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EDITOR

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, HONV. PH.D., F.R. HIST. S., etc.

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras

Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India.

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The East India Company : Its Origin and Growth Prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy

BY

HARIHAR DAS

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS'S mission to the court of the Emperor Aurangzib on behalf of the New or English East India Company occurred at a critical time both in regard to the fortunes of the Mughal Empire and also to the efforts that had been made by the English merchants and traders during over a century to promote their commerce and to establish their position as residents in India. On the one hand the Emperor's power was visibly declining and on the other the position of the European traders had become insecure for many reasons of which not the least important was their own rivalry which led them to think as much of injuring one another as of promoting what should have been a common cause in obtaining trade facilities and privileges. It was not surprising, therefore, that the New Company, which had to justify the patronage of King William III as well as to recover the immense sum expended on its promotion, should have resolved to entrust its interests to so well qualified a representative as Sir William Norris to plead its cause before the Mughal Emperor and to obtain from him as many favourable concessions as possible. In order to appreciate the situation of the moment both in England and in India it is necessary to retrace the history of the London East India Company and describe the circumstances which led to the formation of the New or English Company.

The London East India Company was a bold enterprise on the

part of adventurous City merchants. It owed its birth largely to the patronage and encouragement of Queen Elizabeth who was much impressed with the national advantages likely to accrue from the East India trade. Inspired with pride in, and ambition for, her merchants and not unmindful of personal advantage, she had already, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, shown her favour by supporting sundry private undertakings to establish trade with the East Indies. To this she had been led partly by the advice of her far-seeing statesman, Lord Burleigh, and partly by the stimulating achievements of Sir Francis Drake and other great navigators. These undertakings had not been altogether successful, but public interest had been aroused and it was not unnatural that the merchant adventurers of London, who had already established trade with Russia and the Levant, should throw themselves eagerly into the enterprise of opening up new markets. Another influence was the success of the Dutch in their recent voyage to India.¹ Thus when these adventurers met on September 22, 1599, at Founder's Hall for the purpose of concerting those measures necessary to establish direct trade with India they felt assured of the Queen's patronage and active support. The first General Court of the Company was held on September 24, 1599. The Earl of Cumberland and other influential persons, including several Aldermen of London, petitioned Her Majesty to further their efforts by the grant of a charter. But, as delicate negotiations were in progress for restoring peace with Spain, delay occurred and it was not till the end of the following year (December 31, 1600) that the Royal Charter was signed.² This incorporated the enterprise under the title 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.' The Company's affairs were to be directed from England by a committee consisting of one Governor and twenty-four others to be elected annually. The charter granted by the Queen contained 'a privilege for fifteen years.'

The first voyage undertaken by this London Company was under the command of Captain James Lancaster. It was begun on February 13, 1601 and Woolwich was the port of departure. Its destination

¹ Addl. MS. 24, 934, British Museum.

² Only a copy of this charter is known—that preserved at the India Office. See *Introduction* by Sir George Birdwood to William Grigg's *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*.

was the Spice Islands, more particularly Sumatra. The voyage was successful and the first English factory was founded at Bantam in the Island of Sumatra. In 1604 there was a second expedition to Bantam led by Captain Henry Middleton. But it was not till the third voyage in 1606-9, that India was brought into the range of the Company's operations. Meanwhile Elizabeth had been succeeded by James I in 1603 and two years later Akbar the Great had given place to Jahangir. It has been truly remarked by Sir John Seeley that 'In the growth of the Empire the reign of James is a capital epoch, when the seed sown in the Elizabethan age yielded its harvest.'¹ The Company was powerfully protected and encouraged by King James. In 1607 he sent Captain William Hawkins in command of the ship *Hector* to Surat where he arrived on August 24, 1608. Thence Hawkins proceeded on February 1, 1609 to the Court of Jahangir at Agra where in spite of opposition from the Portuguese and the Dutch he was allowed to reside in high favour for some time. At the beginning of his reign James had permitted licenses to be issued to private merchants, but in May 1609 he gave the Company 'the monopoly of trade and traffic to the East Indies for ever.' The same year the Company built a vessel of 1,200 tons. This, the largest merchantman ever yet known in England, was unfortunately wrecked.² It was not till the tenth voyage, led in 1612 by Captain Thomas Best, that there was obtained the right to establish a factory at Surat. This was due to prowess displayed in defeating a superior Portuguese squadron. Hitherto the Mughal had regarded the Portuguese as invincible at sea and this defeat greatly surprised him. James Mill remarks that 'the power of the Portuguese in the East carried the usual consequences of power along with it, among other things, an overbearing and insolent spirit, they had already embroiled themselves with the Mughal Government in an act of piracy—an event favourable to the English, who were thus joined with that Government in a common cause.'³ Between the years 1600 and 1612 no fewer than twelve separate voyages were made and profits up to 132 per cent. resulted from them. Nevertheless many serious difficulties were encountered. Abroad

¹ See vol. i, p. 291 of *The Growth of British Policy*, by Sir J. R. Seeley, Cambridge, 1922.

² See vol. vi, p. 124 of *History of England* by David Hume.

³ Vol. I of *History of India*, by James Mill.

they had to contend with powerful rivalry from the Dutch who put every obstacle in the way of their establishing settlements in the East. Dutch settlements on the Indian coast were numerous, but never individually considerable. Their first fort was built at Pulicat in 1609. 'It is worthy of remark, by the way, that as the English ultimately gained possession of* almost all the places with which they traded in the peninsula of India, so they either lost or resigned nearly all those in the several islands in the Indian Ocean where they at first carried on trade, in some instances not inconsiderable.'¹

As hitherto the Company had been unable to secure all the privileges desired from the Mughal Government it was thought that a properly accredited envoy might be more successful. So, in 1615 the king sent Sir Thomas Roe, as Ambassador to the Court of Jahangir. Although the whole of Roe's diplomatic demands were not conceded yet the results of his embassy were satisfactory when the position of other European traders in India was taken into consideration. Among other privileges secured was permission to establish a permanent settlement at Surat. In fact Roe's embassy laid the foundation of English influence at the Mughal Court, a thing that none of his countrymen had hitherto been able to do. In alluding to his achievement Chaplain Terry wrote that the Ambassador was 'like Joseph in the Court of Pharaoh, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better.'² The same year the Company also secured a permanent settlement at Masulipatam and opened trade with Persia. By 1618 they appeared to be in a full tide of prosperity so far as their trade by land and sea was concerned. They had five factories in the dominions of the Great Mughal, viz.:—at Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Broach and Surat.³ These factories enjoyed a large measure of independence under Jahangir who was now generally well-disposed towards the English.

About this time the Portuguese influence and power began to wane. They had been masters of Goa, Bombay and other places, partly through conquest and partly by agreement. But the path of the Company was by no means easy; for if Portuguese rivalry was now

¹ See the *Preface of Calendar of State Papers*, 1513-1616, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, London, 1862.

² See p. lix of *Introduction to the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, edited by Sir William Foster, second edition, 1926.

³ See the *English Factories in India, 1618-1621*, by Sir William Foster. Oxford University Press, 1906.

no longer formidable, the Dutch proved stubborn opponents. At last a treaty was arranged and ratified on July 16, 1619. This was intended to regulate matters concerning trade in the East Indies. It was concluded between the Dutch and English, but never came into operation. There followed a series of futile negotiations till January 1623. The English tried to establish themselves in the Spice Islands but were prevented by the Dutch who enjoyed a superiority in ships and other resources. These they turned to account by capturing or sinking many of the Company's best vessels. The Dutch appeared to have no scruples and the rivalry culminated in a treacherous massacre which took place at Amboyna in March, 1623. This put an end to the rivalry in the Spice Islands and led the English to concentrate their trade activities on India. The news of the tragedy of Amboyna caused great excitement throughout England and consternation among the members of the East India Company. The Assembly of the States-General in Holland did not condemn the action of their countrymen, whose violent proceedings led to the publication of many pamphlets both in England and Holland. These vindicated the conduct of the English or of the Dutch according to the country from which they emanated. The most powerful of the pamphlets was written in England by a Mr. Skynner.¹ A Mr. Richard Greenbury painted for the Company a picture of the tortures inflicted by the Dutch which was eventually sent to the Duke of Buckingham.² Even half a century later the feelings of resentment were recalled by Dryden in his *Amboyna, A Tragedy*. The prologue, from which the following lines are taken, expresses the strong popular feeling of the day:—

The doteage of some Englishmen is such
To fawn on those who ruine them; the Dutch.
They shall have all rather than make a war
With those who of the same Religion are.
The Streights, the Guiney Trade, the Herrings too,
Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you:
Some are resolv'd not to find out the cheat,
But cuckold like, loves him who does the feat:
What injuries soe'r upon us fall,
Yet still the same Religion answers all:
Religion wheedled you to Civil War,
Drew English blood, and Dutchmen's now would spare.³

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers* (Colonial Series) 1622-24, edited by Noel Sainsbury.

² See p. 155 of Additional MS. 24,934, B.M.

³ Dryden's *Amboyna* is 'a tissue of mingled dialogue in verse and prose' and

The Company distracted with their difficulties and their differences with the Dutch, and uncertain about the future, petitioned Parliament to examine into the position of their affairs. Although the King disapproved of the petition, he assured them of his protection and his interest in their commerce. It so happened, however, that he died before reparation could be made either to the nation or the Company.

The Company's affairs were in a precarious condition when Charles I ascended the throne. He renewed the attempt to secure redress from the States-General for the sufferings of the English at Amboyna and ordered the English fleet to avenge themselves on Dutch vessels homeward bound. The Dutch continued their obstruction of English trade both at Surat and Masulipatam: the Portuguese made strenuous efforts to regain their influence. Jahangir died in 1627, and Shah Jahan was now disputing the right of succession with his brother.

It is interesting to note that the first English nobleman, the Earl of Denbigh, paid a visit to Shah Jahan in 1631 at Burhanpur being kindly received and entertained by the Emperor, who gave his distinguished visitor a present of Rs. 6,000 on his departure.¹ Next year Shah Jahan punished the Portuguese for their piratical acts and authorized his Provincial Governor to seize their settlement at Hooghly. The first regular English settlement in Bengal was established in 1633 when factories were founded at Hariharpore and Balasore. A friendly treaty was concluded between the English and

was written during the Second Dutch War in 1673, with a view to excite the English nation against their rivals. He also wrote *Aurangzeb*, an heroic poem which was first printed and acted at the Royal Theatre in 1676. It was dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave, who brought it to the notice of the King, whereupon Charles II expressed the opinion that it was the best of all his tragedies, a view in which the author concurred. As regards the characters Dr. Johnson said that 'the personages are imperial; but the dialogue is often domestic, and therefore susceptible of sentiments accommodated to familiar incidents.' The Eastern atmosphere of the play perhaps supports Professor Saintsbury's conjecture that Dryden must have derived his information from Bernier. Sir Edmund Gosse in his *History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, styles the Great Mughal as an 'Indian potentate, the Sultan Aurangzeb.' It may be noted that the title of 'Sultan' is not applicable to Aurangzeb and, bold as it may appear to criticize Sir Edmund, I must observe that *Padshah* is the just equivalent for the style of Emperor. Dr. Johnson's comments therefore appear to be more apposite than those of our modern critics.

¹ See pp. xvii-xix of *The English Factories in India, 1630-1633*.

the Portuguese in 1634-5 which led for the time being to a better understanding regarding access to mutual ports.

The Company's commerce with India had hitherto been conducted on a monopolistic basis; but the wavering conduct of the Crown created many difficulties. In 1635, Charles I, in need of money, granted a limited charter to Sir William Courten's Association, restricting its operations to such localities as were not already occupied by the Company. It was even surmised that the King had a share in Courten's Association. Charles' conduct in this matter was indefensible inasmuch as he broke the pledge given to the Company in their former charter. The interloping Association mismanaged their own affairs in India, but did great harm to the Company and the arrival of their ships at Surat for trading purposes greatly hindered the Company's trade for some months. Fortunately Charles became aware of the harm being done, and in 1640 restored the Company, by a new pledge, to its former position. It was during this period of misfortune that an event took place destined to have far-reaching effects. This was the granting of a site at Madras to an English merchant, Mr. Day, at a nominal rent by a Hindu Raja in 1639 which proved to be, as Vincent Smith remarks 'the beginning of British territorial acquisition in India.' The agreement concerning the grant was engraved on a plate of gold.¹ The factory at Hooghly was founded in 1642, and owing to remoteness from the more or less continuous warfare that marked the Mughal conquest, gave the Company less trouble than any other of its stations.

The Company's activities were necessarily much hampered by the Civil War at home (1642-9) followed by the Commonwealth and Protectorate. In 1653 when news of the outbreak of war between the English and the Dutch in Europe reached Surat the Dutch factors formally declared war against the English in India. The English factors hereupon claimed the Mughal's protection but he declined to interfere. The same year Fort St. Geogre was erected into a Presidency: and in April 1654, hostilities with Holland were terminated by the Treaty of Westminster. By this treaty the Dutch agreed to pay compensation for the Amboyna tragedy. During the Protectorate, Cromwell was so busy with European politics that he showed no

¹ See pp. 7-8 of *India under British Rule*, by J. Talboys Wheeler.

active interest in the Company's affairs. Public attention was largely engrossed with the Spanish War; so, for the time being, trade with the East Indies was little heeded. In 1654 a treaty with Portugal was concluded. This enabled English merchants to trade freely throughout the Portuguese Eastern possessions. Thus hostility between the three nations was for the time being brought to an end and it became unnecessary to send fleets from home for defensive purposes. In England there were general confusion and unrest owing to Royalist plots and Cromwell's Parliamentary difficulties; and these caused long delay in the granting of a new charter. Cromwell conferred on the 'Merchant Adventurers' a privilege similar to that granted by Charles I to Courten's Association. In October, 1657, the new charter was received. It re-established the Company on a basis similar to that of the charter under James I in 1609. A few months before, the East India Company's fortunes had reached their lowest ebb. The year, 1657, is also memorable in Indian History inasmuch as it witnessed the beginning of that fratricidal struggle which ultimately placed Aurangzib on the throne.

After the accession of Charles II, in 1661 a new charter was obtained by which the Company were confirmed in all their former privileges. Further, they received power to judge all persons, English or Indian, within their settlements, in causes both civil and criminal, according to the laws of England. They might wage war against non-Christians, conclude peace with Indian princes or people and coin money current in the countries where they traded. They were also empowered to issue to private persons licences for trading purposes, power being reserved to the Crown to interfere if necessary. These concessions, however, stirred jealousy and criticism. Being granted by charter from the Crown, without Parliamentary sanction, their validity was seriously questioned. Thus speculative adventurers, then termed 'Interlopers' were induced to set themselves in opposition to the Company. The 'Interlopers' efforts, however, came to nothing and now at last the Company was launched on a period of real prosperity, that prosperity dating from the Restoration.

Soon after Sir George Oxinden became President at Surat, the Maratha chief Sivaji plundered Rajapoor in 1661. On this occasion several English factors were seized and confined for two years in a

hill fort, whence they were liberated only on payment of a ransom.¹ Three years later Sivaji attacked and plundered Surat itself, but his efforts to capture the English factory were repulsed by Sir George Oxinden who 'like Pope Leo at Rome before Attila in the story, saved the city by their bold front.' English and Dutch merchants resisted the attack, but the loss sustained by the Mughal's subjects showed that Inayet Khan, the Mughal Governor, was incompetent. The sack of Surat lasted five days and Sivaji took away more than a *kor* of rupees from the homes and warehouses of various merchants. Sir George's courage was rewarded by the Emperor himself who granted to both English and Dutch factors a reduction of one *per cent* from the 'nominal import duties and all the merchants at Surat were excused paying customs duties for one year.' The Emperor in addition gave Oxinden a *Serpaw* (robe of honour) and the Company presented him with a gold medal in recognition of his valour.² Sivaji again attacked Surat in 1670 when the sack lasted three days and the Mughal Governor offered a weak defence. On this occasion the Mahratha chief spared the three European factories.³ The booty carried away on this occasion is said to have been worth 66 lakhs of rupees in money, pearls and other articles. The city and its suburbs were panic-stricken and Sivaji's name, according to Dr. Fryer, became a terror which carried 'all before him like a mighty torrent.' In consequence of this the merchants' trade at Surat was for some time suspended and all communications ceased.⁴

At Surat Oxinden continued his strong and able administration in spite of serious trouble caused by hostilities with the Dutch. The year 1665 was marked by two important events. (1) The rebellion of Sir Edward Winter at Madras. Sir Edward was President of Fort St. George: his arbitrary and forceful policy did not commend itself to the Directors at home and Mr. George Foxcroft was sent out to supersede him. The factors of Madras supported Winter, who after some

¹ See vol. i, p. 143 of *A History of the Mahrathas*, by James Grant-Duff, Oxford edition, 1921.

² See p. 223 of Fryer.

³ The French 'Compagnie des Indes' was formed in 1664.

⁴ See vol. i, pp. 198-99 of *A History of the Mahrathas*, by James Grant Duff. Sarkar gives a detailed account; see vol. iv, pp. 54-57, 184-188 of *History of Aurangzib*; p. 221 of *Report of the Old Records of the India Office*, by Sir George Birdwood; see p. 296 of *English Factories in India, 1661-1664*, by Sir William Foster; also the *Gazetteer* of the Bombay Presidency.

bloodshed retained office in opposition to the Directors. But in 1667 a force was sent out which deprived him of power and installed Foxcroft in his place. Sir Edward Winter although deprived of the Presidency remained at Madras till 1672 when he returned to England. (2) Acquisition of the Island of Bombay. This had formed part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza when she married Charles II, and its possession had greatly enhanced English prestige, since it was of great value as a centre of authority and trade. In 1668 the King transferred all the ports and the Island itself to the Company 'reserving only allegiance of the inhabitants to himself.'¹ The political consequences of Charles' marriage were far-reaching as the Portuguese could now rely on the English for assistance in defeating the Dutch. The Company appointed commissioners to govern Bombay under the control of the Presidency of Surat. In 1673 the Dutch sent a squadron to capture Bombay but were totally defeated, and in the following year by the Treaty of Westminster all the differences between them and the English were settled. Under it the Dutch have retained down to the present day the undisputed command of Java and other islands in the Archipelago.

Sir George Oxinden was succeeded at Surat by President Aungier, who afterwards went to Bombay where he regulated the management of affairs and dispensed justice with an even hand. The name of Aungier became greatly revered both at Surat and Bombay whose inhabitants, putting the utmost confidence in his wisdom and integrity, made him the 'Common Arbitrator of their Differences in Point of Traffick,' and invariably accepted his awards as final.²

King Charles intended to clear the East India Company of the Whigs who had defied his authority. When this became known the interlopers began to dispute the Company's trade monopoly in the East as well as to impugn the validity of its charter. On February 3, 1683, the case between them came before the Chancery and the King's Bench. Then, when on April 21, Sir John Banks was chosen as Governor of the Company, it became evident that the Whigs would be expelled—an event which actually took place two days later.³

¹ See MS. Rawl, A. 302.

² See *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Captain Alexander Hamilton, London, 1744.

³ Henry Muddiman's News-Letters—*The Times*.

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Early in August, 1683, King Charles granted a new charter empowering the Governor and Company of Merchants to search for and seize all merchandise brought or carried by interlopers to and from every place within their jurisdiction. They were also authorised to govern their own territory, declare war or peace and to raise such military forces as might be necessary to quell disorders committed by Englishmen and others. In support of the powers thus granted the King resolved to institute a Court of Judicature in India and commanded that it should consist of 'one person learned in the civill lawes and two merchantes.' The Court was established at Bombay and empowered to adjudicate in mercantile and shipping cases according to the 'rules of equity and good conscience and according to the lawes and customes of merchantes.'¹ Dr. John St. John was appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty there.

In 1681 Bengal was separated from Madras and after a few months Mr. William Hedges was appointed Agent there. From this time the Company's affairs were beset with difficulty. This was owing to wars both in the Provinces and on the coasts between the Mughal and Sambhuji, which greatly hampered the regular business done by merchants of Surat and other factories on the Malabar coast. About this time too the administration of Bombay was seriously mismanaged by Sir John Child² with the result that a rebellion broke out in 1683. Child was evidently unfit for his position and his administrative incompetence was notorious long before his death in 1689.

It will not be out of place at this point to take a glance at the condition of India during the period when Aurangzib began a fresh era of conquest. The Emperor wished to extend his sovereignty over the southern kingdoms of the Peninsula. He achieved, by force or by treachery—for he was not scrupulous in his methods—many successes, and in appearance at least realized his wishes. But his triumph was less real than he imagined, inasmuch as he had alienated Hindu sentiment where Akbar conciliated it. In this way he created

¹ See Patent Roll 3237 (35 Chas. II, pt. 3), P.R.O.

² Several writers including Macaulay and Sir George Birdwood have attested the fact that the two Childs were brothers; but Ray and Mrs. Oliver Strachey in their book *Keigwin's Rebellion* (pp. 162-3) have proved for the first time that there was no relationship between Sir Josiah and Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay.

formidable difficulties for his successors in the form of implacable rivals who were destined one day to dispute their power.

These rivals were the Marathas, who inhabited Khandesh and Malwa, with a strong natural frontier in the Vindhya and Satpura hills. About the time when Aurangzib, as Viceroy of the Deccan, began his offensive against Bijapur and Golconda, they had found a great leader in the person of Sivaji, a master in the art of irregular warfare. For a short period peace prevailed early in the reign of Aurangzib, but soon troubles arose in the Eastern scenes of his Empire which were promptly suppressed by his Governors. Sivaji in the meantime was exerting all his energies against the Mughal, but was eventually defeated by Aurangzib's general Jai Singh and persuaded to go to Agra to pay homage to the Emperor. While there he became doubtful about his personal safety and made a dramatic escape. Thereafter he resumed hostilities and harassed the Mughal wherever that was possible besides plundering in every direction. By alliance and other means he made himself the foremost power in the Deccan. In 1668 he concluded a peace with the Mughal which, however, lasted only two years. His power and reputation continued to increase until in 1674 he assumed at Raigarh the title of Raja with the insignia of royalty. Of him Grant Duff truly remarks: 'Sivajee was certainly a most extraordinary person; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to high rank in the page of history must be admitted.'¹ The Mughal army for lack of money achieved little real success either against the Marathas or the King of Bijapur. Sivaji died in 1680 and his son Sambhuji became national leader of the Marathas.

Aurangzib found formidable enemies to his Empire in others besides the Marathas. Arbitrary invasions of the territory of two of his Rajput vassals and his re-imposition of the tax *Jizia* on 'unbelievers' alienated the Hindu community. In 1669 he ordered the demolition of all Hindu temples within his dominions. These, if they had been spared, would have testified to-day to the architectural glories of Hindu India. But the Emperor did not dream of the ultimate consequences of his doings.

The Mughal returned to the Deccan in 1682 and spent his days in ceaseless warfare against Bijapur and the Marathas. Bijapur was

¹ See vol. I, p. 228 of *A History of the Marathas*, by James Grant Duff.

annexed in 1686 and Golconda the following year. Two years later Sambhuji was taken and put to death; thus all rivals in the Deccan were cleared away. By the end of 1689, Aurangzeb was unrivalled monarch of Northern India and of the Deccan. His foremost foes had all fallen and their dominions been annexed to his Empire. He seemed to have gained everything, but in reality all was lost. As Mr. Sarkar remarks: 'It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Empire was now too large to be ruled by one man. He could not hold the newly annexed kingdoms and at the same time hold the Marathas in subjection. He could defeat but not finally crush his foes. Lawlessness reigned in many places. The old Emperor could not control his officers at a distance; thus administration grew slack and corrupt. In Agra there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed so that no great building, fine manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzib's reign.'¹

The accession of James II, from his well proved interest in naval affairs, encouraged the Company to rely on a continuation of the Royal protection which would enable them more effectually to restrain the interlopers from encroaching upon their domain. Owing to his own troubles within the state his brief reign proved to be for them a period of disappointment and depression. The activity of the interlopers increased, and the Company were at a loss to know how to deal with them. In Bengal where they were most active, they had beyond doubt inflicted considerable injury on the Company's trade. The Mughal authorities, unable to discriminate between the different representatives of the same European nation, had treated the interlopers with a certain measure of favour and after they had purchased a *farmān* from the Mughal officers they were allowed to trade without any restrictions. This was not very surprising because the new-comers expressed their willingness to pay a higher rate of import duty.

Prior to what may be called the definite establishment of these rivals the London Company had enjoyed a very favoured position in that it paid an import duty of only 2½ per cent, but when the 'New Company', as the interlopers dubbed themselves, expressed their willingness to pay up to 5 per cent, the Mughal authorities thought

¹ See pp. 50-51 of *Studies in Mughal India*, by J. N. Sarkar, 1920.

themselves entitled to charge the first comers an increased rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This the London Company flatly refused to pay, declaring that they could not afford it although it is not clear why this seemingly moderate rate should have been deemed exorbitant. The rivalry between the Company and the interlopers was rendered more acute by a move which certainly placed the former in an invidious light with the Mughal authorities.

While these officials were pressing on the Company's factors for the extraction of heavier dues, the latter began to formulate their own grievances against the former. They rejoined that the Nawab of Bengal had for many years been in the habit of flouting their rights and ill-treating their representatives. Their privileges under the farmān had been infringed, bribes had been extorted, the loading of their ships had been hindered, and worst of all, the servants of the Company had been forced to appear in the local courts of justice. It was further alleged that the Mughal Emperor himself was indebted to the Company for no less a sum than £160,000, due mostly for goods forcibly extracted from them without payment, and besides these were claims for over-exactions under the head of customs. These duplicated causes of friction produced a strained situation all round, and it is not surprising that it led to serious troubles. Before long the legitimate English traders grew impatient. The interlopers were like gnats, but the Mughal authorities were the more formidable adversaries. It was with the latter that the position had to be arranged. As a later writer expressed it:—'Experience soon showed that treaties were of no avail against the lawlessness of the local officials. It was not that the Mughal Government would not protect the foreign merchants against oppression and wrong. It could not; whatever control it had, it was gradually losing.'¹ Under these circumstances the Company began to consider the advisability of acquiring a place in Bengal suitable for fortification with a view to upholding their trading and personal rights. With this object in view the Governor at Hooghly, Mr. Gyfford, applied to Shayista Khan for permission to construct a fort at the mouth or on the bank of the Ganges. This request was refused, the Mughal Governor no doubt seeing in it a limitation to his authority, but it did not improve the situation.

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Whilst these disputes were in progress much trade was lost, and it was impossible to discern any solution of the difficulties that had arisen.

In such a dilemma there appeared to be no remedy for the English between relinquishing trade in Bengal and resorting to force. A spirit of combativeness had seized the Court, and Mr. Gyfford was censured for displaying too much submissiveness to the Nawab and his officers. At this period the policy of the Company was largely inspired by Sir Josiah Child, the Chairman, who believed in political action as the best means of promoting the Company's interests and development. He is indeed said to have aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' But political action does not bear fruit unless there is military power behind it, and that the Company did not possess until a much later period. Still Sir Josiah Child's proceedings may be regarded as the first attempt towards grafting a political venture on the original design of a strictly commercial undertaking.

Sir Josiah Child undoubtedly held large views. In 1685 he had substituted Bombay for Surat as the head station and factory going so far as to describe Bombay as 'the key of India'. This was the first attempt to escape from the interference and control of the Mughal officials, as the Island of Bombay possessed a sovereign status. But its advantages as a place of trade were not perceived until a much later period. Child hoped that it would prove a secure base for the immediate safety of the Company's servants and for the realization of his ulterior plans. For similar reasons a fort had been desired in the Gangetic delta.

¹ See vol. v of *History of Aurangzib*, by J. N. Sarkar.

A Note on the Kalvan Plates of the Time of the Paramara Bhoja

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR

Watson Museum, Rajkot

THESE plates have been edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, Part II. Though undated, they are historically very important particularly in so far as they throw light on the extent of the Paramāra dominions in the Deccan under the great Bhoja. Mr. Banerji thinks that the grant was issued by Yaśovarman during the period of anarchy which followed the fall of Bhoja. But there is sufficient evidence in the inscription itself to show that it was issued in the life-time of that king when he was at the height of his glory. The record opens with an account of the Paramāra dynasty ruling at Dhārā, mentioning the three immediate predecessors of King Bhoja by name, viz. Siyaka, Vākpati and Sindhurāja. The important southern, western and eastern conquests of Bhoja are further recorded in this description. Then is mentioned the name of Yaśovarman, King Bhoja's governor over the Selluka (or possibly Setṭuka) territory consisting of 1,500 villages. Lastly occurs the name of Rāṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family who held the Audrahādī principality of eighty-four villages under Yaśovarman. This is in full agreement with the usual practice of land grants in which the names of the overlord, feudatory or governor of the province and then that of the grantor occur in successive order. The local potentate though directly subordinate to the feudatory or governor, owes allegiance to the paramount sovereign. The present grant was in fact issued not by Yaśovarman but by Rāṇaka Amma, and the mention of Paramāra Bhoja and Yaśovarman before his own name is sufficient to show that he paid due allegiance to his sovereign Bhoja and immediate superior Yaśovarman. The absence of any mention in the record about the consent of Bhoja, the sovereign lord to the issue of the grant, in no way indicates that the power of the Paramāras of Mālva had weakened considerably in North Mahārāshṭra at the time of the

issue of the grant. The mere mention of the Paramāra sovereign in the grant is sufficient to show that the part of the country was undoubtedly under the sway of that dynasty.

The grants of the early Yādavas of Seunadeśa show that the northern portion of the Nasik district in which the present grant was found was ruled over by them in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.¹ But they were often disturbed in their possession of the country by foreign invasions. The Paramāras of Mālva appear to have made attempts to seize the country at least since the time of Vākpati-Muñja. The Sangamner grant² of the early Yādava Bhīllama II, dated A.D. 1000 states that he struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign power of Raṇaraṅgabhīma (i.e. Chālukya Tailapa II) firm. Another inscription³ refers to an invasion and conquest of Śvétatapa by Lakshmaṇarāja, a ruler of Chedi. We do not see such an occasion in the history of Chedi king to have crossed Mālva, the territories of the Paramāras and to have advanced so far towards the Deccan. But it is probable that Lakshmaṇarāja had accompanied the Paramāra king Muñja, who, we know, had invaded the Deccan. We are told that Muñja's minister Rudrāditya endeavoured to dissuade his master from opposing Tailapa in that king's own country. Muñja, however, disregarded his advice and marched to the south. In the encounter which ensued Muñja was defeated and taken prisoner.⁴ It must be the same fight of Muñja with the early Yādava Bhīllama II that is referred to in the Sangamner grant. These statements thus lead us to believe that Lakshmaṇarāja in company of Paramāra Muñja invested Śvétatapa and defeated Bhīllama II in about A.D. 996, but the Chalukya sovereign Tailapa hastened to help his feudatory and gave a crushing defeat to the invaders and took Muñja prisoner.

After Muñja Bhoja also seems to have attempted to conquer the Śvétatapa country. Bhoja's copper plate grants⁵ dated V. S. 1076 and 1078 show that he had conquered the Koṅkaṇa. Now Bhoja could not have proceeded to conquer the Koṅkaṇa territory unless he passed

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 212 and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 119 and vol. xvii, p. 117.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 212.

³ Kahlia plates of the Kalachuri Sodhadeva : *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 86.

