts provide the mere material. As Lord Acton said, 'The gift of historical thinking is better than historical learning.' In other words, the utility of this experience is in the capacity to form correct judgment, which consists in an 'orderly marshalling and presentation of materials, the sifting of evidence, the discrimination of truth from falsehood and error, the selection of salient and relevant things from the mass of irrelevant and unimportant details, the estimation of character, the art of narrative, the comprehension of motives and principles,—these processes are surely developed more effectually through the study of history than by any other means.' If that is so, it becomes clear that the methods of history are not the exclusive property of the historian.

As has been clearly pointed out by F. J. Teggart in his work *Processes of History*, 'historical method is the same whatever the history investigated—whether that of the stellar universe, of the earth, of the forms of life upon earth, or of man. It comes to be seen that in each case the problem is the same, namely, to show how things have come to be as they are; that in each case the investigation presupposes the antecedence of innumerable series of historical events; that in each case the enquiry is based upon the assumption or axiom that things have come to be as they are through the continued operation of natural processes, and that these processes are to be discovered only through examination of what has happened in the past.' A historian has got two things to do. He has to find the truth, and then expound it in a way to be interesting and attractive. Neither of these operations is easy. Paradoxical as it may seem, the whole truth about the things with which history has to deal is, rarely if ever, contained in written form. 'History has its overtones, like music, which are caught only by the practised ear.' A historian must live in the period about which he chooses to write, as otherwise he will lapse into a mere compiler between whom one of the radical differences is 'that a historian has absorbed the material about his chosen subject to an extent that enables him to write with that intimacy of acquaintance which cannot be derived merely from rapid and cursory reading.' The method is somewhat like the method of the successful advocate who elicits evidence from witnesses, but more difficult as the

witnesses are not present to the historian. Some even of the best historians have not escaped the influence of their times in writing the history of an earlier period. The danger is so real that according to Professor Pollard 'The best historian is one who can forget the present. A historian ought to exhibit that peculiar quality of Gibbon as a historian which consists in the thoroughness with which he absorbed his material and the art with which he moulded his work into a masterpiece of English prose.' According to Mr. Scott, then, historical work involves 'the investigation of the truth about the past by (1) the establishment of fact and probability; (2) the criticism of authorities whose testimony enables the facts and probabilities to be established, the comparison of their evidence; (3) the estimation of character and motive; (4) strict chronology and regard to the sequence of events; (5) the analysis of causes; (6) the avoidance of the fallacy of seeing the past as a mirror of the present; (7) the endeavour to see things which occurred in the past from the point of view of those who saw them, which means that we should not judge them exclusively from our point of view, since that may be one which would have been impossible for them; (8) the understanding of the philosophical basis of the action of historical personages, that is, of the ideas by which they were actuated; (9) the construction of narrative; (10) the practice of the virtuous habit of verification.'

While there are many bad ways of writing history, there are two good ones, and both of them have this feature in common that they demand a thorough absorption of the material by the mind before writing. Their difference consists in the method of writing. One of them consists in the historian producing the result of his study of the historical material in an artistic work of his own entirely, such as that of Gibbon. The other form of it consists in writing history in such a form that the historian incorporates in his writing the real essence of his sources by judicious selection of passages to be woven in his narrative. The result in both cases is the production of bright pictures without jerkiness of movement. But neither of this kind of writing would be possible unless the writer has complete command of his material, so that the evidence has been absorbed and fused into his own consciousness. He then sets about to produce an artistic work, the art of the historian being different from that of the creative genius. A historian

merely employs the methods of the artist. 'He should give shape, but only to that which is already there, not to that which his fancy may mirror. Philosophical history is a desert; fanciful history an idiot asylum. We must therefore demand that the artistic designer should have a positive tendency of mind and a strictly scientific conscience. Before he reasons he must know; before he gives shape to a thing he must test it.' Such work can be turned out only after very great labour and by one possessed of a capacious memory whatever may be the mechanical aids to it otherwise available.

He then considers the relation between history and geography, and after an examination of the various views, arrives at the conclusion that while 'race, education, religion, language, occupation, the subtle influences of tradition and history, all exert their weight and any attempt at isolation of the geographical element is far more likely to generate fallacies than to yield dependable results.' Then he takes up the question of history and biography and combats the Carlylean dictum that history is a series of biographies. History is nowadays regarded as an 'intelligent interpretation of a vanished age, so that we may understand not only the leading motives of the leading actors on the stage, but the general tendencies of the time, the essential springs of change, the element of strength and weakness, of progress, recuperation or decay which may be inferred from the recital of political transactions or from the analysis of social and economic fabric, and above all, so that we may form a just view of the political and social problems of the age.'

