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CONTENTS

147

	PAGE
ANTIQUITY OF THE PURANIC STORY TRADITIONS. By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, Dacca University	1
FORGOTTEN HERO. By H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S., Deccan College, Poona	18
THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI (1736-1761). By C. S. Sriniva- sachari, M.A.	27
ELIM THUGS. By A. S. Tritton	41
THE SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE CHARACTER AND COURT-LIFE OF SHAH JAHAN. By K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Reader in History, University of Dacca	45
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH PRIOR TO SIR WILLIAM NORRIS'S EMBASSY—(Continued). By Harihar Das	53
KALABHRAS IN SOUTH INDIA. By Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, Tamil Lexicon Office, Madras University ...	74
AJNAPATRA OR ROYAL EDICT	81
REVIEWS—'The Cambridge History of India' Volume III— Persians and Afghans; 'History of the Pallavas of Kanchi'; Christianity and the Government of India'; 'A School History of India'; 'Gotama the Man'; Indian Architecture' 'A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture'; 'Memorandum on Signation, August 1914'; 'India on Trial; A Study of Pre- conditions'; 'Indian Culture Through the Ages' ...	106
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS	135
EXCHANGES	142

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Antiquity of the Purāṇic Story Traditions¹

BY

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To find out the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions it is necessary to investigate and find out the occasion and meaning with which the word *Purāṇa* or *Itihāsa* is used in the Vedas. Of all the Vedas it is only in the *Atharva Veda* that we first come across with the word *Purāṇa* in two *Rk*s. But the word indicating some ancient sacred lore and denoting a specific branch of the holy literature is made clear only in the 4th *Rk* of the 6th *paryāya* of the 15th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Atharva Veda*, where the *Rk* says: 'He (the Prajāpati) moved out, etc. After him moved out both the *Itihāsa* (the narrative) and the *Purāṇa* (the story of the old) and the *Gāthas* (songs) and the *Narāsaṁsis* (eulogies). Verily both of the *Itihāsa* and of the *Purāṇa* and of the *Gāthas* and of the *Narāsaṁsis* doth he become the dear abode who knoweth thus.'

The above *Rk* shows that the *Purāṇa* as embodying old traditional stories existed beyond doubt in the time of the *Atharva Veda*, and the 24th *Rk* of the 7th *Sukta* of the 11th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Atharva Veda*, which says that 'The Verses (*Rk*), the chants (*sāma*), the meters,

¹ This paper was read before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, August 1928, by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, on my behalf, to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my deepest reverence and profound gratitude.

the ancient (*Purāṇa*) together with the formula (*Yajus*): from the remnant were born, etc., etc.'; clearly and certainly offers a very good hypothesis for working out an antiquity for the *Purāṇas* (i.e. stories) along with the origin of the Gods and *mantras*. It will be seen now that *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* stories were inseparably connected with the origin of the Vedic *mantras* and that some of the story traditions which are embodied in our modern *Purāṇas* are as old and sacred as Vedic *mantras* themselves.

We know that the four Vedas are 'collections' called *Samhitas* of hymns and prayers made for different ritual purposes. The four Vedas were followed by another class of literature, called Post-*mantra* or Post-*Samhita* treatises, or rather the *Brāhmaṇas*, i.e., the literature connected with the explanation of the Vedic *mantras*, in which the importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas now came to find their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. The *Brāhmaṇas* aimed at explaining the mutual relation of the Sacred Text and the ceremonial, and in course of explaining the relation and application of the Vedic hymns to the different parts of the Brāhmaṇical ritual, they introduce many myths and legends and stories of old, showing the occasion on which a particular hymn was first revealed or composed, which were essentially required on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know (as we shall see later on), while reciting the *mantras*, or on the occasion of performing a sacrifice. As such we encounter in the *Brāhmaṇas* many stories and legends which appear in the hymns concerned in a very brief way, but in an embellished form in our *Purāṇas*, thereby showing the existence of those Purāṇic stories in the time of the composition of the hymns of the Veda. I may refer to a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 13-18) to illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the *Brāhmaṇas*, relating to the story of Sunaśśepa. In this the author of the *Brāhmaṇa* quotes various hymns (24th, 25th, 26th, 27th) from the 1st *maṇḍala* of the *R̥g Veda*, which is said to have been uttered in praise of different deities, by Sunaśśepa, at the time when he was in danger of being immolated. This reference to Sunaśśepa's immolation certainly contains a legend, and we find it in several *Sūtras*¹ and also in

¹ *Saṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra*, xv. 17 and xvi. 11. 1-3 and also referred to in the *Śrauta Sūtras* of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyaṇa.

the *Purāṇas*. In *Ramayana* he is called the son of Ṛṣi Richika, who sells him for a hundred cows to Ambarisha, King of Ayodhyā, as a victim for human sacrifice. He, however, meets Viśvāmitra, and implores his succour and learns from him a prayer, which he recites and Indra is induced to come to set him free. It is apparent therefore that the story has been handed down from the Veda. In *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 7, 7 Sunaśśepa is called the son of Viśvāmitra 'given by the Gods, and thence named Devarāta'. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 16, 30-31) makes him the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, but again adds that he was the son of Viśvāmitra's sister, and also narrates his being purchased by Hariścandra as a victim for the sacrifice. The Vāyu makes him the son of Richika, and refers to his being purchased by Hariścandra for his sacrifice. It is thus clear that though Sunaśśepa is variously genealogized in the *Purāṇas*, yet the main fact about the legend has been preserved, namely that he stood in danger of being immolated. It follows, therefore, that this Purāṇic legend was current in Vedic times, associated as it is with the revelation of the *R̥g Veda* hymns as said above. As this story of Sunaśśepa is closely and intimately connected with Hariścandra, as has been shown, it is quite reasonable to infer that the story of Hariścandra too was current in Vedic times, which is never an independent story but is closely associated with the Sunaśśepa legend as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 3. 1 ff) and *Saṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (xv. 17-25) in which the earliest representation of the story is contained, seem to declare. There it is said that on Satya Vrata's death Hariścandra became king with the help of Viśvāmitra, but Viśvāmitra was compelled to depart owing to the instigation of Vasiṣṭha. Meantime Hariścandra begot a son named Rohita whom he had vowed to sacrifice to Varuṇa, but Rohita saved himself by buying the Ṛṣi Ajigarta's son Sunaśśepa as a victim in his own stead. Afterwards Viśvāmitra attended the sacrifice of Hariścandra in which Sunaśśepa was substituted for Rohita, but set Sunaśśepa free. This is the story given by the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Sūtra* and is also to be found with slight variations in the other *Purāṇas* such as *Brahma* (104), and *Bhāgavata* (ix. 7, 7-27); and also in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 3, 186-7) and *Ramayana* (i. 61. 5-62, 27). There cannot be any denying of the fact that the legend of Sunaśśepa as told in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 13-18) in connection with the

various hymns of the 1st *maṇḍala* of the *Rg Veda* and the story of Hariścandra as is just now described are one and the same story. It is of course a fact that there are discrepancies in this Sunaśśepa-Hariścandra story between the Brāhmaṇic and Purāṇic versions regarding the father of Sunaśśepa and the name of the king of Ayodhya; in which of course the Brāhmaṇic version is to be accepted as it is the earliest; yet the *Purāṇas* as a whole have retained the main feature of a story in which Sunaśśepa stood in danger of being immolated, but was set free by Viśvāmitra—a story which has an antiquity along with the Vedic *mantras*.

It has been said that the *Brahmaṇas* allude to the texts in the hymns, and their relation to the ceremonials. It will now be seen that it was an imperative requirement on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know the importance of the Vedic hymns and formulas, and when they are to be applied to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. I may refer the readers to Śaunaka's *Bṛhaddevatā*, carefully and critically edited by Prof. Macdonell. The book is certainly not a mere catalogue of deities, but contains a number of legends with the object of explaining the circumstances under which the hymns they were connected with were composed.¹ I will cite some stanzas from the *Bṛhaddevatā* to show what circumstances they detail for the application of the Sacred Text to the ceremonial, which of course presupposes the existence of the *Purāṇic* stories.

Bṛhaddevatā, i. 21 says, 'In each case one should duly connect the formulas with the rites by ascertaining the deity; for that is the rite which is completely successful.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 131 says, 'Of him who, knowing the deities of the formulas, at any time employs a rite, the deities taste the oblation, but not that of him who is ignorant of (those) deities.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 134 says, 'In muttered prayer and in offering an oblation this is a necessity—the seer, the metre, and the divinity; and applying them wrongly one is here deprived of their fruit.'

So we see that, for the efficacy of the performance of a *Yajña* a sacrificer was required to know the following *Vidyās*: namely (1) which formula or *mantra* is to be uttered in compliance with the ceremony,

¹ The opinion of Dr. Sieg that the stories of *Bṛhaddevatā* especially that of Devāpi was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* has been refuted by Prof. Macdonell. See *H.O.S.*, vol. v, Introduction, p. xxix.

(2) The name of the seer who is associated with the *mantra*, for composing it or for deriving any special object while reciting it. (3) The knowledge of the deities of a formula or *mantra*, etc. It is apparent therefore that the formulas or *mantras* as embodied in the *Saṃhitas* serve no practical and fruitful purpose if recited without the knowledge of the *Vidyās* just now enumerated; and this is specially referred to in *Bṛhaddevatā*, viii. 136 where it is said, 'He who without knowing the seer, the metre, and the divinity, and the application (*Yoga*) should teach or even mutter a formula will fare the worse.' The above enumerated three *Vidyās* were therefore essentially required for attaining the *phalaśruti*. Let us now see how the knowledge of the deities of a formula directly implies the existence of Purāṇic stories.

The hymn has for its deity the particular God to whom the person concerned seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for addresses his praises. In this sense we find in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (viii. 1 f.) the story of Devāpi, narrated to illustrate the deities of *Rg Veda*, x. 98. 1-3 f., thereby showing the currency of Devāpi tradition in connection with the composition of the above hymns of the *Rg Veda*. The story narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vii. 155 f.) is this: Devāpi and Śāntanu were two brothers, being the son of R̥ṣiṣeṇa of the race of Kuru. The elder one Devāpi, who was suffering from skin diseases, thinking himself unfit to ascend the throne, retired to the forest, though he was offered sovereignty by the subjects at the death of his father; and so Śāntanu, became king. Thereupon Parjanya did not rain, and as such Śāntanu with all his subjects went to Devāpi to dissuade him from his hermit life; but he refused. Being earnestly requested by them however, he performed the rites, and, with x. 98. 1-3, sacrificed to Bṛhaspati, and in four stanzas x. 98. 4-7 sang (in praise of) the Gods only with a view to getting rain; and with x. 98. 8-12 he invoked Agni; and with the hymn x. 99 addressed Indra. So we see that the deities of the hymns of *Rg Veda*, x. 98. 1-3 f., are those which have been enumerated, a knowledge of which was essentially required; but these being mingled with ancient lore (*Purāṇa*) for their origin, were automatically known to the ancient world. The modern *Purāṇas* are but collections of all such ancient story traditions, as we find the story of Devāpi narrated in most of the *Purāṇas*, though of course he is variously genealogized. In

the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 20, 7 f.) it is said that Pratipa had three sons; Devāpi, Śāntanu and Vāhlīka. The first adopted forest life in childhood, and the country was ruled over by the second, namely, Śāntanu. But as there was no shower in his kingdom for twelve years, Śāntanu in his anxiety called the Brāhmaṇas, who told him that the kingdom rightfully belonged to his elder brother Devāpi and to him he should resign. But a plan was however devised: a number of ascetics who taught the doctrines opposed to those of the Vedas were despatched to Devāpi who perverted the understanding of the simple-minded prince, and led him to adopt heretical notions, which had the effect of weakening his (Devāpi) claim to the throne (for he uttered words of disrespect to the authority of the eternal Veda). This paved the way for the legitimate succession of Śāntanu to the throne, who (Śāntanu) now was morally entitled to enjoy the earth (as Devāpi had become degraded); Indra in consequence poured down abundant rain. Here we see that the story has been fairly preserved though of course it has been amplified in a Brāhmaṇical tone; for Devāpi who was a Kṣatriya no longer appears in the hands of these Brāhmaṇical compilers as having capacity to sacrifice for bringing rain, but is represented as a heretic perhaps opposed to Brāhmaṇical pretensions. The story of his heresy is narrated much as in the *Viṣṇu*, in the *Bhāgavata* (ix. 22. 14-17) and *Vāyu Purāṇas*. On the same story *Matsya Purāṇa* (50. 39-41) states that he was also leprous and was set aside in favour of his younger brother. Either because of his disease or because of his heretic disposition, according to Hindu Law he could be deposed.¹

So we see that the *Purāṇas* contain legends and stories (*Purāṇas* and *Itihasas*) which are as old and sacred as the Vedic *mantras* themselves. In *Bṛhaddevatā* viii. 129 it is said that 'no formula is directly known to any one who is not a seer'. Prof. Macdonell annotates it as follows: 'That is the knowledge of the deities of a formula can only rest on sacred tradition.' The above story clearly explains how the knowledge of the deities of a formula was dependent on a knowledge of the sacred tradition, or in other words, a knowledge of sacred tradition (*Purāṇa*), almost in every case, preceded the knowledge of the deities of a formula, or *mantra* of the Vedas. It may, there-

¹ The story is also to be found in the *Harivaṃśa*, 32, 1822; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 13, 117; *Nirukta*, II. 10; *Mahābhārata*, v. 148. 5054-66 and in other *Purāṇas* also.

fore, be safely established that some of the Purāṇic story traditions have an hoary antiquity behind them, and that perhaps they were formed into a branch of Vedic literature as a different class of text with the name *Itihasa Veda*¹ for furnishing explanation and allusions to the Vedic *mantras* and as such floating contemporaneously with the Vedic hymns.

Let us now take the first and second *Vidyas*, namely, the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it; and, as this point involves the knowledge of the allusion in the *mantras* (stories concerning the association of the seer with the *mantra*); it can easily be inferred how the Vedic *mantras* contain within themselves *Purāṇa* stories either expressed or tacit, and which were required for a sacrificer to know. In Prof. Macdonell's *Bṛhaddevatā* the *Purāṇa* history and the practical utility or *phalaśruti* relating to various *mantras* have been severally set out. I will cite some examples to show the relation of the *Purāṇas* to the *mantras*, how the story of Dīrghatamā born blind has been stated in a story form in the fourth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vv. 11-15). It is there stated (v. 16) that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. *Rg Veda*, i. 140-56) were revealed to Dīrghatamā and he got back his vision. Here we see that the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it is mingled up with a *Purāṇa*, i.e. sacred tradition or story, and it will no doubt be a great thing to prove that the allusion of the hymn or *mantra* concerned, i.e. the story of Dīrghatamā is to be found in many *Purāṇas*. The story merits being given here in extract. In *Bṛhaddevatā* the story runs as follows:—Ucathya and Bṛhaspati were the two sons of a seer; the former's wife being Mamatā of the race of Bhṛgu. Bṛhaspati the younger approached her for sexual intercourse, when, at the time of impregnation, the embryo forbid his doing so. At which Bṛhaspati cursed him saying, 'Long darkness shall be your lot', and as such Ucathya's son was born with the name Dīrghatamā (long darkness). As he was distressed at this, the above hymns were revealed to him. The story is further carried in the *Bṛhaddevatā* in verses 21 to 25, where it is said in a most unconnected way that Dīrghatamā was thrown into a river and the currents drew him into the Anga country and that he begot Kakṣīvat on her. In *Vāyu Purāṇa* 99. 35 f. the story is to be

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. iv. 3. 12-13; *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, vii. 1-4,

found in full. There it is stated that Asija and Bṛhaspati,¹ were two brothers, the former's wife being Mamatā. The story proceeds in the same way as in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the child is born with eternal darkness and so was called Dīrghatamā. Then it is stated that Dīrghatamā began to live in the hermitage of his brother, where he practised the practice of kine (*godharma*) from Bṛsabha, the son of Surabhi, the principles of which led him to approach the wife of his younger brother (Authathya), for sexual intercourse. She refused to yield and cried aloud, at which Śaradavān the seer came to the spot, and realizing the situation became extremely furious and threw away Dīrghatamā into the sea, who, while floating in the currents, was seen by King Bali and his wife. They took him to their palace with great respect. Dīrghatamā being pleased, asked Bali to pray for a boon. Bali requested the sage to procreate sons upon his wife. The story then proceeds in great detail, even beyond limits of decency. The wife of King Bali seeing Dīrghatamā blind and old sent her maid servant as a substitute and through her was born Kakṣhīb and Cakhūsa. The queen's attempt, however, was frustrated and five sons were born to her. This procreation has, however, been justified by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, by creating apparently a new story to the effect that Brahmā in the previous life of Dīrghatamā prohibited him from creating sons through his own wife and as such he has had to create sons in the womb of mortal women. Then we are told that Surabhi being pleased at the loyalty of Dīrghatamā to the practice of kine awarded him his vision. This is the story given by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, a version which is most probably the same as it was current in the Vedic times; for the *Bṛhaddevatā* which contains the earliest representation of the story also refers to Dīrghatamā's procreation of a son; the moral feature of the story is by no means revolting to Vedic morality. The above story is an example of how the Purāṇic stories can claim an antiquity along with the Vedas. The story is also alluded to in the *Rg Veda*, i. 158. 3, 5 and Vedārtha on *Rg* (vi. 52; i. 116). It is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.² Again we are told in the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vv. 28, 33, 34), how the seer's (Vasiṣṭha) hundred sons had been slain by the followers of Sudāsa. It

¹ For their genealogical setting see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp. 159 f.
² *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 74, 25, f.; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 48. 23 f., 49. 17-26; *Hari-vamśa*, 31. 1684-90; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 13. 29-31; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 20, 36-8 x. 23, 5; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 18. 1; *Mahābhārata*, i. 104, 417; 9-92; xii. 343, 13177-84

ANTIQUITY OF PURĀNIC STORY TRADITIONS 9

has been stated that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. *Rg Veda*, vii. 104. 116 quoted in *Nītimāñjarī*) were revealed to the seer for the destruction of demons. It is clear therefore that the knowledge of the seer, who is associated with the *mantra* or rather the knowledge of the origin of the *mantra* which involves the *Purāṇa* story regarding Sudāsa and Vasiṣṭha was current in the time of the revelation of the above hymn of the *Rg Veda*. And the same story is to be found in many *Purāṇas*¹ with wide discrepancies and variations centering round the struggle between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and how it was reflected on that of Sudāsa² who was turned into a demon and killed Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons, etc. Unfortunately in the *Purāṇas*, this story has been greatly mutilated and distorted involving some struggle; but the kernel of the original tradition as we find it in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, namely, that Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons were killed by Sudāsa, has been sufficiently preserved. So we see that the stories as told in the *Bṛhaddevatā* are the ancient systematic collection of legends to be found also in the *Purāṇas*, bearing some definite connection with regard to the origin of the *mantras* either of composition or of revelation.

I shall now refer to some passages in the *Rg Veda*, to show that some of the hymns contain the fragments of some legends which are to be found in an enlarged form in our *Purāṇas*. Thus *Rg Veda*, x. 17. 1-2 f. says that Tvaṣṭar's daughter Śaranyū had twin sons Yama and Yami to Vivasvat. She foisted upon him another female of the same appearance (Sāvarṇā), and taking the form of a mare fled away. Vivasvat in ignorance begot on the substituted form (Sāvarṇī) Manu.³ But Vivasvat becoming aware of this took the form of a horse and followed her. In this way the two Acvins were born. The same legend is also narrated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ii. 11. 1 f.). In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* the name Saranyū has been changed into Sanjñā, she being

¹ *Viṣṇu*, iv. 4. 20-38; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 9. 18-39; i. *Lag.* in 63. 83; i. 64, 147; *Vāyu*, i. 175-177; 2. 10-11; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, i. 2. 10-11; *Mahābhārata*, 176 and 177; 182, 6901-6912; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 65.

² For the genealogical setting of Vasiṣṭha and Sudāsa see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp. 207-10.

³ In *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 68 it is said that Manu, whom Sāvarṇā obtained as a son from Vivasvat uttered the five hymns (*Rg Veda* viii. 27-31) addressed to all the gods and Agni at the laudation. This statement is very important as it establishes the fact that the *Purāṇa* stories contained in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and which are to be found in the *Purāṇas* also obviously implies the existence of those stories in the Vedic times, e. g. the story of Sāvarṇā which is referred to in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and at the same time contained in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Veda* (*Rg*).

the daughter of Viśvakarman and married to the Sun, her offspring being Yama and Yami; and unlike the Vedic tradition, Manu Vaivasvata is born to her. Manu Sāvarṇi is born to her substituted form, to whom Viṣṇu gives the name Chāyā. The same story is told of her secret adoption of forest life. But the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives a clue as to how the Sun came to know of Sanjñā's departure, being the result of an altercation between Yama (son of Sanjñā) and Chāyā, when she discloses the whole secret. The *Matsya Purāṇa* further adds a long story how Yama in the course of the altercation with Chāyā kicked her and so was cursed by her at which he performed austerities, etc., and was made the Yama, i.e. the judge of the dead. But the legend however, proceeds like the Vedic version; the Sun takes the form of a horse, pursues her and begot on her the two Acvins and a third son is also mentioned named Rēvanta.¹ The story is also to be found in other *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (84. 1 f.), *Agni* (273, 1-5), *Kūrma* (i. 20. 1-4), *Padma* (v. 8. 44, 74), *Varaha* (20. 8), and *Matsya* (11. 2-41), etc. Thus we see that the Vedic *mantras* or hymns contain legends or allusions to legends which fairly agree with those very legends found in the *Purāṇas*. Again regarding the story of Vṛṣākapi which is to be found in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, the late Mr. Pargiter has been able to show (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 803) that the story was current in the Vedic times as is evidenced from the reference contained in the *Rg Veda* (x. 86). Again *Rg Veda*. viii. 19. 36, 37 praise the royal seer Trāsadasyu, and further it is said (36) that, 'adat pañcāsatam Trāsadasyur Vadhanam,' etc. Other statements that are contained in the same work seem to give a story that Trāsadasyu Paurukutsya gave Saubhari fifty maidens. The *Bṛhaddevatā* also contains the story in the sixth chapter (vv. 50-57), but there also it is not very clear except that Trāsadasyu gave Saubhari his fifty maidens. It seems, however, that a legend centering round Trāsadasyu and Saubhari was current in the Vedic times. In the *Saṅkhyāna Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 1) and *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* (x. 7) we find mention of an *Itihāsa* with the name Matsya Sāmmada, the story of which is to be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 2, 19 to 3, 3) where it is said that Saubhari a great sage learned in the Vedas was practising

¹ See *J.A.O.S.*, vol. xv, p. 172: Bloomfield discusses the story at full length and is of opinion that it is not a legend, but practically a riddle, which he explains.

meditation in the waters, when he found this fish Sāmmada playing with his numerous progeny. At this he formed a keen desire to taste the pleasures of such a life and met Māndhātṛ, who gave his fifty daughters in marriage to him. The sage took the daughters with him and made them extremely comfortable, but, gradually perceiving the worthlessness of this worldly life, the sage retired to the forest, etc. It seems therefore that the story of Matsya Sāmmada and that of Saubhari are one and the same. The *Sūtra* mentions it with the name Sāmmada. The *Vedārtha* on *Rg Veda* (viii. 87) also says that he was a fish and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 4, 3, 12) also says that King Matsya Sāmmada and his people were water dwellers. It might be a fact that the Sāmmada connection in the story of Saubhari is a later addition for neither the *Rg Veda* nor the *Bṛhaddevatā* mention any Sāmmada in connection with Saubhari. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has preserved an *Itihāsa* which, though it has been mingled up with another story, though the name Māndhātṛ has been substituted for that of Trāsadasyu and though the story has also been slightly Brahmanized yet the story is probably the relic of the same story that was current in Vedic times. This ancient *Itihāsa* as it is called, is also to be found in the *Purāṇas* such as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 6. 38-55), *Padma Purāṇa* (vi. 232. 16. 33-82) and *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (i. 138. 23).

Moreover K. F. Geldner regards a number of *Rg Veda* hymns which postulate a prose narrative, as ballads which are taken from some well-known myth. And these ballads, like a great number of the *Rg Vedic mantras*, are to be understood only by one who knows the old myths, i.e., the old *Itihāsas* from which their theme is taken, which of course obviously implies the existence of those stories or *Itihāsas* at the time of the composition of those ballad *Suktas*. Thus the 95th *sūkta* of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Rg Veda* collection does not explain to us, as to who Purūravas is, and why he is addressing persuasive words to a nymph, implying of course that there is a legend centering round them¹ which we can know from the *verses* 147 f. of the 7th chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* where it is stated that the nymph Urvāśi dwelt with the royal seer Purūravas having made a

¹ With the *Sūkta* an apt parallel may be found as is very rightly suggested by late Mr. Pargiter with Tennyson's 'Dream of Fair Women' where the poet does not explain, but only refers to the many stories and allusions of the fair ladies which of course were sufficiently well known to the poet and his time.

compact with him; but Indra being jealous asked the bolt at his side to destroy the alliance of the two, who acts accordingly by its craft. The king being distracted with grief began to wander throughout the whole earth in search of her, when one day by chance seeing Urvaśī in a lake surrounded by five beautiful maidens, he began to address, implore and persuade her 'to come back'. With great regret she declined, but consoled him with the prospect of a future union in heaven. The same story in the same strain is told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 6. 20f) only with a slight enlargement due to the narration of the trick played by the Gandharvas and the unwarranted description of natural beauty and other matters to suit popular taste. There is a variation in one point where the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that Urvaśī met Purūravas just after one year on that same spot and presented him with a child; and these annual interviews were repeated until she had borne to him five sons. The story is also impliedly referred to in the *R̥g Veda* (iv. 2. 18), in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 5. 1), in the Kāthaka of Black *Yajur Veda*, in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*; in the *Sarvānukramanī* of the *R̥g Veda* and also in almost all the *Purāṇas*.¹ The famous Indian dramatist Kālidāsa has taken the story to write one of his dramas. This Purāṇic story therefore was current in the Vedic times and it is a noteworthy fact that Sāyana calls it a typical *Purāṇa* (*S.B.E.*, vol. xlv, p. 98).

Next regarding the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth it may be said that the Vedic hymns contain direct reference to the story which the *Bṛhaddevata* narrates so far as it has any connection with the explanation of the Vedic hymn concerned. Vasiṣṭha, the author of the two *parjanya* hymns (vii. 101, 102) and also the seer of some hymns is called the son of Urvaśī in the *Bṛhaddevata* (ii. 37. 44. 156; iii. 56), which suggests that there is a tale relating to Urvaśī and Vasiṣṭha. The story appears in *Bṛhaddevata*, v. 149-55, which are quoted by Sāyana on *R̥g Veda*, vii. 33. 11. Accordingly in the *R̥g Veda* the story is to be found where it is said that Mitra and Varuṇa's seed on seeing Urvaśī fell into a jar and there Vasiṣṭha and Agastya were born. In the *R̥g Veda* (vii. 33. 13) Māna appears to be the name of Agastya which is supported and explained by the *Bṛhaddevata* in v. 153 of chapter 5, and about Vasiṣṭha it is thus said in the *R̥g Veda* (vii. 33. 11) 'Viśve devāḥ puṣkarē Tvadadanta' which is explained by Yāska,

¹ *Vayu*, 91. 4-52; *Brahmāṇḍa*, vol. iii, 66. 4-22; *Brahma*, 10. 4-8; *Harivamśa*, 23. 1366-70; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 24. 24. 34; *S.B.E.*, vol. xlv, pp. 318, 323-4.

Nirukta (v. 14) and also by the *Bṛhaddevata* (v. 154, 155) where it is said that when the waters of the jar were taken out Vasiṣṭha was found standing on a lotus and all the Gods supported it. Thus we see that the *Bṛhaddevata* by way of furnishing an explanation of an allusion in the Vedic hymns narrates a story regarding the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha due to Urvaśī and Mitravaruṇa and which is also referred to in the *Nirukta* (v. 13); and *Sarvānukramanī* (i. 166). It is quite in keeping with the antiquity of most of the Purāṇic story traditions that the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth is to be found in most of the *Purāṇas*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (61. 26-31, 36, 50; 201. 23-9) it is said that Viṣṇu while performing austerities incurred the fear of Indra who sent Kāma and Madhu to disturb his penance. But their attempt was frustrated when Viṣṇu produced from his thigh a far more beautiful nymph than themselves called Urvaśī, the aggressive beauty of whose figure excited the love and lust of Mitra and Varuṇa, who followed her, but only to be refused. Here the *Purāṇa* introduces a link to the famous story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, by saying that because Urvaśī yielded to Varuṇa and refused Mitra, Mitra cursed her to the effect that she will have to go to the mortal world and satisfy her lust with Purūravas. However the main story is continued: the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa falls into a jar and Vasiṣṭha and Agastya take their birth. Here our *Purāṇa* again introduces another ancient story to explain the birth of Vasiṣṭha from Mitra and Varuṇa, whence he is named Maitravaruṇī. It is said that King Nimi had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha (of course in previous life) and they cursed each other to become bodiless. Both of them went to Brahmā who assigned the eyes of the creatures to Nimi, whence people wink; and further said that Vasiṣṭha would be born as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa. This is the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha contained in our *Matsya Purāṇa*, which is as ancient as the Vedic *mantras*. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.¹

Again the well-known story of *R̥g Veda*, x. 8 and x. 61. 8, namely, the killing of the demon Vṛtra and Namuci by Indra is also to be found narrated in our *Purāṇas*, though of course the story has been tampered with by the Brāhmanical compilers, as Indra in the *Purāṇas* incurs the sin of Brāhmanicide by killing Vṛtra. But the story is to be

¹ *Padma Purāṇa*, v. 22, 29-34, 37-40; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 5. 6; *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 156, 7372; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 56. 12-23; 57. 1-8.

found in almost the same way as in the Vedas. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (vi. 7) it is related how Tvāṣṭa's son Viśvarūpa was appointed as a priest of the Devas—how he was partially disposed towards the relatives of his mother's side and how Indra killed his three heads, at which Tvāṣṭa became furious and created a ferocious demon named Vṛtra who had a long and fearful fight with Indra in which Vṛtra was killed. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.¹ Evidently therefore we see that some of the *Purāṇic* stories were current in the Vedic times.

Again in the *Nīlmañjuri* (97–102), and by Śaṅguruśiṣya (97–101) is quoted the story of the birth of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, etc., as an introduction to *Rg Veda* vi which is also narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (v. 97–101). The story, therefore, was closely associated with *Rg Veda* vi and as such is ancient as the hymns themselves. The story in the *Bṛhaddevatā* runs as follows :—Prajāpati desirous of offspring offered a sessional sacrifice in which camē Vāc, at the sight of whom the semen of Prajāpati and Varuṇa was effused. Vāyu then scattered it in the fire and from the flame was born Bhṛgu; and the seer Aṅgiras from the coals. The story is also to be found in the *Bṛhadbranyaka Upaniṣad* (i. 3. 8–19). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (65. 40) also contains this story with this difference that in place of Vāc several celestial ladies have been introduced and that the semen was scattered in fire not by Vāyu, but by Brahmā himself. In this way it can be proved that many of the stories that are contained in our present *Purāṇas* are as old as the Vedas having a currency in that age.

There are again other stories in the *Purāṇas*, which cannot claim any hoary antiquity like the stories shown above but are fairly ancient as they are often alluded to in the *Brahmanas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Thus the story of the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 4. 3. 5; 5. 1. 5), and as is well-known, most of the *Purāṇas* narrate it associating it with the churning of the ocean, when Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise supported the churning stick. Again in the *Taittirīya Saṃhita* (vii. 1. 5. 1f; i. 1. 3. 5f.) and also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

¹ *Mahābhārata*, v. 12, 411–13; xii. 283, 10153–200; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 85. 19; 86. 2; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 122. 48–49; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 68. 34–6; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 6. 35–7; *Padma Purāṇa*, v. 37 and 38; vi. 263. 19–21; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 172–178; *Harivamśa*, 43–9.

(xiv. 1, 2, 11) we have distinct references to the Boar's lifting the earth showing thereby the currency of the Boar incarnation tradition in the time of the Brāhmaṇas, though of course in the *Purāṇas* the story has been enlarged and amplified. The story of the Fish incarnation, i.e. the Indian legend of flood also appears in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 8. 1) which is perhaps the oldest version of the story, where it is said that Manu when washing his hands in a river a fish came into his hands which advised him to rear it if he wants to be rescued from the coming flood, and the fish also gives directions as to the way in which it should be reared. The story proceeds, the fish became bigger and bigger until it required the sea to live in. The flood came and Manu, as directed, built a ship in which he retired and the ship was dragged by the fish through the flood and thus Manu was saved. It need not be told here that this ancient legend is to be found in many of our *Purāṇas*, though of course it is absolutely a different question as to the form in which the story is to be found. There may be discrepancies and variations in the *Purāṇic* versions of this legend, but all these discrepancies and variations may easily be eliminated without distorting the more authentic tradition that is preserved in some form or other in our present *Purāṇas*. Again it strikes us that the *Purāṇic* story of the dwarf incarnation was current in some form or other in the Vedic times as is suggested by Colebrooke from the mention of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama in the *Rg Veda* (i. 22. 16–21). This tale of Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation is also to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 2. 5. 1. f), where Viṣṇu is represented as a dwarf, as having under the form of a sacrifice conquered the whole earth. The story is also to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i. 31. 2 f), *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*, vv. 484 f) and besides these, in almost all the *Purāṇas* where the story is amplified in a highly sectarian tone. The story of Janamējaya II who injured the Ṛṣi Gārgya in consequence of which he was cursed, but was relieved of the curse by Indrota who performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice on his behalf, is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 5. 4, 1), *Sāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 9. 7) and in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (iii. 3). It is also to be found in almost the same form, in the present *Purāṇas* such as in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (93. 21–6), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (iii. 68. 20–6) and *Brahma Purāṇa* (12. 9–15), etc. Regarding the story of Yayāti which is narrated in almost all the *Purāṇas*, Dr. Winternitz has shown that it

existed at the time of Patañjali; for Patañjali (*Paṇini*, iv. 2. 60) teaches the formation of the word 'Yāyātika', i.e. one who knows the story of Yayāti. Many stories from *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* have also been known to us through the efforts of Professor Ortel, some of which have been preserved in our *Purāṇas*, while others have been lost; while, by a stratification of the Purāṇic cosmogony it can be shown that almost all the Purāṇic stories in connection with cosmogony were current in the Brāhmaṇic and some in the Vedic period.