⁴ Luard and Lele, *Paramaras of Dhar and Malva*, p. 6.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 53 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 181 ; vol. xviii, p. 320.

through the Śvētapada country and defeated the local king, evidently some prince of the Yādava family, either Vesuka or Bhīllama III. But the Deccan Chālukya sovereign Jayasimha was too strong for Bhoja and soon deprived him of the sovereignty over Kōṅkaṇa.¹ Consequently Bhoja had probably to restrict his activities in the south and allow even the Śvētapada country to remain undisturbed for some time. But any way, some time before the Kalvan plates were issued Bhoja must have conquered it again. Though these plates are undated there is sufficient evidence in them to lead us to assign them to a definite period. They were issued on the *amāvāsya* day of the month of *Chaitra* when there was a solar eclipse. Now in the latter part of Bhoja's life, say between V.S. 1080 and 1110 the only years that have a solar eclipse in *Chaitra* are V.S. 1102, 1103 and 1104 (A.D. 1045-7). We can therefore say that in one of the three years the grant must have been issued. There is another reason to assign the Kalvan plates to this period of Bhoja's life. Fortunately we know of another grant dated V.S. 1103 which shows clearly that Bhoja's power was fully acknowledged over the southern part of Gujaraṭ, falling within the Lāṭa country, which is quite adjacent to the Śvētapada country of the Kalvan plates. This grant was recently discovered at Tilakvāḍā² in the Sankheḍā mahāl of the Baroda district and was issued by one Jasorāja of the Śravaṇabhadra family ruling over Sankheḍā, the date being given as Monday the *amāvāsya* of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in V.S. 1103, probably, 1 December A.D. 1046. From all this, it is impossible to suppose that Bhoja's power had weakened considerably at this time.

The Śvētapada country did not enjoy peace even after the fall and death of Paramāra Bhoja, for Vapullaka, a general of the Chedi king Karna conquered³ it in about V.S. 1111 (A.D. 1055). The powerful Chedi ruler overran Malva and tried to seize the whole of the Paramāra territories, but was foiled in his attempt by the Deccan Chālukya king Someśvara Āhavamalla, who supported⁴ the cause of Bhoja's successor Jayasimha and by his timely intervention in the affairs of Mālva not only freed that province from foreign aggression but also

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, p. 313.

² See *Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference*. The plates are being edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 86.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 137.

helped the Yādavas to enjoy their own territories in peace as his feudatories.

The troubles that befel the Śvētapada country by the encroachments of Bhoja and immediately after his death by those of the Chedi king Karna are echoed in the grants of the Yādavas of Seunadeśa. It is said therein¹ that there was much confusion after the death of Bhīllama III, and Seunachandra got the kingdom by the force of his arms. It is said of Seunachandra that just as the three worlds were raised from the ocean by the God Vishnu in his boar incarnation, so after the death of Bhīllama Seunachandra conquered all kings and lifted up the sovereignty with its dignity.

From what is said above, it would not be difficult to explain why no antecedents of Yaśovarman, the governor of Bhoja, are given in the present record. It might have been due to his having risen at once to the high position by the favour of Bhoja as a governor of the province conquered by Bhoja from the Yādavas.

The points in which the present grant differs from the regular grants of the Paramāras of Mālva, as noted by Mr. Banerji, can also be very easily explained. As the grant was issued not directly by a Paramāra king but by a local authority under a feudatory of his, it was apparently not considered necessary to attach the Garuḍa and snake seal generally found in the Paramāra grants. The Tilakvāḍā plates, referred to above, do not similarly show the Garuḍa seal as they were issued by a feudatory of Bhoja. Similar arguments can be adduced about the second and third points raised by Mr. Banerji, viz. the absence of the date and customary opening verse in praise of Śiva. The latter may be due to the personal preference felt by the grantor for the tenets of Jainism.

Another place where Mr. Banerji seems to be wrong is where he thinks that Yaśovarman had obtained one-half of the town of Selluka through Bhoja's favour. It is not possible to suppose that only half the town of Selluka was given by Bhoja to Yaśovarman. The plate reading is not quite clear; but I think that सेलुकार्ध सार्धसहस्र is the engraver's mistake for सेलुकदिसार्धसहस्र (1,500 villages beginning with Selluka). I also think that the correct reading of the name of the

¹ In the above-mentioned Sangamner grant and Asvi grant which is being edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.* See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, p. 515.

town is probably Setṭuka which can be identified with modern Saṭāṇē, the name of a taluka town which is not far from Kalvan where the plates were found.

Although a portion of the Nasik District was called by the name of Śvetapada in some inscriptions, the word Śvetapada occurring in line 25 of the present inscription seems more to stand as synonymous of Śvetāmbara denoting a section of the Jainas than for a place name as Mr. Banerji supposes. The epithet Śvetapada we know is applied to the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas as Nagnapada is applied to the Digāmbara sect of the Jainas. There are a number of Jaina antiquities in the Nasik district, specially in the Nasik, Dindori and Kalvan talukas.

More place names mentioned in the grant can be identified with some certainty. Something has already been said about Selluka or Setṭuka. The village Muktāpalli cannot be recognized in a similar form, but the modern village Makhamalābād would seem to occupy its site. In the inscription Māhuḍalāgrāma is said to be in the north of Muktāpalli. Now Māhuḍalā is probably identical with modern Mohāḍi, which is in the Dindori taluka. Mohāḍi is to the north of modern Makhamalābād, thus indicating that Makhamalābād may be occupying the site of old Muktāpalli. Mahishabuddhikā must be modern Mhasarūḷa near Nasik which is a place of pilgrimage of the Jainas. Hathāvāḍa is modern Hātasagadh fort. Sangamanagara is probably modern Surgāṇē, the capital of a petty Bhil State on the border of the Nasik and Surat Districts. Aṭṭahikā may possibly be modern Otūra.

A History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

(Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

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CHAPTER III

THE CORONATION OF SHĀH JAHĀN

With this picture of Agra—however dim, blurred and inadequate—before us, we can follow the course of events to better purpose.

The period of ten days which intervened between Shāh Jahān's entry into Agra and his enthronement was none too long either for consideration of the necessary changes in administration or for preparation for the festivities. A heavy list of honours had to be drawn up; and rewards of faithful servants and appointments to high offices to be determined.

Besides his time must have been taken up by audiences given to grantees and officers—of all parties—who must have pressed on each other's heels to welcome and congratulate him; some, like Sher Khān, anxious to wipe off their unseemly antecedents, others to create and establish a new patronage. We must remember that change of sovereign, under the peculiar conditions of Mughal India, marked a more thorough-going breach of continuity with the past than we are apt to imagine: it involved a reshuffling of the parties with new lines of cleavage and antipathies and a more or less complete dissolution of the old allegiances and obligations, while the appearance of a new peerage led to a fresh grouping of the smaller nobles and men round their new patrons.

Notwithstanding the improvised character of the celebrations, the tone and quality of the festivities must have given the people a foretaste of the new era of prosperity and splendour that was dawning—an era characterized by generosity of thought, of action and of outlook. But it was only a foretaste, for some of the highest nobles

and dignitaries of the court were away at Lahore with all the paraphernalia of the imperial camp; and this quick assumption of supreme authority gave the enthronement the aspect of a political demonstration or diplomatic action, rather than a leisurely and dignified state function heavy with gold and elephants and long-drawn convivialities. Yet the festivities were as gorgeous as time and occasion allowed of. In gifts of hard cash, for which no preparation was necessary, a new record was established in the history of the Mughal court with its brilliant traditions of munificence.

With these remarks we proceed to the details:—

Shāh Jahān entered Agra fort riding a horse, and ascended the throne 3½ *gharis* (i.e., 1 hour and 24 minutes) after sunrise on Monday, 8 *Jumada* II, 1037 A.H.¹ (= 25 *Bahman* = February 4, 1628 A.C.), when he was 36 y. 0 m. and 28 d. of age by the solar, and 37 y. 10 m. and 8 d. old by the lunar, calculation.

The ceremony took place in the gallery known as *Daulat Khana-i-khas-o-'am* (the Hall of Private and Public Audience).²

Nobles, soldiers and scholars, of whom a goodly number had by now gathered round the Emperor, offered congratulations and *niṣār* in quantities worthy of the occasion. This was distributed among the populace, whose cry of 'Long live the King' rent the air. Singers and dancing girls—the choicest in the land—formed part of the entertainment: the air was soft with scents and song.

The ceremony of reading the *khutba* in the new Emperor's name was performed in this wise: The *Khatib*, after praising God, the holy Prophet and the *Khalifas*, mentioned each one of the ancestors by name, being presented with a *khil'at* for each. On coming to the name of Shāh Jahān he got a particularly costly robe of honour worked with gold, and gold and silver were given away to the poor in lavish profusion.

The coins were struck in the name of the new sovereign, both the *ashrafi* (or *muhr*) and the rupee having the following inscriptions: On

¹ So *B. N.* and *Qarniya. A. S.* (I, 225) and *M. L.* (I, 395) give Monday, the 7th *Jumada* II; while *Tuzuk* (426) has a woeful misprint. The calendars give Monday for 8 *Jumada* II.

² Not the *Diwān-i-'am* of our times, but an old gallery which stood in Jahāngīr's time on the spot occupied by the *Jharoka* of *Diwān-i-'am* to-day.

one side, the holy *kalima*, with the names of the four *khalifas* in the margin; on the other side, Emperor's name and title.¹

Farmans promulgating the accession were issued, bearing the *tuḡhra* (title), *Abū'l-Muḡaffar Shihab ud-Dīn Muḡammad Ṣāhib-qirān-i-Ṣāni Shāh Jahān Badshāh-i-Ghāzi*²—which was henceforth the imperial title—and the stamp of the Imperial Seal (*Muhr-i-Auzak*³). This latter, which already bore the names of Jahāngīr and his eight ancestors up to Tīmūr, and was known as '*Nu Spihr*' (The Nine Heavens), now underwent necessary modification: Shāh Jahān's name was placed in the centre, his father's being relegated to the margin.

Large trays of gold and jewels were sent out from the Zenana by Mumtāz uz-Zamānī Arjmand Bānū Begum ('Mumtāz Maḡal'), Shāh Jahān's favourite queen, as *niṣār*. It was duly showered over his head by the nobles.

Courtiers, sayyids, sheikhs, scholars, pious men, poets and astrologers received gifts and grants, some of which will be mentioned later.

Then the Emperor retired to the haram, where the ladies flocked round him to tender their felicitations. The Empress, now with her

¹ I have found no coin of Shāh Jahān's either in the Indian Museum, or in the Punjab Museum, Catalogue, struck in 1037 and bearing these inscriptions; though there are some such struck in 1039 and later. C. J. Brown, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow* has also been searched.

² Strictly speaking '*Abū'l-Muḡaffar*' is *kunya* (filionymic), and the rest is *laqab* (title or surname). '*Shihab ud-Dīn*' was proposed for Shāh Jahān by Aṣaf Khān; and the other *laqab* '*Ṣāhib-qirān-i-Ṣāni*' (Second Lord of the happy conjunction) was adopted not because there had been an auspicious conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Venus either at his birth or at his accession, but because Shāh Jahān's exploits as prince bore close resemblance to the achievements of Amīr Tīmūr before he succeeded to the throne; and the latter, as we know, bore the title '*Ṣāhib-qirān*' (Lord of the happy conjunction), having been born under a planetary conjunction. But this is not all: the *bayyinat* of '*Ṣāhib-qirān*' are equal to the ordinary *abjad* value of '*Shāh Jahān*', which is 365. This was considered proof of a subtle divine sanction for adoption of that surname. (Readers to whom this is obscure and who are sufficiently interested in the subject will find the matter explained in S. H. Hodivala, '*The Laqab "Ṣāhibqirān-i-Ṣāni"*' (J. & P. of A.S.B., vol. xvii for 1921, pp. 116-117).)

The title '*Shāh Jahān*' was bestowed on him by Jahāngīr in 1617 in recognition of meritorious services rendered in the Deccan (*Tuzuk*, R. & B., I, 395); while the name '*Khurram*' was given him at birth by the emperor Akbar (*Tuzuk*, Preface, p. 6.)

³ See an illustration of an impression of this seal in Jahāngīr's time in Roe, J. We have given the nearest equivalent in English to the proper pronunciation

own hand, showered on the Emperor's head quantities of gold, silver and jewellery equal in amount to the *niṣār* offered outside. Her *peshkash* consisting of costly jewels and pearls, precious stuffs and rarities was accepted. Next his favourite daughter, Jahān Ārā Begum, popularly known as Begum Sāhib, offered her *niṣār* and *peshkash*. Then the other ladies followed according to their wealth, position and the degree of favour enjoyed.

The ingenuity shown by poets and writers in finding chronograms giving the year of Shāh Jahān's accession is not devoid of interest:

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī found a subtle meaning in the fact that the numerical value according to the *abjad* system of the following verse of the *Qur'an* (II, 28):

إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً

was equal to that of the following words:

شاه جهان بادشاه غازي سَلَّمَ الله وَاَهْلَه

while the words فَكَلَّمَ جَاهُ شِهَابِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ جِهَانَ مَاحِبِ قُرْآنِ ثَانِي also gave the same value, which was considered an expression of divine will that Shāh Jahān was a vicegerent of God.

The chronograms also are quite good and worth reproduction:—

The following is from the now old and aging Hakīm Ruknā of Kāshān ('Masīh'):

بادشاه زمانه شاه جهان * غم و هلاک و کامران باشد

حکیم او بر علایق عالم * همچو حکم قضا روان باشد

بهر سال جلوس او گفتم * در جهان باد تا جهان باشد (1037)

The famous poet Sa'idā-i-Gilānī ('Bebadal Khān'), Superintendent of the Imperial Goldsmiths' Workshop, has the following:

جلوس شاه جهان دادۀ زیب ملت و دین (1037)

Mīr Sālī, the calligraphist, came forward with

تا بود از عالم و آدم نفعان * شاه جهان باد پناه جهان

کلیک قضا سال جلوسش پوهف * شاه جهان باشد شاه جهان (1037)

But the ^{v. as} ^{while} ^{am} ^{II.} ^{Diwa} ⁽¹⁰³⁷⁾ ^{دو شنبه بیست و پنجم بهمن} ^{of the bunch} ^{is Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamīd's attempt,} ^{whose chronogram}

gives the day ^{on} the week and the date and the month (of the *Ilahi* year) in the word, and the lunar year in the numerical value. The reader will agree that this is remarkably clever.

Among the rest are

(1) زینت شرع (1037)

(2) عدا حق بهقدار داد (1037)

the latter giving also, incidentally, the verdict on the moral issue of Shāh Jahān's succession.¹

We turn now to the presents given away by the Emperor. First, naturally enough, come the members of the royal family. Mumtāz uz-Zamānī, who of course heads the list, got 2 lakhs of *ashrafis* and 6 lakhs of rupees, her annual allowance being fixed at 10 lakhs of rupees. 1 lakh *ashrafis* and 4 lakh rupees were bestowed on Jahān Ārā Begum with a yearly allowance of 6 lakhs (half to be paid in cash from the Imperial Treasury and half from a *jāgīr* fixed for the purpose).

A sum of 8 lakhs of rupees was entrusted to the Empress—4½ lakhs to be distributed among the absent children, as soon as they reached Agra, as follows: Dārā Shukoh, 2 lakhs; Shāh Shujā', 1½ lakhs; Aurangzeb, 1 lakh; and 3½ lakhs among Murād Bakhsh, Luṭfullāh, Raṣhan Ārā Begum and Surayya Bānū Begum.

Further, daily allowances were fixed for the Princes as follows:

Dārā Shukoh, Rs. 1,000

Shāh Shujā', Rs. 750.

Aurangzeb, Rs. 500.

Murād Bakhsh, Rs. 250.²

We notice in passing how Jahān Ārā Begum stands relatively not only to the other princesses but to her own brothers, in the Emperor's favour. We also see that none of the other queens appears in this list, which gives of course only the bigger items, although Khāfi Khān,³ involved in a tangle of blundering figures, records an allowance of Rs. 50,000 for each of the other ladies.

As for those outside the royal family we have no room here for the names of persons who received *mansab* or increase of *mansab* on this day. No less than 1000 men were honoured in this manner.

Among those that had accompanied Shāh Jahān from Junair some

¹ *B.N.*, I, i, 94-95; *A.S.*, I, 227-29.

² We follow here *B.N.* (I, i, 96-97), which is supported by *Qarniya*. Muḥammad Sālīh's figures (*A.S.*, I, 231) are unsatisfactory, and *M.L.* (I, 396-97) is hopeless.

³ *M.L.*, I, 396.

35 men received a rank of 1000 and upwards. Among these worthy of note are :

(1) Mahābat Khān, appointed Commander-in-Chief with a title of 'Khān Khānān', rank of 7000/7000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) and a gift of 4 lakhs of rupees in cash with other insignia of honour.

(2) Wazīr Khān, appointed *wazīr* with a rank of 5000/3000 and 1 lakh in cash.

(3) Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārha Tihanpūrī, granted a rank of 4000/3000 and 1 lakh in cash.

(4) Dilāwar Khān Barij, honoured with a rank of 4000/2500 and Rs. 50,000.

(5) Bahādur Khān Rohilla with 4000/2000 and Rs. 50,000.

Among the lowlier recipients of honour we may mention Rizā Bahādur ('*Khidmat Parast Khān*'), with whom our readers are already acquainted. He got increase of *manṣab* to 2000/1200 with a cash prize of Rs. 20,000 and a jewelled baton (*aṣā*), and was appointed *Mir Tuzuk*.¹

Altogether 72 lakhs of rupees were disbursed on this day ; 60 lakhs in the haram, and 12 lakhs among nobles, sayyids, learned and pious men and scholars and poets. And taking note of other expenses incidental to such a function, the total extent to which the Imperial Treasury was depleted must have approached a crore.

Among the *manṣabdārs* of Jahāngīr's time, who were present at the coronation, a considerable number kept their rank or increased it, additional *jaḡīr* being sanctioned to the latter class for the increase. The list given by the court chroniclers, which only gives recipients of a rank of 1000 and more, runs to 22 names. We have space here only for the first six :

(1) Khān-i-Ālam : 6000/5000.

(2) Qāsim Khān Juwainī : 5000/5000 (2000 *suwar du aspa sih aspa*), with governorship of Bengal.

(3) Abū'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī 'Lashkar Khān' : 5000/4000.

(4) Rāja Jai Singh : 4000/3000.

(5) Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha : 4000/2500.

(6) Rāo Sūr Bhūrtia : 4000/2500.²

¹ B.N., I, i, 116-18 ; A.S., I, 266-68. ² B.N., I, i, 120 ; A.S., I, 266-67.

Out of the governors of Provinces during Jahāngīr's reign only four were retained :

Governor	Province
'Yamin ud-Daula' Āṣaf Khān.	Lahore and Multan
(The administration to be carried on by Amīr Khān s/o Qāsim Khān Namakī on his behalf.)	
Khān Jahān Lodī.	Deccan, Berar and Khandes.
I'tiqād Khān (younger brother of Āṣaf Khān.)	Kashmir.
Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Ṣānī.	Orissa.

That only four were retained shows how much Shāh Jahān was out of love with the administration that preceded him. Of course the treatment that he had received during his rebellion and Nūr Jahān's intrigues had much to say to the changes in the personnel of the government.¹

The following changes took place in the other provinces on Coronation day or immediately afterwards :—

Name of Province.	Old Governor.	New Governor.
Bihar.	Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī.	Khān-i-Ālam.
Kabul.	Khawāja Abū'l-Ḥasan (his son, Zafar Khān, ² officiating for him).	Abū'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī 'Lashkar Khān'.
Agra.	Qāsim Khān Juwainī.	
Bengal.	Fidā'i Khān.	Qāsim Khān Juwainī.
Ahmadabad.	Saif Khān.	Sher Khān.
Malwa.	Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ma'mūrī 'Muẓaffar Khān'.	Amānullāh ('Khān(a)zād Khān', 'Khān Zamān'), s/o Mahābat Khān.
Allahabad.	Jahāngīr Qulī Khān s/o Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka 'Khān-i-A'zam'.	Jānsipār Khān Turka-mān.
Delhi.	Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī.	Qilij Khān.
Tatta.	Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān.	Bāqī Khān ('Sher Khawāja'). ³

¹ B.N., I, i, 125 ; A.S., I, 271-72.

² This Zafar Khān is the father of Muḥammad Tāhīr 'Ināyat Khān', the author of *Qarniya*.

³ B.N., I, i, 125-26 ; A.S., I, 271-72.

The following *faujdar*s were appointed :

<i>Faujdar</i> of Sarkār-i-Kanauj	Mirzā Khān, grandson of 'Abdu'r-Rahīm ' <i>Khān-Khānān</i> '.
" " " " Mewat	Dilāwar Khān.
" " " " Sironj	Şafdar Khān.
" " " " Miān-i-doāb	Sayyid Bahwa.
" " " " Munger	Mumtāz Khān.
" " " " Mandsur	Jān Nişār Khān. ¹

And Khwāja Jahān was appointed *Diwān* of the Ahmadabad province.²

Now we can turn to the first orders issued by Shāh Jahān after assumption of power. These give us an idea of the new era that was dawning, and also will help us in forming an opinion about the new personality that was to sway the destiny of the Indian peoples for thirty years.

The very first order he issued was that forbidding the *sajda* (laying the forehead on the ground) by way of salutation. Since Akbar's time this was the form of greeting the Emperor at time of audience or of grant of an imperial favour. Shāh Jahān ordered abolition of this ceremony not only because under the Islamic law God alone is worthy of this particular kind of homage, but, as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ assures us,³ Shāh Jahān's ideas of self-respect were offended by this form of self-abasement.

Mahābat Khān flatteringly protested that this would infringe the dignity of the Emperor, between whom and the subjects a distance should be kept, and suggested the 'kissing the ground' in place of the *sajda*. The Emperor did not agree to it but adopted a middle course and directed that the hands should be placed on the ground palm downwards and the back of the hands should be kissed.⁴

The sayyids and dervishes, and learned and pious people were exempted even from this, and ordered to use the form *As-Salamu 'Alaikum* (which is customary between equals) at meeting, and to recite the *sūrah Al-Fatiḥa* at parting.⁵

¹ A.S., I, 272.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴ Later (in the 10th regnal year), even this was considered to resemble the *sajda* too closely, and a 'fourth bow' (in addition to the three current since Akbar's time) was substituted for it.

⁵ B.N., I, i, 111-12; A.S., I, 258.

We see how strongly this despotic monarch, even in his maddest moments of youth and power, felt about the dignity and the brotherhood of man, and how his truly democratic spirit broke through the bonds of tradition, atmosphere and established usage.

The reader is perhaps impatiently expecting to hear of the way in which Āṣaf Khān's 'highly meritorious services' were rewarded.

'*Khidmat Parast Khān*', the bearer of the sanguinary message, having seen the executions through at Lahore, rode fleet and fast to Agra and was, as we have seen, in time for his share in the Coronation honours. He reached Agra on the afternoon of Friday, 5 *Jumāda* II (= 22 *Bahman*), and brought a letter from Āṣaf Khān saying that he proposed leaving Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan at Lahore for the present, and that he, with the three princes, would leave Lahore on Thursday, 21 *Bahman*, and reach Agra on Friday, 14 *Iṣṭandarmuḡ*.

So on the day of the Coronation Āṣaf Khān was already on the way to Agra. Shāh Jahān wrote him an autograph letter in which he did him the special honour of addressing him as 'uncle'—in fact this is how he was henceforth addressed both in conversation and communication. The letter overflowed with gratitude for his services and admiration for his skill. He approved of Āṣaf Khān's plans, and as the first instalment of imperial favour invested him *in absentia* with the rank of 8000/8000 (*Du aspa sih aspa*), which constituted an increase of 1000 personal and horse on his previous rank, which was the maximum ever reached in the time of Akbar or Jahāngīr. Lahiri port was also bestowed on him. Further, as a mark of special distinction, the Emperor sent him the dress which he himself had worn at the time of enthronement.¹

Āṣaf Khān with the Princes Dārā Shukoh, Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb, his own wife and all the retinue, reached the precincts of Agra on Wednesday, 1 *Rajab*, 1037 (= 19 *Iṣṭandarmuḡ*), and encamped outside Bihishtābād or Sikandra.

Mumtāz uz-Zamānī, with Begum Ṣāḥib and other children, came forward to receive her parents. The meeting was to take place not at Sikandra but on a half-way spot where tents were ready pitched. The two family parties met here with great rejoicing. Towards evening the Empress and party returned to Agra.

¹ B.N., I, i, 114-15.

Next day (Thursday) the nobles and dignitaries of the court gave a formal reception to the newcomers and ushered them into the imperial presence. When the Emperor had taken his seat in the *Jharoka* of the Hall of Private and Public Audience he was ready to receive them. They were presented in the following order, each offering *nazr* and *niṣār* mentioned against the name of each :

Name.	<i>Nazr.</i>	<i>Niṣār.</i>
Dārā Shukoh	1000 <i>muhrs</i>	1000 <i>muhrs</i>
Shāh Shujā'	750 <i>muhrs</i>	750 <i>muhrs</i>
Aurangzeb	500 <i>muhrs</i>	500 <i>muhrs</i>
Āṣaf Khān	1000 <i>muhrs</i>	1000 <i>muhrs</i> (with a tray of jewels).

These princes, who had been taken from Prince Shāh Jahān as guarantees for his good and dutiful conduct, were now united to him after a long separation—under circumstances how changed! From miserable hostages to the first Princes of the blood—and all through Yamīn ud-Daula's successful policy and tact. We are not surprised at the Emperor's effusion. After the usual demonstrations of paternal affection had been lavished on the Princes, Āṣaf Khān was permitted to come up into the *Jharoka*—by itself a rare honour. He laid his head on the feet of the Emperor, who lifted it with both his hands and embraced his faithful servant. The list of the imperial gifts on this occasion, which may be considered an excellent specimen of the highest imperial favour, consisted of a robe of honour with *Charqab Murassa'*, a jewelled dagger with a costly *phulkatāra*, a jewelled sword with a belt (*pardala*) set with gems worth 1 lakh of rupees (which was a trophy of the victory of Ahmadnagar, and which Akbar had presented to Jahāngīr, and the latter to Shāh Jahān as a reward for the victory in the Deccan), a standard, a drum, *tūmān tūgh*,¹ two horses (one an arab with a jewelled saddle, the other an *'irāqī* with enamelled gold saddle), the distinguished elephant 'Shāh Āsan' with gold trappings, and a she-elephant.

Āṣaf Khān was appointed *Vakil*. The Imperial Signet, which had so far been in the keeping of the Empress, was at her request entrusted to him. On 8 *Rajab*, however, the Prime Minister's portfolio was transferred from Āṣaf Khān, at his own request, to Irādat Khān, *Mir*

¹ This yak's-tail standard consisted generally of three tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff. Irvine, *Army*, 34-35.

Bakhshī, who was presented with the jewelled pen-case—the symbol of his high office; Sādiq Khān being appointed *Mir Bakhshī* in his place.

Later, on the day of the *Nauroz* festival, when 'Yamīn ud-Daula' produced 5000 horsemen for the imperial inspection, these were found to be so well equipped that, by way of appreciation, an increase of 1000/1000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) was ordered; so that his rank now stood at 9000/9000 (*du aspa sih aspa*). A fine *jāgīr* with an annual revenue of 50 lakhs of rupees was assigned him.

But to resume: Out of the officers that had accompanied Āṣaf Khān to Agra a large number received honours in recognition of the services at Lahore. A short selection will answer our purpose:

Shāista Khān (eldest son of Āṣaf Khān): 5000/4000 (original and increase).

Sādiq Khān: 4000/4000.

Khawāja Bāqī Khān ('*Sher Khawāja*'): 4000/3500 and governorship of Tatta in place of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān.

Mir Husām ud-Dīn Anjū: 4000/3000.

And Mūsavī Khān was appointed *Sadr* as before.

Another long list in *B.N.*, (I, i, 182-85) gives the names of *manṣab-dars*, out in the provinces, who were promoted or confirmed. Only the more important will be mentioned as usual:

Khān Jahān Lodī: 7000/7000 (*du aspa sih aspa*).

Khawāja Abū'l-Ḥasan, Sipahdār Khān, Yāqūt Khān Ḥabashī, and Jādūn Rāi Kāyath: 5000/5000 each.

I'tiqād Khān, Bāqir Khān, Jujhār Singh (s/o Rāja Narsingh Deo Bundila), and Ūḍājairām Dakkanī: 4000/4000 each.

* Fida'i Khān and Bahloī Miāna: 4000/3000.¹

On 5 *Rajab* Jānsipār Khān Turkamān came from the Deccan and got rank 4000/4000 (original and increase) and the governorship of Allahabad. And, on the 8th, Rāo Ratan Hāda with his sons and relations came from his home, and was honoured with a *manṣab* of 5000/5000.

¹ *B.N.*, I, i, 177-86 and 193; *A.S.*, I, 275-81 and 284. Laurence Binyon (*Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pp. 73-74) is of opinion that the fine picture, Plate xx, *Durbar of Shāh Jahān*, 'probably' represents this reception of Āṣaf Khān. This is hardly possible for the simple reason that Khawāja Abū'l-Ḥasan (No. 7) is in the picture, and we know that he did not arrive from Lahore till 12 *Shawwāl*, i.e., more than three months later. We agree, however, that this picture is of 'considerable historical value'.

Technically 8 *Jumāda* II was the Coronation day, when all the necessary rites and forms were gone through; but in reality there was a succession of durbars or levees from that date to the beginning of *Sharban*. On the 2nd *Rajab*, as we have seen, came Āṣaf Khān with his train. Ten days later began the festivities of *Nauroz* (New Year's day), which, as usual, lasted nineteen days. We have already witnessed Āṣaf Khān's entry and reception at Agra.

The historians have vouchsafed us a detailed description of the *Nauroz* celebrations, which we propose to share with our readers, since it was the first in this reign. Besides, it furnished Shāh Jahān with a more leisurely opportunity for display of wealth and taste than the hurried coronation had allowed of.

The sun entered the sign of Aries 9 *gharis* and 36 *daqiqas* (i.e., nearly four hours) after sunrise on Monday, the 12th *Rajab*, 1037 A.H.;¹ and elaborate arrangements were made for the festival. The huge canopy called *dal-badal*,² which, according to Muhammad Sālih,³ required 3000 trained men with a quantity of mechanical appliances to erect it, and which (with the tent belonging to it), was, in Hawkins' words, 'so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world,'⁴ had now arrived from Lahore with the imperial camp. And the Princes and courtiers had also reached the metropolis, though Khwāja Abū'l-Hasan had not yet come.

The *dal-badal* was erected in the courtyard of the Hall of Private and Public Audience. Underneath it stood majestic pavilions, the trellis work of which was of pure silver instead of of wood. These were draped in brocaded and gold-embroidered velvet. At intervals stood small canopies set with gems and trimmed with strings of pearls; and in as many places were deposited jewelled thrones and seats of gold. Carpets of many colours and figured patterns covered the floor, while the walls and doorways of the great quadrangle were

¹ There is some slight confusion regarding this date. *B.N.*, and *Qarniya* give the date in text; *A.S.* and *Mulakhkhas* say, Monday, the 13th *Rajab*. According to the calendar, 12 *Rajab* fell on a Saturday and corresponded to 8 March, 1628.

² I would rather read it *dal-badal* than *dil-bādīl*, as Irvine does (Irvine, *Army* p. 197). This is supported by *Qarniya*, in my copy of which the word happens to be written clearly thus with diacritical marks. And Platts (*Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, p. 522) and other lexicographers leave hardly a doubt on the point.

³ *A.S.*, I, 282.

⁴ Purchas, III, 48.

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hung with brocaded velvets, European tapestries, Turkish and Chinese cloths of gold, and Gujarātī and Persian brocades.¹

The Emperor took his seat, and the four Princes were stationed at the four corners of the throne. At the foot of it stood 'Yamin ud-Daula' Āṣaf Khān, while the other nobles and *mansabdars* occupied their proper places.

The band in the Music Gallery (*Naubat Khana*) struck up. The people prayed for the Emperor's life and dominion, and the poets offered 'incense kindled at the Muse's flame'.²

Two little incidents of this Durbar stand out in relief:

One is worth mentioning as it is illustrative of Shāh Jahān's faith kept. It appears that Shāh Jahān as prince had borrowed from Abū'l-Hasan Mashhādī ('Lashkar Khān'), at time of necessity, 10 lakhs of rupees, which he had not yet been in a position to repay. This debt

¹ *B.N.*, I, i, 187-88; *A.S.*, I, 282-83. The latter account is clearer and gives fuller details, which are corroborated by *Qarniya*.