In his chapter on history and science, the author points out that the advance of scientific studies has affected historical studies in two ways, namely: (1) it has imparted a scientific spirit to historical investigations; and (2) it has influenced the work of historians by certain lines of scientific thought. It is a result of this that we have come to view the events of history as 'phenomena of social development and history itself as an aspect of sociology.' 'The essence of the scientific spirit,' wrote Huxley, 'is criticism,' and the more the spirit of criticism permeates historical study, the more will it assert its value as a study essential to human welfare. The question whether history is a science is an oft-discussed question, and is not likely to be answered definitely one way or the other. The intermediate view that it is both a science and an art is perhaps nearer correct in the sense

'that it has in view action which touches the earth, and the idea which touches the skies.' Another definite view is that history is a science like the moral sciences, but not like the physical. These views turn round upon different notions of the word 'science'. History may be regarded as a science inasmuch as it has to present evidence, criticize that evidence, and as a result of that criticism arrive at conclusions, and to this extent it may be regarded as unified knowledge, and as such a science; History has also at the same time to present pictures of the past, analyse character, probe motives, and requires skill in the narration. So far as these are done successfully, it may be regarded as an art. After all it is only a question of points of view towards historical material. In the words of the author 'there is historical writing by modern authors which is as precisely accurate and as carefully wrought in its arrangement of evidence as the most fastidious scientific mind could desire, and is at the same time touched with the magic of style, and aglow with imagination. The high accomplishment of the historian who excels in both the scientific and the artistic attributes is, however, not frequently attained. Perfect achievement in this vocation is not to be expected to be more common than in poetry, mathematics, philosophy, or any other study in which soundness of matter combined with imagination is desirable.'

He then passes on to the place of history in education. What is to be history teaching in educational institutions and universities, and what sort of it, and how much of it, is to be taught is a question which has been exercising the minds of educationists, and one demand more than others is to make history teaching interesting. In regard to this, it is pointed out that 'you can make history teaching so interesting that no history is left, but only a soothing syrup compounded of romance, imagination, poetry, coloured pictures, legends, fairy stories, anecdotes, Harrison Ainsworth's novels, plasticine models and notes of exclamation. The intellectual discipline that should be imparted by the study of it may be smothered by frills and frivolities.' The outstanding merit of history teaching is that it provides one of the most efficient methods of forming the mind. 'Sound teaching in the subject needs to keep a course between the desert where no flowers bloom and the swamps of romanticism where amphibious creatures wriggle about. Good history teaching should include some constructive

work. The art of narrative can be taught through the study of history more effectively than by any other means.' This narrative must be constructed from evidence acquired from a variety of sources, and historical skill consists in selecting what is relevant and interesting and from this *didjeeta membra* constructing a narrative. This 'brings out the originality of the student, taxes his ingenuity, imparts a sense of relevancy, sharpens his discernment.' History is of use as providing the means of studying character. The really 'valuable thing in the study of character is to get to understand why men and women acted as they did, how they were bent by storms, diverted from the path of intention by stress of events, how they were deflected by the invitation of expediency, how inherent weakness, with subversive force or subtle insinuation, determined them.' Understanding is the main aim of this branch of historical study, and to 'view a historical situation as it presented itself to those who had to face it and to do something in regard to it is a valuable effort of imagination conducing to sound and tolerant judgment.' Apart from the mere instruction imparted, the weighing of evidence has a valuable educative discipline. While it may be admitted that historical knowledge is good, history teaching ought to inculcate certain intellectual virtues and habits. This involves discipline of mind as well as learning. In the words of J. W. Allen, 'We want to make it easy and even habitual to suspend judgment. We want to make it absolutely impossible to hold opinions based upon grossly insufficient knowledge of the facts. We want a habit of thinking of conclusions as more or less probable rather than as true or untrue. We want to develop a realistic imagination of the number of different views that may be held on almost any really complex question.' History teaching must further awaken curiosity in the student. 'Teaching that does not evoke curiosity is a failure, and that which endeavours to suppress it is an offence.' Connected with this is the teaching of the subject as a humanizing power, which in the words of Mr. Trevelyan shows how the 'study of the past controversies of which the final outcome is known, destroys the spirit of prejudice, and brings home to the mind the evils that are likely to spring from violent policy, based on want of understanding of opponents.' This humanistic view of history is closely associated with the moral efficacy of a study of history which consists in the view that the only real moral history is true history, and the

search for truth is itself a moral act. Incidentally reference is made here to national and international history, and it is pointed out that either of them could be made as good as the other from this point of view, the crux of the problem being in the rigorous search for truth and nothing but truth.