There are again other evidences in support of the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions. Very often in our *Purāṇas* we find that legends and tales are alluded to with the expression 'Iti-Śrūta', which surely evinces their acquaintance with a prior and ancient narration. Moreover the *Ślokas* which the *Purāṇas* interpose regarding the story of some famous hero as being sung by the *Paurāṇikas* in ancient times, e.g. in the case of Hiranyakaśipu (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 67. 64) and Dattātrēya (*Vāyu*, 70. 76) and Alarka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 92. 66), are manifestly quotations from older metrical versions which have been saved from the original bard poetry and incorporated in our *Purāṇas*, the antique currency of which we must not doubt but take for granted. Similarly very often in the *Purāṇas* we meet with old heroic songs and *Ślokas* which are quoted to illustrate the deeds and conduct of any particular hero with the expression 'atrāpy udāharantīman Ślokaṃ Paurāṇikapurāṇa' which are said to have been recited by the *Paurāṇikajanas* or *Vaṃśavidas*, e.g. in the case of Triśaṅku (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 14; *Brāhmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63. 113), Māndhātṛ (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 67-69; *Brāhmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63. 69-70), Bhagīratha (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 169), Mūlaka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 178), Ahuka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 121), etc. These old heroic songs whose existence and antiquity we must take for granted are to be found in remnants and fragments in our *Purāṇas*, thus establishing the antiquity of many of the Paurāṇic stories connected with the *Ślokas*. Many of the song verses (*Gāthas*)¹ and very old *Anuvamśaślokas*² concerning the deeds of some persons which were narrated by the *Paurāṇikas* have also been preserved.

¹ E.g. regarding Rāma, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 191; Devavṛddha, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 13; Yayāti, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 93. 94; Kārtavīrya, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 94. 19; Dhṛuva, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 62. 80.

² Regarding Śaśabindu, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95. 19. Also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.

ANTIQUITY OF PURĀNIC STORY TRADITIONS 17

Thus the incorporation of all these very old songs, verses, *gāthas*, and *ślokas* centering round, and relating to the heroes of our Paurāṇic *Ākhyānas*, *Udāharāṇas* and *Itihāsas* or whatever we may call them, almost inevitably and undoubtedly stamps on the Purāṇic stories an air of antiquity.

The extent to which the Vedic *mantras* contain legends or allusions to legends, and which are retained in the *Bṛhaddevata* but completely represented in the *Purāṇas* have been explained. It cannot be denied of course that in some cases the stories have been perverted and distorted; but that does not in any way go against the contemporaneous currency with the Vedic hymns of the original traditions of all the Purāṇic stories as has been shown. I have explained how the knowledge of the seer and the proper *mantra*, involving the knowledge of the *Purāṇa* stories connecting them, was imperatively required on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know, which very reasonably leads us to suppose that alongside with the Vedic *mantras* there was left a sufficient and necessary room for the compilation of these sacred story tradition into a class of text called the *Itihāsa Veda* or the *Purāṇa Veda*,¹ for furnishing explanation, annotation and allusion to the Vedic *mantras*. From Yāska's *Nirukta* we learn that there was a Vedic school known as the Aitihāsikas so named because its members made use of the 'Itihāsa' in expounding the *mantras*. The *Vasiṣṭha Dharmā Sūtra* (xxvii. 6) and the *Mahābhārata* (i. 1. 267) also testify to this; while the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (1. 181) says that by *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* one should supplement the Veda, etc.; all these evidences are I think sufficient to show that *Itihāsa* and Purāṇic stories, or rather the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* were inseparably connected with the explanation of the Vedic *mantras*, and this is also supported by Durga on *Nirukta*, i. 5 (ll. 58. 21 f). If such evidences are forthcoming towards the possibility of a Vedic antiquity for most of the Purāṇic stories, having the merit of explanatory theses as has been shown, it is very difficult to deny the existence of a sort of a class of text dealing with a certain kind of learning in stories called the *Itihāsa Veda* or the *Purāṇa Veda* in ancient India, floating contemporaneously with the Vedas, from which perhaps the present *Purāṇas* have derived the stories.

¹ The paper does not allow me to discuss the relation and connection between *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*.



A Forgotten Hero¹

SOME NOTES ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF CSOMA
DE KOROS, TRAVELLER AND SCHOLAR (1784-1842)

BY

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IN the annals of Oriental scholarship, few stories can compare with that of the little Hungarian scholar Csoma de Koros who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, travelled on foot, alone and penniless, from his village in Hungary to the heart of Tibet in the pursuit of knowledge ultimately, like so many of his kind, giving his life as the price of his acquirements. De Koros was content to die as he had lived, obscure and penniless, labouring to the end. 'It is in the hope that his name may be rescued from undeserved oblivion that this paper has been written. Of the value of Tibetan for the study of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and especially Buddhist literature, there is no need to speak here. Before Koros, Tibetan was practically unknown. The heroic party of Capuchin friars who visited Lhasa in 1719 brought away materials from which the Augustan friar, Georgi of Rimini, compiled his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome 1762), a 'ponderous and confused compilation' full of mistakes. In 1820 Abel Remusat devoted to Tibetan a chapter of his *Recherches Sur les langues Tartares*, and in 1826, Csoma's friend, John Marshman, issued from the Serampore press a dictionary, or rather a collection of sentences, made by an unknown Italian Missionary. It was, therefore, the beginning of a new era in Oriental scholarship, when in 1834, Csoma de Koros published his *Dictionary, Tibetan and English*, and his *Grammar of the Tibetan language in English* admirable works as regards the literary Tibetan of the Buddhist translations which have never been superseded.

On a bright spring morning, a Sunday, in the year of grace 1819, two friends might have been seen walking along the Nagy Szeben

¹ Paper read before the Fifth Oriental Conference in November 1928.

A FORGOTTEN HERO

19

road in Transylvania. Presently they stopped and parted. One went sorrowfully back; the other, 'an expression of joyful serenity shining in his eyes, as if he were wending his steps towards a long-desired goal,' strode on eagerly alone. It was Csoma de Koros. Frail and short in build, he was inspired, nevertheless with the spirit of the old Magyar nobility whose blood ran in his veins. An accomplished linguist, he had, when a student, obtained a travelling scholarship with which he had proceeded to Gottingen. Here the glamour of Oriental research had first captivated him. Among the many problems which, in the infancy of these studies, afforded fascinating themes for speculation to the imaginative mind, the question of the origin of the Hungarian race had attracted his notice. He imagined that many Hungarian names and words were of Eastern origin. To collect information which would throw light upon these problems was the first object of his journey. Afterwards his original quest was lost sight of in those Tibetan studies for which he will be ever remembered by scholars. 'Though the study of the Tibetan language,' he writes in the preface to his Dictionary, 'did not form part of my original plan, but was only suggested after I had been led by Providence into Thibet, and had enjoyed an opportunity of learning of what sort and origin the Thibetan literature was, I cheerfully engaged in the study of it, hoping that it might serve me as a vehicle to my immediate purpose, namely, my researches respecting the language and origin of the Hungarians.' Csoma's equipment for the journey was not a large one,—a wallet containing a few books, some shirts and the sum of one hundred florins in cash! At first he went no further than Croatia, where he spent some months in working at Slavonic dialects; this done, he pushed on, sometimes alone and on foot and sometimes in the company of merchants' caravans, to Constantinople, whence he took boat to Alexandria. Here he settled down for some time to the study of Arabic, a language which, he had been told by the great Eichhorn, under whom he had read at Gottingen, would throw much light upon the darker pages of mediæval European History. But plague was raging in Alexandria and our traveller was forced to leave the city. Taking a coasting vessel, he made his way to Aleppo, and from Aleppo to Bagdad. From Bagdad he journeyed with a caravan to Teheran, where he spent the winter of 1820-1821, learning Persian and English and receiving much kindness from Sir Henry Willock

the British representative in that city. 'Here the real perils of the journey seemed about to begin. Rumours of a Russian force in Central Asia made it impossible to venture, without grave risk, on a journey through Turkestan. The only alternative was to strike southwards to the Khyber, cross the Panjab and then, turning north, to march through Cashmere and Thibet. Somewhere on the Central Asian plateau Csoma hoped to find the goal of his researches. The undertaking was a vast one. Before him lay the dangerous passes of the Indian frontier, the ferocious tribesmen of Afghanistan, the vast Empire of Ranjit Singh, and all the lofty, unexplored mountains of the Eastern Himalayas. The journey was one calculated to appal the stoutest heart, but Csoma faced it without flinching. That he realized the perils which lay before him is shown by the fact that, before setting out, he left with his hosts a packet containing the only possessions by which he set any store. These were his University diplomas. In case he perished, they were to be returned to his native village.

One of the few faults which we can find with Csoma de Koros is the modesty with which he regards his achievements. His adventures he never considered worthy of record. His brief letter written to the British Government from Sabathu merely states that he crossed the Baman Pass in January 1822, arrived at Lahore in March, and pushed on through Cashmere to Leh early in June. It was here that an event occurred of the utmost importance to Csoma's future career; he met the ill-fated traveller, William Moorcroft, who spent many years in exploring the North-Western Frontier of India, gaining valuable information for Government, till his untimely death from fever in the remote regions of Bokhara in 1825. It was Moorcroft who lent him a rough Thibetan dictionary, compiled nearly a century before by a Catholic priest. From this dictionary Csoma first began to comprehend the extent of the vast, unexplored field of Thibetan literature, which he was destined to make his life study. Fascinated by the new language and the mysterious tomes in the monasteries he had visited, Csoma, armed with Moorcroft's recommendations, made his way to the remote monastery of Zangla in the Ladak district and there, cut off from the world by countless ranges of towering mountains, and buried for months by the drifting snow, with no companions but a few silent monks, he worked for nearly a year and a half. Dr. Gerard of the Indian

Medical Service, who visited Csoma in Tibet in 1827, gives a vivid description of how the heroic scholar spent that awful year. 'Of his suffering Csoma himself says absolutely nothing. 'He, the Lama (his tutor), and an attendant,' says Dr. Gerard, 'were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months; they durst not stir out, the ground being covered with snow, and the temperature below the zero of the scale. There he sat, enveloped in a sheepskin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep on and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate. The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages. Some idea of the climate of Zanskar may be formed from the fact that on the day of the summer solstice a fall of snow covered the ground; and so early as September 10 following, when the crops were yet uncut, the soil was again sheeted in snow; such is the horrid aspect of the country and its eternal winter.'

Late in November 1824, a strange figure, clad in a rough native blanket, appeared at Sabathu, a little military post on the lower spur of the Himalayas, a few miles from Simla. It was Csoma, returned from far beyond the snow-clad peaks which may be seen like a vast rampart to the north of the town. Captain Kennedy, the Commandant, under the orders of the Political Agent of Ambala, was forced to detain his strange visitor, pending instructions from the Government of India. This precaution, though regrettable, was rendered necessary by the fact that Russia was known to be busy in Central Asia, and to be in communication both with Ranjit Singh and the Afghans. Csoma himself had been employed by Moorcroft to translate an intercepted letter from the St. Petersburg Government to the Sikh monarch. The suspicion thus cast upon him, however, deeply wounded the sensitive spirit of the Hungarian. Fortunately the Indian authorities, impressed by Moorcroft's recommendation and by the elaborate programme drawn up by De Koros himself, decided, not only to allow the traveller to return to Thibet, but to give him a grant of fifty rupees a month in order to enable him to prosecute his studies. And so, in June 1825, Csoma once more took the road. Less than two years later, in January 1827, he returned, deeply mortified. 'I have wasted time and money,' he declared pathetically. Above all, he conceived that his

honour, 'dearer to him than the making of his fortune,' had been sullied. He had failed to fulfil his contract to the Indian Government, for the second expedition to Thibet had not been an unqualified success. His tutor, the Llama who had read with him on his first visit, had become wearied by his pupil's thirst for knowledge. His patience, perhaps his stock of learning, was exhausted, and he had performed his duties in an indolent and perfunctory fashion. Csoma was heart-broken. He declared he would take nothing more from his patrons, and humbly begged leave to go to Calcutta to place before the Royal Asiatic Society such remnants as he had managed to secure, in order to prove that he was not altogether a fraud. These 'Remnants' were a large and beautifully written Thibetan dictionary, materials for a complete grammar of the language, and an immense mass of manuscripts and many printed volumes, bearing upon Thibetan philosophy, religion, astronomy, and other sciences. Any other scholar would have been proud of such results.

In June 1827, Captain Kennedy notified to Csoma that the Government, far from being displeased with his achievements, were prepared to renew his salary for three years, in order to enable him to proceed to Besarh in Thibet for the further prosecution of his studies. It was here, at Kanum, that his friend, Dr. Gerard, found him in the midst of his labours, 'in his small but romantic hamlet'. 'The cold is very intense,' writes his friend, 'and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval for recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea. His chief repast is tea, in the Tartar fashion, which is indeed more like soup, the butter and salt mixed in its preparation leaving no flavour of tea. It is a repast at once greasy and nourishing, and being easily made, it is very convenient in such a country' (Gerard's letter to the Commissioner of Delhi, January 21, 1829). Csoma had now been working a year; he had in that time completed a vocabulary of forty thousand words, and had read through forty-four books of the great Thibetan Encyclopædia the *Stangyur*, consisting of two hundred and twenty-five ponderous volumes, each of from five hundred to seven hundred pages. His hut was at the elevation of 9,500 feet above the sea-level, and its single room containing no furniture save books and 'two rustic benches and a couple of rude chairs'. He was two hundred miles from Sabathu,

and his scanty salary left nothing over, to be spent on the most ordinary luxuries. Even mutton, stored in abundance in all the monasteries, was beyond his reach. Of his fifty rupees, half went to the Llama, and five more were spent upon house rent and his servant. Of the remaining twenty, most were expended in the purchase of books, manuscripts and writing materials. Yet, in spite of his poverty, Csoma, with all the pride of a Hungarian noble, refused haughtily the smallest offer of assistance. His pittance, at which the humble clerk of to-day would look askance, was ample for his needs, and his only anxiety was to finish his task and repay his patrons. Of worldly affairs he cared nothing. Dr. Gerard tells us how he offered to supply him with the English papers, thinking to enliven his solitude thereby. Csoma returned a polite refusal. Firstly, he said, they had no interest for him: and secondly, he did not wish to be thought to have wasted his employer's time! For four winters he worked on thus with his Pandit, 'a man of vast acquirements,—a singular union of learning, modesty and greasy habits'. It was about this time that one of the many proposals to increase his salary was made, at the instance of his friend. Csoma rejected the offer with some acerbity, his sensitive soul stung by what he considered a tardy recognition of his achievements. Orientalists are jealous folk, and there was a disposition to sneer in some quarters at this unknown savant, and his strange stories of a new literature. In Wilson and Prinsep, however, Csoma had two enduring friends, noble scholars who perceived the sterling qualities underlying the little Hungarian's outward testiness.

The year 1831 saw Csoma at last at Calcutta, hard at work editing his spoils. Government had generously undertaken to bring out his dictionary at public expense. The great work was finished early in 1834, and in the following years, armed with the necessary passports, Csoma made an extensive tour in Bengal, studying Bengali, Sanskrit, and other Indian tongues. Of this period we have no records; but in 1837 we find him back in Calcutta, as Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, still working away at his Thibetan manuscripts. Of his extraordinary frugality and industry we have testimony of a most interesting and pathetic kind. His infinitesimal salary of fifty rupees a month was more than sufficient for his wants. Except for the first two months, he never troubled to draw the extra fifty which had been allotted to him, and at his death he was actually found to have saved

a considerable sum ! It was calculated that the fourteen years which he had spent in research had cost Government a little over four thousand rupees, or about three hundred rupees a year. 'He lives like a hermit among his Thibetan and other works,' writes a compatriot. 'Of an evening he takes slight exercise in the grounds ; and then he causes himself to be locked up in his apartment : it therefore invariably happens that when, during my evening rides, I called upon him, it was necessary to wait a while till the servants produced the keys to unlock the doors of his apartments.' Another writer speaks of him as 'absorbed in fantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmins who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell, which he never left except for short walks in the corridors of the building.' Writing after his death, Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, says, 'His effects consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking pot. His food was confined to tea, of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirits or used tobacco or other stimulants.' But Csoma was not content with his achievements. To remain inactive, now that he had fulfilled his pledge to the British Government and had finished sorting the material he collected, was abhorrent to his ardent, restless soul. Before his eyes gleamed the golden roofs of the monasteries of mysterious Llassa, with their stores of vast, unrecorded literature ; beyond, in the far distance, lay the limitless Chinese Empire, with still further unexplored literary and linguistic treasures ; and there, who knows, hidden in the impenetrable bosom of the steppes of Central Asia, might be found the convincing, final proofs of the origin of the Hungarian race. Csoma was now fifty-eight, weather-beaten and worn by privation, exposure, and excessive study. 'I began to suspect,' says the traveller we have quoted already, 'that he would never see his native land again, being then already advanced in age ; and yet he proposed remaining for ten years longer in the country, to enable him to glean whatever he could find in the old writings, and such a secluded, one could almost call it a prison life, might soon undermine the powers of any constitution and leave but a mere

shadow of an existence.' Csoma himself perhaps felt that the journey might be his last one, for before leaving he wrote a letter to the Royal Asiatic Society making them his executors. But he set out cheerfully, crossed the malarious Terai on foot, and arrived at Darjeeling on March 24. Here he remained for some days, while negotiations were opened with the Raja of Sikkim, to enable him to cross the frontier and make his way towards Llassa. The envoy of the Raja was astonished at finding a foreigner who could talk his language like a native, and who knew more of its literature than he did himself. Everything was progressing in a most favourable manner, and Csoma was in a state of great excitement. 'What would not Hodgson, Turnour, and some of the philosophers of Europe, not give to be in my place when I get to Llassa ?' he often exclaimed. But Csoma was bound for no earthly goal. On April 6, he developed fever, contracted doubtless on his way through the Terai. His poor, worn body offered little resistance to the disease, and five days later, a martyr to the cause of knowledge, he set out upon his last journey. And there, beneath the fragrant deodars, and within sight of the delectable mountains, his body lies beneath a massive tomb in Darjeeling cemetery. Csoma's character was a strange mixture of diffidence and pride, of gentleness and a certain rough irritability. Utterly selfless as far as his studies were concerned, he went through countless perils in their pursuit, with complete indifference. Of his travels, except so far as they throw light upon his researches, he has left absolutely no record. He would not imagine that they would interest anyone. 'What a pity it is,' a contemporary exclaims, 'that a scientific mind like his was so little given to writing except his special study !' On the amenities of social life he looked with the utmost contempt. He speaks scornfully of the way in which, during his sojourn at Sabathu, he was, 'treated as a fool, alternately caressed and ridiculed.' He invariably refused to stay with Government and military officials, preferring to live among the natives and to study their language and habits. He was determined that as a scholar the world should recognize his merits, and for this end, 'the last infirmity of noble minds,' he worked unceasingly. Extraordinarily sensitive about his personal honour, he refused peremptorily any gift which had the slightest suspicion of charity. The somewhat tardy recognition of his merits by the Royal Asiatic Society brought from him a reproof

of the like of which we must go back to Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield. 'In 1823,' he writes, 'when I was in Kashmir, being destitute of books, Mr. Moorcroft on my behalf had requested you to send me certain necessary works. I have never received any. I was neglected for six years. Now under such circumstances and projects, I shall want no books.' Above all, he never forgot or forgave, inspite of his very real gratitude to Government for their sympathy and help, the affront offered to him when he first entered Sabathu. Under the circumstances, as we have seen, it was not unnatural that newcomers, especially foreigners, when found wandering about the frontier, should be treated with some suspicion at that period. But Csoma was mortally offended. He had been called a spy. His honour had been called in question. In spite of all explanations, he stuck to his point, and never forgot the supposed 'insult' till his dying day. He refers to it in every letter he wrote to Government and mentioned it, years afterwards in the preface to his Dictionary. He even went so far as to send all his foreign correspondence unsealed and written in Latin, to the Royal Asiatic Society to examine before it was posted! His eccentric temper tried the patience of the good-natured Kennedy, who writes on one occasion, 'he is a man of most sanguine, hasty, and suspicious disposition. I have left no act undone to accommodate and to meet his wishes, and I think he feels grateful to me; but on some occasions he has received my advances to be obliging with a meanness not to be accounted for.' But to his intimates—to those who really took an interest in his work and his aspirations,—he appeared in a very different light. 'He was cheerful,' says one of his countrymen who visited him in 1837, 'often merry; his spirits rose very considerably when he took the opportunity of talking about Hungary. Altogether, I found him very talkative, and if he once started on this strain there was no getting to the end of it.' 'I used to delight in his company,' wrote Dr. Malan 'he was so kind and so obliging, and always willing to impart all he knew.'

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield was Csoma's motto. And if he, too, is to be reckoned among the world's faithful failures, let us not forget the noble saying that *to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive and the true success is to labour.*

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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V

I. THE THIRD ATTACK ON FORT ST. DAVID AND AFTER

THE Diarist describes in great detail the forces that proceeded from Pondicherry on March 11, 1747, under the command of MM. de la Tour and Paradis and their repulse of an English force near the boundary hedge of Fort St. David. The shots of the French cannon were more effective and their *Coffre* troops escalated the Uppalavadi battery with ladders and drove back the enemy sepoys from that post. The French force subsequently attacked the English Garden-House¹ at Manjakuppam whither the English had retired after their defeat and occupied it. Just when all the French troops, soldiers, *Coffres*¹ and Mahe sepoys, made ready to proceed to assault the Fort, a sentinel descried seven ships making for the anchorage and carrying the English flag. Thereupon the French officers held a council of war and decided that they should immediately retreat, since Pondicherry would be in a helpless condition should the English ships proceed thither. In their hasty retreat, chests of powder were thrown into water; cannon were spiked or otherwise similarly disposed of; bags of rice were ripped open and their contents flung into wells; and casks of brandy were staved in and their liquor was allowed to flow away. The troops however repulsed a body of pursuers and reached Pondicherry safely on the evening of the 13th. According to the Fort St. David *Consultations*, dated March 1 and 2 (old style), the English defended the line of the Pennar for a whole day; and the French had

¹ A term applied first by Arabs and then by Portuguese to the black Negro troops who were then largely employed (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (1921), p. 141).

to retire in haste. According to the Diarist, 'If the English fleet had arrived but two days later, the French who had advanced well-equipped and with great energy, would undoubtedly have captured Fort St. David and have hoisted their white flag on it.'

After the English fleet arrived with the British squadron and saved Fort St. David from threatened capture, the seas were practically closed to French trade and remained so till the end of the war.² The squadron which was under the command of Commodore Griffin ought to have reached the Coromandel Coast in the previous year, but had wintered at Achin and reached Bengal only in December, where it was again delayed by some needed repairs. But the English ships were not sufficiently manned and any attack by them on Pondicherry was out of the question; and 'the utmost he could do was to blockade the French settlement and keep Dupleix inactive.'

Meanwhile Dupleix continued to ingratiate himself with the Muhammadan *killedars* of the neighbourhood, like Mudâmiah, the deputy of Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah who had a *jaghir* in Chidambaram, Shaikh Ahmad of Porto Novo which was a large weaving centre for blue cloth which was exported largely to Bourbon, Achin and other places, and Muhammad Ali Khan, the brother of Chanda Sahib and the *faujdar* of Polur. He had also a new seal in Persian prepared for his use, the titles in which ran as follows: 'Acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Victorious in Battle, He who is called Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor-General of Pondicherry, whose sway extends over Hindustan (i.e. the Governor of all the French in India), renowned for his

² He declared to Dupleix that Fort St. David should have been seized as soon as Madras was captured, as 'it was a snake at the head of our bed which must not be allowed to remain; and that it would have been easier to have succeeded in the attempt while the French ships were still on the coast. He was confident that, with the coming of good times to Dupleix after April, the Fort would certainly fall.

³ 'From time to time news came which made Dupleix hope to be able to renew the languishing commerce of the settlement; but the English squadrons were too tenacious and too pervasive for these hopes to be realized.' - *Dodwell*. The truth was that Pondicherry was depleted of its defence by the necessity of detaching a considerable force to garrison the captured city of Madras, while English ships hindered the importation of food-grains from the fertile northern coasts and 'formed a perpetual menace to both Madras and Pondicherry, should they find either stripped of its garrison' (*vide* Introduction to vol. iv of the *Diary*, p. vi, and *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 23).

valour and success in arms.'¹ The Nawab was displeased with French attack on Fort St. David made without his special sanction and after, as he alleged, Dupleix had promised in the course of the previous negotiations not to attack it; and a letter had to be written to Husain Sahib at Arcot that it was the English that first molested, some Frenchmen coming from Arcot and made prisoners of some of them and also attacked a French detachment coming from Karikal and plundered some of the French villages. It concluded, 'Can they (English) do as they please, while we must remain quiet without doing anything? . . . Will you give them the necessary orders, or shall we do as we think best?'² Muhammad Tavakkal wrote a letter asking that the French troops should be at once recalled from Fort St. David, if they had not already been; and that this was the reason why the *parwana* for the four villages already granted was being withheld by the Nawab. Muhammad Ali Khan, the son of the Nawab, was suspected of unfriendly feelings and designs; and an attempt was made to propitiate him by the gift of a gold-laced hat.

II. AFFAIRS IN FORT ST. DAVID AND IN MADRAS

Turning to the position of the English at Fort St. David, the Diarist recorded, under date March 27, 1747, that huge ramparts were being built round the Fort, and the Gadilam was to be turned in its course so as to flow south of the Fort straight into the sea, instead of bending away as it did to the south-east. A mint was opened at the Fort which was crowded with merchants and *dubashes* from Madras³; fresh earthworks were built at the bound-hedge and near the Fort.⁴

¹ The Diarist adds that the inscription was the same as the old one, with the addition, 'Muzaffar Jang Bahadur' meaning, 'the valorous and successful in arms' (vol. iv, p. ii).

² In this connection the Diarist was charged with having told Muhammad Tavakkal in the course of the preceding negotiations that Fort St. David would not be attacked. Dupleix did not believe it; and Ranga Pillai maintained that all that he expressed was that Dupleix would not listen to anything, and that he and the English must settle their disputes in their own way, and that the French could do nothing except under orders from Europe. He finally convinced Dupleix that such a promise on the part of the French should have been invented by Tavakkal himself in order to get out of a difficulty (pp. 14-16 of vol. iv of the *Diary*).

³ Mr. Dodwell says that this entry as regards the fortifications is highly anticipative; as it was not resolved according to the Fort St. David Consultations of 1747 to make alterations in the defences until March 30 - April 18, and to turn the Tevanampatnam (Gadilam) river until April 25 to May 6. (*The Diary*, vol. iv, p. 41, foot-note 2.)

There were more than 1,500 men on board the English ships who were employed in the works. Guns were mounted and soldiers posted at Cuddalore where the English women and children from Madras were being sheltered. Contrasting this with the sorry spectacle of Madras under French rule, the Diarist lamented that the town (Madras) was going to ruin under an incapable governor (Duvald' Espréménil) and under the evil influence of Madame Dupleix who had been poking her nose into the affairs of Madras merchants.¹ The English ships

¹ 'It surprises me that though such a town as Madras has newly fallen into our hands, yet no intelligent and suitable man has been appointed to guard and keep it in order. As the master of Pondicherry does not know how to govern properly and will hear no advice, the town is going to ruin. And not only are the town and its inhabitants being ruined, but the Governor, M. Dupleix, had brought disgrace on himself in more ways than one. Firstly whatever he does of himself, he does wrongly, for he always acts without taking advice. Secondly his wife wants to share in the government. . . . Thirdly the master of Madras is deaf. He can understand nothing unless it is given to him in writing. . . . He has never lived in the realm of intelligence . . . there is no proper *dubash* to manage affairs. . . . What wonder that the town is ruined when these people are gathered together? Any one of these evil men would ruin the country; but when three or four are joined together what may not happen? Any wise man can see; I cannot write at full length, so I have written briefly.' Again, 'He (Dupleix) makes no proper enquiries; nothing is done properly. Such conduct brings no profit either to the Company or to the Governor. The merchants lose their hard-earned money and the Governor his reputation. Seeing that he cannot govern properly the town in which he lives, how can he be expected to govern a distant and important town like Madras?' . . . Personal pique at being denied a hand in the Madras affairs may have some share in the vitriolic nature of these remarks, which however disclose the true defects of Dupleix's character and action. The property of a number of Madras merchants was taken away by the French officials who divided the goods among themselves. In reply to the protestations of Ranga Pillai, Dupleix would often repeat to him to write to the merchants promising to give them back their property, if they should come and live at Pondicherry. But the latter always wrote about their grievances and begged the Governor to do something for them. The Diarist suspected that Madame Dupleix was inducing the Madras merchants not to give true answers to him and his men.

Contrast this opinion of Dupleix with that expressed by the Diarist in vol. i, pp. 299-300 (see p. 4, *J.I.H.*, vol. vi., part iii).

The policy of Dupleix was evidently to transfer all the trade from Madras to Pondicherry, 'by the simple expedient of removing thither all the native merchants and their property'. The Armenians indeed pretended to acquiesce in the plan; they even behaved as if they persuaded other merchants to do the same. But this was 'little more than a cover under which to remove their property elsewhere' (Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 18). The Indian merchants were more obstinate. They were threatened by a proclamation dated March 2, 1747, that they should register all property in their possession, and that in default of compliance within three days, search would be made in every house, and all goods and articles found therein would be confiscated to the Company. Another order issued by the Council of Pondicherry soon after ordered all merchants and other persons at

effectively blockaded Pondicherry, captured several French merchantmen coming from the northward and sold their goods at Fort St. David. The English blockade prevented grain-vessels from reaching Pondicherry where there prevailed scarcity while plenty reigned at Cuddalore. The merchants of Madras steadily refused French solicitations to settle at Pondicherry, saying that the English would never give up their city. They feared that the French might forcibly convert them to the Christian faith and would not allow them any civil liberty; and they would not listen either to the overtures of the Diarist or to the solicitations of Madame Dupleix; and they would give no answer so long as they should be solicited on both sides; and Dupleix believed that while the Dubash had failed to get the merchants to live at Pondicherry, his wife would be more successful in the task.

III. THE SITUATION WITH THE COUNTRY POWERS

The death of Mr. John Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David, which occurred on April 25 and his burial the next day at the Church at Tevanampatnam (probably in a tomb in the cemetery north-west of the Fort, of which no trace remains now) is recorded by the Diarist under heading Wednesday, April 26. Two days later he records an interesting account of the situation in the Carnatic, where Nasir Jang who had been put in charge of the districts south of the Krishna by Nizam-ul-Mulk, wrote to Anwar-ud-din Khan to march to him with

Madras to quit it for Pondicherry within eight days; and to transfer their goods within this period to the Fort from which they were to be shipped off to Pondicherry, where they were to be delivered to the owners; and that any person not complying with this order would have his property confiscated (*vide* Diarist's entries for March 6 and 7, 1747; pp. 403 and 405-6 of vol. iii; also letter from Pondicherry to the Company, dated, February 6, 1747). But even at the close of 1747, the Pondicherry Council could not record even a little success in the matter; and they reported as follows:—'All the methods we have employed—promises, threats and confiscation—to induce the native merchants to come and dwell here, have been fruitless. Most favourable conditions were annexed to their removal—the possession of all their property, and the most formal assurances of never being molested either in their trade or religion. . . . But no one has come, save a few wretches, neither rich nor respectable. This obstinacy is in fact very humiliating to us (quoted by Dodwell who says that this order was repeated a few days later with no more effect than that of the previous one, although in the interval half of the Black Town had been demolished.)—Letter to the French Company, November 30, 1747, from Pondicherry and Council Order, dated December 1, 1747. The latter decree of the Pondicherry Council said that all goods will be confiscated unless the owners should settle in Pondicherry within six months,

his troops or, if he could not go, to send Muhammad Ali instead. Anwar-ud-din was reported to contemplate the recall of Mahfuz Khan from Nasir Jang, then marching against Tanjore in person to recover arrears of tribute, on his own visit to Nasir Jang. Muhammad Ali was at this time in Conjeevaram and was in frequent communication with Fort St. David. This situation caused Dupleix to write a letter of conciliation to Nasir Jang and also one to Imam Sahib (who had previously been an officer under Dost Ali and was now in the Nizam's service and acted 'more or less as the representative of French interests') in which an offer was made to exchange Madras for the regions of Villianallur and Valudavur,¹ with a request that letters should be written in Nasir Jang's name to the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes commanding them to cease fighting and keep peace in the Mughal country on pain of their trade being stopped and they themselves being expelled. Rumour reached Pondicherry in the beginning of May that the English had asked the Nawab for 500 horse and 2,000 foot and the latter had promised to send them; but neither the Diarist nor the Governor believed that it could be true. Also it was bruited about that the English had decided to collect their ships and cannonade Pondicherry for some five or six nights.² The

¹ In February 1747, the Council Superior wrote to the *Compagnie* proposing three ways of dealing with Madras: (1) to keep the place in order to exchange it for Louisburg, when peace should be made with England; (2) to sell it back to the English Company; (3) to exchange it for territory near Pondicherry as in the text, *Cons. Sup. a' la Compagnie*, Feb. 6, 1747, P.R.F. 18. This letter in the text is interesting, for it shows that Dupleix did not wait for the Company's orders. Mr. Dodwell's *Note* on p. 72 of vol. iv of the *Diary*.