² William Hawkins' description of the *Nauroz* festival in Jahāngir's time—he witnessed two: of 1610 and 1611—is full of picturesque detail and is therefore not devoid of interest in this connection:—

This feast [*i.e.*, the *Nauroz*] continueth eightene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch: for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the midst of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many Seminars joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold and Silver. These Seminars be shaddowes to keepe the Sunne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it. Within it five Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise private roomes made for his Qweenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some five Acres of ground. Every principall Nobleman maketh his roome and decketh it, likewise every man according to his ability, striveth who may adorne his roome richest. The King where he doth affect, commeth to his Noble-mens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there: and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toys that they can find. But because he will not receive any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his prayzers'valeur them to bee worth, which are valewed at halfe the price. Every one, and all of his Nobles provide toys, and rare things to give him at this feast: so commonly at this feast every man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof: and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March.' Purchas, III, 48.

of honour was cleared off on this day.¹ We have seen that this gentleman had already received governorship of Kabul, backed up with a high rank, in recognition of his services.

The second incident is the special honour shown to Khwāja 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Naqshbandī of Jūibār, who came as an ambassador to Jahāngīr's court from Imām Qulī Khān, ruler of Tūrān, and had obtained audience at Lahore before the former's demise. He reached Agra soon after the Coronation.

The Khwāja belonged to the noblest Sayyid family of Tūrān and was held in exceptionally high esteem there. He was descended, according to *B.N.* (I, i, 194) by 39, and according to *A.S.* (I, 284) by 32, degrees from Sayyid 'Alī 'Arīz s/o Imām Ja'far-i-Sādiq.²

He had been treated by Jahāngīr with special respect, being allowed to sit near the throne in his presence—an honour allowed to nobody but the first princes of the blood.³ The Khwāja was shown similar courtesy by Shāh Jahān, being permitted to sit by the imperial throne behind the Princes. The discriminating historians tell us that this degree of consideration was never shown even to the highest grandees of this illustrious empire, nor yet to foreign rulers who occasionally came to the Indian emperors in search of asylum.

He was presented with a *khil'at* with a *chārqab* worked in gold and Rs. 50,000 in cash.⁴ On the Khwāja's intercession 'Abdullāh Khān Fīroz-jang (also a Naqshbandī Khwāja), who was now in prison, was pardoned and released.⁵

Khwāja 'Abdu'r-Rahīm's episode is of a piece with another which follows: Some three months later, Sayyid Muḥammad Rīzavī,⁶ of

¹ So *B.N.*, I, i, 189. According to *A.S.* (I, 283) 2 lakhs were paid him on the Coronation day, and the balance on this date.

² For the Naqshbandī sect of saints see *Ā'in*, III, 167-68 (*Ā'in*, B. and J., III, 358-60).

³ For fuller details of the interesting reception accorded by Jahāngīr to the Khwāja see *Tuzuk*, 416.

⁴ The Khwāja died at Agra soon afterwards, the Emperor offering condolence and a *khil'at* to his son, Siddiq Khwāja.

⁵ Later, on 2 Zū 'l-Qa'd, this capable officer, who had risen from the ranks, and who had now a distinguished career before him, was given rank 5000/5000 and Rs. 50,000 in cash; and the *sarkār* of Kanauj was bestowed on him as his *jāgīr*. (*B.N.*, I, i, 204).

⁶ He was descended in the fifth degree from the famous saint, Shāh 'Ālam Bukhārī, who had migrated from Bukhārā to Gujarat, and who, in turn, claimed descent, in the 21st degree, from 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, being called

the well-known Sayyid family of Bukhārā domiciled at Ahmadabad, sent his son, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī,¹ to offer congratulations to the Emperor on his behalf, he himself being unable to attend on account of a severe attack of gout. Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī was presented on the 8th Zū 'l-Qa'd, and received Rs. 10,000 and *khil'at*.

These little events, unimportant politically, are highly significant as indicating the scale of values by which the Mughals judged personalities. We get here an insight not so much into Shāh Jahān's character, as into the spirit of the Mughal administration, where piety and scholarship stood at such a high premium.²

To return to the *Nauroz*: Among the appointments announced during the celebrations none was of the first magnitude.³

Rīzavī after Imām Rīzā, a descendant of 'Alī. Sayyid Muḥammad was a man of engaging appearance, eloquent and generous, and had a strong common sense. He died in 1045 A.H., and was buried under the dome near the western entrance of Shāh 'Ālam's tomb at Ahmadabad (*B.N.*, I, ii, 328-29).

¹ A man, apparently, of considerable ability and scholarship. Charming in manners, he combined an extensive study in literature with a wide knowledge of hagiology. His life was one of spotless piety, and occasionally he composed verses, 'Rīzā'ī' (after Imām Rīzā) being his *takhalluṣ* or poetic name. The somewhat presumptuous chronogram *Wārīṣ-i-rasūl* (the heir of the Prophet) yields 1003 A.H. as the year of his birth.

He often came to see the Emperor after his father's death. Shāh Jahān used to say that by virtue of his nobility of descent and character he was fit to be a regular member of the imperial court. (*B.N.*, I, ii, 331-32).

² The reader remembers the exception Shāh Jahān made in favour of this class when issuing orders prohibiting the *sajda*. See *ante*, p. 334.

³ The minor postings were:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Mukhlis Khān | appointed <i>Faujdar</i> of Narwar and neighbourhood. |
| 2. Rāja Bhārat Bundla | „ „ „ the <i>pargana</i> of Etawa and its dependencies (which was part of the <i>Khālisa-i-Sharīfa</i>). |
| 3. Dindār Khān | „ „ „ Mian-i-doāb. |
| 4. Maghūl Khān, s/o Zain Khān Koka | „ <i>Gal'adar</i> of Kāvil. |
| 5. Mullā Murshid Shīrāzi | „ Minister of the Household, with a small rank and the title 'Makramat Khān'. |
| 6. Hakīm Jamālā of Kāshān | „ <i>Diwān</i> of the Empress's Estate, with increase of rank. |
| 7. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, s/o Muṣṭafā Khān Bukhārī | „ <i>Faujdar</i> of the <i>sarkār</i> of Hissar. |
| 8. Muḥammad Sālīh, s/o Mirzā Shāhī and nephew of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān | „ „ „ Bahraich. |

But the presents given away in the Haram on this occasion are worthy of record, since they cast into the shade even the cash gifts of the Coronation day:

Nawāb Mahd-i-'Ulīā Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī got ornaments worth Rs. 50 lakhs, and Begum Šāhib gems and jewels of the value of Rs. 25 lakhs;¹ while the total value of jewels and jewelled weapons bestowed on the Princes and Princesses amounted to Rs. 25 lakhs.²

These figures go to show that the lavish presents given away on Coronation day had not nearly satisfied Shāh Jahān's insatiable instinct for generosity. Indeed it looks as if a temperament with exceptional ambitions for munificence and the resources of an exceptionally rich empire were already trying to give each other points; and, as we shall see, they were running neck and neck at the end of this fairly long reign—when Shāh Jahān's sudden illness and deposition cut off his building plans and programmes in mid-career.

The contemporary historians have estimated the total value of 'jewels, weapons set with gems, *khil'ats*, jewelled daggers, *jamdhars*, and swords, horses, elephants, *ashrafs* and rupees', given away from Coronation day to the last day of the *Nauroz* festival (*roz-i-sharaf*), at Rs. 1,80,00,000. Out of this Rs. 1,60,00,000 was conferred on the Empress and children; and Rs. 20,00,000 went to the others.³

Presents accepted from Nawāb Mahd-i-'Ulīā and Princes and Princesses and nobles were worth Rs. 10 lakhs.⁴

A few religious observances are of interest as showing the devotional tendencies of Shāh Jahān's temperament:

On the night between the 26th and 27th *Rajab*—the *lailatu'l-mi'raj*, or the night of the Prophet's ascent to heaven—Rs. 10,000 was given

¹ *A. S.* and *M. L.* assign Rs. 20 lakhs to Begum Šāhib; while *B. N.* and *Qarniya* give the figure in the text, which we prefer, as both these latter authorities are generally more accurate.

² Here again *A. S.* and *M. L.* give Rs. 5 lakhs as the aggregate, and again *B. N.* and *Qarniya* agree on the figure in the text. Khāfi Khān is probably copying uncritically from *A. S.* throughout.

³ So *B. N.* and *Qarniya*. *A. S.* and *M. L.* place the total at Rs. 1,60,00,000, out of which 30 lakhs is assigned to the *Umarā* and *Manṣabdārs*, and the balance to the members of the imperial family.

⁴ The complete account of the *Nauroz* festivities is to be found in *B. N.*, I, 1, 186-89, and 191-96; and *A. S.*, I, 282-85. Khāfi Khān, in his meagre account (*M. L.*, I, 399-400), is apparently confusing the *Nauroz* with the opening of the second regnal year.

away as charity. A similar sum was similarly disbursed on the eve of the 15th of *Shā'ban*—*lailatu'l-barāt*, popularly known in India as *Shab-i-barāt*—and illuminations were made on a grand scale.¹

A fortnight later began the first *Ramāṣān* of the reign—the month of fasting, of general abstinence, and of piety and prayers *par excellence*.² The court annalists pass in silent assumption over the fact that the Emperor kept the fasts regularly like a good Mussulman. But we know that he did so, and continued to do so, till he had passed the 60th lunar year of his life, when (*Ramāṣān*, 1060 A.H.) the muftis of the realm pronounced a joint *fatwa* declaring that the Emperor, owing to old age, was exempt from the obligation, and could give *kaffara* or atonement instead.³

At the beginning of this first *Ramāṣān* Sayyid Mūsavi Khān, *Sadr*, received orders to present deserving poor for charity every night during the sacred month; and we are told that, besides daily allowances and *madad-i-ma'ash*, Rs. 30,000 was given away to these in the course of the month.⁴

The details are worth recording since these were the standing orders, and were duly carried out year after year to the end of the reign, as the dates and the months came round.

The appearance of the new moon which ended the month of *Ramāṣān* was announced by a joyous beat of drums, and the festival of *Idu'l-fiṭr* was celebrated on Sunday, the 1st of *Shāwwal* (= 15th *Khurdād*). After the usual congratulations, the Emperor went to the *Idgāh* on a dark horse, and offered prayers, money being showered over him on the journey out and return.

¹ *B. N.*, I, 1, 196; *A. S.*, I, 285-86.

² The sayings of the Prophet translated below will go to indicate the special position of this month in the Muslim calendar, and the high value of fasting and doing other good things in it:

(1) When *Ramāṣān* begins the gates of heaven are opened, the gates of hell are shut, and the demons are chained.

(2) He who fasts in *Ramāṣān* in faith and in hope of reward shall have his previous sins forgiven him. (*Al-Bukhārī*, I, 474-75.)

Al-Bukhārī tells us (*ibid.*) that the Prophet was never so generous as in the month of *Ramāṣān*.

³ *B. N.*, III, by Muḥammad Wāriḡ (Punjab University Library MS., f. 45b).

⁴ *B. N.*, I, 1, 200; *A. S.*, I, 288-89.

We may fitly close this chapter with the mention of the spring festival called '*Id-i-gulābī*,'¹ which fell this year on Monday, the 30th *Shawwāl* (= 13th *Tīr*): On this occasion the Princes and 'Yamīn ud-Daula' offered jewelled flasks, and the other nobles, some enamelled and some plain ones of gold and silver, filled variously with rose-water, '*araq-i-filna*,'² or '*araq-i-bahār*.'³

¹ See a picture of a celebration of the *Āb-pāshī* or *Gulāb-pāshī* (sprinkling of rose-water) festival in Jahāngīr's time, in Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals, A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750* (Frontispiece.)

² 'A liquor extracted from the flower of the jujube-tree.' Steingass.

³ 'The aroma of orange-flowers.' Steingass.

Birth-place of Kalidasa

BY

PANDIT ANAND KOUL

(President, Sringer Municipality, Retired)

THERE can be no Indian who has not heard the name of the greatest dramatist and the most illustrious poet that India has ever produced, namely, Kālidāsa. The great poet, Goethe, bestows unqualified praise on his works. The richness of creative fancy of this genius, his delicacy of sentiment and his keen appreciation of the beauties of Nature, combined with remarkable powers of elegant description, which are conspicuous throughout his works, rank Kālidāsa as the prince among the Oriental poets. Kālidāsa's fame rests chiefly on his dramas but he is also distinguished as an epic and a lyric poet, possessing great magic power and spell to entrance. He has written three plays—*Shakuntala*, *Vikramorvaśya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. He has also written two epic poems, entitled *Raghuvansha* and *Kumārasambhava*. His lyrical poems are *Meghaduta* and *Ritusamhāra*. He carried ornateness to a pitch far beyond any poet's—a pitch which deserves the epithet of 'exalted excellence'. He occupies a throne apart in the ideal and immortal kingdom of supreme creative art, poetical charm and dramatic genius.

It is, by no means, improbable that there were three poets of this name; indeed, modern Indian astronomers are so convinced of the existence of a triad of authors of this name that they apply the term Kālidāsa to designate the number 3. One Kālidāsa was with King Bhoja of Mālva at about the end of tenth century of Christian era, about whom it is said, that he had gone to Ceylon to see the king of that island named, Kumāradāsa. This king was a good poet and had sent a copy of his own poem *Jānaki Harana* as a present to King Bhoja. This poetic work had pleased Kālidāsa very much and he became anxious to make a personal acquaintance with him. He went to Ceylon and there he was staying in an old woman's house. King Kumāradāsa used to pay frequent visits to Matara and when he was there he always stayed in a certain beautiful house. During one

of these visits he wrote two lines of unfinished poetry on the wall of the room where he had lived. Under it he wrote that the person who could finish this piece of poetry satisfactorily would receive a high reward from the king. Kálidása happened to see these lines when he came to this house in Matara and he wrote two lines of splendid poetry under the unfinished lines of the king. He was in hopes that his friend king Kumáradása would be well pleased with this and would recognize his friend's poetry. But the unfortunate poet had not the pleasure of getting either reward or praise from the king, because the authorship of this poem was claimed by a woman in the same house, who had seen that the poet Kálidása had written these verses. She secretly murdered Kálidása and claimed the reward, stating that the poem was her own. But nobody would believe that the woman could have written such poetry which could have only been the work of a real poet. The king, when he saw the lines of the poetry, said that nobody but his friend, Kálidása, would be able to understand him so well and to complete in such an excellent way the poetry which he (the king) had written and he asked where Kálidása was, so that he could hand over to him the promised reward. Nobody knew where he was and at last search was made everywhere and, to the great sorrow of everybody, his body, which had been hidden, was found. One can hardly imagine how sad King Kumáradása was when he heard that Kálidása had been murdered, for he had loved him so much both as poet and as friend. A very grand funeral pyre was erected and the king lit the pyre with his own hands. When he saw the body of his dear friend consumed by the flames, he lost his senses altogether through his great grief and, to the horror of all the people assembled, he threw himself on the funeral pyre and was burnt with his friend (see page 147 of *Stories from the History of Ceylon* by Mrs. Marie Musseus-Higgins).

To return to Kálidása of our subject. He was appointed as a courtier by Vikramáditya and was greatly esteemed by him for his eminent merit. He was one of the nine gems of his court. What a genius he was, may be found from the following anecdote:—

King Vikramáditya once composed a poetic line—*Bhrashtasya ka(a)nya gatih?* meaning—What other end may not a fallen person come to? or, in other words, the vicious wheel of vice revolves. He

asked Kálidása to complete this unfinished verse. Next day Kálidása went purposely to a butcher's shop whereby the king had to pass. When the king came and saw Kálidása there, he stopped and held the following dialogue with him in poetry, which Kálidása completed with that very line which had been composed by the king himself the previous day:—

- V. *Bhiksho mamsa-nishevanam prakurushe?*
 K. *Kim tena madyam vina?*
 V. *Madyam chāpi tava priyam bhavatah?*
 K. *Vārāṅganābhīh sahā.*
 V. *Vesya (a)pyartha-ruchiḥ, kutas tava dhanam?*
 K. *Dyutena chauryena vā.*
 V. *Dyuta-chaurya parāgraho (a)pi bhavatah?*
 K. *Bhrashtasya ka(a)nya gatih?*
 V. O mendicant, do you indulge in eating mutton?
 K. What is the good of it without liquor?
 V. Do you like liquor too?
 K. Together with prostitutes.
 V. A prostitute requires to be given money; wherefrom do you get it?
 K. Either by gambling or stealing.
 V. Are you addicted to gambling and stealing too?
 K. What other end may not a fallen person come to?

Pandit Lakshmi Dhar Kalla, M.A., M.O.L., Shastri, late Government of India Research Scholar in Archæology, is to be thanked for the research he has recently made, fixing the birth-place of Kálidása—the sun among the poet-stars of the world—in Kashmir. He has given a new interpretation to Kálidása's poetry in the light of the Pratibhijna philosophy of Kashmir. He gives five following proofs from the works of Kálidása that determine the birth-place of the poet in Kashmir:—

- I. (a) Disproportionately detailed and minute physical and natural description of the Himálayas, specially of the northern parts of Kashmir, or more definitely, the Sindhu Valley in Kashmir.
- (b) Feeling shown for, and patriotic references to, Kashmir.
- II. Unconscious and spontaneous references to scenes, sights and legends of Kashmir.
- III. Direct allusions to local sites and usages, social customs and

conventions along with such other miscellaneous matters as are preferably known only to the natives of Kashmir.

IV. The personal religion of Kálidása was the 'Kashmir Saivism' known as the Pratyabhijna School of Philosophy, which has its home in Kashmir and which was not known outside Kashmir during the days of Kálidása, till after its popularization by Somananda in the ninth century A.D.

V. The argument of Meghaduta points to Kashmir as the home of Kálidása.

Mátrigupta, who was appointed as king of Kashmir by Vikramáditya, is considered to be Kálidása by Dr. Bhaudaji (see footnote on page 83 of Stein's Translation of the *Rājatarangini*). Mátrigupta was no doubt, a poet, but he could not be identified with Kálidása, because the latter was sent to Kashmir as king by Vikramáditya after only six months' attendance at his court and he left Kashmir after Vikramáditya was dead (see Stein's Translation of the *Rājatarangini*, page 95); while Kálidása was with Vikramáditya at Ujjain for many years.

There is a saying current among the Kashmiris—*Kálidásas chhuh panani vizih wunán* (i.e., Kálidása falls into darkness in his own case). Proverbs prove facts which are handed down from generation to generation. The above saying goes to prove that Kálidása was a Kashmiri. Evidently it has reference to a certain indiscretion on his part in his lifetime which must have brought him into some sort of trouble.

The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER III

ESTIMATE OF BALAJI VISHWANATH'S WORK

BY

H. N. SINHA, M.A.

*Asst. Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur,
Sometime Research Scholar in the History Department of the University
of Allahabad.*

KARHAD-KOLHAPUR CAMPAIGN (1718-20)

PREVIOUS to his departure to Delhi, Balaji had to reckon with certain miscreants round about Satara. They were aided in their refractory proceedings, by Shambhuji of Kolhapur. They were the Thorat brothers of Aste and Paradullah Khan, a Mughal officer, who would not withdraw from Shahu's dominions even after the friendly alliance of 1718 with Sayyid Husain Ali. In September 1718 Shahu started on a campaign with Balaji Vishwanath, occupied Karhad and Islampuri, and drove out Paradullah Khan. While returning home Balaji fought a battle with Shambhuji, whom he defeated at Badgaon. After this defeat Shambhuji kept quiet for some time, but as Balaji went to Delhi,¹ he

¹ Extract from the Document 453, vol. iii of *Rajwade*:—

'Shivaji Patil had five sons, the eldest Subhanji Thorat, next to him Krishnaji Thorat, next to him Suryaji Thorat, next to him Firangoji Thorat, and last Shidoji Thorat. These five brothers grew up to manhood in the life-time of their parents. Shivaji's right to the naiki of his two villages was not very secure, and hence his relations created troubles for him. His sons however got together all the documents to testify their right and took firm possession of the two villages. But the eldest Subhanji became masterful, and drove out all his brothers, who went to different parts of the country and maintained themselves by their own prowess. A little later Subhanji planned the occupation of Aste, and called together all his brothers for assistance. They succeeded in their endeavours and Aste was occupied. Shidoji Thorat of the five brothers went, and took service at Miraj.

'Subhanji died while he was at Aste. Then Yeswant Rao Thorat (his son) who was near him looked after the naiki (duties of a naik) of the village. He kept Krishnaji Baba with him. Suryaji Baba went out to discharge the duties of Patil. Firangoji stayed at Borgaon. My father accepted a service under Naro Pant Ghorpade, who gave him Saranjam of Miraj and assigned Yelabi for his

again created troubles for Shahu. When in June 1719 Balaji Vishwanath returned triumphant with the imperial farmans, granting

'residence. He stayed there and maintained himself by taking in his service 50 to 100 foot-soldiers and 30 to 40 horsemen. Yeswant Rao was at Aste. At that time there were Mughal outposts at Karhad and Miraj, and the country in others (their) possession. Later on Yesba (Yeswant Rao) and Shambhuji Maharaj fell out. So he (Yesba) left his service and went over to Chatrapati Shahu of Satara. He also asked my (writer's) father to accompany him, but he (the writer's father) did not approve of it, and so remained in the service of Ghorpade in the dominions of Shambhuji. Thus passed a year. Then Balaji the elder made a treaty with the Sayyid. Therefore he forced the Mughals to leave their outposts on this side of the Bhima. Paradullah Khan was at Karhad. The king, Shahu, himself attacked him. So he (Paradullah) moved on to Islampur. Shahu took Karhad, and besieged Islampur. Yesba was with the king. My father was at Yelabi. . . . From Islampur Shahu marched on to Khedpanandi. He (Shahu) established his outpost at Yelabi and returned to Satara. Then Shambhuji formed his designs, and started along with Piraji, Sidoji Ghorpade, Nargunde and others. My father was with him. With a large army he came by slow stages, and besieged Aste. Then came Yesba and met him. He determined to take the outpost in 15 days. The troops marched in battle array to Shirole. There was Suryaji Thorat, my uncle. He took that outpost, imprisoned him (Suryaji) and went to Badgaon, which he besieged. Yesba who had been kept in confinement escaped from the camp at Shirole and came to Islampur where he met Balaji Vishwanath. He (Balaji) alone was there, all his troops being at Aste. He sent a letter to the Maharaja at Satara, informing him that if Badgaon is taken the Maharaja (Shambhuji) will be soon at Aste. If the king would send help at this time, the kingdom would remain under him, and his self-respect would be preserved. In the meanwhile Shahu despatched the Pratinidhi and ordered Fatteh Singh, who was at Tuljapur with a large army, to come. Both effected a junction at Vurli. The day Yesba met the Pratinidhi, the army marched on Badgaon. There was a deadly fight. Shambhuji Maharaj was defeated. The troops plundered and captured some of the Sardars. The meat of the Maharaja was also captured, and he himself fled to Panhala. On the second day the Pratinidhi and Fatteh Singh left Yesba at Aste and went to see the Maharaja at Satara. . . . Thus passed a year. Yesba went to Bijapur. Bithoji Chouhan remained at Panhala. The country as far as Satara came under the sway (of Shambhuji). Then returned Balaji from Delhi, and was deputed to lead an army into the South. Yesba apprised of this came to Aste. In the meanwhile the Rao Pradhan (Balaji) came out to give battle at Aste. When Yesba was informed of this he left some men at the outpost and the same night went away to Panhala with his family. The day after the army gathered round Aste, my father left Yelabi, and went to Panhala. My brother and I were very young. There was no time for escape. . . . When the Pant Pradhan the elder, and the Mantri arrived, some troops seized me and my mother, brought us from Bhilwadi, and entrusted us to the charge of Pilaji Jadhav, who put us in prison. Then the army marched on, and besieged Kolhapur. One day while the army was marching on Panhala it came into contact with the troops of Yesba. A battle was fought. Yesba got a spear thrust and died of the wound. . . . In the meantime the army raised the siege of Kolhapur and retreated. Then my father gathered a large army and ravaged the country as far as Satara. He next laid siege to Aste.'

sovereign rights to Shahu, Shambhuji and other miscreants were silenced. On the other hand Balaji proceeded at once to give effect to the provisions of the farmans. He actually stamped out the Mughal authority from Poona and wrested Kalyan-Bhundi from Ramchandra Mahadeo Chaskar in September 1719. Then he defeated and drove out Thorat brothers, who acted in conjunction with Shambhuji. Balaji's next move was on Kolhapur, which he besieged for four or five months. A battle was fought in the meantime at Urunbah on March 20, 1720, in which Shambhuji was again defeated. This time he was taught a lesson which he did not forget soon. Having thus settled the affairs, Balaji interviewed Shahu at Satara and proceeded to Saswad, where, he died on April 2, 1720. Thus died the founder of the House of Peshwas after a period of strenuous work and crowded activities. He had become old and his unremitting toil for the good of the country had told on his health. He found the country torn with civil war, he left it peaceful and prosperous. He had won Shivaji's Swaraj from the Mughals without a battle, and impressed the imperial capital with the prestige of the Maratha arms. His great service to Maharashtra was that he made up its rents, and built it anew.

REVIEW OF BALAJI'S WORK

We have sufficiently emphasized the importance of Balaji's work in the narrative. But for him the civil war in Maharashtra would not have ended so soon; but for him Shahu could not have secured his position so easily. He was a man with a remarkable tenacity of purpose. At a time when most of the Maratha chiefs were playing a waiting game, and loyalty was a rare commodity, Balaji Vishwanath evinced virtues, that at once won the confidence of Shahu and the respect of the people. He came to Shahu's help when the latter was in sore need for it. Besides this, his work could be broadly divided under three heads:—(i) Formation of the Maratha Confederacy; (ii) Reorganization of the Finances and (iii) Inception of an imperial policy.

(i) FORMATION OF THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY

The gradual formation of the Maratha confederacy is a unique fact in Maratha history, and yet it does not come to the serious student as a surprise. Its root lay in the circumstances then prevailing in

Maharashtra. The quarter of a century's warfare of Aurangzib bore two deadly fruits; one was the complete destruction of the nascent Maratha state, reared up by Shivaji; the other the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The former gave rise to a very noxious system of jagirs, which can be conveniently called Feudatory system; the latter to the acquisition of the right of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six subahs of the Deccan. The cumulative effect of these two facts transformed the nature of the Maratha state, and laid the foundation of the Maratha confederacy.

Shivaji created the Astapradhans, and paid them in cash salaries. The watchwords of his Government were:—No jagirs, no hereditary office. The reign of Shambhuji was not a radical departure from the system of government founded by Shivaji. But a perceptible change came over the state during the regime of Raja Ram. It has been already pointed out in the introduction how Raja Ram pursued a policy of systematic spoliation of the Mughal territories. To effect this successfully he assigned different parts of the Deccan to his commanders, or to those who professed obedience to him. This was again the time when all semblance of Maratha government had disappeared. The Maratha commanders, thus commissioned by their chief, and burning in resentment against the Mughals swarmed the country and harassed the Mughals in every possible way. Their king Ram Rajah distributed different parts of the country amongst them, and allowed them to establish their headquarters and afterwards their sway there. 'With large armies they invaded the subahs of the Dekhin, Ahmadabad and Malwa for the purpose of collecting the Chauth, and plundered and ravaged wherever they went.'¹

'Whenever the emperor appointed a Jagirdar, the Marathas appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they found opportunity; so that in fact every place had two masters.'²

Out of their revenues, they paid a share to their chief. Upon them depended Raja Ram, then shut up in the fortress of Jinji. The Maratha sardars acted on their own initiative, and worked to establish their sway by their own strength; except for obtaining a sanction from the king, they had nothing to do with him. They considered the different parts of the country, as their jagir, won and maintained

¹ Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 464. ² Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 108.

entirely by themselves. In fact the jagir system that grew up amidst these surroundings was worse than the common one. There was some difference between the jagirs assigned by Raja Ram, and those bestowed upon the nobles or servants by potentates in ordinary circumstances. Here the credit of conquering the lands assigned went to the jagirdars. The king did not bestow on them a consolidated estate, or a land that actually belonged to him. Every bit of their so-called jagir had to be conquered from, and retained against the Mughals. Thus, from the very start the jagirdars were not actuated by a sense of obedience or service, but by a strong feeling of self-interest. Because they owed no obligation to their king for their possession of a jagir, except perhaps a formal grant, they took a legitimate pride in holding them (jagirs) independent of all authorities. That is why we witness a host of jagirdars, only tendering a lip homage to Tara Bai; that is why the Sawants of Wadi, Kanhoji Angrey, Damaji Thorat, Udaji Chauhan, Krishna Rao Khataokar, and many more Maratha chiefs paid no heed to the authority of Tara Bai or Shahu unless they were either coerced or cajoled by them. When Shahu returned to Maharashtra, and was fighting for his own cause, the adherence of Parsoji Bhonsle of Khandesh, Mohan Singh of Bijagad, Ambu Pande of Sultanpur, Sujan Singh of Lambkani and many other zamindars, was a deciding factor in the struggle. These jagirdars, supported him with the ultimate motive of being left unmolested in their possessions. When Shahu actually emerged victorious he favoured not only his partizans, but those who had rendered any service during the war of succession. Afterwards, when he was firmly seated on the throne he granted fresh jagirs to those who deserved them by the merit of their services, and confirmed in their possessions those, who tendered their submission. His guiding principle in state-matters being 'Don't destroy anything old nor create anything new' he allowed things to remain as they are. Balaji Vishwanath agreed entirely with Shahu at least in so far as the distribution of jagirs was concerned. He had found out that to resume Shivaji's system was well nigh impossible, for Maharashtra was then within the grips of a civil war, disaffection of the local chiefs and hostility of a foreign foe. To make the best of a bad situation he won over the powerful chiefs by granting them new jagirs or titles. His home policy was two-fold—pacification of the country and conciliation of the nobles. He accomplished both by

assigning large jagirs. It has been already noticed how he managed Kanhoji Angrey by this means. At the time of his appointment to the office of Peshwa many a Maratha officer and chief received jagirs. Whenever an officer like Dabhade rendered some meritorious service to the state, as in 1717, he was awarded a rich jagir. We can form an idea about the extent of jagirs from the following data¹ :—

1. Balaji Vishwanath Bhatt, the Peshwa.

In 1710-11, when as Senakarte, he was directed to raise an army he was given a *saranjam* worth 2,510,200. As Peshwa he further got sixteen mahals and two forts as *saranjam*. Besides, he drew a salary of 13,000 *hons* a year.²

2. The Pratinidhi, Parshuram Trimbak, had sixteen mahals and thirty-five forts under him in 1715-16, besides his salary of 15,000 *hons* a year.

3. The Sachiv Naro Shankar had one mahal as *saranjam*, one fort and one *watan* for sahotra, besides an annual salary of 10,000 *hons*.

4. The Mantri had a *saranjam* and a salary of 10,000 *hons* a year.

5. Kanhoji Angrey had sixteen mahals and ten forts.³

These are only a few of the bigger feudatories, whose possessions have been described in Shahu's diaries. Besides these, there were a host of others, like the Sawant of Wadi, Fateh Singh Bhonsle of Akalkot, Angrey of the Konkan, and we do not know definitely the extent of their jagirs or states. At any rate the fact should not be forgotten that Shahu's feudatories possessed more resources than their due, and more power than what would square with Shahu's interests. Since the latter was weak, and depended upon them for his position, they always appeared more stiff-necked than they otherwise should have been. Of them Balaji Vishwanath was the worst defaulter, for he had not only huge jagirs, but nearly all the power of the state. He did not raise a finger to abolish the jagir system. On the contrary he advised Shahu to resume it, since he represented, the times were not suitable for the abolition of the system. And, further, it should not be forgotten that Balaji Vishwanath's intention in forming the feudatory system was not altogether unselfish. He was actuated to

¹ *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, vol. i, pp. 42 and 45.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 25, foot-note.

establish this system by a personal interest, and that was to increase the power and strength of his house. In other words he wanted to make the office of Peshwa hereditary in his house; for feudatory system or hereditary jagir system is based upon hereditary office and *vice versa*. The one is inseparable from the other. Thus it is that he not only created a feudatory system but also hereditary offices.