Passing on to the subject of history and patriotism, it is admitted that the correct teaching of history will have the effect of stimulating patriotism. At the same time pointed attention is drawn to the fact that the 'pressing of it into a patriotic mould has been one of the most fruitful causes of the manufacture of much pestilentially bad history.' The principal object of history is to ascertain truth, and when this is done no good cause is likely to be damaged nor a bad cause ameliorated. Truth-telling is its business first and foremost. Attention is drawn here to a remark of the historian Ranke whose admirable historian represses the 'poet, patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause and write nothing that would gratify his own feelings or disclose his private conviction.' When a German divine who wrote about Luther met him in Berlin and greeted him with warmth as a confrere, 'Pardon me, Sir,' said Ranke, 'there is great different between us; you are in the first place a Christian, I am in the first place a historian.' This means that detachment is absolutely necessary for the historian as to be detached is hardly the same as to be remote. At the same time history requires to be studied sympathetically to be understood, and without that sympathy, it would be rather difficult to make others understand. While therefore sympathy must be regarded as an essential element in the study and teaching of history, the treatment of it with sufficient detachment none the less is essential. The discussion concludes with the remark 'History should be wholly patriotic in its uplift; but it is bad history that sets patriotism before truth, and bad patriotism that desires such disservice.' Discussing the varieties of history in the next chapter, he discusses the various problems connected therewith. The general position is summed up in the following paragraph:—

'The historian is compelled to put into a page or a paragraph material which he has gathered from a wide range of sources, and this involves the simultaneous exercise of several mental processes. His statements must be true to fact, they must convey the essential purport of his evidence, and they must be related in good narrative

form. He must seize the salient things, disregard the details which seem to him to be unimportant, and blend the whole in a piece of writing which carries forward his story. To find a form of words which shall be true, loaded with information, essential, and at the same time readable, requires a command of art more complex than that involved in any other form of literature. Frequently there are gaps in the evidence, and the historian has to wrestle with probability; or he may be confronted with discrepancies which he has to resolve; or he may find a piece of testimony concerning a point which, if true, is important, but he may doubt its truth, and be unable to find corroboration of it. There is hardly a subject on which a historian can write, as to which he will not be compelled to make up his mind on some points of extreme necessity.' Discussing the qualities that ought to be prominent in a historian's equipment, Macaulay is quoted with approval in regard to the possession of a disciplined imagination, as it is in the use of that that 'history calls for the gifts of the artist as well as for the orderly and analytical qualities of the scientific mind, the keenness and industry of the investigator, and the reflective insight of the philosopher. Imagination is the highest of historical endowments because it enables the breath of life to animate the dry bones, but it is a peril and a delusion without the discipline of scientific training.'

The next two chapters are concerned with the two topics,—the Problems of History and its Living Force. In summarizing the various problems that confront the historian and the various pitfalls to be avoided, the author says:—'Historians, then, are liable to the same failings, the same disposition towards fondness for their own ideas, as are other people; and even those who have a bias against bias do not escape errors of other kinds. The test of dependableness, indeed, is not absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. The writer of honest intent will take care that no piece of evidence known to him or accessible to him, is neglected. He will be prompt to rectify a conclusion in the light of freshly discovered facts. He will state points of view even when he does not approve of the conduct which they explain. He will endeavour to present a case as it was seen by those who were concerned in it, so that their motives, so far as discoverable, shall be fairly disclosed. He will base his judgment upon verified facts, and will not prejudice an issue by suppressions, by