² Commodore Griffin, even shortly after his first arrival, opened negotiations with the Nizam's government regarding Madras. A letter from Nasir Jang to the Commodore received on June 6 (i.e. June 17, new style) deplores the carelessness and want of diligence of the Madras Governor in surrendering the Fort when he could have stood a siege. It concludes with a vague undertaking which might mean anything or nothing. This ran as follows:—

'Now the victorious Ensigns of my most potent Army . . . are marching towards the Kingdom of Carnatica for settling affairs there. And as it is unalterably his Excellency's most just and lawful Sentiment to do justice to the whole Empire, by punishing the oppressors and protecting and aiding the oppressed, and is what I am also delighted in, I have now, and once before, wrote to my friend Anawardean Cawn Behauder . . . to cause that the lawful Proprietors are righted and dispossess the Usurpers; and by the Almighty's Grace the said Cawn Behauder will put the Orders into Execution, agreeable to his Duty which requires him to do so . . .' (*Fort St. David Consultations*, vol. xv, August 31, 1747; quoted by Love.) The letter to Nasir Jang was preceded by one from Mr. Hinde to the same personage, complaining of the conduct of the French and requesting that he should order

movements of Nasir Jang who made as if to march to Arcot, together with the news that Nizam-ul-Mulk had made peace with the Marathas and Mir Ghulam Husain of Tinnevely had made up with Mahfuz Khan, increased the fear of a hostile demonstration by the English fleet. There was also continued activity on the part of the English at Fort St. David who were busy destroying the houses in the village to the north and clearing the ground round the fortifications of all impediments. The chiefs in the neighbourhood of Madras were also hostile; and the *poligars* of Durgarazpattanam and Neillore ill-treated M. d'Espremeuil who left Madras for Bengal, suddenly and much to the surprise of the Council of Pondicherry. It was indeed true that Nawab Anwar-ud-din, when he heard of the complaint from the French about this, wrote to his son, Abdul Wahab Khan who was Faujdar of Neillore, that the French property taken by him should be immediately restored and to the English Governor at Fort St. David that Frenchmen should not be molested, and their letters not interfered with. When two Frenchmen who were proceeding from Karikal to Pondicherry were seized by the English peons at Tiruvadi, the Nawab sent an order to the English Governor to release them and a copy thereof in Persian to Dupleix.¹

The dreary negotiations and counter-negotiations with the Mughal powers continued, in the course of which the French tried to get the support of Mahfuz Khan and of Nawab Anwar-ud-din and to get their prisoners exchanged for those of the English. In the beginning of October, the English ships passed by from Fort St. David, cast anchor in the Pondicherry roads threateningly, then proceeded to Madras in whose roads they burnt a French ship, and later sailed to the north-east and went out of sight.² News came a few days later that the ships

the restoration of Madras. This is mentioned by the Diarist in his entry for June 11 (p. 93 of vol. iv). A deputation was to be sent to Nasir Jang with presents from Fort St. David, the embassy was ready to start when news arrived that the Nizam had marched from Hyderabad to Aurangabad; and this embassy was put off for the time being.

¹ The order text of which is given in the *Diary* (vol. iv, p. 108) is deemed by the Diarist to have 'cringed, rather than commanded'.

² 'To-day the Governor sent for me and said, "The English have burnt the *Neptune* in the Madras Roads. This is the result of Flacourt's being captain. No one else would have behaved so badly, for as soon as the English ships came in sight, he went ashore in a masala-boat. Such conduct cannot be borne with. The English have gone and done this mischief at Madras, because two French ships were there. Now I will no longer spare Fort St. David" . . .' (Entry for

reached Bengal, though they actually reached Balasore only in December. News reached Fort St. David that two men-of-war and eight of the Company's ships which they had been escorting, had left England in the beginning of January and were then about fifteen days' sail distant. Griffin was anxious about the safety of the English shipping in the Bay and deferred his voyage to the Archipelago, determined to cruise about the Madras coast, to prevent more ships from falling into French hands.

The happenings at the courts of the Nawab and Nasir Jang¹ frequently roused the anxiety of Dupleix and the Diarist. When Anwar-ud-din heard that, owing to repeated English requests, Nasir Jang had made a resolve to go down into the Carnatic, he (the Nawab) wrote to Mahfuz Khan to bring about a frustration of the march saying that 'what between French arrogance, English cowardice and the famine (prevailing), the country was ruined and could not bear the expenses of his (Nasir Jang's) army'. The news of Nasir Jang departing from the Balaghat after finishing his negotiations with Mysore was very welcome to the old Nawab who had so moulded several at the Nizam's court, as to be speaking always of the bravery of the French and the cowardice of the English. Moreover the old Nizam who was engaged in operations round Daulatabad, had ordered Nasir Jang to return to the Deccan, in order to help him against a

October 7). It was rumoured in Pondicherry that M. Dordelin's ships had sailed from Mahe about the beginning of October, and Dupleix expected it for some days with great anxiety. On their way from Goa to Mahe, they succeeded in capturing an English ship and a sloop with thirteen lakhs of dollars (the *Anson* bound from England for Bombay, and the *Fakhro Markab*, a country-ship probably belonging to Bengal; and the prize was estimated by the Pondicherry Council at two million livres (£100,000). The object of Griffin's squadron was to cruise off the coast in order to save English ships from falling into enemy hands.

¹ Nasir Jang seems to have entered into, or at least begun negotiations for an agreement with the English that he would recover Madras for a sum (ten lakhs of pagodas according to the Diarist and three lakhs, according to the English records, *Country Correspondence* 1748, No. 5, p. 2) and 3,000 pagodas for each day the army marched and 2,000 pagodas for each day he halted; *vide* entry for October 25, 1747, and Mr. Dodwell's note on the subject of the amount, (p. 189, of vol. iv of the *Diary*). Later when this failed, the Fort St. David *vakils* with Nasir Jang made new proposals, by which the English were to have 1,000 horse under two *jamadars*, which Mahfuz Khan was persuaded by the French to frustrate. A letter to Pondicherry from Nasir Kuli Khan, the *diwan* of Mahfuz Khan, dated December 1747, says that Mahfuz Khan had contrived to stop the projected expedition.

projected Maratha invasion, headed by Sadasiva Rao the Bhao, son of Chimanaji Appa.

Later we learn from the Diarist that Mutyalu Nayakan who went to Nasir Jang's camp on behalf of the English spent a large amount of money in presents without getting anything in return and that both Nawab Anwar-ud-din and his Dewan Samapati Rao declared jestingly that the English had lost their good fortune and their wits together. The only outcome of the situation was that Morari Rao Ghorpade and his Maratha horse began plundering the country round Venkatagiri Fort, Vellore, Ambur and Vaniyambadi; and the people at Arcot and Lalapettai were alarmed for fear of the Maratha horse, 'having no place of refuge on the coast to fly to, owing to the troubles between the French and the English.'

On March 10, the Diarist made an entry that Mutyalu Nayakan, the English *vakil*, had arrived at Arcot from Nasir Jang's camp with presents from him. Anwar-ud-din was commanded by a *parwana* to order all the *poligars* to assist the English as against the French, while another order directed Dupleix to abstain from further hostilities against the English; and Mutyalu Nayakan was accompanied by a band of Mughal and Maratha horsemen and three hundred peons. So after all the English had secured some measure of diplomatic success. All that Dupleix could do was only to fulminate against the enormous sloth of the Arcot Darbar where it was difficult to get admission and it took fifteen days to have a letter answered. The French could only resort to the dirty expedient of intriguing for the seizure of Mutyalu Nayakan on his way from Arcot to Cuddalore; but the latter appears to have learnt something of the plans against him. For this purpose an adventurer in the French service, Abd-ul-Rahman was detailed off with a hundred horse and ammunition to waylay Mutyalu and to instigate the Poligar of Vettavalam to help in this task. It was even thought to be a desirable achievement to take captive Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, and Mr. Griffin along with him, if possible. Mutyalu Nayakan was too clever to get caught and reached Fort St. David safely. The Diarist now began to say that Mr. Floyer was highly displeased with his *vakil* for not having got any substantial help from Nasir Jang and for having spent a lakh of pagodas uselessly.

All that the French now cared about was that, if the Marathas invaded the Carnatic, as they threatened to do, the people at Arcot

would be busy defending themselves, and then they could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of Nasir Jang's *parwana* to the Nawab to assist the English; and so both Governor and Dubash counted on the possibility of the English not getting any help from Arcot when they should launch their intended gigantic attack against the English.

IV. ANOTHER BARRER ATTACK ON FORT ST. DAVID

The English began in December to actively strengthen their batteries; and for fear of being unable to hold their outworks, they demolished the Deadman's Battery on the west of the Fort, since the latter was within easy range of the fire of its guns. They collected stores and provisions in the Manjakuppam Garden-House and were on their guard; they summoned a council of war on January 5, 1748, to decide how Dupleix's projected attack which was well known, should be met. Nearly two thousand soldiers and Mahe sepoys were collected by the French and posted at Ariyankuppam, ready to attack Fort St. David. The town of Cuddalore was deserted by most of the merchants and other inhabitants and was almost completely denuded of its womenfolk. Ranga Pillai notes a curious incident regarding the brother of the *dubash* of ex-Governor Morse; that he was caught in the act of carrying on secret correspondence with Madame Dupleix and even implicating Morse himself.¹ Dupleix himself did not believe that Morse was guilty of any such treasonable correspondence.

The French troops moved out of Ariyankuppam on January 13, while a letter was written to Nawab Anwar-ud-din informing him of the starting of the French expedition and justifying their conduct in view of the alleged violence of the English. Dupleix himself accompanied the expedition, which, while within nine miles of its objective, descried the approach to the coast of six ships and a sloop showing English colours. These, which constituted Griffin's squadron

¹ The preliminary examination of Mr. Morse alluded to by the Diarist cannot be traced in the English records. It was likely that inquiries were made of him; but 'Ranga Pillai's version is incredible'. Lakshmanan, the person implicated, was finally brought to trial by court-martial in June; and his letters, so far as valuable secrets, but there was no doubt of his correspondence and he was condemned to be hung.' Mr. Dodwell's note on the Diarist's entry (*vide* note 1 on p. 312 of vol. iv).

PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI 31

arrived at Fort St. David on January 17.¹ Dupleix² at once ordered his troops and baggage to retreat. Ranga Pillai has entered in his Diary the camp news that Appu Mudali who accompanied the troops wrote to the Diarist from day to day during the march and retreat (January 14-17); and we are told that all the troops were full of zeal, and the former expeditions were not one-eighth as well managed as this, and this was 'entirely due to M. Dupleix who cared nothing about what he ate or when he slept, ate the same food as his men and took no thought for his personal comfort'. Thus ended another attempt of Dupleix to capture Fort St. David which was protected not only by the ships of Griffin's squadron but also by three fresh ships from England and three Company's ships from England *via* Bengal.³ News came that a large expedition was also

¹ Pondicherry was left practically undefended, as all the garrison had gone into camp, and the Fort was guarded only by the Councillors' writers and old men who had been armed with muskets.

² The Diarist, with his usual sickleness and animus against Madame Dupleix condemns his master's rashness in having set out on the expedition without considering all the possibilities and only relying on Madame's reports as to what happened—'He marched against Fort St. David inconsiderately and inconsiderately returned. Every one is continuously making jests at his expense and indeed it is plain that none can earn respect who follows a woman's counsel' (entry for January 17). The Diarist adds that two days before Dupleix started he had received information that the English squadron had been asked to return to Fort St. David with about 500 soldiers on board; but Dupleix would not believe this news and held that the Fort would not be receiving reinforcements and would have to shift as best as it might. Besides Dupleix said that 'Mr. Morse had been consulted in secret and that he had advised the Fort to be surrendered as Madras had been, since there was no other means of safety, in consequence of which the English were already removing their goods.' The Diarist adds that Dupleix did not pause to consider whether Mr. Morse was likely to have said such a thing or not.

³ The garrison of Fort St. David was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses (soldiers of Eurasian descent) and 100 sepoys from Bombay, besides 400 sepoys from Tellicherry; and in the course of the year 150 soldiers had been landed from the Company's ships from England. In January 1748, Major Stringer Lawrence arrived with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India (Mill, *History of British India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 55). Dupleix had to acknowledge the superiority of English ships and sailors in his letter to Montaron, January 30, 1748. News reached Pondicherry and the ear of Diarist that fresh ships besides those that had already reached Fort St. David were coming from England with reinforcements—this is deemed to be more likely a confused rumour of the coming of Boscawen's squadron, the news of which had already reached Fort St. David (February 2, 1748, entry). Nine ships of the Royal Navy (one of 74, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one of 20 guns, a sloop of 14, a bomb-ketch with her tender) commanded by Admiral Boscawen and eleven ships of the English Company carrying stores and troops to the number of

preparing; and at the same time Stringer Lawrence, a retired Captain of the King's Service took command as Major of the garrison of Fort St. David. 'His arrival and the discipline which he at once proceeded to enforce, mark the time from which the Company's troops became an efficient military force.'

V. THE SEQUEL OF IT

From this time there were frequent skirmishes and collisions. In one encounter between French boats and an English one, eleven Englishmen were killed; another resulted in the English setting fire to some French ships. Of course the usual complaint reached Anwar-din regarding the burning of the boats. As if troubles were not enough, there arose a new complication. Shahji Raja of Tanjore, the son of Sarabhoji Raja according to the Diarist, sent an envoy to Pondicherry, by name Kōyāji Kāttigai promising that he was prepared to make an alliance with the French. Dupleix was very doubtful if any substantial gain could come out of any engagement with this person and ordered the messenger to be sent away. This Shahji¹ was an

1,400 men, set sail from England towards the end of 1747 with instruction to capture the Island of Mauritius on their way. The expedition was deterred from this after an examination of this coast of the Island and on account of the loss of time that the enterprise would occasion. The expedition arrived off Fort St. David on August 20, when 'the squadron, joined to that under Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one power had yet possessed in India.'

¹ Tukoji Raja died about the year 1735. He had five sons: (1) Bava Sahib; (2) Saiyaji; (3) Anna Sahib; (4) Nana Sahib; and (5) Pratap Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. Nos. 3 and 4 died before their father; and Bava Sahib who succeeded, died about a year after. Bava Sahib's widow, Sujana Bai, was now raised to the throne by the ministers. But soon a pretender under the name of Savai Shahji, generally known as *Kattu Raja* (Forest King) came forward and, with the aid of the Muhammadan commander of the Tanjore Fort, succeeded in usurping the throne. He was soon deposed in favour of Saiyaji, the second son of Tukoji; and the latter had in his turn to give place to Pratap Singh. The pretender Savai Shahji was in reality the offspring of a slave woman named Rupī, to Sarabhoji, the second son of Ekoji, counterfeited as the son of one of his queens. A previous counterfeit prince had already been disposed of. This second counterfeit was set up by one Koyanji Ghangte (Kōyāji Kāttigai?) who alleged that he was the Savai Shahji and was the lawful heir to the throne. He was afterwards called *Kattu Raja*, because when he was proclaimed as Raja, he came from the Udaiyārpālaiyam jungle whither he had been taken by Ghangte for the purpose of securing the aid of its *poligar* for him. This pretender later secured the aid of the English at Fort St. David and of the Dutch at Negapatam. This prince was deposed by Saiyaji, the legitimate son of Tukoji. The *Tanjore District Manual* alleges that there were two rulers between Bava Sahib's wife and Pratap Singh, viz., Savai Shahji, the son of Sarabhoji, and the other Saiyaji, the son of Tukoji. The latter has been

obscure pretender to the Tanjore throne which, after the death of

consistently ignored in the pedigrees kept up by Pratap Singh who was after all an illegitimate son. And hence there was a likelihood of the identification of the two as one.

Mill distinctly speaks, on the authority of an authentic manuscript of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji and of Sahujee (evidently Saiyaji) the youngest of the sons of Tukoji and attributes all the revolutions to the Muhammadan commandant, Sayid, whose execution was the first act of Pratap Singh's reign. (Book iv, chap. ii, p. 62 of vol. iii). Wilson in his note on Mill who declared that Orme was misinformed—as he considered both Shahji and Pratap Singh to have been sons of Sarabhoji—says that Saiyaji, as Duff calls him, was a legitimate son of Tukoji. Mr. Dodwell in his note (on pp. 350-1 of vol. iv of the *Diary*) says that the attempt of the *Tanjore Manual* was to reconcile the versions of Orme and Duff; and that it was not supported by the *Memoir* which was written by Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam, in 1739, which was strongly in favour of the identification of the two persons Shahji and Saiyaji; and the Dutch were exceedingly well-informed on all Tanjore affairs. He says: 'I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned. . . . I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Dupleix and who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore.' The native tradition embodied in the *Tanjore District Manual* distinctly says that the first pretended son of Sarabhoji was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception. The second counterfeit was set up many years afterwards by one Koyanji Ghangte (Kōyāji Kāttigai of the Diarist) who was the brother of the pretender's alleged mother. This is corroborated by other information also. Moreover the Abbé Guyon—the historian of French India, says that Pratap Singh stifled his rival Saiyaji in a bath of milk; and if that should have been true, the pretender Savai Shahji should have been a different person and not the same as had been killed by Pratap Singh in 1740.

The name given to the pretender in the Fort St. David records is Sahajee Maha Raja. The Marathi inscription in the Big Temple at Tanjore calls him Savai Shahji and *Kattu Raja*. According to the Marathi inscription, he obtained help even in 1738 when he deposed Sujana Bai, from the English at Fort St. David and the Dutch at Negapatam under specious promises. Another writer, Mr. K. R. Subrahmanian (in his *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, 1928, pp. 44-6) is inclined to support the view that there was no Saiyaji at all and that the same person, Shahji, superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and afterwards permanently. The Dutch Memoir of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary for 1748 and the English account of the claims of Shahji in 1749—all say that he was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. But the first of these sources only proves that the Dutch, having supported Shahji, pretend that he was the legal heir. The French *Dubash* only wrote what he was told of the claims of Shahji as the son of Sarabhoji; and the English records of 1749 could not prove the legitimacy of their candidate. None of these sources mentions Saiyaji; and a French record of 1749 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead. So the writer concludes that there was only one person, Shahji, the *Kattu Raja*; and there is no reason to suppose that Tukoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji, who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession.

Tukoji (1728-35) who was the last son of Ekoji, suffered a number of rapid revolutions before the Government became settled on the accession of Pratap Singh in 1740. Dupleix's dismissal of Kāttigai was probably due to his fear of provoking the enmity of the Tanjore ruler at a time when the English fleet was expected on the coast. It was also consistent with the recommendation of Le Riche of Karikal made in the previous year that the times were not suitable for such an enterprise. He ordered the Diarist to write letters to Pratap Singh of Tanjore, and Manoji Appa, his chief minister, saying, 'We thought Shahji was dead, and are astonished that you have written to M. Paradis, the chief of Karikal, to say that the old Raja Sarabhoji's son, Shahji, the late tyrannous Raja, has been kept in Pondicherry; it surprises us as much as if a dead man had come to life again. We could get no advantage from helping him; and so why should we concern ourselves with so unlucky a man? . . .'¹ Copies of these letters were sent to Paradis. All the while paddy and stores were being steadily accumulated, and the neighbouring *poligars* were cautiously sounded. Dupleix, whether consciously or otherwise, told the Diarist that the Dutch had joined the French and declared war against the English and that was why the English with all their shipping were afraid to attack Pondicherry. In reality Louis XIV declared war on Holland and 'in a few months Dutch troops were to appear beside the English before Pondicherry'.

Thus the events drifted on to the last episode of this first Anglo-French struggle.

¹ Diarist's entry for February 27.

(To be continued.)

Muslim Thugs

BY

A. S. TRITTON

A HISTORIAN notes that Rāshid, the strangler, died on the same day as Abū'l 'Atāhiya in A.H. 211. Several authorities state that some of the extremist Shi'a sects were stranglers. Ibn Hazm brings them into connection with the Khashabis, the club-bearers, who fought for Mukhtār. He says:—

The companions of Abū Mansūr, *ul mustanir* were all stranglers and smashers, also the followers of Mughira ibn Sa'īd. They did not permit the carrying of arms till he who is expected should come; so they killed by strangling and stones. The Khashabis killed with clubs only. They limited themselves to strangling and smashing and the Kaisānis to fighting with clubs alone, because they do not permit on principle the carrying of any iron weapon, even if they be killed, until he whom they expect shall come. Then they will carry weapons. Now they kill only by strangulation, by smashing with stones, and with clubs. Hishām ibn al-Hakam the Rāfidi in his book the *Mizan* (he knew more about them than any for he was their neighbour in Kufa and in doctrine) says that the adherents of the Kīsf especially killed those who had opposed them. They said, 'Let us hurry the believer to paradise and the unbeliever to hell. After the death of Abū Mansūr they gave the fifth of what they took from those they strangled to Hasan ibn al-Mansūr.'¹

Another writer says that they strangled their opponents. Abū Mansūr claimed to be the *kīsf* which is mentioned in the *Koran*. 'If (they see a piece (*kīsf*) falling from the sky they say, 'A piled up cloud''. 52-44).

The names Khashabi and Kaisāni seem to be used indifferently, the latter denoting an adherent of Mukhtār whose name is said by some to have been Kaisān. The tale of their 'pilgrimage' is a good illustration of their activity. In 66 A.H. Ibn Zubair imprisoned

¹ Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb ul Milal wa Nihal*, 4. 185 with the additions from *JOAS* v. 28, p. 63.

Muhammad ibnu 'l Hanafiya, his family, and seventeen prominent citizens of Kufa in the house over the well Zemzem because they refused to do homage to one who was not acknowledged by the common consent of Islam and had fled to the sacred precincts. Ibn Zubair threatened to burn them if they did not do homage by a certain date. When the guards were asleep Ibnu 'l Hanafiya sent word to Mukhtār in Kufa. He roused the town and sent off in successive detachments 650 men. The wood to burn the prisoners was already heaped up and two days only of the respite remained when the first detachment of 150 men entered the mosque at Mecca, carrying the *kalirchob*, the wooden clubs, and crying, 'Vengeance for Husain'. They drove off the guards, burst open the Zemzem house, and wanted to kill Ibn Zubair; but Ibnu 'l Hanafiya stayed them. Ibn Zubair despised them as they were few, but when four hundred more arrived with treasure he was frightened. Ibnu 'l Hanafiya escaped and distributed the money brought him among four thousand adherents. Thus five hundred and fifty men defied in his capital one who claimed to be caliph and who actually ruled a good part of the Muslim world.

Al Jāhiz in his *Book of the Animal* gives two descriptions of the doings of these stranglers. One of them is in part repeated in another place in the book. The following account is a combination of the two versions :—

The stranglers help one another and never dwell or travel except in company. Often they make themselves masters of a whole road or track. They dwell only on thoroughfares. Behind their houses are deserts, gardens, muck heaps or such like. In every house are drums, tamburines, and dogs tied, while they have always at their doors one of themselves who is a teacher of writing. When the men of a house strangle anyone the women beat the tamburines and some beat the dogs so that the teacher hears and with the boys' shouts, 'Bark'. Or the teacher tells the boys to recite aloud the alphabet, the Koran, or their sums. The occupants of every house answer them with tamburines and cymbals, like women in a village, and excite the dogs. If the man strangled is a donkey driver no one bothers about him, as happened in Rakka. They seized all the travellers on one road because one of them fancied a garment with a few dirhams carried by a porter. The noose was thrown round his neck and he fainted, but did not die and his belly twitched. The washer of the dead came, the porter

moved though the noose was still on his neck, his senses came back to him, and when he found that he was alone he went to the door of the house and outside with the noose round his neck. A group of men met him, he told his story, so a hue and cry was raised and the stranglers were all taken.

Similar things happened in Kufa and other places. Hammād ur Rāwī mentions those accused of strangling, both tribes, tribesmen, and sectaries : the manner of strangulation, and the names of some of them.

The second account is this :

Some of the stranglers are combiners, so called because they combine strangling with 'giving scent'.¹ On their journeys they carry with them two round stones. If one of them is left alone with one of a band of travellers he asks him to turn his back and then throws a stone at the back of his neck, or he does this while he is praying. If the first stone brains him, he strips him; if the man lifts his head, he smashes his face with the second. He does the same if he finds one asleep or off his guard. Some of them accompanied a man who started from Rai with a girdle on his loins. He never parted from the rest of the caravan and was always on his guard. When they neared the parting of two roads and the company was camped in the open or on the roofs of the khans busied with their own affairs, and the man was off his guard as it was daytime and he was in the midst of his fellows, suddenly the noose was round his neck. Another threw him down as soon as he saw the noose on his neck, jumped on him, and sat on his chest. A third pulled his legs, threw a sheet over him, and said the call to prayer in his ear. One of the caravan got up to sympathize and help but they told him to stop where he was, 'If he sees you he will be ashamed and abashed.' So the caravan moved on without interfering with them and left the man behind. When they were alone with him they took what they wanted, left what they did not want, carried him away, and threw him into the bed of a river.²

The presence of these people has already been noted at Kufa, Rakka, and Rai. One named Rādawaih was well known in Basra. At Medina lived a woman 'Adiya the Less who was one of them and

¹ To give scent is evidently thieves' slang for breaking a man's face with a stone.

² Jāhiz, *Kitāb ul Hayawān*, 2. 96; 6. 129.

was in addition said to be a cannibal. A story told of a Nazzām, the Mu'tazelite theologian shows how notorious these people were. He landed at the Port of Abwāz and took his baggage to a khan. While he sat debating in himself what to do, as he dared not leave his luggage unprotected, there came a knock at the door: 'This,' he said, 'is either a strangler, an enemy, or a messenger from the government.' In 257 a man was discovered in Baghdad who had murdered many woman and buried them in his house. There is nothing to show that he was a strangler by religious profession; as only women are mentioned as his victims he was more probably a criminal pervert.

Most of these men appear to have been drawn from a few tribes. One poet says:—

If you travel among the 'Ijl, go in company; if in Kinda, beware of them
as you fear extinction:
In the sect of the blind man are strangling, deceit, poison, and the making
of stones for throwing.
All of them are bad although their head is Hamida, and Mailla the lady of
the Kisi.
If you are with the two tribes of Bajila then listen. In them is a breaking
that leads to death.
If they determine on strangling a visitor they call to one another about him
with barking and noise.

Another said, 'If life delights you, go not to Kinda.'

Al Jāhiz adds a few explanations. The blind man was Mughīra ibn Sa'īd, a client of Bajila who was executed by Khālīd ul Kasri. To prove the participation of Kinda in these practices he mentions Abū Katba of that tribe who was captured in Kufa, killed, and impaled. Shahrastāni says that both Mughīra and Abū Mansūr belonged to 'Ijl as did the Man with the Two Lovelocks.

It is curious to find women taking such an important part in these religious movements, though many parallels can be found outside Islam. It looks as if orthodoxy had tried to forget their share for they are not mentioned except by al Jāhiz. Hamida was a leader of the extremists and had been a follower of Laila, another extremist of the tribe of Nā'iz. Mailla was the companion or nurse of Abū Mansūr.

Orthodox writers say that these people were not Muslims. One does wonder whether theological hatred has slandered the early sects of the Shi'a; still the evidence seems too good to be rejected entirely.

Some Side-lights on the Character and Court-life of Shah Jahan

BY

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THE very name of the Emperor Shah Jahan conjures up a vision of the Taj, the Peacock-throne, and a lonely tower of the Agra Fort where he died a prisoner of his own son. His life-history is a long tale of romance and tragedy in which love, adventure and pathos abound. It is said that the glamour of the Tajmahal hides many an ugly trait of his character and many unhappy features of his reign—which are revealed in the accounts of the contemporary foreign travellers. We propose to keep clear of controversy, and limit our survey to a few aspects of his character and rule in the light of original Persian authorities, occasionally supplemented by Hindi literary traditions. We shall depict Shah Jahan as he loved to see himself portrayed in his Court-history, *Padshah-nama* which the great minister Sadullah Khan used to read out to the Emperor, and make necessary corrections at his suggestion.

In character the contrast between Akbar and Shah Jahan is more striking than resemblance—the latter was essentially a reactionary with a missionary zeal to exalt Islam by repressing other religions. After his accession to the throne Shah Jahan abolished many un-Islamic innovations of Akbar (e.g. prostration before the throne), restored Hijri Era in the State Calendar, and revived the influence of the orthodox party who hailed him as the real *Mahdi* (Guide), after the dark regime of the anti-Christ, i.e. his grand-father Akbar. During his reign the empire lost to a great extent its national character and became pre-eminently an Islamic state, governed according to the institutes of Muhammad (*Shariyat-i-Muhammadi*). But the character of Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and a profane tradition of age of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzib in one; the latter representing the 'other side of the medal'.

Shah Jahan believed in the merit of even forcible conversion as the Tradition says, 'God marvels at men that are dragged to Paradise with chains.' He spared the rebels on their conversion to Islam, and those who refused his clemency were treated with genuine Turkish brutality. Rank, office and rewards were bestowed on Hindu renegades; even *Jihad*¹ was approved when it was not likely to cause a general commotion among the Hindus. In Kashmir he changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. He prohibited the construction of new temples on the Crown lands of the Empire, and within a few years of his accession 76 Hindu temples in the processes of building were destroyed within the jurisdiction of Benares alone. Some of the Feringi prisoners of Hughly were pardoned on their conversion to Islam while others were allowed to perish in the prison; all their images were broken except two which were thrown into the Jamna. Shah Jahan destroyed a happy picture of Hindu-Muslim unity which even the most optimistic patriot of to-day can hardly imagine. 'In the month of Rabi-us-sani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimbar Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the *Mussalmans* of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus [*ba-Kutar dokhtar me-dehend*] and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Mussalmans were to be buried and Muslim girls were to be burnt according to Hindu custom, after death. The Emperor who is the Shelter of the Faith—ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jogu, a Zamindar of these parts—from whom these despicable customs had originated—through the grace of God, and out of fear, and at the desire of His Majesty (*bim o ummed-i-Hazrat Sahib-qiran Sanî*), with all his kinsmen

¹ Reference: A local officer who had undertaken a '*Jihad*' to convert a remnant of Hindu population of *Darubeki*, 40 miles south of Jalalabad is praised (Waris MS. 107b). Auchal and Incha were given the name Sahibabad and Islamabad respectively (*Pad*, ii, pp. 49, 51); the *Waqia-navis* (News-writer), reports the destruction of temples in Benares, (*ibid.*, i, pp. 451-2); Christian images thrown into the Jamuna (*ibid.*, i, p. 535); Rajah Bakhtawar Kachchawa who had accepted Islam gets Rs. 2,000 in reward (*ibid.*, i, p. 540); at the recommendation of Aurangzib, Premji, the son of the Hindu Rajah of Baglana, named Sadat-mand after conversion, receives a mansab of 1,500 zat, 1,000 sawars (*ibid.*, iii, p. 142).

accepted Islam, and was honoured with the title of Rajah Daulat-mand.'²

Shah Jahan discontinued religious debate, and all coquetting with heathen philosophy; nor did he take any personal interest in the Hindu festivals of *Dewali* and *Rakhi-binding*. He instituted the *Shab-i-barat* as a national festival which was celebrated with much pomp wherever the Emperor happened to stay. In the year 1639 when Shah Jahan was at Lahore, Ali Mardan Khan once solicited permission to arrange a display of illumination in the Persian style in the night of *Shab-i-barat*. On the night of 11th Shaban A.H. 1049 the spacious court-yard of the Public Audience Hall of Lahore was wonderfully illuminated under the skilful management of Ali Mardan who, as it were, made every inch of ground emit light. The Emperor sat on the throne and ordered fire-works to be burnt in the court-yard of the Hall, and also outside, on the plain below the *Jharoak-i-darshan* for the enjoyment of the people at large. 'On this night Rs. 10,000 was distributed in alms to the poor; and Mullah Fazil, and Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti received two hundred ashrafis each, as gifts out of the gold of Weighing (*az zar-i-wazn*).'³ 'The *Milad* on the anniversary of the Prophet was an occasion of great solemnity at Court, and on this day only the Emperor of Hindustan, the Shadow of the Almighty (*Zill-i-Sobhani*), debased himself by descending from the throne, and taking his seat on carpet spread upon the ground. On the night of 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, A.H. 1043, the Emperor ordered a majlis to be held in the Palace (of Agra). A group of scholars, pious men, and Quran-reciters read the Quran, and narrated the virtues and noble actions of the Prophet; rose-water was profusely scattered and perfumes distributed; and trays of food, sweet-meat and haluwa were given to the people. As a token of reverence to this night of solemnity, His Majesty took his seat on a carpet spread on the ground, and made gifts of *Farji* (tout-cloth?), and wrappers (shawl) to the Faqirs . . . Rs. 20,000 in all was distributed in charity to the poor on this occasion.'³

Shah Jahan used to send lavish presents, and gifts of money every year to Mecca and Medina; once a candle-stick (*Qandil*), studded with

¹ *Pad.*, ii, 57.

² *Shab-i-barat* celebrated at Lahor, *Pad.*, iii, pp. 167-8.