To this was added the right of collecting the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan. We have seen how the treaty containing these rights was actually ratified in 1719. But before this, and indeed long before the conclusion of the treaty in 1718 with Sayyid Husain Ali, the Marathas had claimed the contribution on these two heads and had succeeded in making good their claim to an appreciable extent. Shivaji 'claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country and had put forth his claim early in his career.' One-tenth of the Mughal revenue he claimed on this head. *Chauth* was 'a military contribution levied by a power without being in 'formal occupation of the country' and amounted to one-fourth of the royal revenues.¹ Shivaji was first to take steps in this direction. As far back as 1668 Bijapur and Golconda had agreed to pay an annual subsidy of three and five lakhs respectively to him in lieu of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. In 1671, he imposed these taxes on the Mughal territories. Towards the end of Aurangzib's Deccan campaign, his own officers made secret arrangements with the roving bands of the Marathas, to pay the blackmail. A few years after the arrival of Shahu, Daud Khan Punni made regular payments of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, which his (Daud Khan's) officers used to collect; but by 1713 it was interrupted on account of the hostile proceedings of Nizam-ul-Mulk. It was not till the treaty of 1718, which was ratified in 1719 that they won recognition for the right of collecting the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from all the Mughal territories of the Deccan except the Svarajya, which comprised Poona, Baramati, Indapur, Wai, Mawal, Satara, Kasrabad (Karhad), Khatao, Man, Faltan, Malkapur, Tarla, Panhala, Ajra, Junnar, Kolhapur, Kopal, Gadag, Halyal and other districts to the north of the Tungabhadra, all the forts conquered by Shivaji, and the Konkan.² In short the Maratha king was to realize the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six

¹ Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 112-3.

² Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 78, pp. 102-8.

Mughal subahs of the Deccan, viz., Khandesh, Berar, Bijapur, Bedar, Haiderabad and the Karnatic including Tanjore and Trichinopoly. But the Marathas did not stop short at this official recognition of their right. Emboldened by the reverses of Aurangzib and the deplorable state of the Empire after him they had levied contribution on some parts of Gujrat and Gondwana. On the return of Balaji Vishwanath from Delhi, the question that confronted him was how to arrange for the realization of these taxes from widely stretched territories. Further, the right of collecting Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was conditional on the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in those territories. Hence the problem was not an easy one, and Balaji Vishwanath's perplexities increased when he discovered that the system of Government reared up by Shivaji had absolutely disappeared. And, even here, the precedent created by Shivaji came to his rescue. He used to let loose his regiments on the alien territories where they used to live for eight months in the year and realized the Chauth to boot. Following his example, Balaji Vishwanath apportioned the different parts of the Deccan excluding the Svarajya to the various jagirdars or feudatories, the ministers of the Council or his own friends. The Peshwa himself undertook to realize the blackmail from Khandesh and parts of the Balaghat; assigned Balgan and Gujrat to the Senapati, portions of Gondwana, the Painghat and Berar to Senasaheb Subah Kanhoji Bhonsle, Gangathadi and Aurangabad to the Sarlashkar, the Karnatic to Fattah Singh Bhonsle, Haiderabad, Bedar and the countries between the Nira and Warna to the Pratinidhi.¹ These officials were authorized to realize the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, retain a fixed part for the up-keep of this government and send the rest to the royal treasury. In territories assigned to them they were practically independent. Except for the regular payment, they knew of no other condition of subordination. By force they realized the blackmail, appropriated to themselves a major portion of it, and took no account of the condition of the people from whom they extorted the money or of the chief for whom they extorted it. Balaji Vishwanath had arranged for the realization of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, but not for the maintenance of peace and order in the country. The feudatories fattened at the expense of the people, and the frequent

¹यो: शा: च:—p. 47.

occurrence of wars, almost nullified the only condition of their subordination to the king, viz., payment of regular tribute. They maintained big establishments, and besides possessed Watan lands in Svarajya which were their former jagirs with regard to the newly acquired countries and the Peshwa let them have their own way. These feudatories already so defiant in their Watan or jagir in Svarajya, now assumed a semi-independent attitude. The state thus formed and worked by Balaji Vishwanath was called the Maratha Confederacy. The only difference in later ages was its much wider extent, and much wider powers, wielded by its various members.

(ii) REORGANIZATION OF THE FINANCES

A necessary concomitant to this arrangement, was the rehabilitation of the finances. After the division of the country arose the question of the division of the revenues between the king and the feudatories. As has been noticed above they had been given unlimited powers with regard to the collection of the taxes and maintenance of their authorities in the country allotted to them, because they were the men on the spot, and were the best judges of the conditions obtaining there. But they were required to remit annual dues to the royal treasury. These annual dues were a composite payment on what they realized from the Mughal subahs and from the Svarajya jagirs or Watan. From the Mughal subahs they realized the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of which the latter was a special privilege of the House of the Bhonsle i.e. of Shivaji. Therefore the Sardeshmukhi collection went direct to the king, Shahu. There remained the Chauth over the six subahs of the Mughals and the revenue realized from the Svarajya. Let it be borne clearly in mind that a good many watandars or the jagir-holders in the Svarajya, were the feudatories in the Mughal subahs. Hence out of what they collected from the Svarajya and the Mughal subahs, they had to pay twenty-five per cent, on the whole, to the king for the maintenance of his dignity and office. Of the rest, i.e. seventy-five per cent, which was called Mokasa, the king assigned six per cent called Sahotra and three per cent called Nadgauda to whomsoever he pleased. The remainder sixty-six per cent of the total collection fell to the share of the feudatories who were to maintain their dignity and office thereby. But, as has been hinted above, such a system was liable to the utmost corruption, and it did become irrevocable with the lapse of

time. Indeed, corruption was inherent in such a system. Right divorced from responsibility degenerated into excesses in all cases. When Balaji Vishwanath adopted measures to make good his right to the collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, he did nothing for the maintenance of peace and order. He shirked this onerous duty only to give free license to the rapacity of his feudatories. In fact, to shoulder the responsibility would have been the most efficient check to the dangerous development of the Maratha confederacy. Like the East India Company between 1765-1772 in Bengal, Balaji never realized the delicacy of the task. Like the former, in 1769, he simply put some artificial brakes to the ambitions of the feudatories by controlling their revenue collection. His method of control was to create wheels within wheels and to make the revenue collection much complicated but the inherent defect of the system was not remedied. His method was like the Mughal system of creating co-ordinate authorities in the provinces, so that they may act as a check on each other. According to Balaji's system the revenue officials of the king appointed those of the Peshwa or Ashtapradhan, and the revenue officials of Ashtapradhan appointed those of the feudatories. The chief officials were the Chitnis, in charge of all correspondence, the Fadnis, the controller of accounts, and Potnis, the head of the treasury. These were posted to different parts of the country, to work under different sardars, but officially they were not subordinate to the latter. In fact they were not under the direct control of the king or Peshwa. Balaji thought that the system would work well, and at least theoretically it appeared efficient. But the faults of imitation were soon to make themselves felt. Indeed they were apparent on the face of it. The Mughal system worked admirably well because the Mughal government was a centralized and absolute monarchy. The Diwan and the Subehdar were co-ordinate authorities, and each was a check on the other because each was a mere servant of the magnificent autocrat, the Mughal Emperor. If the Diwan was the head of the provincial finances, he was so during the pleasure of the king, and similarly the Subehdar. But the Maratha government was exactly the opposite of the Mughal government. It was not a centralized monarchy, it was a decentralized confederacy. Unlike the Mughal Subehdars, Shahu's feudatories were not his humblest servants, but his friends and supporters. They wielded enormous power and possessed great military strength. Further the Mughal

revenue administration was a part of an organic system, and it worked in well-settled and well-organized countries. The Maratha revenue administration, on the contrary, was purely a feeding channel, like the arms of an octopus ever ready to suck its supplies from alien countries. Where the finances depended on the military power and the military power was wielded in its entirety by the sardars or feudatories, there the latter cannot be controlled by means of a few revenue officials. There can be no co-ordination between these feudatories and the revenue officials. The latter had to serve as subordinates. Not even the king was powerful enough against these sardars. Balaji meant to remedy this defect by maintaining a strong army and punishing the sardars when they proved refractory. But he did not live long, and even if he had lived long, the system would not have been very successful. We know Baji Rao did the same; he defeated and killed Dabhade at the battle of Dabhai. It did not secure the desired effect. It gave rise to a deep resentment among sardars like Bhonsle, who considered the Peshwa as one of themselves. To tighten their hold on the feudatories, the later Peshwas, i.e. Baji Rao and others arrogated to themselves the office of Senapati, but even this did not solve the troubles. It only multiplied their difficulties and worsened the condition of the confederacy.

Further Balaji Vishwanath invented a novel method of maintaining the royal establishment. It has been already noticed that his scheme of revenue administration did not put into the royal treasury the whole of the net collection, but only a fraction of it. Sixty-six per cent of the collection never came to the royal treasury, it was appropriated by the feudatories; nine per cent went to the persons in high favour with the king; the rest twenty-five per cent only was his portion. This is a very mischievous system of revenue administration; for the annual revenues were disbursed without their ever coming into the treasury and without the king's ever knowing the net income of the state. Neither he nor the Peshwa could have any real control over it. But what is more significant, the king lived as a pensioner of the feudatories, expecting only his twenty-five per cent besides the Sardeshmukhi income. Military power had passed away from his hands, and by this arrangement he was made dependent on the big sardars for the maintenance of his office. Balaji did not realize the gravity of this mistake and he further weakened the position of the king by making it a rule

that the different establishments of the royal house should be maintained by different sardars. The Ashtapradhans and the sardars like Bhonsle and Angrey were called upon to maintain the royal establishments by monthly payments. The Sachiv had to pay for the upkeep of the royal stables, the Pratinidhi had to pay for that of the royal stores and the Peshwa, for that of the royal palaces.¹ The officer appointed to see whether every feudatory was sending his contribution every month regularly or not, was called the Rajajnya. This arrangement rendered the king not only a pensioner but a protege of the feudatories in all but name. The discredit of having thus undermined the strength of the central authority goes to Balaji Vishwanath.

(iii) INCEPTION OF THE IMPERIAL POLICY

Much circumstance has been made out of the *Hindu padpadshi* as instituted by Shivaji, and resumed by the Peshwas with greater vigour. It simply means Hindu sovereignty and connoted to the Marathas of the eighteenth century, Hindu Imperialism. It was not Hindu in the fullest sense of the word, for the Marathas alienated the rest of Hindu India by their predatory habits. It was not an imperialism, for the basic principles of the expansion of the Maratha power lay in the Maratha confederacy. It remained a loose confederacy of the Maratha powers in the initial as well as in the final stage of its development. On what basis it was founded has already been outlined. Now we have to examine whether it contained at the start seeds of an empire. That is why I have called it the inception of an imperial policy.

Building an empire is a long and tedious process. It first of all requires perfect adjustment of a number of interests and internal peace. The second requisite is the continuous creation of spheres of influence. We have seen how Balaji Vishwanath tried to fulfil the first requirement in his own way. He tried to knit the Maratha chiefs quarrelling and ravaging, into a system of interdependence and that was the Maratha confederacy. Thus he secured peace in the country, and avoided the clash between the interests of the king and the powerful Maratha chiefs. For this the credit goes entirely to Balaji. His next concern was to secure a sphere of influence. That was achieved

¹यो: शा: च: -p. 66.

by the treaty of 1718-19, which granted the Marathas their Svarajya, and the right of collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Within Svarajya they exercised sovereign rights, and they realized the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan on the condition of preserving peace and order. The collection of the blackmail defined their sphere of influence, and tightened their grip on the country subjected to the payment of the taxes. Thus the Emperor by granting these rights resigned to them a part of sovereign rights, i.e. preservation of peace and order. Vast territories round about the Svarajya paid tribute to the Marathas, and were considered as half-subjugated by them. Thus was created a sphere of influence which went on increasing with every Peshwa and with the decay of the Mughal Empire. The British made similar beginnings in Bengal. But unlike the British the Marathas never evinced a willingness to shoulder the responsibilities resting on them. They extorted every pie of their due, but did not do anything for peace and justice. Hence, instead of the government getting strong with more income, it became corrupt and weak. The foundation for an empire, a stable form of government, was never laid in the proper way. Balaji remained content with the sphere of influence now secured by the sanction of the Emperor. Shivaji had originated it and had striven to secure it. Balaji cannot be credited with the originality no doubt, but his certainly is the credit to have secured for the Marathas, what Shivaji had fought for. But how far he was aware of its defects, or corruption creeping into the system, is extremely doubtful. True it is that he was not spared long to find out the defects of the system. He returned from Delhi by the middle of 1719, and in April 1720 he died. Thus he had only a few months to experiment on affairs, and when he had rushed through his experiment, for it was a very quick arrangement that he made, with regard to the collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, he died suddenly. Great as he was in many ways, we can only cherish a fond hope about him that he would have devised remedies for the defects, had he lived long enough to experience them. In his life-time they did not occur.

Let me make one point clear at the closing. Balaji Vishwanath had no other plans of founding an empire than creating a sphere of influence for the Marathas. He had certainly no scheme for the establishment of an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, by

means of conquest. His resources were not adequate to the task, and if he had indulged in that hopeless scheme, so early as 1719, we would have denied him any credit whatsoever as a statesman. But he never indulged in such a silly scheme as early as that, and it is a pity, that most of the patriotic historians attribute this to him. He might have considered that Mughal Empire was bound to fall into pieces in the near future, but this conviction did not blur his discretion. He worked quietly with humble beginnings, and left more ambitious schemes to be worked out by his posterity.

BALAJI VISHWANATH'S FAMILY

On his death his office was given to his son Baji Rao, then a youth of twenty-two. Balaji Vishwanath had two sons and two daughters. The old Peshwa had got them all married in their childhood, according to the prevailing custom of the country. Baji Rao, born about 1698, was married to Kashi Bai, the daughter of Mahadji Krishna Joshi, the banker to the Peshwa in 1710-11. Along with Baji Rao, he married his elder of the two daughters, Bhiu Bai to Abaji Joshi, the brother of Babuji Naik Baramatkar. Chimnaji Appa was married in 1716 to Rakhma Bai, the sister of Trimbak Rao Pethe, and the last of his children Anu Bai was married in 1719 to Vyankat Rao Joshi Ghorpade, the ancestors of the chiefs of Ichalkaranji. Balaji Vishwanath's wife Radha Bai was a very clever and accomplished lady of the house of the Barwes of Newarya. She was the head of the household, and wielded a great influence in society. She was of liberal views and affectionate in her dealings. Family legends have it, that once a mahar woman of loose morals was discovered in the house of Govind Hari Patwardhan of Poona. It created a good deal of sensation in the society, and the Patwardhans were segregated. But notwithstanding, Radha Bai took up their cause, of her own initiative invited all the Brahmans, got the expiation ceremony performed by them, and restored the Patwardhans to their former status. She died in 1753.

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

BY

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A.

(Reader in Indian History, Madras University.)

Concluded from page 271 of Volume VII., Part II.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Walking was the only means of transport in nomad times. Modern anthropological opinion is coming round to the view that the Stone Age man was a great wanderer from the earliest times and that there was much intercourse between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and even America on the other, if not as much as there is in these days of the steam engine. The primitive nomad, hide-clad or sky-clad, shouldered his tools and walked from country to country and spread the different stages of palæolithic culture all over the world. The motive for this travel was perhaps quest for food and the necessity for avoiding climatic rigour; or perhaps it was merely due to wanderlust and to the non-development of house building and of the habit of storing wealth, and living in one place to guard it from enemies. With the building of permanent habitations and the development of a love of luxury man began to make vehicles. The earliest kind of vehicle was the cart, *vandil*³ also called *urdi*,⁴ *olugai*,⁵ *sagadu*,⁶ *śadu*,⁷ *vaiyam*.⁸ *Vandil* now shortened into *vandi* literally means the bent place, from root of *val* to bend, whence *valai*⁹ to surround, to besiege,

¹ பஞ்சவர்ணம் குமலியொடு பைப்புத லெருக்கித்
தொகுவர்வன் வேலித் தொடவன் மரட்டி
முன்னரைத் தாமரைப் புல்லிதழ் புரைபு
செருகுசெவிச் குதழையல் பேர்க்கு வளஇத்
செங்கட் கரணத் தடறு கடடுண்டு
மருஞ்சரம்.

Perumbāṇḍiṇṇāṇḍi, 112-117.

² இனிசெம் சகலி குழா ரக்கன்
மைத்துடை மல்லன் மதவலி முருக்கி
யொருவர் மரபொருதல் கிஞ்சே யொருவர்
வருதல் தங்கிப் பிஞ்சேதல் கிஞ்சே
கலிதும் கலசர் ஆயினும் வெகற்பேர்ப்
பேரருத் தித்தன் சரக்கி லம்ம
பரித்தப் பனமுயலும் யான பேரல
விருதலு யொசிய வெற்றிக்
செம்புரு மல்லத் தடத்தகு கிண்பே.

Puṇyam. 80.

³ வண்டி. ⁴ உர்தி. ⁵ ஒலுசை. ⁶ சாடு. ⁷ சாடு. ⁸ வையம். ⁹ வலி.

to tie, and as a noun, a hole, also bangles, from their circular shape, a discus, a conch, *valaiyam*¹ a tank, a hoop, *vattil*², a basket, a tray, a cup, *vattam*³, a circle, a bull roarer, a shield, a tank, all named from the shape, *vattanai*⁴, a circle, a cymbal, *vattu*⁵, a spheroidal pawn used in gambling, *vanangu*⁶, to bow, to adore, *vanar*⁷, an arched roof, *vandu*⁸, a beetle that wheels round and round, *vali*⁹, whirlwind, *vallam*¹⁰, a round eating tray, *valli*¹¹, a bracelet. From early times the people were familiar with a cart and named its various parts. *Achchu*¹², the axle tree, *āni*¹³ (a word found also in the *Rig Veda*), *irusu*¹⁴, *kandu*¹⁵, axle pin, *urulai*¹⁶, *undai*¹⁷, *kal*¹⁸, wheel, *ar*¹⁹, spokes *sādu*²⁰, tyre, *kuradu*²¹ hub, etc. All parts of the cart were heavily carved.²² The carts were used more for purposes of trade than for travel. Kings and noblemen used a *ter*, car, as already described. The main streets of a city and the roads intended for travel by royal cars were broad. The cars were dragged by bulls, elephants, and in later times by horses. Kings and noblemen also travelled in palanquins, *pallakku*²³, *anigam*²⁴, *tandigai*²⁵; those with gems embedded on them were called *kañjigai*²⁶. Transport on water was by means of boats of several kinds and made in several ways, *kappal*²⁷, *ōdam*²⁸, *ambi*²⁹, *toni*³⁰, *teppam*³¹, *parisal*³², *padagu*³³, *kalam*³⁴, *udubam*³⁵, *kōlam*³⁶, *tollam*³⁷, *pagadu*³⁸, *paduvai*³⁹, *paṭṭi*⁴⁰, *puruvai*⁴¹, *punai*⁴², *midavai*⁴³, *vallam*⁴⁴, *timil*⁴⁵. It needs scarcely be added that the heads of boats were carved in the shape of the face of lions, elephants, horses, etc., and they were called in later times *arinugavambi*⁴⁶, *karimugavambi*⁴⁷, *kudiraimugavambi*⁴⁸ respectively. Boats were made in several ways; thus *teppam* was a float made of logs bound together, *timil*, a catamaran for fishing, *toni*, a wicker work construction covered with hide, *valam*, a dugout, *padagu*, *kappal*, sailing boats and *ōdam*, one rowed with oars. Sailing boats were furnished with *kāmbu*⁴⁹, mast and *pāy*⁵⁰, *idai*⁵¹, sails.

Many words were used to indicate a ship: *ambi*,⁵² *ōngal*,⁵³ *kalam*,⁵⁴ *sada*,⁵⁵ *ōngū*,⁵⁶ *timil*,⁵⁷ *tollai*,⁵⁸ *toni*,⁵⁹ *navvu*,⁶⁰ *pāhri*,⁶¹ *pādai*,⁶² *pāradi*,⁶³ *pāru*,⁶⁴ *punai*,⁶⁵ *pōdam*,⁶⁶ *madalai*,⁶⁷ *vangam*,⁶⁸ *pori*.⁶⁹ The Tamils ought to have been very familiar with boats and ships and to have constantly used them for purposes of transport by water, before they were prompted to invent nearly twenty names for it. The eastern and western coast lines were in olden days dotted with numerous ports, many of which have become useless on account of the retreat of the sea and almost all of which have become deserted by the modern developments of commercial intercourse by sea.

1 வண்டி, 2 வட்டி, 3 வட்டம், 4 வட்டி, 5 வட்டி, 6 வண்டி, 7 வண்டி, 8 வண்டி, 9 வண்டி, 10 வண்டி, 11 வண்டி, 12 வண்டி, 13 வண்டி, 14 வண்டி, 15 வண்டி, 16 வண்டி, 17 வண்டி, 18 வண்டி, 19 வண்டி, 20 வண்டி, 21 வண்டி, 22 வண்டி, 23 வண்டி, 24 வண்டி, 25 வண்டி, 26 வண்டி, 27 வண்டி, 28 வண்டி, 29 வண்டி, 30 வண்டி, 31 வண்டி, 32 வண்டி, 33 வண்டி, 34 வண்டி, 35 வண்டி, 36 வண்டி, 37 வண்டி, 38 வண்டி, 39 வண்டி, 40 வண்டி, 41 வண்டி, 42 வண்டி, 43 வண்டி, 44 வண்டி, 45 வண்டி, 46 வண்டி, 47 வண்டி, 48 வண்டி, 49 வண்டி, 50 வண்டி, 51 வண்டி, 52 வண்டி, 53 வண்டி, 54 வண்டி, 55 வண்டி, 56 வண்டி, 57 வண்டி, 58 வண்டி, 59 வண்டி, 60 வண்டி, 61 வண்டி, 62 வண்டி, 63 வண்டி, 64 வண்டி, 65 வண்டி, 66 வண்டி, 67 வண்டி, 68 வண்டி, 69 வண்டி.

Sirupāṇṇirupadai, 252-253.

The wheel whose tyre went round felloes inserted in a hub on which figures were carved with a sharp chisel

30 வண்டி, 31 வண்டி, 32 வண்டி, 33 வண்டி, 34 வண்டி, 35 வண்டி, 36 வண்டி, 37 வண்டி, 38 வண்டி, 39 வண்டி, 40 வண்டி, 41 வண்டி, 42 வண்டி, 43 வண்டி, 44 வண்டி, 45 வண்டி, 46 வண்டி, 47 வண்டி, 48 வண்டி, 49 வண்டி, 50 வண்டி, 51 வண்டி, 52 வண்டி, 53 வண்டி, 54 வண்டி, 55 வண்டி, 56 வண்டி, 57 வண்டி, 58 வண்டி, 59 வண்டி, 60 வண்டி, 61 வண்டி, 62 வண்டி, 63 வண்டி, 64 வண்டி, 65 வண்டி, 66 வண்டி, 67 வண்டி, 68 வண்டி, 69 வண்டி.

The Sanskrit Academy, Madras.

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1. The drama may be printed or written on one side of the paper only. Deva-nāgarī script alone should be used.

2. The author should send in along with the drama, a declaration in the following form :—

I hereby solemnly declare that the accompanying drama is an original production of mine and has been specially written for this competition.

Station,

Date

Signature of author.

3. The drama should be submitted by 'Registered Post' so as to reach the Secretaries, Sanskrit Academy, Mylapore, Madras, on or before the 31st July, 1929.

4. The decision of the Judges appointed by the Academy shall be final.

5. The rules of Sanskrit Dramaturgy need not be closely adhered to, but the drama must be stage-worthy.

6. The drama for which the prize is awarded will, for all purposes, become the property of the Academy.

7. The prize may be reduced or divided or not awarded at all, according to the decision of the Judges.

8. The dramas submitted by unsuccessful competitors will be returned to them, if so desired, within one month after the declaration of the results of the competition in case the required postage stamps are sent in advance.

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FOOD

Before discussing the food habits of the ancient Tamils it may be pointed out that Indians, throughout the ages, have been mainly vegetarians. Not that they did not love the taste of meat; on the contrary when they got it they ate it with great delight.¹ Nor did they throw to the dogs the game they hunted, without consuming it themselves. But Indians never made the flesh of animals their staple food like the people of Western Europe. The latter living in countries where cereals cannot be produced in abundance, have been forced by their environment to adopt meat as their chief article of food and add to their dietary a minimum quantity of vegetable substance, because meat by itself is not a perfect food and because they cannot resist nature's urge to consume vegetable products charged with the chlorides, and iodides, the sulphates and phosphates and other salts necessary for the healthy life of a body. To use Indian phraseology, meat is their food and vegetable their curry; that is they eat meat to sustain their bodies and cereals and other vegetarian food to add relish to their meat. In India the position is reversed. Rice, wheat, the millets and the pulses are our food, and meat (and green-vegetables) our curry; that is we eat rice or wheat or millet and the seeds of legumes to rebuild tissue lost by combustion, and meat and green vegetables turned into curry to add relish to the cereals which are mostly insipid in themselves and unfitted to stimulate to activity the glands which secrete saliva and other juices necessary for dissolving and digesting starches and proteids. In other words meat is food to Europeans and but curry to Indians. In this connection I may point out that curry, *kari*², is the name in Tamil not only of curried meat or vegetable and of sauce in general, but also

¹ A bard thus describes how he gobbled meat when he was plied with it by a royal patron :

தாராய் துறிய தருவையப் புருகின்
பரரை வேலை பருகெனத் தண்டிக்
காழிற் சட்ட கோலன் கொழுக்குறை
கூழி னூழின் ஈர்ப்பெய் தெரறி
பனவயலை முனிஞுவ மெனினே எனவய

Porunarāyuppadai, 103-107.

'He urged me many times to eat the stout, well boiled loin of a ram fed with bundles of arugu grass (*Agrostis Linearis*). I ate big lumps of fat flesh, roasted at the end of iron spikes, and, as they were hot, shifted them from the right side of the mouth to the left to cool them. I then said we did not require any more boiled or roasted meat.' And again—

கொல்ல புழுக்கொழு வேப்பம்பப் பங்கே
பெகல்பு மிரவு முன்றன்ற மருகிடு
புயிப்பிடம் பெருகு துன்முனிக்கு

Ibid., 117-119.

'Our teeth, on account of eating meat night and day, became blunt like the blade (plough-share) of the plough with which the garden in the back yard is ploughed, and having no place for rest got disgusted with food. And again—

பரவதைக் கருந் கரையின் மிதப்ப
வயிற் கரந்

Ibid., 115-116.

'When I swallowed milk and fried meat till I was filled to the neck.'

² கறி.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tiraṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇappeyar*⁸, viz., *milagukay*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapēyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *miriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

To return to the ancient Tamils. They ate meat, the various names of which *ūn*¹¹, *inaichchi*¹², *pulāl*¹³, *tunnu*¹⁴, *uttai*¹⁵, *ūttal*¹⁶, *taṣai*,¹⁷ *taḍi*¹⁸, *tūvu*¹⁹, *puṇ*²⁰, *purani*²¹, *pulavu*²², *vaḷḷuram*²³, *viḍakku*²⁴, indicate their fondness for it, as curry and not as food, just as their modern descendants do. This curry was of various kinds (1) *kuy*²⁵, *talitta kari*²⁶, sprinkled with pepper powder, mustard, etc., fried in oil; (2) *karunai*²⁷, *porikkari*²⁸, *varai*²⁹, *tuvaṭṭarkari*³⁰, fried meat; (3) *tuvai*³¹, *puḷiṅgarai*³², meat boiled with tamarind and pepper. While on the subject of *kari* I may mention also *kāḍi*³³, *aruḱari*³⁴, pickles, fruits soaked in oil or water with flavouring substances.³⁵

The Aryas of North India were as great lovers of meat as were the Tamils of South India. From the evidence of the Vedic mantras we

¹இடுகுறி. ²மிரியல். ³மிலகு. ⁴கறி. ⁵கலினை. ⁶காயம். ⁷திராங்கல். ⁸காரணப்பெயர். ⁹மிலகுகாயம். ¹⁰தெய்விலி. ¹¹ஊன். ¹²இறைச்சி. It is noteworthy that the word also means, that which is agreeable. ¹³புலால். ¹⁴தண்ணீர். ¹⁵உத்தை. ¹⁶உத்தல். ¹⁷தாசை. ¹⁸தடி. ¹⁹துவூ. ²⁰புண். ²¹புரணி. ²²புலவு. ²³வாழ்வரம். ²⁴விடக்கு. ²⁵கூய். ²⁶தலித்த கறி. ²⁷கருநை. ²⁸பொரிக்கரி. ²⁹வரை. ³⁰துவாட்டகறி. ³¹துவாய். ³²புலிங்கரி. ³³காடி. ³⁴அருகரி. ³⁵பழக்கறி.

33பைத்துரை

செவ்வெண் செவ்வெண் மரக்காய் கிழித்து
தண்ணீர் காய்.

Perumbāṇāyruṇṇaḍai, 308-310.

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved

learn that 'horses',¹ 'bulls',² 'buffaloes',³ 'rams',⁴ and 'goats',⁵ were killed on slaughter-benches, *sāṇa*,⁶ cooked in caldrons,⁷ and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed because fishing and bird-catching are referred to.⁸ In North India there was developed a prejudice against eating the village-fowl, because it feeds on all kinds of repulsive offal; such a prejudice does not seem to have ever risen in South India. In early times there was no sentiment against beef-eating in North India. In the later Vedic age the objection to the eating the flesh of the bull and the cow first arose. Says the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The Gods spake, 'verily the cow and the ox support everything here: Come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever belongs to other species; accordingly they bestowed on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals; and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence were one to eat the flesh of an ox or of a cow, there would be as it were an eating of everything, or as it were a going on to the end or to destruction. Such a one indeed would be likely to be born again as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin; let him therefore not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I for one eat it, provided that it is tender.'⁹ Yājñavalkya Rishi, who probably belonged to the early years of the first millennium B.C. was not frightened by the threat that the eating of beef was tantamount to the dreaded sin of *brūṇahatti*; hence the virulent disgust at the very idea of beef-eating that is the marked characteristic of the Hindus to-day is less than of three thousand years' standing. South Indians too of ancient times did not seem to have had much objection to eat the flesh of the cow. As was the case with all other things they liked, they had several names for beef, viz., *vaḷḷuram*¹⁰, *ṣaṭṭiyaichchi*¹¹, *śuṣiyam*¹², *paḍittiram*.¹³ In later times the objection to beef-eating became violent all through India except among the depressed classes, whose social degradation made them so poor and so incapable of earning enough food that they had no objection to meat of any kind—the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and even the flesh of animals that have died on account of disease. Among the other classes the sentiment against beef-eating developed primarily on account of economical causes. The above is plainly indicated by the remark in the passage from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* that 'were one to eat the flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'; besides the need of cattle for agriculture, other reasons were the wide use of milk and milk products in Indian dietary and the moral reason, i.e., the love inspired by the meek and gentle-eyed cow.

The chief cereal used by the Tamils was the paddy *nel*¹⁴, *vari*¹⁵, the names of various varieties of which exist, such as *śeṇḷali*¹⁶, *Sennel*¹⁷,

¹A.V. vi. 71. 1. ²R.V. i. 164. 43. ³R.V. v. 29. 7. ⁴R.V., x. 27. 17.

⁵A.V. i. 162-3. ⁶R.V. x. 86. 18. ⁷R.V. iii. 53. 22.

⁸P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

⁹S.B. iii. 1. 2. 21, Eggeling's Translation, ii, p. 11.

¹⁰வாழ்வரம். ¹¹சாட்டியைச்சி. ¹²சுசியம். ¹³பாடித்திரம். ¹⁴நெல். ¹⁵வரி. ¹⁶செவ்வெண். ¹⁷சென்னல்.