twisting truth in the manner of unfair controversialists, by failing to give the "other side" when there is another side which ought to be heard. It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the dehumanizing of the historian by making him deciduous in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies and aversions.' He then points out that to the historian the subject presents itself as an infinite range of problems in the solution of which he has to exercise his mind upon arriving at generalizations. 'This process of generalization 'calls for a very rare kind of intellectual effort.' 'Great knowledge and imagination in combination are requisite to draw from the multitude of facts those conclusions which show the coherency of them, their veritable meaning, and their moral import.' He further points out to the very general question of the value of history, and gives the only possible answer, the moral grandeur of finding the truth because it is truth. In discussing the living force of history, he quotes Bismark with approval that 'Mistakes committed in statesmanship are not always punished at once, but they always do harm in the end. The logic of history is a more exact and a more exacting accountant than is the strictest national auditing department.' The encouraging feature of history is that a knowledge of the past has this exceptionally beneficent and fruitful advantage 'that you see, set in the clear light of historical truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issues, you are to avoid.' 'With the study of history in all its forms,' writes Mr. Marvin, 'our interest in the future has been immeasurably enhanced.' The living force of history consists not only in the forms of Government which have been developed, the institutions which have been established, and even continually adopted to the service of society, but in the way it works in the psychology of peoples, and in the innumerable utilities which have been placed at our service by the discoveries and the labours of our forbears! The work concludes with the following remark that history has an 'influence upon living generations—educationally as a discipline with its own value for the forming of intellectual habits; scientifically as a field of knowledge of inexhaustible richness, and a method for the investigation of truth.' We say amen, and apologize for the length of the review. The subject is of such considerable importance and the misimpressions

regarding the subject so prevalent that we thought it worthwhile exhibiting the ideas of one that has apparently bestowed considerable thought to the subject with sufficient elaboration to do him just in the first instance, and to the subject itself next. It is to be hoped that the subject will receive the attention that it richly deserves.

'THE LIFE OF ŚRĪ VYĀSARĀJA BY SOMANĀTHA'

BY

B. VENKOBĀ RAO, B. A.

Mysore Civil Service.

THIS is a Sanskrit work in the form of a *Champu*, that is, a prose work with poetical pieces thrown in so as to constitute one continuous narrative. It is a style of *kāvya* which Sanskrit poets affect very much.

The work has for its subject the Madhva ascetic Vyāsarāja, the founder of the Vyāsarāya Māṭha, which continues to flourish as one of the well-known religious houses of the Madhvas, who regard four among them as recognized ones. The author Somanātha was a student of Āchārya Vyāsarāja, and was therefore a younger contemporary. He lived in the days of Achyutarāja, and the work was written almost about the same time as the chronicle of Nunis. It is, however, much more valuable than the Portuguese chronicle in that it deals with matter with which either the hero or the author was directly connected. Naturally a contemporary work of this character would labour from defects peculiar to itself. Notwithstanding this defect, the work is of great value, and as, at the present time, we have the means for checking it satisfactorily, it may be used as a source of history for the comparatively dark period of the latter half of the fifteenth century and the more or less well-known period of the first third of the sixteenth. Unfortunately, however, the work is published from a single manuscript which being in the possession of a private owner, required considerable effort and tact to secure. The credit of making this available to the public is due to two officers of the Mysore

Service, both of them members of the family of the late Dewan Sir P. N. Krishnamurti. It is matter for great regret however that Mr. Srinivasamurti who secured the manuscript died before he could make arrangements for its publication, and Mr. Venkoba Rao who actually published it died within a few weeks of its publication.

The period of history covered by the life of Vyāsarāja corresponds to the period of the rise of the Sāluva chieftain, Narasimha, to power. For many years during his reign Āchārya Vyāsarāja stayed under his auspices in Tirupati, and sometimes even at his court. He enjoyed the confidence of his successor *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar, Narasa, and of his son, the great Krishnadēvarāya. The Āchārya's active life thus corresponds to the best period of Sāluva Narasimha's life, and those of Narasa and Krishnadēvarāya. During the latter period in particular, he was intimately associated with Vijayanagar itself.

For this period, the only satisfactory accounts so far available are our own *Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History* and the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* published by the Madras University. The authorities have been in great bulk, the literature of the period, while a large number of inscriptions have been from time to time made public throwing welcome light on various points. The work under review being the life of an important person who played an influential part in the court itself, provides information on many points on which it was wanted, and thus fills a very important gap in our sources of knowledge for the period.