³ *Pad.*, i, pp. 539-40.

jewels was presented to the Prophet's tomb; among the jewels, there was one uncut diamond which alone weighed 180 *ratis*.¹

In spite of orthodoxy, Shah Jahan could not completely free himself from some of the popular superstitions of the age. Foremost among these was his regard for astrology. In fixing the auspicious moments of marriage, etc., calculation was made according to Greek and Hindu systems independently, and the Emperor was not satisfied till they reached unanimity. We are told that the *lagna* of Dara's marriage was thus fixed by the astrologers of Greece and Hindustan (*ke mukhtar-i-anjum shanāsiyan-i-Yunan u-Hindustān bud*).² Astrologers once predicted that the Emperor was likely to fall ill, and that this could be averted by a special Weighing (*wazn*)! Accordingly the Emperor was weighed against gold on the eighth Rabi-us-sani, 1043.³ Shah Jahan continued the custom of weighing himself twice every year against gold and silver on his Lunar and Solar birth-days—a Hindu religious practice—*Tula-purush* adopted by Akbar. As this was an incongruity, and a violation of *Shariyat* (religious ordinance of Islam), Abdul Hamid offers an explanation for its retention, and says that it was calculated to take off evil and benefit the poor, and particularly the Ulema class among whom the gifts were distributed. On his Solar Birth-day the Emperor was weighed twelve times against the following articles successively; gold, silver, silk, perfumes, copper, *ruh-i-tutiya* (quick-silver?), drugs, *ghee*, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain and salt; and on Lunar Birth-day eight times against the following; gold, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, and vegetables. The third great festivity of the year was the Nauroz which, in spite of its un-Islamic character, had become sanctified by usage. The Court-life of Shah Jahan was indeed an unbroken round of pomp and festivity which served to alleviate the gloom of reaction. Outwardly his regime was a continuation of the Age of Akbar, though beneath the surface, the strong under-current of reaction was sapping the foundation of the Empire.

A child of the Orient, Shah Jahan could not but have in him an element of mysticism which was inherited by Dara. His hereditary devotion to Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti can be inferred from the fact that in the Court-history a biographical sketch of that saint is

¹ February 1648; Waris MS. 10 b.

² *Pad.* i, p. 458.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

introduced as an auspicious preface to the narrative of his reign. He often received and returned the visits of eminent Sufi teachers of his age. We are told that on December 18, 1634 the Emperor paid a visit to the famous saint Mian Mir in his abode in the neighbourhood of Lahor, and spent sometime in discoursing on the mysteries of Truth and Gnosis.¹ 'On one occasion when singers and jugglers were entertaining the royal assembly, Shaik Nazir who had been invited to Court on account of his fame in working miracles—suddenly fell into ecstasy and called for a glass of water. The shaikh drank a little and passed it on to others; everyone who tasted of it declared it to be pure honey . . . Prince Dara Shukoh and Qazi Muhammad Islam submitted to His Majesty that in Agra the Shaikh had in their presence once transformed a handkerchief into a pigeon (*kabutar*); further they added that once the Shaikh gave into their hands a blade of grass but out of the fold came out a worm into which the blade of grass had transformed itself.'²

The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of transition from the enlightened Nationalism of Akbar to the gloomy orthodox reaction of the days of Aurangzib. However his Court remained a happy meeting ground of Hindu and Muslim cultures, and literary merit and genius were liberally rewarded without any discrimination of creed. Though it is in vain that one looks for any Hindu names in Abdul Hamid's notice of poets and learned men of the age, he has preserved for us in scattered passages of *Padshah-nama*, an interesting picture of Shah Jahan's patronage to Hindu poets, musicians, and intellectual prodigies. 'On September 14, 1629, Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan brought to the Court two Tirhut (in North Bihar) Brahmans. Ten newly composed Hindi (*Sanskrit*) stanzas recited before them only once by ten different poets in succession—could be exactly repeated by each of these two Brahmans in the same order; besides they could compose extempore ten stanzas more on those very topics and in the self-same metres. . . . His Majesty bestowed *khilats* on them with Rs. 1,000 in reward to each.³ At his Court Jagannath Pandit, the famous author of *Ras Gangadhar*, wrote a poem in praise of Asaf Khan (*Asaf-lahari*), and a *Kavya* '*Jagadābharanam*', the hero of which is Prince Dara Shukoh. This Jagannath is referred to in the *Padshah-nama*, as

¹ *Pad.* ii, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 268-9.

whole amount Rs. 4,500 given to him in reward on March 14, 1636.¹ What strikes us most is the Emperor's patronage to an Armenian, Zulqarnin Feringi. He had written a book in the name of the Emperor and this having met with approval, he was given a robe of honour and Rs. 5,000 in cash. This man seems to have been an expert in Greek astrology and the 'book' referred to is perhaps a horoscope, though the text does not warrant such interpretation (*taṣnifi ke ba-nam-i-nami sakhtah bud*).² This Armenian secured a mansab of 500 zat, 300 sawars.³

The reign of Shah Jahan suffers by comparison with that of Akbar in every way, except in its achievements in architecture and painting. In administration it produced no first-rate genius except Sadulluah Khan, and in arms only commanders of mediocre ability like Nusrat Jang and Zafar Jang. Rajah Raghunath and other capable Hindu Diwans were kept down to their subordinate position, because the Shaikhs and Sayyids did not like the rise of a second Todar Mal. The author of *Amal-i-Salih* says, 'When the servant of His Majesty represented that it ought to be a custom to appoint a sufficient number of pious Muslims in the Revenue Department, and that so far as possible the Hindus should not be allowed to have a preponderance in offices, so that Sayyids, Shaikhs and men of virtue and piety might not be turned back by them—Rai Manidas was transferred out of this consideration from the *Tan* section of the Treasury and Mullah Abdul Latif Lashkar Khani who was wise in affairs and pure in faith was appointed in his place.'⁴ Similarly no Hindu general rose to the rank of 7,000 zat during his long reign of thirty years. In the field of letters Abdul Hamid and Kambo were poor successors of Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin; while as poets Haji Muhammad Qudsi and Saida Gilani were but sorry figures by the side of Faizi and Urfi Shirazi. According to expert art-critics, painters of Shah Jahan's court such as Manohar, Nadir Samargandi, and others were even superior in skill to their masters of the Age of Akbar. The Album of Dara Shukoh occupies the same position and has the same interest in the history of the Indo-Persian Painting as the incomparable Taj in the history of Indo-Muslim Architecture. The taper of the Mughal glory indeed burnt brightest before final extinction.

¹ *Pad.*, ii, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, iii, p. 138.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 748.

⁴ Kambu's *Amal-i-Salih*, pp. 513, 518; *Padshah-nama* says that Abdul Latif Gujrati was appointed on the demise of Rai Mani Das on 2nd Rabi-ul-awal, 1042.

The East India Company, Its Origin and Growth prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy—(Continued)

BY

HARIHAR DAS

ON April 12, 1686, King James had granted the Company a new charter which confirmed the rights and privileges conferred by the previous charters. It contained a new provision in the right to establish a mint at Madras. With a view to defining more clearly the civil and military administration entrusted to the President of the newly formed head-station at Bombay, Sir John Child, the first to fill this post, was appointed 'Captain-General and Admiral of all their forces by sea and land in the northern parts of India from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia.' The militant character given to this office was the first public notification that the Directors of the Company's affairs in London had other views in their minds than those of sale and barter. For a brief space it seemed as if the King were resolved to give them the support of his Government. In July 1686 he sanctioned the issue of a Royal Proclamation requiring all the Company's servants and other English subjects who had taken service with any of the Indian Powers to return to the settlements, a step which had only one meaning as heralding a state of war. He also approved of the despatch of a strong squadron carrying a body of troops equipped by the Company under the command of Captain Nicholson, an officer of the Royal Navy. He also gave commissions to several other naval officers to assist the Company as commanders of their vessels, requiring of all of them an engagement to 'take care that the tenths of all prizes taken and condemned should be paid to the Crown.'¹ The declared object of this expedition was to retaliate for injuries and loss of privileges in Bengal. The instructions of the Court to their local representatives were to commence hostilities with the Mughal and the Nawab of Dacca, and in the first place to capture the port of Chittagong. They were also to conclude a treaty with the king of Arracan.

¹ See p. 325 of *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 14th Report, part 17.

Jagannath Kalāwant (Musician). The following passage of Abdul Hamid shows that Jagannath also composed a panegyric in Sanskrit on the Emperor Shah Jahan—which may some day come to light : ‘On the 22nd Rabi-us-sanj, A.H. 1044. . . Jagannath Kalāwant presented at Bhimbar twelve literary pieces (*taṣnifat*) which in Hindustani they call Dharand (?). These songs (poems ?) were composed in the name of His Majesty who became so pleased that Jagannath was weighed against silver and the whole amount Rs. 4,500 was given to him in reward.¹ This poet-musician was originally given the title of *Kavi-rāy* which was afterwards changed into *Mahā-kavi-rāy*. In the above passage Abdul Hamid apparently uses the word Hindustani in the sense of Sanskrit; because Jagannath who was a Tailanga Brahman (as we learn from a Sanskrit source), composed songs only in the Karnāṭaka language. Elsewhere he says, ‘in this delightful age Jagannath Mahā-kavi-rāy heads the list of authors.’² But his charming songs are written in *Karnāṭak language*, and the people of these tracts owing to their ignorance of this language, cannot understand the meaning and have to be content only with melody and tune of these songs.’ This places the identity of Jagannath Pandit beyond challenge and also incidentally proves that the above-mentioned twelve pieces of composition were neither songs nor were they written in Hindustani (i.e. Urdu or Hindi as we understand it) but in Sanskrit. Another great Sanskrit scholar, Kavindrachārya Sarasvati also enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan and Prince Dara. A list of his collection of Sanskrit works has been published in the Baroda Oriental Series and we learn from this source that Kavindra enjoyed the friendship of the enlightened Crown Prince. According to the authors of the History of Hindi Literature (*Misra-bandhu-binaḍ* in Hindi), he was a Brahman of Benares, and besides some Sanskrit works of merit, he wrote a Hindi poem of 160 stanzas, entitled *Kavindra-kalpalata* in which he praises the Emperor and his sons, and describes the splendour of the New Delhi, Shahjanabad, and the happiness of its inhabitants.³ Kavindra is also the author of a

¹ *Pad*, ii, p. 56.

² *Sar-daftar-i-musānnifān dar in zamān . . .* ‘Jagannath Mahā-Kavi-rāy ast. . . *Lekin az an ru-i-ke in naghmat . . . ba-zabān-i-Karnāṭak shuyu dast*, etc. *Pad*, iii, p. 5.

³ *M. B.*, ii, p. 453.

philosophical work *Yoga-vāsishṭa-sar*¹ and he was a familiar figure at Court as early as 1652. ‘Kavindar interviewed His Majesty (at Lahor), and received Rs. 1,500 in reward on the 2nd Zilqada, A.H. 1062.’²

Shah Jahan was himself a thorough master of the Hindi vernacular, and appreciated Hindi poetry like his illustrious grandfather. Some poets seemed to have been in the enjoyment of hereditary patronage of the Royal House. One of these was Harināth (or Harnāth), son of Akbar’s court-poet Narhari Mahāpātra; on January 29, 1640, he received in reward from Shah Jahan, one horse, one elephant and one lakh of *Dams* (40 d—1 Rupee).³ According to a Hindi tradition, while Harināth was returning from the darbar with these gifts, a Brahman beggar read an extempore couplet in his praise, and asked for reward. The poet gave him a lakh of Dams.⁴ Khafi Khan says that once the Emperor gave a female elephant and Rs. 2,000 in cash to a Hindi poet who recited a poem in praise of him (*Kabīl ba-nam-i-Padshah guftah gusarad*).⁵ However the most serviceable among the Hindu literary satellites of the Court was the poet-diplomat Sundar Kavi-rāy who is several times mentioned in *Padshah-nama* in connection with his missions to Hindu rebels, Jujhar Singh Bundela and Rajah Jagat Singh of Jammu.⁶ He was a Brahman of Gwalior, and is the author of an erotic poem *Sundar-shringar* in which we are told that he resided at the Court of Shah Jahan, and that he at first enjoyed the title of Kavi-rāy which was afterwards exalted into Mahā-kavi-rāy.⁷ Śiromaṇi, Miśra and Vedanga Rāy, Hindi authors of *Urbashi* and *Parsiprakas* respectively, are also said to have enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan.⁸ Among the Court musicians, Lal Khan was most popular for his unrivalled superiority in singing *Dhrupad*. He was the son-in-law of Bilas, son of Tansen of Akbar’s Court. Lal Khan’s sons Khush-hal and Visram were equally proficient in this art; the former used to compose songs in the name of the Emperor (*ba-nam-i-nami khediw-iqbal taṣnifat me-bandad*).⁹ Lal Khan was given the title of *Guna-samudra*, and an elephant in reward* on October 8, 1642.¹⁰ Another Musician Darang Khan was weighed against silver and the

¹ *M. B.*, ii, p. 454.

² *Pad*, iii, p. 177.

³ *Muntakhab*, ii, p. 707.

⁴ *M. B.*, ii, pp. 454-5.

⁵ *Pad*, iii, p. 5.

⁶ *Waris Ma.*, p. 181.

⁷ *M. B.*, ii, p. 470.

⁸ *Pad*, ii, 94; iii, p. 238.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

At the same time similar instructions were sent to the west coast where the Company's agents at Surat and Bombay were ordered 'to make and always keep a strict confederacy with Sambujee Rajah who is a warlike prince and to make such terms with him as shall now and for many years to come preserve his interest.' This policy which was not devoid of astuteness received the definite support of the King in Council. It does not seem to have occurred to any of the promoters of this expedition that it might fail in its object. No attempt at negotiation with the officers of the Mughal was to be made before striking the first blow. The attack on Chittagong was to precede the dispatch of letters of remonstrance for past injuries to the Mughal and to the Governor of Dacca.

The hopes reposed in this resort to force were destined to disappointment for the attack on Chittagong failed. This caused naturally enough, the Directors at home much dissatisfaction but nonetheless they resolved to persevere in their hostile measures against the Mughal declaring that they would not conclude a peace until all their legitimate demands were satisfied. A temporary arrangement was come to with the Nawab of Dacca, but its terms were soon broken and the strife was resumed.

Meanwhile the centre of interest had shifted from the Bay of Bengal to the west coast. Sir John Child had been waiting for good news from the Bay before committing himself to definite action. Owing to the critical relations with the governor of Surat he, accompanied by his Council, left Surat on April 25, 1687 for Bombay where he arrived a week later. Whether wisely or not, he then resorted to aggressive measures sending out such ships as were available to intercept and capture all the Mughal ships returning from the Persian Gulf. Thereupon the Surat Governor professed willingness to negotiate on the subject of English grievances; but in the meantime Child had opened communications with the Maratha chief Sambhuji, in order to obtain his aid against the Mughal. During these negotiations news reached Child that a treaty had been concluded with the Mughal authorities in Bengal. This was early in the year 1689, and in face of this situation, he had to drop the Marathi project and seek an accommodation with the Surat Governor. He presented a list of grievances, but at the same time he moved with all the naval force at his disposal to Swally Bay in the hope of rendering that official more submissive. This step had the contrary effect to

Muktar Khan retorted by seizing those representatives of the Company who had remained at Surat as well as their Indian brokers, casting them all into prison. The immediate object of Sir John Child's step was thus thwarted, and the situation was rendered more acute than it had been.

Child had gone too far to retreat without making a further effort to induce or compel the Governor to adopt conciliatory measures. He accordingly fitted out all the vessels at his disposal and sent them to sea with orders to seize all ships flying the Mughal flag. In this manner over forty ships, large and small, were taken and carried into Bombay as prizes. It was stated that these vessels, with others previously captured, represented with their cargoes over a million sterling. To the requests to restore the ships, Child gave defiant answers, but unfortunately for him he had miscalculated his relative strength with that of the Emperor. At that juncture Aurangzib found his hands free to deal with the English traders by the final overthrow of the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golconda in the Deccan. He was in no mood for half-measures, and he ordered his Governors to expel the English from his dominions after they had seized or destroyed their property. This order could not be disobeyed, and the Mughal Admiral, Sidhi Yacout Khan, occupied the island of Bombay. At the same time the factory at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast was also seized by the local Governor. These humiliations were greatly aggravated by financial losses. Sir John Child had borrowed by order of the Company a sum of not less than £400,000, and he was not in a position to repay any part of it. The expense of the war was stated to be above £400,000 while the indirect loss to the Crown and Company's joint-stock from the interruption of trade was computed at not less than one million sterling.¹ Humiliated in the field of arms and in diplomacy, seriously embarrassed in its financial position all round, the fortunes of the Old Company were at their lowest point when the Crown was transferred from James II to William III.

Having failed in his ambitious policy, Sir John Child had to adopt the more modest course suitable to the times. It was necessary to placate and not to irritate any further the Great Mughal. As he could not dictate terms, he resorted to the humble rôle of a petitioner, and

¹ See C. O. II Public Record Office.

craved for favour. In December 1689 he sent two factors, George Weldon and Abraham Navarro, the latter a Jew, to the court of Aurangzib, and he associated with them a Surat merchant named Miah Nezamie who was supposed to be acquainted with the etiquette to be observed in approaching the Emperor and his high officials. On arrival they were refused an audience, but by bribing some of the ministers they were admitted to the presence, only however to encounter a very chilly reception. The Emperor required time to consider what was the proper course. He was not opposed to the foreign trade, and he was also very desirous of securing safety for his ships and subjects on the high seas.

For these reasons he decided to give his ministers leave to negotiate an arrangement with the envoys. They had to encounter other opposition than that of the Mughals. A Dutch agent, one Mr. Baroon, made strong efforts to prejudice the Emperor against the English whom he pictured in a bad light, but Aurangzib seems to have judged the Dutch at their true value as a race of time-servers. The Emperor granted the terms of peace on his own conditions which the envoys were glad enough to accept. Among them were the payment by the Company of a fine of Rs. 150,000, the restoration of all ships and goods taken by the English, and the summary dismissal of Sir John Child who was not to be allowed to remain in India. Sir John had died on February 4, 1690, before the envoys returned from Aurangzib's camp. The Council having agreed to the terms of the peace, the Mughal Admiral evacuated Bombay and in the same year the Company's settlements in Bengal were restored. It was then that Job Charnock took up his permanent settlement at Chuttanuttee, the site of the present City of Calcutta.

The whole of the trouble connected with this disastrous war with the Mughal appears to have been due to certain over-ruling members of the Directors' Court at home, Sir Josiah Child in particular, who 'usurped such a despotic power and sovereign authority over all their affairs here as he has taught his emissaries to assume and practice abroad.' The political situation in England was not fully realized at first by the Company's servants at Bombay, who apparently thought that the quarrel between James and his Parliament was a mere passing phase. The seriousness, however, became gradually clear and uncertainty regarding the issue of the Revolution grew greater as the Company's

numerous enemies circulated false reports concerning events in England.

The accession of William and Mary brought new anxieties to the Company who naturally supposed the King would favour the Dutch East India Company. They did not dream that a rival company more formidable to their interests than the Dutch, was to arise in England. On May 7, 1689, England declared war against France, and a treaty between King William and the States-General was concluded with the object of restricting the resources of the enemy. For financial reasons William now favoured the London Company. This enabled them for the time being to deal more effectually with the interlopers to whom little mercy was shown. They, in return, attempted to influence public opinion in England against the Company and to injure their exclusive interests.

The support given to the Company by both Charles II and James II had induced them to aim at sovereign power in India and on that footing deal with the Moguls and the Marathas. This fact becomes clear in a new declaration by the Court of Directors transmitted by them to India for the guidance of the Bombay Council. It is in the following terms :—'The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade ; 'tis that must make us a nation in India ; without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us ; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their Government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade. And the last, viz., revenue, is the soul and life of all the rest. Without that they could not subsist, notwithstanding they have the Spice Islands, Japan and most of the Pepper Trade entirely to themselves.' The policy thus set forth was, however, frustrated by events consequent upon the Revolution and William's accession. The oppression practised, and the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Company had produced wide dissatisfaction years before the Revolution. In the *Memoirs of Papillon* we read as follows :—'In 1680, when interlopers becoming numerous and many desired that the trade should be thrown open, Papillon published a pamphlet strenuously maintaining that it could be pursued far better by an extensive joint

stock company and his arguments were sound in support of his pamphlet.¹ James Mill also declared that the 'project of opening a subscription for a new Joint, and establishing a rival East India Company was disclosed as early as the year 1682-3. The scheme was so much in favour with the sentiments of the nation, that it was taken into consideration by the King-in-Council.' The interlopers, now become a powerful and compact body, wished to see Sir Josiah Child's autocracy overthrown, that thereby they might obtain a part of the trade monopolized by the Company.

Through the efforts of the interlopers a Committee of the House of Commons on January 16, 1690, expressed the opinion that a new Company should be established by Parliament. The following year the House itself addressed the King asking him to dissolve the Company and incorporate a new one. His Majesty thereupon referred the matter to a Committee of the Privy Council.

The years 1692 and 1693 were marked by the struggle between what we may now begin to call the Old Company and those promoting a new corporation. By a vote in the House of Commons it was resolved to dissolve the existing Company and an address was presented to the King praying him 'to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to establish another Company for the better preserving the trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his Majesty shall see fit.' The Old Company offered strenuous opposition and insisted that their constitution could not be legally amended. So the matter was delayed till the next Parliamentary session. Macaulay gives a vivid account of the struggle. He records how Child and his fellow Directors became seriously alarmed. They had inadvertently omitted, to pay at the proper time a tax lately imposed on their stock. This omission, by the strict letter of the law, actually forfeited their charter, and public feeling ran so strongly against them that the Government would have been widely supported had they taken advantage of it. Child, as the leading spirit in the Company's councils, was now extremely unpopular and fearing lest the interests under his care would suffer through him kept discreetly out of the public notice, and his place was ostensibly

¹ See p. 80 of *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon*, by A. F. W. Papillon, Reading, 1887.

EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH 59

taken by a 'near kinsman, Sir Thomas Cook, one of the greatest merchants of London, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of Colchester.'¹

During the session of 1693-4 the promoters of the New Company petitioned Parliament to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the unpaid tax. So successfully, however, did the Old Company plead their case that in spite of all opposition they obtained a new charter. Enquiry afterwards showed that they expended at this time a sum of £170,000 presumably in 'bribing courtiers and members of Parliament.'² In spite of all their charters the position on the Old Company was never more precarious than now. In 1695 Parliament held an enquiry into a charge of corruption brought against Sir Thomas Cook and several others for 'diverse indirect practices.' It was discovered that over £100,000 had been spent in secret service. Among the recipients were certain high public officials and the Duke of Leeds, better known as the Earl of Danby. It was indeed asserted at one time that King William himself had received £10,000, although it was claimed that the money was used for the public service. The Old Company asserted that their opponents might equally have been accused of corruption. Such practices had apparently increased since the Revolution. Lord Halifax, writing from London to Lord Hyde on September 27, 1681, mentions the Company's intention of giving a 'yearly present to the King of £10,000.'³ They 'expended great sums of the Company's money, which stands charg'd in their Books under the title of Secret services; besides the several 10,000 Guineas which they did present to the two late kings.'⁴ In spite, however, of extensive bribery it was felt that the King could not be advised to renew the Company's powers without making some concessions to their opponents. So the Directors reluctantly acquiesced in some very important modifications.

Returning now to the Company's affairs in India, we learn that Sir John Goldeborough was sent out as 'Commissary General and Supervisor'. He arrived at Madras on November 23, 1691-2. Soon

¹ See vol. v, p. 2377 of *Macaulay's History of England*, edited by Prof. C. H. Firth (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London).

² See *The Somers Collection of Tracts*, vol. xv, B.M.

³ See vol. i, p. 63 of *Hyde Correspondence*, B.M.

⁴ See *Johnson Papers*, pp. 22, 185, B.M.

after Sir John Gayer was appointed to succeed President Harris as Governor of Bombay where he arrived on May 17, 1694. Both were sent to strengthen the Company's position by asserting their rights against local abuses and the action of interlopers. They were to put into practice the Directors' axiom that the 'Ballancing of Power is the Truest Art of Government', that is to say, consistent and persistent shifting from one side to the other as the interest of the moment prompted, which has been a marked feature ever since in English policy, not only in Asia but in Europe.

At this period the Company was called upon to cope with a new and unexpected problem which not merely imposed a severe strain on its resources, but entailed bitter and long drawn-out controversies and disputes with the officers of the Mughal Emperor. While recognizing the embarrassing position in which the Company was placed through no fault or complicity of its own, it is indisputable that the latter had a legitimate grievance and that the anger of the Emperor was quite intelligible and altogether natural. The growth of piracy in these latter years, the attendant outrages in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea of which Indian subjects of all ranks were the victims, imparted a new aspect to the efforts to promote trade between Europe and India, and darkened the prospect of success at the very moment when it seemed as if the difficulties attending such an undertaking were overcome.

The early years of the seventeenth century had witnessed a great development in naval activity. All the principal European nations had followed the examples of Portugal and Spain in endeavouring to establish trade centres and naval stations along the coasts of Southern and Eastern Asia. There was keen competition between them, and hostile collisions were not infrequent. But piracy was not in evidence. The ships of the country powers were not molested and had free passage so far at least as any of the Europeans were involved. All were agreed that for success in their demands for favours from the Emperor or other potentates, a good reputation was the first essential. This condition of things underwent no change till the seventeenth century was drawing near its end. The change might not have occurred at all but for the appearance of the interlopers.

All the Europeans were monopolists, that is to say, they traded through the agency of specially chartered companies which denied the right of participation to those of their nationals who were outside

their privileged association. This monopoly could not be long respected, and the reports of the wealth of the East substantiated by the large profits of each voyage to the Company's shareholders incited many adventurous individuals to commission ships for the Eastern trade on their own account. These men also were traders and nothing else. They refrained from violence. Their object was to propitiate the good will of the peoples whom they sought in trade. The Company treated these encroachers on their privileges as open enemies, and resorted to all the means in their power to extirpate them; but as they were not concerned in their quarrels the country powers looked on with indifference at this conflict of authority between two classes whom they regarded as identical.

After the union between the Dutch and the English was brought about by the accession of William III to the throne on the fall of the Stuart dynasty, and more especially after the battle of La Hogue which began the decline of France as a naval power, there was a marked falling off in the openings left for naval men, and moreover this decrease in employment was accentuated by the financial exhaustion felt by all the powers as the consequence of the long wars. In such a situation it was not surprising that some of the bolder or more reckless spirits nurtured in warlike scenes should have turned to those lawless adventures which are generally classified under the heading of piracy. Just as the affair of the interlopers was showing diminution these new agents of mischief appeared upon the scene, and for a time made the Indian Ocean the principal centre of their efforts. These men were not traders, they were the despoilers of those who carried on trade; and as they assailed the weakest, it was the Indian and Arab ships trading or carrying pilgrims to the ports of the Red Sea that were their chief victims. An entirely new position was thus created to which the Mughal authorities could not be in complication different, and their natural indignation produced a serious threatening to put an end to all trade intercourse with any Europeans whatever.

Biddulph tells us that the greatest sufferers from piracy were the English, because the majority of the pirates were of English blood and pirate captains of other nationalities often flew the English flag. Thus the Mughal officials, unable to distinguish rogues from honest traders, held the Company's servants responsible for all piratical

misdeeds. The following extract dated January 2, 1698, written by the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal, amply confirms Biddulph:—'The men on board the corsair's ships being chiefly composed of Englishmen. In fact, it is believed that all Englishmen are corsairs, who sell in Bombay all they can steal at sea. If our frigates meet them at sea they produce the Company's papers, and we can do nothing with them: but when they come across our merchantmen they rob them, and the Company then excuse themselves by saying the ships are pirates.'¹

In September 1695, a famous pirate named Henry Every² captured two vessels. One, the *Fateh Muhammad*, the property of Abdool Guffoor and the other, the *Gang-i-Sawai* belonging to the Mughal. The latter was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca and had on board a number of Mohammedan ladies including a royal princess. They were brutally treated. 'Several of the women threw themselves into the sea or slew themselves with daggers, the last piece of silver was sought out and carried on board the *Fancy*, the last jewel torn from the passengers and crew, and then the *Gang Sawai* was left to find its way to Surat as it best could.' The ship was reported to have had treasure aboard to the value of fifty-two lakhs of rupees and the pirate crews are said to have received prize money amounting to about £1,000.³

The news of this outrage caused great excitement at Surat where it was regarded as an insult to the Mohammedan faith. The popular anger became uncontrollable.⁴ The Mughal Governor, Itimad Khan, was compelled to place guards on the Company's factory and warehouse. President Annesley, his Council and other Englishmen were confined till the end of June, 1696. Soon after news of another piracy by Every arrived and the position of the English became

¹ See p. 373 of *The Portuguese in India*, by F. C. Danvers.

² His real name was Bridgman and he was the son of a trading captain of Plymouth. He had served in the navy and in that capacity made several voyages to the West Indies. Every was an educated man and during his piratical career in the Indian seas he only attacked Indian ships. After amassing a large fortune he returned to England, and died in extreme poverty in Devonshire. See pp. 17-31 of Biddulph's *The Pirates of Malabar*.

³ See Notes on Piracy in the Indian Ocean in the *Indian Antiquary*, by S. C. Hill.

⁴ See Sarker, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v.

EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH

worse. Annesley and Sir John Gayer from Bombay complained to the Governor, the Emperor and his ministers, protesting the Company's innocence and demanding the release of its servants. Sir John even offered armed ships to convoy pilgrims to Jeddah and Mocha on condition that the Mughal would grant exclusive trading privileges to the Company. The appeal had some effect as an answer came from the Imperial camp asking the English, French and Dutch to scour the seas and destroy the pirates, but continuing the embargo on all trade till the innocence or guilt of the London Company should be produced.¹

At last piracies became so frequent that Sir John Gayer wrote home to the Directors pointing out how greatly they were injuring the Company's trade and reputation. In 1697 the pirates took a Turkish ship, the *Great Mahomet*, belonging to Hussain Hamedon containing treasure estimated at Rs. 18,50,000. The crews shared £800 per man. The following year a Captain Kidd took an Armenian vessel, the *Quedah Merchant*, with enormous booty. For this he and six others were tried and hanged in 1701.² Matters became so bad that the Governor of Surat placed guards on the English, Dutch and French factories until they should agree to indemnify the Indian merchants for their losses. Sir John Gayer protested in vain. The Governor, acting on the Mughal's order, presented the Company's factory with an ultimatum requiring compensation for losses sustained from pirates, an undertaking to clear the seas of them and the provision of sufficient convoys for the pilgrim ships. The Company was just as anxious as the Emperor himself to destroy the marauders; did not, however, possess the means of doing so.

This fact, perhaps, has not been appreciated by the commentators of the early voyages of the East India Company. Their ships had means of self-defence in guns and gunners, but they were not really equipped for warlike purposes. Their range of action was strictly limited. They had no halting stations on the route to India. There were available to them no depôts for arms, ammunition or stores. Moreover they carried cargoes and were to receive others at either Surat or Bombay. Their mission was to reach their destination as

¹ See Forrest, *Selections of State Papers*.

² Lord Birkenhead, *The Famous Trials in History*.

speedily as possible and not to dally on the way. They were not ordered to chase pirates but to avoid them.

On the other hand the pirates were not embarrassed by any consideration of cargoes. They were equipped for war, and when they plundered their prizes they did not burden themselves with any heavy plunder. Their attention was given to treasure, jewels, luxuries and such stores in the shape of food or ammunition, as they might have need of. They sailed light in anticipation of fight or flight. But over and above those advantages they possessed another in the acquisition of stations and depôts along the coast of Madagascar and at Johanna. Here they were quite secure against the efforts of the Company's vessels, so secure indeed that the latter never dreamt of molesting them in their strong and secret lairs obtained by formal conventions with the local chiefs. It required a regular naval force to root them out. The Company did not possess it. The four frigates sent by the English Government to accompany Sir William Norris were the first squadron fit to cope with these sea marauders and to strike home against them in their hiding places and depôts where they not merely accumulated their plunder but acquired in continually increasing quantities the supplies for fresh depredations. The Mughal Emperor in his wrath might not acquit the servants of the Company of blame, but in reality they were helpless. It was an affair quite outside their power and responsibility and referable to the British navy alone. They could, therefore, only temporize to gain time. The Emperor was imperative; the English must either give the guarantees demanded or be expelled. An armed Mughal force was sent to blockade and, if necessary, attack the Surat Factory. All the persons connected with the Factory's operations in the city were arrested, publicly whipped and imprisoned. The Dutch promptly surrendered to the Governor's demands and, in spite of Gayer's opposition, so did the English, but only when their factory was surrounded and the lives of the occupants threatened. Finally, English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy and signed bonds jointly agreeing to make good all future losses. This was the darkest moment in the Company's fortunes at Surat, their trade being almost wiped out as an indirect consequence of piratical activities. The Portuguese were not included in the responsibility for guarding the seas as their sea-borne commerce had by this time become almost extinguished. The

authorities at home contributed little to the suppression of piracy which, we have it on Mr. Hill's authority, continued till the year 1721.

Commenting on this period Professor Sarkar suggests that 'all these troubles could have been avoided and an amicable settlement made with the Delhi Government, if the European nations that traded in India could have come to some agreement with the Emperor as to their remuneration for policing the Indian Ocean and organized some concerted action against the pirates. But the escort hire offered by the Emperor was too niggardly; the Dutch plotted against the English at the court of the Surat Governor; the English themselves were a house divided against itself. . . .'