One result of the extensive use of vegetables in food was that there are distinct words for the different stages of the edible parts of plants e.g., *pinju*,¹ *elu*,² *vaḍu*,³ the very tender fruit, *kāy*,⁴ *ṭṭiyali*,⁵ *palan*,⁶ (which last word, I think, is pure Tamil, having nothing to do with Sanskrit *phalam*), the grown fruit, *kani*,⁷ *paḷam*,⁸ the fully ripened fruit, *ṣulai*,⁹ pulp or edible part of a fruit, *tanḍu*,¹⁰ tender stem, also petal, *taḷir*,¹¹ tender leaf, *ilai*,¹² mature leaf; but the word for *kiḷangu*,¹³ an esculent root, a tuber, has only synonyms borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g., *kandam*, *mūlam*; it has another synonym, *śakunam*, whose origin I cannot suggest; perhaps *ver*,¹⁴ root, and its Tamil synonyms *śaḍai*,¹⁵ *śivai*,¹⁶ and *tūr*¹⁷ may also refer to tubers.

The ancient Tamils drank hard; liquor has more 'pure' Tamil names than any other article. Here are some of them; *ammiyam*,¹⁸ *ari*,¹⁹ *arugi*,²⁰ *aruppam*,²¹ *ali*,²² *aṭṭaḷi*,²³ *āmbal*,²⁴ *āli*,²⁵ *ālai*,²⁶ *īlam*,²⁷ *eli*,²⁸ *kalliyam*,²⁹ *kavvai*,³⁰ *kāli*,³¹ *kāli*,³² *kuḍu*,³³ *kundi*,³⁴ *koṅgu*,³⁵ *śaḍi*,³⁶ *śali*,³⁷ *śayru*,³⁸ *śikkar*,³⁹ *śundi*,⁴⁰ *śurai*,⁴¹ *śūḷigai*,⁴² *śeyu*,⁴³ *śol*,⁴⁴ *śolviḷambi*,⁴⁵ *ñali*,⁴⁶ *taṇiyal*,⁴⁷ *tumbi*,⁴⁸ *tēm*,⁴⁹ *tēyal*,⁵⁰ *tēn*,⁵¹ *tonḍi*,⁵² *toppi*,⁵³ (special name of rice-liquor), *nayavu*,⁵⁴ *nanai*,⁵⁵ *nayram*,⁵⁶ *padu*,⁵⁷ *pāli*,⁵⁸ *pīḷi*,⁵⁹ *pēḍai*,⁶⁰ *maṭṭu*,⁶¹ *madurai*,⁶² *maruṭṭam*,⁶³ *marali*,⁶⁴ *māri*,⁶⁵ *māli*,⁶⁶ *murugu*,⁶⁷ *mēḍai*,⁶⁸ *vaḍi*,⁶⁹ *viṣuḷi*,⁷⁰ *veri*,⁷¹ *vēri*,⁷² *kaḷ*,⁷³ the vendors of liquor were called *śavunḍiyar*,⁷⁴ *tuvaśar*,⁷⁵ *paḍuvar*,⁷⁶ *paḷaiyar*,⁷⁷ *pīḷiyar*.⁷⁸

The following describes the food of the mountain-dwelling *Kuṟavar* and their hospitality.

'They mix the fat meat of the wild boar and venison cut from deer, killed when they were running, the flesh wounded by the bite of bitches; they fill themselves with the liquor brewed from honey and matured in bamboo cylinders and also with rice-liquor and they are full of glee. To bring down the intoxication due to drinking in the mornings, they mix pounded white nuts of the Jack fruit which have come down floating on rivers, have become over-ripe and burst out, with butter-milk to which has been added the sweet-sour tamarind fruit whose rind is white, and in this juice cook white rice matured in bamboo tubes, so that the smell of the boiling rice spreads all along the hill-side; you can get this food from the hands of the *Kuṟava* girls, who have black hair-knots smelling of flowers. They will offer you this food with great joy for having got a guest to feed; they will then introduce their children to you and will offer you besides the

1. பஞ்சு.	2. எலு.	3. வடு.	4. காய்.	5. தியலி.	6. பவன்.
7. கனி.	8. பழம்.	9. சை.	10. தன்.	11. தனி.	12. இல.
13. மெழுகு.	14. வெல்.	15. சை.	16. கைவ.	17. து.	18. அம்மியம்.
19. ஷரி.	20. அருமி.	21. அருப்பம்.	22. அலி.	23. அறிவழி.	24. ஆம்பல்.
25. ஆலி.	26. ஆலு.	27. கழம்.	28. எலி.	29. கல்வியம்.	30. கல்வைய.
31. சலி.	32. தாலி.	33. குடு.	34. குத்தி.	35. கெரங்கு.	36. சரதி.
37. சரலி.	38. சரந்.	39. கெக்க.	40. கண்டி.	41. கரை.	42. குழிசை.
43. சேரந்.	44. சேரல்.	45. சேரல்விளம்பி.	46. குரலி.	47. தனியல்.	48. தம்பி.
49. சேந்.	50. சேநல்.	51. சேந்.	52. சேந்.	53. சேநப்பி.	54. தாவு.
55. சை.	56. சேந்.	57. படு.	58. பரலி.	59. பிழி.	60. சேநை.
61. மட்டு.	62. மதுரை.	63. மருட்டம்.	64. மறலி.	65. மரரி.	66. மரலி.
67. முருகு.	68. மெதை.	69. வடி.	70. விசலி.	71. வெயி.	72. வெயி.
73. சை.	74. சவுண்டியர்.	75. துவாசர்.	76. பாடுவர்.	77. பைழயர்.	78. பிழியர்.

products of the tops of hills (such as sandal, *agil*, gold, gems, etc.)'.¹ Of the hunters it is said:

'They drink the sweet rice-liquor, *ṭoppī*, brewed in their houses; they cut in the open field the strong bull and eat its meat. The drum faced with folded hides sounds and they lift the left arm, strong with the constant bending of the bow, place it around the right side and dance all day with glee.'²

The food of the *Āyar* is thus described:—

'Early in the morning when the thick darkness begins to disappear and birds rise from their sleep, *Idaiyar* women ply with the rope the churning-rod, *maṭṭu*,³ with a noise like the grunt of a tiger; they churn the milk with folded crust, having been curdled by the curds reserved for the purpose, *urai*,⁴ which looks like the white mushroom, and remove the butter; they place a pad of flowers, *summaḍu*,⁵ on their heads and stand thereon a pot of buttermilk, whose mouth is sprinkled with drops of curds and sell it in the mornings. They are dark of skin; at their ears dangle earrings; their shoulders are like the bamboo; their hair is short and wavy. They feast their relatives with rice bartered for buttermilk. Then they sell ghi and buy gold and milch buffaloes and cows and calves. If you stay with the *Idaiyar* with hanging lips, they will feast you with *tinai*,⁶ which looks like the young of crabs, boiled with milk. Their strong feet are scarred with constant wearings of sandals; their hands lean on sticks with which they cruelly beat the cattle; and are horny with handling the axes which fell trees; their shoulders, scarred and hairy by carrying *Kavaḍis*⁷ with double hanging loops; their hair, smelling because they wipe the head with hands full of milk-drops. They wear garlands of mixed flowers, *Kalambagam*,⁸ plucked from trees and plants growing in the forests;

1. ஏறித் தருக மிலக்குமலைத் தாரமொடு
வேய்ப்பெயல் விளையுட் டேக்கட் டேறல்
குறைவின்றி பருகி கறவுமிகித்து வைகறைப்
பழஞ்செருக் குற்றமும் மனத்த நீர்
வருவி தந்த பழஞ்சிறை வெண்கரம்
வருவிசை தவித்த கடமான் கொழுங்குறை
முளவுமாத் தெரவியைப் பைச்சிணைப் பிணை
பிணைசைய முடுக்கிய தடியொடு விளையு
வெண்புடைக் கொண்ட துய்த்தலைப் பழனி
விளையுந் கலக்கு மாரமோ ராகக்
கழைவனக் கொல்லி அரியலு யூழ்த்த
வழையமை சாரல் கழைத் துழைஇ
சுறமல ரணித்த சுறிற முச்சிக்
குறமக னாகிய வரலவித் வல்சு
யகமலி யுகை யரவமொ டுது
மகமுறை தடுப்ப மனைதொறும் பெறுகவித்.

Malaiṣaḍukaḍam, 170-185.

2. இல்லாடு கள்ளின் நோப்பி பருகி
மல்லன் மன்றத்து மதவிடை கொண்ட
மடிவாய்த் தண்ணுமை ஆழிவட் சிலப்பச்
சிலைவி லெறும் தோ ரோச்சி வலன்வையு உப்
பகன் மகிழ் தூங்கும்.

Perumbānāyruṣṣaḍai, 142-146.

3. மத்த. 4. உரை. 5. சம்மரடி. 6. தின. 7. கரவு. 8. கலம்பகம்.

they wear a single cloth which fits closely with the body, and eat porridge.¹

The food of *marudam* is thus described:—

'The *sulai*² (pulp) of the Jack-fruit, sweet and fragrant, the fruits of the mango of many forms, and beautiful *kay*³ (unripe fruit) of numerous shapes, (like the plantain, the *pāgal*⁴, and the brinjal), other fruits, (like the plantain and the cashew), leaf-curries of leaves, curled, thin, beautiful, growing on creepers which grow abundantly in the rainy season, crystals of sugar made from boiled sugar, and meat cooked together with big tubers which grow down and rice boiled in milk, sweet to eat, were served.'⁵

Fire for cooking and other purposes was made by churning wood.

The forester made fire by churning one piece of wood on another, as he does even to-day in forests remote from places where matches are sold. This is referred to in 'the fire which he churned,'⁶ 'the lamp lighted from a fire, churned by hunters with dry wood brought by elephants.'⁷ In the plains, they kept up a perpetual fire in fire-pots,

¹ கள்ளிருள் விடியற் புள்ளெழப் போகப்
புலிகுரன் மத்த மொலிப்ப வானம்
யாம்பி வான்முடி முன்ன கூம்புழைக
புறையமை தீர்த்தவிர் கலக்கி நுரைத்தெரிக்கு
புகர்வாய்க் குழிற் பூஞ்சுமட்டி டிஇ
காண்மோர் மரநாண்மா மேனிச்
சொகுமை துயல்வரும் காதிற் பனைத்தோட
குழுகைநிக் கொண்ட கூந்தலாய்மக
எனவிலை புணலிற் கிண்புட னருத்தி
கொயிலைக் கட்டிப் பசும்பொன் கொள்ளா
எருமை கல்லான் கருகாரு பெறும
மடிவாய்க் கோவலர் குடிவயிற் சேப்பி
னிருந்தினை குண்டின் இறுபார்ப் பன்ன
பசுத்தினை ழாடல் பாலொடும் பெறுகுவிற்
தொடுதோன் மரீஇய வடுவாழ் கோளடி
விழுத்தன் நேறிய மழுத்தின் வன்னை
யுறிக்கா ழுந்த மறுப்படு மயிச்சுவன்
மேரிபா ழுரைத்த வேரி யோங்குமினைக்
கோட்டவும் கொடியவும் விளைஇக் கட்ட
பல்பூ மிடைத்த படலைக் கண்ணி
பொன்றம ருடுக்கைக் கழர நிலையன்

Perumbāṇayruppādai, 155-175.

²சுள. ³காய். ⁴பாகல்.

பலவுடன்
⁵சேறு காற்றும் பலவின் கணையும்
வேறபடக் கவினிய தேமால் கனியும்
பல்வேறு நுவிற் காயும் பழனும்
கொண்டல் வளர்ப்பக் கொடியிடுபு கவினி
மென்பினி யவிற்குத் குறமுறி யடகு
மயித்தியன் தன்ன திஞ்சேற்றுக் கடிக்கையும்
புகழ்படப் பண்ணிய பேருன் சேரரும்
திஞ்செல விழ்த்திழைக்கொடு பிறவு
மின் சேரறு தருகர்

Maduraiikkāñji, 526-535.

⁶தன் குவிதி.

Puṇam, 150.

⁷யானை தந்த முனிவர் விற்ற
காணிக் பொத்திய குவிதி வினக்கு.

Ibid., 247.

kumpatti,¹ into which was poked a *śufundu*,² stalk sometimes tipped with sulphur.

Salt was manufactured on a large scale. Salt-fields have several names: *uppalam*,³ *alakkar*,⁴ *uvarkalam*,⁵ *uvalagam*,⁶ *kali*.⁷ These names prove that salt-manufacture was an extensive industry, a fact which we could have inferred otherwise also, because the large use of vegetable food and especially of curries of innumerable kinds and of the many varieties of pickles to tempt the palate and satisfy its craving and to render rice and pulses tasty, requires the free use of salt.

The food of Northern and Southern India has remained unchanged for five thousand years and more. But the necessities of modern commerce have begun to alter it in many respects. Old ways of preparing foodstuffs and cooking them are giving way to new ones; the old methods of boiling and pounding paddy with the hand preserved the proteids and vitamins necessary for health and strength; but the new methods of hulling by machinery and polishing unboiled paddy are giving rise to the widespread diseases of civilization—tuberculosis and diabetes and to general enfeeblement. The old custom of eating leaf-curry and fruits cooked with their skins is giving way to modern refinements in cookery, and tinned provisions are taking the place of freshly made ones, so that the health of the people is steadily degenerating. The old forms of food were the result of thousands of years of experience, whereas the new ones, supposed to raise the standard of living, are really refined methods of committing slow suicide.

AGRICULTURE

Says Prof. G. Elliot Smith, 'I suppose most people would be prepared to admit that the invention of agriculture was the beginning of civilization. It involved a really settled society and the assurance of a food supply. Hence it created the two conditions without which there could have been no real development of arts and crafts and the customs of an organized form of society.'⁸ Prof. Smith is of opinion that agriculture was developed in Egypt with the sowing of barley about ten thousand years ago and thence spread to other parts of the world. At about the same or perhaps a few millenniums earlier, as stone tools testify, the cultivation of paddy and the weaving of cotton began in the plains of South India. Hence the rise of Indian agriculture was not consequent on its development in Egypt.

Agriculture was the main industry of Ancient India, as it is to-day. It was carried on chiefly in the lower reaches of rivers where irrigation by means of canals is possible. Thus in the *Śoḷa* country, *Śoṇadu*,⁹ the fertile delta of the Kāviri, even to-day the granary of South India and the island of Ceylon, was the main scene of agricultural operations. In the *Pāṇḍya nādu*, in the valleys of the Vaigai and the Tāmraparṇi wet cultivation was carried on. In the *Sēra nādu* which looked up to the sky for irrigation, the strip of coast west of the ghats where the rain it raineth every day during the monsoons, was devoted to this early industry of Indian man. In

¹கும்பட்டி. ²சுஃஃது. ³உப்பளம். ⁴அலக்கர். ⁵உவர்க்கலம். ⁶உவலகம். ⁷கலி.
⁸*Nature*, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 8. ⁹சோனாடு.

other parts of the country there were small patches of Marudam, where rain-water straight from the sky, carried away by hill torrents, was stored and utilized for the raising of grains or vegetables. Where water supply was not on a generous scale, were raised grains and other crops which did not require a constantly wetted field to grow in. Hence cultivated land was divided into *nansey*,¹ rice-growing field and *punsey*,² where other grains grow. Uncultivated land was *tarišu*.³ *Sey*,⁴ the common element of *nansey*, and *punsey*, means a field as well as a particular area of land. It also means red and perhaps the word acquired the meaning of a field in the districts covered with red ferruginous clay. *Nansey*, therefore, originally meant a good field and *punsey*, a bad field. Cultivated land was partitioned into fields. The field had numerous names: *vayal*,⁵ *sey*, *agani*,⁶ *kambalai*,⁷ *kalani*,⁸ *kaidai*,⁹ *kottam*,¹⁰ *seru*,¹¹ *tadi*,¹² *panai*,¹³ *pannai*,¹⁴ *paḷanam*,¹⁵ *pānal*,¹⁶ *pulam*; ¹⁷ a small field was *kuṇḍil*,¹⁸ *patti*.¹⁹ The large number of synonyms for *vayal*, was due to the fact that agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Agriculture itself was called *vēḷānmai*,²⁰ the *ānmai*,²¹ lordship, of *vēl*,²² land, *Vēḷalar*.²³ (a word different in origin from *vēḷḷalar*)²⁴ were landowners, cultivators, *vēḷatti*,²⁵ being the feminine gender of the same. Owners of extensive tracts of land were called *vēl*, *vēḷir*; there were *kurunilamanar*, petty chiefs. After the Ārya social organization was imposed on Tamil India, *Vēḷalar* were given the name of *pūvaiśyar*, but the name has not stuck to them, for though they were technically Vaiśyas, the privileges of Vaiśyas were not really extended to them. *Vēḷānmai* was considered the noblest of occupations; because the possession of grains conduces to the development of generosity. For, whereas other forms of wealth, especially minted metal, can be hoarded jealousy and will, if put out to interest, grow infinitely more and more, wealth in the form of food-grains will deteriorate if hoarded; it will either be destroyed by vermin or will rot; so the man who has a rich store will be naturally prompted to give it away to the poor and the starving. Hence India, the land of extensive agriculture, has become the land of unstinted charity; hence *vēḷānmai* has become in Tamil synonymous with *iḡai*,²⁶ (lit, gift), also *koḍai*.²⁷ The *Vēḷalar* were, by right of their instincts of charity, the nobles of the land and hence the characteristics of *vēḷalar*, *vēḷānmai māndar iyalbu*,²⁸ have been described as ten; viz, (1) *ānivaḷi niṟṟal*,²⁹ keeping an oath, (2) *aḷindōrai niṟuttal*,³⁰ raising up the fallen, (3) *kaikkāḍanāṟṟal*,³¹ being obliging, (4) *kaṣivagattunmai*,³² having compassion, (5) *oḱkalporṟal*,³³ supporting relatives, (6) *ṣvāmuyarḱi*,³⁴ perseverance, (7) *manniraiḱarudal*,³⁵ paying taxes, (8) *Oṟṟumaikōḍal*,³⁶ being peaceable, (9) *virundu*,³⁷ *puṇḍandarudal*, hospitality, (10) *tirundiyaṣōḷukkani*,³⁸ correct conduct. Of this list of virtues belonging to the Tamil farmer, *ṣvāmuyarḱi*, ceaseless toil, is the necessary result of rice-cultivation; for more than other food-grains rice requires unceasing work

¹நன்செய். ²புன்செய். ³தரிசு. ⁴செய். ⁵வயல். ⁶அணி. ⁷கம்பலை. ⁸காலனி. ⁹கைடை. ¹⁰கோட்டம். ¹¹சேறு. ¹²தடி. ¹³பனை. ¹⁴பன்னை. ¹⁵பழனம். ¹⁶பானல். ¹⁷புலம். ¹⁸குண்டில். ¹⁹பாத்தி. ²⁰வேளாண்மை. ²¹ஆண்மை. ²²வேல். ²³வேளாளர். ²⁴வேளாளர். ²⁵வேளாட்டி. ²⁶ஈசை. ²⁷கோடை. ²⁸வேளாண்மை மாந்தர் இயல்பு. ²⁹ஆண் வழி நிற்பது. ³⁰அழிந்தோரை நிறுத்தல். ³¹கைக்கடனாற்றல். ³²கனிவசத்துணமை. ³³ஒக்கல் போற்றல். ³⁴தொழுவதல். ³⁵மன்னிதாருதல். ³⁶ஒற்றமைகோடல். ³⁷விரும்பு புறத்தருதல். ³⁸நிடுக்கியவொருக்கம்.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is miscalled fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kaḷam*,¹ set apart for these purposes.² Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grains does not increase, but decreases with keeping; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

All the other virtues of the *Vēḷalar* are but different forms of charity. It has already been explained how one who has a large store of cereals is easily induced to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his fellow-men feed on his substance. Numerous poetical names signifying *vēḷalar* exist. They are *maṇmagal pudalvar*,³ sons of the earth-goddess, *vaḷamaiyar*,⁴ the flourishing, *kaḷamar*,⁵ owners of fields, *maḷḷar*,⁶ the strong, *kāviriḷḷapudalvar*,⁷ sons of the Kāviri, *uḷavar*,⁸ tillers, *mēliyar*,⁹ ploughmen, *ērinvaḷḷar*,¹⁰ those that live by the plough, *Maṇḡo*,¹¹ prince, *pinṇavar*,¹² perhaps those that are behind *mannavar*,¹³ *perukkalar*,¹⁴ those that increase wealth, or those that utilize the food, *vinaiṇar*,¹⁵ toilers.

There was a wealth of vocabulary attached to each detail of agricultural operations. Ploughing was *uḷavu*,¹⁶ *toyvil*,¹⁷ hoeing, *kottudal*,¹⁸ trampling, *uḷakkudal*,¹⁹ *midittal*,²⁰ *maḍiḍal*,²¹ manure,

¹களம். ²மன்னர் குழியை விழவி குறு. மகலிர் தழியு துணங்கை யானும் யாண்டுக் கரணன் மாண்டக் கோண் யானுமோ ரரகன மகனே யென்னைக் கோடி நிலக்கு வன கொடுத்த படுகெழு குரிசிலுமோ ரரகன மகனே.

Kurundogai, 31.

I have searched for him in the places where heroes congregate (for martial exercises); and where women gather for the *tuṇḡgai* but have not seen the magnificent hero; hence I am but a woman the theatre *āḍukaḷam* (ஆடுகைம்); the great hero too who has caused my bangles bent bangles cut from conch-shell to slip, is also a man of the theatre.

³மன்னகற்புதல்வர். ⁴வளமைவர். ⁵களவர். ⁶மலர்வர். ⁷காவிரிப்புதல்வர். ⁸உழவர். ⁹மேழிய. ¹⁰காவிரிப்புதல்வர். ¹¹இளங்கோ. ¹²பின்னவர். ¹³மன்னவர். ¹⁴பெருக்கவர். ¹⁵வினைகு. ¹⁶உழவு. ¹⁷தொழுவது. ¹⁸கொத்துதல். ¹⁹உழக்குதல். ²⁰மிதித்தல். ²¹மடித்தல்.

eru,¹ uram,² kuppai,³ kūlam,⁴ and so on. Different names were given for the fields other than that used for wet cultivation. A garden was *tōttam*,⁵ *tudavai*,⁶ *padappai*,⁷ *tōppu*,⁸ *sōlai*,⁹ *tandalai*¹⁰ (flower-garden), *kollai*,¹¹ (generally a kitchen-garden behind a house). High land was *tagar*,¹² *tarāy*,¹³ *mēdu*,¹⁴ *ōngal*,¹⁵ *karu*,¹⁶ *kuppai*,¹⁷ *kuvāl*,¹⁸ *kuvai*,¹⁹ *śūval*,²⁰ *tidar*,²¹ *tittu*,²² *tittai*,²³ *paḍar*,²⁴ *miśai*,²⁵ *vallai*,²⁶ *vanbāl*,²⁷ *murambu*:²⁸ this was so variously named, probably because it gave much trouble to the cultivator who had to level it before tilling it. The low land was also variously named, *paḷlam*,²⁹ *aval*,³⁰ *ilivu*,³¹ *kiḷakku*,³² *kīl*,³³ *kūḷi*,³⁴ *kūval*,³⁵ *ñēllal*,³⁶ *tālvu*,³⁷ *paḍugar*,³⁸ *payambu*.³⁹

The chief implement of the farmer was the plough; so he lovingly gave it numerous names, *kalappai*,⁴⁰ *idai*,⁴¹ *ulūpaḍai*,⁴² *kalanai*,⁴³ *ñāñil*,⁴⁴ *toḍuppu*,⁴⁵ *paḍai*,⁴⁶ *paḍaivāl*.⁴⁷ The ploughshare was made of wood in the stone age and of steel in the iron age; both kinds are in use even to-day. The other important implement was the knife; it, too, had numerous names, *val*,⁴⁸ *uvani*,⁴⁹ *ēdi*,⁵⁰ *kaḍuttalai*,⁵¹ *uvatti*,⁵² *naviram*,⁵³ *nāṭṭam*,⁵⁴ *vañjam*,⁵⁵ *kuyal*,⁵⁶ *kūḷir*;⁵⁷ short knives were called *kuṟumbidi*,⁵⁸ *śurigai*,⁵⁹ one that could be bent into the handle, *śūri*.⁶⁰

An extensive system of irrigation was practised; rivers were furnished with a complete dam, *aṇai*.⁶¹ or a partial dam, *korambu*,⁶² and the water diverted into a *kal*,⁶³ *kalvay*,⁶⁴ or *vāykkal*.⁶⁵ Or water was raised from ponds or wells by means of an *ērṇam*⁶⁶ or *kabilai*⁶⁷ or *īṟaikūḍai*.⁶⁸ The latter was the most common means of raising water and had numerous names, *ambi*,⁶⁹ *iḍār*,⁷⁰ *īṟaivai*,⁷¹ *karambi*,⁷² *kiḷar*,⁷³ *piḷār*,⁷⁴ *puṭṭil*,⁷⁵ *puṭṭai*,⁷⁶ *paṭṭai*,⁷⁷ and conducted by means of a sluice, *maḍai*,⁷⁸ to higher levels and distributed to fields.

Here is a description of ploughing.—‘The plough men, who raise food for many people, yoke trained oxen to the plough, whose front looks like the mouth of a female elephant, press it on the ground so that the ploughshare which looks like the face of the iguana, is buried in the earth. They plough round and round, then sow seeds and then weed the field. When the harvest season is near, the quail with short feet and black neck with its young, white and smelling like the

Kadamba flower—*Eugenia racemosa*,—and unable to fly about, afraid of the noise of the harvesters, settles in the forest near.’¹

Agriculture in South India was carried on exactly as it was in Āryāvartta. ‘They ploughed the ground,² the plough being drawn by two oxen³ fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces, and driven with a goad.⁴ The ploughshare was made of iron⁵ which supplanted the older ploughshare⁶ made of Khadira wood. The ploughmen sang merrily to the steers while ploughing.⁷ They bedewed the furrow with ghee and honey⁸ before sowing. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals from wells⁹ or lakes, or by raising water from wells by means of wooden or metal buckets¹⁰ tied to a rope, pulled round a stone pulley. They kept away birds from robbing them of the growing corn¹¹ by uttering loud cries.’¹²

LOVE IN MARUDAM

The leisure enjoyed by agriculturists after the harvest was over led to the development of festivals among them, in which there was much singing, dancing and play-acting in order to pass idle moments. This again led to the growth of the institutions of harlotry, song-stresses and actresses; *viraliar*¹³ and *kūṭtiar*¹⁴ were experts in the refinements of love. Numerous poems of the class Marudam deal with this subject. ‘The festival is over. The drums are silent. Do you want to know what she thought then? I will tell you her thoughts. This young woman wore a leaf-garment; with that garment dangling on her lap, she walked along the streets. Then arose in the streets a great sound of laughter, as loud as when the followers of the great Bowman Ōri, the victorious warrior-lord of Kolli, who was killed by Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikāri, saw Kāri enter the incomparably long streets of Ōri. On hearing that sound of laughter, the fair ladies who wore bangles and the skins of whose bodies was like the tender leaf of the mango, feared that she would capture the hearts of their

1. எரு.	2. உரம்.	3. குப்பை.	4. கிலம்.	5. தோட்டம்.	6. துடை.
7. பட்டப்பை.	8. தோட்டம்.	9. தோட்டம்.	10. தண்டை.	11. தோட்டம்.	12. தகர்.
13. தோட்டம்.	14. தோட்டம்.	15. தோட்டம்.	16. தோட்டம்.	17. தோட்டம்.	18. தோட்டம்.
19. தோட்டம்.	20. தோட்டம்.	21. தோட்டம்.	22. தோட்டம்.	23. தோட்டம்.	24. தோட்டம்.
25. தோட்டம்.	26. தோட்டம்.	27. தோட்டம்.	28. தோட்டம்.	29. தோட்டம்.	30. தோட்டம்.
31. தோட்டம்.	32. தோட்டம்.	33. தோட்டம்.	34. தோட்டம்.	35. தோட்டம்.	36. தோட்டம்.
37. தோட்டம்.	38. தோட்டம்.	39. தோட்டம்.	40. தோட்டம்.	41. தோட்டம்.	42. தோட்டம்.
43. தோட்டம்.	44. தோட்டம்.	45. தோட்டம்.	46. தோட்டம்.	47. தோட்டம்.	48. தோட்டம்.
49. தோட்டம்.	50. தோட்டம்.	51. தோட்டம்.	52. தோட்டம்.	53. தோட்டம்.	54. தோட்டம்.
55. தோட்டம்.	56. தோட்டம்.	57. தோட்டம்.	58. தோட்டம்.	59. தோட்டம்.	60. தோட்டம்.
61. தோட்டம்.	62. தோட்டம்.	63. தோட்டம்.	64. தோட்டம்.	65. தோட்டம்.	66. தோட்டம்.
67. தோட்டம்.	68. தோட்டம்.	69. தோட்டம்.	70. தோட்டம்.	71. தோட்டம்.	72. தோட்டம்.
73. தோட்டம்.	74. தோட்டம்.	75. தோட்டம்.	76. தோட்டம்.	77. தோட்டம்.	78. தோட்டம்.

In the Kāviri valley which slopes from West to East *kiḷ* and *kiḷakku*, lit. lowland and *mēl*, *merku*, highland came to mean East and West respectively.

1. குடிநீர் வந்த செஞ்சாறு மூவர
கடைகளில் பெரும்பகடு புதலிற் பூட்டிப்
பிடிவாய் வந்த மடிவாய் காஞ்சி
துடுப்பு முகமு முக்கொழு முக்கொழுநீர்
தொடுப்புமுநீர் தழுத தளர்படு துடை
யரிபுரு பொழுதி லிசியல் பேரெ
வண்ணக் கடம்பி னறமல ரன்ன
வளிரும் பிஞ்சு தழிஇக் குறுக்காந்
கறையனற் குறுப்புச் சட்டி செஞ்சு
வன்புலம்.

Perumbāṇṇṟuppaḍai, 197-206.

¹ R. V. x. 101, 3; x. 106, 2.

² R. V. iii. 17, 3; x. 101, 3.

³ A. V. iii. 17, 3.

⁴ A. V. viii. 20, 9.

⁵ A. V. i. 3, 7; iii. 13, 9; R. V. iii. 45, 3; vii. 49, 2, 4; x. 43, 7.

⁶ R. V. x. 101, 5, 7.

⁷ P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 23.

⁸ அபயம்.

⁹ உதயம்.

¹⁰ A. V. iii. 25, 5; iv. 57, 4.

¹¹ A. V. v. 6, 6.

¹² A. V. iii. 17, 9.

¹³ R. V. x. 68, 1.

husbands and guarded them from her wiles. I have failed in these attempts, and she has seduced my lover away from me.¹

More innocent incidents of love also belong to *Marudam*; such as the wailing of a wife when her husband has gone away to a far place after quarrelling with her. 'The sparrows whose wings are like the faded water-lily with petals shrunk and folded, and which reside in the roofs of houses, eat the paddy and the other grains spread for drying in the front yard of houses; they make holes in the slender filaments of flowers in the highway. They return to their beds in the roof where they sleep with their young ones. Do not the sad evening and the pains of separation exist where he has gone.'²

PASTURAGE

As agriculture was the chief industry of *Marudam*, pasturage was the chief industry of *Mullai*. The sheep, the goat, the cow, the ox, the buffalo were the chief domestic animals tended by the *Ayar*, herdsmen. Profusion of names for each of these as usual indicates the love the herdsmen felt for their wards. Thus the sheep was called *adu*,³ *udu*,⁴ *oruvu*,⁵ *turuvai*,⁶ *tullal*,⁷ *puruvai*,⁸ *veri*,⁹ the red variety *semmai*,¹⁰ *mottai*,¹¹ *udal*,¹² *elagam*,¹³ *ballai*,¹⁴ *kada*,¹⁵ *mai*,¹⁶ *kori*,¹⁷ *tagar*,¹⁸ *melagam*.¹⁹ The goat was called *velladu*,²⁰ *kāradu*,²¹ *kochchai*.²² *vellai*,²³ *varkāli*,²⁴ *kuṇumbadu*,²⁵ from the wool of which *Kuṇumbar* wove *kambles*, was also called *varudai*,²⁶ *varaiyadu*.²⁷ The cow had naturally the largest variety of names, *ā*,²⁸ *paṣu*,²⁹ *kuram*,³⁰ *kurāl*,³¹ *kūlam*,³² *kovalam*,³³ *surai*,³⁴ a useless cow was *sudai*,³⁵ a barren cow, *varchai*,³⁶ that which has yeened once *kitti*,³⁷ *kirutti*.³⁸ The ox was *erudu*,³⁹ *iṇal*,⁴⁰ *iṇu*,⁴¹ *kundai*,⁴² *kūli*,⁴³ *kottiyam*,⁴⁴ *se*,⁴⁵ *ko*,⁴⁶ *nūpam*,⁴⁷ *pagadu*,⁴⁸ *pāndil*,⁴⁹ *paṇal*,⁵⁰ *pullam*,⁵¹

1. அழகு முழந்தன்று முழவுக்குடின்
நெயன் குறித்தனன் கொலென்றி யவிற
நெய் யணிந்தலமரும் மல்குந் நெருவி
வினையோ லிந்த வணத்தற்குப் பழவிந்
லோகக் கொன்ற கொருபெருக் நெருவிந்
காரி புக்க கோர புலம்போற்
கல்வென்றன னுரே யதற்கொன்று
காவல் செறி ய மரட்டி யாய்தொடி
பெயின்மர மேனி மகனித்
விழுமக் தனத்தற்கொருமைக் காத்தே.