Vyāsarāja was born about A. D. 1446 and died about the year A. D. 1539, so that his life covered the best part of a century, while his active life was one of almost about seventy years extending from the period of the death of Mallikārjuna, the Emperor, down to almost the end of the reign of Achyutarāya. Vyāsarāja was born of parents in the village of Baṇṇūr on the banks of the Kaveri not far from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam. He is early taken charge of for purposes of education by the saintly Brahmaṇya Tirtha, and in due course and at the command of the teacher, he goes out on a pilgrimage first to Kanchi, and then stays with the Madhva Āchārya Śrīpādarāja at Muḷbagal. At the suggestion of the latter, he proceeded to the court of Sāluva Narasimha at Chandragiri. Owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Āchārya had to remain there for a number of

years, noted down actually as twelve years. This prolonged stay near the court, his great learning and disinterested character made him a person often looked upon as guide and philosopher by successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasa, he became the regular adviser to the Court. He lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one of its suburbs, and his mutt became a sort of university to which all seekers of the light of learning went. In the days of that great patron of learning, Krishnadēvarāya, himself an author and a man of learning, Vijayanagar became a centre of learning and people flocked to the court for exhibiting their learning and receiving their rewards from the great patron. It is here that great disputations were held, among them being one in which Vyāsarāja had to meet the great Vallabha Āchārya, the founder of the Śuddha Advaita school, of Gujarat. Later on, Vyāsarāja seems to have lived for a little while at Bēlur, the old capital of the Hoysalas. It was in this period that Somanatha, the author who completed his education, the latter part under Vyāsarāja himself, was advised by some friends to take upon himself the work of composing the life of Śrīvyāsarāja, which he did. When he submitted it to the assembly of learned men at the mutt of Vyāsarāja himself, the work received the approval of the Āchārya.

Mr. Venkoba Rao, the editor, has spared no pains to collect together all the historical matter scattered through the work and exhibit it in a critical introduction, in which he has made ample use, for purposes of comparison, of the two works already referred to, and the *Sāluvaabhyudaya*, another Sanskrit classic bearing upon the rise of the Sāluva, that is, Sāluva Narasimha to power. The new work throws considerable light upon obscure points on which light was wanted. To give but one instance, we are let into the secret of what actually took place during the last five years of Krishnadēvarāya's rule, for which we had hitherto no satisfactory material. Similar instances, where the work gives new but welcome light, could be mentioned in some number. We conclude the review, however, with the expression of our sincere appreciation of the efforts of the two lamented officers of the Mysore Service, to whose efforts we are indebted for this welcome source of historical information, not being in a position to offer them our congratulations on the happy completion of their labour of love.

MADHURĀVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARĀYA CHARITA

BY

GANGADEVI

THIS Sanskrit work, of which there is only a single manuscript available to us was published some time back, and had remained for about a couple of years already out of print. The present publication is a new edition by Pandit Harihara Sastri of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Publication Department. It is matter for regret that the Pandit was not able to secure another manuscript, and hence the edition is almost a re-print of the previous edition except for comparatively minor emendations and corrections here and there. The work is an important one in many ways, and it is matter for satisfaction that the Pandit thought it worth his while issuing a new edition, imperfect as it is.

This is one of a class of historical poems of which a few have come to notice recently. The work is of a class with Bilhana's *Vikramārkadeva Charita* and Bana's *Harsha Charita*. The late Dr. Bühler accepted these two works as specimens of the historical literature of the Hindus, and controverted the position that the Hindus had no historical sense. A number more have been discovered of that character, of which is the *Ragunāthabhyudayam* of Rāmabadrāmba and *Achyutarāyabhyudayam* of Tirumalāmba, both poetesses of acknowledged merit. There is also a classic *Saluva-bhyudayam*, another poem of a historical character. Of these it is only *Achyutarāyabhyudayam* that has been published in part. *Madhurāvijayam* differs from either of these poems of poetesses in this, that the authoress, Gangādēvi was not a woman like the other authoresses devoting themselves to learning almost with a professional interest. She was the wife of prince Kampana, who is the hero of the poem. It is a unique example of a poem by a princess attempting to celebrate the exploits of her own husband.