At this period the British Government having been led under the guidance of the new King, William of Orange, to become a party to the Grand Alliance against France found itself in great difficulties to procure the means for the prosecution of hostilities on the Continent from which England had rigidly abstained for the better part of two centuries. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the affairs of the East India Company were thrust into the background as much as possible, and that their views and interests were far from attracting public attention. This position of things provided their rivals among private merchants and interlopers with the opportunity that they had long been seeking, to undermine and, if possible, to supersede the privileged status which the Company had enjoyed from the commencement of the seventeenth century now drawing towards its close. A warning of what was coming was afforded when in 1696-7 the Company failed to obtain Parliamentary sanction for their charter, and for the rights they had long held under it. Not merely did they meet with refusal in the House of Commons, but the attendant circumstances compelled them to recognize that a hostile association with powerful influences behind it was set upon supplanting them, and usurping their place. Promoters of the proposed New Company started active propaganda against the monopolies enjoyed by the Old Company and the latter retaliated with a number of pamphlets. Each side did its best to obtain the concessions desired. One clever pamphleteer on the Old Company's side thus quaintly argued:—'the pulling down this Company to set up a new one, may be as unsuccessful, as it would be to grub up a flourishing well-grown orchard, in the strength and prime time of its bearing fruit, to plant a new orchard in

the same place, in hopes to have more and better cyder: whereas a new plantation yields little fruit and the worst cyder.¹

The war of polemics between the contesting rivals continued without flagging, but in the year 1698 the private merchants took a definite step by renewing their application to Parliament. The Government took advantage of the opportunity to reveal its own views by announcing that it had pressing need of a loan of £2,000,000 and that it would regard favourably the claims of those who provided that sum. The London Company immediately offered a loan of £700,000 at 4 per cent, a low rate of interest certainly, but an amount insufficient for the needs of the Government. Notwithstanding the official attitude the House of Commons showed a disposition to confirm the offer by granting the Company the exclusive trading rights which it claimed as the condition of its loan. Faced with the prospect of failure the new Association gathering up all its resources offered to raise the sum of two millions as required by the Government, but on the other hand it fixed the interest at the higher rate of 8 per cent, claiming at the same time the concession of exclusive rights with regard to the Indian trade. This offer satisfied the needs of the Government, and those who made it were therefore assured of official support. A bill was consequently introduced in Parliament in their favour, and on the London Company presenting a petition against it, they were informed that if they would provide the necessary sum on the same terms as their opponents, their privileges would be confirmed and continued. It is not clear why the Old Company declined this offer, but circumstances being what they were, they should have realized that their refusal entailed their inevitable defeat. The House of Commons thereupon passed the Bill, and the House of Lords after full deliberation did likewise, the bill thus becoming law with the King's assent on July 5, 1698.

Although the Old Company would not strain its resources by undertaking the large loan stipulated for the King's Government it made a strenuous fight in the House of Lords for the preservation of what it deemed its juridical rights and position. It was represented by two of the most eminent counsel of the day, Sir Thomas Powis and

¹ *Some Consideration Offered Touching the East India Affairs*, pamphlet, Bodleian.

EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH 67

Sir Bartholomew Shower, who expatiated on what the Company had accomplished in increasing the wealth of the nation by developing the trade with India under its original charter several times confirmed and renewed. To this the opposing counsel responded that its rights were held under a terminal condition of three years' notice, that it was *ultra vires* for the King to grant without the sanction of Parliament exclusive rights, and that such rights being based on past and present expenditure of money would, were they granted, have no moral sanction.

By this Act a Corporation was created to which the King might grant a charter with the sanction of the Legislature. The subscribers to the loan which provided the foundation of the new arrangement were to form a corporate body under the style of the General Society. The next step was the appointment by His Majesty of Commissioners to receive subscriptions, and books were opened to that effect at Mercers' Hall in Cheapside on Thursday, July 14, 1698, at 9 a.m. The list was closed on Saturday, July 16, when the whole amount had been subscribed. Twenty-four persons were appointed Trustees for the General Society and the same number chosen as Directors of the New Company.¹ The constitution was similar to that of the Old Company. There were many distinguished subscribers to the loan and among them the Commissioners of the Treasury who, in order to encourage the public, placed a sum of £10,000 in the name of the King. Sir William Wilson Hunter in his book gives the impression that the King himself contributed this, but the transaction was, in actual fact, between the Treasury and the Company.² The Old Company, with astute foresight, invested through John Dubois £315,000, thus becoming the largest shareholder and most influential partner in the General Society. This stroke secured half the trade of India for the Old Company.

On September 5, a royal charter was sealed in favour of 'The English Company trading to the East Indies.' It contained important clauses. The New or English Company was empowered to trade to the extent of their capital, to augment their capital stock and erect Courts of Judicature in India as the Old Company had done. One

¹ See *London Gazette*, July 11, 18, 25; August 8, 1698.

² See p. 136 of *John Company* by Sir William Foster and compare it with p. 318, vol. II, of *A History of British India*, by Sir W. W. Hunter.

highly important provision contained in the charter was that a duty of 5 per cent on all Indian imports should be ear-marked for the maintenance of ambassadors appointed by the King on the nomination of the Company. Parliament had now established its right to control the terms governing the Indian trade and from this time forward important changes in the Company's constitution required legislative sanction. The New Company was granted a Coat of Arms with the motto *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*—'a clever intimation that the Company's privileges rested alike on a royal charter and an Act of Parliament.'¹

Within a few days after the charter was granted, the Company proposed to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mughal and subsequently nominated Sir William Norris, Bart., M.P. The Old Company, having watched these proceedings with grave anxiety, sent information of them to their President and Council at Fort St. George. They pointed out that Norris' mission would, in their opinion, injure English trade in India and expressed the hope that with the help of their own agents they might frustrate the designs of the New Company. At the same time they intimated a desire to send out Dr. Charles Davenant, M.P., 'a person of eminent parts and experience.'² Similar information was sent also to the other agents in India; but ultimately the proposal was dropped.

The New Company, before their Ambassador's departure, appointed Presidents for the three chief seats of trade in India. They were—for Bengal, Sir Edward Littleton; for Masulipatam, Mr. John Pitt; and for Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite. These were invested with Consular rank that they might have a better standing than the Presidents of the Old Company. Early in January, 1698, Sir Edward Littleton received his commission and instructions. He was to enquire as to the trade privileges enjoyed by the English throughout the Mughal's dominions, the *phirmaunds* on which these were based and to find out if they ought to be increased. The Court of Directors

¹ See p. 27 of *Relics of the East India Company*.

² Dr. Davenant was the son of Sir William Davenant the poet. He became a Commissioner of Excise during the reign of James II; and his book on the *Balance of Trade* contained many libels on the Ministry. He was a member of the House of Commons, but never made his mark as a speaker. See vol. II, p. 396 of *Hyde Correspondence*, edited by Singer, B.M. See also pp. 139, 154-5 of *Letter Book* 10, India Office.

desired information and advice on these points and to be furnished, if possible, with copies of the *phirmaunds*. He was further instructed also to send copies to Sir William Norris, with notes of any infringements to which they might have been subjected. The same instructions, with slight variations, were given to Consul Pitt. Those to Sir Nicholas Waite expressly enjoined him to give the Ambassador all possible assistance. The Directors hoped that a sum of £20,000 would cover the expenses of the embassy, but laid emphasis on their preference for its expeditious conclusion even at considerably greater cost.¹

Littleton arrived with the *Antelope*² at Ballasore Roads on July 4, 1699. About three weeks later he announced himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation in Bengal to Mr. John Beard, President of the Old Company and his Council. At the same time he reported the appointment of an Ambassador. Then ensued a lengthy correspondence between the two rival Presidents as to the respective positions of the two Companies. Beard declined to acknowledge Littleton's authority.³ Nevertheless the latter soon had his Council constituted and his factory organized.

Consul John Pitt on the *Degrave* anchored in Madras Roads on July 28, having been preceded on the 3rd by the *London* with his principal factors aboard. He at once announced his character and standing, in terms similar to those used by Littleton, to his namesake, President Thomas Pitt, at Fort St. George. The latter bluntly declined to acknowledge his authority, sent him a 'scurrilous letter' and would neither order a salute nor lower his flag at the Consul's orders. Consul Pitt then sailed for Masulipatam where he arrived in August and lost no time in constituting a Council and organizing a factory. Later on he sent to President Thomas Pitt a communication in which he demanded that his commission should be publicly read at Fort St. George. To this the Old Company's President responded on August 23, with a defiant Order in Council, that none were to obey orders from Consul Pitt or the English Company.

¹ See O. C. 55, part I; also *Letter Book*, xi, p. 48.

² This ship and three others formed the first equipment, for the English Company carried altogether in stock and goods to the value of £225,700. See *Bruce's Annals*.

³ See Rawl. A. 302, Bodleian.

Sir Nicholas Waite did not arrive at Bombay till January 11, 1699-1700. Like his colleagues in Bengal and Masulipatam he announced himself as the King's Minister and Consul-General to Sir John Gayer, representative of the Old Company. He got the same reception as the other two and finding he could make no impression on Gayer and his Council sailed for Surat where he arrived on January 19. There he notified his Commission to the President and Council of the London Company, ordered them to strike St. George's flag and to hoist his own. They refused to comply and were supported by the Mughal Governor, Dianat Khan,¹ who informed Waite that no commission from the King of England had authority at Surat unless it was duly admitted by order of the Mughal. Regarding all this as an affront to his official dignity, Waite, after a long correspondence with the President of the Old Company, resolved to use force. Accordingly on January 27, he landed two ship-captains and forty men at Swally with orders to haul down the Old Company's flag. This action was taken as an insult to his master by the Mughal Governor, and resented as such by him.² At Surat Waite also, like the others, constituted a Council, choosing men who appeared best qualified in his judgment.

News of the New Company's formation had reached Surat some time ahead of its officials. The *Shrewsbury Galley*, an interloping ship, had arrived on April 7, 1699, and brought a letter to one Thomas Lucas containing full information of recent events in England.³ The news that an Ambassador was coming out to India created a sensation at Surat and was warmly welcomed by the interlopers there. On the Mughal Governor hearing of all this he summoned President Colt of the Old Company together with certain of his colleagues and several well-known Indian merchants to meet him. Mr. Lucas produced the Act of Parliament and the President declared he would acknowledge it. He pointed out to the Governor, however, that even under the terms of the Act the Old Company might still trade freely for three years yet and would uphold their rights. He further assured the Governor that under any circumstances the Old Company would pay their debts. Thereupon the Governor, having obtained from the members present

¹ Succeeded Amanat Khan in January 1699-1700.

² See Bruce's *Annals*.

³ See O.C. 55, part I, India Office.

EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH 77

an undertaking not to leave the town without his knowledge, allowed them to withdraw from his presence.¹

Returning now to events in England, we find a stern struggle in progress, between the rival Companies respecting their rights and privileges. The Old Company faced the situation boldly knowing that their charter would be valid still for three years; further, as corporate subscribers to the General Society, they had a right to continue trading even after the expiry of their charter. Possessing already forts and factories in India, they determined to prosecute their trade there with even greater zeal, and instructed their agents accordingly. Professor Scott says, 'The Old Company owing to its longer establishment in India had the advantage of a larger share in the trade than the Act allowed, but it was subject to obstacles thrown in its way by the House of Commons in the interest of the New Company.'² At the very outset Sir John Gayer was instructed to secure from the Mughal immediately a *phirmaund* in order to forestall the Ambassador in his efforts on behalf of the New Company. The agents at Fort St. George and in Bengal were also instructed to consolidate their position there.

Meanwhile the New Company had suggested a compromise. Being in financial straits and their stock having depreciated, they made overtures towards coalition with the Old Company.³ The latter, at a General Court of Adventurers on January 13, 1698-9, expressed their willingness to agree and remitted consideration of the matter to the Grand Committee consisting of fifty-two members. At a further meeting on February 7, it was resolved that seven members of the Old Company should be empowered to treat with seven of the New Company. The fourteen met in the Skinner's Hall on March 22. Before this, however, an Act continuing the Old Company as a corporation was passed on February 24, 1699. Following on this the King, while assuring them of his favour and protection, recommended union between the Companies to their serious consideration. Protracted negotiations regarding the settlement of stock between the Companies went on almost to the end of the year. At last, on December 22, 1699, at a meeting in Skinner's Hall, something like a

¹ See O. C. 54.

² See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by W. R. Scott, C. U. Press.

³ Peter Amber.

deadlock occurred and the parties separated without reaching agreement.¹ Persistent efforts to damage the credit of the New Company culminated in 1701 when agents of the Old Company engineered a run on the Bank of England which had lent money to the former. By this means it was hoped to cripple or curtail the New Company's activities in India.²

There were some who imagined that the foundation of the New Company was a political move engineered by the Dutch with a view to destroy English trade and influence in India. This suggestion will not bear critical examination for although William III was a thorough-going Dutchman and took little thought of promoting English interests except in so far as they tended to further his own ambitious policy on the Continent, he was fully conscious of the fact that the one sure way of endangering his own position would be by taking any steps calculated to revive the scarcely healed naval and colonial strife between the two states which were so recently united in his own person. The naval co-operation of England was essential to the maintenance of his hold on the Channel, and his thoughts were concentrated on the recovery of his losses on land confirmed in great part by the treaty of peace recently signed at Ryswyck.

At the time when Sir William Norris arrived as Ambassador in India and during the immediately succeeding period the English factories were in a precarious condition owing to uncertainty in the situation of the two Companies both in India and at home. As already noted, Company's servants were held responsible for piracies and so suffered much at the hands of the Mughal Governors who continued demanding large sums to indemnify the Emperor's subjects for their losses. To these troubles there was added the great probability of civil war owing to Aurangzib's advanced age. There was also the latter's almost ceaseless warfare with the Marathas. Disorder and lawlessness seemed to prevail everywhere. The Mughal Empire was held together only by the continued existence of the aged Emperor. Professor Sarkar justly remarked: 'He, surrounded by sycophants and nobles of his own creation, who had neither the courage to correct his errors, nor the honesty to give disinterested advice, was drawing near the end of his days.'

¹ See Ms. Rawl. A. 302.

² See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by Scott.

The state of affairs between the two Companies, their conflicting claims and clashing interests, has been explained in the preceding pages. Something also has been said about the position in India where the alien Mughal dynasty had reached its zenith and was approaching its decline which was destined to proceed rapidly. This exordium seemed necessary to explain the circumstances under which Sir William Norris was to make the attempt to discharge his dual mission as King William's Ambassador and as the representative of the New Company which, without the knowledge and beyond the ken of the ruling powers in India, claimed to have acquired the sole and exclusive right of trading within their dominion so far as the English nation was concerned.

HARIHAR DAS.

[*Note.*—The above article is a more detailed and complete study of this subject than the one which appeared in the May-June (1925) number of the *Calcutta Review*.—H. D.]

The Kalabhras in South India

BY

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SOUTH Indian inscriptions, not to speak of South Indian literature mention a people called Kalabhras. They seem to have been a powerful tribe who held sway over the whole of South India for several years together. Some of the kings who belonged to this dynasty appear to have been powerful soldiers who were able to defeat the ancient Tamil kings and bring them to utter subjection. The identity of these Kalabhras is yet an unsolved problem. The question has engaged the attention of scholars like the late Gopinatha Row, A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Mr. Gopinatha Row¹ in a footnote on p. 49 to his edition the *Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola* remarks: 'Suvaran Māran alias Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan II, is that Muttaraiyar who came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla according to a mutilated inscription found in the Vaikunṭanāthapperumāl temple at Conjeevaram.' Suvaran Māran is styled *Kalvara-Kalvan*, the *Kalvan* of *Kalavans*. The word *Kalavara* might probably have been rendered into Sanskrit *Kalabhra*. Thus in the opinion of Mr. Gopinatha Row, the *Kalabhras* might be identified with the *Mutturaiyars*. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is also of the opinion that the Kalabhras were *Kalvar* of the region immediately north of Tondiamandalam belonging to the same family as that of the Muttaraiyar.² But examining the epigraphical references in the light of literature, there is no satisfactory evidence to identify the Kalabhras with the Mutturaiyars. On the other hand there is strong testimony to indicate that these Kalabhras are different from them. From the inscriptions at Sendalai³ and other places, Muttaraiyars appear to have been the viceroys of the

Pallavas and their powerful adherents in the south. According to the Vaikunṭanāthapperumāl temple inscription at Conjeevaram, a Muttaraiyan came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla at his installation. This means these Muttaraiyars were on friendly terms with the Pallavas. In another inscription of the same Pallava monarch—Korramangalam plates¹ occurs the following informing lines:—

Here the Kalabhras figure among those royal chieftains who were on inimical terms with the Pallavamalla. The absence of mention of the Muttaraiyars and the mention of the Kalabhras in this Korramangalam plates proves that the Kalabhras are a quite different people from the Muttaraiyars, the ally-chieftains of the Pallava monarch.

Again these kings are called Kalabhras in the Velvikudi plates. They are so described even in the Tamil portions of that historic document and that in verse. If 'Kalabhra' is a Sanskrit mutilation of the word 'Kalvar' and these kings are really Muttaraiyars or Kalvars, they would have been called in their pure form as Kalvars in the Tamil inscriptions and not in the corrupted Sanskrit form. But, on the other hand, even in composing the verses the poet seems to have been careful to preserve the name 'Kalabhra.' Neither could it be suggested that they fought shy of the word 'Kalvar' as a term of reproach for in those ancient days that name seems to have been considered as an honour by that community. So one chieftain called 'Pulli' is styled 'Kalvar Kōmān' in the Sangham works and another Perumbidugu Mutturayan boasts himself as 'Kalvara-kalvan' or 'the Kalvan of Kalvans' in the Sendalai Pillar inscriptions. So the Kalabhras could not be the Muttaraiyars or Kalvars as has been conjectured by some scholars.

The Kalappālar were a well-known dynasty of people who figured prominently and for a very long time in the history of South India and they seem to belong to the Vellala community. There are a

¹ Vide *Sen Tamil*, vol. xxii, pp. 196 ff.

यस्य बहुमकलभकरलः

पाण्ड्यचोळतुरुगोळुणादयः ।

द्वारदेशसमयाभिकाक्षिणः

सेवितुनिरवकाशमासते ।

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv, April 1919.

² *History of the Pallavas*, Intro., pp. xxii and xxiii.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xiii, pp. 136 ff.

number of references to them both in literary and epigraphical records. From the Tiruppugalūr inscription, we hear of a Kaḷappālarājā by name Nerkuṇṇam Kīlār. This chieftain is Nerkuṇṇavāṇar referred to in the Tiruppugalūr-andādi,¹ and a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttar.² Again the name of the father of Maikaṇḍadēvar, the chief of the Śaiva Santhāna-achārya is Achyuta Kaḷappālar. In my opinion he must have belonged to the Kaḷappāla family. Still again belong to this family Vaḍamalai, one of the Tamil ministers of Krishnadeva Raya, and his brother Haridāsa, the author of *Iruṣamaya-viḷakkam*. These are some members of the Kaḷappālar family of a later date. Among the early chieftains of this family, Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanār, one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, celebrated by Saint Sundaramūrti in *Tiruttonḍattokai*³ seems to have been a prominent figure. Nambiāṇḍār Nambi refers to this Nāyanar with the epithet 'கனப்பாளனாகிய கூற்றுவனே'. That Kūṟṟuvanāyanār was a great warrior who brought the powerful Tamil kings to subjection and held aloft his victorious banner is seen from references made by Śēkkiḷār.⁴ Another point of greater interest is that in spite of the fact of his having conquered all the land he held out a request to Tillaivāḷ-andaṇar (Brahmans of Chidambaram) to have him duly crowned. They refused to crown him, as he was a member of the Vellāla caste who were debarred from being crowned according to the then existing customs of the land. Thereafter Kūṟṟuva Nāyanar appealed to the God Śiva enshrined in Tillai (Chidambaram), and the Lord was pleased to grant

¹ 'ஆர்கொண்ட வேற்கூற்றன் கனத்தைக் கோன்'. (தேவாரம்.)

² 'கனப்பாளன் என்றும் வானவந்தரிக் கலித்தறையே'.

³ 'ஒதத் தழுவின ரூலமெல்லா மொருகோலின் வைத்தான் கோதை நெடுவேற் கனப்பாளனாகிய கூற்றுவனே'.

(*Tirutthonḍar Tiruvandādi*)

⁴ 'அருளின் வலியா லரசொதுக்க அவனியெல்லா மடிப்படுப்பார் பொருளின் முடிவு காண்பரிய வகையற் பொலிவித் திகைத்தெக்க மருளுக் களிது பாய்புரவி மணித்தேர் படைஞர் முதன்மார்துர் வெருளுக் கருவி ஈன்குறிமை வீரச் செருக்கின் மேலானார்'.

'வென்றி வினையின் மீக்கா வேந்தர் முனைகள் பலமுருக்கிச் சென்று தம்பைத் தறைமுடித்துச் செருவில் வாகைத் திறங்கெழுமி மன்றன் மானி மினைத்தவர்தம் வனகாடெல்லாம் கவர்ந்தமுடி ஒன்று மொழிய வரசர்நிரு வெல்லாமுடைய ராயினார்'.

(பெரியபுராணம். கூற்றுவ.)

him his sandals (நிருவடிவிடு). With this, it is said, that he continued to rule the land.

Again a still more remarkable chief of this line was Achyutā. He also conquered the Chōla, Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings of the south and reigned over the whole of the Tamil land. There is an interesting reference to his prowess and valour found in the *Tamil Nāvalar Charilai*.¹ Here the three Tamil kings who had been subjugated by Achyuta Kaḷappālan give vent to the greatness of the conquering king. While the Chēra and the Chōla monarchs hailed his own splendid prowess in battle, the proud Pāṇḍya king spoke incidentally of his greatness humbled by the might of the Kaḷappāla. Hence he was punished by another iron chain, which was only released on the Pāṇḍya singing the glories of Achyuta. There is again another reference to his meritorious deeds found mentioned in a long *Kali* verse.² What is more valuable is that stanza is attributed to an ancient poet Viḷakkattanār ;

¹ 'தச்சுதகனப்பாளன் தளையிட்டபோது மூவேந்தர்கள் பாடியவை.'

நிலையிந்தார் முற்றத் திண்புணங்குஞ் செங்கெல்

திலையிந்தார் முற்றமது தாலும்—கிண்சேர்

முனைக்கச் சங்குணங்கு முரித்தேந்தர் தாண

அரணங்கு மச்சதன்முற் றத்தி—இது சோன் பாடியது.

'அரசர் குலநிலை அச்சதன்முற் றத்தி'

அரச ரவதரித்த அக்கான்—முரசநிரல்

கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினும் கோணந்தர் காற்றினைய

கொட்டிவிடு மோசை மிளும்.—இது சோழன் பாடியது.

'குறையுளா ரெக்கிரார் கூர்வை விராம

னிறையறு நிக்க விருத்தான்—முறைமையால்

ஆலிக்குத் தாண பலங்குதா ரச்சதமுன்

வாலிக் கிண்பான் வரை.—இது பாண்டியன் பாடியது.

'இது பாடியபின் ஒரு விலக்கு கூடப் போட்டபின் பாண்டியன் பாடியது.

'குடகர் குணகடலென் றுத்தார் குடகர்க்

கிடகர் அடகடலென் றுத்தார்—வடகடலர்

தென்கட லென்ருத்தார் திண்புச்ச தானத்தன்

முன்கடைகின் றுக்கு முக'. (தமிழ்காவலர் சரிதை.)

² 'அடுநிற லொருநகிற் பரவுது மெங்கோன்

தொடுகழற் கொடும்பூட் பகட்டெழின் மார்பிற்

கயலொடு கைத்த சிலையுடைக் கொடுவரிப்

புயலுறழ் தடக்கைப் போர்வை லச்சுதன்

தொன்றமுநிர் கடலுடை முழுதடன்

ஒன்றுபு திசிரி யுருட்டுவோ ளெனவே.

(*Yāpparunakalakkūrikai*, p. 103.)

and more interesting is the fact that Amitasāgarar, the author of the *Karikai* has included these lines in his work. He belongs roughly to the eleventh century A.D.¹ From the lines of Viḷakkat-tanār it is evident that Achyuta had subjugated the three South Indian kings. Achyuta was also known as Nandi from the literary evidence available.²

These references unmistakably show that both Achyuta and Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanār were two celebrated kings of the Kaḷappāla line. It is indeed difficult to fix their dates. From the commencement of the seventh century A.D. the kings who ruled South India were the Pandyas and the Pallavas. They were very powerful and no one dared to disturb them. Hence it is reasonable to assume that these Kaḷappālar must have held sway some time before the seventh century A.D. To this extent again the Vēlvikuḍi grants bear witness. In this all important grant there occurs

“அனவரிய ஆதிராசரை யகலீக்கி யகலிடத்தூதக்
கனப்ரனெனுங் கலியநாசன் னகக்கொண்டி”.

It means that the Kaḷabhra defeated the three ancient kings of the land (ஆதிராசரை) and took possession of the whole (country). Here it must be noted that the Kaḷabhra is called *Kaliyaraśan*. It has been ingeniously suggested that this may refer to the *Kalikula* mentioned in the Kopparam inscription of Pulakesin II.³ The term *Kaliyaraśan* simply means 'a cruel king'. This interpretation is found in the ancient works *Jivaka-chintamani*⁴ and *Chulamani*. Most important of all is the use of the term in that very sense in the Vēlvikuḍi grant itself in speaking about Neḍuñḍaiyan : ‘கலியநாசன் வலிதனாப் பொலிவினெடு வீற்றிருந்த’. The Kaḷabhra king of the Vēlvikuḍi grant must refer either to Achyuta or Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār. For the term *Kūṟṟuvan* simply connotes the same idea as the expression

¹ Vide my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. ii.

² “பொருகுடை வளாக மொருகுடை சிழந்தி

இருபிறப் பாளர்க் கீந்து மனமகிழ்த்த

அருள் புரி பெரும்புகழ் சேரவே

கந்தி மாமலைச் சிலம்ப

கந்திநிற் பரவுதல் நான்குக் கரிதே.

Yapparunikala Virutti.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xviii, p. 306.

⁴ “கட்டிபுழை காரனென்னுங் கலியநாசன் சிறிந்தன”. (சேக. 2828.)

“இருக்கலி யுலகமெல்லா மிருக்கொள வெருவினோக்கிப்

பொருங் கலியநாசன் தாண்டிபோக்கிட மத்தனந்தே”. (குள. அரபெய். 802.)

Kaliyaraśan. It is indeed unfortunate we have not been able again to determine definitely whether Achyuta or Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār are identical, or, if different, who is the earlier.

In the connection Mr. Rangaswami Saraswati mentions a reference by Buddhadatta to a Kaḷamba king Achyuta Vikrama ruling over the Chola country from Kavērippattinam.¹ This Buddhadatta was the contemporary of the great Buddhagosha who lived in the fifth century A.D., Mr. Saraswati properly observes that the dynasty called the ‘Kadambas’ could not be the Kadambas because the latter ruled at that time only the north-west of the Deccan with their capital at Vaijayanti or Baṇavāsi and not the Chola country, and that the term must be derived from the word ‘Kaḷabhra’ since they were the ruling powers in the Tamil country. But Mr. Saraswati calls the dynasty as ‘Kaḷamba’ and the king as Achyuta Vikrama only. In the original Pāli texts for the word ‘Kaḷamba’ a different reading is also given as ‘Kaḷabbha’ which more approximates to the word ‘Kaḷabhra’ and for the word ‘Vikrama’ there is also another reading as Vikrānta (the powerful).² The Sanskrit word ‘Kaḷabhra’ changes to ‘Kaḷabbha’ in Pāli. And the Pāli term ‘Kaḷabbha’ becomes ‘Kaḷappār’ and ‘Kaḷappālar’ in Tamil as அந்தணர் = அந்தணைர், அருவர் = அருவானர், வேள் = வேளானர், கம்பர் = கம்பானர். So Achyuta-Kaḷappālan mentioned in the *Tamil Navalai Charitai* and *Yapparunigalam* is none other than the ‘Kaḷabbha Achyuta, the Powerful’ referred to by Buddhadatta. Probably he was the first king who subjugated the three Tamil kings after the Sangham Age and so marked the beginning of a new epoch in the later part of the fifth century A.D.

Examining this with the dates as given in the Vēlvikuḍi and other grants we are able to come to some satisfactory conclusion. From the Vēlvikuḍi plates and Ānamalai inscriptions it is evident that King Pāṇḍiyan Neḍuñḍaiyan must have come to the throne some time before A.D. 770. The Vēlvikuḍi grant is simply the regranting of the village of Vēlvikuḍi to Naṟchingan, a member of the Brahman family of Naṟkoṟṟan, to whom the self-same *grāma* was given as a gift by the Pāṇḍya King Paḷśālai Mudukuḍumipperuvaḷudi. It is said that after the original gift, the Kaḷabhras took possession of the land, and

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xv, April, 1919.

² I am indebted for this reference to Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Reader in History of the Madras University.

dispossessed, among others, this donee of his gift of the village. But when these Kaḷabhras had been driven away and the Pāṇḍya kings once again resumed their rule, the village was regranted. A list of the Pāṇḍya kings in succession is given and this throws much welcome light on the otherwise dark period of our history. The Pāṇḍya king who expelled the Kaḷabhras and retook the kingdom was Kaḍumkōn, and from Kaḍumkōn to Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, there are six generations. Therefore the Kaḷabhra power must have terminated roughly about A.D. 600. It is just possible that the Kaḷabhra's sovereignty could have extended for more than two centuries, i.e. the later part of the fifth, sixth and the commencement of the seventh centuries.

NOTE

In this learned article Pandit Raghavaiyengar seeks, with his usual learning, to establish two theses: (1) that the Kaḷabhras were Veḷḷāla Kaḷappālar and not the Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar-Muttarayar, and (2) that Achyuta Kaḷappālar of literature is the Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta of Buddhādatta, and the Kaḷabhra king who subverted the Śāṅgam political order of Tamil India.

In regard to (1) the learned Pundit's contention that the Muttaraiyar were Pallava viceroys friendly to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the Kaḷabhras are counted enemies on the authority of the Korraṅguḍi plates. The passage quoted in note 2, on p. 2 states the facts that the Kaḷabhras along with other monarchs were awaiting the royal convenience for audience. This, friends might do as well as foes, as long as they recognized the superior position of Nandivarman. This can hardly be regarded decisive enough to prove the thesis. Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar at first may develop, in process of time, into Veḷs and Veḷḷālas ultimately.

In regard to (2) Achyuta Kaḷappālar may prove to be Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta. He was ruler of Puhār and the Chola country, according to Buddhādatta, and ruler over the Kaḷabhras. He could hardly be regarded as the subvator of the Śāṅgam political order and resumer of the Brahmaḍēya of Vēlvikudi. The passage quoted from the Yāpparungala Virutti in note 2 on p. 5 shews him as one liberal in making gifts to Brahmans and could hardly be equated with one described as *Kaliyaraśan* in Tamil. The learned Pundit takes him to have had the name Nandi as an alternative on the authority of the line of this quotation. The line previous describes him as King Achyuta, the lord of the hill, Nandi. This geographical position of Achyuta may turn out fatal to the learned Pundit's identification—*Editor*.

INTRODUCTION

THIS *Ajnapatra* was first published in the Marathi Monthly *Vividhadyanavistara* in 1875 and 1876. The original manuscript from which it was printed seems to have been lost. It was reprinted in the same Magazine in 1890 and 1891. It has been printed in a book form in 1923 and again in 1926. There are a few places in it which are quite unintelligible. They cannot be made intelligible without getting the original manuscript. It was issued on November 21, 1716, by Sambhaji of Kolhapur (1712-1760). Rāmachandrapant Amātya is responsible for the contents. The importance of the work is due to Rāmachandrapant's knowledge of Maratha state policy and the political events during the most important period of Maratha history from 1672 to 1717. He took part in the establishment of *Svarājya* under Sivāji, in its protection under Rājāram and Tārābai, and in the civil war between Tārābai and Shahu. His observations and personal experience of Maratha state policy are recorded in this *Ajnapatra* or *Rajantti*. It mainly relates to the methods and principles of Sivāji the Great. They were approved of as the best, and laid down as the standard to be followed. This *Ajnapatra* consists of nine chapters relating to various aspects of state policy. It seems to have been written when Rājāram was alive (1700), but issued later in 1716 under Sambhaji's order.

ITS CONTENTS

1. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence.
2. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence—
(continued).
3. The General Principles of State Policy and Organization.
4. Administrative and Ministerial Policy and Organization.
5. Commercial Policy.
6. Policy towards *Wāḷandars*.
7. Policy regarding Hereditary *Vrittis* and *Inams*.
8. Policy about Forts and their Construction and Organization.
9. Naval Policy.

These headings to the various chapters are not in the original, but I have added them for an easy understanding of the contents of the various chapters.

Rāmachandra Nilkanṭha Amātya was born about 1650. His early life was spent with his father who was the Amātya of Sivāji till 1672. After his father's death the work was done by Rāmachandrapant. Thus he knew Sivāji's policy and methods quite intimately. During Rājāram's reign (1689-1700) he was one of the leading ministers of the state. He protected Mahārāṣṭra, fought against the Moguls while Rājāra was at Jinji in the south. He was given the title of *Hukumat Panha* or one who carried out the king's orders by Rājāram. After Rājāram's death he took a leading part in maintaining the vigour and courage of the people by exhorting them in such words 'now it is your duty to protect the kingdom. The whole reputation rests with you.' It was he who contributed to the success of the Marathas during Tārābai's regency. He was very honest, active, brave, industrious and well versed in political affairs.

According to G. S. Sardesai he was in favour of Shahu's return and rule over Mahārāṣṭra. But Tārābai threatened him and later persuaded him to join her side. Then he worked for her against Shahu. But Tārābai did not trust him completely. She once imprisoned him owing to suspicion, but again released him and conducted the administration through him. Later Tārābai and her son Sivāji were imprisoned, and Rājasbai and her son Sambhaji came to power in A.D. 1712 at Kolhapur and Rāmachandrapant helped them. He died in or about A.D. 1717. His *Rajaniti* is one of the greatest literary legacies relating to the War of Maratha Independence and the principles of state policy which the great Sivāji laid down. It is for the first time translated here into English.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR,

Hindu University, Benares.

The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy

CHAPTER I

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

ROYAL ORDER

Hail Śrī, in the year forty-two of the Coronation Era, the *Samvatsar*¹ being Manmath by name, dated, the fourth of the white half of Mārgaśīrsa, Thursday, His Majesty Śrīraja Śambhu² Chhatrapati, an ornament to the race of Kṣatriyas, ordered his minister Ramachandra Pandit Amātya, well-versed in all the affairs of the state, treasure of confidence, honoured by the king and adorned with the glory of the state, as follows :—

THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM AT THE TIME OF SAMBHAJI'S ACCESSION

When His Majesty³ ascended the throne the desires of all were satisfied. The whole condition of the kingdom was thoroughly considered. Therein he found that, owing to the great calamity into which it had fallen, all the servants of the state, high and low, were distressed. Some did not know what to do about their maintenance and had become discouraged; some who had by their hereditary and loyal service acquired name and fame in the kingdom, had lost their courage, had abandoned completely their hereditary privileges and power, and had become dependent on others; some had taken to unjust ways of life, thinking that iniquitous (disloyal) methods were the only means of securing their subsistence; and the faith that this⁴ was their only kingdom, and that kingdom had only one aim had completely disappeared.