Nayyinaṭi, 320.

2. ஆம்பற் பூவின் சாம்ப லன்ன
கட்பிய தெரத் மண்புறற் குரீடு
முன்றி வுணக்கன் மரத்தி மன்றத்
நெருவி னுண்டாது குடைவன வரடி
பில்லறைப் பள்ளித்தம் பிண்டியொடு வறியும்
புன்கண் மரலையும் புலம்பு
மின்றகொ ருழியவத் சென்ற ஈட்டே.

Kuṇundagai, 46.

3. ஆடு. 4. உடு. 5. ஓருவு. 6. துருவை. 7. துள்ளல். 8. புருவை. 9. வெறி. 10. செம்மறி. 11. செம்மற்தை. 12. உதல். 13. ஏழகம். 14. பச்சை. 15. உடல். 16. மை. 17. கொறி. 18. தரத். 19. மேழகம். 20. வெள்ளாடு. 21. எரி. 22. கொச்சை. 23. வெள்ளை. 24. வந்தகாலி. 25. குறம்பாடு. 26. வகுடை. 27. வரைவாடு. 28. ஆ. 29. பாசு. 30. குரம். 31. குரால். 32. கலம். 33. கோவலம். 34. சரை. 35. சதை. 36. வந்தகை. 37. கிட்டு. 38. கிட்டு. 39. எருது. 40. இரால். 41. ஏற. 42. குண்டை. 43. கூனி. 44. கொட்டியம். 45. செ. 46. செ. In view of the fact that *kōn* was a pure Tamil word for a cowherd, I regard *kō* as independent of Sanskrit *go* the resemblance between the words being absolutely accidental. 47. துபம். 48. பசுடு. 49. பண்டி. 50. பரால். 51. புல்லம்.

pāni,¹ *peram*,² *pottu*,³ *mūri*,⁴ *vidai*.⁵ Of these names *kaḷi*⁶ means breeding bull; those which were used by traders for bearing burden, (*podī*)⁷ were called *tūriyam*,⁸ *pagadu*,⁹ and *paṇal*.¹⁰ The buffalo was called *kavari*,¹¹ *kārā*,¹² *kāram*,¹³ *mūri*,¹⁴ *medi*,¹⁵ *vaḍavai*,¹⁶ barren ones, *naimai*,¹⁷ the bull calf of the buffalo, *kuḷavi*,¹⁸ *kaṇṇu*.¹⁹ Its cow-calf *ā*,²⁰ *nāgu*,²¹ the bull-buffalo, *umbal*,²² *ēru*,²³ *oruttal*,²⁴ *pagadu*,²⁵ *pottu*.²⁶ The udder of the cow and of the buffalo, *maḍi*,²⁷ *seruttal*,²⁸ *mādu*,²⁹ was the general name of both the cow and the buffalo. Intimate acquaintance with animals developed a great love of them and the invention of a number of words relating to them. Thus beasts in general were called *vilangu*,³⁰ *kurangam*,³¹ *ma*,³² *mān*,³³ their young ones, *kurulai*,³⁴ *kutti*,³⁵ *pillai*,³⁶ *maṇi*,³⁷ *kaṇṇu*,³⁸ *kuḷavi*,³⁹ *paṇṇu*,⁴⁰ *magavu*.⁴¹ Hornless animals were called *kumaram*,⁴² the horn was *ulavai*,⁴³ *kōḍu*,⁴⁴ *maruppu*,⁴⁵ the tail, *tōgai*,⁴⁶ *kūlam*,⁴⁷ *vēṣagam*.⁴⁸

TAME ANIMALS.

The tame animals that were of use to man were *mān*,⁴⁹ deer, also named *ulai*,⁵⁰ *enam*,⁵¹ *sūnam*,⁵² *navvi*,⁵³ *pinaimari*,⁵⁴ its male, *iralai*,⁵⁵ *ēru*,⁵⁶ *oruttal*,⁵⁷ *karumān*,⁵⁸ *kalai*,⁵⁹ *pulvāy*,⁶⁰ its female, *pinai*,⁶¹ its young, *ēni*,⁶² *kaṇṇu*,⁶³ *kuḷavi*,⁶⁴ *tannam*,⁶⁵ *paṇam*,⁶⁶ *paṇṇu*,⁶⁷ *maṇi*.⁶⁸ The ass *kaḷudai*,⁶⁹ besides the bullock, was a burden-bearer. The horse, *kudirai*,⁷⁰ was not a native of South India, and was imported in later times from Sind and Persia. The pig, *paṇṇi*,⁷¹ was another useful animal and was also named *ari*,⁷² *iruli*,⁷³ *ēruḷi*,⁷⁴ *enam*,⁷⁵ *karuma*,⁷⁶ *kaliru*,⁷⁷ *kānal*,⁷⁸ *kanma*,⁷⁹ *kiḍi*,⁸⁰ *kiri*,⁸¹ *keḷal*,⁸² *kottuma*,⁸³ *maimma*,⁸⁴ *mōlal*.⁸⁵

The dog first tamed by the hunter and then trained by the keeper of the cottage to watch the fold, was named, *nāy*,⁸⁶ *akkam*,⁸⁷ *aṣulam*,⁸⁸ *aṣṇam*,⁸⁹ *eginam*,⁹⁰ *kukkan*,⁹¹ *kūran*,⁹² *sunangan*,⁹³ *namali*,⁹⁴ *ṇāli*,⁹⁵ *tuttam*,⁹⁶ *pāsi*,⁹⁷ its female, *pātti*,⁹⁸ *pinai*,⁹⁹ *muduvai*,¹⁰⁰ the pup, *kutti*,¹⁰¹ *kurulai*,¹⁰² *paṇal*,¹⁰³ the cat was called *alavan*,¹⁰⁴ *indi*,¹⁰⁵ *ōdi*,¹⁰⁶ *pavanam*,¹⁰⁷ *pakkan*,¹⁰⁸ *pilli*,¹⁰⁹ *pūsai*,¹¹⁰ *pūnai*,¹¹¹ *verugu*,¹¹² it was also poetically called, *iṇṇuḷi*,¹¹³ the house-tiger; the male cat was specially named *kaḍuvan*,¹¹⁴ *pottu*,¹¹⁵ the kitten, *kutti*,¹¹⁶ *paṇal*,¹¹⁷ *pillai*.¹¹⁸

* 1. பூனி. 2. பெற்றம். 3. பொத்த. 4. முரி. 5. விடை. 6. கலி. 7. பொறி. 8. துரியம். 9. பசுடு. 10. பரால். 11. கவரி. 12. காரா. 13. காரம். 14. முரி. 15. மெடி. 16. வாடவை. 17. நைமை. 18. குழவி. 19. காணு. 20. ஆ. 21. நாசு. 22. உலம். 23. ஏறு. 24. ஓருத்தல். 25. பசுடு. 26. பொத்த. 27. மாடி. 28. கொத்தல். 29. மாடு. 30. மல்கு. 31. குரம். 32. மர. 33. மான். 34. குருவி. 35. குட்டி. 36. பச்சை. 37. மறி. 38. சண்ட. 39. குழவி. 40. பரப்பி. 41. மகவு. 42. குரம். 43. உலவை. 44. கொடு. 45. மருப்பு. 46. கோவை. 47. கலம். 48. வேசம். 49. மான். 50. உழை. 51. சைம். 52. குணம். 53. கலி. 54. பினை. 55. இரால். 56. ஏறு. 57. குருத்தல். 58. குரமான். 59. கலி. 60. புல்வாய். 61. பினை. 62. சண்ட. 63. காணு. 64. குழவி. 65. தன்னம். 66. பாணம். 67. பரப்பி. 68. மாணி. 69. கலுடை. 70. குதிரை. 71. பண்ணி. 72. அரி. 73. இரூ. 74. ஏறு. 75. சைம். 76. குரம். 77. சண்ட. 78. கரம். 79. கரமர். 80. கிடி. 81. கிரி. 82. கெழல். 83. கொட்டி. 84. மைம். 85. மோலம். 86. நாய். 87. அக்கம். 88. அசுலம். 89. அசுணம். 90. எகினம். 91. குக்கம். 92. குரம். 93. சுனாண். 94. நாமலி. 95. ணாலி. 96. துத்தம். 97. பாசி. 98. பத்தி. 99. பினை. 100. முதுவை. 101. குட்டி. 102. குரலை. 103. பரால். 104. அலவன். 105. இண்டி. 106. ஒடி. 107. பவணம். 108. பக்கம். 109. பில்லி. 110. பூசை. 111. பூனை. 112. வெறு. 113. இன்னு. 114. காடவன். 115. பொத்த. 116. குட்டி. 117. பரால். 118. பிலை.

The other beasts familiar to the people were *anil*,¹ the squirrel, *karadi*,² the bear, *kattā*,³ the wild cow, *kāri*,⁴ the mongoose, *kurangu*,⁵ the monkey, *nari*,⁶ the jakal, *sennāi*,⁷ the wild dog, the *uḍy*,⁸ or the *konḍy*,⁹ the wolf, *nīrṇāy*,¹⁰ the beaver, *kāviḥḥillai*,¹¹ the civet cat, *mutḥanṇi*,¹² the porcupine, *maraimān*,¹³ the yak, *muṣu*,¹⁴ the ape, *muyal*,¹⁵ the hare, *yānai*,¹⁶ the elephant.

The chief house-pests were *cli*,¹⁷ the rat, *kārelī*,¹⁸ the black rat, *peruchchālī*,¹⁹ the bandicoot, *mūnjūru*,²⁰ the mouse and the ubiquitous mosquito, *koṣu*,²¹ which was such a great nuisance as to receive a dozen other names, *aṣaval*,²² *aṇalam*,²³ *ulangu*,²⁴ *ṣagal*,²⁵ *tummu*,²⁶ *tuḷai*,²⁷ *nilambi*,²⁸ *nulumbu*,²⁹ *nollal*,³⁰ *mūṇal*,³¹ *valu*,³² *aṇal*,³³ *ī*,³⁴ the house-fly and *andu*,³⁵ insect found in stored grain. But the bed bug seems to be an import from abroad, for, it has but a *kāranappeyar*, i.e. *mūṭṭaiḥḥi*,³⁶ the bundle-insect.

BIRDS

There are many general names for birds *paṇavai*,³⁷ *kudīṇai*,³⁸ *kurugu*,³⁹ *pul*,⁴⁰ their young ones, *kuṇḍu*,⁴¹ *parḥḥu*,⁴² the cry of birds *payir*,⁴³ their nest, *kaṭchi*,⁴⁴ *kuṇḍurai*,⁴⁵ *kuḍambai*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*,⁴⁷ *kūṇḍu*.⁴⁸ A flock of birds was called *tholūdi*,⁴⁹ the cries of a flock, *tuḷani*,⁵⁰ the beating of a birds' wings, *oṣanarūtal*,⁵¹ *pudaittal*,⁵² female birds are called *peḍai*,⁵³ *peṭṭai*,⁵⁴ *peḍai*,⁵⁵ the females of birds other than the gallinaceous fowl and the owl, *aḷagu*,⁵⁶ their males except in the case of the peafowl and the *eḷal*,⁵⁷ *ṣeḷal*,⁵⁸ the cock of the peafowl and the *eḷal*, *pōttu*.⁵⁹ The food of birds and of some animals *irai*,⁶⁰ *uṇḍi*,⁶¹ *urai*,⁶² *ūṭṭi*.⁶³

The following are names of some species of birds:—*anril*,⁶⁴ nightingale, *annam*,⁶⁵ swan *andai*,⁶⁶ large eyed owl, *uḷḷan*,⁶⁷ snipe, *ūrkkuruvi*,⁶⁸ sparrow, *tūḥkanāṅguruvi*,⁶⁹ *ḥavudari*,⁷⁰ partridge, *kaḥudam*,⁷¹ king-fisher, *kaḷugu*,⁷² eagle, *kākkai*,⁷³ crow, *nīrkkākkai*,⁷⁴ a diving water-bird, *kādai*,⁷⁵ quail, *kili*,⁷⁶ parrot, *kuyil*,⁷⁷ cuckoo, *kurugu*,⁷⁸ village fowl, also *koḷi*,⁷⁹ another variety, *kūgai*,⁸⁰ large hooting owl, *kokku*,⁸¹ stork, *ṣadagam*,⁸² sky-lark, *ṣichchili*,⁸³ king-fisher, *ṣival*,⁸⁴ *paḡandai*,⁸⁵ another species of partridge, *sembōttu*,⁸⁶ *ndrai*,⁸⁷ heron, *parundu*,⁸⁸ kite, *pura*,⁸⁹ pigeon, *mayil*,⁹⁰ peafowl.

The love of nature and close observation of natural objects which was a great characteristic of the Tamils of ancient times are constantly revealed in early Tamil poems. On later Tamil Poetry the conventions of the later artificial Sanskrit Poetry wielded

1. அனில். 2. கரடி. 3. கட்டா. 4. காரி. 5. குரங்கு. 6. நரி. 7. சென்னாய். 8. உடிய. 9. கண்டய. 10. தீராய். 11. காவியில்லை. 12. முத்தி. 13. மாரையன். 14. முசு. 15. முயல். 16. யானை. 17. ஹரி. 18. பெருச்சேரி. 19. காரை. 20. முஞ்சு. 21. கொசு. 22. அசுவல். 23. அருவல். 24. உலங்கு. 25. சகல். 26. தம்மு. 27. தஞ்சல். 28. நிலம்பி. 29. துலம்பு. 30. கொண்டல். 31. முஞ்சு. 32. வலு. 33. அஞ்சு. 34. ச. 35. அத்த. 36. முட்டைப்பூச்சி. 37. பறவை. 38. குஞ்சு. 39. குஞ்சு. 40. பு. 41. குஞ்சு. 42. பார்ப்பு. 43. பாயிர். 44. கட்டி. 45. குஞ்சு. 46. குடம்பை. 47. குரம்பை. 48. பார்ப்பு. 49. குஞ்சு. 50. குழனி. 51. குஞ்சு. 52. புட்டை. 53. பெட்டை. 54. பெட்டை. 55. பெட்டை. 56. அஞ்சு. 57. ஹரி. 58. சகல். 59. போத்து. 60. இரை. 61. உஞ்சு. 62. உரை. 63. அனல். 64. அனல். 65. அனல். 66. அனல். 67. அனல். 68. அனல். 69. அனல். 70. அனல். 71. அனல். 72. அனல். 73. அனல். 74. அனல். 75. அனல். 76. அனல். 77. அனல். 78. அனல். 79. அனல். 80. அனல். 81. அனல். 82. அனல். 83. அனல். 84. அனல். 85. அனல். 86. அனல். 87. அனல். 88. அனல். 89. அனல். 90. அனல்.

great influence. Not so on the natural poetry of the earlier ages. To illustrate the keen observation of Fauna on the part of the poets, a few quotations are given. 'The pods of the *Phaseolus mungo* are like the red legs of the quail.'¹ 'The leaf of the *Caladium nymphaefolium* which grows on the hill, rich and waving, moved by the cold northwind in the month of Tai, resembles the ears of the elephant.'² 'The water-lily growing in deep pools resembles the back of the yellow-legged crane.'³ 'The carp, afraid that the stork would eat it, ducked under the water, but found itself near the lotus and equally feared its bud.'⁴ 'The nightingale which dwells on the palmyra leaves cries gently.'⁵ 'In the cold weather the *Cassia tinctorium* is filled with flowers and looks like the neck of a peacock.'⁶ 'The path traced by the claws of the crab will be extirpated by the waves of the sea.'⁷ 'The mountain from which honey-combs are hanging, as (the trappings from) the chariot.'⁸ 'The goat has a belly like the false skin of the flowering bean.'⁹ 'The flock of yellow legged fish-eating storks look like the pearls on the breast of Murugan when they fly in the red sky.'¹⁰ 'The shaggy head of the *ñemai* tree looks like the rows of flags on the royal elephant. The spiders' webs round the tree waved in the west wind that blew over the hill called *Ōḍai*; the lean elephants mistook them for clouds and lifted their trunks to catch them and sounded like the *tambu*¹¹ of the actors.'¹²

¹ புறநாலைப் பாடியது. *Kuyundogai*, 68.

² இலம்பிற் செம்பினலங்கல் வள்ளில் பெருக்கறிந் செவியின் மானத்தைத் திற தன்வால் வாடை துக்குக் கமெயி. *Ib.* 76.

³ பைங்காற் கொக்கின் புன்புறத்தின் குண்டி ரம்பல். *Ib.* 122.

⁴ குஞ்சுகொக்க குனிந்த கொண்டையால் தருகெழு தாமரை வான்முனை வெருடும். *Ib.* 127.

⁵ மன்றலம் பெண்ணை மடல்சேர் வாழ்க்கை யன்றிலும் பையென காழும். *Ib.* 177.

⁶ கொன்றையம் பசுவீ சம்போற் பசுக்குக் காலை ... காயல் பூக்கெழு பெருகுநினை மென்மயி லெருத்திற் தோன்றும். *Ib.* 183.

⁷ அலவன் கூருகிர் வரித்த வீரமண் வீரொழி இனைய விழுமென வருமிசைப் புணர். *Ib.* 351.

⁸ நிரைசேர் நண்டேர் போலப் பிரசங் துக்குமலை. *Ib.* 392.

⁹ பூக்கொடி யவரைப் பொய்யத என்ன வள்ளில் வயிற் கொண் வெண்மதி.

Agam 104.

¹⁰ செடுவேன் மாப்பிரம் போலச் செவ்வாய் வானத்திண்டி மினருத்தம் பைங்காற் கொக்கினரை பறை யுசுப்ப. *Ib.* 120.

¹¹ யானைக் கொண்டதறிற் கொடியோல வலத்தலை குழையத்து வலத்த லெம்பி யோடைக் குன்றத்துக் கோடையோடு தயல்வா மறையென மருண்ட மம்மர் பலவுட யோக்கி றெடுத்த கோயுடை செடுக்கை தொகுசொற் கோடியர் தும்பிலுயிர்க்கும். *Ib.* 111.

¹² தம்பு, a musical instrument.

'Green parrot with the red bill, who go on picking the bent stalks of the panicum, do not fear me; give up the fear that any one would threaten you for picking the stalks. When you have finished with them and are at leisure, attend to my wants; I join my palms and beg you to help me in this affair. If you go to your relatives who live in my lover's country, where grows the jack tree which bears abundant fruits, meet my lover who is the lord of this mountain and tell him that the young *Kuṇava* woman of the forest around this mountain is guarding the millet field to-day as usual.'¹

'The banyan tree bears many boughs full of fruits; to eat the fruit many birds crowd round the tree. Their cries resemble the sound of many musical instruments.'²

'The crowds of bees which have thin wings eat the honey, and after the honey is exhausted desert the flowers.'³

'The *āral*,⁴ lamprey, with nose like an ear of corn, creeps into the mud; the *vālai*,⁵ *Trichiurus lepturus*, which has a horn, moves tremulously on the water; the fishermen approach the tank which have flowers bright as the flame, the tortoise looks like the hollow-bowelled *kinai*,⁷ (the drum of the *marudam*); the gravid *varāl*,⁸ *Ophicephalus striatus*, is like the *nugumbu*⁹ of the palmyra; with it fights the *kayal*,¹⁰ carp, which shines like a spear.'

TREES AND PLANTS

The ancient Tamils distinguished and named innumerable trees, plants, shrubs and creepers and knew their properties. The pure Tamil names of a few trees alone will be here referred to: *achcham*,¹¹ *Coronilla grandiflora*, commonly called *agatti*,¹² probably after Agastya, *atti*,¹³ Indian fig, *anichchai*,¹⁴ a sensitive tree, *achcha*,¹⁵ *Diospyros ebenaster*, *atti*,¹⁶ *Bauhinia cernua*, *al*,¹⁷ the banyan, *itti*,¹⁸ *Ficus virens*, *ilandai*,¹⁹ jujube, *ilavam*,²⁰ the silk-cotton tree, *iluppai*,²¹ the long-leaved Bassia, *indu*,²² *Phoenix farinifera*, *uṣil*,²³ *Acacia pennata*, *etti*,²⁴

¹கொடுங்குரல் குறைந்த செவ்வாய்ப் பைகிவி
பஞ்சு லேரம்பி வர்ப்பதக் கொண்டு
நின்றுறை முடிந்த பிள்ளை யென்குறை
செய்தல் வேண்டினால் கைநெருகு திரப்பல்

²பங்கோட் பலவின் சரலவந்தரட்டு
நின்றுறை மருங்கிற் சேறி யாயி
னம்மலை மெய்கோர்க் குறைமதி யிம்மலைக்
காணக் குறவன் மடமக
வேனல் கரவ வாயின் வெனவே. *Narppai*, 102.

³கோடுபல முரஞ்சிய கோலி யரலத்துக்
கடியத்தன்ன குரல்புணர் புர். *Maṭaiṇṇaḍukaḍam*, 268-269.

⁴தண்டா தண்டு வறம்புத் தற்கு
மென்னை வண்டினம். *Maduraiikkāñji*, 573.

⁵கிதிமுக் கரல் கிழ்ச்சேற் குளிப்பக்
கண்க்கோட்டு வரன் கிழ்ச்சிப் பிறழ்
வெரிப்பும் பழை செறித்தடர் வன்கு
ரிக்ருட ரியின் வரமை யிரிப்
பனை கும்பின் கிணறுநிற் வரவே
நெய் வரன் வெரன் வயல்.

Puṇam, 249.

⁶கூரல் ⁷கோல. ⁸கோல. ⁹தருப்பு, perhaps the tender kernel of the fruit
¹⁰கயல். ¹¹அச்சம். ¹²அகத்தி. ¹³ஆத்தி. ¹⁴அனிச்சை. ¹⁵ஆச்சா. ¹⁶ஆத்தி. ¹⁷ஆ.
¹⁸இத்தி. ¹⁹இலவம். ²⁰இலவம். ²¹இலுப்பை. ²²ஈந்த. ²³உயில். ²⁴உயில்.

Strychnos nux vomica, *elumichchai*,¹ the lemon tree, *ṣmai*,² the mango, also *mā*,³ *kadambu*,⁴ *Eugenia racemosa*, *kaḍavu*,⁵ *Gyrocarpus jacquini*, *kaḍu*,⁶ the gall-nut tree, *kamugu*,⁷ the areca palm, *karuṅgali*,⁸ the ebony, *kaḷli*,⁹ *Euphorbia tirucalli*, *kaya*,¹⁰ *Memecylon tinctorium*, *kurundu*,¹¹ *konṇai*,¹² Cassia, *sandanam*,¹³ or *aram*,¹⁴ sandal-wood tree, *teṅgu*,¹⁵ cocoanut tree, *teḷku*,¹⁶ teak, *nāval*,¹⁷ the jambolan tree, *nelli*,¹⁸ Indian gooseberry, *pala*,¹⁹ the jack tree, *panai*,²⁰ palmyra, *paḍiri*,²¹ *Bignonia thelonoides*, *palai*,²² the iron-wood tree, *puḷi*,²³ the tamarind tree, *punnai*,²⁴ the Alexandrian laurel, *pūvaraṣu*,²⁵ the Portia tree, *pūvandi*,²⁶ the soapnut tree, *magiḷ*,²⁷ a tree of very sweet smelling flower, *māḍalai*,²⁸ the pomegranate, *murungai*,²⁹ *Hyperanthera murunga*, *mūṅgil*,³⁰ the bamboo, *vāḷai*,³¹ *marudam*,³² *Terminalia alata*, *vanni*,³³ *Prosopis spicigera*, *vilvam*,³⁴ *Crataeva religiosa*, *vilā*,³⁵ the wood-apple, *vēṅgai*,³⁶ the *Pterocarpes bilobus* *vembu*,³⁷ the margosa tree. The names of smaller plants, and of different kinds of leaves and flowers are so numerous that it is not possible to catalogue them or even to mention the more familiar varieties. The unblown flower was called *arumbu*,³⁸ the parts of flowers, *idal*; ³⁹ *pūṇḍen*; ⁴⁰ young trees *nāgu*; ⁴¹ fruiting trees, *paḷiṇam*,⁴² trees with heart-wood inside, *āṇmaran*,⁴³ with heart-wood outside, *peṇmaram*,⁴⁴ branch, groups of trees without heart-wood, *ali*,⁴⁵ *veliru*,⁴⁶; the synonyms of the word, tree, are very considerable in number. I will content myself with noting a few poetic images which show how keen was the observation of nature by the ancient Tamils:—

'The gourd (*piṇṇai*,⁴⁷) with round, white flowers grows along with the thin creeper *muṣuṇḍai*,⁴⁸ on shrubs.'⁴⁹

'The hill country has bamboos which wave to and fro and its clear clouds spread the dew amidst the peacocks whose expanded tails shine like the sapphire.'⁵⁰

'The forest land possesses the expanding jasmine, *talavu*,⁵¹ the broad November flower, *tonṇi*,⁵² the mullai with the petals opened, the *teru*,⁵³ (clarifying-nut tree) which drops its flowers, the *konṇai*,⁵⁴ Cassia, whose flowers are like gold, the *kaya*,⁵⁵ whose flowers are like sapphire.'⁵⁶

'The *kuravam*,⁵⁷ has flowered; the cold weather is gone; in the beautiful spring, in the river, a slender stream is running; the wide river with straight stretches of sand has its banks adorned with many

¹கூழிச்சை. ²மேழை. ³மர. ⁴கடம்பு. ⁵கடவு. ⁶கடவு. ⁷கமுகு. ⁸கருங்கலி. ⁹கல்லி. ¹⁰காயல். ¹¹குருந்து. ¹²கொண்டை. ¹³சந்தனம். ¹⁴அரம். ¹⁵தேங்கு. ¹⁶தேக்கு. ¹⁷நாவல். ¹⁸நெல்லி. ¹⁹பாலா. ²⁰பனை. ²¹பாடிரி. ²²பாலி. ²³புலி. ²⁴புன்னை. ²⁵புவராசு. ²⁶புவாண்டி. ²⁷மகிலி. ²⁸மாடலை. ²⁹முருங்கை. ³⁰முக்குடில். ³¹வாலை. ³²முருதம். ³³வாணி. ³⁴விலவம். ³⁵விலா. ³⁶வேங்கை. ³⁷வெம்பு. ³⁸அரும்பு. ³⁹இதழ். ⁴⁰பூச்சேர். ⁴¹பூச்சேர். ⁴²பூச்சேர். ⁴³பூச்சேர். ⁴⁴பூச்சேர். ⁴⁵பூச்சேர். ⁴⁶பூச்சேர். ⁴⁷பூச்சேர். ⁴⁸பூச்சேர். ⁴⁹பூச்சேர். ⁵⁰பூச்சேர். ⁵¹பூச்சேர். ⁵²பூச்சேர். ⁵³பூச்சேர். ⁵⁴பூச்சேர். ⁵⁵பூச்சேர். ⁵⁶பூச்சேர். ⁵⁷பூச்சேர்.

Candicans. ⁴⁹பூச்சேர் முகண்டைப் பெரிப்புற வரம்புப்
பெருப்பேர் பீரமோடு புதற்புதல். *Neḍunalvaḍai*, 13-14.

⁵⁰ மணி மயிற் கலரப் புகிண்டைப் பரப்பித்
தணிமறை தவரும் தயங்கறை செடுந் கோடு. *Sirupāṇḍārruppaḍai*, 264-5.

⁵¹தாலு. ⁵²தோணி. ⁵³தேரு. ⁵⁴தோன்றை. ⁵⁵காயல்.
⁵⁶அவித்தலி வரன்சேன்றி
கருமுலை புருதேறவிப்
பெருக்கோன்றை மணிக்காய்.

Porunarārruppaḍai, 199-201.

⁵⁷கூரம்.

marudam trees; the mango has its branches decorated with tender leaves; the smoke-like cloud creeps along its boughs filled with bunches of flowers; the cuckoos enjoy the beauty of the scene and sing.¹

'The roots of the bamboo are intertwined with each other; when the winds blow upon them they sound like the sigh of the elephant tied to its post. Looking at the moon which crept over the hill standing in a forest of bamboos, I said to myself, another moon (his mistress with a face bright as a moon) with teeth sharp as thorns and a fair face adorned by a sweet-smelling mark (*tilakam*) is standing on the hills, on whose rocks grow trees whose bare branches have shed their leaves in the strong gale, did I not?'²

'The *konrai* flowers spread on a pit cut in a stone resemble a box of the wealthy man, filled with gold coins and kept open.'³ 'The cool flowers of the *talai* (screw-pine), which has bent thorns, when scattered by the winds, run like the pearls of a garland when the thread is snapped, on the white sands of the sea-shore.'⁴

'The garden was crowded with tall bamboos from which thorns hang and on which rest the cuckoos, which have bent claws and thin blue feathers, after drinking the mango juice, sweet as if milk were mixed with it, and after that, the sour juice of the *nelli* fruit.'⁵

'The *mullai*, jasmine, which flowers in places adjoining a stream looks like the teeth of a cat laughing.'⁶

1 குரவுமலர்
தந்திர சீங்கிய வரும்பலித் வேனி
லதலவிர் வார்தமன லகலிபாற் தடைகரைத்
துறையணி மருத்தொ டுகல்கொள வேரங்கித்
கலுத்தனி ரணித்த விருஞ்சின் மரஅத்
திணைத்தை புதுப்பூ நிரைத்த பொற்காப்
புகைபுகை யம்மஞ் குர
தகர் குயிலகவும்.

Agam, 97.

2 வேப்பினி வெதித்தக் கால்பொரு ளலினை
கந்துபினி யான யயர்வுயிற் தன்ன
வென்றும் நீடிய வேப்பினித் தருவத்துக்
குன்றுர் மதியை கோக்கி நின்ற நின்
தன்னினே னல்லனோ யானே முன்னெயிறுத்
திலகம் தைஇய தேங்கமழ் திருநத
லெமது முண்டேர் மதிகாட் டுகக்கர்
குரகுரல் வெவ்வனி வெடுப்ப நிழற்பல.
வுலகை யாடிய மரத்த
கல்பிறங்கு மரமலை யும்பாடு தென்கே.

Nayrinai, 62.

3 கவலை சென்றடிப கல்வாய்ச் செருகு
கொன்றை வெள்ளி நா ஆய்ச்செல்வத்.
பொன்பெய் பேதை முய்திறத் தன்ன.

Kurundogai, 233.

4 கன்னுண் முண்டகக் கூம்பினி மரமலர்
துலற முத்திற் காலொடு பாரித்
தறைதொறும் பறிக்குத் துமணல்.

Ib., 51.

5 பாங்கலப் பன்ன தேக்கொக் கருத்துப்
சில மென்னை வஞ்சுதிப் பறவை
கெவ்வியம்புனி மரத்தி யயவது
முன்னி லம்புனை முய்கிவித் துக்குத்
கழைநிலத் தேரகைய கோலு. Ib., 201.

6 அருவிசே மருங்கிற் பூத்தி முகலு
வெருகுமித் தன்ன. Ib., 220.