The poem is cast in the form of heroic poems of the kind. It provides a considerable amount of historical material of value relating to a period for which reliable information was hitherto scanty. This poem gives the first glimpse from an Indian source, except, of course, the coins of the Sultans, relating to the dynasty of Muhammadans

of Madura, and of the occupation of various other centres in the Tamil country by the Muhammadans. The story begins with Kumāra Kampana's birth, and the charge laid by Kumāra's father to him to go forth and conquer the south of India from the Muhammadans. Kumāra Kampana seems to have been the prince entrusted with the charge of the great province with the capital at Muḷbagal in the Mysore State now. Therefrom he proceeded, first overpowering the Sambuvarāyan rulers of Marakatanagara (Virinchipuram) not far from Vellore, and then took possession of the whole of Tonḍamaṇḍalam. Therefrom he marched southwards, defeated the Muhammadans, at Śrīrangam, and then again at Madura thus succeeding in the effort in which the last great Hoysala ruler, Vira Bellala III fell. The poem is incomplete, and does not give us the whole of the story, which we know from other sources. It is as a successful result of this campaign of prince Kampana that Madura, Śrīrangam and other holy places of the south were restored to their ancient state of glory and holiness, thereby symbolizing the victory of the Hindus over the conquering Muhammadans who had established cantonments in various parts. The work is of considerable historical value and even of great literary merit, and Pandit Harihara Sastri deserves the gratitude of those interested for having given a new edition of it to the public, though only a reprint.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

September 1926—

- A. S. RAMANATHA AIYAR: 'A Note on Bhaskara Ravivarman's Date.' Examines K. N. Daniel's conclusions on the date of this king and holds the view that the Chera Bhaskara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. His date of accession is determined to be A.D. 978.
- Y. R. GUPTA: 'The Kshaharatas, were they exterminated? or have they left any traces in the population of Dekhan?', questions the truth of the claim that the Kshaharatas were exterminated by Gautamiputra as claimed in his inscriptions. The Kshaharatas are identified with Kharatas, now a shepherd community in Dekhan, the term Kharata being a shortened form of Kshaharatas.

October 1926—

- H. SKÖLD: 'The Relative Chronology of Panini and the Pratisakyas.' This paper attempts at establishing the precise age of Panini by examining present position.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AIYAR: 'A Note on Queen Minakshi of Madura.' Examines a recently discovered copper plate grant of Minakshi of Madura. The importance of this record consists in as much as it carries the rule of Minakshi to February 1739. The hitherto known date is 1736 or 1737. The grant confirms the date given by *Maduraittalavaralaru*.

November 1926—

- A. VENKATASUBBAIYA: 'Vedic Studies.'
- S. M. EDWARDS: 'The Population of Bombay, Remarks concerning the Origin and Growth.'

December 1926—

- S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR: 'Vyāghra, the Feudatory of Vakataka Prithivisena.' Sets forth different lines of evidence to prove the identity Vyāghradeva of the Nachna and Ganj Inscriptions with

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 461

Vyāghrarāja of Mahakāntara of Samudragupta pillar inscription, questions the identity of this chief propounded by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

- T. K. JOSEPH: 'St. Thomas of South India.' Sets forth reasons to conclude that St. Thomas never visited South India, questions the truth of tradition that he went to South India and died at Mylapore. It is held that St. Thomas died at Arachosia.

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1926—

- N. G. MAJUMDAR: 'A New Brahmi Inscription from Mathura.' This inscription in Brahmi in one line testifies to the existence of a king called Vishnumitra in the first century B.C. It is suggested that he is identical with the Vishnumitra of the coins. (Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, part vii, No. 21, page 84).
- K. G. SANKARA: 'The Early Pallavas of Kanchi.' Attempts to rearrange the genealogy of the early Pallavas of Kanchi of the copper-plate charters. Holds that present arrangements are incorrect. His theories include one that the Pallavas of Bhāradvāja-gotra who ruled at Kanchi including the donors of Prakrit plates should have ruled after Kumaravishnu whom he is inclined to identify with Vishnugopa, the adversary of Samudragupta. It is also held that Simhavishnu and his descendants belong to a collateral Pallava dynasty ruling at Amaravati as feudatories of E. Gangas of Kalinga. Trilochana is identified with Nandivarman and Karikala is assigned the period immediately preceding Simhavishnu.
- E. J. THOMAS: 'Buddhist Education in Pali and Sanskrit Schools.'
- N. N. LAW: 'The Jānapada and the Paura.' Examines the evidence bearing on the political functions of these bodies.

Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society

June 1926—

- DR. STEN KONOW: 'The Inscription of the so-called Bodhgaya Plaque.' The inscription has been read as *Ko (thumasa) Samghada (sa) sa sa kiti*, 'the work of Sangadasa the Kauthuma.'
- N. GANGULI: 'The Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period.'