¹ November 21, 1716.

² Sambhaji, the second son of Rajaram ruled at Kolhapur from A.D. 1712-1760. He was born in A.D. 1697.

³ Sambhaji.

⁴ Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāṣṭra.

SAMBHAJI'S POLICY

When such was the state of affairs, His Majesty pondered well over all this in his mind, and realizing that this kingdom¹ was exclusively a divine gift, and that it should increase and prosper was the great desire of God, and that, accordingly, He had willed that His Majesty should acquire the fame of augmenting the welfare of the kingdom, and remembering God with a firm and full faith, used, by the power of His Grace, his keen judgment in dealing with this disorganized state of affairs, conciliated those pious and hereditary state servants who were intelligent and well experienced, by adopting measures which would attract and hold them, and by gradually training their understanding made all of them devoted to and industrious in their work according to their abilities. Thus all the people got protection from the laws and regulations laid down by His Majesty, felt secure against small troubles as well as against great dangers such as those of foreign invasions, felt freed from anxiety about their wealth and fame acquired hereditarily, and, without bearing any other desire or design in mind, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of their sovereign.

THE FAILURE OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

This kingdom was invaded by a powerful foe in the person of Aurangzeb.² He used all his valour and all his resources in wealth and other things for the destruction and conquest of this kingdom. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless by the favour of God. The result was that he got tired in his efforts, turned back and died. But having had to fight with Aurangzeb who held sovereignty over fifty-four states, who had incomparable resources in army, territory and treasury, nay, who was well known on this earth as the Emperor of Delhi resembling another Lord of the world, and to defeat whom called for the utmost efforts, and not canvassed with little trouble, the people in the whole kingdom in consequence suffered heavily on account of the severe fighting between the contending parties.

THE EFFECTS OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

Many kinds of articles of merchandize could not be imported from various distant countries and islands. And many soldiers also,

¹ Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāstra.

² from A.D. 1682 to 1707.

who believed firmly that 'the servants whose lives are lost in the cause of their master attain that state which even the sages and yogis do not reach,' went to heaven whilst fighting in 'the cause of their master in accordance with the duties of Kṣatra.'¹ Some having lost their armies got confounded in their valour and went over to the enemy. Some, seeing their master given up to vices like the enemy, usurped, with an idea of holding them independently, parts of territories and forts which had been made over to their possession by the king in his blindness caused by the darkness of his wicked understanding. In various places persons, rising like the crescent moon owing to the weakness of government, began to quarrel against one another. During these adverse times minor chiefs such as Shyāmalas² got their opportunity and became firmly rooted. The remaining parts of the country became desolate, and forts got exhausted of military provisions. Only the idea of the state remained.

SIVĀJI THE GREAT CREATED THE KINGDOM. HIS WORK

If one were to ponder over this situation, each one of the events was the cause of a sure calamity. God however favoured this kingdom and its ruler. Moreover His great desire was that this kingdom should increase and prosper like the new crescent moon day by day. Accordingly in this respectable and noble family His Majesty³ has been born. With what great daring and with what great valour the late, revered and honoured, great king,⁴ the founder of a new era,⁵ created this kingdom! And we having been born in his family, such should be the disorganized condition of the kingdom! This state of things was greatly undesirable. Hence with this purpose in view we thought over all the efforts made by the late, revered and honoured, great king,⁶ in the following way: when the late, revered and esteemed great king⁷ the founder of a new era,⁸ the protector of the royal umbrella was living under the rule of the Yavanas,⁹ he

¹ The warrior class.

² Siddis of Janjira on the west coast of India in the Konkan. They were Abyssinians expert in naval warfare.

³ Sambhaji of Kolhapur mentioned above.

⁴ Sivāji (1630-1680).

⁵ Rājāsaka or the Coronation era starting from A.D. 1674, i.e. Sivāji's Coronation.

⁶ Sivāji (1630-1680).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Muslim rulers of the Deccan, the Adilshahs of Bijapur.

received from them the small tracts (खारवा) of Poona and other parts¹ as an independent jagir, and from the age of fifteen² endeavoured (for his object) with (the resources of) the same small territory. Believing firmly the saying, 'The allotted span of life protects the vital parts; the allotted span of life gives food. This is the opinion of Gāndhivān (Arjuna) whence is feebleness? Whence is fear?', and similarly the saying, 'the goddess of wealth goes to an industrious and lionlike brave man,' and not caring for his bodily health he performed personally superhuman deeds which were not done until then and which in future would not be even conceived in mind by any one.

SIVĀJĪ'S POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Possessing the power of judging the character and ability of men he appointed quite new servants, and increasing their burden of work according to their abilities showed how to make them fit for works of great importance. Even though each one was irreconcilable with the other, he, by the influence of his own power, by showing kindness to all, by not allowing one to insult the other and inducing them all to work together, made them do their master's work. In the South, Adilshahi,³ Kutubshahi,⁴ and Nizamshahi⁵ were the brave, great and, in every way prosperous, states; similarly there were the Moguls⁶ who possessed provinces, every one of which could support one lakh of soldiers. Besides these, there were Shyamalas,⁷ Firangis,⁸ Ingraj,⁹ Valandej,¹⁰ chiefs of Rām-nagar,¹¹ Palegars,¹² the chiefs of Sonde, Bednore, Mysore and Trichinopoly and other places :

¹ Supa, Shirwal, etc. This jagir was formerly held under Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar.

² A.D. 1645.

³ Adilshahi of Bijapur (1489-1686).

⁴ Kutubshahi of Golkonda (1512-1687).

⁵ Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar (1489-1637).

⁶ Emperors of Delhi.

⁷ Siddis of Janjira.

⁸ Portuguese of Goa.

⁹ English of Surat and later Bombay.

¹⁰ Dutch.

¹¹ Koli Rajas of the smaller state of Ramnagar in North Konkan.

¹² New rebel chiefs who levied contributions and made loot, keeping themselves secure in their woods and fastnesses.

similarly there were rebels in various parts, namely, Chandraraos,¹ Shirkes,² Savants,³ Dalvis,⁴ Nimbalkars⁵ above the Ghats, Ghatges,⁶ and other deshmukhs⁷ and Kāṭaks⁸ (काटक?). Though they were all brave, ready to fight, and fully equipped, he, by the force of his own intellect and ability and without being afraid of any one subdued some by marching against them and fighting fierce battles with them. Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some he fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single combats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled (the lives of) some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge and by erecting forcibly fortified places in their country. He defeated those who were possessed of sea-forts by erecting even new sea-forts. He entered inaccessible places from the sea. In this manner he subdued every enemy in the way in which he should be conquered, and created and acquired a Kingdom free from thorns (enemies), and extending from Salheri-Ahiwant⁹ to Chanji¹⁰ and the banks of the Kaveri; and he also acquired hundreds of hill-forts as well as sea-forts, several great places, forty thousand state cavalry and sixty to seventy thousand sīledars,¹¹ two lakhs of foot soldiers, innumerable treasures, similarly the best jewellery and all kinds of articles. He regenerated the Marathas of the ninety-six noble families.¹² Having ascended the throne he

¹ Mores of Javali whom Sivāji destroyed in A.D. 1655.

² Shirkes, formerly of Javali, later of Sringarpur in Konkan in the south.

³ Savants of Savantawadi were in charge of Southern Konkan.

⁴ Dalvis of Konkan.

⁵ Nimbalkars of Phaltan near Baramati.

⁶ Ghatges were old nobles on the west country.

⁷ Officers of the chief sub-divisions of a territory.

⁸ Having regard to what follows this must be regarded as the Kādava, the Dravida country dependent on Kānchi. *Ed.*

⁹ Forts in the North Konkan.

¹⁰ The fortress of Jinji near Madras.

¹¹ Horse-soldiers who provide their own horses and equipment, as against Bargirs who are supplied these by the state.

¹² The traditionally recognized number of the old noble families of the Marathas—the warrior caste.

held the royal umbrella and called himself *Chhatrapati*.¹ He rescued the *Dharma*, established Gods and Brāhmanas in their due places and maintained the six-fold duties of sacrifice, officiating at sacrifice and others (study and teaching, giving and receiving gifts) according to the division of the (four) *varṇas* (castes). He destroyed the existence of thieves and other criminals in the Kingdom. He created a new type of administration for his territories, forts and armies, and conducted the government without hindrance and brought it under one system of co-ordination and control. He created wholly a new order of things. He forced Aurangzeb to immerse in a sea of agony and sorrow and acquired for himself a world-wide well-acknowledged fame. That is this kingdom.

CHAPTER II

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—(continued)

THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM DURING RĀJĀRAM'S TIME

After the death of the revered and noble great king² the founder of a new era, his son³ the late revered and noble great king made uncommon efforts and performed feats of daring. When Aurangzeb invaded the country, he killed in battle several of his chief soldiers, made some of them bereft of pride and turned them back in retreat; made some submit and released the princes (शहाजादे) and others. After that, on account of the force of his merits, the chief enemy⁴ acted very obstinately, did not care to consider what was a proper or improper cause, and making strenuous efforts personally, got humiliated at various places and thus ended his career.⁵ But owing to the warfare the kingdom had fallen into a bad state. All the country and forts had been captured. The name alone of the kingdom had remained and that also was not confined to any limits.¹ The people of the kingdom, the mainstay of the life of the state, having fallen into such adverse times, had suffered heavily under the pressure of several small troubles. It was the very kingdom, the administration of which was such that it had become an example and support in the policy of the

¹ The protector with the royal umbrella—an emblem of sovereignty.

² Shivaji.

³ Aurangzeb.

⁴ Rājāram.

⁵ A.D. 1707.

Government of their own countries to other rulers and all feudatory Governors, and also such that all should learn the policy, the purpose and the laws of state from it. In these spheres of authority which should not be controlled even in the slightest degree by others than the sovereign power, there had developed more and more control other than that of the (central) political authority. Nay, on account of this, even the control of the political authority over them had disappeared. Some parts had become unprotected.

RĀJĀRAM'S WORK AND POLICY

Therefore thinking that if the state were first well-organized, other objects would become easily successful, he conciliated the chief ministers, sardars (nobles) and other servants, high and low, of the kingdom by bestowing upon them great honour in a proper way. Having found several new servants able and experienced in work he raised them to high positions. Attracting the hearts of all, and not allowing them to hate one another, he encouraged them to work for the state properly and in due rank. He kept within the limits of law those who were unrestrained and hostile by punishing them justly, thereby making them friendly and well-disposed. He reduced those to dust who were excessively self-willed and mischievous and who if neglected would become of an iniquitous (disloyal) disposition of mind. By assuring protection to all the people he freed them from troubles. The country was made peaceful and tranquil.

HUJURĀT

The chief body of royal troops (हुजुरात) which was the main support in the protection of the armed forces of the country and of the forts, had become totally disorganized, and its name alone remained. It was reorganized and well-equipped by the appointment of very brave, trustworthy and obedient persons as horse-soldiers (लखर), foot soldiers (हशम), matchlock firers (बंदुको), archers (तिरंदास) and others, and also by providing military necessities and equipments.

FORTS

Having started the building anew of all unfinished forts and ramparts, and provisioning them with corn, ammunition, arrows,

grenades, guns and other necessities he fully equipped all the territories and forts.

CAVALRY AND INFANTRY

He settled properly the discipline of the cavalry (पगल) and infantry (दृशम) of the kingdom which had fallen into disorder and strengthened the cavalry by enlisting strong Arabi, Ilākhi (Irāki), Tāji (Arabi¹) and Kachchhi horses, good accoutrements and men famed for efficiency in shooting. He gathered together the infantry by collecting Māvales,² Adāvas,³ Itekarts,⁴ Pattaits,⁵ Bankaits,⁶ and also, Bandukis,⁷ Tursandajs,⁸ Kānaḍes,⁹ Torsāli,¹⁰ and Jāngaḍe,¹¹ Bandukis, and Tirandajs.¹²

ARTILLERY

He made fit and ready the moving artillery (तोफखाना) by collecting Rāmchāngyas,¹³ Durāvyas,¹⁴ Philnāls,¹⁵ Sutarnāls¹⁶ and also guns (मोंहे) placed on big carts and artillery men (करोळ). The kingdom was made prosperous and kept well protected.

SIDDIS

Further with a view to bring under his control this Kingdom by his valour he thought of subduing first the adjoining enemy who was like a disease in the stomach. The Shyāmalas (Siddis) were truly the cause of harm to the state. They were the means of fulfilling the

¹ This must be Tājka (Central Asian.) *Ed.*

² Footsoldiers from Maval territory.

³ Those armed with inferior and irregular weapons; light armed men.

⁴ Those footsoldiers who used a Barchi or spear; spearmen.

⁵ Those footsoldiers who use Patta, and which is a long and straight rapier: swordsmen.

⁶ Guards of the king's tents; camp-guards.

⁷ Matchlock-firers.

⁸ तुरसंदाज or musketeers.

⁹ Footsoldiers from Karnāṭaka.

¹⁰ तोरमाळो.

¹¹ जंगहे.

¹² Archers.

¹³ Small cannons.

¹⁴ Long-range guns.

¹⁵ Guns carried on elephants.

¹⁶ Guns carried on camels.

evil designs of the lord of the Yavanas.¹ On account of the Shyāmalas the successes of the chief enemy were at first great, nay during the adverse times the Shyāmalas conquered several territories and forts. Even the chief place Raigad¹ which was the seat of the throne was captured by them. Having caused troubles to Brāhmanas and all other people they forcibly converted them. To neglect an enemy of such a type, to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, would be very improper; and then the enemy would become unconquerable to His Majesty and would be provoked to attack being backed by the Tāmrās.² At first the late revered great king,³ the ornament of the state, checked the Shyāmalas. On that occasion the Shyāmalas were supported by the Tāmrās⁴ and therefore the Shyāmalas remained as a power. Otherwise what was there to make the Shyāmalas exist in spite of his efforts. A place or country when invaded by others continues to exist with outside help. Therefore at first that help should be cut off. Then efforts should be made against (to attack) it directly. This is the (proper) policy. For this purpose the jagir territory of the Shyāmalas, namely, Nandurbar⁵ and other places, was completely destroyed. And having created enmity between them and the Tāmrās (Moguls) he⁶ cut off their only possible help and then attacked them. With a naval force by sea and an army by land, the Shyāmalas were invaded on all sides, and without allowing any respite their places were captured, and by conquering with a determination Rajapuri and other old habitations, Shyāmalas were completely effaced.⁷

OTHER FOES AND REBELS

Immediately after this the Sāvants⁸ and others who had become a standing danger to the kingdom were destroyed. The remaining waṭandars and others who had become powerful by building independent fortified places became frightened, abandoned their places and came and submitted themselves; and he kept them under control as before by his strong rule. Having punished Mysorean and other

¹ Raigad was captured in A.D. 1690 by the Moguls with the help of Siddis.

² Moguls.

³ Shivaji.

⁴ Moguls.

⁵ Rājāram's forces attacked it in A.D. 1698.

⁶ Shivaji or Rājāram.

⁷ In 1661, 1670, 1674; if during Rājāram's time it would be in A.D. 1698-99?

⁸ In 1662; if in Rājāram's time it would be in 1698-99.

palegars he held them down under a system of annual tribute. Thus the kingdom became free from thorns.

RAJARAM'S AIM AND STRUGGLE

After achieving so much success by favour of God he divulged his inmost object of conquering the country occupied by the Yāvanas of destroying the Yāvana confederacy and of beating down the Yāvana predominance which had taken root in the East, West and South by sending large armies. The lost kingdom from (the forts of) Salheri (and) Ahivant up to Chanji (and) Kaveri banks was fully reoccupied. His Majesty personally invaded the great old places of Bijapur, Bhāgānagar (Bhāgnagar or Haidarabad) and others, defeated the generals and the armies of the Yāvanas and brought under his control those places along with the territories and forts. Immediately after this he marched against Aurangabad and Burhanpur which were the headquarters of the army of the Lord of the Yāvanas. A vast army entered the field against him.¹ Fierce battles took place, Yāvanas abandoning the hope of life showed in desperation enormous courage. However God's great desire was that their destruction should take place and His Majesty's glory of success should increase in strength. Accordingly the whole of the Yāvana's army being destroyed like locusts by the fire of His Majesty's valour was (completely) defeated. Many soldiers died, many retreated, and others were captured. All the goods and wealth attached to horses, elephants and others fell into his hands. All the places in that part such as Aurangabad, Burhanpur and others were captured and were then decorated by planting His Majesty's flags of victory. (Thus) His Majesty's kingdom stretching from Narmada to Rameshwar became free from thorns.²

HIS FURTHER RESOLVE

This object just as it was conceived in the mind of His Majesty was carried out on account of God's extreme kindness and your³ efforts. His Majesty who was well versed in the affairs of the

¹ The chronology of these events and their occurrence are not established and are doubtful. The period referred to must be the years A.D. 1698-1700.

² The account seems to refer to Rājāram's campaigns and successes in Khandesh, Berar, Baglana and Gaugathadi against the Moguls in A.D. 1698-1700.

³ Rāmachandrapant Amatya.

Hindu kingdom and who was the creator of the growth and prosperity of the state became successful with the personal efforts of you people. You servants of the state accomplished your tasks. But if one were to remain contented only with the work done, or with the praise-worthiness of the actions performed, further work would suffer. The chief enemy being afraid of our power has got perturbed. (If we remain silent) he, after recovering his strength, would collect his army and strengthen his territories and forts, and by subduing all the feudatories of these provinces by force (or) by policy would gather together the armies of all countries, give full protection to his own country and march on to the banks of the Narmada. Therefore it would become necessary for us to fight. The whole of Hindustan would remain undisturbed, and the new country conquered by His Majesty would become a theatre of war. This is not a policy of foresight.

HIS AIM IN INVADING NORTHERN INDIA

The enemy has got frightened through of us dread which has fallen on him. All the feudatories have adopted a wavering attitude. Under these circumstances His Majesty¹ firmly determined that, not allowing respite to the enemy, he should go and defeat him with his army, and therefore made to gather together the Rajputs of all provinces. On an auspicious occasion he crossed the Narmada.² While, by favour of God, within a short time he will defeat the chief enemy, subdue all the territories and forts about Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Bengal, Tattha and maritime and other places, and go to Benares and establish the idol of Kāśi Viśveśvara. Till then the revered Queen Mother,³ the one celebrated and holy amongst all the holies will have to stay in the southern provinces for the protection of the south. With her has been kept the young prince⁴ of long life, dearer than life itself, and an ornament to the kingdom. You have been kept to serve both of them.

¹ Rājāram. He could not carry out his objects. He died in March, A.D. 1700.

² This may refer to the year A.D. 1699 or 1700.

³ Rājasbai, the wife of Rājāram.

⁴ Sambhaji, Rājasbai's son, born in A.D. 1697, established the State of Kolhapur.

THE NEED OF ENUNCIATING PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

So His Majesty¹ does not recognize any God, in body, speech and thought, other than the feet of his revered mother. This kingdom,² this acquisition of fame, and the future success, are all due to her favour and blessings. There is no other desire in the mind of His Majesty than to obey her wishes and to please her mind. You³ must have already known this incomparable devotion of His Majesty.⁴ Accordingly you should consider well in mind all this purpose, and obeying her wishes should act in such a way that the revered Queen Mother⁵ should remain pleased with His Majesty⁶ day by day. You are an able and experienced servant. When the late revered and esteemed Majesty⁷ had gone to Karnāṭaka,⁸ you increased the prosperity of the kingdom, the administration of which was entrusted to you; you understand political affairs, policy and laws well. However in order that princes of long life, ornaments to the kingdom, should be well-versed in political affairs and that other governors and criminal officers in various parts of the country should protect the state by conducting themselves according to principles of good government, His Majesty⁹ has therefore prepared a treatise on the principles of state policy in the form of this Royal Edict¹⁰ in accordance with the *Sastras*. Remembering it fully in mind you should see that princes of long life are educated according to its principles. Similarly, the kingdom should be protected by making all the people perform their duties in consonance with it and according to the functions allotted to them.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

THE ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

The whole world is created by God. God is the ruler of all. He first created kings in this world. Amongst the people every

¹ Sambhaji.² Rāmachandrapant Amatya.³ Rājasbai.⁴ Rājāram.⁵ To Jinji. Rāmachandra was in charge of the Maratha kingdom and fought for it against Aurangzeb.⁶ Sambhaji.¹⁰ Sambhaji was nineteen years of age when he issued the Royal Edict (1716). He began to rule at Kolhapur in A.D. 1712.² Svarajya or only the Kolhapur State?⁴ Sambhaji.⁶ Sambhaji.

individual is one but the temperaments of many differ. Therefore if they have no protector who would make for them one common law they would quarrel and fight with one another and be destroyed. This should not happen. All the people should be free from trouble and should follow the path of *Dharma*. Out of compassion for the people God in his full favour has granted us this kingdom.

PRIVATE FUNCTIONS OF THE KING

Realizing in mind fully the fear that, if this command of God is disobeyed God's anger will fall on him, a ruler without ascending the throne but keeping himself vigilant and restrained should be ready all the time to look after the welfare of the people. Similarly, believing firmly that his gains and losses are in the hands of God and that they cannot be altered by any one, and supplicating God for protection all the time, not becoming dependent on others internally and not disregarding the service of his servants, he should act with unswerving justice by attracting the minds of servants to himself according to rank and by adopting proper methods. He should follow that *Dharma* which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed, and should do that by which fame is acquired. He should have great fear of bad reputation in all undertakings. Kings who lived in the past succeeded in this world and acquired the next with the help of *Dharma*. Believing with a firm confidence that the practice of *Dharma*, the worship of God, the acquisition of the favour of saintly persons, the attainment of the welfare of all, and the prosperity of the dynasty of the kingdom should be uninterrupted and regulated, he should settle grants according to their special religious merit on temples of Gods, places of pilgrimage, holy centres of religion, hermitages of saints and places of *samādhi*,¹ so that the daily ablution of water, worship, offerings, annual pilgrimages (and) great festivals may be well performed; and he should continue them uninterruptedly by making frequent kindly inquiries. Showing great devotion to Brahmanas, *Vaidikas*,² those versed in *Sastras*, those free from desire and worldly ties, those subsisting on alms but without begging, those living in forests, those practising austerity and holy men, and pro-

¹ Places where the remains of holy men lie enshrined. *Ed.*² Followers of the path of the Veda—the ritual practices and other prescribed acts of daily life. *Ed.*

viding for their maintenance being carried to wherever they are, and satisfying them in all ways, he should acquire blessings for the increase of his welfare. He should not put faith, however, in those persons who assume disguises, fakirs, yogis, jagams and others who practise merely sorcery and wander about, and without trusting them, he should through his servants send them away after giving them a few alms. Heretic opinions which are against *Dharma* should in no way be allowed to prevail. If anywhere any heresy were to rise then he should by (making) personal inquiry punish it duly so that no one would follow that wicked path. He should also destroy it, not associating himself with those practising austerities and those of irritable temperament, and inquiring about them from a distance he should see that they live contented and give blessings. Holding universal compassion towards the blind, the crippled, the diseased, the helpless and those without any means of subsistence, he should arrange for their means of livelihood so long as they live.

PERSONAL PROTECTION AND PRIVATE SERVANTS

Except in case of mortal fight kings should always be very careful at least about their personal protection. After careful inquiry those persons who are very trustworthy, hereditarily in service, honest and not greedy should be appointed in kitchens, places of water and fruits, dressing-rooms and other important royal household departments (महाल), as also in other public royal establishments (कारखाने). By taking work from those according to the functions allotted to them and by treating all with equal regard by virtue of his authority, he should keep them contented and look after them so that none of them would feel any want about their maintenance. Everything should be done which would keep them ready and pleased in his service. If any doubt is felt at some time or other about their conduct, an immediate inquiry should be made in accordance with justice. Whatever makes them engage in work undoubtedly with an open mind should be done. If a doubt against a servant cannot be removed he should be positively dismissed (from that work) and given other work. If he deserves punishment then he should be punished. This matter should not be neglected. Similarly those servants who are to be kept near himself should be judged as to whether they are very trustworthy and intelligent, act after knowing their master's

purpose, understand the signs of his internal thoughts, and are brave, of agreeable appearance, with auspicious marks and are not zealous, cruel, self-willed and of wicked disposition; and then they should be employed. They should be treated cordially and with kind regard, and whatever makes them live loyally and devotedly without caring for any other master but himself, should be done. They should be paid well so that they should not find it necessary to look to others for their maintenance. They should be made to observe a certain amount of discipline so that they do not get accustomed to going to other's houses without permission, to speaking out secrets, and similarly to committing any wrong against others out of any sudden impulse whilst they are near their master, to insulting high officials and to carrying tales about any one. From amongst them every one should be promoted and encouraged according to the measure or importance of his work.

PERSONAL ROUTINE AND DISCIPLINE

He should fix his times for meals and water-drinking and should not change them. Intoxicating drugs should never be taken, and those people who remain near him should not be allowed to taste them. When he is without arms he should not keep looking down all the time. He should acquire knowledge and skill in all kinds of arms and should always increase it by practice. Exercise in elephant and horse-riding should never be neglected. All the methods of making new arrows, bows, matchlocks and other arms, of filling rockets, of casting cannon, of laying mines and mounting batteries, and similarly, all the arts of making strong saddles, harness, armour, and other equipment should be well known. In this way after appreciating the merit of every one according to the efforts made by him, he should be duly rewarded. Otherwise if he be given less, the fault of want of appreciation would fall to his credit; and if he be given more, carelessness would be attributed to him; but when he knows the real nature of work, both these faults would not occur. For this purpose the above is written. Skill in all arts and crafts should be necessarily acquired. But those industries which require exertion should not be personally worked at. For, while one is engaged in these occupations, or if any bodily disease is caused by them, state affairs would get neglected.

ENTERTAINMENTS

The chief function of the king is the effective supervision of state affairs. There should be no break in this. Except on the occasion of great festivals, no dancing and music of professionals, army-musicians (वाङ्मो)¹ and others (निजग्रहो?) should be performed regularly in the royal court. During great festivals dancing, music and other entertainments should not be held at the place where the king sits but amongst the people who are assembled outside. The king should not himself hear or see it. For as long as his mind does not get attached to them, it is well. Once it gets attached to any of these, it cannot be withdrawn from the object of attachment even if desired. Then the bad habit holds him and the affairs of the state get neglected. Nay, owing to its influence some more evils also occur. For this reason this tendency should not be allowed to grow.

COURT PORTS

Poets spread fame. Their verses and good sayings last eternally because of their poetic merit. For this purpose after seeing that, they are deserving, versed in Śāstras, honest and possessing no vice, they should be gathered (at the court) according to his means, and after maintaining them properly and very respectfully it should be seen that they live contented and devoted to their work. But (hearing) only self-praise is a very great fault. For this purpose, one should not get wholly absorbed in their company by neglecting state affairs.

BARDS

Similarly bards were maintained by former kings in royal courts and during royal tour. For this purpose a few persons gifted as bards should be gathered after personally finding their worth. But these people should not be invited at the time of conducting state affairs. For if there were present persons (other than the ministers) who have no concern with the administration, the work of administration would suffer because ministers who have to speak openly about state affairs and act secretly would feel constrained in their consultations. For this purpose other people should not be allowed to take part in deliberations of state.

¹ A class of Muhammadan singers who may be retainers of kings or great men and precede on march and chant praise.

JESTING

Kings should not at all indulge in the habit of making jokes. Friends are after all servants. If jesting be done with them, there would remain no limit to it. Consequently it would sometimes happen that he passes the limits of propriety and causes the lowering of his own dignity. Sometimes it would result in their death by provoking his anger. Therefore there should be no tendency towards jesting and he should not feel false delight in his mind about his own sagacity (in this matter).

CONSULTATION

He should examine in his own mind, the merits and demerits of the work which is to be done. Those who are intelligent in the work to be done should be asked their opinion about it. Whatever leads to the success of the work undertaken should be done, accepting the best possible advice given. If he insists on his own plan, his servants would not at all speak out the merits and defects of the work proposed. Hence the intelligence and initiative of servants does not get full scope for development, but rather they get atrophied and the work gets spoilt. Similarly if he regards the glory which he has achieved as satisfactory, then he does not feel inclined for further exertion. As a result the enemy would find the occasion for an invasion and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen. While protecting what is already acquired, new achievements should always be attempted; and this should continuously remain the aim of the king.

FINANCIAL POLICY

After considering the income and expenditure, whatever helps the growth of treasury in the kingdom should be done. Finance is the life of the state. In times of need if there is money all the perils are averted. Therefore with this aim in view the state treasury should be filled. It should be well looked after. Servants should be paid well and without any reluctance. If any special work is done by them or if they are burdened with a family they should be given something (in addition) by way of gifts. But any more salary than what is attached to an office should not be paid for any special work done in the same office. The reason is that if any one's salary is increased, other servants of the same rank ask for an additional salary, and if not paid

they get discontented. If any one's salary is increased owing to his influence, the salaries of all others who are of the same rank will have to be increased because they are all similar to one another. Then the whole organization will break down. This would not be a proper thing. Therefore there should not at all be any alteration in the remuneration attached to any work. If able men do any meritorious work they should be promoted to a higher rank and thus encouraged. This makes men hopeful. If rewards are given for any special work, others cannot put obstacles in the way. Secondly, when a reward is given to one servant, other servants have no grounds to ask for rewards as they have for getting discontented when any one's salary is increased. And holding the hope that the master gives rewards according to work done, other servants without caring for their lives strive personally (very hard) for their master's work. For this reason salary should be paid according to rules, and rewards should be given according to special work done. But where salary is fixed, no change should at all be made.

MILITARY POLICY

ROYAL TROOPS

Royal troops are (हुजुरात) the means of showing one's own bravery and valour and are the prime support in the protection of the army, territory and forts. Those kings and generals who are already dead and those who are living at present first created a body of royal troops, and by achieving gradual success with its strength collected large forces and acquired territory and treasury, and with its fame kept all of them obedient and in order. Those who do not possess a strong body of royal troops are dependent on others. They cannot take up any work by themselves. For that reason they have to become dependent on servants, and whatever they say has to be quietly borne. If not, the servants and sardars would not sincerely perform the work undertaken and therefore the work is ruined. Under these circumstances how can the kingdom grow? Therefore he who is himself industrious and brave and who entertains the idea of always gaining new acquisitions should first create a body of royal troops. He should keep a five-fold force of cavalry,¹ foot-soldiers² and

¹ कव्कर.

² हसाम.

light armed men,¹ musketeers,² archers,³ and artillery men.⁴ Those persons should be employed in the body of royal troops who are very brave, powerful, select, thoroughly obedient, and the very mention of whose name will extort admiration in the army and the country, and who on occasion will inspire terror. Those who are capricious, arrogant, unrestrained, childish, vicious, defaming, vilifying and have acted treacherously towards their previous master should not at all be kept in the body of royal troops. For on the strength and assurance of the royal army one can remain free from anxiety about all matters. At times life has to be hazarded. Other soldiers have to be kept within bounds. If this method of organization is kept up all things are easily attainable, otherwise not. If there is any ineptitude, punishment has to be inflicted, consequently other fellow-soldiers may get pained, and, if they rise in arms, men engaged in other useful work will have to be sent against them; and they will get wounded, nay, they may even rise against the king. Therefore men of such bad character should not at all be engaged in the body of royal troops. It is not that men of good character are easily available at any time. Therefore while touring round in the country, in the army and in the small and big forts, the king should have an eye for proper men, and associating with him, in addition to his ministers, the best men wherever available, showing kindness to them and finding their worth, he should employ them in his body of royal troops. This group of men should be trusted day and night with the work of guards at the gates of the royal residence and court, and thus should their presence and work be noted and examined from day to day. If any one of them were to remain absent even once, then he should be warned. After that if he again commits the same mistake, he should be scolded and asked to become careful. In spite of all this if he does not keep watch and ward according to the terms of his appointment, then he should be positively removed. If he commits any wrong deserving of punishment, he should be immediately punished. There should be no weakness shown out of any consideration. If discipline is at all absent in the king's own troops, then how can it be expected to prevail outside. Therefore there should not at all be any indiscipline in his own troops. Whatever

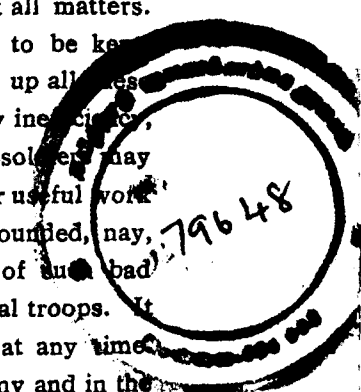
¹ आढाव.

² बटुकी.

³ तिरंदाजी.

⁴ करोक.

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salary is fixed for them must be given without fail. The payment of their salaries should not be entrusted to others, but should be done under his own supervision through a devoted sabnis (सबनोस)¹ who is not influenced by any consideration. By showing kindness and by appreciative treatment these men should be completely brought under his own loving influence. Of all the other forces and departments, the body of royal troops should be kept contented and efficient. And if they are seduced from allegiance by any one, it should be seen to that they do not get any protection elsewhere. If they are at all seduced, they should be made to realize that punishment would be strictly meted out to them. It should, however, be provided that they do not join in any defection. A king should keep himself strong by equipping himself well with swords (तरवार), daggers (कठारा), scimitars (जमदाडा), straight rapiers (पट्ट), spears (भाले), daggers (बाँक), poniards (बिचवे), spears with a string (सैया), bombs (टाकण्या), bows and arrows (तिरकमाना), matchlocks (बंदुको) and other weapons, coats of mail (बखतरे), head-armour (घुंग्या), helmets (टोप), cloth-covers (दुपट्टे), body-armours (चलखते), armours for horses and elephants (पाखरा), helmets (ताज), grenades (हुके), ammunition (दाहगोळो), rockets (बाण) and other provisions. If he is always possessed of the above-mentioned troops of men and munitions and is personally industrious, then what deficiency in equipment is possible? When the nobles and troops of the kingdom obey orders, then the king feels enthusiasm for every sort of work. Being freed from anxiety about self-protection the mind of the king works in solving other problems. Whatever he does at any time results in a favourable way. Without being influenced by others the administration goes on uninterrupted. The fame of the king's valour and efforts increases. All the enemies and others feeling awe of him remain where they are. Therefore without neglecting the efficient maintenance of the body of royal troops, and considering that it is the most important of all the aspects of state administration and without admitting Siladars² into the body of royal troops he should organize it as mentioned above.