IDEAL OF FEMININE BEAUTY

A people so acutely observant of natural objects and capable of keen relish of their beauty would naturally deal largely in descriptions of feminine charms; of numerous references to this subject I shall quote but one:—The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea-shore; her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eye-brow bent like the bow that kills; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors and their lobes were shaking with bright ear rings shaped like the crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo trees; her forearms were covered with thin hair; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills; her brightly shining nails, like the mouth of a parrot. Her breasts, covered with light coloured beauty spots, were such as people thought that it would cause her pain to bear them, and were so high that the rib of a cocoanut leaf could not go between them; her navel was very beautiful and resembled a whirl-pool in water. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed (and that it bore the weight of the body) with difficulty. Her pudendum was adorned with a *mēgalai*, many stringed waist band with many bells, looking as if it swarmed with bees; her thighs, straight and thin like the trunk of a female elephant; her lower legs were covered with hair, as it ought to be, up to the ankles, and her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog.¹

INDUSTRIES

Carpentry began and was well developed in the Stone Age; for all sorts of carpenter's tools have been picked up from the settlements of the lithic epoch. Most of these tools were made of iron when the Iron Age succeeded. The workers in wood was called *tachchar*² or *yānar*.³ Carpenters had a greater variety of work to do than in modern days, for besides making the wooden furniture and utensils in

1 அறப்போற் கூத்தர் பிறைபோற் திருநதற்
கொலவிற் புருவத்துக் கொழுக்கடை மழைக்க
நிலவிதற் புறையு மின்மொழித் தவ்வாய்ப்
பலவுற முத்திற் பழிதிற் வென்பன்
மயிர்குறை கருவி மரண்கடை யன்ன
பூங்குறை பூசற் பொறைசால் கரதி
குண்டக் காய்த்த னலங்கிள ரெடுத்தி
குடைமயி பண்ண்தோ ளரிமயிற் முண்கை
கெடுவரை மிசையு கர்த்தன் மெல்விரற்
கிளியா யொப்பி னெனினிடு வஞ்சுதி
ரண்கொள வுருத்த சணக்கணி யாகத்
தீக்கிடைப் போக வேரின் வனமுலை
சீப்பெயர்ச் சுழியி னிறைத்த கொப்பூ
முண்டென வுணர்வு அபவு கடுவின்
வண்டிருப் பன்ன பகர முக்கு
விருப்பிற் தட்டகையிற் செறித்திறற் குறங்கிற்
பொருத்தமயி ரொருபெய் திருத்தாட் கொப்ப
வருத்த நாடி கரவிற் பெருத்தகு றோடி. *Pornūyruṣṣadai*, 25-47.

2 தச்சர்.

3 யானார்.

TRADE

The word for trade *vanigam*¹ is usually supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *vanijyam*. The probabilities are just the other way about. *Vanijyam* is derived from *vanik* or *banik*, merchant, and this later word is almost certainly from the vedic *pani*. The *panis* were the traders of Vedic times and as they were Dasyus and would not pay *dakshina* to the performers of Ārya rites the Rishis denounced them as being niggards.² The *panis* being Dasyus were most probably the Tamil traders of the early Vedic epoch, for in those days the Tamils alone of South Indians were the most civilized tribes and the objects of internal trade, then and for long after, were, as it has been already pointed out, South Indian products like pearls, corals, sandal wood, pepper, and other spices. Hence the word *pani* and its variants and derivatives must have passed to North India from the South; hence Tamil *vaniga* became *banik* and *pani*. There is a Vedic root *pan*, to negotiate, which in later Sanskrit came to mean to stake. This root may have been coined from *pani*.

Trade first began in Neydal. For the *paradavar*³ of that region, where cereals could not be raised, could get only fish and salt to eat. Now it may be possible to keep up life solely on fish, all the courses from soup to pudding being made from that one food-stuff, but one cannot live comfortably for any length of time on fish alone, notwithstanding the fact that the remote ancestors of all animals were aquatic beings; for very soon the hankering for vegetable food will assert itself. So the ancient dwellers of the littoral tracts learnt to carry fish and salt and (later salted fish) to the neighbouring *marudam* and barter their goods for cereals. Hence in the poems belonging to the *Neydal tinai*⁴ there is frequent mention of the trade in salt. One instance of it may be given. 'His wounds caused by the sword-fish having been cured, my father has gone to the big blue sea for fishing; my mother too has gone to the salt fields to barter salt for white rice; so if the lover comes now he can without any hindrance meet his mistress'⁵.

Sellers of salt were called *umanar*,⁶ *umattiyar*.⁷ This ancient trade in which a double bag of salt was placed like a saddle on the back of a bull, which was driven from place to place in the interior of the land, can be observed even to-day in far-off villages. When the salt trade reached greater proportions it was carried in carts. 'The wheel, *uruzi*⁸ of the cart was surrounded by a round rim *sutti*⁹ which went round the spokes, *ar*,¹⁰ tightly fixed to the hub *kuradu*,¹¹ which looked like a drum, *mulavu*.¹² The strong yoke, *par*,¹³ was fastened to two long beams placed on the axle-tree, *parukkai*,¹⁴ which looked like an *elā*,¹⁵ timber placed between two elephants to prevent them from fighting with each other. Its top, *vay*,¹⁶ bore a creaking mat of *rugi* stalks, *arvai*,¹⁷ as the hill bears clouds on its top. In the

¹ வணிகம். ² R. V. vi. 51. 14; vii. 22. 6. ³ பரதவர். ⁴ நெய்தல்திணை.

⁵ ஒரு வெறித்த புண்டலன் தென்துய
நீன்றப் பெருங்கடல் புகளன் வரவு
மூப்பை மாறி வெண்ணெய் நீடுய
வுப்புவின கழனி சென்றன எதனூர்
பலியிரும் பரப்பிற் சேர்ப்புற
வெயிலி செலியன். *Kurundogai*, 269.

உமணர். ⁶ உமட்டியர். ⁷ உருளி. ⁸ குட்டி. ⁹ சுத்தி. ¹⁰ ஆர். ¹¹ குறடு. ¹² முழவு.
¹³ பர். ¹⁴ பருக்கை. ¹⁵ ஈழம். ¹⁶ வாய். ¹⁷ ஆர்வை.

front of a hut which possessed a hen-coop, resembling a loft from which men guard the crops from being devastated by elephants, was a woman, with a child at her side, and a twig of margosa with flowers and leaves held in her hands to protect the child from demons; she stood near the yoke from which was hanging a pot of vinegar, tied with strings like the drum of a dancing girl on a dancing platform; and she beat the back of the bull with a wooden mortar whose mouth was as big as the knee of a female elephant with tusks resembling the shoot of a bamboo. Their men who wore garlands of flowers and leaves, whose shoulders were big, beautiful and strong, and whose limbs were supple and powerful, walked by the cart to whose yokes rows of bulls were tied with ropes passing through small holes; the men saw that the carts were not upset. They fixed the price of salt in terms of other articles and passed along the road with teams of reserve bulls to replace those that became exhausted.¹

What an extremely realistic and at the same time highly poetical description of a subject which no modern man would regard as capable of poetic treatment at all!

Another article hawked about from place to place was pepper. Grown in Malabar, the land of the *Sēras*, it was a necessary ingredient of curry throughout South India. 'Pepper bags looking like the small-pulped big jack fruit which grows at the foot of the majestic jack-tree are balanced on the strong, scarred, prick-eared donkey which carries the pepper along long roads where tolls are collected. These roads are guarded by bow-men.'²

Gradually as cities grew in size, the power of monarchs grew to ample proportions, civilization advanced, and trade in numerous articles of necessity and luxury grew in the land. In cities 'there were people who vended various things including many beautiful-looking

¹ கொழுஞ்சுட்ட டருத்திய திருத்திலை வரத்த
முழவி னன்ன முழுமர் வருளி
யெழுதப் புணர்ந்தன்ன பருக்கை சேர்ப்புற
மரிக் குன்ற மழைமலர் தன்ன
வரை வேய்த்த வறையாய் சடம்
வேழம் சவலர் குரம்பை யெய்யப்
சேழி சேக்குக் கடுகைப் புதவின்
முடியெயிற் றிருப்பிக் முழந்தா யெய்க்கு
துன்பரைச் சேரா ழுக்கத் துக்கி
சாடக மகனி ருசெனத் தெடுத்த
விவிலி கின்னியக் கடுப்பக் கயிறுபிணித்த
சாடி வைத்த கலனுடை முக்கின்
மகவுடை மகவைப் பகடுபுறத் தாப்பக்
சேரட்டினர் வேய் சேட்டிலை மிகைத்த
படலை கன்னிப் பஞ்சுதெய்த் தினிதேன்
முடலை யாக்கை முழுவலி மரக்கர்
சிறுதுணிக் கொடுகை செறிபட சிறுத்த
பெருக்கயிற் பெருகை மருகிற் சாப்பச்
செப்பத வுணவின் கொக்கை சாற்றிப்
பல்வெருத் துணைப் பதிபொரு செடுசெறி

Perumbāṇṇaruppaḍai, 46-65.

² தடவுலினைப் பலவின் முழுமுத்த கொண்ட
செருனைப் பெருப்பழக் கடுப்ப செறியற்
புணர்ப்பொறை தாக்கிய வடுவற் சேர்ப்புறத்
தணர்ச்செலிக் கழுதைச் சாத்தொடு வழங்கு
முக்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கவலை சாக்கும்
விக்குடை வைப்பு. *ibid.*, 77-82.

articles of food, produced in the hill country, in the low country and in the sea. There were traders who, brought different kinds of brilliant gems, pearls and gold from far off lands.... There were men who assayed gold; there were sellers of clothes, vendors of copper vessels which were sold by weight, men who, when their business was over, tied the proceeds to their loin cloth, men who sold choice flowers, and scented pastes. There were clever painters, *kannul vinaiñar*,¹ who painted pictures of all kinds of minute incidents'.² This description pertains to the trade of the beginning of the first millennium A.D., but this trade could not have differed from that of a very much earlier epoch, because civilization did not grow by leaps and bounds in any particular period, but grew so gradually that the life conditions of any one epoch resembled very much those of previous ages.

Traders carried jewels to foreign countries on ships that had sails spread in the wind and that sailed on the ocean whose waves smelt of fish'.³ They carried jewels for sale on land, but in a country where the *Maravar* followed as their only profession that of highway robbery, the travels of traders were fraught with adventure. The merchants who enabled all men to enjoy the grand things which are found on the mountain and in the sea have breasts full of scars made by the piercing arrows, clothes tied tight round their waists and a knife stuck into it, strong broad shoulders to which was attached the cruel bow and so resembled *Murugan* who wears the *Kadambu* flower. They held in their hands a big spear like *Yaman*. A stinging dagger with a white handle made of ivory, looking like a snake creeping on a hill, was tied with a belt to their shoulders; their strong feet were covered with shoes and they wore coats'.⁴

¹ கண்ணுல் வினையார்.

² பல்வேறு பண்டமேரே நேரமலிக்கு கவினி
மலையடி சிலத்தடி சீரவும் பிறவும் *
பல்வேறு திருமணி முதலெனப் பெருங்கொண்ட
நிறத்த நேரத்துப் பண்ணியம் பக்தரும்
பெருங்குரை கரையமருத் கவின்கம் பக்தரும்
செய்யுநிற சென்மருத் அப்பிறை முடிசரும்
பூவும் புனையு மரபு மரக்கரு
மெய்வகைச் செய்தியு முலம்காரடிக்
நண்ணிதி னுணர்ந்த நுழைந்த நேரகிற
கண்ணுல் வினையார்.

Maduraiikkānji, 503-6, 513-18.

'பண்ணியம்' in this passage meaning an article of trade is a derivative of *Paṇi* trader.

³ வரலிதை பெடுத்த வலிதரு வகை
கணத்தல் வினையார் கவர்கொண்டு மறக.

Ib., 536 and 539.

⁴ மலையடிச் செலவு மலையடித் தரு
மரும்பொரு அருத்தத் திருத்தொழை நேரகரு
அடிபுதை பாண செய்திப் படம்புகுப்
பெருங்குரை நெருங்கிய புனையு மரபிற்
சீரவுவகைச் செய்தியு முலம்காரடிக்
வரலிதை பரம்பிற் பூண்டிபுடை துக்கச்
சரிதை நுழைந்த நுழைந்த நேரகிற
சுருதி நேரகிற கண்கொண்ட நேரகிற
செய்யுநிற சென்மருத் அப்பிறை முடிசரும்
பூவும் புனையு மரபு மரக்கரு

Perumbāṇḍippadai, 67-76.

Balances for weighing articles of trade were of two kinds. One was the steel-yard called *ñemankol*¹ or *niṇaikol*;² this was made of wood and resembled the steelyards used in villages to-day; rich merchants, however, used steelyards made of ivory.³ The second was the *tarāṇu*,⁴ a pair of scales. All this trade was carried on by barter, as old Indians did not like to coin metal, and when they got coins from foreign countries, made jewels of them for their bosoms or hoarded them deep in the bosom of mother-earth.

Traders, in the Tamil country, were and are called *seṭṭi*.⁵ This word has been sanskritized into *śreṣṭhī* and assimilated to the adjective *śreṣṭhī*, excellent. *Śreṣṭhī* is by some supposed to have degenerated into *seṭṭi*; I consider this derivation to be a topsy-turvy one. *Seṭṭi* is the personal noun from *seṭṭu*, trade, a *seṭṭi* being one who pursues *seṭṭu*, trade, as his profession; for it is absurd to think that the Tamil traders carried on their profession for ages without a name for their profession or for themselves as followers of the profession. Hence it is reasonable to infer that *śreṣṭhī* is Tamil *seṭṭi* dressed in a Sanskrit garb. Sanskrit scholars suffer from a form of superiority-complex and believe that Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, being a perfect language, could not stoop so low as to borrow words from the languages of men. Hence they are fond of inventing derivations, ingenious and plausible, but absurd from a historical point of view, for words borrowed from foreign sources. Thus they say that *hammīra*, borrowed from Persian *amīr*, is a contraction of *aham vīrah*; they explain *kshatrapa*, satrap, also borrowed from Persian, as *kshtram pāṭṭi kshatrapah*; they derive *horā*, which was borrowed from Greek, from *ahorātram*, with its head and its tail amputated. The derivation of *seṭṭi* from *śreṣṭhī* is of a piece with these products of a perverse ingenuity.

The capital with which the ancient traders traded was called *mudal*,⁶ initial stock. I wonder whether *mudaliyar*⁷ meant originally men with *mudal*. There has always been a rivalry between *mudaliar* and *pillai*⁸ with regard to social status; does this point to an ancient rivalry between merchants and agriculturists? We have no materials which can help us to solve this question. Literary evidence merely indicates that both those who produced crops and those who sold them belonged to the class of *mēlōr*,⁹ who were qualified to become the heroes of love poems.

Trade on any scale would scarcely be possible without debts. The word *kaḍan*¹⁰ shows that debts were contracted in olden times. Interest was called *vatti*,¹¹ a word usually identified with prakrit *vaḍḍi* Sanskrit *vriddhi*. The Tamil word might as well be derived from Tamil *vaṭṭu*, a small piece, or *vatti*, cowries, cowries being small change, *sillai*.¹² *Vaṭṭi*¹³ means a deduction other than *vatti*; the literal meaning of the word seems to be 'additional'. The places where mercantile transactions took place were *kaḍai*,¹⁴ *maṭigai*,¹⁵ *aṅgaḍi*,¹⁶ and *sandai*,¹⁷ which has become in English 'Shandy'.

¹ இரும்புசாடல்.

² கீழ்சாடல்.

³ வரலிதை பெடுத்த வலிதரு வகை
கணத்தல் வினையார் கவர்கொண்டு மறக.

Puṇam 39.

⁴ தரணு. ⁵ செட்டி. ⁶ முடல். ⁷ முடலியர். ⁸ பிள்ளை. ⁹ செவ்வர். ¹⁰ கடன்.
¹¹ வட்டி. ¹² சிலை. ¹³ வரலி. ¹⁴ கடை. ¹⁵ மாணை. ¹⁶ அங்காடி. ¹⁷ சாண்டி.

There are several minor subjects about which the evidence of pure Tamil words and of early literature can be profitably used, but which I have now no time to deal with. Those subjects are: Diseases and medicines, knowledge of human and animal anatomy, notions of jurisprudence, recognized terms of relationship, death-rites, division of time, astronomical notions, knowledge of colours, of meteorological phenomena, reading and writing, notions of psychology and ethics. Without the inclusion of these subjects, our reconstruction of the life of the ancient Tamils will not be complete.

This life of the Tamil people slowly evolved from the beginning of the Old Stone Age, that of the Āryas of North India began to influence. This was not a catastrophic inroad into the south from the north but a very slow process of infiltration. This infiltration began in the middle of the third millennium B.C. Then Paraśurāma settled with a number of followers, south of the Vindhyas. Many of Viśvamitra's sons, soon after, migrated to South India, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us. But yet at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Rāma crossed the Godāvarī, the non-Āryan Rākshasas were predominant in Southern India and the southernmost Ārya colony was that of the Āgastyas on the banks of that river. In the age of the Mahābhārata, in which Tamil soldiers took part, Ārya influence in Southern India increased. But still in about the sixth century B.C. Āpastambha, the last of the Sūtrakāras, called a Rishi by courtesy, flourished near the banks of the Godāvarī and made laws for the Āryas there. Tamil India produced no Rishi, neither a Rishi of the *mantradrashṭā* type, nor even of the later type of the promulgator of the Śrauta, Grihya, and Dharma Sūtras. Into the Tamil land, Brāhmanas, Bauddhas, and Jainas spread in the centuries preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era. The early Pallavas of Kāñchi were chiefly responsible for this migration of the Āryas. Notwithstanding the widespread of Brāhmanas, literature was chiefly in the hands of the Tamil *Paṇar* and hence neither the Sanskrit language nor Sanskrit literature exercised much influence till about the fifth century after Christ. Early in that age, Triṇadhūmāgni, author of *Tolkāppiyam*, tried to adapt the social system of the northerners to the Tamil people, but without any success. Meanwhile the religious ideas of the *Itihāsas* spread among the common people. The teachings and practices of the Bauddhas and the Jainas were also promulgated from the monasteries of those monks. The complicated rites of Siva-worship and Viṣṇu-worship as propounded in the Āgamas were adopted by the people and temple rites became the monopoly of a special sect of Brāhmanas; as a result of this, these two cults became wedded to the Ārya system of four varṇas, ill-adjusted to the old scheme of Tamil classes. One of the results of this was the extension of the idea of endogamous caste and the rise of innumerable castes marked by endogamy—an idea unknown to the Tamils of the early ages. Another result was that Tamil lost its linguistic and literary independence. A copious flow of Sanskrit words into the Tamil tongue took place. In the region of literature, the old ode, *agaval*¹ gave place to *kāvīyam*.² Not only literary forms but also literary images, literary conventions, and poetic images, belonging to

Sanskrit, crept into Tamil poems. The *Mokshaśāstram* of the northerners, represented by the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*, prevailed in the South. Very soon South India more than amply repaid this debt to North India by producing the three great *Bhāṣyakaras*—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Anandatīrtha.

The genius of Tamil is marked by the scientific temperament; concrete ideas and images appeal to the Tamil people and hence Tamil is peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of scientific knowledge. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by the philosophical temperament; it revels in abstractions which are the life-breath of philosophy. It was the wedding of Tamil genius and Sanskrit genius that is responsible for South Indian thinkers having become the guides of Indian thought during the last thousand years. In our days the genius of Europe has begun to influence India. The great ambition of Europe is to amass wealth and to utilize it for raising the standard of life, by developing the means of attainment of the ever-increasing methods of appealing to the senses, not only the five senses, but also that of locomotion. How far the genius of Europe is going to alter the life of the Tamils is concealed in the womb of time. We have succeeded in tearing the veil of past time and getting a few glimpses of ancient life; but future time is covered by a veil of nebulous matter which cannot be pierced by any known methods of enquiry.

Reviews

'A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE'

BY

A. BERRIDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT.

[Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 25s. net.]

DR. A. B. KEITH is a voracious reader of Sanskrit literature. His is also a mind eminently fitted to make indexes not only of the contents of books but also of everything that has been said by anybody; and his mind has been further trained by years of work on the making, in collaboration with Dr. Macdonell, of the *Vedic Index*. The result is that the book under review is a true index to the contents of classical Sanskrit literature and the researches, good, bad and indifferent, on that literature. By classical Sanskrit literature the author means the books, on all sorts of subjects, in classical Sanskrit, i.e., the Sanskrit posterior to the language of the Vedic *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas*, and *Upanads*. He does not mean Sanskrit literary classics but embraces within his sweep every book on any subject, so far printed, but excludes the Sanskrit drama, on which he has already written and the great *Itihasas* also. Thus he deals with the later epic, lyric, gnomic and didactic poetry, books on grammar, law, politics, philosophy, religion, medicine, astronomy and mathematics. Why he has omitted music, the handicrafts, metallurgy, chemistry, veterinary science and the arts of warfare we cannot guess. Besides these subjects he also discusses the literary relations of the East and the West, and the origin of Sanskrit and its relations with the literary Prākritis and Pāli. Dealing with such a large mass of matter, it is no wonder that, though he has given us more than 500 pages, the work has merely the merit of a good index, not alphabetically arranged, but arranged subject by subject and strewn with *ex cathedra* judgments on men and things. It so happened that though the body of the book was written in 1926, pressure of work delayed its printing for a year and a half; so the author has utilized the preface for bringing the book up to date in the matter of references to books and magazine articles published during the interval.

Dr. Keith is a profound admirer of the beauty of the Sanskrit language and is a trained connoisseur of beautiful sentiments expressed in happy ways, such as is a speciality of the *Kavya* and the Lyric. This explains the great attention he has paid to this department of Sanskrit literature. He gives frequently tit-bits from poems, which are quite enjoyable. But the higher criticism which points out the artistic construction of the greater poems, and wherein lies the special superiority of each poem is absent from his book; nor can the scale of the book afford room for such treatment. Thus the *Meghadhuta* and the *Kumārasambhava* are disposed of each in about a page, most of which dealing with an abstract of the poem; the *Raghuvamsa* in five pages, which contain besides a summary of the poem, speculations, not original, about Raghu's exploits being a copy of the much-exaggerated deeds of Samudragupta, and the relations between Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* and the *Raghuvamsa*. If the greatest Sanskrit poet is treated in this style, the reader may easily guess which would be the fate of the rest.

European scholars study Greek and Latin literature when they are young and impressionable and form exaggerated estimates of the perfection of the 'classics', and when later in life they study Sanskrit, they apply the rules derived from the practice of Greek and Roman poets to the literature produced in a quite different language. Pelion and Ossa, the Pierean spring and the Tiber inspired the genius of the poets who are models of perfection to European critics. But is it not absurd to use the literary products of Greek and Rome to gauge the merits of those mighty souls which grew under the inspiration of the Himalayas and the Gangā? This leads the author to make the ridiculous pronouncement that Kālidāsa was incapable of the vision and imagery of Virgil. But the compelling genius of Kālidāsa does not suffer so much depreciation by European critics as the rest of the long series of Indian poets. Bhāravi and many others are accused of want of taste because they use similes derived from grammatical science. In this age when the physical sciences are so much developed, similes based on scientific concepts abound both in poetry and prose; but why grammatical science should be denied this privilege of helping to clarify thought by contributing images passes comprehension.

European critics in assessing the values of Indian poetry forget the

fact that whereas Greek or Latin poetry was a butterfly that shone for an idle hour and then passed out of existence, Indian poetry has lived and grown for millenniums. One kind of poetry repeated for thousands of years would create nausea. You can make a meal of honey for a day or two, but for a whole lifetime more variety in the dietary is essential. Hence at times passed on, Sanskrit poets have experimented in a vast variety of styles, each having beauties of its own. As the severe simplicity of the *Ramayana* has its function, so the elaborate word-play of Subandhu or Harṣa theirs. Moreover European critics sin against the basic canon of art-criticism that it is not the function of the critic to award marks as an examiner does to school-boys, but the true critic is he who tries to understand the aims of the artist and explain how far the artist is true to his own ideal and not to judge his performance by referring to another artist with totally different aims. The ignorance of this fundamental canon of criticism had led foreigners into making ridiculous remarks, such as that the great temple of Srirangam is lacking in unity which is the special mark of the Parthenon. One might as well say that the Himalayas are wanting in the unity that characterizes Mount Olympus or that a huge tropical forest cannot be seen at a glance as a miserable municipal park is. Throughout this book occur remarks such as, we prefer Māgha's eloquence to his comparison of the mountain with the sun setting on one side and the moon rising on the other, to an elephant from whose back two bells hang, one on each side, the humour and wit of Daṇḍin are more attractive to modern taste than those of other Indian authors. These appeals to European taste make the book less a history of Sanskrit literature than an exposition of European preferences.

To us moderns, chronology is the eye of history ; just as we cannot tell the forenoon from the afternoon unless we consult a watch, so history without dates is to us a meaningless tangle of facts. Not so to the ancients to whom history was but the hand-maiden of *Dharma* and the tales of great men were but the means of illustrating ethical principles. To them a truth was a truth whenever it was announced, and the beauty of a work of art was independent of the date of its production. Hence they did not possess the acute chronological sense which oppresses us and which is too often confounded with the historical sense of which the ancients had as much of a supply as the

moderns. They possessed no era from which to count the passage of years and they cared more for the sequence of events in time than to work it in years. After all it is the temporal sequence of events that is valuable for the study of evolution than the arithmetical demarcation of it. As regards the chronological sequence of the numberless authors that have contributed to the growth of Sanskrit literature there is no doubt. But when we proceed to find accurate dates for them, we find the task absolutely impossible ; in some cases even the centuries when they lived is difficult to fix. Hence there is ample room for European scholars to pull them forward in the scale of time, and for Indian scholars to push them back. But when the former, in this work of pounding husk, import *a priori* assumptions and indulge in phrases like 'we cannot believe that Apastamba lived before the second century B.C.,' 'Pāṇini cannot be assigned an earlier date than third century B.C.,' 'it would be wise to assign the seventh century A.D.,' it cannot but degrade this misapplication of the critical method. The true scientific spirit bids one to keep one's soul in patience when no evidence is available. Moreover this method of telescoping Indian literary events in a small space of time would remove the development of Sanskrit literature to the region of miracles ; for to believe that this vast literature which grew in ancient times when thought moved slow is but to believe in the marvellous. It is impossible to discuss in a review the thousand and one points of chronology where we have to differ from the author. Hence the book can serve but the function of an elaborate index to Sanskrit literature and no more.

P. T. S.

'LANDMARKS OF THE DECCAN'

A Comprehensive Guide to the Archaeological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad

BY

S. A. ASGAR BILGRAMI

[Printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1928
226 pp. Price, Rs. 5.]

THIS is the English edition of the *Maathir-e-Deccan* which was published sometime back when the author who is an Assistant Secretary to H. E. H. The Nizam's Government was acting for Mr. Yazdani, the Director of Archaeology. It is an attempt to make up for the extreme

paucity of information regarding the monuments of the city and suburbs of Hyderabad given by Mr. Cousens in his *List of Antiquarian Remains of the Nizam's Dominions*, published in 1899; and this volume is the author's first instalment of a plan for the completion of a complete list of antiquarian remains for all the *subahs* of the Nizam's Dominions. In the descriptive account of the various monuments Mr. Bilgrami follows the principles laid down by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Northern Circle, for the classification of monuments and for the dating of uninscribed ones. Some of the inscriptions detailed in the book have appeared in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* edited by Mr. Yazdani. The list is made on a chronological basis, first for the monuments of Golconda. A retrospect at the end gives a short account of the history of the Deccan region from early times down to the end of the Qutb Shahi dynasty and the subsequent appearance of the Nizams of the Asaf Jahi line. The photo-illustrations of kings, inscriptions, etc., appearing in the book are certified to be authentic copies.

In the notes of the monuments, important and historic ones—like the Chār Minār, a phototype of the Tarzia of Imam Husain; the Mecca Musjid, built by Muhammad Qutb Shah VI; the dome of Jamshed Quli in Golconda; the fine inscription on the facade of the Mecca Darwaza at the same place, dated A.D. 1559; the dome and sarcophagus inscription of Sultan Muhammad VI who was a great friend of learning, and the Musa Burj which is so closely connected with the defection of Mir Jumla from the Golconda throne, occupy much space and are treated fully in their architectural and epigraphical details. New sources of information regarding the doings of Mir Jumla and his son, Muhammad Amin, are given, besides the concerned Persian and Telugu inscriptions on the Musa Burj which are fully translated. The foot-notes, though few, are useful; and the book gives us valuable descriptive information about the Golconda style of architecture, characterized by narrow-necked domes of peculiar form, distinguished in some respects from the sister style of Bijapur; and it forms a fairly useful contribution to the literature on the antiquities of the Nizam's Dominions rendered peculiarly rich by their possession of Maski, Ajanta, Ellora, Warangal, Bidar, Galburga and Golconda.

REVIEWS

'THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE'

BY

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A., L.T.

[Published by the author, at 60, T. S. V. Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras—pp. ii and 106. Price, Re. 1.]

THIS small book is an attempt to sketch the cultural and political history of the wealthy Kingdom of Tanjore under Maratha rule which lasted in full vigour for less than a century. The Vijayanagar domination over the Kaveri delta ending in Nayak rule, as in other cases, was marked by a rich output of Sanskrit and Telugu literature of which the chief ornaments were Govinda Dikshitar and Yajna-narayana, the author of *Sahitya Ratnakara*. The Maratha state which may be said to have begun life in 1676, might have linked itself in a vital chain with the main base of the Marathas in the Deccan; but the interposition of Mughal rule followed by that of the Asaf Jahi and Arcot dynasties prevented any continued co-operation, while the jealousy of Venkoji's branch towards the house of Sivaji served to act as an additional barrier. Unaided by the parent stock, the isolated Tanjore Kingdom was torn by jealous neighbours, unruly allies and rapacious Mussalmans and after the Europeans came upon the scene it was bled by the greed and corruption of the Nawabs of the Carnatic fortified as it was with French, and later, English countenance and support. The sorry tale of gradually degenerating kings and the increasing speculation that marked the dealings of the Nawab towards his so-called feudal vassal of Tanjore is relieved only by the continuous patronage of learning from the time of Shahji I (1684–1712); this patronage comprehended works in Telugu, Marathi, Sanskrit and to some extent in Tamil as well. Sarfoji II, who was only a ruler by courtesy, was an apt pupil of Swartz and enriched the Palace Library with a large number of printed books and manuscripts. The Marathas superimposed their own culture on that of Tamil Tanjore, enriched it already had become, by the Nayak connection. The dynasty went its way like the others before it; but it has left its own impress on the culture of the district and enabled Tanjore to retain its prominent place as a home of indigenous art and learning and music.

The author has made ample use of the epigraphic, literary and bibliographical materials available for the period, including the Marathi inscription, dated Saka 1725; and he has stressed on the isolation and the consequently arrested growth of the Maratha state, though a fuller notice of the causes contributing to the decay would not have been unwelcome. He has given a brief, but useful, account of the economic and social conditions and of the administrative system of the Kingdom—a picture that is bound to be useful for getting an idea of the better phase of pre-British administration which prevailed in the land.

C. S. S.

'THE GURKHAS'

BY

MAJOR W. BROOK NORTHEY AND CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS

WITH A FOREWORD BY

GENERAL THE HON. C. G. BRUCE

[London, John Lane The Bodley Head—18s. net—pp. xxxvii and 282—with illustrations and a map.]