- H. HERAS: 'Notes on the Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara.' Draws the attention of scholars to some carvings of historical importance at Vijayanagara. Three of the panels are reproduced. Identifies one with Friar Louis, the first ambassador of Albuquerque.
- C. K. VENKATARAMANA AYYA: 'Kalidasa and Bhasa in the Light of some Western Criticisms.'

- P. C. DIVANJI: 'Madhusudhana Sarasvathi, his Life and Works.'
- B. C. LAW: 'Rajagrha in Pali Literature.'
- C. CHAKRAVARTHI: 'The Original Site of Meharauli Pillar.' This is regarded as being situated at Hardwara and that Sultan Firoz Shah removed it to its present position in Delhi.
- B. M. BARUA: 'Ājivaka, What it Means?'
Do. 'Gateways of Bharat Stupa.'
- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Can we fix the date of Kālidāsa more accurately?' Concludes that Kālidāsa flourished in the second and third quarters of the sixth century.

- G. RAMDAS: 'Triakalinga.' Questions the interpretation of the term as meaning three Kalingas. According to Ramdas Triakalinga means high Kalinga and conveys the same idea as Mel Kalinga or Mekal, the name of the region lying west of Kalinga.
- R. SUBBA RAU: 'Pedavegi Plates of Nandivarman II.'
- M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI: 'King Nanyadeva on Music.'

- P. PELLIOU: 'Indian Influences in the Early Chinese Art in Tun-Huang.' Report of a lecture by Professor Paul Pelliot at the India Society in November 1925 followed by discussion.

- HODIVALA: 'Five Lectures on the Parsi History.' Dealing with various aspects of Parsi History and the dates of Hormazdyar and Ramjar and Neryosang Dhaval.

- KHUDA BUKSH: 'The Arab Academies and their Professors.' Translated from 'Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer,' by F. Wustefeld.
- J. SARKAR: 'A Forgotten Aspect of the Mughal Empire.' Draws attention to the constant communication in the days of the Mughal rule between India and the Islamic lands of the Middle East and Central Asia especially to the return current from India and the part played by the Rajput and the Indian Mussalmans, Mansing, Jaising and Jaswant Sing in trans-Indian military outposts.
- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Ancient Monuments on Mount Abu.' Discusses the importance and the styles of the monuments of this Mount in Rajputana.
- A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Decca.'
- S. KHUDA BUKSH: 'Islam and Toleration.' Emphasizes the view that Islam was tolerant and gives a list of cultural achievements in Mathematics, Philosophy and Medical science which could not be possible without toleration and sympathy.
- A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'Notes on the life and times of Ranjit Singh.'

- C. FORMACHI: 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development.'

STEN KONOW: 'A European Parallel to the Durgapujā.'

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

October 1926—

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Later Śatavahanas and Śakas.'

F. G. PETERSON: 'Note on Kālidāsa.' It is held that the poet was born in Vidharba, about A.D. 370, wrote his three plays and *Kumarasambhava* at the Court of Chandragupta II between A.D. 390 and 410 and the *Mēgaduta* and *Raghuvamsa* at Bhōjakata between A. D. 410 and 430.

G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL: 'La Tholas Aryenne du Malabar.' Announces the discoveries of monuments in the Sumerian style datable about 1000 B.C. in Malabar. Illustrative photographs of the monuments are given.

Bengal, Past and Present

July to September 1926—

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM: 'The Death of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras.' Gives extracts from the Records of the Government of India.

B. K. BASU: 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Relaxation.'

American Oriental Journal

September 1926—

W. E. CLARK: 'Some misunderstandings about India.' The popular view that the Indian Civilization is essentially spiritual and dominated by mysticism and asceticism is here examined in detail and it is held inaccurate, as Indian energy throughout her history had been equally devoted to political organization, economic life and every kind of secular enterprise and achievement.

W. H. HOPKINS: 'The Original Ramayana.'

W. F. ALBRIGHT: 'Notes on the Topography of Ancient Mesopotamia.'

Modern Review

October and December 1926—

M. WINTERNITZ: 'The Poet Aṣvaghosa and his School' (translated by B. Ghosh from the original German work of Dr. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*).

B. K. GHOSH: 'Origin of Indian Drama.'

B. K. SARKAR: 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law.'

M. M. Malaviya, Vice-chancellor, Benares Hindu University, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., and Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Kt. There is besides an influential body of the Academic council consisting, among others, distinguished scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the Madras University, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca University and Dr. N. N. Law, editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The first general meeting of the society will be held sometime about April 1927, when the final list of the office-bearers and members would be presented.