¹ A sabnis was in charge of accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

² A horse soldier who equips himself with his own horse.

KING AND HIS SERVANTS, THEIR QUALITIES AND RELATIONS

It has been said, 'one should give up a lord who is very ferocious; but one who is miserly sooner than one who is very ferocious; one who is incapable of appreciation sooner than one who is miserly; and one who is ungrateful sooner than one who is incapable of appreciation.' Therefore there should never be in a king the above-mentioned disposition nor the following qualities, namely, a feeling of disgust with a large gathering of men and a want of desire to converse with men. These qualities do not lead to a harmony of mind between servants and master, and the servants feeling restrained are not wholly won over. Kings also not understanding the good and bad qualities of persons are not able to gather a group of good men. Therefore after abandoning these qualities completely, whatever will help in the collection of such men should be done positively. All the persons engaged in service should be respected according to their rank; persons of higher rank should not be treated on the same level with the persons of lower rank; and no one should be allowed to insult another keeping in view his own welfare. Speaking highly of ordinary men as well as able and industrious men, showing kind regard to them, granting their requests, and emphasizing their importance, he should do what leads to his welfare by using all means. If any new servant is to be engaged full inquiry should be made about his family, place of residence, relations and first service, and if he is not found fraudulent, profligate or a spy on behalf of others, murderous, drunkard, dissolute, very old, incapable of any work, he should be kept when found very brave. But no servant should be engaged without taking a surety for him. If he runs away after committing robbery, murder and other lawful acts, then the surety must be held responsible for the offender's conduct. This matter should not be neglected. Then the servant remains attentive (to his work) and does not go out of control, and the allotted work is done rightly.

KING'S BEHAVIOUR

Kings should be moderate in speech. Unless there is work they should not keep on talking with anybody and anything whatever. If they talk in such a manner, the servants get unduly intimate and unrestrained. After necessarily giving encouragement to persons in a

wise manner, those with whom discussions are to be made about what is to be done and not to be done, and about the good or the bad side of the situation which has arisen, should be made to speak in political matters. Kings should listen to them attentively. If what they say appeals to their own judgment, then it should be accepted, being considered to be the best. If those people have not been able to deliberate or advise well, then without treating them with indifference and by stating their own views openly and without showing any impatience, kings should discuss fully the merits and demerits of the work to be undertaken. People should be made to realize those merits and demerits. Other daily work which is to be entrusted to ordinary servants should generally be given by signs. But they should not always continue using signs, such as gestures of eyes, hands, feet and other members, or restlessness of body. They should practice steadiness of seat, like a post or a mountain. Kings should not utter the faults of any servant high or low. If any faults are found, they should not be communicated to others. After keeping them in mind means should be employed to remedy them. The servant should be under the impression that whatever fault he has committed is not known to the master. This impression keeps the servants obedient, nay, they are even careful to remedy their faults. Then it becomes easy to correct their faults.

PRINCE'S EDUCATION

Even kings do not give up vices and adopt virtues once for all. For this purpose, a few good persons should be kept near the princes to correct or to guide them. They should always be made to live in their company. They should be made to do strictly the study of *Sastras*, and of writing without any idleness on their part. Similarly, royal teachers, such as professional wrestlers and other experts (जैठो) who are well-versed in the arts and knowledge of spear-throwing (भेजणे?), sword-playing (परजणे?), wrestling (कुस्तोवेणें) and athletic exercises (तालोमकरणें) should be engaged. Under their instructions each of those arts should be taught. Through false kindness studies should not be allowed to be neglected. The reason is that the ideal Hindu king is God himself who is the teacher of the whole world and is the distributor of weal and woe to all. If the

worldy king is endowed with virtues, then the welfare of the greatest number is possible; if he is possessed of vices, the misery of the most is the result. Therefore 'the king is the maker of the age'. Consequently kings should possess many virtues. Even though they have studied all sciences, they have become endowed with all virtues, they have acquired a kingdom by the favour of God, and they are praised by all people, still they should not feel satisfied with this. They should always give thought to their own merits and defects. Nay, even one or two good men who are honest, influential, thoughtful and of sharp understanding should always be kept near by way of constant company. They should be definitely ordered that they should always give warning about the faults committed or things not done by him. By respecting them like elderly persons they should be attentively listened to. By not resenting their timely advice they should be treated with respect, and their words of encouragement should be looked upon as a source of gratification. As a consequence those persons feeling easiness of mind will warn him about the faults committed by him which he must abandon. Consequently, as the root of a tree makes the tree grow strong in a well-watered place, so the king, who is the root of the kingdom and is endowed with virtues, causes the growth of the kingdom.

QUALITY OF TOLERANCE IN A KING

Kings should be very tolerant, for the reason that the king is the lord of a large number of people and all are generally not of the same character. Every one has some faults or others, nay, every one from the poor upwards to the highest officers get angry at times. In anger they carry on indecent wordy discussions. At that time keeping himself tranquil and keeping a smiling face in order to please them he should well consider the offence committed by them. Proper punishment should be awarded. As a consequence later on wise men feel ashamed of their behaviour and, becoming grateful to the master, do not commit again the same faults. So without toleration the way of making servants give up their faults is not possible.

(To be continued)

Reviews

'THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA' VOLUME III— TURKS AND AFGHANS

EDITED BY

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THIS volume which precedes the publication of the second of the series, purports to deal with the history of India under early Muhammadan rule from the time of the Arab occupation of Sind down to the establishment of the Mughal power under Babar at Delhi. The title 'Turks and Afghans' given to the book is perhaps a more accurate determinant of its scope, excluding as it does from its purview a full account of the series of Hindu kingdoms, Rajput and other, which flourished unbroken both in Hindustan and in the Deccan and the South till late in the twelfth century, and which contrived to survive the shock of the Muslim impact in the remoter parts of Hindustan like Rajputana and Central India and in South India, till a much later date than that at which the book ends. Both the Arab occupation of the Lower Indus Valley, and the planting of Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab by Sultan Mahmud are rightly regarded by the Editor who has been personally responsible for the greater portion of the work—taking in as he has done only a few noted scholars to collaborate with him, like Sir John Marshall for the chapter on the architecture of the period, Sir Denison Ross for the history of Gujarat and Khandesh, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar for the Hindu states of Southern India, Mr. G. E. Harvey and Dom M. de Zilva Wickrama-singhe for the histories of Burma and Ceylon respectively—as merely preparatory to the Muslim conquest of the land, which did not really reach the stage of definite consolidation till the first half of the fourteenth century. Sir Wolseley Haig has attained to reputation as a Persian scholar having edited a portion of Khafi Khan's famous history in the

Bibliotheca Indica Series and translated the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* in succession to Major J. S. King. He has shown great capacity in these works and others of his, for accuracy of statement and sobriety in treatment. Being a Persian scholar he has relied too much (almost exclusively?) on Persian sources of information contained in annalists who took but very slight notice of the real life of the people of the land and of their institutions and culture. Many of the Muslim historians cannot claim to rank above annalists and they content themselves for the greater part with a dry narration of events, 'conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations.' A good use has, however, been made of the available historical material, both original sources and modern works. The Hindu states have not received adequate treatment at all. Even the independent Hindu states of South India which formed a bulwark, for nearly three centuries, against foreign domination and Islamic fanaticism, and maintained Hindu cultural, religious and political independence, receive but scant justice. The learned author of the chapter devoted to them has to compress the varied dynastic revolutions, the consequent shiftings of frontiers and the cultural and architectural life of the period in an all-too-brief compass.¹ The effects of the impact of a foreign polity based on Quranic precepts, on the life of the people, of the interaction between Hinduism and Islam and of the deep-rooted religious movements which produced Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya and saved Hinduism from utter demoralization have not been noted at all. Nor does Sir Wolseley concern himself, except in isolated notes scattered about the various chapters, with the administrative system—and the political theory on which it was based—of the early Muhammadan rulers of Delhi.¹

With these limitations, the work of the Editor may be regarded as quite thorough, scholarly and marked by penetrative observation. The course of narrative has however in various places been diverted from region to region in rather sudden breaks and the proportion of detail has not been preserved with any uniformity in the various chapters. We are warned in the beginning, and rightly too, against believing that the rhapsodies of Muslim historians

¹ Prof. M. Habib of Aligarh has made a commendable beginning in the study of this subject, based on an analysis of the Persian texts surviving.

in their accounts of conquests, war and victories means that the early Muslim occupation of India was one prolonged holy war for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam; and sufficient proof is adduced that this could not have been the case. Hindu legends came to be quickly used in Muslim coinage; Hindu rulers and *rais* had to be left to themselves; and the vast bulk of the warlike and armed agricultural peasantry together with the inevitable monopoly over the subordinate machinery of government that was enjoyed by Hindu clerks made no other course possible! Moreover it was certainly found often possible for the Hindus to obtain justice, even as against Muslims. Rebellion and open disaffection to Muslim rule were ruthlessly punished; and the main elements of disaffection sprang up chiefly from the ranks of the upper and hitherto dominant class of large landowners and petty chieftains. We are told that even as early as the thirteenth century there was in a few respects some sympathetic intercourse between Muslims and Hindus, and that 'the rule of the Slave Kings over their Hindu subjects, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was as just and humane as that of the Norman Kings in England, and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and in the Netherlands.' This conclusion should indeed be startling to some scholars, but it is supported by irrefutable testimony.

In Chapter V which deals the Khalji Imperialism, the Editor makes an intelligent contribution to our knowledge of Ala-ud-din's financial and economic measures. His arbitrary fixation of the prices of food-grains and commodities which has appeared abnormal to modern economists and historians, was less unreasonable than at first sight it seems, for the great treasure brought from the Deccan conquests had cheapened money and inflated prices and operated most forcibly in the capital and the suburban area to a degree hardly comprehensible at the present day. As regards Muhammad Tughlaq's rule, the Editor who had made an illuminating contribution on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1922), does not go to the extreme of revulsion from the ordinary estimate of the Sultan to which Mr. Gardner Brown and other recent scholars have gone; but takes a moderate view. He would maintain that the Sultan's peculiar vice as a judge and administrator was his inordinate pride which deprived him of the power of discrimination and which is described so impressively and frankly even

by Zia-ud-din Barani who wrote his history under a sense of gratitude to, and fear of the Sultan. In his devotion to the details of administration the Indian Sultan is compared to Philip II, though not, it may be maintained, with perfect justice. Again from Barani the Editor tries to show that Muhammad's scheme of a copper token currency was not born out of a sense of vast power and great wealth as is maintained by Edward Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (1871, pp. 239-47), but formed a part of his extravagant designs and belief that his fiat could make any measure successful. His regulations, termed *ustab* (methods) aimed at so improving agriculture after the great famine of the epoch that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth and not one span of land would be uncultivated. The Sultan's genius and character alike were an enigma to those who knew him best, like Barani and Ibn Batūta. Sir Wolsely draws a discriminating comparison between Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and Firuz Tughlaq who are always equated by Indian historians as to their justice and clemency.

The Editor is at his best in the chapters on the Deccan kingdoms where he throws light on the ministerial and provincial organization of the Bahmani state and on the part played by foreigners in its decline and disruption. He takes the narrative of the five independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan down to the beginning of Mughal aggression on them while Dr. Aiyangar, in his usual thorough and scholarly manner, goes back to the remote origins of Vijayanagara which can be truly explained in the political situation of South India and the Deccan at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He lays stress on the part played by the last great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III, in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar and on the real significance of the Saluva and Tuluva usurpations of the Vijayanagar throne. He also says that the evacuation of the strongly fortified city of Vijayanagar after Talikota has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and he would seem to suggest that the explanation of the traveller Cæsar Frederick who was at Vijayanagar in 1567 to the effect that the abandonment of the city was due to the mutiny of two large bodies of Muslim mercenaries in the service of the Hindu state was probably the truth.

Sir Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, who is the editor of *An Arabic History of Gujarat* traces the history of

independent Gujarat down to its absorption in Akbar's Empire ; while Mr. Harvey continues the story of Burma from the point where it has been left in the unpublished second volume ; and as a consequence the narrative begins rather abruptly and takes us on without due notice, through the period of Shan immigration and rule. Similar in character is the chapter of Ceylonese history which begins equally abruptly from the reign of Vijaya Bahu (1213-1234) and takes us on to the epoch of the arrival of Portuguese adventurers.

The last chapter is the longest as well as the most interesting of the book, where Sir John Marshall gives us a graphic outline of the evolution of the Indo-Islamic art which, he cautions, should be treated neither as a local variety of Islamic art in general nor as a merely modified form of Hindu art. Almost every Islamic land from Spain to Persia, while accepting standardized forms and concepts in general use, developed 'a local Muslim style of its own, based primarily on indigenous ideals and stamped with a strong national individuality'; India saw Muslim architecture inheriting or absorbing manifold forms and concepts from the Hindu—'so many, indeed, that there is hardly a form or motif of Indian architecture, which in some guise or other did not find its way into the buildings of the conquerors.' The Delhi School of Architecture had six centuries of continuous growth and witnessed shifting periods of the domination of Muslim and Hindu ideals by turn—the Qutb Minar strongly marked by a reaction against Indianization which made itself felt more in the Khalji period, while the Sayyid and Lodi buildings gave encouragement to the latent genius of Hindustan and at the same time derived a large amount of inspiration from Persian art. The various provincial styles had their own marked individual traits. The Gujarat Muslim School shone by a happy combination of the strong traditions of the pre-existing school with the Imperial architecture of Delhi at its highest point of expression. Even the Malwa style, though taking its main essentials from Delhi, has its own peculiarities of construction and ornament. Unlike Fergusson who placed the Jaunpur buildings in the foremost rank of Indo-Islamic monuments, Sir John Marshall would find in them a weakness of composition and lack of rhythm ; and the juxtaposition of flat propylons and domes behind them constitutes in his opinion an inexcusable anomaly of which no one imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art would have been guilty. Much of the military architecture

of the Bahmanis was introduced directly from Europe ; while their civil monuments were largely influenced by Persian ideals, more than in any other contemporary Indian style ; and it was not particularly difficult to find among the foreign adventurers in the Bahmani Court Turkish and other soldiers familiar with European fortifications. The whole chapter on architecture is highly instructive and forms a great improvement on Fergusson who is shown to have been wrong, even in some cases on points of fact.

The bibliography is scanty for most of the chapters except ch. xviii, xxi and xxii ; it ignores indigenous sources in Hindi, like the *Alka Khand* and *Chand Raisa* and in many places too exclusively Persian and Islamic. The chronological and dynastic tables are full so far as they go ; and the beautiful series of plates has been included thanks to a generous contribution of Sir Dorabji Tata.

C. S. S.

'HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI'

BY

R. GOPALAN

University Research Student, 1920-24

EDITED FOR THE UNIVERSITY WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., PH. D.

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.

THIS book embodies the work of Mr. R. Gopalan as University student and forms an up-to-date history of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The University Professor in his valuable introduction summarizes the salient features of the book and incorporates his further studies in the solutions of the problems of the Pallava period during recent years.

Chapter I makes reference to the history of previous research on the subject by Sir Walter Elliott, James Fergusson, Dr. Fleet, Venkayya, J. Dubreul and Krishnaswami Iyengar and gives an account of the several sources and their value. The recently discovered Sanskrit works *Avanti Sundari Kathasara* and *Maṭṭavilasa Prahasana* indicate the literary and religious activity of the period.

Chapter II summarizes all the theories about the origin of the Pallavas. The author concludes that 'the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, especially that which gives them a Parthian or Persian home, is without foundation'. He also rejects Dubreuil's theory of the eastward migration of the Pahlavas in the second century. The Pallavas (Intrn.) 'began as the officers of the Satavahanas and ultimately rose to undisputed possession of the territory of Kanchi'.

Chapter III gives an account of the Early Pallavas of the Prakrit records, A. D. 200 to 550. There were five Pallava kings from the founder, Bappadeva to Vishnugopa, the contemporary of Samudragupta. They had two capitals, one in the Telugu region at Dhanyaketa and another in the Tamil region at Kanchi. Bappa's successor, Sivasiskandavarman carried on extensive conquests, as evidenced by his performance of *Asvamedha*. The administration of the early Pallavas resembled the Asokan type of government.

Chapter IV gives an account of the early Pallavas of the Samskrit records, A.D. 350-600. The author gives a tentative list of the whole series of Pallava kings from Bappa to Simhavishnu, A.D. 600. He points out that there was no Chola interregnum in the fifth century at Kanchi, as was believed by Venkayya and Krishna Sastri (page 64).

Chapter V deals with some of the contemporary royal dynasties that ruled in the Dakhan during the period, such as the Kadambas, the Vishnukundins and the Salankayanas.

Chapters VI and VII give us a very lucid account of the kings from Simhavishnu, A.D. 575 to Paramesvaravarman, A.D. 701. It was an important period in South Indian History. The influence of these kings on the culture and thought of the period is well brought out in these two chapters. One of the most important discoveries of the Department of Epigraphy was the identification of the sculptures of Simhavishnu and his successor, Mahendravarman at the Adivarahasvami temple at Mahabalipuram. These kings were great patrons of the fine arts. The vestiges of the paintings at Sittanavasal and a musical inscription discovered in the Pudukkotta State are of great interest. Samskrit learning was also very much patronized by these monarchs.

Chapter VIII deals with the dynastic revolution which resulted in the accession of Hiranyavarman I, son of Nandivarman, of the collateral line on the throne. Nandivarman's reign of sixty-five years was the longest in the Pallava family. The Chalukya-Pallava struggle is renewed and

Chalukya Vikramaditya II captured the city of Kanchi. Nandivarman, however, recaptured it after some time. The author concludes the chapter by saying that 'the notion that his reign was short having been distracted by continuous wars as a result of which his kingdom was much reduced now appears to be incorrect.'

Chapter IX deals with the successors of Nandivarman. It was believed that there was a dynastic displacement and that a new dynasty of Ganga-Pallavas came to power. The author points out that there was a regular succession in the line of Nandivarman and that there is no reason to believe in the theory of the Ganga-Pallava accession.

The concluding chapter gives an account of the administrative system, central and local, the system of taxation and the literary activity of the age.

The value of the book is enhanced by the three appendices containing a chronological index of Pallava inscriptions and extracts from MAHAVAMSA AND AVANTI SUNDARI KATHASARA.

S. H. R.

'CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'

BY

ARTHUR MAYHEW, C.I.E., LONDON.

[Faber and Gwyer, Ltd., pp. xi and 260.—price 12/6 net.]

THIS book is based on the idea that the Government of India has been growingly influenced by the Christian spirit ever since the middle of the eighteenth century and traces the relation between the Government and Christian missions from the beginning of that century. It does not presume to treat of the influence of a Christian government on the social, moral and religious life of India in detail, nor to be a personal record of great men in the missionary and official spheres, though the pioneer figures of Swartz and Carey stand out in bold relief in the treatment, like 'mountain peaks that catch the first glow of dawn'. Edmund Burke first roused the conscience of England in Indian affairs; and Wilberforce and Carey had to struggle for more than a quarter of a century, before the right of free entry of Christian workers into India was firmly established in the Charter of 1813. During the time that Carey was struggling in the years of his unlicensed evangelical work, it seemed doubtful, in spite of Lord Cornwallis's church-going and the Clapham affinities of Sir John Shore, whether, in the eyes of the Indian people, the Company had,

by its commission as well as omission, any religion of its own to communicate to them. Much of the seed sown by the Baptists of Serampore and by the labour of Claudius Buchanan was rendered unfruitful by the reaction that followed the Vellore Mutiny; 1813 however saw that a new attitude began towards Christian effort; and henceforward the main trend of Christian and missionary activity was towards the winning of protection and fair treatment for their converts and the assisting and stimulating of the civil authorities in the legislative, administrative and educational spheres. Christian missions tried 'to encourage a constitutionally timid government to profess more openly the faith to which as trustee of a Christian nation it was pledged' 'Dry-nurse to Vishnu' and 'Trustee of Juggernaut' were terms which were applied by Christian missions in their zeal to the Company which was pledged to the recognition of existing and long-established rights and privileges, and to continue all state endowments of Hindu and Muhammadan worship. Government was committed by precedent as well as by a sense of its own obligations to the patronage and in the matter of protection of the religious institutions and ceremonies of its subjects; and to blame the government for not merely honouring, but also considerably enlarging their 'polytheistic liabilities' is for the author to go one step too far and to criticize government for an attitude which only created a sense of security in the minds of the people. In fact the writer himself points out how the gradual withdrawal of government from the management and patronage of temples in the decade following 1843 was 'undoubtedly responsible for some of its unpopularity in 1857' (p. 152). The forcing by evangelical zeal of the hands of government to give up all connection with Hindu and Muhammadan religious institutions and ceremonies was rendered all the more unbalanced and partial by the insistent demand made that government should openly support and patronize Christian missionary undertakings.

The author rightly points out that the Common idea of Government's Christian tendencies stirring Hindu and Islamic orthodoxy to revolt in the Sepoy Mutiny cannot survive a reference to facts. The danger arose from other factors; but the interested stirred up discontent in a few places on this alleged ground. Missionaries and mission institutions alone were not singled out for attack; and when they suffered it was 'for loyalty to the British rather than to their

religion.' The following conclusion of the author will find general acceptance:—

'It was not Christian influence, nor indeed the intrusion of any new religion, that caused a panic, but the selfish and destructive motives attributed, partly in cunning and partly *bona fide*, by priests and potentates to government action which seemed to threaten their interests.'

After the Mutiny, out of which emerged the spirit of Lawrence rather than of Hodson, government has been displaying more general tolerance of Indian modes of life and worship, 'though less submission to what was morally harmful in them.' Missionary influence on education, which was substantially advanced by Bentinck's declaration of 1835, was furthered by the Education Despatch of 1854 and has not aroused any resentment at all, except sporadically. Mr. Mayhew regrets rather plaintively that the development of social self-government has resulted in the increase of soulless, secular education, chiefly in the shape of indigenous aided schools. He tries to explain the absence in general of religious opposition to specifically Christian teaching and to legislative and executive acts obviously inspired by Christian principles; but his explanation is not fully consistent with a real psychological analysis of Hindu social and ethical ideas. It attributes all the credit to a growing knowledge of the personality of Christ and reverence for his characteristics. He is conscious that Indian Christianity has become fully national and a living and operative force in national life; and Christianity is no longer viewed as an exotic and western plant.

The book, though professing to be but a patch-work, is really a mosaic of many-coloured ideas, yielding, as the author claims for it, 'a new design.' We cannot agree, however, with several ideas expressed by the author as the following:—

(1) The Hindu idea of kingship includes the determination and patronage of a state religion always.

(2) Hinduism can be adapted to the demands of selfishness and just (p. 213). The first is true only with large modifications; and the second which tries to exalt Christianity, condemns Hinduism unheard. We cite this as sample of generalities that may convey wrong impressions.

C. S. S.

'A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA'

BY

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, D.LITT.,

Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University.

[Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 2-8.]

WE have before us a short history of India intended for the use of schoolgoing students entitled a *School History of India*. The object of the book is, according to the preface, 'to tell not merely the story of kings and queens but also the story of the Indian people—of their mode of life, culture, occupations, literature, art and government.' The effort is indeed a laudable one, and we are afraid the learned professor has not succeeded in his rather ambitious aim. No doubt every part of the first three parts of the book ends with a chapter on civilization of the Hindus, 'Pathans' and the Moghuls respectively. But in these chapters there is not enough material to portray 'these permanent elements of our civilization which have moulded the thought and life of Asia.' The author would have done well if he had devoted more space to this aspect of the question as the work is primarily intended for school students.

No impartial reader could help remarking that the book lacks proportion. While the author has devoted only sixty-five pages to the Hindu period, he has devoted 181 pages to the Muhammadan period including the Moghuls, and 123 pages to the British period. In writing a history of India, and especially for school-boys, it is our opinion that more attention must be given to the story of the Indian people when India was Hindu India. An equal, if not more, attention must be paid to the life of the people during Muhammadan and British rule. But the author has chosen to treat the British period in about double the number of pages, and the Muhammadan period in about treble the number of pages allotted to the story of Hindu India. When so much space is given to Babur, Akbar and Aurangzib, why not the same space for the Mauryan and the Gupta periods of Hindu India. Our reading of the history of India shows that the progress of life of the Indian people according to Hindu genius theoretically ended with the advent of the Muhammadans in India and practically with the advent of the British. As a result of contact with their civilization

and culture, our outlook has been changed, and the birth of a New India is the consequence. The history of 'New India' is largely the history of the future. A text-book therefore on Indian history must try to present, as a necessary preliminary, every aspect of India's life and culture as it was understood and realized in ancient times.

V. R. R.

'GOTAMA THE MAN'

BY

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D.LITT., M.A.

[Published by Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, Price 4 sh.]

WHEN the Sacred Books of the Buddhists were not available in large numbers and when Pali scholarship was the monopoly of the privileged few, what the scholar Rhys Davids wrote was deemed authoritative. From the bits available then, theories were built and books were written about Buddhism. 'No one can be wise' says the author 'who writes from half knowledge and no one has got beyond that yet. Men write in a hurry.' Thanks to the Pali Text Society, we have before us a pretty good collection, if not all, of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, some with Commentaries also. Mrs. Rhys Davids who is one of the scholars devoted to a special study of the Buddhist books and who is the author of several well-known works on Buddhism has now placed before us her recent work on 'Gotama the Man.'

In this book an attempt is made to review the early life and career of Gautama, as if narrated by him, taking into account all the recent investigations in Buddhist literature. The attempt is a laudable one. The whole life is so vividly presented as to be intelligible even to a lay reader. The style is flowing and the whole work is pleasant reading.

In presenting this work to the public at large we are afraid that the learned scholar has not revised her old opinions in the light of recent researches and investigations. Limitation of space compels me to point out only a few places wherein observations made ought to be subjected to clear revision.

1. That the Buddha decried the Vedas, the fire cult, the rituals of the Brahmins.

2. That the Buddha looked down upon the monks and revolted against the monk monopoly.

3. That the Buddha used Brahmanical words and expressions such as *Dharma*, *Atma*, *Brahmacarya* but gave them entirely a new meaning.

4. That the Buddha attempted to elevate the status of women in society by honouring them with equal freedom.

5. And that Asoka was a Buddhist and engaged himself in a propaganda for the spread of Buddhism.

As against the first statement it may be shown that the first followers of the Buddha, several of them at least, were Brahmans discontented or otherwise. Even according to the learned author only after the Brahman brothers Kassapa and their followers were won over, people accorded them (the Buddhists) notice and repute (p. 122). It may be that Kassapa and others were impressed by the will power and psychic powers of the Buddha. But the will power is in no way opposed to the fire-cult. Rituals and fire worship are intended for those in the first three *asramas* or stages of life. Once the robes of an ascetic are put on, then one is released from all *karma* literally. In that way perhaps Kassapa and his brothers gave up the fire-cult. We have yet to see a pronounced statement made by the Buddha against the fire-cult as such.

The other statement that the Buddha was against the monks does not bring home conviction to us. The layman Buddha understood the value and significance of becoming an ascetic. Then alone he had the support of the laity. In fact it was the Brahman Kotthilā (p. 90) who converted the Buddha to this way of thinking. The author says 'Monks we were, monks we had to be' . . . 'I had myself a high worth in the monk so far as he was a man with a teaching which the world needed' (p. 91). Because some monks have been depicted in the *Vinaya* as lazy, worldly, quarrelsome, impure, can be no reason that the Buddha was up in arms against the monk world as such. The degradation was due to indiscriminately entertaining all sorts of people into the *Sangha*. Hence what is to be condemned is the unhealthy method which enabled every idler to enter the *Sangha*.

It is a strange contention to say that the Buddha used Brahmanical terms and gave them a new meaning. The meanings of words like

Dharma, *Maya*, *Brahmacarya* as understood by the Buddhists are all meanings familiar to every devout follower of the Veda. The Buddha knew that to make his teachings heard, he must use the current expressions and familiar terms. There is no doubt that he used them in their original meaning. After all whatever may be the later and latest developments of Buddhism, the first teacher did not announce that he was founding a new religion entirely different from the established religion of the land.

It is a wrong reading of the Hindu sacred literature that women were considered inferior to men in every respect and were denied the privileges of equality and freedom, and that they were not duly honoured. Woman has always been regarded as the queen of the household and Manu, the lawgiver prescribes that where women are not honoured, their homes will ever be of woe and wail. The same sentiments are common to Tamil India as is evident from a number of verses from the Tamil classic the *Kurral*. When such is the case, it is unthinkable of any inferior position to women given in Hindu Society. It seems to us equally wrong to say that the Buddha was in full support of their emancipation. The Buddhist books clearly show that the Buddha was at first against admitting women into the *Sangha*. Later on he seems to have yielded to the wishes of his near and dear relative Pajapati who insisted on their inclusion. When the Buddha came to realize that women entering the *Sangha* became a permanent factor, he is said to have remarked that his religion would not endure for more than five centuries. Again there is evidence to demonstrate that, like every true Hindu, he honoured such women who did not neglect the care of the home and who wedded themselves to the duties and responsibilities of the home. (pp. 30 and 31; also p. 131).

Lastly a scholar of standing, the Rev. Father Heras, S. J., has recently argued with ability, in the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore) that Asoka was not a Buddhist by faith. And to say that Asoka propagated the gospel of Buddhism does not stand on an unquestioned footing.

In attempting to establish her thesis, Mrs. Rhys Davids has to select, choose and eschew passages from Buddhist Texts and commentaries. No doubt the so-called Sacred Books of the Buddhists were compiled long after the death of the Buddha. They are apt to be

defective. Some of them may be fables and mere stories. The accounts may be perverted, onesided or genuine. It is the duty of the critical historian to arrive at the kernel of historical truth from the vast mass of literature in the light of other contemporary evidence. Wherever it does not suit her purpose, the author throws away a passage or a commentary on it, as perverted and worthless and not transmitting the original words of the Buddha. Such disregard of sections of books is to attach no value or importance to the works as a whole. Incidentally the value of the Vedas is questioned as for example that the worth of the *mantra* was more in the 'how' than in the 'what' of the saying (p. 84). We do not propose to examine here such unwarranted statements. Suffice it to say they are mere sentiments but not statements with legs to stand on.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

‘ INDIAN ARCHITECTURE ’
 ACCORDING TO MĀNĀSA SILPASAŚTRA
 AND
 ‘ A DICTIONARY OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE ’
 BY
 DR. P. K. ACHARYA, I.B.S.,
Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University.

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Allahabad University, Rs. 10.]
 THESE two works by Dr. P. K. Acharya, I.B.S., Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University, are works of a monumental character, on which Dr. Acharya had been engaged for very near a decade. The Dictionary is a work of architectural terms collected originally by the author for his own reference on the strength of which he submitted a thesis and obtained the degree of D.LITT. from the University of London. The work is of an encyclopædic character explaining architectural terms in Sanskrit not merely from the *Mānasāra*, a classical work on the subject, but from the *Śilpaśāstra* works generally. These so-called *Śilpaśāstras* and *Vāstuśāstras* are found in some number in manuscripts in various characters, and are written in a Sanskrit which is not the Sanskrit of classical works. It is barbarous Sanskrit in the sense that it is not Sanskrit of the learned, but more or

less a kind of Sanskrit understood of the ordinary and exhibiting peculiarities of its own. Apart from professed works on architecture, such as the *Śilpaśāstras* and the *Vāstuśāstras*, there are a number of other classes of works in Sanskrit which have a great volume of information on the subjects, occasionally even more illuminating actually than even the professed works themselves. Several of the *Purāṇas* contain chapters bearing on this subject and all the *Āgamas* have sections devoted to this subject, particularly religious architecture. Dr. Acharya has carefully collected all this material, classified and sorted it under particular heads and provided us a reference book on the subject, for which a reference book was very badly needed. The ordinary dictionaries prove defective and even such general cyclopædias, as the *Sabdakalpadruma* and *Vachaspathya* are not always sufficiently informing. It will be difficult to go into the details of a work like this, which draws its information from professed architectural works, the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* and other classes of Sanskrit literature generally. What is more, a very large number of inscriptions do contain illuminating details regarding architecture. They have all been drawn upon by Dr. Acharya in this volume in a form handy enough for reference and not altogether unsuitable even for reading generally.