THIS book, dedicated to H. H. Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal, attempts to give a fairly full and authoritative account of the history, the administration and the people of that interesting land, on the basis of material embodied in standard works on the subject like that of Professor Sylvain Levi, and of other accounts collected by the authors. Professor Turner of the University of London contributes a learned chapter on the languages of the country, while the two collaborating authors describe in two chapters their respective journeys in Western and Central Nepal. The Foreword traces the formation of the present Gurkha rule under Prithwi Narayan and the modernization of the state going on since the time of the famous Jang Bahadur Rana. The history of Nepal is mainly the history of an attempt at Aryanization of hill-races, with frequent reactions exerted by the Tibetans and the Chinese. It is traced in the first book through the mythical and half-mythical epochs to the Thakuri Dynasty of Amsuvarman in the seventh century, and thence along fairly reliable ground to the reign of Joya Deva and Ananda Malla who founded a new era in the thirteenth

century and possibly began a new cultural stage as well. From thence the interplay of political forces became complicated until the warring principalities of Khatmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan were united under Prithwi Narayan Sah of the new Gurkha race which was to dominate Nepal from now. Gurkha politics till the advent of the Jang family to supreme power and to the position of Mayor of the Palace was 'one of steady progress as regards arms, and of the disgusting succession of murders and intrigues and atrocious cruelties as regards the court.' English commercial relations with Nepal began in 1791; their political relation became settled after the Gurkha War of Lord Hastings, friendly after the visit of Jang Bahadur to England and positively cordial from the Mutiny onwards. Sir Jang's tradition has been kept up by his successors; and the present Prime Minister practically placed the entire man-power of his state at the disposal of the English during the Great War; and the chief object of the book under review is to rouse an interest and appreciation in Nepal, in its difficulties and of the services it has rendered to the British Empire.

Professor Turner deals with the linguistic distribution of the land, and points attention to the fact that here, more than in other regions, identity of language does not necessarily connote identity of race, and that the aborigines have largely changed their language for that of the Mongolian invaders, while the language of the latter is gradually replaced by the Aryan. The official language is an Indo-Aryan and is variously known as Parbatiya, Gorkhali and Nepali and is closely allied to the Kumaoni dialect. The religion and religious festivals and the customs of the people are described in a popular, but not learned manner; and the chapter dealing with the administration is supplemented by one dealing with the recent abolition of slavery and the labour problem, of the land. Separate sections of the book are devoted to the description of the three definite regions into which the land may be divided; and to the chief classes of the population in each division, like the Brahmans and the Khetris, the Magars and the Gurungs, the Newars, the Limbus and the Kirantis of the East. The part played by Nepal in the Great War is told in the end; while a skeleton survey map of Nepal adds to the usefulness of this gazetteer-like publication.

C. S. S.

'THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA'

BY

BENI PRASAD, M.A.
University of Allahabad

[Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad, Rs. 10.]

THIS is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Science (Economics) in the University of London. The book aims at giving the structure and practical working of political institutions in North India in ancient times, though the institutions of the Deccan and the south of India are touched upon only as auxiliaries to the main theme of the work. The opening chapter of the book discusses the basis and scope of the study of the Hindu political institutions. At the outset the author makes us understand that the term 'Hindu' has been used in its comprehensive sense—followers of the Brahmanic, Buddhist, Jains and other indigenous Indian persuasions.

From the chapter on the 'Age of the *Rig Veda*', one has to conclude that the author has taken for granted that the Aryans were foreigners to India, and the Dasyus the aborigines, in spite of the fact there is a growing volume of opinion that the Aryans were as much natives of the soil as the Dasyus, the latter forming themselves into a separate class, having fallen from the duties expected of the Aryans. Again we often meet with statements throughout the work that the state in ancient India is federal-feudal or feudal-federal. We do not think it right to make these modern political terms fit in with ancient Indian conception of the state. The arguments cited are neither convincing nor conclusive. The author, as an apologia for having constantly used the term 'feudal', explains in the concluding pages of his work. 'Nor was the economic site of mediæval European feudalism present in the Hindu state organization. These words have to be used for the sake of convenience' (p. 504.) What is convenience to the author may cause confusion to a lay reader. It will be well if and in our survey of ancient Indian polity, we avoid as far as possible modern political phraseology.

On p. 104 Dr. Prasad remarks that the Lanka of the *Ramayana* is hardly likely to be Ceylon. To us the location of Lanka in Assam or

Central Provinces seems absurd. We have internal evidence that Lanka lay beyond *Pāṇḍya-Kavata* on the south. Besides this, there is a strong tradition about the *Ramasetu*. In reconstructing Indian history we cannot easily ignore tradition, one chief source of information.

The chapter on the *Jātakas* opens with the statement 'the literary productions of the Brahmins—the Dharmasūtras, the epics, and later Dharmasutras studiously ignore the heretical movements which had arisen or were flourishing contemporaneously. Each school follows its own tradition in a cloister or grove' (p. 114). There is no support for this view. In the *Jātakas* we only find the social order of the Dharmaśāstras—castes and sub-castes with classifications of inferiority and superiority. The kings are Kṣatriyas doing their *svadharma*. There are true Brahmins and fallen Brahmins exactly as we have in the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*. Thus Buddhist literature has not discarded the established tradition. Coming to the Brahmanic literature, it is not correct to say that they have ignored these movements. References are made to them whenever there is occasion for them. The Buddhist monks are referred to as Bikkhu both by Manu and Yājñavalkya. Kauṭilya knows male and female *sanyasins* who took asceticism for belly's sake, as we find in the *Vinaya*, and gave it up again for the world, if their object was not served. Why there was no oftener reference can be accounted for. When these works were composed these movements did not attain any influential ascendancy. It may be noted in passing that heretical movements were before and after Gautama and Mahāvira.

Lack of space forbids us from examining in detail other statements equally important. We cannot accept the author's theories about the date of Kauṭilya and Bhāsa. In our opinion there is no denying the fact that the *Kauṭaliya* is the accredited work of the chancellor of Candragupta Maurya, and Bhāsa prior to the *Kauṭaliya*, as the late Ganapati Sastri believed.

Beni Prasad takes us epoch by epoch in his interesting study of the political institutions. The concluding chapter is of value and interest. He shows that it is wrong to speak of a Muhammadan period, and that the Scythians and Greeks exercised little influence on the development of Indian institutions. There is yet another untenable statement, viz., that the *Sukraniti* records mediæval Hindu political

theory and is a composition of the thirteenth century extending even to the seventeenth. The statement is unsupported by facts. We agree with Jayaswal who rightly includes it as one of the sources of information for ancient Indian polity.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

‘STUDIES IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT’

BY

AJIT KUMAR SEN, M.A.,
Assistant in Politics, Dacca University.

[Published by Chakraverty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price, Rs. 5.]

THIS is yet one more addition to recent researches in Indology. In this little book which is rather loosely arranged, and where only some aspects of political thought of the ancient Hindus are dealt with, Mr. Ajit Kumar Sen desires rather legitimately to establish the theory that the ancient Hindus were as much advanced on the secular side as they were on theological and metaphysical sides. Being a collection of a number of articles some of which had already appeared in learned journals, and others intended for the journals, we can easily imagine why the arrangement lacks unity. Throughout the book the accepted diacritical marks are omitted, and what is more, there is no index. Even in transliteration of some proper Sanskrit names, Mr. Sen has used his own method of spelling the names like Maurjya for Maurya or Yagnabalka for Yājñavalkya. But these are only minor items which a reviewer may well pass by.

Coming to the contents of the books, excepting the chapter on the ‘Concept of Law and the Early Hindu View’ we do not find anything striking or original. The author has to a considerable extent followed the writings of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Upendranath Ghoshal. There is a discussion on the political literature, especially of the terms *Dandaniti*, *Arthasastra* and *Nitisastra*, as if some significance is attached to each of these terms. The fact is the same science is known by different names, and nothing more is meant.

In chapter v, Mr. Sen has tried to show evidence in support of the view that the ancient Hindu monarch was no tyrant or despôt as some scholars make him out to have been usually, but a constitutional

monarch, fettered by a number of preventive and retributive checks in the exercise of his authority. Among the retributive checks are given fines, deposition and tyrannicide.

In the course of the book there are some statements with no authority to support them. For example we can quote the following: ‘The Brahmins are beginning to assert their supremacy in the society and they are frequently coming into collision with the king representing the Kṣatriya caste. Another aspect of this friction is represented by the Jaina and Buddhist revolts against a Brahman ridden social system.’ (pp. 107–8.) If anyone had gone to the originals in an impartial spirit, one cannot say that at any time in the history of ancient India the Brahman suffered from supremacy or there was conflict between him and the Kṣatriya. Again the Jaina and Buddhist movements were neither social or political movements. They were out and out monastic movements, and in their anxiety to get public support, they respected the age-long tradition, and befriended the Brahman householder (see *Itivuttaka* 107).

Equally misleading is the theory that Kauṭilya can be compared to Machiavelli. There is no correspondence to show that this comparison will hold good. There are inconclusive statements here and there such as Kauṭilya prostituting religious institutions for political purposes, education finds no place in his catalogue and so on. Lack of space forbids us from making further remarks. We shall conclude that such works as the one under review will serve as an introductory to students of Indian Historical research.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

‘ŚIVABHĀRATĀ’

BY

SHRI KRISHNA VENKATESH PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (OXON) BAR-AT-LAW,
Head of the History Department, Benares

‘ŚIVABHARATA’ is a noteworthy publication, relating to the early life of Śivāji and his ancestors. We possess very little authentic information about this period of Maratha history. S. M. Divekar has done a great service in editing and translating it. He has written a preface to the book of twenty-eight pages where he details the difficulties and labours he underwent in getting a copy of the original Sanskrit work

from the Tanjore Palace Library and also describes the general character and contents of the book, the author, his date and place, and the date of the composition of the book. Then follows D. V. Apte's 200 pages of introduction. In it he gives a short summary of the contents of the treatise, and then discusses the historical value and importance of the work. In doing this he makes a critical estimate of the original sources of Śivāji's life or early Maratha history and of modern historians, Grant Duff, Rajwade and Jadunath Sarkar, and also examines critically, the contents and character of *Śivabharata* in the light of other original sources and of modern state of historical research in Maratha history. He gives us their difficulties, faults and merits in writing their works. His criticism is based upon the original evidence now available from contemporary letters, accounts, documents or records. The Poona historians inspired by the example and researches of Rajwade now depend for the facts of Śivāji's life on contemporary accounts and letters which are authentic, and available in Marathi, Sanskrit, Persian, English, Portuguese, Dutch, French and other languages. The loose traditions and biased accounts of old Bakhars, Tawārikhs or Nāmāhs which are not contemporary and largely based on memory are not fully accepted as authorities unless they are corroborated in material particulars and in dates of events from contemporary sources. It was unfortunate that much of the material in the form of contemporary state documents and records of Śivāji's period was lost during Aurangzeb's invasion of Mahārāstra. But a few family records in the shape of letters, family histories, chronologies, accounts, ballads, jagir and inam grants, and legal documents and charters have escaped the ravages of man and time. There is also a class of well-known historical literature of Bakhars or accounts of kings, families and battles, none of which is contemporary. The earliest one of Krisnaji Anant Sabhasad was written about fifteen years after Śivāji's death. It is largely based on memory. This Bakhar material was generally used by earlier historians from the time of Grant Duff, wherever contemporary or more reliable authorities were not available or silent. The Bakhars not being contemporary were full of faults in the matter of facts, dates, and order of events; hence wherever they were relied on by earlier writers, their account was later on found to be incorrect in a number of particulars when contemporary records came to light.

The greatest service which Sane, Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and a few others have done to the cause of Maratha history is the search for collection and editing of contemporary records. It is due to their labours that our notions of Maratha history have to be revised and that old histories have to be re-written in a number of particulars and view-points.

Whatever material Grant Duff could get he tried to utilize in writing his history of the Marathas. But he mostly relied on Marathi Bakhars and Persian Tawarikhs and Nāmāhs where he could not secure a better class of authorities. Therefore a number of mistakes and wrong view-points have entered his history. In some places he has been led to use his imagination and has suggested probabilities which cannot be accepted.

It was the late historian Rajwade who critically examined the value of the Bakhar sources of Maratha history in his introduction to the fourth volume of *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane*. He accuses most of them as being defective in chronology and geography, in realizing the importance and inter-relation of various facts, in laying too much emphasis on minor facts and factors, in not giving details of battles, administration and the political conditions of various kingdoms in the country and their inter-relations, and in not mentioning many events of importance. Though some of them may have used contemporary records, still they largely relied on their memory or current traditions when they wrote. Some of their statements are improbable. Their accounts of early Pauranic and historical periods are useless. Their references to Śivāji's ancestors are also unreliable. They have in places misplaced, misjudged and mistaken personalities. They had not realized the true value and method of writing history. Therefore without the help of corroborating material from authentic sources it is very inadvisable to rely completely on Bakhars. And wherever Grant Duff has relied on them without any critical examination of the particular events which he has accepted, he has committed the same blunders which the Bakhar writers had committed. Really speaking Grant Duff, in not excluding such accounts and in giving some play to his biased judgments or imagination, did not rise above the contemporary art of writing history. Moreover in quoting authorities for the statements he makes he refers to Bijapur (Persian) manuscripts or Māratha manuscripts collectively as a whole. He

gives us nowhere a complete dated list of his authorities one by one. It is now also admitted that he was prejudiced in some of his statements and inferences.

D. V. Apte brings to bear the same criticism on these early accounts of Bakhars and Grant Duff. He does not think that time has even now arrived for writing a reliable and complete life of Śivāji and his ancestors unless more authentic materials became available and are properly valued and used. G. S. Sardesai also emphasizes the same opinion in his Patna University Lectures (1926) on 'the Main Currents of Maratha History'. Even all the available material has properly to be sifted and synthesized, and for some periods we have to wait till further research brings out additional material.

Apte also examines the contributions of Jadunath Sarkar to the writing of Maratha history. Along with Sardesai he admits the value of contemporary Persian, English, Portuguese, French and Dutch letters, documents and records which Sarkar has utilized in his book on Śivāji and in other places, and which were not available to and were not used by earlier historians. But there is, Apte says, another side to Sarkar's writings on Maratha history. He has not used even the reliable contemporary letters and documents which have been published in Marathi a long time ago as a result of the labours of so many research scholars like Rājwade and others. It seems that Jadunath Sarkar, without critically reading and analyzing them, stamps them as being not genuine and does not admit the correctness of Rājwade's editing and transcription. Sarkar has shown in various places in his writings his prejudice and even hatred of Maratha historians and their work. But Sarkarian satires and insinuations will not change history or historical view-points. Those who have read these original Marathi records carefully and critically have realized the important value of facts and dates, political and other, contained in them. We do not know whether it is prejudice against the Maratha people or Maratha scholars or scholarship or whether it is his ignorance of a proper understanding of the Marathi language or want of patient study which have made him take up this adverse attitude. But the wonder is that he uses fully in embellishing his book on Śivāji those very Bakhars, Tawārikhs and Nāmāhs which he condemns as utterly useless or incorrect or mere guess work or as of no authority or as loose traditions for making many of his

statements about the early period of Śivāji which is so full of controversial incidents. Jadunath Sarkar's attempt as a whole is to present the Muslim side relying mainly on Persian sources, and to a certain extent neglecting the Maratha side given in contemporary Maratha documents and the views of Maratha historians even if they be based on incontestable evidence.

The new original materials in Marathi which have to come to light lately and which have not been fully valued and used by earlier writers are

1. Jedhe's *Chronology*.
2. Jedhe's *Kareena*.
3. Various letters, chronologies, family-histories, legal documents, charters, grants in the possession of old families published by Rajwade in his *Maratha Historical Material* (volumes 8, 15-22) by Bharata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandal in its various reports, magazines and publications and by others independently in books or magazines.
4. *Parnal Parvata Grahana-khyanam* of Jayaram Kavi rendered into Marathi by S. M. Divekar,
5. *Radha Madhava Vilaschampu* of Jayaram Kavi, edited by Rajwade, and
6. *Śivabharata* of Paramananda Kavi rendered into Marathi by S. M. Divekar.

Mr. Apte emphasizes the great value of all these works and publications and of similar contemporary accounts from other sources. In his Introduction of *Śivabharata* he examines the character and contents of that book and states the historical value of incidents recorded in it. It is a contemporary work and in the light of additional facts which it gives and which are corroborated in many particulars by other original sources he re-examines our present historical material and the present state of our knowledge of the early history of the Marathas and especially of Śivāji and his ancestors up to the time of Shaista-Khan's invasion of Mahārashtra in 1660.

This treatise on the early life of Śivāji and his ancestors was composed by Paramananda Kavi at the request of Śivāji and was narrated to the pandits of Kasi by him under the name of *Śivabharata*. He was a renowned pandit at the time of Śivāji. He narrated the history of Maloji, Shahaji and of Śivāji up to the taking of Srīngarpur in 1661. It does not contain (in the present available copy) the famous Shaista

Khan incident. But it gives surprisingly new and accurate details about Shahaji and Śivāji, though it does not care to mention all important incidents and events. It gives only two dates, one of Śivāji's birth, and the other of Afzal Khan incident, and they are accurate and corroborated by other authentic sources. There is no confusion of persons, places or order of events. Its authenticity in many particulars has been tested and corroborated by other records. For example, the battle of Bhātāvadi (1624), the birth date of Śivāji (1630), the famine (1631), the belief in Śivāji's being an *avatar* of Viṣṇu, the beginning of *Swarajya* or independence (1645), the arrest of Shahaji (1648) and his release (1649), the meeting of Śivāji and Afzal Khan (1659), the siege of Panhāla (1660), the battle of Umbarkhind, and the loot of Rājapur, the coming of Shaistakhan (1660), and other incidents are found recorded here with new details which give a correct and reliable picture of many of them. None of the incidents and particulars have been shown to be definitely wrong or unreliable. Our information from other sources is not full and hence the new details especially names of new persons perplex us. No doubt the author of *Śivabharata* has eulogized Śivāji, his hero, and his aims, and has sometimes overstated the effects of his achievements. We may value them justly and in proper proportion and perspective. But there do not seem to be misstatements about facts in it and the order of events is observed. He has not mentioned all the important events and that is a fault of omission.

Mr. Apte has shown from other sources the truth of some of the important facts recorded in the book. The new material in the shape of persons and other details which were unknown before cannot at present be corroborated from other authoritative but scanty sources at our disposal. Further research alone may help us.

The final position which Apte has adopted is that writers of Maratha history should take to careful research and study of contemporary materials from whatever source they come, and then after a critical estimate of the information given and view-points adopted by various writers, a comprehensive but incontestable history of the Marathas should be written. One point I may note here in the end for consideration. There is no mention of Rāmdas and his visits or contacts with Śivāji. If it were a fact that they had met or come in contact with each other in 1649 as asserted by some writers, it is more likely than not that Paramananda Kavi would have mentioned it

in his treatise. But there is no reference to it. Mr. Apte has in this Introduction made a critical and balanced survey of the present position of historical studies in early Maratha history. He has not been carried away by any passion or prejudice to overstate or understate it. I think his Introduction will serve a useful purpose.

S. V. P.

'EARLY LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN MORLEY'

BY

F. W. HIRST

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Two vols.]

READERS of Morley's Reminiscences would have felt the need of a biography of John Morley in order that they may understand to the full the significance of some parts at any rate of the Reminiscences, and a biography of Morley by one who had been associated with him intimately and on the lines of the model that Morley himself has set in his monumental Life of Gladstone, should certainly be a welcome addition to the biographical literature of the time. Mr. F. W. Hirst who is the biographer is very well qualified for the task that he has undertaken, having collaborated with Morley and earned his unstinted appreciation in his work on the Life of Gladstone. The prefatory note indicating obligations shows the extent of the sources from which Mr. Hirst collected the material which may become somewhat difficult of access as time goes on. Though the conventional limit of time has not passed for a really dispassionate biographical sketch of the man, the period of life covered by this work is remote enough for a writer of the qualifications of Mr. Hirst to bring it as near a standard biography as it is possible for a friend to come to.

Mr. Hirst disclaims any authority to the work as an official biography, and, allowing for this shortcoming, it is undoubtedly an authoritative work. Mr. Hirst has turned out a life of the early years of Lord Morley, bringing his account to the general elections of 1885, which marks an epoch in the life of John Morley. Thus ended his career as a journalist, man of letters, and private member of Parliament; and here we may leave him, not without regret that he was giving up so much to a barren controversy. Had he foreseen the extent of the Irish sands which he would have to plough in the next ten years he might have hesitated. But when the call came he

accepted it with alacrity and exultation. Nor did he ever regret the choice. The air of Olympus agreed with him. He enjoyed it, and he enjoyed also the pomps and ceremonies and privileges of high office. How far responsibility changed his character and opinions is a question which I hope some day to answer.

In taking leave of Morley on his acceptance of appointment as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Morley's life as a writer and private politician comes to a close and he becomes a public figure thereafter, whose public activities are, too well known to contemporaries to need the work of a biographer; but even so, there are points that would certainly find elucidation if Mr. Hirst would keep to his promise and answer the question that he has propounded to himself. In the two volumes before us, he has attempted to be impartial and independent in his criticism of the character for whom the biographer has full admiration demanded in one who has undertaken to write a biography. The writer has throughout indicated points in the work of Morley both as a journalist and as a writer of books, and had not failed in his duty as a critic notwithstanding his whole-hearted admiration for his hero. We have felt throughout our reading that the *Early Life and Letters* is an absolutely necessary introduction to the *Reminiscences*. 'To revile bad men is easy. Anybody can do that. What demands moral strength is to revile good and kind men, who happen to be doing bad things. You always break down at that,' wrote Morley on one occasion and with duty not of reviling, but criticizing like an honest man, Mr. Hirst does wherever it is called for. Notwithstanding his admiration for the hero, the biography would be regarded as eminently well done by posterity when the time for dispassionate judgment should arise.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY
FOR 1926

PUBLISHED BY

KERL INSTITUTE, LEYDEN (HOLLAND), 1928

THIS is the outcome of a project which Prof. Vogel had discussed personally with workers in the field in India, while he was here last. His idea was to give a more or less complete index and summary of publications appearing on Indian Archæology interpreted in the

widest acceptation of the term. It takes into account publications relating to India, Ceylon, further India, Indonesia, as well at territories adjoining India, namely, Iran, Turan, Tibet and Afghanistan on the one side and Far East, China, Japan and Korea on the other. Thus it provides a complete book of reference in regard to work done in the field of Archæology practically in all Asia and provides a ready reference book for those who may be doing work on the subject. The first issue of this important publication relates to the year 1926 and is an extremely good piece of work as such. It comprises 107 pages of matter including an index, and covers a vast field pretty fully. The more important publications are dealt with separately in articles, and of such, the publication under review contains as many as fourteen items covering subjects of importance extending from the excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sindh and the discoveries in the Iran on the one side of the temple of Īśvarapura in Cambodia on the other. Then follows a bibliography divided under the heads 'General', then 'India' with ten divisions according to subjects, then 'Ceylon' followed by Further India, Indonesia and other adjoining territories.

In a prefatory note Prof. Vogel discusses the plan of the work and rightly insists that 'for a publication of this kind, it is important that it should appear with the least possible delay and that the bibliographical information it contains should be as exhaustive as practicable. We are aware that in the last mentioned respect, the present publication is not entirely adequate.' Let us hope it will reach the stage of adequacy presently. There is no doubt that the work actually supplies the want which it was intended to and it may be safely expected that those interested in it would come forward with assistance. It is a matter for gratification that the Government of Netherlands India gave some substantial aid, but it is rather disappointing that the Governments of India and of Ceylon should have turned the cold shoulder upon a project which ought certainly to receive more sympathy and consideration. Let us hope that it may yet be possible for them to see their way to rendering the project some substantial assistance as it promises to be of great assistance to workers in the field of Indian Archæology.

One little point in which it has proved inadequate is in the publication of work that is being done in the various vernacular

languages of India.' I hope it would be possible to bring into view in the bibliography the work of these journals. We hope to be able to get that done in the first instance in the *Journal of Indian History* so that it may be transferred bodily if need be to the Bibliography. We wish the enterprise all success, and what is more, the sympathy of the Government of India and other Governments concerned.

'BUDDHISM IN PRE-CHRISTIAN BRITAIN'

BY

DONALD A. MACKENZIE

[Blackie & Son, Ltd.]

THIS is a work from the pen of Mr. Mackenzie, already well-known as the author of the Myths Series, and investigates the question whether there is anything in the Christianity of Britain that might have been borrowed from Buddhism. This line of enquiry arises from the recently discovered silver bowl at Gundestrup in Jutland, the bas-reliefs of which contain features which throw considerable light upon the matter. According to Mr. Mackenzie, the relief, of which a very good illustration is given on plate iv, contains the representation of a human figure, Cernunnos, with two hands and two legs, holding a torque in the right hand and a snake in the left with elk horn on the head. Other features of the picture are animals and fishes together with what the author regards as the representations of the Indian lotus. Proceeding on the basis of this and after a close, comparative study of the cult of Cernunnos, the author arrives at the conclusion that it incorporates a considerable amount of Buddhist influence, particularly what he terms Northern Buddhism, the Buddhism that advanced landwards perhaps ultimately to China. He regards the Cernunnos represented in the bowl showing striking similarities to the Buddhist God Virupaksha of Northern Buddhism. He finds it possible that Buddhism could have exercised considerable influence on early Christianity from the fact of the important colony of the Gauls or the Galatians in the centuries on either side of the Christian era in the north-western corner of Asia Minor, a region, which, to a considerable extent, was exposed to the influence of foreign religions. Proceeding on a detailed examination of the cults prevalent in Celtic Britain and comparing them with Buddhism as adopted and developed in China

on the one hand and of similar myths current in Greece and the Near East, he comes to the conclusion that the Buddhism traceable in Celtic Britain is different from both, and shows features which are ascribable to that form of Buddhism, which is generally described as Northern Buddhism, such as is incorporated in the treatise, the Gods of Northern Buddhism by Alice Getty. Mr. Mackenzie deals with the subject with his usual mastery of detail and makes out a fair case for the thesis with which he starts. While in certain parts the details upon which he builds may not carry conviction straightaway, the book, as a whole, shows that he has made out a case for postulating Buddhist influence in Pre-Christian Britain.

Asoka's influence on the Celts in Asia Minor is possible. But Asoka's Buddhism does not postulate the existence of a God nor does it provide exact analogies to the Christian faith as a matter of religion. The likeness between the Gundestrup figure and Virupaksha may be near or remote. But when did Virupaksha enter the Buddhist pantheon and what was the contact of Buddhism then with Celtic Britain or Christian Europe? Questions like these may be raised on various points of investigation on the Indian side as well as of the European, on the evidence. At any rate the work raises various issues which may be worth the while of enquirers. Hence the book is quite welcome, though it cannot yet be regarded as carrying conviction.

Obituary

THE LATE PROF. SAMADDAR

WE regret to record the death of Prof. J. N. Samaddar of University of Patna at an early age of forty-five. He was Professor of History at the Patna Government College since 1912, and had interested himself in research in ancient Indian history and culture. In 1921 he delivered a course of lectures on the 'Economic Condition of Ancient India' under the auspices of the Calcutta University. In 1923-24 he was appointed Honorary Reader by the University of Patna, and in that capacity he delivered a course of Lectures on the 'Glories of Magadha.' Recently a second edition of this work was published. Lately he edited the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume. He was connected with a number of research societies in one capacity or other. His interest in archæology acquired for him the title of Pratnatwabagish.

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Sen Tamil

VOL. XXVI, No. 8

SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'Concludes that Nambiyándár Nambi lived in the second half of the tenth century A.D.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

VOL. XVII

N. K. DUTT: 'Some Central Problems of the Rig-Vedic History: and the Vedic Scholars.'

Illustrated London News

August 18, 1928

PROF. HERZFELD: 'The Past in Persia.' Part IV. This concludes a series of four articles on his discoveries in Persia.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

(New Series)

VOL. XXIII, No. 1

H. HOSTEN: 'Fr. N Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor.'

H. HOSTEN: 'Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier, a Missionary in Mogor.' Translated for the first time into English from *Chrono-Historia de la Compañia*.

H. HOSTEN: 'Three Letters of Fr. Joseph de Castro, and the Last Year of Jahāngir.'

The Journal of Oriental Research

July-October, 1928—

A. G. WARIAR: 'The Tali Inscriptions in the Cochin State and their Importance' (Nos. 341-48 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN: 'The Age of Manimekalai': Identifies the Goddess Manimekala of the poem with Tara and assigns the work to a period subsequent to the sixth century A.D. following the view that the Tara cult was unknown in India prior to sixth century A.D. The author presumes that Āputra symbolizes the extinction of Buddha in India and its revival in other lands and conjectures that the Sailendra dynasty that dominated Java in the seventh and eighth centuries was the same as the Indra dynasty that ruled Nagapuram.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI: 'Appayya Dikshita's Age': Proves that he lived between 1520-1593 A.D.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

September, 1928—

M. BLOOMFIELD: 'The Rome of the Vedic Sacrifice.'

A. K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Indian Architectural Terms.'

The Rupam

January-April, 1928—

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI: 'Some Ramayana Reliefs from Prambanan.'

The Indian Antiquary

October, 1928—

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'The Antiquity of the Idea of Chakravartin.'

R. R. HALDER: 'Who were the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj?' expounds the view that the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj derived their family name from the office of *pratihara* (door-keeper) that they belonged to the Solar race and not to the Gurjara clan.

W. C. BHATTACHARJEE: 'The Home of the Upanishads.'

R. C. TEMPLE: 'Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the Kathasaritsagara.'

November, 1928—

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Kathaka Upanishad.'

R. C. TEMPLE: 'Notes on Seven Pagodas.'

R. GOPALAN: 'Notes on Seven Pagodas.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

VOL. I, No. 2

K. G. KUNDANAGAR: 'Hosahalli Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.' Discusses the historical importance of the plates and furnishes text and translations.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Salivahana or Saka Era.'

M. S. COMMISSARIAT: 'The Emperor Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmadabad.' (April-September, 1628).

G. M. MORAES: 'A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.'

H. HERAS: 'Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.'

A. G. WARIAR: 'The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kerala.'

'Monumenta Historiae Indiae': 'Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1928—

J. N. CHOWDHURI: 'Life of Mahmud Gawan.'

R. D. BENERJI: Balaji Baji Rao: 'A Historical Retrospect.'

N. RAY: 'The Maitrakas of Valabhi.'

S. R. DAS: 'The Hindu Calendar.'

B. M. BARUA: 'Old Brahmi Inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves.' The old Brahmi Inscriptions in this paper refer to the Hathi-Gumpha Inscriptions of Khāravela, the Vaikunthapura Cave Inscription of Kharavela's Chief-Queen, the Patalapura Cave Inscription of King Kadampa—Kudapa, Yama Cave Inscription of Prince Vadukha-Varikha, etc.

A. GOVINDA WARIAR: 'Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala.'

E. N. GHOSH: 'Notes on the Lankāvatāra.'

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOL. III, PART I

G. RAMDAS: 'Madras Museum Plates of Sri Ramachandradeo.'

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO: 'The Evolution of the Brahmanical Hierarchy in Ancient India.'

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literature on Music conveys an aerial View of the Musical Literature now extant in Sanskrit.'

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU: 'The Phulasara Copper-plate Grant of Kirtirajadeva.'

B. SINGH DEO: 'Tosali and Tosala.'

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU: 'Kota Chiefs of Amaravati.' (A correction).

R. SUBBA RAO: 'The Jirjingi Copper-plates of Indravarma.'

P. SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU: 'The Tirlingi Copper-plate Grant.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Ramareddipalli Buddhist Sculptures.' Gives a description of the various sculptures here.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literary Gleanings.'

Modern Review

December, 1929—

K. CHATTERJI: 'Enamelling in Ancient India.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Kara of Orissa.'

The Illustrated London News

January 5, 1929—

'The Wrecked Statues of Hat Shepout': Describes the remarkable results of last season's excavations at Thebes.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

September, 1928—

K. G. KUNDANAGAR: 'Hosahalli Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Salivahana or Saka Era.' Expresses the view that the era was most likely a foundation of Vima-kadphises who 'again subjected India to the sway of the Sakas' and appointed as his Viceroy either Chashtana or Yasomatika whom Sten Konow identifies with Bhumaka.

M. S. COMMISSARIAT: 'The Emperor Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmadabad.'

G. M. MORAES: 'A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.' Concludes that the Kadamba King Krishnavarma who married his sister to the Ganga King Madhava, was Krishnavarman II and not Krishnavarman I as stated by Rice.

H. HERAS: 'Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.'

A. GOVINDA WARIAR: 'The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kerala.' Monumenta Historiae Indiae—Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia.'

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*, 3, 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. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, *Servant of India Society*, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Aahlu, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.