Membership of the Greater India Society is free to all lovers of India, to all serious students of the Indian cultural expansion and to all sympathizers of such studies and activities. The privileges of membership are the following :—

(1) Donors, honorary members and associate members will get all publications of the society free. Other members will get them at half-price.

(2) Members and associates, making inquiries relating to Greater India and connected problems would get replies, hints, suggestions of studies, bibliographies and other information, provided that stamped and self-addressed envelopes reach the Secretary.

(3) Members and associates may submit any manuscript showing original and useful study, before the Academic Council, and in case of approval, such studies, etc., would be published either directly by the society or under the supervision of the society.

Note.—The Minimum subscription of donors and honorary members is Rs 100, of an associate Rs. 12 annually, corresponding member Rs. 6 annually and student member Rs. 3.

V. R. DIKSHITAR.



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OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama', Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
15. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
16. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
17. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotoph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

बृहत्तर-भारत परिषद्.

DR. KALIDAS NAG, the Honorary Secretary of the Greater India Society, has written to me to issue an appeal on behalf of this society, and as one in full sympathy with its aims and objects. I have pleasure in publishing the following note for the information of the readers of this valuable journal.

Atmanam Viddhi of the *Upanishads* is the motto of this Association, the aims and objects of which are :—

(1) To organize the study of Indian Culture in Greater India, i.e. (a) *Serindia* or Central Asia, (b) *India Minor* (Afghanistan, etc.), (c) *Indo-China*, or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia, Champa, etc., (d) *Insulindia*, or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, (e) China, Corea and Japan and (f) other countries of Asia, such as Iran and Western Asia.

(2) To arrange for the publication of the results of the researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world, and gradually to arrange for the issuing of a regular organ of the society.

(3) To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting systematic study of these subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.

(4) To popularize the knowledge of Greater India by organizing meetings, lantern lectures, exhibitions and conferences.

(5) To form branch centres in different parts of India and to encourage systematic collection of books, pictures, models, lantern-slides, periodicals, monographs, statistics, etc., forming the nucleus of a Greater India Library and Museum.

(6) To institute endowments and prizes to encourage research into the history of Indian cultural expansion.

With these and other objects the society has been inaugurated on October 10, 1926, at Calcutta. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., is the President of the Society. Among the Patrons are Pandit

people with Islam and given them glory and strength; he has smitten their adversaries with shame and weakness. Then he made the best people that ever was. Let us not give authority over the Muslims and their property to those who are their vassals, lest they stretch out their hands and their tongues against them.'

In this as in the previous quotation it is obvious that Bar Hebraeus exaggerates; to say that Umar was filled with a great hatred of Christianity is to parody the Caliph's attitude of mind. His motive was zeal for Islam; unfortunately the form it took involved hardship for Christians.

We are apt to underestimate the importance of the Christians under the Caliphate. In a riot in Baghdad during the reign of Musta'in both Bar Hebraeus and Tabari report the sack of houses belonging to two Christian brothers, Bishr and Ibrahim. I know nothing about these two, but they were prominent enough for the calamity that befel them to be recorded. Sometimes the Christians suffered in unexpected ways. When Māmūn's soldiers attacked Baghdad they needed stones as missiles for their engines of war. There is no stone in the neighbourhood of the town, so they broke up the pillars in the churches and threw the pieces from their engines. In the same reign a man named Nasr rebelled and was besieged in Kishum by Tāhir (B.H. calls him Ibn Tāhir) whose engines threw stones as great as an ass-load into the town. Nasr made the Christian women stand on the wall carrying their babies, Tāhir, who was a merciful man, gave orders that the engines should not throw missiles into the town, but that they should only strike the (face of the) wall. This story is repeated on a later occasion. I am afraid that the Christians often had to suffer during the civil wars. In the time of Harun, Walīd, the Harūri heretic, captured Nisibis, killed the governor, robbed the merchants, and took five *dinars* from every Christian. Sometimes they scored however. During a famine in Mu'tasim's reign some men of Nisibis turned brigands, but were caught by Persian troops. Some escaped by making the sign of the cross for the Persians did not kill Christians.

Slanders against them seem to have been common. Harun happened to pass by Edessa when certain Muslims told him that the Greek emperor came every year in disguise and prayed in the churches there; of course with the connivance of the Christians. The