In the second work, *Indian Architecture*, Dr. Acharya presents his own study of the *Śilpaśāstras* generally. He takes for his text the *Mānasāra* as the principal architectural work and brings round it other works, such as he has been able to bring into comparison with it. He divides this work into five books, in the first of which he gives a general survey of the literature on the subject indicating architecture as a subject which enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity. He deals with the subject in divisions, such as the architectural details found in Vedic and Buddhist literature on the one side, and in regard to classical literature he subdivides the subject into references in the books, the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* and miscellaneous other traditions. In the next division, he proceeds to consider the professed treatise on the subject beginning with a detailed consideration of the *Mānasāra* as the chief text. He brings into comparison with this work the *Śilpaśāstra* known as *Mayamata* and an *Āgamaic* work like the *Amśumadbhēda Āgama*. Other works are brought into comparison, such as the *Śilpaśāstras* of Viśva-Karma, of Agastya, of Sanat-Kumāra

and of Maṇḍana. Last of all he considers the handbook known as the *Śilpaśaṅgraha*, which is often quoted in authority, for various purposes relating to architecture and iconography. The third disquisition is devoted to an examination of the position of *Mānasāra* in literature. Dr. Acharya examines this in four sections and comes to the general conclusion that the *Mānasāra* is by far the most comprehensive work, and forms, as it were, the basis of all text-books in Sanskrit literature, whether it be works on *Śilpaśāstra* professedly or *Śilpa* chapters in other works of a generally encyclopædic character. The next section is devoted to a consideration of the classical European work of Vitruvius on architecture. There are many points of interest that he discusses in regard to the two works and the possibility of a connection between the two. Dr. Acharya finds at the end of his investigation that it would be safer now to leave the question open rather than offer what must be perhaps a conclusion on insufficient data. We may point out that he finds similarities in various matters which to him seem to argue for affiliation of the one on to the other. But as far as we could make out from the details that he himself gives, it strikes us that the items of similarity are none of them of a sufficiently fundamental character to argue for affiliation necessarily. Then he proceeds to a consideration of the age of the *Mānasāra* and arrives at the general conclusion that it is perhaps previous to all other works bearing on the subject and he regards it as ascribable to the brilliant period of Indian history, the age of the Guptas. Here again we feel that the arguments are hardly conclusive, while he may be right in ascribing it to the age of the Guptas. It does not seem to us necessary for writing an encyclopædic work of this kind there should have been an empire for the whole of the country. At no time in history was communication between different parts so bad in India that an author who devoted himself to the study of a particular subject could not travel from place to place; much rather it seems to have been a habitual feature of early Indian education that scholars travelled from kingdom to kingdom in search of particular masters in particular branches of study with a freedom, which it would be enviable if we could command with all the modern improvements and superior organization that we boast of.

Space forbids our going into greater detail, but we may conclude the review with the greatest pleasure by pointing out that the

preliminary study as well as the Dictionary give evidence of the great industry, ability and enthusiasm of Dr. Acharya in the pursuit of his work, which he commenced perhaps fifteen years ago. Notwithstanding the ups and downs that he has had, it is gratifying to note that he has had the support and patronage of the Government of the United Provinces, which enabled him ultimately to publish the work in a form creditable to all concerned. We wish the author and his work all success.

'MEMORANDUM ON RESIGNATION AUGUST 1914'

BY

JOHN, VISCOUNT MORLEY

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.]

THIS valuable document on the resignation of the great statesman on the eve of the war is undoubtedly of very great importance and has not been published too soon for the information of the public. On the all-important topic other books have appeared and other views have been given publicity by the four important publications referred to on page ix of the introduction, viz., two works by the Earl of Oxford, 'The Genesis of the War,' and 'Extracts from his Diary', and two other works. Viscount Grey's 'Twenty-five Years' and Mr. Winston Churchill's 'The World Crisis.' The Memorandum sets forth the actual circumstances that impelled Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns to resign their places in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, it led to the resignation of four members, of whom two had been persuaded to join again the Coalition Ministry, leaving therefore only these two out of the Cabinet. The Memorandum was entrusted to his nephew by the late Lord Morley before his death and had been submitted by Lord Morley himself to criticism both by Burns and by Earl Loreburn, whose testimony that it records correctly what took place, is of value, if such additional testimony were required to anything written by 'honest John.'

The important question does not really concern so very much to war-guilt and its apportionment, but is very illuminating as exhibiting individual and Cabinet responsibility in regard to matters diplomatic. The question arose as to what the *entente cordiale* between England and

France committed England to in respect of France when war threatened. This was complicated by the possible violation of Belgian neutrality: What exactly the treaties of 1839 and 1867 imposed upon England in such a possibility arising. Morley's position is made clear that enough had not been done short of war to avert the crisis so far, at any rate, as England was concerned, and there seems to lurk behind the Memorandum the notion that the war even could have been avoided by firm diplomatic handling of the situation short of war, as the consequences of the war have been put before the Cabinet by Burns in quite a graphic form giving a correct anticipation of all the calamities actually experienced during the war and after. It raises the further point of how far the Cabinet was entitled to know what the Foreign Minister may be doing and how far the Foreign Minister could be allowed, actually without consulting the Cabinet, to Commit the country to, with other powers, such as France here, by conversation by individual Cabinet members, in this case, the Foreign Secretary. The document is one of great interest and is provided with an introduction written by a coadjutor of Lord Morley, and friend, Mr. F. W. Hirst, which supplies a general background for understanding the position, if such were needed.

‘INDIA ON TRIAL; A STUDY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS’

BY

J. E. WOOLACOTT

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.]

THE author, formerly correspondent of the Times at Delhi and Simla, attempts in this book primarily to enlighten the English public upon the present condition of India, so that the British electorate may take an intelligent view of the position, particularly on the eve of the revision of the constitution that is impending. The object of the book, in the words of the author, is to ‘impel every thoughtful citizen to acquaint himself with the achievements of the British in India, the constitution which exists in India to-day and the gravity of the Indian problems that await solution.’ In a somewhat more detailed form, the position is expounded that ‘India has derived inestimable benefits from the British connection: that the administration of India to-day,

while sharing the imperfections, inherent in all human institutions, is inspired by honesty of purpose and high ideals of duty; and that any weakening of the links which join the destinies of England and India would be pregnant with evil possibilities for both countries. The working of the reformed constitution will also be examined and the genesis of the many outbreaks of violence that have occurred in recent years will be discussed.’ The author carries out this scheme of his in the work in seventeen chapters, beginning with the Mythical India and ending with the interrogation What of the future India? There are chapters bearing on the very many familiar subjects in a question like this. The work may be regarded more or less as a reasonably accurate presentation of the condition of India, as one finds it exhibited in the reports and documents issued from time to time by Government and as incorporated in the speeches of those speaking on behalf of the Government of India. To that extent it may serve the useful purpose of enlightening the uninitiated as to the position as expounded authoritatively from the point of view of the official side. It is only when he steps beyond this that he transcends the limits of his capacity for taking a dispassionate view of the whole position. Even in respect of some of those chapters where he holds up to view the achievements of British rule in India, the facts and figures presented are not always what exactly they are. But when he gets to deal with the opposition and the activities of the political parties in opposition, he hardly shows the required degree of insight, and fails to exhibit their position fairly. That anxiety which is evident in presenting the achievements of the administration cannot be said to be shown in dealing with the other side. Just as he admits that governments might have made mistakes, other political parties might make mistakes, and even very serious ones at that. The real question that is the cause of all the trouble he does not present with sufficient emphasis. It would be rather difficult to argue that the Swarajists and people of that ilk whom he criticizes severely are all of them irresponsible and ignorant people that they are represented to be. This becomes evident in regard to the Nehru Report and after. Some of those that took part in the production of that report and are taking part actively in presenting it as the united demand of India are people who held responsible positions under the government and therefore could be expected to understand better the position than those who are

not accustomed to the esoteric technique of the administration. Even Dr. (Mrs.) Beasant, whom he quotes with approval in one connection, is enthusiastically for it and he hardly mentions these facts or attempts to give an explanation of how this comes about. We have no wish to be partisan either politically or otherwise. We wish merely to point out that the book fails to present the other side fairly. In regard to the Mythical India, that India is assuredly beyond the depth of the Times Correspondent, as we have had occasion to show of even such an extremely well-informed writer like Sir Valentine Chirol, his great predecessor, and if the administration is all that is claimed to be in this particular work, those British statesmen, who felt the need for doing something and launched India out on the reforms must have been seriously mistaken. While therefore the extremists may be brushed aside, as extremists have to be, whether in India or elsewhere, there is a body of opinion which cannot be characterized as extremist, which still exhibits lively dissatisfaction in regard to the existing state of affairs; and that has to be given more consideration that this author seems inclined to. That is the whole point. More success is claimed for diarchy than happens to be actually the case, perhaps much more irresponsibility is ascribed to the Legislative Assembly than would have been the case, if there had been more responsibility, and the communal bhogie is plied for all that is worth, while it stands to reason that an established administration would put an end to it under democracy, as a more or less vigorous beauracracy had succeeded in doing it before.

Most of the unsatisfactory features of the present position described in the book are ascribable to the want of responsibility in the governing body, as to the irresponsible way in which they have been exercising the power that they possess. The unsatisfactory features are features that an experiment like this is bound to produce. With a little more of sympathetic insight and inclination not to touch susceptibilities on the raw, it would be possible to achieve more success even on this experimental scheme. It is hardly suitable in a review to take up any one of the many questions raised and deal with it satisfactorily. Hence our disinclination to get into details. The book may serve a useful purpose as a handbook presenting one side of it fairly faithfully, and those who read it must remember that it presents one side of the picture and not both sides.

‘INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES’

BY

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M. A.

[Vol. 1. Education and Propagation of Culture. Messrs. Longmans.]

EACH race contributes something unique and essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. In facing and solving problems arising in its own environment, in evolving a scheme of organized social existence in harmony with itself and its surroundings, it gathers experiences and develops memories which furnish the foundation for the culture that it rears and hands down through generations. The culture of a people is their make-up, inherited by tradition and education, their habitual way of looking ‘after themselves and one another, and the way they look at that which is not themselves.’ Their art and literature, religion, philosophy, society and government, their manners, modes and beliefs, their attitude to persons and things extraneous to themselves, are all expressions of their culture. As time lapses, civilization becomes more complex and the commerce of nations more widespread; borrowing, imitation and absorption are constantly at work and the result is a certain universalization of the more external aspects of culture. But behind all such mutations, there lie certain fundamental traits, which may after all be no more than a difference in stress, a slight difference in the gradation of social and spiritual values, which controls and guides the development of each people in the present and to some extent determines its future. There is perhaps no more fascinating pursuit for the philosophic historian than the study of these basic elements in the culture of a people and their action through the centuries.

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara undertakes ‘to describe and interpret the genius of India and explain her contribution to the world's culture’ in a series of volumes devoted to ‘Indian culture through the Ages.’ Each volume ‘deals with an aspect of culture from the evolutionary as well as from the comparative point of view. The present volume deals with the supreme gift of India to the world—education in the fullest and highest sense of the term.’ The author discusses the genesis and characteristics of Indian culture as a whole in a general introduction (pp. 1–45) and gathers the results of his

study of Ancient Indian Education in a concluding chapter on 'our heritage' (pp. 299-318). Four chapters on 'Vedic Foundations' (pp. 49-104), 'Post-Vedic System Building' (pp. 105-184), 'Buddhist and Hindu Educational Institutions' (pp. 185-256) and 'The Middle Ages and the Broadcasting of Culture' (pp. 257-298) contain the author's account of the evolution and peculiarities of the educational system of Ancient India and the part it played in the propagation of culture among the masses.

Any work on so attractive a theme will be turned to by a reader with great eagerness and no doubt every one will find much in Prof. Venkateswara's book that is well worth knowing and pondering. The vast learning of the author, and his close acquaintance with the sources of his subject, literary and archæological, are seen on almost every page of the book and there is much sound description of several important aspects of the ancient educational system of the country. But as we read through the book a certain sense of dissatisfaction grows on us that by the time we reach the end of the book the dissatisfaction almost amounts to disappointment. We seem to have missed something which is essential to the rational understanding of the whole and the realization of the inner meaning of the new facts we have learned. We do not get any clear impression in our minds of the evolution in the system of Indian education, or of the features that distinguished it from that of other countries that are often mentioned in the course of the book—Egypt, Babylonia and China. Nor are we in a position to say that we have quite understood the role of her 'sound system of education' in enabling India 'to preserve and propagate her cultural heritage in spite of military hurricanes and political cataclysms.'

It may not be a vain endeavour to try and find the source of this uneasy feeling with which the reader is left. It would appear ultimately to arise from two drawbacks which characterize the book. One of these is a fault of emphasis and the other of method.

Ancient Indian Society was a highly articulated and complex structure based on certain fundamental assumptions. In olden days many who were wise and good and learned cherished many beliefs which we may now look upon with amused contempt; yet, they captured the secret of so organizing social life and relations as to make it natural and easy for every one to make the best of his life

here without losing his soul. It was a social culture based on obligation and duty rather than on self-assertion and right, and if the aim of civilization is control over environment, this control was in the last resort sought to be attained more by control over the self than by any other means. It is remarkable how little we hear of the personal life of the founders and leaders of thought in ancient India. At every turn we get a great sense of collective effort coupled with studied anonymity on the part of individuals. How nebulous are the names of Vyasa, Manu and Yagnavalkya. And yet how close the association between their thought and the daily life of the nation which cherishes them. It is perhaps not an accident that, in the whole range of Indian literature, we have no autobiography and so little biography and history. Again, social life was dominated by an anxiety to conserve the past achievements of the race and hand them to succeeding generations so that the common man was not encouraged to question too much about things or to set up as a reformer. The binding force of tradition is never once doubted though new traditions may grow imperceptibly with changing conditions under the guidance of the choice spirits of every age, the *śiṣṭas*. If life in such an age lacked the stimulus of novelty and the thrill of adventure, it was characterized by a certain quietness and restful contentment, which is altogether unknown in our time. It is a remarkable feature of Indian social history that at no stage do we come across intellectual protests like those of Plato and Moore or social outbursts like the struggle between the Orders in Ancient Rome or the Peasants' Revolts of Mediæval Europe. And when the Buddha, by his assault on the Veda, threatened to shatter the foundations of Indian society, no quarter was given to him or his followers; but even so the best results of his protest were absorbed and assimilated by the orthodox system. This lasting inner harmony, social and intellectual, is perhaps the most characteristic trait of Indian culture. And this harmony does not seem to have been purchased at the sacrifice of any tangible earthly good. In art and science, in literature and philosophy, in painting, music and the drama, as also in the industrial arts and commercial activity Indians attained an eminence that compares well with similar achievements of other countries in those days. And recent research is gathering together much interesting evidence of the achievements of Indians across the seas and the mountains and is

bringing into view a greater India whose existence was so little suspected till the other day that the cultural isolation of India was a favourite theme with several writers on Indian subjects. Indians were as ready to take as they were to give and what they took from others they made part of their own in such a manner that it often seemed truly indigenous.

All this is evidence of a rare culture formation. Somehow the genius of the race struck the mean between ambition and effort on the one side and loyalty to its own ethics on the other and so ordered things that each could give to the world the best of what he has and be satisfied by their realizing the highest that is in him. And here is great work for a student of Indian culture in explaining, illustrating and interpreting this truly marvellous achievement of the makers of Indian Polity. It is only fair to say that we get occasional glimpses of these aspects in Prof. Venkateswara's work. He says, for instances, 'Indian arrangements were the result of a deliberate and self-conscious social organization based on a philosophy of society and directed to the realization of spiritual ends' (p. 19). Again, 'The peculiar excellence of Indian culture consists in the combination of ends, co-ordination of traits, in the organization of a hierarchy of ends (*chaturvarga*) and not merely the highest end (*Paramapurushartha*), a gradation of values; and in the purposeful systematization and intelligent direction of all resources of these progressive ends of humanity' (p. 23). Or yet again, 'The type of culture thus evolved was not merely theoretical, but penetrated to the heart of the people, and pervaded every important aspect of individual and social life' (p. 314). But these are more of the nature of *obiter dicta*, rather than conclusions emerging from a study and interpretation of the evidence on the subject. On the other hand, Prof. Venkateswara is so full of the conviction of the intrinsic excellence of the culture he deals with, that he spends himself rather more on vindication than on exposition and interpretation. This becomes clear in the lines of thought pursued by the author in the concluding sections of the Introduction in which he expounds the Indian view regarding solidarity, liberty, equality, progress and evolution. The attempt here is frankly to abridge the distance between Ancient Indian ideals and those of Modern Europe, and institute comparisons which are superficial and irrelevant. What for instance can one make of such a total distortion of the modern

idea of progress as in the following: 'The Indian conception of progress was not that of a perpetual commotion and ceaseless strife, but a steady improvement in the power of the subject to adjust himself to the changing conditions around him. . . . It means the acquisition of more and more power in self, a greater independence of external circumstances and influences; not a tame submission to misconceived social ideals of false or wrongly graded values. The devices and contrivances which pander to convenience in modern times will have to be regarded as not conducive to progress in this view, if they weaken self-help or sap the vitality of native resources' (p. 43). Or take this,—'Protection of the infant was ensured in the Indian system, which exalted maternity and child welfare. Protection for women against their natural weakness and the tendency to a relatively early fading away of bloom, and for the instinct of maternity, was provided by the social worship of the mother, a system of monogamy in practice, and the absence of provision for divorce. Protection for the intellectually inferior classes was secured by the dependence of the intelligentsia on them for its material wants, and the compensation they had in a practical monopoly of power and pelf' (pp. 38-39).

It is evident from such passages that Prof. Venkateswara is obsessed by his reading of present-day conditions in his study of Ancient Indian culture. His treatment of the educational system of Ancient India is likewise marked by a tendency to stress unduly the points of resemblance, however remote with modern conditions, and underrate the importance of significant differences in the aims and ideals of educational endeavour. Very often the author starts in quest of what is not there and gives us sections on 'Vedic Culture and the Masses', 'Women's Education', 'Scientific Method', 'Technical and Vocational Education', 'Higher Technical Education', and so on. On such subjects we are treated to multitudinous assertions which may or may not be accepted by the reader but which no one will be in a position to prove or disprove. 'The masses of Vedic India may not have been lettered or literate, but they were subject to cultural and educational influences. They had some sort of training in arts and crafts many of which are mentioned in the Vedic texts. . . . Education in public life and in the duties of citizenship may be postulated from the existence of such organizations as *Sabha*,

Samiti, Nittha, Vidatha (p. 65). 'In the absence of the general education of girls it would be difficult to account for the terms of equality that subsisted between husband and wife in this (Vedic) period' (p. 67). 'There were various practical and useful arts in which the youths of the time could get technical education and vocational instruction' (pp. 155-6). But the author is not evidently himself satisfied with these statements, and later on, in his criticism of Ancient Indian education from the modern standpoint, he denies the existence of most of the things that, in the earlier sections of his book, he has particularly sought to establish and yet would fain hold that India was the better for their absence. He says, for instance, 'There was no general provision for the higher education of girls or for the teaching of vernaculars. But society had not become a misfit needing to teach people artificially those things which ought to be really drawn in with the air they breathe. Little girls had not to be sent to school to learn domestic subjects or grown children to be taught their vernaculars or to learn good manners. Nor was there any provision for technical training or vocational instruction for those who were to follow the learned professions. The struggle for existence had not become so keen as to develop symptoms of that materialism, whether born of all pervading poverty or of all-conquering avarice, which regards utilitarianism as the *Summum bonum* of education' (p. 511). In such contradiction and special pleadings there is much that irritates a thoughtful reader.

The other drawback in the book arises from the method adopted by the author in presenting the evidence. There is no sense of movement or growth in the educational arrangements of Ancient India as expounded in this work. There are intrinsic difficulties here. The chronology of the subject, and specially that of the most seminal period of Indian culture, the age of the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras*, has not been satisfactorily settled. And in every branch of knowledge we have no access to the records of early efforts and the earliest writer we can go to in grammar, politics, medicine or philosophy mentions a considerable number of authors who preceded him in the field. Few books were actually written down and even in such cases, the multiplication of manuscripts was perhaps not easy. Learning was transmitted by memory and to establish a *Vidyavamsa* was perhaps the greatest ambition of an *Acharya*. Under such conditions, the appearance of a

great teacher often meant that the work of his lesser predecessors and often even their names passed into oblivion. This renders it all but impossible to trace the growth of any subject of study even in outline from its early beginnings to its systematization in a classical work, which, in its turn, furnished the basis for further study, elucidation and commentary. Again from the nature of the case, the evidence on the subject is fragmentary and it must take much laborious and critical effort before one can discover even in outline the means and methods of education in any particular place or period. The formal descriptions of *brahmacharya* in the law books are valuable in themselves as setting the norm, but they lack local colour and verisimilitude. Except for the observations of Chinese travellers bearing on a few centres of Buddhist learning at a comparatively late date, we have no contemporary descriptions or indeed direct evidence of any sort on a subject of this nature. These are all real difficulties. Prof. Venkateswara however is not troubled by any such obstacle in his path. He boldly simplifies his work by dividing his subject into Vedic and post-Vedic, and only tells us 'the type of culture described in the foregoing pages had been evolved in India well before the Muhammadan invasions' (p. 314). Even distinction between Vedic and post-Vedic is sometimes ignored and the *Upanishads*, *Nirukta* as also Asvalayana's *Grhyasutra* are quoted by the side of the earliest hymns of the *Rg Veda*. There is present throughout the book a persistent tendency to combine information drawn from various sources greatly differing from one another in their nature, time and place, and to draw a general picture meant to represent conditions in all India for an unspecified period of her history. To give only one such instance, the section on educational institutions (p. 159) combines the evidence drawn from the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jatakas*, the *Puranas*, the *Jaina Sutras* and the *Ramayana*. The author is also not always careful to distinguish what is evidence and what is not, and one cannot resist the feeling that he sometimes misquotes or misapplies well-known texts torn from their contexts as in his classification of students (p. 130) or that of religious conversations (p. 147). One may doubt also if the gradation of teachers into *Acharyas*, *Gurus*, *Upadhyayas* and *Sikshakas* (pp. 128-9) is borne out by our texts in the form in which Prof. Venkateswara expounds it. And when we are told that Sita 'could talk fluently in Sanskrit' (p. 110) we may well wonder if it means anything more

than that the author has been reading the *Ramayana* in the original. One last extract from the section 'Specialization in Education' (p. 202) — 'The rice diet of the southerners may have tended to idealism and imaginativeness, of which the fruits were soon to be reaped in the southern philosophical systems of the Vedanta. The wordy sword-play of the Bengalis was possibly due to their relative immunity of Bengal from foreign invasion and influence, and from absorbing commercial and other pursuits.' It may also be observed that in dealing with the recent finds in the Sindh and the Punjab and the origins of Indian culture, while he deprecates 'hazarding theories, at this stage,' the author commits himself to a considerable number of propositions (pp. 2-9) on the age, nature and affiliations of what has, for the sake of accuracy, been called the 'Indus Valley Culture', by Sir J. Marshall.

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Notes on the Contents of the Gujarati and Hindi Journals

- *Puratattva*, a Gujarati quarterly of research, has just ceased publication after five years of memorable service to the cause of history and scholarship in general under the very capable editorship of Muni Jinvijaya Ji, a scholar who practically without any knowledge of English, is to be numbered among the foremost of our orientalist in India or anywhere else. His work is unfortunately in Gujarati and some of it in Hindi and consequently it has not received the recognition due to it. Jinvijaya Ji left India about a year ago to learn foreign languages and to get acquainted with the methods of European Universities, and with his departure have died two of the foremost research quarterlies in the Gujarati language—*Puratattva* and *Jaina Sahitya Samśodhaka* which would challenge comparison with any of the famous oriental quarterlies. *Puratattva* owes its existence to the national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi, and the contributions to it are mostly from the brilliant galaxy of scholars that Gandhi Ji has collected in the Vidya Pitha at Ahmedabad. One of the greatest among these is Pandit Sukhlal, who lost his eye-sight when he was eleven or twelve years old and possesses only the light of wisdom—*Prajñachakshu*. He is known to the world of Sanskrit scholars by his great work *Sammati Tarka* of Abhayadeva Sūri, four volumes of which have already been published and the last volume is in the course of publication. Pandit Sukhlal has been trained according to the old methods of scholarship but belongs to the most advanced school of research of the twentieth century in his methods and in the depth of his erudition. He is equally at home in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but as his special subject is philosophy, we shall not deal any further with his contributions to the pages of the *Jaina Sahitya Samśodhaka* or the *Puratattva*.

The last and the fifth volume of the *Puratattva* does not contain many articles of strictly historical interest. Rasiklal Parekh brings his brilliant study of Bhāsa's dramas to a close. Walji Desai has culled

some interesting references regarding Vanarāj—the founder of Pātan from various Sanskrit verses. Pandit Bechar Das announces the discovery of a philosophical work of great importance on atheism from the manuscript-libraries of Patan. The work is entitled *Tattva-Upaplava* by Bhaṭṭa Śrī Jayarāshi Deva. We have not got here the space for reviewing the historical contents of the first four volumes of the *Purātattva* which must be deferred to some other time.

The *Jaina Sahitaya Samśodhaka* has also suffered a premature demise on account of the departure of Muni Jinvijaya Ji to Germany for a period of two years. The Jaina quarterly despite its sectarian designation has rendered valuable service to scholarship in general, and to the study of Jaina history in particular, during its short existence of three years. I have already summarized a very important article by Muni Jinvijaya Ji of the *Kuvalaya-māla*—a Prākṛt romance written by Udyottama Sūri at Jābalipur on the last day of the Saka year 700 in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, volume xiv, pages 29–38. This work which is being edited by him is of special interest in mentioning the various contemporaries of the Huna emperor Tormāṇa, who had his capital at Pavvayyā on the Chenab in the Punjab, and also in showing the extraordinary influence of Jainism in the eighth century, for Tormāṇa himself is said to have had the Jain Harigupta as his preceptor. This Harigupta is said to have been a scion of the Gupta family and the reference is probably to the imperial dynasty of the same name. The Prākṛt work is of great interest and we hope that it will be soon published.

Jinvijaya Ji has published a Persian composition by Jinaprabha Sūri, a writer of the fourteenth century, whose works, e.g. *Vividha Tirthakalpa*, *Vidhiprapa*, *Sandēha-Viṣa-auśadhi* are still available. The Sūri was a contemporary of Alauddin Khilji, and the composition is of special interest in showing the proselytizing zeal of Jain Sādhus even during the stormy times of Islamic onslaughts. The whole composition consists of eleven verses in praise of Rshabhadeva and is probably the earliest work in Persian by a Jain Sādhu.

There are two interesting articles relating to Vastupāl and Tejapāla—famous brothers, who were responsible for the immortal shrines of Abu. There is plenty of material available for writing a monograph on the two great heroes of Jainism, and we would suggest

to the various Jaina societies who are engaged in spreading the knowledge of their faith and their past to publish a series of monograph on the great figures of Jainism. Rasiklal Pārekḥ—a competent researcher, critically examines the account given in Rājashekhara Sūri's *Chaturvimshati-prabandha*, in which Vastupāl is said to have sent lacs of mlēchha heads to his master at Dholka. The Muslim king opposed to Vastupāl is Maujudin, which is to be identified with Shāhabuddin Ghori.

There is another very interesting article on Mahmud Ghazni's invasion of Sōmanath, also from the pen of Jinvijaya Ji in which he examines an hitherto unpublished work by Dhanapāla, the celebrated author of *Tilakamanjari*. The work is called *Satyapurtiya Sri Mahāvira Utsaḥ Parichaya* and deals primarily with and is, as the title indicates, a sort of hymn in the praise of Mahāvira. It incidentally describes the iconoclastic activities of Mahmud of Ghazni and says in the third verse of the hymn—the whole of which consists of fifteen verses, how Mahmud had erased the temples of Shri Māl, Pātan, Chandrāvati, Sorāṭha, Delwādā and Someshwara. The invader however is alleged to have turned back baffled before the temple of Mahāvira at Satyapur or the modern *Sachor* in Marwar. Dhanapāla writes from his personal knowledge about the onslaughts of Mahmud, and is of interest as a contemporary corroboration of Muslim accounts of Mahmud's invasions. If Dhanapāl's account is correct, it would seem that Mahmud did not return *via* Kutch and Sindh after his destruction of Somanatha, as is hitherto believed, but he may have gone back through Sāchor and Multan (vol. iii, *Jain SS.*).

I should perhaps also summarize from vol. ii another article also by Jinvijaya Ji on king Chetaka.

Chetaka—the king of Vaiśālī, is famous in Jain history not only as a devout adherent of Mahāvira Vardhamāra but also a ruler of a powerful kingdom who was related to some of the most important princes of his time. Chetaka's sister Trisālā was the mother of Mahāvira himself; his daughter Jesthā was married to Mahāvira's elder brother Nandivardhana, and he was similarly related to Udrāyana of Sindhvasuvirā, Pradyota of Avanti, Śatānika of Kausambi, Dadhivāhana of Champā and Bimbisāra of Magadha, who were all his sons-in-law. Emperor Ajātaśatru—the parricide, and Udayana Vatsarāja—the hero of an untold number of romances in Indian literature, were his

daughters' sons. Considering all this it is extraordinary that Cheṭaka finds no mention at all in Buddhist literature.

The oldest and the most important account of Cheṭaka and his relationship to Mahāvira is contained in *Avashayaka Sūtra*—one of the Jaina *Āgamas*, which is prior to the eighth century, for it has been commented upon by the celebrated Haribhadra. This account forms the basis of subsequent Jaina writings such as in Hemachandra *Trishashṭishalākā-purusha-Charitra*. Cheṭaka had seven daughters—Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Durgāvatī, Shivā, Jyeṣṭhā, Sujyeṣṭhā and Chellānā, who with the exception of Sujyeṣṭhā were married respectively to Udrāyana, Dadhivāhana, Sātānīka, Pradyota, Nandivardhana and Bimbisār. Sujyeṣṭhā had become a Jaina nun at an early age. According to the Jain tradition Cheṭaka had to fight one of the most destructive battles with his own daughter's son Ajātashatru. Cheṭaka is described as of Haihaya family. Muni Jinvijaya Ji has brought out some interesting parallels from Jain and Buddhist literatures regarding the story of Udrāyana and his famous *viṇa*. He comes to the conclusion that the word Raudrāyana occurring in the *Vyaodana* which in the corrupted text form the word Uddayana the correction given in *Avashayaka Sūtra*.

The most important article in vol. ix of *Nagri Pracharini Patrika* edited by the well-known scholar Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha—the historian of Rajputana, is undoubtedly the elucidation of the inscription on the victory horse of Samudragupta now in the Lucknow Museum. Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakar reads the inscription, which has hitherto defied the efforts of epigraphists as *Chandragupta-pituh Samuddaguttasat deyadhamma*. After an elaborate argument and an extremely interesting examination of the pictorial script which has been illustrated in two plates, Mr. Jagannath Das comes to the conclusion that the horse was set up by Chandragupta as a memorial stone of his father's martial exploits in the modern district of Kheri which was then of considerable political importance as being the frontier between Nepal and Oudh. Mr. Jagannath Das is also responsible for the articles on Bihari which occupy a considerable space of the volume. Mr. Jagannath Das has devoted a whole life-time to the study of Bihari and the results have been worthily embodied in the brilliant series of articles which are meant as an introduction to his commentary on *Bihari's Satsai* already published.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 139

No work in the Hindi literature has been so carefully and critically edited as Bihari's *Satsai* and, reflects the greatest credit on the author, who is recognized as the greatest living authority on Braj and the finest exponent of modern Braj poetry. The editor himself contributes an interesting article on the Solanki king—the famous Siddharāj Jaisimha. The reign of Jaisimha deserves a separate monograph, for during his reign the kingdom of Gujarat reached its zenith. The entire period, eleventh century A.D., is of extraordinary importance and is specially remarkable for the galaxy of kings and ministers who were brilliant scholars and represented the ripest fruit of the classical traditions, albeit in their decadence.

Another article by the same scholar discusses the sway of the Pratihār Dynasty of Kanauj over Gujarat. The long article on Dhanurveda is of some antiquarian interest. On the whole the historical side is not so well represented as one would have expected in a journal edited by Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha.

N. C. MEHTA.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January, 1929—

E. H. JOHNSTON: 'Two studies in the Arthasāstra of Kautilya'. Considers the relationship in date of the *Arthasāstra* to the works of Aśvaghoṣa, to Āryasūra's *Jatakamāla* and to *Lanka-valārasūtra*.

J. PH. VOGEL: 'Two notes on the Ancient Geography of India', identifies Kamptakaśela mentioned in the Prakrit Inscriptions of Nagārjunikonda with *Καντακοσσύλα* mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after the mouth of the Maisōlos river. It follows that this river is rightly identified with the Kistna.

April, 1929—

G. TUCCI: 'A visit to an "Astronomical" temple in India.' Gives a description of the Navagraha Temple at Gauhāti.

R. B. WHITEHEAD: 'Akbar II as pretender. A Study in Anarchy.'

J. PRZYLUCKI: 'Hippokoura and Satakarni.'

*Indian Antiquary**April, 1929—*

- R. D. BANERJI: 'The Empire of Orissa.'
 H. DAS: 'The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro'
 to the Court of Aurangzeb (continued in the May issue).

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 Zulfaqr Khan at Jinji (A.D. 1690). This paper is based on a
 MS., of the Tamil MS. preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library,
 Madras and is a dramatic lay composed for the purpose of
 eulogizing Sayyad Qadir.'
 T. R. CHINTAMANI: 'The date of Sankara Charya and of his
 predecessors.' Furnishes some data that Sankara was a
 contemporary of Narasimha Varman II and therefore lived in
 the latter half of the seventh century A.D.
 K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI: 'Probable identification of King
 Haravarsha.'

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 141

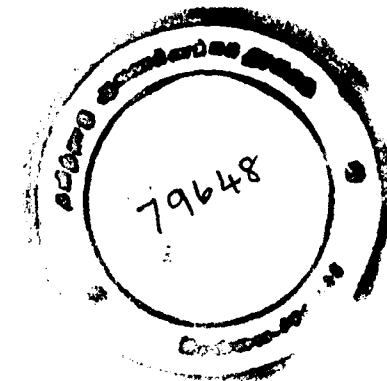
M. RAGAVA* AIVANGAR: 'Tirumangai Ālvar and Chalukya
 Vikramaditya I: identifies the mighty king of the north
 vanquished with the Pandyan King by the warriors of Nankūr'
 (P. T. 4, 5, 6), with Chalukya Vikramaditya I. The writer
 thinks that the Ālvar who lived during the reign of Pallavamalla
 (A.D. 717-779) should have had an opportunity to hear from the
 soldiers who took part in vanquishing the King of the North
 and who lived in Nankūr a village near his native place, all
 about the battle of Peruvalanallur.

*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society**April, 1929—*

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 History.'
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 Hittite-Aryan Origins.'

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